THE
GENERALL HISTORIE
of the Turkes, from The first
beginning of that Nation to the rising
of the Othoman *Familie: with*
all the notable expeditions
of the Christian
Princes against
them.

Together with

THE LIVES AND CONQVESTS
OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS
and Emperours

Written by Richard Knolles, *sometime*
fellowe of Lincolne Colledge
in Oxford.

With a new continuation, from ye yeare of our Lord 1621.
vnto the yeare 1629. faithfully collected.

The Fourth edition, printed by
ADAM ISLIP 1631

1985
CHICAGO

949:6
KNO

Salar Jung Library
WESTERN
SECTION.

Salar Jung Library
WESTERN
SECTION.

739
140

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE Prince IAMES, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; *Defendor of the Faith, &c.*

IT may of some, and not without iust cause (most gracious and dread Soueraigne) be imputed vnto me for no small presumption, to present vnto your royall Maiestie (a prince of so great learning and iudgement) these homely fruits of mine endeuors and paines, taken in the Generall Historie of the Turkes, and strange successe of their great and mightie *Othoman* Empire. Whereunto for all that I was the rather induced, not only by the rare and wonderfull clemencie ioyned vnto many other the great and most resplendent vertues of your heroicall mind; the least whereof is sufficient to haue exalted vp weake and feeble spirits; but also by the encouragement of the right Worshipfull my most especial good friend Sir *Peter Manwood* knight of the Bath, the first mouer of mee to take this great worke in hand, and my continuall and only comfort stay, and helper therein. Which to do, I was also the more desirous, seeing diuers little volumes, and small parts of the Historie presented vnto the greatest Princes: as the little Treatise of *Paulus Iouius de Rebus Turcicis*, dedicated vnto the great and mightie Emperour *Charles* the fift; and the small Historie of *Cœlius Secundus, de Bello Melitensi*, vnto her late sacred Maiestie, of most happie and blessed memorie, the rare Phœnix of her sex, who now resteth in glorie: with diuers others of like sort by the learned Authors hereof still commended, some to one great Prince of their times, some to others: all filling me with good hope that this whole and continuat Historie of that Northern and warlike Nation (which in short time by God his appointment hath brought such fatall mutation to a great part of the world, as former times haue seldome or neuer seene) and that euen from the first beginning thereof (not together to my knowledge by any one before written) should with your most noble Maiestie find no lesse grace and fauour, than hath almost euery part thereof with other the aforelaid and such like most mightie and famous Princes: and the rather, for that your Majestie hath not disdained in your *Lepanto* or *Heroicall Sing*, with your learned Muse to adorne and set forth the greatest & most glorious victory that euer was by any the Christian confederate Princes obtained against these the *Othoman* Kings or Emperors,

rors. Besides that the matter and argument of this History and such like (so much concerning the state and good of the Christian commonweale in generall, neuer by any so much impugned or indangered, as by these the naturall and capitall enemies thereof) of right vnto none so properly belongeth, as vnto your most excellent Maiestie, with the rest of the Christian princes, sitting at the helme of your estates; who onely by your vnited forces (the barbarous enemies greatest terror) are able to giue remedy thereunto: in the chiefest ranke of whom, your sacred Maiesty, for glory, honor, strength, and power (God long preserue the same) is now second vnto none. Thus perswaded and encouraged, I in all humble and dutifull manner doe present vnto your Maiestie these my weake endeauors, according to my ability and meanes continued for some few yeres more: which how vnworthy soeuer they be of so great and princely fauor, as well for the meanesse of mee the author, as for the plainnesse of the stile; yet if for the worthinesse of the matter, or of your own great and infinit clemencie, you vouchsafe them your Maiesties fauorable regard, they shall no doubt liue no lesse fortunat, than if they had beene more happily borne or brought to light: seruing (if to no other vse) yet as faire warnings vnto such great ones as God hath here vpon earth exalted aboue the rest vnto the highest degrees of power and of state, for the good gouernment and defence of his church and people. Accept them, I beseech you, most mightie monarch, into your gracious protection, so shall I (if God spare life) bee comforted and encouraged vnder so mighty a fauour to proceed to amend what shall bee found amisse, and adde what future times and better helpe shall discouer and minister for the perfection of this history: and according to my bounden necessitty in all humilitie pray vnto the great God of all might and power whom all kings and princes reigne) to his glorie long to preserue your most royall Maiestie in blessed health and peace to rule and reigne ouer vs and these your great kingdomes, so happily by you vnited: and so likewise (his will so being) your most noble posteritie after you, euen to the

woulds end.

Your Maiesties most

humble and obedient subiect,

Richard Knolles.

The Authors induction to the Christian Reader vnto the Historie following.

THe long and still declining state of the Christian Commonweale, w
the vtter ruine and subuersion of the Empire of the East, and ma
other most glorious kingdomes and prouinces of the Christians, nei
to be sufficiently lamented, might with the due consideration ther
worthily moue euen a right stony heart to ruth: but therewith al so
call to remembrance the dishonor done vnto the blessed name of our Sa
uior Christ Iesus, the desolation of his Church heremilitant vpon eart
the dreadfull danger daily threatned vnto the poore remainder ther
of, the millions of soules cast headlong into eternall destruction, the i
finit number of wofull Christians (whose grieuous gronings vnder t
heauy yoke of infidelity no tongue is able to expresse) with the carele
nesse of the great for the redresse thereof, might giue iust cau vnto any good Christian to sit do
and with the heauy Prophet to say as he did of Ierusalem: O how hath the Lord darkned the daug
ter of Sion in his wrath! and cast down from heauen vnto the earth the beauty of Israel, a
remembred not his footstoole in the day of his wrath! All which miseries (with many others
great as greater there can none be) the Prince of darknesse and author of all mischiefe hath by t
persecuting princes of all ages, and antient heretikes his ministers, labored from time to time to bri
vpon the Church of God, to the obscuring of his blessed name, and vtter subuersion of his most sacr
word; but yet by none, no not by them all together so much prouailed, as by the false Prophet Mah
met, borne in an vnhappie houre, to the great destruction of mankind: whose most grosse and bla
phemous doctrine first fantasied by himselfe in Arabia, and so by him obtruded vnto the worl
and afterwards by the Sarasin Caliphes (his seduced successors) with greater forces maintained, wa
by them, together with their empire, dispersed ouer a great part of the face of the earth, to the vnspea
kable ruine and destruction of the Christian Religion and State especially in Asia and Africke, wit
some good part of Europe also. But the vnitie of this great Mahometan Monarchie being once dissol-
ued, and it diuided into many kingdomes, and so after the maner of worldly things drawing vn-
to the fatall period of it selfe, in processe of time became of farre lesse force than before, and so lesse
dreadfull vnto the Christian princes of the West, by whom thise Sarasins were againe expulsed out
of all the parts of Europe, excepting one corner of Spain, which they yt held within the remembrance
of our fathers, vntil that by their victorious forces, they were then at length happily remoued also,
after that they had possessed the same aboue the space of 700 yeares. And this declination of the Sara-
sins, the first Champions of the Mahometan superstition (who thigh they had lost much, yet held
they many kingdomes both in Asia and Africke, taken for the most part from the Christians) arise
the Turks, an obscure and base people, before scarce known vnto the world, yet fierce and courageous,
who by their valor first aspired vnto the kingdom of Persia, with diers other large prouinc from
whence they were about 170 yeres after againe expulsed by the Tartis, and enforced to re
selues into the lesser Asia: where taking the benefit of the discord of the Christian princes of the East,
and the carelesnesse of the Christians in general, they in some good measure repaired their former lo
ses again, and maintained the state of a kingdome at Iconium in Cilicia (now of them cal
nia) holding in their subiection the greatest part of that fruitfull countrey, still seeking to gaine from
the Christians wh t they had before lost vnto the Tartars. But the kingdom of the Turkes declining
also, by the dismembring of the same, there stept vp among the Turkes in Bythinia, one Osman or O-
thoman, of the Oguzian tribe or family, a man of great spirit and valor, who by little & little grow
ing vp among st the rest of his countrymen, and other the Christians on that side of Asia, at
last became another Romulus, tooke vpon him the name of a Sultan or king, & is right worthily accoun-

Granado in Spain was recouered from the Sarasins by king Ferdinand in the yeare, 1491.

ted

ed the first founder of the mightie Empire of the Turkes: which continued by many discents directly in the line of himselfe, euen vnto Achmat, who now reigneth, is from a small beginning become the greatest terrour of the world, holding in subiection many great and mighty kingdoms in Asia, Europe, and Africke, is grown to that height of pride, as that it threatneth destruction vnto the rest of the Kingdomes of the earth; labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it selfe. In the greatnesse whereof is swallowed vp both the name and Empire of the Sarasins, the glorious Empire of the Greekes, the renowned kingdomes of Macedonia, Peloponesus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Seruia, Bosna, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Ægypt, Iudea, Tunes, Algiers, Media, Mesopotamia, with a great part of Hungarie, as also of the Persian kingdom, & all those churches and places so much spoken of in holy Scripture (the Romans only excepted,) and in briefe so much of Christendome as far exceedeth that which is thereof at this day left. So that at this present if you consider the beginning, progresse, and perpetuall felicitie of this the Othoman Empire, there is in this world nothing more admirable and strange, if the greatnesse and lustre thereof, nothing more magnificent or glorious; if the power and strength thereof, nothing more dreadfull or dangerous: which wondering at nothing but at the beauty of it selfe, and drunk with the pleasant wine of perpetuall felicitie, holdeth all the rest of the world in scorn, breathing out nothing but still bloud and war, with a full persuasion in time to rule ouer all, prefining vnto it selfe no other limits than the vttermost bounds of the earth, from the rising of the Sun vnto the going downe of the same. The causes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the most part so shut vp in the counsils of the great, as that for me to seeke after them, were great folly: yet amongst the rest, some others there be, so pregnant and manifest, as that the blind world taketh therof as it were a generall knowledge, and may therefore without offence of the wiser sort (as I hope) euen in these our nice dayes be lightly touched. The first and greatest, is the iust and secret iudgement of the Almightie, who in iustice deliuereth the hands of these mercilesse miscreants, nation after nation, kingdome vpon kingdome, as the most terrible executioners of his dreadfull wrath, to be punished for their sins: others in the meane while, no lesse sinfull than they, in his mercie enioying the benefit of a longer time, calling them vnto repentance. Then, the vncertaintie of worldly things, which subiect to perpetuall change, cannot long stay in one state, but as the sea is with the wind, so are they in like sort tossed vp and down with the continuall surges and wanes of alteration and change; so that being once grown to their height, they neuer stay not long, but fall again as fast as euer they rise, and so come to nothing: as we see all the great monarchies that euer yet were vpon earth haue done, when their course being run; ouer whom Time now triumpheth, as no doubt at length it shall ouer this so great a Monarchie also, when it shall but then liue by fame, as the others now do. Next to these causes from aboue (without offence be it said) is the small care the Christian princes, especially those that dwelt further off, haue had of the common fate of the Christian common weale, whereof euen the very greatest are to account themselues but as the principall members of one and the same bodie, and haue, or ought to haue, as sharpe a feeling of anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themselues: in stead of which Christian compassion and vnitie, they haue euer, and euen yet at this time are so diuided among themselues with endlesse quarrels, partly for questions of religion (neuer by the sword to be determined) partly for matters touching their own proper state and soueraigntie, and that with such distrust and implacable hatred, that they neuer could as yet (although it haue bin long wished) ioyne their common forces against the common enemie: but turning their weapons one against another (the more to be lamented) haue from time to time weakned themselues, and opened a way for him to deuoure them one after another: whereas with their combined forces (the greedie enemie greatest terror) they might long since not onely haue repressed his furie, and abated his pride, but with small danger and much glorie (God fauoring their so honorable attempts) haue againe recouered from him most of those famous Christian kingdomes, which hee by force against all right holdeth: this day in most miserable subiection and thraldome: many millions of the poore oppressed Christians in the meane time out of the furnace of tribulation, in the anguish of their soules crying in vaine vnto their Christian brethren for reliefe. By ciuill discord the noble countrey of Grecia perished, when as the father rising against the son, and the son against the father, and brother against brother, they to the mutuall destruction of themselues called in the Turke, who like a greedie Lyon lurking in his den lay in wait for them all. So perished the kingdomes of Bulgaria, Seruia, Bosna, and Epirus, with the famous Island of the Rhodes and Cyprus, which were by the Christian princes their neighbors, by whom they might haue easily beene relieued. So the most flourishing and strong kingdom of Hungarie (in the reliques whereof the fortune of the Turkish empire hath longer stucke, than in the conquest of any other kingdome, by it attempted whatsoeuer) diuided in it selfe by the ambition of princes, and ciuile discord, the weaker still

The causes of the greatnesse and increase of the Turkes &

his aid the mighty power of the Turke, is long since for the most part become vnto him a prey; the poore remainders thereof being at this day hardly defended by the forces of the Christian Emperor, and of the Princes his Confederates, seldome times meeting together with such cheerefulnesse or expedition as the necessitie of so great a matter requireth. Vnto which so great a cause of the common decay, may be added the euill choice of our souldiers employed in those warres, who taken vp hand ouer head, out of the promiscuous vulgar people, are for most part vntrained men, seruing rather for shew, and the filling vp of number, than for vse; and in no respect to be compared with the Turkes Ianizaries, and other his most expert souldiers, continually euen from their youth exercised in feats of armes. Not to speake in the meane time of the want of the antient martiall discipline, the wholesome preseruatiue of most puissant armies, which breedeth in the proud Enemie a contempt of the Christian forces, with a full persuasion of himselfe, that he is not by such disordered and weake meanes to be withstood. But to come neerer vnto the causes of the Turks greatnesse, and more proper vnto themselues, as not depending of the improuident carelesnesse, weakenesse, discord, and imperfections of others: first, in them is to be noted an ardent and infinite desire of soueraigntie, wherewith they haue long since promised vnto themselues the Monarchie of the whole world, a quick motiue to their so haughty designes: Then, such a rare vnitie and agreement among st them, as well in the manner of their Religion (if it be so to be called) as in matters concerning their State (especially in all their enterprises to be taken in hand for the augmenting of their Empire) as that thereof they call themselues Islami, that is to say, men of one mind, or at peace among themselues; so as it is not to be maruelled, if thereby they grow strong themselues, and dreadfull to others: ioyne vnto this their courage, conceiued by the wonderfull successe of their perpetuall fortune, their notable vigilancie in taking the aduantage of euery occasion for the inlarging of their Monarchie; their frugalitie and temperatenesse in their dyet and other manner of liuing, their straight obseruing of their antient militarie discipline, their cheerefull and almost incredible obedience vnto their Princes and Sultans; such, as in that point no Nation in the world was to be worthily compared vnto them: all great causes why their Empire hath so mightily encreased, and so long continued. Whereunto may be added the two strongest sinewes of euery well gouerned Commonweale; Reward propounded to the good, and Punishment threatened vnto the offendor; where the prize is for vertue and valour set vp, and the way layd open for euery common person, be he neuer so meanely borne, to aspire vnto the greatest honours and preferments both of the Court and of the field, yea euen vnto the neerest affinitie of the great Sultan himselfe, if his valour or other worth shall so deserue: when as on the contrary part the disloyall or cowardly is to expect from the same soueraigne power nothing but disgrace, death, and torture. And yet these great ones, not contented by such commendable and lawfull meanes still to extend or establish their farre spreading Empire, if that point once come in question, they sticke not in their diuelish policie to breake and infringe the Lawes both of Nations and Nature. Their leagues, grounded vpon the Law of Nations, be they with neuer so strong capitulations concluded, or solemnity of oath confirmed, haue with them no longer force than standeth with their owne profit, seruing indeed but as snares to intangle other Princes in, vntill they haue singled out him whom they purpose to deuoure; the rest fast bound by their leagues, still looking on, as if their owne turn should neuer come, yet with no more assurance of their safety by their leagues, than had the other whom they see perish before their faces. As for the kind law of Nature, what can be thereunto more contrary, than for the father most vnnaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his owne children? and the brother to become the bloudy executioner of his owne brother? a common matter among the Othoman Emperors. All which most execrable and inhumane murthers, they couer with the pretended safety of their State, as thereby freed from the feare of all aspiring competitors (the greatest torment of the mighty) and by the preseruation of the integritie of their Empire, which they thereby keepe whole and entire vnto themselues, and so deliuer it as it were by hand from one to another, in no part dismembered or impaired. By these and such like means is this barbarous Empire (of almost nothing) growne to that height of maiesty and power, as that it hath in contempt all the rest, being it selfe not inferiour in greatnesse and strength vnto the greatest monarchies that euer yet were vpon the face of the earth the Roman Empire onely excepted. Which how farre it shall yet further spread none knoweth, but he that holdeth in his hand all the kingdomes of the earth, and with his word boundeth in the raging sea, so that it can not further passe. Moued with the greatnesse and glory of this so mighty dreadfull an Empire, growne for the most part out of the ruine of the Christian commonweale, with the vtter subuersion of many great and flourishing kingdomes, and wofull fall of many most puissant and mighty princes, not without griefe to be remembred; I long since (as many others haue) entred into the heauy consideration thereof, purposing so to haue contented my selfe with a light view

of

of that which might well be for euer of all good Christians lamented, but hardly or neuer remedied;
vntill that afterwards led with a more earneſt deſire to know the ſtrange and fatall mutations by
this barbarous Nation in former time brought vpon a great part of the world, as alſo ſo much as I
might to ſee ſo great a terroure of the preſent time, and in what termes it ſtandeth with the reſt, I had
with long ſearch and much labour, mixt with ſome pleaſure and mine owne reaſonable contentment,
paſſed through the whole melancholly courſe of their tragicall Hiſtorie: yet without purpoſe euer to
haue commended the ſame or any part thereof vnto the remembrance of poſteritie, as deeming it an
argument of too high a reach, and fitter for ſome more happy wit, better furniſhed with ſuch helpes
both of nature and art as are of neceſſity requiſite for the vndertaking of ſo great a charge, than was
my ſelfe, of many thouſands the meaneſt. Not vnmindefull alſo of that which the Poet (keeping de-
corum) *ſaith in like caſe, though far leſſe matter, of himſelfe:*

Cum canerem Reges & prælia, *Cynthius* aurem
Velit, & admonuit: Paſtorem *Tityre* pingues
Paſcere oportet oues, deductum ducere carmen.

When I did ſing of mighty Kings, or elſe of bloudy warre,
Apollo *pluckt me by the eare, and ſaid I went too farre:*
Beſeemes a Shepheard Titterus, *his fatlings for to feed,*
And for to ſit his rurall ſong vnto his ſlender reed.

Beſides that, ſo many difficulties euen at the firſt preſented themſelues vnto my view, as to ouer-
come the ſame, if I ſhould take the labour in hand, ſeemed to me almoſt impoſſible: for beſide the ſea
and world of matter I was to paſſe through (requiring both great labour and time) full of the moſt
rare example both of the better and worſe fortune in men of all ſort and condition, yeelding more plea-
ſure vnto the Reader, than facilitie to the Writer; I ſaw not any (among ſo many as had taken this
argument in hand) whom I might as a ſure guide or loadſtarre long follow in the courſe of this ſo
great an Hiſtory: many right worthy and learned men (whoſe memory my ſoule honoureth) conten-
ting themſelues to haue with their learned pennes enrolled in the records of neuer-dying Fame, ſome,
one great expedition or action, ſome another, as in their times they fell out; yea, the Turkiſh Hiſto-
ries and Chronicles themſelues (from whom the greateſt light for the continuation of the Hiſtorie
was in reaſon to haue been expected) being in the declaration of their owne affaires (according to
their barbarous manner) ſo ſparing and ſhort, as that they may of right bee accounted rather ſhort
rude notes, than iuſt Hiſtories, rather pointing things out, than declaring the ſame, and that with
ſuch obſcuritie, by changing the antient and vſuall names as well of whole kingdomes, countries, and
Prouinces, as of cities, townes, riuers mountaines, and other places, yea and oftentimes men them-
ſelues into other ſtrange and barbarous names of their owne deuiſing; in ſuch ſort as might well
ſtay an intentiue Reader, and depriue him of the pleaſure, together with the profit he might other-
wiſe expect by the reading thereof; whereunto to giue order, perſpicuitie, and light, would require
no ſmall trauell and paine: Not to ſpeake in the meane time of the diuerſitie of reports in the courſe
of the whole Hiſtorie, ſuch as is oftentimes moſt hard, if not altogether impoſſible to reconcile. Not-
withſtanding all which difficulties, with many others more proper vnto my ſelfe, hauing with long
labour and diligent ſearch paſſed through the courſe of the whole Hiſtorie, and ſo in ſome reaſonable
ſort ſatisfied my ſelfe therein, thought it not amiſſe, as well for the worthineſſe of the matter, as for
the Zeale I beare vnto the Chriſtian Commonweale, and for the ſatisfying alſo of ſome others my good
friends much deſirous of the ſame, to make proofe if out of the diſperſed Workes of many right worthy
men, I could ſet downe one orderly and continuate Hiſtorie of this ſo mighty an Empire, with the
great and fatall mutation or rather ſubuerſion of many right ſtrong and flouriſhing Kingdomes and
States (the proper worke of all mighty riſing Empires, ſtill encreaſing by the fall of others) where-
with this proud Monarchie hath alreadie daunted a great part of the world, being ſo many and
ſo ſtrange, as that moe, or more wonderfull were not euer to be ſeene in any of the greateſt Monar-
chies of antient time or memorie; and ſo together, and as it were vnder one view, and at one ſhew,
lay open vnto the Chriſtian Reader, what I was glad to ſeeke for out of the confuſed Labours of
many: A Worke ſo long and laborious, as might well haue deterred a right reſolute and conſtant
minde from the vndertaking thereof, being as yet to my knowledge not vndergone or performed
by any: Wherein, among ſuch varieties, or more truly to ſay, contrarieties of Writers, I con-
ducted not my ſelfe, as a blinde man lead by his Guide, happely of no better ſight than him-
ſelfe, to tread the ſteppes of this or that one man, going for a while before me, and by and by lea-

uing me again stumbling in the darke: but out of the learned and faithfull works of many, according to my simple iudgment to make choice of that was most probable, still supplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defectiue in the weaker, propounding vnto my selfe no other mark to aime at, than the very truth of the historie; as that which is it self of power to giue life vnto the deadletter, and to couer the faults escaped in the homely penning or compiling therof. Which the better to perform, I collected so much of the history as possibly I could, out of the writings of such as were themselues present, and as it were eye-witnesses of the greatest part of that they writ, and so as of all others best able, most like also to haue left vnto vs the very truth. Such is the greatest part of so much of the historie of the Greeke empire as I haue (for the better vnderstanding of the rising of the Turks in this history set down, gathered out of the doings of Niceras Choniates, Nicephorus Gregoras, *and* Laonicus Chalcocondiles, *all writing such things as they themselues saw, or were for most part in their time, and neere vnto them done. Such are the wonderfull and almost incredible wars betwixt old* Amurath *the second, and his foster childe the fortunat prince of Epirus, of the Turkes commonly called* Scanderbeg, *and by that waiward tyrant at his death together with his kingdome deliuered, as it were by inheritance, vnto his son, the great and cruell Sultan* Mahomet. *all written by* Marinus Barletius, *himselfe an Epirot, and in all those troublesome times then liuing in Scodra, a city of the Venetians ioyning vpon Epirus. Such is the wofull captiuity of the Imperiall city of Constantinople, with the miserable death of the Greeke Emperor* Constantinus Palæologus, *and the fatall ruine of the Greeke empire, written by* Leonardus Chiensis, *Archbishop of Mytilene, being himselfe then present, and there taken prisoner. Such is the lamentable historie of the Rhodes, taken for most part out of* Ia. Fontanus *his three bookes* de bello Rhodio, *a learned man then present, and in great credit with* Villerius *the great Master, at such time as that famous Iland, after it had by him and the other worthy knights of the Order, bin most wonderfully of long defended, was to the great ruth of Christendom taken by the great Sultan* Solyman. *Such is the most tragicall history of* Baiazet, Solymans *youngest son, collected out of the notable Epistles of* Augerius Busbequius, Legationis Turcicæ, *he himselfe then lying embassador for the Emperor* Ferdinand *at Constantinople, and present in* Solymans *campe, at such time as he himselfe in person went ouer with his army into Asia, to countenance his eldest son* Selymus, *who succeeded him in the empire, against his valiant yonger brother* Baiazet, *and beside well acquainted with the great Bassaes,* Achmet, Rustan, Haly, *and others, oftentimes mentioned in the history following. Such is also the history of the taking of the antient city of Tripolis in Barbary from the knights of Malta, by* Sinan *the proud Bassa, written by* Nicholas Nicholay *lord of Arfeuile, present at the same time with the lord of Aramont, then embassador for the French king vnto* Solyman. *So might I say also of the miserable spoile of the fruitfull and pleasant Islands of the Mediterranean, made by* Lutzis Bassa, Solyman *his brother in law, and great Admirall; with the submitting of the Iland of Naxos to the Turks obeisance, written by* Iohn Crispe, *at that time duke of the same Iland. And so likewise of diuers other parts of the history, too long to rehearse. But forasmuch as euery great and famous action had not the fortune to haue in it a* Cæsar, *such as both could and would commend vnto posterity by writing that whereof they might truly say, They were themselues a great part, many right excellent Generals contenting themselues with the honor of the field, and their glory there woon, leauing the honorable fame thereof to be by others reported) for lacke of such most certain Authors, or rather (as I before said) eye witnesses, I gathered so much as I could of that remained, out of the workes of such as being themselues men of great place, and well accquainted with the great and worthy personages of their time, might from their mouths, as from certaine Oracles, report the vndoubted truth of many most famous exploits done both by themselues and others: as might* Pau: Iouius *from the mouth of* Muleasses *king of Tunes, from* Vastius *the great Generall from* Auria *the prince of Melphis,* Charles *the Emperor his Admirall, and such others: or els out of the writings of such as were themselues great trauellers into the Turks dominions, and withall, diligent obseruers of their affairs and state, as were the Physitions* Pantaleon, Minadoie, *and* Leunclauius *(of all others a most curious searcher of their antiquities and histories) vnto which great clerkes, and some others of that learned profession, we may worthily attribute the greatest light & certainty of that is reported of a great part of the Turkish affaires. But these in the course of so long an history failing also (as by conferring the histories hereafter written, together with their histories, is easily to be perceiued) to perfect that I had taken in hand, I tooke my refuge vnto the writings of such other learned and credible authors, as of whose integritie and faithfulnesse the world hath not to my knowledge at any time yet doubted: yea for these few late yeares I was glad out of the German and Italian writers in their owne*

The order of the Authors proceeding in the writing of this historie.

owne language in part to borrow the knowledge of these late affaires: as also from the credible and certain report of some such honorable minded gentlemen of our owne country, as haue either for their honors sake serued in these late wars in Hungary, or vpon some other occasions spent some good times in trauelling into the Turks dominions, but especially vnto the Imperiall citie of Constantinople, the chiefe seat of the Turkish Empire, and place of the great Turks abode: amongst whom, I cannot but deseruedly remember my kind friend and cousin M. Rog. Howe, vnto whose discreet & curious obseruations during the time of his late abode at Constantinople, I iustly account my selfe for many things beholden. In which course of my proceeding, if the Reader find not himselfe so fully satisfied as he could desire, I would be glad by him my selfe to be better informed, as being no lesse desirous to learne the truth of that I know not, than willing to impart to others that little which I know.

Thus much I thought good to set downe, to persuade the Christian Reader of the truth of the history following, wherein he shall find matter enough to wonder at, and no lesse strange than that whatsoeuer it is that is written of the greatest Monarchies of antient time, vnto whom for power and maiestie it yeeldeth little: but so much the more worthy our consideration than they. for that their periods already run, and so their furie ouer past, this in our time so flourisheth, and at this present so mightily swelleth, as if it would ouerflow all, were it not for the mercy of God first, and then by the force of some few of the Christian princes neerest vnto so great a danger, with their so great charge, to their immortall glorie, and benefit of the Christian commonweale, mightily checked and kept within some bounds and compasse. This history for the most part thus, as is aforesaid passed through, and brought to some good perfection, was yet by me againe laied aside, and like enough heuen as an abortiue fruit to haue perished in the birth before it was growne to perfection, had I not, many times fainting in the long and painefull trauell therewith, by my especiall good and honourable friend, Sir Peter Manwood of S. Stephens in the countie of Kent, knight of the honorable Order of the Bath, a great louer and fauorer of learning (and in whose keeping it so for the most part many yeares in safety rested) been still comforted, and as it were againe reuiued, and finally encouraged to take it in hand; and as at first to perfect it; so now againe to continue it: vnto whom (being the onely furtherer, stay, and help of these my labors) thou art for such pleasure as thou findest therein in courtesie beholden, and I for euer bounden. Now, what I for my part haue in this my long trauell performed, I leaue it to thy good discretion to consider, contenting my selfe in so great matter to haue bin willing to haue done something; wishing no longer to liue, than in some measure to be profitable to the Christian common-weale, which long since in my nursing mothers house Lincolne Colledge in Oxford, where I was sometime Fellow, I did purpose to performe, as it should please God in time to giue me means and occasion: In which mind I hope by the goodnesse and mercy of Christ my Sauior so long as I liue to continue. Onely this fauour (to conclude with) I request of thee, that if in this so long and perplexed an history (by piece meale of so many diuersly handled) written by me in a world of troubles and cares, in a place that affoorded no means of comfort to proceed in so great a worke, thou chance to light vpon some things otherwise reported than thou hast elsewhere read them (as I doubt not but thou maiest) not therefore forthwith to condemne what thou here findest, beeing haply taken from a more certaine reporter than was that whereunto thou giuest more credit, or at leastwise not written by me, as meaning in any thing to preiudice thy better Iudgement, but to leaue it to thy good choice in such diuersity of reports to follow that which may seeme vnto thee most true. By which courtesie thou hast already encouraged me to ioyne vnto my former historie a continuation for some few yeares, in this edition, and yet mayst (God giue me life and health) hereafter incourage me to performe some other worke to thy no lesse contentment. So wishing thee all happinesse, I bid thee farewell. From Sandwich the last of March, 1610.

Thine in all dutifull kindnesse,

R. KNOLLES.

A

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE TVRKES, BEFORE THE RISING OF THE OTHOMAN FAMILIE, WITH ALL THE NOTABLE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES AGAINST THEM.

B

C

THE glorious Empire of the Turkes, the present terrour of the world, hath amongst other things nothing in it more wonderful or strange, than the poore beginning of it selfe, so small and obscure, as that it is not well known vnto themselues, or agreed vpon euen among the best writers of their Historics, from whence this barbarous nation, that now so triumpeth ouer the best part of the world, first crept out or tooke their beginning. Some (after the manner of most nations) deriue them from the Troians, led thereunto by the affinitie of the words *Turci* & *Teucri*, supposing (but with what probability I know not) the word *Turci* or Turks to haue bin made of the corruption of the word *Teucri*, the common name of the Troians: as also for that the Turks haue of long

Diuers opinions concerning the beginning of the Turkes.

D

most inhabited the lesser ASIA, wherein the antient & most famous city of TROY sometime stood. No great reason in my deeming; yet giue the authors thereof leaue therewith to please themselues, as well as some others, which dwelling much further off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probabilitie at all; and that with such earnestnes, as if they could not elsewhere haue found any so honorable ancestors. Othersome report them to haue first come out of PERSIA, and of I wot not what city there to haue taken their name: neither want there some which affirme them to haue taken their beginning out of ARABIA, yea & some out of SYRIA, with many other far fet deuices concerning the beginning & name

E

of this people: all seruing to no better purpose, than to shew the vncertaintie thereof. Among others, *Philip* of MORNAY the noble & learned Frenchman, in his worthie worke concerning the trunesse of the Christian religion, seemeth (and that not without good reason) to deriue the Turks, together with the Tartars, from the Iewes, namely from the ten Tribes, which were by *Salmanaser* king of ASSIRIA, in the time of *Oseas* king of ISRAEL, carried away into captiuitie, & by him confined into MEDIA, & the other vnpeopled countries of the North: whose going thither is not vnaptly described by *Esdras*, where among the great hords of the Tartars, in the farthest part of the world Northward, euen at this day are found some, that stil retaine the names of *Dan*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthaly*, a certaine argument of their discent: whereunto also the word *Tartar* or *Tatar*, signifying in the Syrian tongue, remnants or leauings; and the word *Turke*, a word of disgrace, signifying in Hebrew, banished men, seemeth right well

F

to agree. Besides that, in the Northern countries of RVSSIA, SARMATIA, & LYTHVANIA, are found greater store of the Iewish nation, than elsewhere, and so neerer vnto the Tartarians stil the moe: whereunto *Io. Leunclauius* the most curious searcher out of the Turks antiquities & monuments, addeth as a farther coniecture of the discent of those barbarous Northern people from the Iewes, That in his trauell through LIVONIA into LYTHVANIA in the Countrie

2. King. ca. 17. 4. Esdr. cap. 13.

Io. Leunclauius Pandect. cap. 22.

trie neere vnto the metropolitan citie of RIGA, hee found there the barbarous people of the Lettoes, quite differing in language from the other country people of the Curons & Estons, no lesse barbarous than themselues; who had always in their mouths as a perpetual lamentation, which they with dolefull moans daily repeared abroad in the fields, *Ieru, Ieru, Masco Lon:* whereby they were thought to lament ouer IERVSALEM and DAMASCO, as forgetfull of all other things in their antient country, after so many worlds of yeres, and in a desolate place so far distant thence. And *Munster* in his description of LIVONIA, repeating the like words, reporteth, That this rude people being demanded what they meant by these words so often & so lamentably by them without cause vttered: answered, That they knew no more, than that they had bin so of long taught by their ancestors. But to leaue these opinions cõcerning their beginning, so diuers and vncertain, & to follow greater probabilities: as concerning the place from whence they came, it is vpon better ground thought by diuers others, and those of the best Historians, That this barbarous nation which hath of late brought such fatall mutations vpon so great a part, not of Christendome only, but euen of the whole world, took their first beginning out of the bare and cold country of SCYTHIA: induced thereunto both by the authority of the greatest Cosmographers, as by most apparant reasons. *Pomponius Mela* the describer of the world, reckning vp the people neere vnto the great riuer TANAIS (the bounder of EVROPE from ASIA Eastward) amongst others maketh mention of the Turkes, in these words, *Geloni vrbem ligneam habitant. Iuxta Thyrsagetæ Turcæq; vastas syluas occupant alunturq; venando. Tum continuis rupibus late aspera & deserta regio ad Arympheos vsque permittitur:* The Geloni inhabit a city of wood, and fast by, the Thyrsagets & Turks possesse the vast forrests, and liue by hunting. Then, a rough and desart country, with continual rocks, is spaciously extended euen as far as vnto the Arympheians. *Pliny* also in like manner reckning vp the Nations about the fennes of MÆOTIS, agreeing with that *Mela* reporteth, saith, *Deinde, Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Messeniani, Costobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, Tussagetæ, Turcæ, vsque ad solitudines saltuosis conuallibus asperas, vltra quos Arymphei qui ad Ripheos pertinent montes:* Next vnto them, are the Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Messeniani, Costobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, the Thussagets and Turks, vnto the desarts rough with woodie valleys: beyond whom are the Arympheians, which border vpon the Riphean mountaines. And *Ptolomie* in the description of SARMATIA ASIATICA, maketh mention of the Tusci, whom many learned men suppose to haue bin the same nation with the Turks. Vnto which antient testimonies of reuerend antiquitie, adde the manners and conditions of the Turks, their antient attire, their gesture, their gate, their weapons, and manner of riding and fight, their language and dialect, so well agreeing with the Scythians; and a man shall find matter enough sufficient to perfuade him in reason, that the Turkes haue vndoubtedly taken their beginning from the Scythes; whom they in so many things resemble, and with whom of all other nations they best agree.

Sebast. Müster Vniuersalis Cosmograph. lib. 3.

Scythia the originall of the Turkes.

Pom. Mela, lib. 1. cap. vlt.

Plin. secundus, lib. 6. cap. 7.

The great agreement betwixt the Turkes and Scythians.

Now it hath been no lesse doubted also, among the writers of the Turks histories, at what time, and for what causes the Turkes (to the trouble of the world) left their naturall seats in the cold country of SCYTHIA, to seek themselues others in more pleasant & temperat countries more Southerly, than it had bin of their originall beginning. *Blondus* and *Platina* report them, enforced with a generall want, to haue forsaken their natiue Countrie, and followed their better fortune, in the yeare of our Lord 755: with whom also *Segonius* agreeth in the cause of their departure, but not in the time or place whẽ or wherby they departed: for they (as he saith) issued out of their dwelling places in the yere of Grace 844, by the straits of the mountaine CAVCASVS: whereas the other with greater probabilitie suppose them to haue come forth by the Caspian straits: which the Turkes also (as saith *Sabellicus*) affirme of themselues, their ancestors (as they say) being by their neighbors driuen out of the Caspian mountains. Some others there be that report them to haue forsaken their natiue country, neither inforced therunto by necessity, or the power of others; but for their valor sent for by the *Sultan* of PERSIA, to aid him in his wars: vnaduisedly supposing that to haue bin the cause of their first comming out, which indeed hapned long time after, as in the proces of this history shall appeare. But whatsoeuer the aforesaid causes of want, or of the enemies power, might inforce them vnto, a greater power no doubt it was that stir'd them vp, euen the hand of the Almightie, who being the author of al kingdoms vpon earth, as wel those which he hath appointed as scourges wherewith to punish the world, as others more blessed, will haue his worke and purpose

When and for what causes the Turks left their antient and naturall seats in Scythia, to seek others in the Countries more Southerly.

755

844

Sabellicus, Ennead. 9. lib. 2.

A purpose full of Diuine maiestie, to appeare in the stirring of them vp from right small begin-
nings, in the increasing and establishing of their greatnesse and power, to the astonishment of
the world; and in the ruine and destruction of them againe, the course of their appointed time
once runne. As for the difference of the time of their comming forth, before remembred, it
may reasonably be referred to the diuers emotions of that people, who beeing not vnder the
command of any one, but of their diuers gouernors, as the manner of that people was, are not
to be thought to haue come forth all at once, either for one cause; but at diuers times, some
sooner, some later, and that for diuers causes. This people thus stirred vp, and by the Caspian
ports passing thorow the Georgian Country, then called IBERIA, neere vnto the Caspian sea,
first seised vpon a part of the greater ARMENIA, and that with so strong hand, that it is by
B their posteritie yet holden at this day, and of them called TVRCOMANIA; of al other the most
true progenie of the antient Turkes. In which great Countrey they of long vnder their diuers
leaders, in the manner of their liuing most resembling their ancestors, roamed vp and downe
with their families and heards of cattell, after the manner of the Scythian Nomades, their
countrey men, without any certaine places of abode, yet at great vnitie among themselues, as
not hauing much to lose, or wherefore to striue.

Armenia, now called Turcomania, the first seat of the Turks after their first comming out of Scythia.

C

The first kingdome of the Turks erected in PERSIA by *Tangrolipix*, Chiefetaine of the Selzuccian Familie: *with the successe thereof.*

D THis wandring & vnregarded people, but now the terror of the world, thus
first seated in ARMENIA, long time there liued in that wide country, after
their rude and woonted manner, (from which the Turcoman nation their
posteritie in that place, euen at this day, as we said, much differeth not)
and not onely notably defended the Countrey, thus by them at the first
possessed, but still incroching farther & farther, and gaining by other mens
harms, became at length dreadful vnto their neighbors, and of some fame
also farther off: whereunto the effœminate cowardise of those delicate people of ASIA, with
whom they had to do, gaue no lesse furtherance than their owne valour; being neuertheless
an hardie rough people, though not much skilfull or trained vp in the feats of warre.

The fame of these Turks, together with their fortune, thus daily increasing, and the mighty
empire of the Sarasins as fast declining, which vnder their Chaliphs, the successors of the false
E Prophet *Mahomet*, hauing in lesse than the space of two hundred yeares ouerspread not onely
the greatest part of ASIA and AFRICKE, euen vnto GADES & the pillers of *Hercules*; but al-
so passing ouer that strait, had ouerwhelmed almost all SPAINE; & not there staying, but pas-
sing the Pirenei, had pierced euen into the heart of France, and diuers other parts of Christen-
dome, as namely ITALY, SICILY, the famous Island of the RHODES, with many others of the
MEDITERRANEAN: now diuided in it selfe, and rent into many Kingdomes, turned their vi
ctorious arms from the Christians, vpon one another, to the mutual destruction of themselues
& their empire. Amongst other the Sarasin Sultans, which forgetting their obedience to their
great Caliph, tooke vpon them the soueraigntie of gouernment (which admitteth no partner)
was one *Malomet* Sultan of PERSIA, a right great prince, who hardly beset on the one side
F with the Indians, and on the other with the Caliph of BABYLON his mortall enemie, prayed
aid of the Turks his neighbors, who were now come euen to the side of ARAXIS, the bounds
of his empire: vnto which his request the Turkes easily granted, in hope thereby to find a way
for them afterwards to enter into PERSIA, and so sent him 3000 hardie men vnder the lea-
ding of one *Togra Mucalet*, the sonne of *Mikeil* a valiant captaine, and chiefe of the Selzuccian
tribe

Togra, otherwise called Tangrolipix, sent to aid the Persian Sultan.

tribe or familie; whom the Greekes commonly call *Tangrolipix*, and some others, *Seldnck*, or *Sadock*, names (as I suppose) corrupted of the great familie whereof he was descended By the aid of this *Tangrolipix* (for now we wil so call him, as by the name most vsed) *Mahomet* the Persian Sultan ouercame *Pisasiris* the Caliph of BABYLON, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of his Turkish Archers. This war thus happily ended, the Turkes desiring to returne home, requested of the Sultan leaue to depart, and with a safe conuoy to bee conducted vnto the riuer ARAXIS, and there to haue the passage of that swift riuer opened vnto them, which was by the Persians strongly kept by two Castles built vpon each end of the bridge, wherby the riuer was to be passed. But *Mahomet* loath to forgo such necessarie men, by whom he had obtained so great a victory, and purposing to imploy them further in his seruice against the Indians, would by no meanes hearken vnto their request; but seeming therewith to be discontented, commanded them to speake no more thereof, threatning them violence if they should more presume to talke of their departure. The Turks therfore doubtful of their estate, and fearing further danger, secretly withdrew themselues into the desart of CARAVONITIS: and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field against so many millions of the Sarasins, liued as they might, by continuall incursions and roads which they made out of the desart forrest into the countries adioyning: wherewith *Mahomet* greatly incensed, sent out an army of twentie thousand men, vnder the conduct of ten of his best Captaines, against them: who for want of water and other necessaries, doubting to enter the desart, encamped themselues in the side of the forrest, there to consult what course to take. But *Tangrolipix*, who with his Turks lay a great way off in the couert of the woods and mountains, vnderstanding of the comming of his enemies, and of the manner of their lying, thought it best vpon the sudden by night to set vpon the Sarasins and Persians, if so happily hee might ouerthrew them by policie, whom he was not able to encounter in plain battell. Vpon which resolution hauing trauelled 2 days long march in the desart, the third day at night he suddenly set vpon his enemies, lying negligently in their trenches, & by his vnexpected comming brought such a feare vpon them, that they without longer stay betook themselues to flight, euery man shifting for himselfe, without regard of others. This victorie so happily gained, and *Tangrolipix* now (beyond his hope) throughly furnished with armor, horses, and aboundance of all things needfull for the wars, kept the woods and forrests no longer as a theefe or out-law, but shewed himselfe in the open field, where daily repaired vnto him numbers of rogues & vagabonds seeking after spoyle; with many other desperate vallains, who for feare of punishment were glad of such a refuge: so that in a short space his armie was growne to be fifty thousand strong; and so much the stronger, for that they had nothing to trust vnto more than the valor of themselues. Whilest *Tangrolipix* thus increaseth, *Mahomet* inraged with the ouerthrow of his armie, in his furie caused all those ten captains which had the leading thereof, to haue their eyes pluckt out; threatning also to attire all the soldiers that fled out of the battel, in womans apparel, and so disgraced to carry them about as cowards; and withall raised a great armie for the suppressing of the Turks. All things being now in readinesse, he set forward; when by the way the souldiers whom hee had so threatned to disgrace, suddenly fled to the enemy: with whose comming *Tangrolipix* greatly encouraged and strengthned, resolued to giue the Sultan battell. And so boldly comming on, met with him at ISPAHAN a city of PERSIA, where was fought betwixt them a most terrible battell, with wonderfull slaughter on both sides. In the heat of which battel, *Mahomet* vnaduisedly riding to and fro to encourage his soldiers, falling with his horse, brake his necke: vpon which mischance both the armies comming to agreement, by common consent proclaimed *Tangrolipix* Sultan in his stead, and so made him King of PERSIA, and of all the other large dominions vnto that kingdome belonging.

Mahomet the Persian Sultan goeth himselfe with an armie against Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix by consent of the souldiers made Sultan of Persia.

This was the first kingdome of the Turks, begun by the good fortune of *Tangrolipix*, about 214 yeres after their comming out of SCYTHIA, in the yere also of our Lord, 1030, *Constantinus Monomachus* then raigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) in the raign of *Romanus Argirus*, *Constantine* his predecessor. *Tangrolipix* by rare fortune, thus of a meane captain become king of PERSIA, forthwith commanded the garrison which kept the bridge ouer the riuer ARAXIS, to be remooued, and so free passage to be giuen vnto the Turkes his countrymen, at their pleasure to come ouer: who in great multitudes repaired into PERSIA, where they were by the new Sultan well prouided for, & by little & little promoted vnto the greatest

Tangrolipix first Sultan of the Turks.

A greateſt dignities of that kingdome; the Perſians and Saraſins, the antient inhabitants thereof, being by theſe new come gueſts now kept vnder, and as it were troden vnder foot. Together with this kingdome, the Turkes receiued the Mahometane ſuperſtition, from which they before not much abhorred, as men vſing circumciſion: So that hard it is to ſay whether Nation loſt more; the Perſians and Saraſins by the loſſe of ſo great a kingdome; or the Turks, by imbracing ſo great a vanitie.

When the Turks firſt receiued the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Tangrolipix with his Turkes thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of PERSIA, held not himſelfe therewith long content, but made war vpon his neighbor princes, eſpecially againſt *Piſaſiris* the Caliph of BABYLON, whom he in diuers battels ouerthrew; and hauing at length ſlaine him, ioyned his kingdome vnto his owne. After that, he ſent *Cutlu-Muſes* his couſin, with an B armie againſt the Arabians, by whom hee was ouerthrowne and put to flight. But returning by MEDIA, he requeſted of *Stephan* the Greeke Emperonrs Lieutenant, leaue to paſſe with his armie by the confines of his countrie: which his requeſt *Stephan* not onely reiected, but alſo by ſtrong hand ſought to ſtop his paſſage; but ioyning battell with him, was by the Turkes eaſily ouerthrowne, and himſelfe taken. So *Cutlu-Muſes* returning to *Tangrolipix* & recounting vnto him the ſucceſſe of his warres, perſuaded him to turne his forces into MEDIA, as a moſt fruitfull country, and eaſie to be ſubdued. But he highly offended with the ouerthrow giuen by the Arabians, would not hearken vnto him, but raiſing a new armie in hope of better fortune, went againſt the Arabians in perſon himſelfe. *Cutlu-Muſes* in the meane time fearing the Sultans diſpleaſure, fled with his followers and fauourites; and taking for his refuge C PASAR a ſtrong citie of the Chorafmians, reuolted from him; which the Sultan ſeeming not to regard, held on his intended journy againſt the Arabians, by whom hee was alſo put to the worſt, and enforced with diſhonour to returne. After that, he with part of his army beſieged *Cutlu-Muſes*, who by the ſtrength of the place, and valour of the people, for a great while notably defended himſelfe. In the meane time *Tangrolipix*, not vnmindfull what *Cutlu-Muſes* had before ſaid vnto him, concerning the eaſines of the conqueſt of MEDIA (a countrey, as he ſayd, defended but by women) ſent *Aſan* his brothers ſon, ſirnamed the Deafe, with a conueni-
ent army to inuade the ſame: who entring into the frontiers of that prouince, was there by the Emperours lieutenant ouerthrown, and himſelfe with the greateſt part of his army ſlaine. With which loſſe the Sultan rather inraged than diſcouraged, ſent *Habramy Alim* his brother D againe, with an army of an hundred thouſand fighting men: with which ſo great a power the Emperors lieutenant thought it not good to encounter, vntill hee had procured further ayd from the Emperour, eſpecially out of IBERIA; and therefore kept himſelfe with ſuch power as he had, within his ſtrong and fenced places. Which *Alim* perceiuing, & out of hope to draw him vnto battell, roaming vp and downe the Countrey, at laſt beſieged ARZEN, an open rown, but full of rich Merchants, by whom it was (contrarie to his expectation) notably defended for the ſpace of ſixe dayes; vntill that at length the Turkes ſeeing no other way to win it, ſet fire vpon it in diuers places; by force whereof the inhabitants were enforced for ſafeguard of their liues to flie, and to leaue the towne with an infinite wealth to the ſpoyle of the enemie. By this time was *Liparites* Gouernor of IBERIA, come with a great power to the ayd of the E Emperors Lieutenant in MEDIA: whereof *Alim* hauing intelligence, without delay haſted with his armie towards his enemies: and meeting with them a little before night, had with them a cruell fight; wherein the victorie fel vnto the Chriſtians, who had the Turks in chaſe a great part of the night. Neuertheles *Liparites* valiantly fighting in another wing of the battel, was there taken, & ſo carried away priſoner: for whoſe ranſome the Emperor ſent a great ſum of mony, with certain preſents to the Sultan; all which he ſent back againe, & frankly ſet *Liparites* at libertie, wiſhing him neuer to beare armes more againſt the Turks. And with him ſent the Seriph, a man of great place among the Mahumetans, his Embaſſador vnto the Emperor. Who comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, amongſt other things, proudly demanded of the Emperour, to become tributarie vnto the Sultan, and ſo to bee at peace with him for euer: F Which his vnreaſonable demand was by the Emperour with no leſſe diſdaine ſcornefully reiected, and the Seriph ſo diſmiſſed. Which contempt of his Embaſſadour the Sultan taking in euill part, as alſo not a little mooued with the death of his nephew, and loſſe of his armie, with all his power inuaded the Roman prouinces; but being come as far as COIME without any notable harme doing, for that the countrey people hearing before of his comming, had in time conueighed themſelues with their ſubſtance into their ſtrong holds, whereof there

Cutlu-Muſes ſent by Tangrolipix againſt the Turkes.

Cutlu-Muſes rebelleth againſt Tangrolipix.

The Turks Embaſſadour contemned of the Emperor.

Tangrolipix inuadeth the Emperors Dominions.

was great store in those countries; and hearing also that the Greeke Emperour was raising a great power to come against him at CESAREA; not daring to proceed any further, leauing so many enemies behind him, he fretting in himselfe, returned into MEDIA, where finding the people all fled into their strong townes, he layd siege vnto MANTZICHIERT, a citie standing in a plaine champian Countrey, but strongly fortified with a triple wall and deepe ditches. This Citie hee furiously assaulted by the space of thirtie dayes without intermission, but all in vaine, the same being still notably defended by *Basilius* Gouernour thereof, and the other Christians therein. The Sultan wearie of this siege, and about to haue risen, was by *Alcan* one of his chiefe Captaines, perswaded yet to stay one day, for him to make proofe in, what he were able to doe for the gaining thereof: whereunto the Sultan yeelded, committing the whole charge of the assault vnto him. *Alcan* the next day diuiding the Armie into two parts, and placing the one part vpon the higher ground, of purpose with the multitude of their shot to haue ouerwhelmed the defendants; with the other part of the Armie, furnished with all things needfull for the assault, approched to the walls: the Sultan in the mean time, with certaine of the chiefe Turkes, from an high place beholding all that was done. But this so forward a Captaine in the middest of his endeauour lost himselfe, being slaine with a great number of his followers in approching the wall. His dead bodie knowne by the beautie of his Armor, was by two valiant young men that sallyed out of the gate, drawne by the haire of his head into the Citie, and his head beeing forthwith cut off, was cast ouer the wall among the Turks: wherewith the Sultan discouraged, and out of hope of gaining the citie, rose with his army, pretending himselfe with other his vrgent affaires to be called home, and threatning withal, the next spring to returne with greater power, and to do great matters. But not long after, great discord arose betwixt the Sultan and his brother *Habramie Alim*, insomuch that the Sultan sought by diuers meanes to haue taken him out of the way: which *Habramie* perceiuing, fled to his Nephew *Cutlu-Muses*, and ioyning his forces with his, denounced warre vnto the Sultan his brother; who meeting with them not far from PASAR, ouercame them in plain battell, wherein *Habramie* was taken, and presently by the commandement of his brother put to death. But *Cutlu-Muses*, with his cousin *Melech* and 6000 Turkes, fled into ARMENIA; and by messengers sent of purpose, requested of the Emperor *Constantinus Monomachus*, to bee receiued into his protection. But the Sultan with his armie following them at the heeles, they for their more safetie were glad to flie into ARABIA. The Sultan afterwards turning into IBERIA, did there great harme, spoyling the countrey before him: against whom the Emperor sent *Michael Acoluthus*, a valiant captaine. Of whose approch the Sultan hearing, and that he would vndoubtedly ere long giue him battell, (deeming it no great honour vnto him to ouercome the Emperors seruant, but an eternall dishonour to be of him ouerthrowne) retired with his armie backe againe to TAVRIS, leauing behind him one *Samuch* with 3000 Turkes, to infest the frontiers of the Emperors territories: which both he and other the Turks Captaines afterward more easily did, for that *Monomachus* the Emperour hauing prodigally spent the treasures of the Empire, to increase his reuenue, had imposed a tribute vpon the frontier countries of his Empire, woont before to bee free from all exactions; in lieu whereof they were bound to defend the passages from all incursions of the enemie: but now pressed with new impositions, had dissolued their woonted garrisons, and left an easie entrance for the barbarous enemies into the prouinces confining vpon them. Besides that, the Emperors immediately following, and especially *Constantinus Ducas*, abhorring from wars, and giuen altogether to the hoording vp of treasure, gaue little countenance, and lesse maintenance, vnto men of seruice, which in short time turned to the great weakening, and in fine to the vtter ruine of the Constantinopolitan empire. At the same time also the gouernment of the Constantinopolitan empire, by the death of *Constantinus Ducas* the late Emperour, came to his wife *Eudocia* with her 3 sons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Constantinus*, all very yong: whose sex & tender yeres the barbarous nations hauing in contempt, at their pleasure grieuously spoyled the prouinces of the empire, namely MESOPOTAMIA, CILICIA, CAPADOCIA, yea and sometimes as farre as CŒLESIRIA. The report wherof much troubled the Empresse, & gaue occasion for many that loued her not, to say, That so troubled an Estate required the gouernement of some worthie man. Wherefore she fearing lest that the Senate making choice of some other, she and her children should be remoued from the gouernment, thought it best for the preseruation of her state and her childrens, to make choice of some notable and valiant man for her husband, that

Diffention betwixt Tangrolipix and his brother Habramie Alim.

Cutlu-Muses flieth into Arabia.

Couetousnesse and lacke of reward the decay of the Constantinopolitan empire.

Endocia the Empresse contrarie to her oath desireth to marrie.

for

A for her and hers, ſhould take vpon him the managing of ſo weightie affaires. But to checke this her purpoſe (the only remedy of her troubled thoughts) ſhe had at the death of the late Emperor *Conſtantine* her husband, at ſuch time as the ſoueraigntie was by the Senate confirmed vnto her and her ſonnes, ſolemnly ſworn neuer more to marry; which her oath was for the more aſſurance conceiued into writing, and ſo deliuered vnto the Patriarch to keepe. This troubled her more, than to find out the man whom ſhe could thinke worthy of her ſelfe, with ſo great honor. She held then in priſon one *Diogenes Romanus*, a man of great renowne and honourably diſcended; whoſe father hauing married the neece of the Emperor *Romanus Argirus*, and aſpiring to the empire, being conuicted thereof, ſlew himſelfe for feare to be enforced by torments, to bewray his confederates. This *Dogenes* was by the late Emperor *Conſtantine*, for his good ſeruice
B againſt the Scythes (who then much troubled the empire) highly promoted, with moſt honorable teſtimonie in the charters of his promotions, That ſuch honours were beſtowed vpon him, not of the Emperors meere bountie, but as the due rewards of his worthy deſerts. Notwithſtanding after the death of the Emperor, he ſicke of his fathers diſeaſe, and ſwelling with the pride of ambition, ſought by ſecret meanes to haue aſpired vnto the empire: whereof the empreſſe hauing intelligence, cauſed him to bee apprehended and brought in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE, where beeing found guiltie of the foule treaſon, and ſo committed to ſafe keeping, was ſhortly after brought forth to the iudgement ſeat againe, to receiue the heauie ſentence of death. In which wofull plight, ſtanding as a man out of hope and now vtterly forlorne, he mooued all the beholders with a ſorrowfull compaſſion: for beſide that he was a man of exceeding
C ſtrength, ſo was hee of incomparable feature and beautie, adorned with many other rare qualities and vertues anſwerable thereunto: wherewith the Empreſſe mooued with the reſt, or pierced with a ſecret good liking, is hard to ſay, reuoked the ſentence of condemnation ready to haue bin pronounced vpon him, and gaue him pardon. And ſhortly after hauing ſet him at libertie, ſent for him as he was going into CAPADOCIA his natiue countrie, and made him Generall of all her forces, with a full reſolution in her ſelfe to marry him, and to make him Emperor, if ſhe might by any meanes get the writing out of the Patriarchs hand, wherein her oath for neuer marrying againe was compriſed. For the compaſſing whereof, ſhee entred into a deepe deuice ful of feminine policie with one of her Eunuches, whom ſhe purpoſed to vſe as her pander for the circumuenting of the Patriarch. This craftie Eunuch inſtructed by his Miſtreſſe,
D comming to the Patriarch *Ioannes Xiliphilines*, a man both for his place and integritie of life much honored, told him in great ſecret, that the Empreſſe had ſo far ſet her good liking vpon a yong gentleman, a nephew of his called *Barda* (then a gallant of the court) as that ſhe could bee content to take him to her husband, and to make him Emperor, if ſhe might by his holineſſe be perſuaded, that ſhe might with ſafe conſcience do it, and by him be diſcharged of the raſh oath ſhe had vnaduiſedly taken, neuer to marrie againe, whereof hee had the keeping. The Patriarch otherwiſe a contemner of worldly honours, yet mooued with ſo great a preferment of his Nephew, promiſed the eunuch to doe therein whatſoeuer the Empreſſe had deſired, which he accordingly performed. And ſo ſending for the Senators one by one, in whoſe good liking the matter chiefly reſted, he with much grauity propounded vnto them the dangerous eſtate of the
E common-weale, with the troubles daily increaſing, and the continual feare of forrein enemies, not to be repreſſed by the weake hand of a woman, or the authoritie of young children, but requiring (as hee ſaid) the valiant courage of ſome worthy man. After that, he began to finde great fault with the raſh oath which the Empreſs had taken a little before the death of her husband, neuer to marry; and vtterly condemning the ſame, as contrary to the word of God, & vniuſtly exacted of her, rather to ſatisfie the iealous humor of the Emperor her late husband, than for any good of the common-weale: hee in fine perſuaded them, that the vnlawfull oath might be reuoked, and the Empreſs ſet at libertie at her pleaſure, by their good liking to make choice of ſuch a man for her husband, as might better vndertake ſo weightie affaires of the empire, more fit for a man, than for ſo tender a Lady and three young children. The greater part of the
F Senate thus perſuaded by the Patriarch, and the reſt with gifts and promiſes ouercome by the Empreſſe, the patriarch deliuered vnto her the writing ſhe ſo much deſired, and diſcharged her of her oath: whereupon ſhee forthwith calling vnto her, certaine of her ſecret friends, married *Diogenes*, whom ſhe cauſed to be proclaimed Emperour. Now thought *Endocia* after the manner of a woman, to haue had her husband (whom ſhe euen from the bottom of diſpair had exalted

Diogines Romanus of a priſoner, by the Empreſſe made Generall of her armie.

Endocia marrieth Diogenes Romanus, and proclaimes him Emperour.

ted to the higheſt type of honour) in all things loyall and pliant: whereunto he for a while at the firſt forced himſelfe, but afterwards (beeing a man of a proud nature, and haughty ſpirit) became weary of ſuch obſeruance, and began by little and little to take euery day more and more vpon him. And for that the imperiall prouinces in the Eaſt, were in ſome part loſt, and the reſt in no ſmall danger; he, as well for the redreſſe thereof, as for his owne honour, and to ſhew himſelfe an Emperour indeed, and not the ſeruant of the Empreſſe, left the court, and paſſed ouer into ASIA, although it were with a ſmall army and euill appointed: for why, it was no eaſie matter for him to furniſh out the army with all things neceſſarie, which by the ſloth and ſparing of the late Emperours, had, to the great danger and diſhonor of the empire, bin vtterly neglected. Neuertheleſſe the Turkiſh Sultan, who at the ſame time with a great power inuaded the prouinces of the empire, hearing of his comming, and that he was a man of great valour, and doubting what power he might bring with him, retired himſelfe; and diuiding his army, ſent the one part thereof into the South part of ASIA, and the other into the North, which ſpoiled all the countrey before them as they went, and ſuddenly ſurpriſing the citie of NEO-CESARIA, ſacked it, and ſo laded with the ſpoile thereof departed. But the Emperor vnderſtanding thereof, and not a little grieued therewith, drawing out certaine bands and companies of the beſt and moſt readieſt ſouldiers in his army, and with them coaſting the countrey to get betwixt the Turks and home, vſed therein ſuch expedition, that he was vpon them before they were aware, and ſo ſuddenly charging them, brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they betooke themſelues to their heeles, leauing behind them for haſte, their baggage and carriages, with all the priſoners and bootie they had before taken at NEO-CESARIA, and in their late expedition: yet was there no great number of them ſlain, for that the Chriſtians forewearied with long trauel, were not able far to follow the chace. From thence taking his way vnto SIRIA, he ſent part of his armie to MELITENA, and carried himſelfe from ALEPPO, a great booty both of men and cattel. At which time alſo the citie of HIERAPOLIS was yeelded vnto him, where hee ſhortly after built a ſtrong caſtle. But whilſt he there ſtaied, newes was brought vnto him, that the other part of his army which he had ſent away, was ouerthrowne by the Turks; for the reliefe of whom, he roſe with all haſt and marched towards them: but being in number farre inferiour vnto his enemies, hee was by them as hee lay encamped, incloſed round in ſuch ſort, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible for him to haue eſcaped. At which time alſo the gouernour of ALEPPO traiterouſly reuolted from him, and ioyned his forces with the enemy, making now no other reckoning, but aſſuredly to haue taken him. But whileſt the Turks thus dreame of nothing but of a moſt glorious victorie, and were in mind diuiding the ſpoile, the Emperour without ſo much as the ſounding of a trumpet, ſuddenly iſſuing out of his trenches, when they leaſt thought he durſt ſo haue done, and reſolutely charging them home, put them to flight, and had of them a notable victorie, had he throughly proſecuted the ſame. After that, hauing taken diuers towns he came to ALEXANDRIA, in CILICIA, and there all about in the countrey bilited his army, becauſe of the approach of winter, and ſo returned himſelfe to CONSTANTINOPLE. The next ſpring the Turks, according to their vſuall manner inuading the frontiers of the Empire, did much harme about NEO-CESARIA: whereof the Emperor aduertiſed, went thither with his armie, and quickly repreſſing their furie, tooke his iourney to the riuer EVPHRATES, where leauing part of his armie with *Philaretus* for the keeping of thoſe frontiers, he himſelfe retired Northward into CAPADOCIA. But after his departure, the Turks ſeting vpõ *Philaretus*, put him to flight with his garriſons: and taking the ſpoile of the frontiers, entered into CAPADOCIA, waſting all as they went: and afterwards turning into CILICIA, ſacked ICONIVM a rich and populous citie. Whereof the Emperour vnderſtanding at SEBASTIA, made towards them: but hearing by the way that they had ranſackt the citie, and were for feare of his comming already retired, he ſent *Chatagurio* gouernor of ANTIOCH, with part of his armie to MOPSIPHESTIA, to ſtop the Turks of their paſſage. But they in the plaines of THARSVS were before diſtreſſed by the Armenians, and ſtript of all their rich prey: and hearing farther of the approach of the Emperors power, fled by night and ſo eſcaped: which the Emperor vnderſtanding, and hauing now well quieted thoſe prouinces, and the yeare farre ſpent, returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE. But after his departure, the Turks againe inuading the frontier prouinces, he ſent *Manuel Comnenus*, a valiant young man, Generall againſt them; who ſo preuailed, that the Emperor enuiyng at his honor, tooke from him a great part of his armie, and ſent him with a ſmall

The prouinces of the empire ſpoiled by the Turks.

The Turkes diſcomfited by Diogenes the Emperour.

power

A power into SIRIA. But as hee was vpon the way, he was by the Turkes entrapped neere vnto SEBASTIA, and there taken, moſt part of his armie being at the ſame time ouerthrowne and ſlaine: with which loſſe, the Emperour troubled, made great preparation to goe himſelfe in perſon againſt his enemies; who encouraged with the former victorie, ceaſed not to infeſt his territories. In the mean time by great fortune came *Manuel Commenus* home, together with the Turke that tooke him; who being fallen into the diſpleaſure of the Sultan, fled vnto the Emperor with his priſoner, of whom he was honorably entertained. All things now in a readines, for ſo great an expedition as the Emperor had in perſon purpoſed, he ſet forward: and after long trauell hauing paſſed CESAREA, he incamped at a place called CRYAPEGA: where for ſeuere execution done vpon certaine mutinous ſouldiers, one of the legions of his armie
B roſe in mutinie againſt him: whom (for all that) he quickly pacified with the terror of the reſt of his army, which he threatned to turne vpon them if they proceeded to forget their dutie. After that, remouing to THEODOSOPOLIS, he diuided his army, and ſent *Ruſelius* one of his beſt captains, with one part thereof againſt *Chliat*, and another part he ſent to beſiege MANTZICIERTS, retaining with himſelfe the reſt, being of no ſtrength. The Turkes in MANTZICIERTS finding themſelues not able long to hold out, fel to compoſition, and yeelded the citie. But ſhortly after, the ſouldiers left there in garriſon for the keeping thereof, going out to ſeeke for forrage, were by the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed: which the Emperour vnderſtanding, ſent thither one *Nicephorus Bryennius*, with certaine companies to relieue the citie; who encountring with the Turks, and finding himſelfe too weake, ſent vnto the Emperor for aid:
C who not knowing the ſtrength of the enemies, blamed him of cowardiſe, yet ſent vnto him *Nicephorus Baſilacius* with part of his armie; who ioining his forces with *Bryennius*, and giuing the Turkes battell, put them to flight. But following too faſt vpon them vnto their trenches, and *Bryennius* making no great haſt after, he had his horſe ſlain vnder him, and ſo on foot heauily laden with armour, and not able to ſhift for himſelfe, was there taken and brought to the Sultan: who honourably entreated him, and oftentimes queſtioning with him concerning the Emperour, and ſhewing him his owne power, examined him alſo of the Emperours.

Diogenes goeth with a great armie againſt the Turks.

Tangrolipix was now dead, and the Sultan now in field againſt the Emperour, was *Axan* his ſon, a man of great wiſedom & diſcretion; who conſidering the doubtful euent of battel, ſent embaſſadors vnto the Emperor to intreat with him of peace. But hee (perſuaded by ſome of
D his captains, that this motion made by the Sultan for peace, proceeded but of a meere feare and diſtruſt he had in his owne power, or els to gaine time vntill ſome greater ſtrength came) had ſmall regard of the embaſſadors or their meſſage, but proudly willed them to tel their maſter, That if he were deſirous of peace, he ſhould get him farther off, and leaue the place wherin he lay encamped, for him to lodge in: and ſo without other anſwer, comanded them away. Now had the Emperor (as is before ſaid) ſent away part of his army by *Ruſelius* againſt *Chliat*, whom he ſent now for in haſt again: but he hearing of the approach of the Sultan, by the perſuaſion of *Tarchoniates*, one of his captaines, was retired for his more ſafetie backe into the Romane frontiers, leauing the Emperour deſtitute of his helpe. At which time alſo a companie of the Scythians which ſerued in the Emperours campe, reuolted vnto the Turkes; not without
E ſome ſuſpition, that the reſt of their fellows which remained, would ere long do the like: neuertheleſſe the Emperor preſuming of ſuch ſtrength as he had, or carried headlong with his owne fortune, reſolued to giue the Turks battell, and therfore putting his men in order, ſet vpon them. Who ſomewhat troubled with the Emperors ſo ſudden a reſolution, as being yet in ſom hope of peace, yet hauing put themſelues in order of battel, receiued the enemies charge; ſtill giuing a little ground, as men not greatly deſirous either to fight or to flie. This fight continuing long, and the day now declining, the Emperour doubting leaſt the Sultan ſhould ſend part of his army to aſſault his campe (from which he was now drawne ſomewhat far, and had left the ſame but weakly manned) cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, & ſo began orderly to retire himſelfe with them that were about him: which others a far off in the battell beholding, and
F ſuppoſing him to haue fled, began themſelues to flie amaine. Of which ſo ſhamefull flight and ſudden feare *Andronicus* (the ſonne of *Iohn Ducas*, the late Emperour *Conſtantine* his brother, and by him created *Cæſar*, who with his ſonnes ſecretly enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*) was the cauſe: for he commanding a great part of the army, gaue it firſt out vnto ſuch as were about him, that the Emperor fled: and to increaſe the feare, turning his horſe about, fled towards the

Axan the Sultan ſendeth embaſſadors vnto Diogenes for peace.

Iohn Ducas a notable traitor cauſe of the flight of the emperours armie.

campe

camp as fast as he could: after whom al the rest most disorderly followed: which the emperor be holding, and therewith not a little troubled, made a stand, labouring in vaine to haue staid the rest: for now the Turks incouraged with the sudden flight of the Christians, began hardly to pursue them, as men already ouerthrown by the hand of God; whom for al that the emperor with such as yet stood with him, for a space notably resisted. But being forsaken by the greater part of his army, & oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, being wounded himselfe, and his horse slain vnder him, he was with taken al imbrued his own bloud, & the bloud of his enemies, of whom he had wounded and slain many. The Sultan aduertised of his taking, at the first beleeued it not, supposing it rather to haue been some other great man: vntill that he was both by them, whom he had but a little before sent embassadour vnto him, and by *Basilacius* one of his captaines then prisoner with him, assured that it was vndoubtedly hee, which *Basilacius* brought before him to see if he knew him, fel downe prostrate at his feet, as before his dread Lord and Soueraigne. The Emperor brought before the Sultan, and humbling himselfe in such sort as best beseemed his heauie fortune, the Sultan presently took him vp, and thus cheerfully spoke vnto him: *Grieue not noble Emperor* (said he) *at thy mishap, for such is the chance of war, ouerwhelming somtimes one somtimes another: neither feare thou any harme, for I will vse thee not as my prisoner, but as an Emperor*: which he accordingly did, presently appointing him a princely pauillion, with all things answerable to his estate, setting him oftentimes at his owne boord, and for his sake enlarging such prisoners as he required. And after he had thus for certain daies honorably vsed him, and discoursed with him of many things, he concluded a perpetuall peace with him, vpon promise of a marriage to be made betwixt their children, and so with a safe conuoy sent him away with greater honor than was at an enemies hand to haue bin expected. The Emperour in Turkish attire, which the Sultan had bestowed vpon him, comming to THEODOSOPOLIS, there staid the curing of his wounds, & afterwards accompanied with the Sultans embassadors, set forward toward CONSTANTINOPLE. But all was now there changed: for vpon the report of his captiuity, *Iohn* the *Cæsar* with *Psellus* one of the chiefe Senators, and others of the same faction, which alwaies enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*, presently took the imperiall gouernment from *Eudocia* the Empresse, and thrusting her into a monasterie which she had built neere to PROPONTIS, set vp *Michael Ducas* her eldest son, Emperour, in stead of *Diogenes*: whose simplicity, *Cæsar* his vncle abusing with the rest, did now what they list. And hearing that *Diogenes* was now (contrary to their expectation) set at libertie by the Sultan, and comming towards the emperiall city, sent out letters euery way in the new Emperors name, vnto all the gouernours of the prouinces whereby he was to passe, not to receiue him as Emperour, or to do him any honor: which *Diogenes* vnderstanding, staid at the castle of DOCIA, whither some of his friends with such power as they were able to make, resorted vnto him. Against whom, *Cæsar* with the contrary faction first sent his son *Constantine*, and after that *Andronicus* his eldest sonne, both *Diogenes* his mortall enemies, with a great army: by whom *Diogenes*, with his friends and followers, were ouerthrowne and discomfited. *Diogines* himselfe flying to the citie of ADANA, was there hardly besieged by *Andronicus*, and in the end glad to yeeld himselfe, vpon condition, that hee should resigne the empire, and so for euer after to lead a priuate life. For whose safetie, certaine of the chiefe of the clergie sent of purpose from *Michael* the Emperor, gaue their faith: so *Diogenes* all attired in black, yeelded himselfe to *Andronicus*; by whom he was brought to COTAI, then the metropoliticall citie of PPHRIGIA, there to expect what further order should be taken for him from the court: during which time he fell sicke, being (as many supposed) secretly poisoned. But whilst he there lay languishing, an heauier doome came from the young Emperour, That he should haue his eies put out: which was forthwith in most cruell manner done; the clergie men that had before for his safetie gaged their faith, crying out in vaine against so horrible a cruelty. Thus depriued of his sight, he was conueyed into the Island of PROTA, where his eies for lack of looking to, putrifying, and worms breeding in them, with such an odious smel as that no man could abide to come nigh him, he in short time after died, when he had raigned three yeares, eight monethes. All which miserie was thought to haue happened vnto him through the malice of *Cæsar*, without the knowledge of the youug Emperour his nephew.

Axan hearing of the miserable end of the late Emperor *Diogines*, was therwith much grieued and the more, for that the league which he had to his good content so lately made with him,

Diogenes the Emperor taken by the Turkes.

Eudocia the Empresse deposed by the traitor Iohn Ducas Psellus, and others.

Diogines the Emperor taken prisoner by Andronicus.

The Miserable death of Diogenes the Emperor

Axan the Sultan seeketh to reuenge the death of Diogenes.

was

A was thereby come to nought: wherfore in reuenge thereof, he with great power inuaded the imperiall prouinces; not for ſpoile & booty only, as in former time, but now to conquer and to hold the ſame. Againſt whom, *Michael* the Emperor ſent *Iſaac Comnenus* his Lieutenant, with a great army: who meeting with the Turks, & ioyning battell, was by them ouerthrown with all his armie, and taken priſoner; and glad afterwards for a great ſumme of mony to redeeme himſelfe. After which ouerthrow, the Emperor ſent his vncle *Cæſar* with another army againſt them, who was by *Ruſelius*, that had before reuolted from the Emperour, ouerthrowne at the riuer SANGARIVS, and taken priſoner; whom he for all that, ſhortly after ſet at libertie againe, and ioyning with him againſt the Turks, were both together by them diſcomfited and taken priſoners, but afterwards redeemed; *Cæſar* by the Emperour, and *Ruſelius*
B by his wife. This *Ruſelius* was a notable traitour, who ioyning with the Turks, did what hee liſt in the prouinces of the empire in the leſſer ASIA: for the repreſſing of whom, the Emperor ſent *Alexius Comnenus*, a young man, but verie politick and couragious; who ſecretly practiſing with the Turks that were great with *Ruſelius*, had him at laſt by them for a ſum of money betraied into his power: who forthwith ſent him to CONSTANTINOPLE to the Emperor, by whom he was impriſoned, but afterward ſet at libertie and employed againſt *Bryennius* and his brother, then vp in rebellion againſt the Emperour.

But to come neerer to the Turkiſh affaires. *Cutlu-Muſes* with his couſin *Melech* and o-
C thers, were for feare of *Tangrolipix* their couſin fled into ARABIA, as is before declared, now in the beginning of the raigne of *Axan*, returned: and as the enuious competitors of his kingdom, hauing raiſed a great power of their friends and partakers, were now ready to haue tried the matter with him by plaine battell. Againſt whom alſo, the Sultan on the other ſide had brought into the field his whole forces, and was now likewiſe ready to haue incountred them neere vnto the city of ERES. But whilſt the Turks thus diuided, ſtood ready to deſtroy themſelues, the Caliph of BABILON (from whom though the Turks had taken all temporal ſoueraignty, yet in matters of religion ſtill held him in great reuerence and eſteem, as their chiefe Biſhop, and the ſucceſſor of their great Prophet) conſidering that nothing could be more dangerous to his ſect and religion, than that ciuil diſcention, the late confuſion and vtter ruine of the Saraſin empire, and authority of the Caliphs; and fearing the like effect in theſe new Saraſins, now the chiefe ſtay of the Mahometan ſuperſtition: ſetting aſide al pontifical formality,
D whereby he was bound not to go out of his own houſe, came with all ſpeed, euen as the armies were now ready to ioyn battell, and thruſting himſelfe into the middeſt betwixt them, what with the reuerence of his perſon, what with his effectuai perſuaſion, wrought ſo much, and preuailed ſo far with both parties, that they were content to lay down their weapons, and to ſtand to his order, and iudgment: which was, That *Axan* the Sultan ſhould ſtil inioy his kingdom and territories, whole and entire vnto himſelfe as he did: and that *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſons, aided by him, and ſo inuading the prouinces of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, ſhould thereof ſubdue ſo much as they could vnto themſelues, and to be thereof accounted the only Lords and gouernors: which order as it was vnto the Turks, and for the maintenance of the
E Mahometan ſuperſtition, very wholſome and commodious, ſo was it vnto the Chriſtian commonweale and religion moſt dangerous and hurtful, as in proceſſe of time by proofe it appeared. For by this mean, in ſhort time after, *Cutlu-Muſes* with his couſins and ſons ſubdued all MEDIA, with a great part of ARMENIA, CAPADOCIA, PONTVS, and BYTHINIA and ioa great part of the leſſer ASIA. By the aid of this *Cutlu-Muſes*, and the fauor of the ſoldiers *Nicephorus Botoniates* aſpiring vnto the empire of CONSTANTINOPLE, diſplaced his maſter the Emperor, *Michael Ducas*, after he had raigned ſix years and ſix moneths, and in the habit of a Monke thruſt him into an Abbey: which vſurper by the iuſt iudgement of God, was at length requited euen with the ſame meaſure, & in like manner ſerued by *Comnenus*; who thruſting him out, ſucceeded himſelfe in the empire. Much it was that this *Cutlu-Muſes*, with his ſons and kinſmen did for the inlarging of the Turkiſh empire, by the helpe of the great
F Perſian Sultan: whoſe forces, together with their own, in diuers countries cõducted by theſe worthie leaders his nigh kinſmen, & doing great matters, gaue occaſion for themſelues to be accounted Sultans, though indeed they were none, neither their names ſuch as are by ſom antient writers, and others of later time alſo reported; but vnto the Turks themſelues by thoſe names, either for Sultans, vnknown. Out of theſe great cõmanders, all born of the Selzuccian familie,

Cutlu-Muſes with his ſonnes and kinſmen take vp armes againſt Axan the Sultan.

A moſt hurtfull order for the Chriſtian commonweale.

The ground of the errour of diuers writers about the ſucceſſors of Tangrolipix, otherwiſe of them called Sadoch.

family, hath *Aithonus*, and others following his report, deriued their *Dogrisla*, *Aspasalemus*, *Me-* G
leclas, and *Belchiaroc*, whom they suppose to haue orderly succeeded *Zaaoc*, otherwise called
Tangrolipix, in the Turkish empire, and to haue done great matters: whereas both by the re-
port of the Turkes themselues, & the relation of the Greeks, it appears plainly, *Axan* (more
truly called *Ax-han*, that is to say, the White king) to haue beene the son of *Tangrolipix*, and to
haue succeeded him in the empire: and that by him the emperor *Diogenes* was taken, and not
by *Aspasalemus* as they vainely imagine. As for *Aspasalemus*, whom the Turks by that name
know not either any thing of his doings, it seemeth to haue beene a name corrupted of *As-*
pam Sallarius, the brother of *Tangrolipix* and *Habrami*, and not his sonnes son as they would
haue it. In like manner *Meleclas* also seemeth to haue been forged of *Melech* the son of *Habra-* H
mi, *Tangrolipix* his brother, and not of *Aspasalemus*, as some without any good ground report.
Whom they finding to haue beene all great men in the Selzuccian family, with some others
also, haue both corrupted their names, and giuen vnto them an imaginarie soueraigntie and
succession in the Turks first empire, such as beside that the Turks themselues acknowledge
not, is easily to be refelled out of the histories of the Greeks, who had with them still much
to do. Wherefore leauing those supposed princes of the Turks, with their imaginarie suc-
cession, and doings, vnto the authors thereof, following more certainties, to returne again to
the course of our historie. *Axan* the Sultan at the same time that he had by the mediation of
the Chaliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his cousin *Cutlu-Muses*; to increase
the honour of his nation and the bounds of his empire, gaue vnto *Ducat* and *Melech*, two of
his nigh kinsmen, the gouernement of DAMASCO and ALEPPO, with that part of SIRIA I
which ioyneth vnto them, of purpose that way to incroch vpon the Ægyptian Chaliph, who
then had vnder his iurisdiction, all, as far as LAODICIA in SIRIA; yet not with so large pri-
priuiledge as had *Cutlu-Muses*, vnto whom and his posteritie he had yeelded the absolute
honour of a Sultan or King, ouer such conntries and prouinces as they should win from the
Christians: but vnto these others his kiusmen, he gaue the gouerment of the aforesaid cities
of DAMASCO and ALEPPO, in the frontiers of his dominion in SIRIA, conditionally that
that they should still remaine his vassals, and hold of him as of their soueraigne, whatsoeuer
they had, who neuertheless in short time mightily preuailed vpon the Egyptian, stil increa-
sing the Turkish territorie with the losse of the Sarasins, whose name together with their em-
pire, was now by the Turks almost quite driuen out of ASIA. K

But these proud branches of the Turkish Empire, thus ouerspreading the lesser ASIA,
with the greatest part of SIRIA, were in short time after by the mercie of God, and the va-
lour of the most Christian and most religious princes of the West, cut shorter, and brought
againe into some better order. The full discourse whereof, worthy eternall memorie, by
others inrolled in the antient records of fame, I purpose not at large to follow, but in breif to
touch, for the orderly continuation of the present historie, hasting to the doings of this vi-
ctorious nation of latter times, wherein we are to make a longer stay, as more pertinent vnto
the dangerous estate of the present time.

Peter a French Hermit goeth on pilgrimage to Ierusalem.

It fortuned that whilest *Cutlu-Muses* and his sons, supported by the Sultan *Axan* their kins-
man, thus mightily preuailed against the Christians in the lesser ASIA on the one side, and L
Melech with his cousin against the Egiptian Caliph in SIRIA on the other: that one *Peter* a
French Hermite mooued with a deuout zeale, according to the manner of that time, went to
visit the sepulchre of our Sauior, with the other holy places at IERVSALEM: who comming
into SIRIA, thē for the most part possessed by the Turks, & Sarasins, diligently noted by the
way as he trauelled, the maners & fashions of these barbarous nations, their gouernmēt, their
cities, their power and strength; but aboue all, the grieuous miseries of the poore oppressed
Christians, that there liued in most miserable thraldom among them, without hope of releas:
al which, he in the habit of a poore pilgrim, at liberty safely viewed, in the midst of these mis-
creants, being withall a little low hard fauoured fellow, & therefore in shew more to be con-

The description of Peter the Hermit.

temnd than feared: yet vnder such simple & homly feature lay vnregarded a most subtil sharp M
& pearching wit, fraught with discretion and sound iudgment, stil applying to some good vse
what he had in his long & painful trauel most curiously obserued. He commeth to IERVSA-
LEM, & performing his deuotions there, saw the grieuous misery of the poore deuout Chri-
stians, so greatly & heauy, as that greater or more intollerable could none be: wherwith not

a little

A little grieued, he entred into a deepe discourse thereof with *Simon* the Patriarke and Abbot of the monasterie of the Christians (there before built by certaine Italian Merchants) and with the master of the Hospitalers, by whom he was fully informed thereof, as of whatsoeuer else he required. After much graue conference, it was at length agreed vpon amongst them, that the Patriarke and the grand Master, should in their own, and the names of the other oppressed Christians, write their letters vnto the Pope & the other Christian Princes, concerning their miseries; & to craue their aid for the recouerie of those holy places out of the hands of those cruell Infidels: of which letters the deuout Hermit promised himself to be the trustie carrier, and of their petitions the most carefull soliciter. Whereupon the Patriarke and grand Master, in the name of the poore oppressed Christians wrot their letters vnto this effect:

B *We the citisens of the holy Citie, and countreymen of Christ Iesus, dayly suffer those things which Christ our King suffered but once, in the last dayes of his mortalitie. Wee are dayly buffeted, scourged, and pierced: euery day some of vs are brained, beheaded, or crucified. We would flie from citie to citie, vnto the remotest parts of the earth, and remoone out of the middle of that land where Christ our Sauior wrought our redemption, to lead a poore exiled and vagrant life; were it not impietie to leaue the Land (sacred with the b rth, doctrine, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Sauiour) without inhabitants and Priests; and that there should first lacke such as would indure death and wo-raome, than such as wo-ld inflict the same; and that there should not be which would willingly die for Christ, as in battell, so long as there were any that would fight against them. These things truly wee most miserably suffer: yet was there a time when as our ancestors feared no such thing, either to themselues or their posteritie.*

C *And now perhaps the Christian kingdomes of the West line likewise without the least suspicion of feare: but let them be moued by our example & testimony. The strength of the Turks is daily increased, & ours diminished: The continuall gaining of new kingdomes giueth them courage: They haue alreadie deuoured the whole world, in hope. The forces of the Turks are fiercer and stronger than the forces of the Sarasins, their policies deeper, their attempts more desperat, their endeauors greater, and their successe fortunater. Yet haue the Sarasins attempted both Romes: they haue besieged Constantinople, and haue wasted not onely the sea coasts of Italie, but euen the heart of the land also. Then why should the kingdomes of the West presume themselues to stand in safetie and out of all perill, when as the ch.ese fortresses of the worla haue beene so indangered? What may the rest of Christendome promise vnto it selfe, seeing that*

D *Ierusalem (the seat and spectacle of the Christian Religion) hath beene besieged, taken, sacked, rased, and triumphed vpon? Seeing that of the Christian profession remaine but the poore and weake rel ques, i.s comparison of the antient whole entire bodie? This land, which is dayly besprinkled with our bloud, yea the bloud it selfe crieth out for reuenge. And we your most humble suppliants, prostrate at your feet, call vpon the helpe, aid, mercie, faith, and religion, of you most blessed Father, of the Kings, Princes, and Potentates; Christians not in name and profession onely, but in heart, soule, and sprit. Before the tempest thunder, before the lightning fall vpon you, auert from you and your children the storme hanging ouer your heads: defend vs your poore suppliants, deliuer your rel.gion from most wicked and accursed s.ccrie. You shall in so doing deserue immortall fame, and God shall requite your so great valour in this world with terrestriall kingdomes, and in the world to come with eternall blisse, whose sacred in-*

E *heritance you shall haue defended from the rage of hell.*

The Letters of Simon Patriarke of Ierusalem, and of the graund Master of the Hospitaleis, vnto the Pope and other Christian Princes, in the behalfe of the oppressed christians in Ierusalem.

Rome and Constantinople, which was also called Noua Roma, or new Rome.

With these letters, and plentie of other secret instructions, the deuout hermit returning into Italie, and comming to Rome, deliuered his letters vnto *Vrban* the second of that name, then Pope, with a ful discourse of the miseries of the Christians vnder the Turkish thraldom, which he had seene at Ierusalem and other places as he trauelled; requesting his holy care for the redresse thereof: with whom he so preuailed, that shortly after, hee calling a Councell at Claremont in France, among other things, propounded the miserie of the poore oppressed Christians at Ierusalem, as an especiall matter to be considered of. And hauing caused the aforesaid letters, directed vnto him and the other Christian Princes, to be openly read in the

F Councell, whereunto three hundred and ten Bishops were then out of diuers parts of Christendome assembled, with the Embassadors of all countries, much moued the whole assembly to compassion: at which time also the hermit (whose flowing eloquence fully counteruailed what wanted in his feature, standing vp in the midst of the Councell, deliuered his message in the name of the afflicted Christians, with their heauie groanings and teares: which as they could

The councell of Claremont in France.

could not be in letters expreſſed, ſo were they not hardly by the religious hermit (as by him G
who hauing but lately ſeene both the miſerie of the men, and deſolation of the places, and at the heart touched with the griefe thereof) ſo liuely repreſented, as that it mooued the whole aſſemblie with the like ſimpathie of heauineſſe and griefe. Which the Pope perceiuing, tooke thereupon occaſion to enter into a large diſcourſe concerning that matter, with many effectuall reaſons perſuading the Fathers and Princes there preſent, of the neceſſitie of ſo religious a Warre to be taken in hand, for the deliuerance of their oppreſſed brethren out of the thraldome of the Infidells; and now as well with their preſent Decree, as afterwards at their returne home into their Countreys, by all meanes to further the ſame. Which notable perſuaſion, with the heauie complaint of the Hermit, and the equitie of the Cauſe, ſo much mooued the whole Councel, and the reſt there preſent, that they all as men inſpired with one H
Spirit, declared their conſent by their often crying out, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, God willeth it, God willeth it: which words ſo then vttered by way of applauſe, were in the great and moſt ſacred expedition following, much vſed of the deuout Chriſtians, as the fortunate ſignall of their cheerefull forwardneſſe, euen in their moſt dangerous enterpriſes. Strange it were to tell, and hardly to be beleeued (but that the antient Hiſtories beare witneſſe of the like) how farre in ſhort dayes ſpace the report of this religious decreed warre was by flying Fame diſperſed.

An expedition agreed vpon by the Councel, for the relief of the Chriſtians oppreſſed in the Holy land.

The Councell diſſolued, and the reuerend Fathers returning euerie man home into his owne countrey, it pleaſed God by their effectuall perſuaſions ſo to worke with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, and people in generall, that in all countries and Prouinces in Chriſtendom, I
were ſhortly to be ſeene men of all ſorts in great number, with red Croſſes on their breſts (the cogniſance of that ſacred expedition) readie of themſelues to ſpend both life and goods for the defence of the Chriſtian Religion, and recouerie of the Holy Land. The number of whom is of diuers diuerſly reported, but of moſt ſuppoſed to haue been three hundred thouſand fighting men: Of whom the chiefe Commanders were, *Godfrey* Duke of Lorrain, with his two brethren, *Euſtace* and *Baldwin*, all of the honourable Houſe of Buillon; *Hugh* ſyrnamed the Great, brother to *Philip* then the French King; *Raymond* and *Robert* Earles of Flanders; *Robert* Duke of Normandie, *William* the Conquerors ſonne; *Stephan de Valoys* Earle of Chartiers; *Ademar* Biſhop of Podie, the Popes Legat; and *Peter* the Hermit, not to be numbred amongſt the leaſt, as chiefe author of this moſt famous expedition: vnto whome manie K
other honourable Princes ioyned themſelues, as partakers of their trauels, though not with like charge.

The chiefe commanders of the Chriſtians in their expedition into the Holy Land.

The firſt that ſet forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter Senſanier* a noble gentleman, with a great band of men: not long after whom followed *Peter* the Hermit, with fortie thouſand moe; who both trauelling thorow Germanie, Hungaria, and Bulgaria, were glad oftentimes, eſpecially in the further part of Hungarie and Bulgaria, to open themſelues a way with the ſword; and ſo with much labour, and no leſſe loſſe, came at length to Conſtantinople: where they were not greatly welcome vnto the Emperour *Alexius Comnenus*; who guiltie vnto himſelfe of the vnlawfull meanes whereby he had extorted the Empire from *Nicephorus* his predeceſſour, had that expedition of the Chriſtians into the Eaſt, in diſtruſt, as purpoſed againſt himſelfe: vntill that fully reſolued to the contrarie, by the Hermit and others; L
and that a farre greater power was comming after, for the inuaſion of the Turkes, and recouerie of the Holy Land; he was content to relieue them now wearie of their long trauell: and afterward to make roome for them that were to come, ſhipped them ouer the ſtrait of Boſphorus into Aſia; who marching forward into Bithynia, encamped their Armie in the countrey not farre from the Citie of Nice. In the meane time *Godfrey* with his brethren, and diuers other Princes that had ioyned themſelues vnto him, with the Germaines and Loranois, and the greateſt part of the Armie, followed the ſame way that the Hermit had taken before him. At which time alſo *Hugh* the French Kings brother, with the Legare, the two *Roberts* (the one Duke of Normandie, and the other Earle of Flanders) and the reſt of the French M
Commaunders, paſſing ouer the Mountaines into Italie, came to Rome, with a wonderfull great Armie: where taking their leaue of the Pope, becauſe they would be leſſe troubleſome vnto the Cities and Countreys whereby they were to paſſe, they diuided their great Armie into three parts; whereof the one part went to Brunduſium, and the other to Bary, and the third

A third to Hydruntum, vnto whom also *Bohemund* one of the great Princes of Apulia, joyned himselfe with twelue thousand good souldiers that followed him. From these three ports the Christian armie departing, and crossing the Adriaticke, arriued in safetie at Dirrachium, and nigh thereabout vpon the coast of Dalmatia: from whence they trauelled by land thorow Macedonia, to Constantinople; were they met with the Duke *Godfrey* and the rest of the Armie: whom also at the first, *Alexius* the Emperor is reported to haue but coldly entertained, as jealous of his owne estate; vntill that better persuaded of their designements and good meaning towards him, confirmed by many rich Presents sent vnto him by these strange Princes, he joyned with them in league: wherein it was agreed, That the Emperor during the time of this expedition should furnish them with new supplies of men, armour, victuals, and whatsoeuer else they should want: in regard whereof, the Princes on the other side promised to restore againe vnto the empire, what prouinces, countries, or cities they should happily gain out of the hands of the Turks and Sarasins, the Citie of Ierusalem onely excepted: which agreement was afterward on the suspicious Emperors part but slenderly performed. Neuertheless this league so made, hee granted them passage, and so transported them ouer the strait into Asia: only *Bohemund*, for an old grudge betwixt the Emperour *Alexius* and his father, would not come to Constantinople, but marching with his armie thorow the vpper Mysia and Thracia, came sooner than any man had thought, vnto the strait of Hellespontus, and so passed.

Godfrey duke of Buillon, and the other Christian Princes, meete together at Cõstantinople.

Now had *Gualter*, and the Hermit *Peter*, with their armie, lien two moneths in the countrey about Nice, expecting the comming of the rest of the Christian Princes: for why, they thought it not good before their comming to attempt any thing against the enemie, whome they knew to lie not farre off verie strong. But the common souldiers wearie of so long lying, and nought doing, and pinched with some wants; and withall disliking of *Gualter* their chiefe Commander, and the Hermit *Peter*, (of whose integritie and holinesse they had a greater opinion, than of his prowesse and direction) rose vp in mutinie, and displacing *Gualter*, made choice of one *Raymund* a valiant Germaine Captaine, for their Generall: by whose conduct they tooke Exorgum, a towne of purpose forsaken of the Turks. For they long before vnderstanding what a tempest of warre was growing vpon them out of Europe, sought by all meanes to cut off these that were alreadie come ouer, as the forerunners of a greater Armie following; and therefore had left them this Towne, as a bait to traine them out of their Trenches. And after that the Christians were thus possessed of the Towne, hauing layd certaine strong ambushes, they draue out certaine heards of cattell the more to allure them: all which certaine companies of the Christians brought in without any losse, the Turks stil winking thereat. With which bootie the Christians encouraged, went out three thousand of them to take in a little towne not farre off; who were by the Turks cut off and slaine euerie mothers sonne, as they were about to haue diuided the spoyle. Which ouerthrow reported into the towne, discouraged euen the chiefe commanders of the armie, so that they resolued no more to trie the fortune of the field, before the comming of their friends. Neuertheless the common soldiers condemning them of cowardise, chose them a new Generall, one *Godfrey Burel*, whom they now requested not, but enforced to go out to reuenge the death of their fellows. Which their rashnesse not long after turned to their owne destruction: for ten thousand of them going out of Exorgum, to forrage the countrey, were by the Turkes intrapped, and almost all slaine, except some few, which by speedie flight escaped. The Turkes prosecuting their victorie, layd hard siege to them in the towne also, vntill they had partly with famine, and partly with the sword consumed the most part of them. The Hermit with the poore remainder of his armie tooke his refuge to Cinite, a towne not farre off, before abandoned by the Turks; where with much adoo he defended himselfe vntil the comming of Duke *Godfrey* and the rest of the Princes.

Cutlu-Muses the Turke was now dead, hauing left vnto his son Sultan *Solyman* many large countries and prouinces, altogether gained from the Christians in Asia, whom he held in great subiection and thraldome. This warrelike Prince hauing discomfited and almost brought to nought the hermits forces, was no lesse careful for the withstanding of the great army following: which now being come into Bithynia, & lying before Nicomedia, remouing thence, laid siege to the city of Nice, called in antient time Antigonia, of *Antigonus*, the son of *Philip* that built it; and afterwards Nicea, of *Nicea* the wife of King *Lysimachus*. In this city dwelt many

Nice besieged by the Christians.

deuout Greeks, Christians; but in such thraldome vnto the Turks, that they could not do any G
thing for the deliuerie of themselues. This siege indured longer than the Christian Princes
had at the first supposed: who although they to the vttermost of their power forced the citie
on three sides, yet was it still notably defended, new supplies stil comming from the Turks by
the lake of Ascanius ioyning vpon the other side of the Citie. But after that the Christians,
possessed of the lake, began on that side also to lay hardly vnto the citie, the Turkes discoura-
ged, and seeing themselues beset round with their enemies, yeelded vp the citie the fift of Iu-
1097 lie, in the yeare 1097, after it had been fiftie days besieged. But whilest the Christians thus lay
at the siege, the Turks assailed that quarter of the campe where the Legat lay; by whom they
were notably repulsed, and with great losse inforced to retyre vnto the mountains. In this Ci- H
tie, amongst the rest of the Turks, was taken *Solymans* wife, with two of her children, whome
the Princes sent prisoners to Constantinople. This city so woon, was according to the agree-
ment before made, restored vnto *Alexius* the Emperour, whose fleet had in that siege done
good seruice, by taking the lake from the Turks.

The city of Nice thus won, the Christian Princes remoouing thence with their armie, and
marching thorow the countrie came the fourth day after vnto a riuer which watred many rich
pastures: where as they were about to haue incamped, for the commodiousnesse of the place,
and refreshing of the armie, suddenly news was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay,
now busie in casting vp his trenches, That the Turkes with a great armie were readie euen at
hand to charge him. For *Solyman* hauing raised a great power of his owne, and aided by the
Sultan of Persia his kinsman, was now come with an armie of 60000 strong to giue the Chri- I
stians battell: of whose approch *Bohemund* aduertised, left the fortifying of his trenches, and
putting his soldiers in array, set forward to meet him; sending word to the rest of the Princes
that lay a far off, to be readie as occasion should require, to relieue him. These two armies con-
A cruell battell fought betwixt the Turkes and the Christians. ducted by their most resolute chieftaines, meeting together, ioyned a most fierce and terrible
battel, where in a short space the Turks lay slaine vpon heaps, in such sort that they serued the
Christians in stead of bulwarks. But whilest *Bohemund* thus preuaileth in the battel, certain of
the Turks horsemen wheeling about, brake in to *Bohemunds* camp (not as then altogether forti-
fied, & but slenderly manned) where among the women, and other weake persons there left,
they raised a great tumult & outcry, to the great appaling of them that were fighting in the bat-
tel: which *Bohemund* perceiuing, withdrew himselfe with certain companies vnto the campe, K
from whence he with great slaughter repulsed the enemie. But returning again into the battel,
he found there a great alteration: for his soldiers whom before he had left as it were in posses-
sion of a most glorious victorie, were now so hardly laid vnto by the Turks, as that they were
readie to haue turned their backes and fled. Neuertheless by his comming in, the battel was
notably restored, and again made doubtful: when the enemie perceiuing how much the assaul-
ting of the campe had troubled the Christians in battell, sent out certain troupes of horsemen
again to assault the same; and had not failed vndoubtedly to haue taken it, being as aforesaid
not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French Kings brother come in good time to the rescue:
who comming in with 30000 horsemen, after hee had relieued the campe, entring directly
into the battell, was notably incountred by a squadron of fresh soldiers of the Turks, by them L
of purpose reserued for such euent. There began a battell more terrible than the first, with
most doubtfull victorie: but at the length the Turks wearie of the long and cruell fight, and
seeing most of their fellows slaine, began by little and little to giue ground, and so retyred in-
to the mountains, which were not far off. In this battell, which continued a great part of the
day, were slaine of the Turks 40000, and of the Christians about 2000. The next morning *Bo-
hemund*, with the French Kings brother, came againe into the field, in such order as if they
should presently haue giuen or receiued battell: where after they had stayd a great while, and
saw no enemie to appeare, they fel to the honest burial of their dead; which were easily known
from the Turks, by the red crosses vpon their garments, the cognisance of their sacred warre-
Solyman flyeth. fare. *Solyman* flying with the remainder of his army, notably dissembled his losse, giuing it out M
that he had got the victorie: yet by the way as he went he burnt vp the countrey villages, and
destroied or carried away whatsoeuer else he thought might stand the Christians in any stead,
if they should further follow after him, leauing nothing for them but the bare ground.

After this victorie, *Bohemund* and the Christian Princes, without resistance marching
thorow

A through the hot and drie countries of the lesser Asia, came to Antiochia a Citie of Pisidia, which they tooke with smal labour: and so marching vnto Iconium the principall citie of Cilicia, neere vnto the mountaine Taurus, were there also of the citisens courteously receiued, where they stayed certaine dayes for the refreshing of the armie. From thence they set forward toward Heraclea, where a great power of the Turks were reported to be assembled. But they, together with the garrison souldiers, vpon the approch of the victorious armie of the Christians, forsooke the citie & fled: the citisens being Christians (as they were yet generally in all the prouinces of the lesser Asia, but in great subiection to the Turks) and now rid of their cruel masters the Turkish garrisons, came forth, & meeting the Princes, gladly yeelded themselues with their citie vnto them, as vnto their deliuerers. Here the Christian Princes fully in-

B structed of the great feare and desperation of the Turks, who now in no place durst abide their comming; for the more speedy taking in of those countries but lately oppressed by the Turks, diuided their armie into two parts, leauing the one part thereof with *Baldwin* and *Tancred* in Cilicia, for the full subduing thereof, (who in short time tooke the cities of Tarsus, Edessa, and Manussa, with all the rest of the country, the Turkes not daring any where to abide their comming:) the other part of the army in the mean time entring into the lesser Armenia, tooke the same from the Turkes, which the Princes gaue to one *Palmurius* an Armenian, who had in that expedition done them great seruice. From thence they tooke their way into Capadocia, which they also subdued, driuing out the Turks in euery place, and tooke the cities of Cæsarea and Socor, where they staied a few days for the refreshing of the armie: with like successe they passed thorow the rest of the prouinces of the lesser Asia, of late possessed by the Turks,

C still chasing them out before them, and setting at libertie the poore oppressed Christians of those countries. Whereof *Solyman* (craving aid of *Axan* the Persian Sultan his cousin) grieuously complained, by his letters to him directed in this sort: *The famous citie of Nice, with the countrey of Romania, which we by your aid and power haue gotten from the kingdome of the Greeks, and of your bountie possessed, the Christians of the kingdome of France haue again taken from vs.* Thus was the late erected kingdome of the Turks in the lesser Asia, by these valiant Christian champions againe brought low, and they glad to retyre themselues further off into the mountains and more Easterne countries, vntill this heat was ouerpast; and that they, taking the benefit of the troubled state of the Greeke empire (afterwards rent in sunder by ambition and ciuil discord,

D the ruine of the greatest monarchies) recouered not onely their former state, but became also dreadfull vnto the Greeke Emperors themselues: vpon whom they dayly gained in one corner or other, still maintaining the honour of their estate vntill the rising of the *Othoman* Familie, as in the processe of this Historie shall God willing be declared.

Antioch in Pisidia taken by the Christians.

Heraclea yelded

Sultan Solyman his letters vnto the Persian Sultan Axan.

These victorious Princes (then, and to the worlds end famous) not contented, to their immortall praise, to haue thus driuen the Turks out of the lesser Asia, and recouered so many countries; bound themselues, as wel the Princes as the common soldiers, by solemne oath, neuer to returne againe into their countries, vntill they had accomplished that sacred war with the conquest of the Holy citie. So mounting together the high mountain Taurus, and descending thence as into another world, they came to the citie Maresia, which they tooke without

E resistance, the Turks there in garrison being by night before for feare fled: where the Christians for the refreshing of themselues certaine days staid. In the mean time *Robert* Earle of Flanders with 1000 men at armes, was sent out to giue summons vnto a citie called Artasia, about 15 miles distant from Antioch: when as the citisens beholding the ensignes of the Christians, suddenly tooke vp armes against the Turks there in garrison, which had of long holden them in subiection, and preuailing vpon them, slew them euery mothers son: whose heads they presented vnto the Earle, and receiued him into their citie. The Turkes to reuenge the death of their friends, and to recouer againe the citie before the comming of the rest of the armie, sent out about 10000 men out of Antioch; for thither was assembled a great power of them to haue hindred the further proceedings of the Christians: & being come neere to Artasia, they sent before certain stragling companies, of purpose to draw the new come Christians out of

F the citie, lying in the mean time in ambush with the rest, of purpose to intrap them. With these stragling companies the Flemings sallying out lustily, encountred, & easily put them to flight; the Turkes indeed flying of purpose to bring them within the danger of the other, lying in ambush. After whom the Flemmings eagerly following, were before they were aware en-

The christians bind themselues by Oath, neuer to return vntill they had woon the Holie Citie.

cloſed round with their enemies, and there had vndoubtedly periſhed, had not the Citiſens (being Chriſtians) preſently ſallied out and right worthily relieued them. G

Shortly after, the Chriſtian Princes marching forward with their armie, were incountred by the Turke at the riuer Orontes, who had there thought to haue ſtayd their further paſſage: with whom *Robert* Duke of Normandie, who had the leading of the vantgard, had a hard conflict, vntill that the Turks, diſcouraged with the fight of the armie ſtill comming on, forſooke the bridge, and betooke themſelues to flight. So the Chriſtians paſſing the riuer, came and incamped with their armie before the famous citie of Antioch, the one and twentieth day of October, in the yere 1097: the gouernor whereof vnder the Perſian Sultan was one *Caſſianus*, (of ſome alſo honored with the name of a King) who at the comming of the Chriſtians, had with him in the citie ſeuen thouſand horſemen, and twentie thouſand foot of the Turkes, with great ſtore of victuals, and all manner of other prouiſions neceſſarie for the defence thereof. H

Antioch in Syria beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The deſcription of the famous citie of Antioch.

This citie, called in antient time Epidaphane, or Epiphane, and of the Hebrewes, Reblatha, ſometime the ſeat of the Syrian Kings, and afterwards the metropoliticall citie of Syria, hauing vnder it an hundred and fiftie Biſhops, (famous for many things, and amongſt others, for that it was the ſeat of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. *Peter*, and firſt place whereas the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion tooke then the name of Chriſtians) ſituate vpon the riuer Orontes, about twelue miles from the ſea, and was then ſtrongly fortified both by Nature & Art, being compaſſed about with a double wall, the vttermoſt whereof was of hard ſtone, and the other of bricke, with 460 towers in the ſame, and an inpregnable caſtle at the Eaſt end thereof, whereunto was joyning a deepe lake, comming out of the great riuer, which watred the South ſide of the citie. Round about this ſtrong citie (one of the moſt aſſured refuges of the Turks) although it were in circuit great, lay the Chriſtian Princes encamped, except on that ſide which being defended with the high broken mountaines, is not there to be beſieged. Vpon whom the Turks out of the citie, during the time of the ſiege made many a fierce and deſperat ſallie, being ſtill by the Chriſtians moſt valiantly repulſed: eſpecially at the bridge which the Chriſtians had made of boats for their more commodious paſſage too and fro ouer the riuer. In this ſort was the ſiege continued vntill the beginning of Februarie, with many a bloudie skirmiſh. At which time ſuch abundance of raine fell, as that hardly could a man finde any place to lie drie in; and the ſcarcitie of victual grew ſo great in the campe, that many (horrible it is to ſay) to aſſuage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their late ſlaine enemies. In theſe extremities many died of hunger and cold; yea their horſes alſo periſhed for want of meat, ſo that in the whole camp were ſcarcely left two thouſand horſes fit for ſeruice, the reſt being either all dead, or brought ſo low, as that they were altogether vnſeruiceable. Theſe miſeries dayly increaſing, diuers men of great account, whom no terror of the enemie could haue diſmaid, began ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of the campe, with purpoſe to haue ſtolne home; among whom were *Peter* the hermit author of this war, and *Tancred* the nephew of *Bohemund*, who taken by the way, and brought backe with the reſt as fugitiues, were ſharply reprehended by *Hugh* the French Kings brother, as cowards, and traitors to their brethren and fellow ſoldiers, & ſo inforced to take a new oath for their fidelitie and perſeuerance. *Bohemund* in the mean time going to Arthuſia a town not far off, by good fortune cut off a great part of the Turks there in garriſon: who after their vſuall manner ſallying out to haue cut off the forragers of the Chriſtians, were now themſelues caught tardie: whereby the countrey for a time was more open for the diſtreſſed Chriſtian ſoldiers to ſeeke abroad for reliefe. But this libertie ſo lately gained laſted not long, when newes was brought vnto the campe, That the Turks in great number, out of the prouinces about Aleppo and Damaſco, were comming vnto the reliefe of their beſieged friends in Antioch. Neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians truſting to their own ſtrength, & the ſtrength of the place wherin they were incamped, lay ſtil, & at their comming ſo incountred them, that they ſlew 2000 of them, and put the reſt to flight. In which conflict the Chriſtians got great ſtore of prouiſion and victuals which the Turkes had thought to haue put into the city. The heads of the ſlaine Turks the Chriſtians ſet vpon ſtakes before the citie, to the more terrour of the defendants. This ouerthrow of the Turkes, wherein *Caſſianus* had loſt his eldeſt ſonne, with others of his beſt captains, ſo daunted the beſieged, that they requeſted a truce for a time of the Chriſtian princes: which granted, they of the city came oftentimes into the campe, and they of the campe likewiſe into the city: *Caſſianus* ſtil expecting reliefe I K L M

A liefe from the Persian Sultan. Whilest the Christians Princes were thus busie in Asia, the Venetians with a great flees of two hundred gallies scowring the seas, vnder the conduct of *Henry Contarenus* the Bishop, and of *Vitalis* the Dukes son, meeting with the gallies of *Pisa* at the Rhodes, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherin the Venetians hauing the vpper hand, tooke eighteene of their gallies, & in them fiue thousand souldiers: whome they seeing to be marked with the red crosse, the cognisance of the sacred war, they presently set at libertie, together with the gallies, detaining only thirty of the better sort as hostages. After that, the Venetians sailing into Ionia, tooke the citie of Smyrna, and spoiled al along the coasts of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, before for feare abandoned by the Turks.

The truce before taken between the Turks and the Christians at the siege of Antioch, being
B in short time after broken by the death of one *Vollo* a Frenchman, slaine by the Turkes; the war was againe begun, and the citie more hardly laid vnto than before. At which time the gouernor, who in the time of this long siege, which had now continued nine months, had lost most part of his best souldiers, was glad for the defence of so great a citie, to vse the seruice of diuers Christians, then dwelling in the citie. Among whom was one *Pirrhus*, a citizen of great reputation, vnto whom he had committed the guarding of a tower, called the two Sisters; but afterward S. *Georges* tower. This *Pirrhus* had secret intelligence with *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, with whom hee agreed to giue him there entrance into the citie, vpon condition, that he should of the other Christian Princes procure the gouernment of the citie to himself; and that he, with the rest of the Christian citizens in the citie, might bee at his hands well
C vsed: which thing being easily obtained, all things agreed vpon, *Bohemund* with his souldiers were by night by *Pirrhus* let into the citie, who made way for the rest of the armie to enter. The citie thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the castle, the rest were put to the sword, man, woman, & child; and among them also many of the Christians, the furious souldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but small store of victuals. *Cassianus* the late gouernor flying out of the city to saue himselfe, in wandring thorow the mountains, fel into the hands of the Christian Armenians, who lately thrust out of Ierusalem, were fled thither for refuge, by whom he was there slaine. In the citie were slaine about ten thousand persons. Thus was the famous city of Antioch, which the Turks had long before by famin taken from the Christians, againe recouered the third day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord God, 1098.

Antioch betrayed to the Christians.

Cassianus gouernour of Antioch in flying slaine.

1098

D The poore oppressed Christians in Ierusalem hearing of this so notable a victorie, gaue secret thanks vnto God therfore, & began to lift vp their heads in hope that their deliuerie was now at hand. Of this victorie, the Princes of the armie by speedy messengers & letters certified their friends in all countries, so that in short time, the fame thereof had filled a great part of the world. Among others, *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, vnto whom the citie was deliuered, sent the ioyfull newes thereof vnto *Roger* his brother prince of Apulia: whose letters as the most certain witnesses of the history before reported, I thought it not amisse here to set down:

The letters of Bohemund Prince of Tarentum, to his brother Roger prince of Apulia, concerning the winning of Antioch.

E *I suppose you to haue vnderstood by the letters of your sonne* Tancred, *both of the great feare of some of vs, and the battels which wee haue of late with our great glorie fought. But concerning the truce, and the proceeding of the whole action, I had rather you should be certified by my letters, than the letters of others. King* Cassianus *had required a time of truce: during which, our souldiers had free recourse into the citie without danger, vntill that by the death of* Vollo *a Frenchman, slaine by the enemie, the truce was broken. But whilst it yet seemed an hard matter to winne the citie, one* Pyrrhus *a citizen of Antioch, of great authoritie and much deuoted vnto mee, had conference with mee concerning the yeelding vp of the citie; yet vpon condition, That the gouernment thereof should be committed to mee, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust. I conferred of the whole matter with the Princes and great commanders of the armie, and easily obtained that the gouernment of the citie was by their general consent allotted vnto mee. So our armie entring by a gate opened by* Pyrrhus, *tooke the citie. Within a few dayes after, the towne Aretum was by vs assaulted, but not without some losse and danger to our per-*
F *son, by reason of a wound I there receiued. I assure you much of the valor of your son* Tancred, *of whom I and the whole armie make such account and reckoning, as is to be made of a most valiant and resolute Generall. Farewell. From Antioch.*

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of Antioch, *Corbanas* (the Persian Sultan his lieutenant)

Edessa in vaine beseged by the Turks,

lieutenant) with a great armie besieged Edessa, with purpose after the taking thereof, to haue relieued the citie of Antioch. But this being notably defended by *Baldwin* left there of purpose with a strong garrison for the defence thereof; the Turke fearing in the meane time to lose Antioch, the safest refuge of the Turks in all those parts, rose with his armie, and set forward against the Christians: where by the way, it was his fortune to meet with *Sansadolus*, *Cassianus* his son, but lately fled from Antioch, by whom he vnderstood of the losse of the citie; and by what meanes the same was most like againe to be recouered: vpon which hope, *Corbanas* with his mightie armie kept on his way, with a full resolution to set all vpon the fortune of a battel. Whose comming much troubled the Christians: for that although they were possessed of the citie, yet was the castle still holden by the Turks. Neuertheless leauing the Earle of Tholous in the city, with a competent power for the keeping in of them in the castle, they tooke the field with the whole strength of the armie, & so in order of battell expected the comming of their enemies: who couragiously comming on, as men before resolued to fight, ioyned with them a most terrible and bloudie battell. Neither were they in the citie in the mean time idle; for that the Turks in the castle hauing receiued in vnto them certaine supplies from *Corbanas*, sallied out vpon them that were left for the safegard of the citie, and had with them a cruell conflict. Thus both within the citie and without, was to be seene a most dreadful fight of resolute men, with great slaughter on both sides: yet after long fight & much effusion of bloud, the fortune of the Christians preuailing, the Turkes began to giue ground, and afterwards betook themselues to plain flight, whom the Christians hardly pursuing, made of them a wonderfull slaughter. In this battell were slain of the Turks aboue an hundred thousand, and of the Christians about foure thousand two hundred. There was also taken a great prey; for besides horses and other beasts for burden, were taken also fiue thousand camels with their lading. The next day, being the 28 of Iune, the castle was by the Turks (now dispairing of relicfe) yeelded vp vnto the Christians.

Corbanas the Sultans lieutenant, with a great armie commeth to recouer againe the citie of Antioch.

Antioch thus taken, *Hugh* the French kings brother, syrnamed the Great, was sent from the rest of the Princes to Constantinople, to haue deliuered the citie vnto *Alexius* the Emperor according to the agreement before made. But he, guiltie in conscience of his owne foule dealing with them, vnto whom he had sent no relicfe at all during the long and hard siege of Antioch; neither performed any thing of that he had further promised, and therefore knowing himselfe hated of them; had in distrust so great an offer of the princes, so euill deserued, and therfore refused to accept therof. Whereupon *Bohemund* by the general consent of the whole armie was chosen Prince, or (as some call him) King of Antioch.

Bohemund chosen Prince of Antioch.

After this long siege and want of victuals, ensued a great plague in the army of the Christians, the Autumne following, whereof it is reported fiftie thousand men to haue died, and amongst them many of great accouat. But the mortalitie ceasing, the Christians in Nouember following, by force tooke Rugia, and Albaria, two cities, about two dayes iourney from Antioch: where dissention arising betwixt *Bohemund* and *Raimund*, who of all others only enuied at his preferment vnto the principalitie of Antioch: *Bohemund* for the common causes sake, gaue way vnto his aduersarie, & retired with his souldiers backe againe to Antioch; after whom followed the Duke *Godfrey*, and the Earle of Flanders with their regiments. The rest of the Princes wintred some at Rugia, some at Albaria, from whence *Raimund* made sundrie light expeditions further into the enemies countrey: but the Spring approching, the Christian Princes with all their power tooke the field againe. *Bohemund* with them that remained with him, departing from Antioch, besieged Tortosa. *Raimund* in the meane time with the rest, besieging the citie of Tripolis: who become much more insolent than before, by reason of some fortunate roades hee had made vpon the enemies the last winter, ceased not still to maligne *Bohemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to haue diuided the whole power of the Christians, & to haue turned their weapons vpon themselues: which *Bohemund* well considering, rose with his army; and because he would not with his presence trouble the proceeding of the religious war, retired himselfe to Antioch. After whose departure, *Godfrey* & the Earle of Flanders, tooke Gabella, a citie about twelue miles from Laodicia, and from thence returned againe to the siege of Tortosa, whether *Raimund* came also with his armie, hauing before driuen the gouernour of Tripolis to such composition as pleased himselfe, and to furnish him with such things as he wanted. Thus was Tortosa hardly on three sides besieged

Discord arising vpon emulation betwixt Bohemund and Raimund.

by

by the Christians, but so notably defended by the Turkes, that after three moneths hard siege, the Christians were glad to depart thence: and marching long the sea side, spoiled the countrey about Sidon. But forasmuch as that citie was not easily to be won, they left it, and encamped before Ptolemais, which they also passed by: the gouernour thereof sending them out victuals, with such other things as they wanted; and vpon summons giuen, promising to yeeld the citie after they had once woon the citie of Ierusalem. From thence they came to Cesarea in Palestine, where they solemnly kept the feast of Whitsontide; and so to Rama, which they found for feare forsaken of the Infidels. Marching from Rama, and drawing neere to Ierusalem, they in the vantgard of the armie, vpon the first descrying of the Holy citie, gaue for ioy diuers great shouts and outcries, which with the like applause of the whole army was so doubled and redoubled, as if therewith they would haue rent the very mountaines, and pierced the highest heauens. There might a man haue seene the deuout passions of these most worthy and zealous Christians, vttered in right diuers manners: some, with their eyes and hands cast vp towards heauen, called aloud vpon the name and helpe of Christ Iesus; some, prostrate vpon their faces, kissed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the world sometime walked: others, ioyfully saluted those holy places which they had heard so much of, and then first beheld: in briefe, euery man in some sort expressed the ioy he had conceiued of the sight of the Holy citie, as the end of their long trauell.

The exceeding ioy of the Christians vpon the first descrying of the holy citie

This most antient and famous citie, so much renowned in holy Writ, is scituate in an hillie countrey; not watred with any riuer or fresh springs, as other famous cities for most part be; neither yet was it wel seated for wood, or pasture ground: but what wanted in these, and such other benefits of nature, was by the extraordinary blessings of the most highest so supplied, as that the Iews there dwelling, so long as they kept the ordinances of the Lord, were of al other people in the world iustly accounted the most happie and fortunate. Yet in those so blessed times, was this citie for the sin of the people oftentimes deliuered into the enemies hand, and the glorie therof defaced; as wel appeareth by the whole course of the historie of holy scripture, as also by the antient & approoued histories, as well of the Iewes themselues, as others. Neuertheless it stil rose againe (though not in like glorie as before in the time of king *Dauid*, *Salomon*, & the other next succeeding kings) and so was still repeopled by the Iews, vntill that at last according to the foretelling of our Sauiour Christ, it was with a great and of all others most lamentable destruction, vtterly rased and destroied by the Romans, vnder the leading of *Vespatian* the Emperour, and his noble sonne *Titus*, fortie yeares after our Sauiour his precious death and passion. Since which time, it was neuer vntill this day againe repaired, or yet well inhabited by the Iews; but lying buried in the ruins of it selfe, all the raigne of *Domitian*, *Nerua*, and *Traian*, vntill the time of the great Emperour *Ælius Adrianus*, it was again by him re-edified about the yeare 136, and after the name of him called Ælia; who together with the name changed also in some part the antient situation of the city. For wheras before it was seated vpon the steep rising of an hil, in such sort that towards the East and the South it ouerlooked the whole ground, hauing only the Temple and the castle called Antonia, in the highest part of the citie; *Adrian* translated the whole citie vnto the very top of the hill, so that the place where our blessed Sauior suffered his most bitter passion, with the Spulchre wherein he was also laid, and from whence he in glory rose again, before without the citie, were then inclosed within the wals therof, as they are at this day to be seen. Yet for all that, the Emperor being dead, in processe of time this new built citie recouerd again the antient name of Ierusalem, whereby it hath euer since, and is at this day yet knowne. This city so re-edified, the Emperor first gaue vnto the Iewes, whom he afterwards thrust out againe for their rebellion, and gaue it to the Christians to inhabit; ouer whom, one *Marke*, first Bishop of the Gentiles there, had the charge. But forasmuch as the Roman Emperors were at that time altogether Idolaters and persecutors of the poore Christians, the Church also at Ierusalem, with others, endured sundry & many grieuous persecutions, vnder the emperors *Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Seuerus*, *Maximinus*, *Valerianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Diocleſianus*, and *Maxentius*, vntill that at length *Constantine* the Great, conuerted vnto the faith of Christ about the yeare of Grace 320, suppressing the Pagan Idolatry, gaue generall peace to the afflicted Church: wherby the Christian church at Ierusalem, for the space of three hundred yeares after, happily flourished vnder the Greeke emperors, vntill the time of the emperor *Phocas*; who hauing most cruelly slain the good Empe-

Ierusalem re-edified by the great Emperour Aelius Adrianus.

A briefe discourse of the state & fortune of the Holy citie of Ierusalem, from the destruction there of, vnder Vespatianus the Emperor, and Titus his sonne, vntill it was now agian erecouered out of the hands of the Infidels by Godfrey of Baillon and the other Christian princes of the west.

rour

rour *Maurice* with his children, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelfe of the empire, gaue occaſion there- G A
by vnto *Choſroe* the Perſian King, in reuenge of the death of *Maurice* his father in law, with all
his power to inuade Syria: who as a tempeſt bearing downe all before him, tooke alſo by
force the citie of Ieruſalem, hauing that yere, which was about the yere ſix hundred and ten,
ſlain almoſt an hundred thouſand Chriſtians. But *Phocas* the vſurper beeing by them of his
guard moſt cruelly ſlaine, and *Heraclius* ſucceeding in his ſtead, *Choſroe* was by him againe dri-
uen out of Syria, and the holy citie againe recouered, about the yere 624. In theſe great wars
againſt the Perſians, *Heraclius* had vſed the help of the Arabians, called Scenite, a warlike peo- H B
ple of Arabia Deſerta, altogether giuen to the ſpoile: who, the wars now ended, expecting to
haue receiued their pay, were contrary to their expectation, and without al reaſon reiected by
them that ſhould haue paid them, with very foule and contumelious words; as, that there was
not mony enough to pay the Chriſtian ſoldiers of the Latines & the Greeks, much leſſe thoſe
vile dogs (whom they ſo called, for that they had but a little before receiued the damnable
doctrine of the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, the great ſeducer of the world, who euen in that time
flouriſhed.) Vpon which diſcontentment they at their returne reuolted from the empire, and
ioined themſelues vnto their great Prophet, & ſo afterwards vnto the Caliphs his ſucceſſors,
extending his doctrine, together with his ſoueraigntie, to the vtmoſt of their power: and that
with ſo good ſucceſſe, that in ſhort time they had ouerrun all Æ~~gypt~~, Syria, the land of Pro-
miſe, and taken the holy citie. With theſe (the diſciples of *Mahomet* and his ſucceſſors, the
Saraſins, for ſo now they would be called) the Greeke Emperours enſuing had for certaine
yeres diuers conflicts, with diuers fortune, for the poſſeſſion of Syria. But at length wearied
out, and by them ouercome, they left the aforeſaid countries wholly to their deuotion. Here-
by it came to paſſe, that the Saraſins for the ſpace of 370 yeres following held theſe countries,
with many others in great ſubiection, oppreſſing ſtill the poore Chriſtians in Ieruſalem with
moſt grieuous tributes and exactions: vnto whom they yet left a third part of the citie for
them to dwell in, with the Temple of the Sepulchre of our Sauior, and mount Sion; not for
any deuotion, either vnto them, or thoſe places, but for that it yeelded them a great profit by
the recourſe of deuout Chriſtians trauelling thither: reſeruing in the meane time vnto them-
ſelues, the other two parts of the citie, with the Temple of *Saloman*, before re-edified by the
Chriſtians. Now whileſt the Saraſins thus triumph it in the Eaſt, and not in the Eaſt only, but
ouer a great part of the Weſt alſo; contenting themſelues with ſuch tributes as they had im-
poſed vpon the ſubdued nations and countries; vp ſtart the Turks, a vagrant, fierce, and cruell
people; who firſt breaking into Aſia (as is before declared) and by rare fortune aſpiring vnto
the kingdome of Perſia, ſubdued the countries of Meſopotamia, Syria, with the greateſt part
of the leſſer Aſia, and Iudæa, together with the Holy citie: who both there and in all other
places, held the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in ſuch ſubiection and thraldome, as that the for-
mer gouernment of the Saraſins ſeemed in compariſon of this to haue bin but light and ea-
ſie. Neither was there any end or releaſe of theſe ſo great miſeries to haue bin expected, had
not God in mercy by the weake means of a poore hermit, ſtirred vp theſe moſt worthy Prin-
ces of the Weſt to take vp arms in their defence, who hauing with their victorious armies re-
couered the leſſer Aſia, with a great part of Syria, were now come vnto this Holy citie. L

Ieruſalem beſie-ged by the Chriſtians.

The gouernor of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding by his eſpials, of the proceedings of the Chri-
ſtians, had before their approch, got into the citie a very ſtrong garriſon of right valiant ſoul-
diers, with good ſtore of all things neceſſarie for the holding out of a long ſiege. The Chri-
ſtians with their army approching the city, encamped before it on the North; for that toward
the Eaſt, & the South, it was not wel to be beſieged, by reaſon of the broken rocks and moun-
taines. Next vnto the citie lay *Godfrey* the Duke, with the Germans and Loranois: neere vnto
him lay the Earle of Flanders, and *Robert* the Norman: before the Weſt gate lay *Tancred* and
the Earle of Tholous: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both abſent; the one at Antioch, the other
at Ediſſa. The Chriſtians thus ſtrongly encamped, the fift day after gaue vnto the citie a fierce
aſſault, with ſuch cheerefulneſſe, as that it was verily ſuppoſed, it might haue beene euen then M
woon, had they beene ſufficiently furniſhed with ſcaling ladders: for want whereof, they
were glad to giue ouer the aſſault and retire. But within a few days after, hauing ſupplied that
defect, and prouided all things neceſſarie, they came on againe afreſh, and with all their pow-
er gaue vnto the citie a moſt terrible aſſault, wherein was on both ſides ſeene great valour, po-

licie,

A licie, and cunning, with much ſlaughter, vntil that at length the Chriſtians wearie of the long fight, and in that hot countrey, and moſt feruent time of the yeare, fainting for lacke of water, were glad againe to forſake the aſſault, and to retire into their trenches: only the well of *Siloe* yeelded them water, and that not ſufficient for the whole campe; the reſt of the wels which were but few, being before by the enemie either filled vp or elſe poiſoned.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ieruſalem: a fleet of the Genowaies arriued at Ioppa; at which time alſo a great fleete of the Ægyptian Sultans lay at Aſcalon, to haue brought reliefe to the beſieged Turkes in Ieruſalem, whereof the Genowaies vnderſtanding, and knowing themſelues too weake to encounter them at ſea, took all ſuch things out of their ſhips as they thought good, and ſo ſinking them, marched by land vnto the campe. There was
B amongſt theſe Genowaies diuers enginers, men (after the manner of that time) cunning in making of all manner of engines fit for the beſieging of cities: by whoſe deuice, a great mouing tower was framed of timber and thick plancks, couered ouer with raw hides, to ſaue the ſame from fire: out of which the Chriſtians might in ſafety greatly annoy the defendants. This tower being by night brought cloſe to the wall, ſerued the Chriſtians in ſtead of a moſt ſure fortres in the aſſault the next day: where whilſt they ſtriue with warlike valor & doubtful victory on both ſides, from morning vntil midday, by chance the wind fauouring the Chriſtians, caried the flame of the fire into the face of the Turks, wherwith they had thought to haue burnt the Tower, with ſuch violence, that the Chriſtians taking the benefit therof, & holpen by the tower, gained the top of the wal: which was firſt footed by the Duke *Godfrey*, & his brother
C *Euſtace*, with their followers, and the enſignes of the Duke there firſt ſet vp, to the great encouraging of the Chriſtians, who now preſſing in on euery ſide, like a violent riuer that had broken ouer the banks, bare down all before them. All were ſlain that came to hand, men, women, & children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition: the ſlaughter was great, & the ſight lamentable, all the ſtreets were filled with bloud and the bodies of the dead, death triumphing in euery place. Yet in this confuſion, a wonderful number of the better ſort of the Turks, retiring to *Salomons* temple, there to do their laſt deuoire, made there a great and terrible fight, armed with deſpaire to indure any thing; & the victorious Chriſtians no leſſe diſdaining, after the winning of the citie, to find there ſo great reſiſtance. In this deſperat conflict, fought with wonderful obſtinacie of mind, many fel on both ſides: but the Chriſtians came on ſo fiercely,
D with deſire of bloud, that breaking into the temple, the foremoſt of them were by the preſſe of them that followed after, violently thruſt vpon the weapons of their enemies, & ſo miſerably ſlaine. Neither did the Turks thus oppreſſed, giue it ouer, but as men reſolued to die, deſperatly fought it out with inuincible courage, not at the gates of the Temple only, but euen in the midſt thereof alſo, where was to be ſeene great heaps, both of the victors and the vanquiſhed; ſlaine indifferently together. All the pauement of the Temple ſwam with bloud, in ſuch ſort, that a man could not ſet his foot, but either vpon ſome dead man, or ouer the ſhooes in bloud. Yet for all that, the obſtinate enemie ſtill held the vaults and top of the Temple, when as the darkeneſſe of the night came ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians were glad to make an end of the ſlaughter, & to ſound a retrait. The next day (for that proclamation was made, for mercy to
E be ſhewed vnto all ſuch as ſhould lay downe their weapons) the Turks that yet held the vpper part of the Temple, came downe and yeelded themſelues. Thus was the famous citie of Ieruſalem with great bloudſhed, but far greater honor, recouered by theſe worthy Chriſtians, in the yeare 1099, after it had beene in the hands of the Infidels aboue foure hundred yeares.

The Genowaies come to the ſiege.

A moſt cruell and bloudie fight, betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, euen in the Temple of Ieruſalem.

1099

The next day after, hauing buried the dead, and cleanſed the citie, they gaue thanks to God with publicke praiers and great reioycing. The poore Chriſtians before oppreſſed, now ouercome with vnexpected ioy, welcomed their victorious brethren with great ioy & praiſe; and the ſoldiers embracing one another, ſparing to ſpeake of themſelues, freely commended each others valour. Eight daies after, the princes of the armie meeting together, began to conſult
F about the choice of their king: among whom was no ſuch difference, as might well ſhew which was to preferred before the others. And although euery one of them for proweſſe and deſert, ſeemed worthy of ſo great an honor, yet by the generall conſent of all, it was giuen to *Robert* Duke of Normandie: who about the ſame time hearing of the death of the Conquerour his father, and more in loue with his fathers new gotten kingdome in England, in hope thereof, refuſed the kingdome of Hieruſalem, then offered vnto him: which at his returne he found

found possessed by *William Rufus* his yonger brother, and so in hope of a better, refusing the worse, vpon the matter lost both.

Godfrey Duke of Buillon by the generall consent of the Christian army chosen first king of Ierusalem.

After whose departure, *Godfrey* of Buillon Duke of Loraine (whose ensigne was first displaid vpon the walls) was by the generall consent both of the Princes and the armie, saluted King. He was a great soldier, and indued with many heroical vertues, brought vp in the court of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and by him much employed. At the time of his inauguration, he refused to be crowned with a crowne of gold: saying, That it became not a Christian man there to weare a crown of gold, where Christ the Sonne of God had for the saluation of mankind, sometime worne a crowne of thorne. Of the greatest part of these proceedings of the Christians, from the time of their departure from Antioch, vntill the winning of the Holy Citie, *Godfrey* by letters briefly certified *Bohemund*, as followeth:

Godfrey *of Buillon, to* Bohemund *King of Antioch, greeting.*

After long trauell, hauing first taken certaine townes, wee came to Ierusalem: which citie is enuironed with high hils, without riuers or fountaines, excepting onely that of Salomons, *and that a very little one. In it are many Cisternes, wherein water is kept, both in the citie and the countrey thereabout. On the East, are the Arabians, the Moabits and Ammonits. On the South, the Idumæans, Ægyptians and Philistians: Westward alongst the sea coast, lie the cities of Ptolemais, Tyrus, and Tripolis: and Northward, Tiberias, Cesarea, Philippi with the countrey Decapolis and Damasco. In the assault of the Citie, I first gained that part of the wall that fell to my lot to assaile, and commanded* Baldwin *to enter the citie: who hauing slaine certaine companies of the enemies, broke open one of the gates for the Christians to enter* Raymond *had the citie of* Dauid, *with much rich spoile yeelded vnto him. But when wee came vnto the Temple of* Saloman, *there wee had a great conflict, with so great slaughter of the enemie, that our men stood in bloud aboue the ancles: The night approching wee could not take the vpper part of the Temple, which the next day was yeelded, the Turkes pittifully crying out for mercie: and so the Citie of Ierusalem was by vs taken, the fifteenth of Iuly, in the yeare of our redemption* 1099, *thirtie nine dayes after the beginning of the siege, foure hundred and nine yeares after it fell into the hands of the Sarasins in the time of* Heraclius *the Emperour. Besides this, the Princes with one consent saluted mee (against my will) King of Ierusalem: who although I feare to take vpon mee so great a kingdome, yet I will doe my deuoire, that they shall easily know mee for a Christian King, and well deseruing of the vniuersall Faith, but loue you me as you do, and so farewell. From Ierusalem.*

Whilest these things were in doing at Ierusalem, such a multitude of the Turkes, and Sarasins their confederates (now in their common calamitie all as one) were assembled at Ascalon (a citie about fiue and twentie miles from Ierusalem) to reuenge the iniuries they had before receiued, as had not before met together in all the time of this sacred war. Against whom, *Godfrey* (the late Duke, and now King) assembled the whole forces of the Christians in those countries, and leauing a strong garrison in the new woon citie, set forward: and meeting with them, ioined a most dreadfull and cruell battell; wherein (as most report) were slaine of the Infidels, an hundred thousand men, and the rest put to flight. The spoile there taken, far exceeded all that the Christians had before taken in this long expedition. *Godfrey* after so great a victorie, returning to Ierusalem, gaue vnto God most humble thanks. The rest of the Princes returned either to their charge, as did *Bohemund* to Antioch, *Baldwin* to Edessa, *Tancred* into Galiley, whereof hee was created Prince; or else hauing now performed the vttermost of their vowes, returned with honour into their owne countries. This was of all others the most honourable expedition that euer the Christians tooke in hand against the Infidels, and with the greatest resolution performed; for the most part, by such voluntarie men, as moued with a deuout zeale, to their immortall praise, spared neither life nor liuing in defence of the Christian faith and religion; all men worthy eternall fame and memorie. Not long after, ensued a great pestilence (the ready attendant of long war & want) whereof infinit numbers of people died, and among the rest *Godfrey*, the first Christian King of Ierusalem, neuer to be sufficiently commended: who with the generall lamentation of all good Christians, was honourably buried

An hundred thousand Turks and Sarasins slaine.

Godfrey of Buillon first Christian King of Ierusalem, dieth of the plague.

A ried in the church of the Sepulchre of our Sauior, on the mount Caluarie, where our Sauiour suffered his passion: in which the Christian Kings succeeding him were also afterwards buried. He departed this life the eighteenth of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1100, when he had yet scarce raigned a full yeare. Whose tombe is yet at this day there to be seene, with an honourable inscription thereupon. 1100

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Christians made choice of *Baldwin* his brother, Countie of Edessa, who leauing his former gouernment to *Baldwin* syrnamed *Burgensis*, his neere kinsman, came to Ierusalem honorably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarke on Christmas day with all solemnitie crowned king, in the yere 1101. He aided by the Venetians & Genoways at sea, and by *Bohemund* King of Antioch, by land, tooke from the Infidels the citie of Cesarea 1101
B Stratonis, standing vpon the sea side, and ouerthrew certaine companies of the Ægyptian Sultans at Rama. But vnderstanding that the Christian Princes of the West were comming to his aid with a new power, he glad thereof, went to meet them, and safely conducted them to Ierusalem alongst the sea coast, by the cities of Berythus, Sidon, Tyre, and Ptolemais, all yet holden by the enemie. At which time the Turkes at Ascalon hauing receiued great aid from the Arabians and Ægyptians, inuaded the country about Rama; where betwixt them and the Christians was fought a most cruell battell, wherein the Christians receiued a most notable ouerthrow, many of their great commanders being there slaine; and among the rest, *Stephan* Earle of Charters, (but lately returned home from the former expedition, & now come backe againe) and *Stephen* Earle of Burgondie and Tholous: yea the King himselfe hardly escaped the enemies hands, and after many dangers came at length to Ioppa, after it had been constant-
C ly before reported him to haue been in that battell also slaine. Who hauing there in haste repaired his armie, came againe speedily vpon his enemies, fearing as then nothing lesse; and ouerthrew them with such a slaughter, as that they had small cause to rejoyce of their former victorie. Neither were the rest of the Christian Princes in the other parts of Syria and Palestine, in the mean time idle, but sought by all means to inlarge their territories. *Tancred* prince of Galilie hauing raised a great power, tooke Apamea the metropoliticall citie of Cœlesyria, and after much toyle woon also the citie of Laodicea. *Balan* also the Gouernor of Edessa, besieging the citie of Carras, had brought the besieged Turks to such extremitie, that they were about to haue yeelded the citie; when suddenly he was set vpon by a great armie of the
D Turks sent from the Persian Sultan for the reliefe of the besieged, & being there ouerthrown, was himselfe there taken, with *Benedict* the Bishop, and one *Ioscelin* his kinsman: who after fiue yeares captiuitie, found meanes with the Turke that had taken them, to redeeme themselues, to the great offence of the Persian Sultan, and of the Sultan *Solyman*.

King *Baldwin* after the late victory, liued for a season at some good rest in Ierusalem, vnmolested of his enemies: but knowing his greatest safetie among such warlike people, to consist in arms, he vpon the sudden raised the whole strength of his kingdome, and laid siege to Ptolemais, otherwise called Acon, a city of Phœnicia, standing vpon the riuage of the sea; where he found such resistance, that he was glad to raise his siege and depart, hauing done nothing more than spoyled the pleasant places about the citie. By the way in his returne backe againe
E it fortuned him to meet with certaine companies of the enemies aduenturers, by whom he was in a skirmish mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that the wound was by his surgeons healed vp, yet was the griefe thereof so great, that at length it brought him to his end. Yet he notwithstanding the former repulse, the next yere incouraged by the comming of the Genoa fleet, laid hard siege againe to Ptolemais both by sea and land, which after twentie dayes siege was by composition yeelded vnto him. *King Baldwin mortally wounded.*

Shortly after, the gouernor of Aleppo, with certaine other of the Turks great captaines in those quarters, hauing ioyned their forces together, and so inuaded the countrey about Antioch, were by *Tancred* (whom *Bohemund* at his departure into Italie had left gouernuor of that citie) notably incountred and put to flight. At which time also the Caliph of Ægypt sending great forces both by sea and land against the King of Ierusalem, was in both places discomfi-
F ted, at land by the Christians, and at sea by tempest. *Ptolemais woon by K. Baldwin.*

Bohemund in the mean time, with a great armie of voluntarie men and others (wherein he is reported to haue had fiue thousand horse, and forty thousand foot) returning towards the Holy Land, in reuenge of many iniuries done by *Alexius* the Emperour, vnto the souldiers of

this ſacred war, contrarie to his faith and promiſe to them before giuen; by the way landed his men in Epirus, and grieuouſly ſpoyled the countrey about Dirrachium, part of the Empe- G
rors dominion. Neither made he an end of ſpoyling, vntill he had inforced the Emperour for redreſſe of ſo great harmes, to make peace with him, and again by ſolemne oath to promiſe all ſecuritie and kindneſſe vnto all ſuch Chriſtian ſouldiers as ſhould haue occaſion to trauell too or fro thorow his countries, during the time of this religious war. After which agreement he put to ſea againe, and ſo returned for Ieruſalem: but whileſt he ſtayed at Antioch, he ſhortly after there died in the yeare 1108, leauing the principalitie thereof vnto his young ſonne *Bohemund* a child, vnder the tuition of his nephew *Tancred*.

Robemund dieth at Antioch.

Yet were the cities Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre, alongſt the ſea coaſt, in the enemies poſſeſſi- H
on: for the gaining whereof *Baldwin* the King raiſed a great armie, and ſo came and laid ſiege to Berytus, which after many ſharpe aſſaults he at length won, the 23 day of Aprill, in the yere
1111 1111, and put to ſword moſt part of them that he found therein. The ſame yeare alſo he, aſſi-
Sidon woon. ſted by a fleet ſent vnto him out of Norway, beſieged the citie of Sydon: which the citiſens (ſeeing themſelues now beſet both by ſea and land) at length yeelded vnto him by compoſi- I
tion, the 19 day of December. After which victorie he diſmiſſed the fleet, and returned himſelfe in triumph to Ieruſalem. Now of all the famous cities alongſt the ſea coaſt of Phœnicia and Paleſtine, from Laodicea to Aſcalon, was only the citie of Tyre that remained in the enemies hands: which citie *Baldwin* alſo hardly beſieged; neuertheleſſe it was ſo well defended by the Turks, that after he had all in vain lien before it by the ſpace of foure moneths, he was glad to riſe with his armie and depart.

It fortuned that within two yeres after, the Turks with a mightie armie ſent from the Perſi- K
an Sultan, inuaded the country of Cœliſyria, where ſpoiling al before them as they went, they came and incamped vpon the ſea coaſt neere vnto Tyberias. Againſt whom *Baldwin* gathered the whole ſtrength of his kingdome; with whom alſo *Tancred* (who now raigned in Antioch, the young *Bohemund* being dead) with the Countie of Tripolis, and the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, joyned their forces: who all together marching forward, came and incamped not far from the enemie, being in number far more than they. *Mendus*, Generall of the Turks armie (for ſo I find him called) vnderſtanding of their approch, ſent out certain companies of his men to skirmiſh with them: againſt whom the Chriſtians alſo ſent out others, who incountring them, eaſily put them to flight, being before commanded ſo to doe, of purpoſe to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of a great ſtrength, lying in ambuſh to intrap them: which accor- L
ding to the Turks deſire fel out; for the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing the flying enemie, fel into the ambuſh, and ſo before they were wel aware, were beſet on euerie ſide with their enemies: vnto the reſcue of whom other companies of Chriſtians comming in, & others likewiſe from the Turks, both the great armies were at length drawn into the field, where betwixt them was joined moſt fierce & terrible battel, with great ſlaughter on both ſides: but at length the multitude of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, and ſo glad to flie: after whom the fierce enemie hardly followed, not without great ſlaughter. In which flight the King himſelfe hardly eſcaped, with *Arnolphus* the Patriarke. Whileſt *Baldwin* was thus buſied abroad, the Turks and Saraſins from Aſcalon came and beſieged Ieruſalem, being then but weakly manned: but hearing of the Kings comming, and that the armie of the Chriſtians dai- L
ly increaſed with new ſupplies out of the Weſt by ſea, they retyred home againe, hauing burnt certaine ſtorehouſes full of corne, and ſpoyled ſuch things as was ſubiect to their furie.

Long it were to recount all the hard conflicts and combats this King had with the Saraſins and Turks, which for breuitie I paſſe ouer, contented to haue briefly touched the greateſt. In the laſt yere of his raigne, hauing for certaine yeres before liued in ſome reaſonable peace, he made an expedition into Ægypt, where he with much difficultie woon Pharamia, a ſtrong ci- M
tie vpon the ſea coaſt, which he joyned vnto his owne Kingdome. After that, he went to the mouth of the riuer Nilus, and with great admiration learned the nature of that ſtrange riuer: and hauing therein taken abundance of fiſh, returned into the city, and there with the ſame feaſted himſelfe with his friends. But after dinner he began to feele the griefe of his old wound, and growing thereof ſicker & ſicker, returned with his armie toward Ieruſalem, where by the way neere vnto a citie called Laris, he died (to the great griefe of all the Chriſtians) in the
1118 yeare 1118. His dead bodie being brought backe vnto Ieruſalem, was there royally buried,

neere

A neere vnto his brother *Godfrey*, after he had raigned eighteene yeares: whose sepulchre is yet there also to be seene, fast by the sepulchre of his brother.

The late King thus dead and buried, the Christians with one consent made choice of his cousin *Baldwin*, syrnamed *Brugensis*, gouernor of Edessa: who by the name of *Baldwin* the second, was the second of Aprill in the yeare 1118, solemnly crowned King of Ierusalem. He was of stature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gracious, hauing his haire thin and yellow, his beard mingled with some gray haires hanging downe to his brest; his colour fresh and liuely for one of his yeares. He was a man of great courage, and therefore no lesse redoubted of his enemies, than beloued of his subiects, who had in him reposed great hope both for the defence and inlarging of that new gained kingdome. Against him the same

Baldwin Brugensis chosen King of Ierusalem. 1118

B Summer the Caliph of Ægypt, aided by the King of Damasco and the Turks, in reuenge of the losse he had in the expedition the yere before receiued, raised a great power to inuade him both by sea and land. Against whom *Baldwin* also opposed himselfe with his whole strength, and so came and incamped within the sight of his enemies. In which sort, when both armies had lien the one facing the other by the space of three moneths, they both rose; the Christians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valour of the Christians, and so retired without any notable thing doing.

This yeare died *Alexius* the Greeke Emperour, who euen from the beginning of this sacred warre secretly repined at the good successe of the Christians in Syria, although his empire were thereby greatly inlarged: after whom succeeded *Calo Ioannes* his sonne, who al the

C time of his raign right worthily defended his territories in the lesser Asia, against the inuasion of the Turks.

Not long after, *Gazi* one of the greatest Princes of the Turks in the lesser Asia, with the king of Damasco, and *Debeis* King of Arabia, joyning their forces together, with a great army inuading the countrie about Antioch, came and incamped not far from Aleppo: against whom *Roger* Prince of Antioch, not expecting the comming of *Baldwin* and the other Christian Princes his confederats, but presuming of his owne strength, went forth with greater courage than discretion, whereunto his successe was answerable; for incountring with them at too much odds, he was by them in a great battell ouerthrowne, wherein himselfe was slaine, with most part of his armie. Of which so great a slaughter, the place wherein this battel was fought was

D afterward called the field of bloud. But whilest the Turks after so great a victorie, carelesly and at pleasure roame vp and down the country, *Baldwin* setting vpon them, ouerthrew them with a great slaughter, and so put them to flight. After this victorie gained by the Christians the fourteenth of August in the yeare 1120, King *Baldwin* in great triumph entred into Antioch, 1120
and so joyned that principalitie vnto his owne kingdome.

The yere following, the Turks with another armie inuaded the same countrey againe: for repressing of whom, whilest *Baldwin* and the other Christian Princes were making their preparations, it fortuned that *Gazi* their great commander suddenly died of an Apoplexie; vpon whose death they retired without any further harm doing. Neuertheless the next Spring, the 1122
King of Damasco aided by the Arabians, entred againe with a great power into the countrey

E about Antioch, and there did some harme: for the Antiochians now destitute of their owne Prince, and *Baldwin* (who had taken vpon him their protection) being farre off, and otherwise busied at Ierusalem, were much more subiect vnto the inrodes of their enemies (still at hand) than before when they had a Prince of their owne still present amongst them. But *Baldwin* aduertised thereof, was making toward them with a most puissant armie, sooner than they had thought it could haue bin possible. Of whose approch the Turks vnderstanding, retired againe out of the country: after whom the King thinking it not good to make further pursuit, turned a little out of the way, and tooke by force Garaze, one of the strongest castles of the Kings of Damasco, built but the yere before; which because it was not without great charge and danger to be holden, he rased down to the ground.

F *Baldwin* notwithstanding that he had many times thus honourably repulsed his enemies, wisely considering how he was on the one side beset with the Turks, & on the other side with the Sarasins (which yet raigned in Ægypt, the kingdome of Ierusalem lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good betime to craue aid of the Christian Princes of Europe; and to that purpose had sent diuers his Embassadors vnto diuers of them, but especially

vnto the Venetians, whom of all others he thought fittest at his need to yeeld him reliefe by sea. It fortuned in the meane time, that *Balac* the Persian Sultan with a great armie of the Turks inuaded the country about Antioch; whereof *Baldwin* vnderstanding (although he certainly knew he should ere long receiue aid from the other Christian Princes his friends, but especially from the Venetians, and might therefore with great reason haue protracted the war vntil their comming, yet being therewith much moued, or else his destinie so requiring) raised such forces as he had of his own, and without longer staying for his friends, with greater courage than good speed set forward; and so joyning battell with the enemie, was therin ouerthrown, with the greatest part of his armie, and himselfe taken prisoner in the fight, with certain other of his best commanders; who all together were carried away captiues vnto Carras. G

Ioppa besieged by the Sarasins.

Vpon the report of this ouerthrow, and taking of the King, the Caliph of Ægypt on the other side tooke occasion with all his power to inuade the kingdome of Ierusalem; & hauing in himselfe purposed the vtter ruine thereof, beside the great armie which he sent thither by land (which lay incamped not far from Ascalon) he put to sea an huge fleet also of 700 saile, for the distressing of the sea townes, which he well knew were not otherwise to be won. This fleet of the Sarasin Kings (for Ægypt with the kingdomes of Tunes and Morocco were yet in possession of the Sarasins) arriuing at Ioppa, there put ashore their land forces, and hardly besieged the town both by sea and land. But whilest they thus lay in great hope to haue won the town, *Dominicus Michael* duke of Venice, stirred vp by *Calixtus* then Bishop of Rome, was come to Cyprus with a fleet of two hundred saile, for the reliefe of the Christians in Syria and the Holie land: and hearing of the distresse of Ioppa, nothing dismaid with the number of the enemies fleet, hasted thither, and came so suddenly vpon them, that he had (as some report) ouerthrowne them before they could put themselues in order, or be in readinesse to fight: or as some others say, after a great & doubtful fight, hauing sunke or taken a great number of them, and put the rest to flight, he obtained of them a most glorious victorie. With like good fortune also were the Sarasins ouerthrowne in a notable battell at land, neere vnto Ascalon, by the Lord *Eustace*, vnto whom the defence of the kingdome was committed after the taking of the King, who not long after his great a victorie died. H I

Tyre besieged by the Christians.

Ioppa relieued (as is aforesaid) the Duke of Venice trauelled by land to Ierusalem, where he was honorably receiued by *Guarimund* the Patriarke, and the confederation before made betwixt King *Baldwin* and the Venetians, vpon the same conditions solemnly againe renued. K

The Sarasins thus notably discomfited both by sea and land, and the Christians thereby not a little incouraged, and joining their forces together with the Venetians, came and the first of March laid siege vnto the antient and strong city of Tyre: which they hauing beset both by sea and land, gaue thereunto many a sharpe assault; which the Turks as men fighting for their liues and wiues right valiantly repulsed. In which sort the siege was continued longer than the Christians had at the first thought should haue needed: yet at length after foure moneths siege, the Turks sore weakened with often assaults, and hardly pinched with want of food, all their store being spent, yeelded the citie by composition. Thus was the citie of Tyre (the most famous port of Phœnicia) yeelded vnto the Christians the nine and twentieth of Iune, in the yeare 1124. The third part of this citie was giuen to the Venetians, according to the composition made betwixt them and the Kings of Ierusalem, That of all such cities as were by their helpe woon from the Infidels in Syria, they should haue a third part, with one street, and free traffique in all the rest of the cities of the Kingdome of Ierusalem. Shortly after was King *Baldwin* set at libertie for the ransome of an hundred thousand ducats, after he had been eighteene moneths prisoner among the Turks. L

1124

The Duke of Venice hauing now spent almost three yeares in this sacred expedition, and well confirmed the state of the Christians in Syria, returning home, by the way tooke the Islands of Chios, Rhodus, Samos, Mitylen, and Andrus, with the citie of Modon in Peloponesus; all places belonging vnto the Greeke Empire. Which hee did in reuenge of the iniuries done by the Emperor in the time of his absence, who enuying at the successe of the Christians in Syria, as had his father *Alexius* before him, had in the absence of the duke infested the territories of the Venetians, for the which he was now iustly requited, with the losse of a good part of his owne. M

Baldwin also not vnmindfull of the iniuries vnto him before done by the Turks, in requitall thereof,

A thereof, inuaded the countrey about Damaſco, and there in three notable battells ouerthrew the king, and ſpoyled the country: wherein he tooke ſo great a prey, that therewith he redeemed his daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliuerance left in hoſtage with the Turkes for the payment of his ranſome. He alſo ouerthrew the Saraſins at Aſcalon, who aided by the Caliph of Ægypt, had ſundrie times inuaded the countrey about Ieruſalem. And ſo hauing well repreſſed his enemies, for a ſpace liued in peace.

Not long after, *Hugh Paganus* firſt Maſter of the Templars (an Order of knights firſt begun in the raigne of this *Baldwin*) before ſent to craue aid of the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, againſt the Turks and Saraſins, returned with a great number of zealous Chriſtians, readie to lay down their liues for defence of the Chriſtian faith & religion: with whom *Baldwin* & the
B other Chriſtian Princes of Syria joyning their forces, ſet forward and beſieged Damaſco, the regall ſeat of the Turks in thoſe quarters. But ſuch was the ſtrength of this citie, with the valor of the defendants, and contagiouſneſſe of the aire, that the Chriſtians (the heauens as it were then fighting againſt them) were glad to raiſe their ſiege, in vaine begun, and ſo to retyre.

Damaſco in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Whileſt things thus paſſed in Syria, *Fulke* Countie of Turin, Mayn, and Aniou, a man almoſt of threeſcore yeres, hauing as he thought beſt diſpoſed of his things at home, had for deuotion ſake taken vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. In the time of which his preparations, Embaſſadors came vnto him from King *Baldwin*, offering him in marriage *Meliſenda* (or as ſome call her, *Margaret*) his eldeſt daughter, with the ſucceſſion into the kingdome of Ieruſalem in dowrie, if he ſhould ſuruiue the King; and in the meane time to content himſelfe
C with the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais: of which offer he accepted, and ſo held on his journey before intended. It fortuned about three yeres after, that the king fell dangerouſly ſick, & feeling his death drawing on, hauing layd aſide all regall dignitie, cauſed himſelfe to be remooued out of his owne palace, into the Patriarkes houſe, which was neerer vnto the temple of the ſepulchre: and there calling vnto him *Fulke* the Countie, his ſon in law, with his daughter and his ſonne *Baldwin*, then but two yeares old, in the preſence of the Patriarke, and diuers other Princes and great Commanders, commended vnto them the gouernment and defence of the kingdome, appointing *Fulke* to ſucceed him. And taking vnto himſelfe the habit and profeſſion of a Monke (if he ſhould haue longer liued) preſently after gaue vp the ghoſt the two and
D twentieth day of Auguſt, in the yeare 1131; whereof he raigned with much trouble thirteen yeres, and was ſolemnly buried in the temple vpon mount Caluarie, with the other two kings *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* his predeceſſors.

The death of Baldwin the ſecond, the third King of Ieruſalem.

The Kings funerall ended, the Princes of the kingdome with one accord made choice of *Fulke* the old Countie, Earle of Aniou, for their King: who the 16 day of September, was with all ſolemnitie by *William* the Patriarke crowned in Ieruſalem. This man in the beginning of his raigne, beſides his troubles abroad, was alſo vext with domeſticall and inteſtine diſcord: *Pontius* Countie of Tripolis, ſeeking by force of arms to haue rent the dukedome of Antioch from the kingdom: and *Hugh* Countie of Ioppa, for feare of due puniſhment for his treaſon, joyning himſelf with the Saraſins of Aſcalon, and ſo with them infeſting the territories of Ieruſalem, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian ſtate, and aduantage of the infidels. Which trouble-
E ſome broyles were yet afterwards by the King, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriarke and other Princes (who ſeeing the danger thereof like to enſue, had interpoſed themſelues) well againe appeaſed. Vengeance yet neuertheleſſe ſtill following both the aforeſaid traitors: *Pontius* being ſhortly after ſlaine by the Turks, and *Hugh* dying in exile.

1131

Beſides theſe domeſticall troubles, the Turks alſo inuaded the countrey about Antioch, where they were by the ſudden comming of the King ouerthrowne, with the loſſe of their tents, & exceeding great riches. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the diſquieting of the ſtate of that new erected kingdome, not long after, *Iohn* the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor, (together with the empire, inheritour alſo of his fathers malice, againſt the proceeding of the Chriſtians in Syria) with a puiſſant armie paſſing thorow the leſſer Aſia, and by the way taking
F by force Tarſus the metropoliticall citie of Cilicia, with the whole prouince thereunto belonging, came and beſieged Antioch; which *Fulke* but a little before had, together with *Conſtance* the daughter and heire of the late Duke of Antioch, giuen in marriage to *Raymund* Countie of Poitou, for that purpeſe ſent out of France. But in this ſo dangerous a ſtate of that Chriſtian kingdome, the other zealous Chriſtian Princes interpoſed themſelues as me-

diators betwixt the Emperor (pretending the same to belong vnto his Empire) and *Raymund* G
that was in possession thereof. And in fine brought it to this end, that *Raymund* for the present submitting himselfe vnto the Emperor, should from thence forth hold his dukedome of him as of his Lord and Soueraigne: vpon which agreement the Emperour returned vnto Tarsus, where he wintred, and so afterwards vnto Constantinople.

Much about the same time, *Sanguin* one of the Turks great Princes, inuading the countrey about Tripolis, besieged the castle of Mont-Ferrand: vnto the reliefe whereof *Fulke* comming with his armie, was by the Turks ouerthrowne, and for the safegard of his life glad to take the refuge of the castle, the Countie himselfe being in that battell taken prisoner. After which victorie, the Turks layed harder siege vnto the castle than before; the besieged in the meane time being no lesse pinched within with famine, than pinched without by the enemie. H
In this the Kings hard distresse, the other Princes hauing raised the whole power of the kingdome, were comming to his reliefe: whereof the Turke vnderstanding, offered of himselfe to giue them all leaue freely to depart, and to set the Countie at libertie, so that they would deliuer vnto him the castle: of which his offer they gladly accepting, yeelded vp the strong Hold, and so departed. The King by the way meeting with the armie, thanked his friends for their forwardnesse, and so returned to Ierusalem.

Calo Ioannes the Greeke Emperour seketh in vaine to haue surprised the citie of Antioch.

About foure yeares after, *Iohn* the Constantinopolitan Emperour with a great armie came againe into Syria, with purpose to haue vnited the famous citie of Antioch vnto his Empire, and so to haue made a way into the kingdome of Ierusalem, whereafter he had now a good while longed. But comming thither in hope to haue found the Cilicians and Sirians readie to haue receiued him, he was deceiued of his expectation, being shut out by the Latines, and not suffered to enter but vpon his oath, and that with some few of his followers; and so after due reuerence done vnto him, quietly to depart without any stirre or innouation in the citie. In reuenge of which disgrace, at his departure he gaue the suburbs of the city as a prey to his greedie soldiers, pretending the same to be done for want of victuals; who made hauock of whatsoeuer came to hand, not sparing the verie fruit trees, but cutting them downe to dresse their meat withall. Hauing thus vnder colour of necessitie reuenged the disgrace receiued, he returned into Cilicia, and there wintred: where one day for his disport hunting of the wild boare, and hauing wounded him with his boare speare, the wild beast therewith inraged, and with all his force bearing forward vpon the weapon, forced the Emperours hand backward vpon the K
point of a poysoned arrow that was hanging in a quiuer at his backe, and so was therewith lightly wounded. Neuertheless as light as the wound was, such was the strength of the poyson, that the griefe thereof stil increasing, and his hand & arme more and more swelling, there was no remedie to be found, but that his arme must be cut off: which desperat and vncertaine cure he abhorring, and in the extremitie of his paine oftentimes pleasantly saying, That the Greeke Empire was not to be gouerned with one hand; ouercome with the strength of the poyson, died. In whose place succeeded his youngest sonne *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his two elder sonnes being both dead at his setting forth vnto this so vnhappie an expedition.

The death of Calo Ioannes the Greeke Emperour.

It fortuned about this time also, that the kingdome of Ierusalem being now at peace, that *Fulke* the King, with the Queene his wife, lying at the citie of Ptolemais in the time of Autumne, it pleased the Queene for her disport to walke out of the Citie, vnto certaine pleasant L
fountains there by in the country; for whose companie the King would needs go also, with certaine of his courtiers: where by the way it chanced that certaine boyes running along the field, put vp an hare that was sitting in a furrow; after which all the Courtiers on horsebacke gallopped amaine, with notable outcry and hollowing. Amongst the rest, the King to be partaker of the sport, forcing his horse to the vttermost of his power, in the midst of his course fell, together with his horse foundring vnder him, and in falling, chanced to fall his head vnder the horse: with whose weight, and the hardnesse of his saddle, he was so crushed, that the braines came out both at his nose and eares. In this pittifull case being taken vp for dead, and with great heauinesse being carried backe, he yet breathing lay speechlesse three dayes, and so M
died the thirteenth of Nouember, in the yeare of Grace 1142. His dead bodie afterwards brought to Ierusalem, was there with great magnificence, and the generall lamentation of all his subiects, buried with the other Kings his predecessors.

The miserable death of Fulke, fourth King of Ierusalem.

Now had the late King left behind him two sons, *Baldwin* about the age of thirteen yeres, and

A and *Almerick* about the age of seuen. Of the elder of these two, the Christian Princes made choice, who by the name of *Baldwin* the third, was together with *Melesinda* his mother, partner with him in the kingdome, vpon Christmas day with great solemnitie crowned King of Ierusalem, in the yeare 1142. About which time, *Sanguin* the Turke, taking hold of the discord betwixt *Raymund* Prince of Antioch, & *Ioscelin* Countie of Edessa, came and with a great power besieged Edessa, the Countie being at the same time absent: and did so much, that at length he tooke the citie by vndermining of it, where the bloudie Turke exercised all manner of cruelty vpon the poore Christians in the citie. By the losse of this famous city, so large a territorie fell againe into the hands of the Turks, as that three Archbishopricks were thereby drawne from the Church of Antioch. The Turke encouraged with this victorie, straight-

Baldwin the third of that name fift King of Ierusalem. 1142

B waies after besieged Cologenbar, another strong towne of the Christians: one night drinking liberally with his friends, he was by one of them in his drunkennesse stabbed, and so slaine, and the siege raised. In whose stead *Noradin* his sonne succeeded.

Baldwin, in the first yeare of his raigne, recouered from the Turkes the Castle of Sobal, a strong hold beyond Iordan, which hee notably fortified, for the defence of that side of his kingdome against the incursions of the Turks. But the next yeare vndertaking an expedition against the King of Damasco, he was by *Noradin* the Turke, the Kings sonne in law, so hardly beset in his returne, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his armie escaped his hands.

The report of the losse of Edessa, with the miseries there endured by the Christians, being bruted thorow all parts of Christendome, greatly moued the Christian Princes of the West.

C Whom *Eugenius* the third, then Bishop of Rome, ceased not both by himselfe and by his Legates to stir vp to take that sacred war in hand. And therein wrought so effectually, that almost in euery prouince of Christendome preparation was made for the reliefe of the distressed Christians in Syria. Of all others, *Conrade* the third then Emperor of Germanie, was most forward, who aided by the German Princes and others, with an incredible number of voluntarie men out of all parts of Christendome, had raised a most puissant army, and therewith set forward on this sacred expedition. Of this his deuout purpose he had before certified *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperour, thorow whose countries he was to passe, crauing that he might by his good fauor so doe, and for his money to be relieued with victuals, and other such things as he

Conrade third Emperour of Germanie taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy Land.

D should haue need of for himselfe or his people; promising in most quiet and peaceable manner to passe, without any harme doing vnto his territories or subiects. Al which the Greek Emperor, commending his zeale, seemed in most large terms willingly to condescend vnto. Neuertheles he inwardly repined the iar, wishing indeed no better successe to the Christians in this so honourable an expedition, than did the Infidels themselues, as by the sequel of his doings wel appeared. For *Conrade* with his populous army, indeed a terror vnto the Greeks, entring into the frontiers of the Constantinopolitan empire, found al things in shew friendly (for why *Emanuel* had before giuen out strait command, that good store of victuals & all other necessaries should be ready at all places to be sold as the army was to passe:) but they were not farre

E come into the country, but that in the taile of the army stil followed certain strong companies of the Greeks, to keepe the soldiers from straggling from their enfignes, roaming about in the country, now & then cutting them short, as they tooke them at aduantage. And stil the further that they trauelled, the more it was to be seen in the countenances of the discontented Greks, how vnwelcome guests they were. Yet stil on they went thorow the countries of their dissembling friends, little differing from open enemies, vntil they came to Phillippopolis: in departing from whence, such discord rose between them that were in the rereward of the army, & the Greeks that followed them, that it was like to haue come to plain battell, had not those broils, by the discretion of some of the wiser sort, bin in good time appeased. So marching on they came to Adrianople, & in few days after to the plain called Cherobachi, thorow which the riuer Melas hath his course; which in Summer being almost dry, in Winter or any other great downefall of water, right suddenly ouerfloweth his bankes, and so drowneth the whole

F country, that then it seemeth no more a riuer, but a sea; and swelling with the wind, is not to be passed ouer but by great boats. This riuer then suddenly rising by night, by reason of the great rain that then fell, in such aboundance, as if the floud gates of heauen had bin opened, so ouerflowed the place wherein the armie lay encamped vpon the side thereof, that with the violence

violence of the water were carried away not only many weapons, saddles, garments, and such other the souldiers necessaries, but euen the horses and mules, with their burdens, yea & great numbers of armed men themselues also, a most miserable & lamentable thing to behold. Many valiant men there fel without fight, and died no men killing them: to be tal, helped not; neither did valor stand them in any stead; they perished like hay, & were caried away like chaffe, with such outcries and lamentation, that they which saw it, verily said, That the wrath of God was broke into the camp: such a sudden inundation had ouerwhelmed all, that happie was he could make shift for himselfe, without regarding one another. This misfortune sore troubled the Emperor with his whole army. Neuertheless, the water being againe fallen, and all put in so good order, as in such a confusion was possible, he marched on to the imperial citie: which the suspicious and malicious Greeke had before notably fortified & so strongly manned with armed men glistring vpon the wals, in such sort as if it should haue presently bin assaulted.

Conrade the Emperour not suffered to enter into Constantinople.

Conrade approching the citie, was not suffered to enter, but persuaded by the Greek Emperour forthwith to transport his armie ouer the strait, with promise to supplie his wants with whatsoeuer he should require. Which was don with such hast, as if nothing had bin farther to haue bin regarded, but only to haue them shipped ouer: in which seruice the Greekes spared no labour, or kinde of vessell, that might serue to transport them. The Greeke Emperour in the meane time, by men secretly appointed for that purpose, keeping account of the number that passed, vntill that they wearied with the multitude, ceased further to number them. But when they were once shipt ouer, then began the couert malice of the Greek Emperor forthwith to appeare. For, besides that they trusting vnto his promises, had brought little or no prouisions ouer with them, the countrey people by his appointment brought nothing vnto them to sell, as before: and they of the towns and cities shut their gates against them as they marched, not affording them any thing, but at an extream rate, for which they would first receiue their mony by ropes cast down from the wals, and then deliuer them what they pleased therfore, yea and oftentimes nought at all. Among many other vile practises, not beseeming Christians, the mischieuous Greeke, to poison the souldiers, mingled lime with the meale which they sold vnto the armie, whereof many of the hungrie soldiers greedily feeding, died. Whether the Greeke Emperour were priuie thereunto, or no, is not certainly knowne; but certain it is, that he caused counterfeit mony to be coined, of purpose to deceiue them: and in briefe, there was no kinde of mischiefe to bee practised against them, which either hee himselfe deuised not, or set not others to deuise; to the intent that their posteritie, terrified by this so vnfortunat an expedition, might for euer be afraid to take the like in hand againe. And that nothing might be wanting that malice could deuise, he had secret intelligence with the Turkes themselues, concerning the strength of the army, plotting vnto them the means how the same might best be defeated: whereby it came to passe, that some part thereof was by *Pamplano*, a captaine of the Turks, ouerthrowne neere Bathis, and many slain. But attempting to haue done the like vnto that part of the armie that passed thorow Phrygia, they were themselues ouertaken in their owne deuice and ouerthrowne, with a great slaughter. After which, the Turks in great number, to stay the Christians further passage, kept the riuer Mœander, encamping vpon the farther banke of that winding riuer, with a most huge army. There these worthy Christians right well declared, that it was but their patience, that the Grecian legions that had before so long followd them, with their countries & cities they had passed by, were not to them become a prey. For the Emperor comming vnto the riuer side, where was neither bridge nor boat to passe ouer, & finding the great army of the Turks on the other side, ready to giue him battell if he should aduenture the riuer, with their archers standing vpon the very bank side: he retired a little out of the danger of the shot, and there encamping, commanded his soldiers to refresh themselues and their horses that night, and to be ready against the next morning to ioyne battell with their enemies they were so far come to seek for. Little rest serued him that night; early in the morning before day he arose, and arming himself, put his whole army in order of battel: as did also the enemie on the other side of the riuer, with their batalions orderly placed, and their archers vpon the banke side, ready to giue the first charge on the Christians, if they should aduenture to come ouer. Both armies thus standing in readines the one in sight of the other, & nothing but the winding riuer betwixt them, the Emperor before resolued to fight, with cheerefull countenance and speech encouraged his men as followeth.

The Turk with a great armie seeke to stay Conrade his further passage at the riuer Meander.

That

A notable speech of Conrade the Emperour, to encourage his souldiers to aduenture the riuer Meander.

That this expedition was of vs taken in hand, for Christ his sake, and for the glorie of God, and not of man, you know right well fellow souldiers. For, for this cause hauing contemned a pleasant life at home, voluntarily seperated from our neereſt and deereſt friends, we indure miseries in forraine countries; wee are exposed vnto dangers, wee pine with hunger, wee quake with cold, wee languish with heat; wee haue the earth our bed, the heauen our couering: and although wee be noble, famous, renowned, rich, ruling ouer nations; yet weare we alwaies our gorgets as necessarie bonds, & are with them and our armuor loaded, as was the greateſt seruant of Christ, Peter, surcharged with two chaines, and kept with foure quaternions of soldiers. But these Barbarians (diuided from vs by this riuer) to be the enemies of the crosse of Christ, whom wee of long haue desired to encounter withall, in whose bloud (as Dauid *saith) we haue vowed to wash our selues: Who is there that knoweth not, except he be altogether blockish and will not with open eyes see, nor open eares heare? If wee wish to ascend straight way into heauen, (for neither is God vniust, that hee knoweth not the cause of this our iourney, or will not in recompence giue vnto vs the immortall fields, and shadie dwellings of Paradice, which hauing forsaken our owne dwellings, haue chose rather for his sake to die than to liue) if wee call to remembrance what things these men of vncircumcised hearts doe commit against our friends and countreymen, if wee remember what grieuous tortures they inflict vpon them, or if wee be any thing touched with the compassion of the innocent bloud, vnworthily spilt; stand now courageously, and fight valiantly, and let not any feare or terrour daunt vs. Let these Barbarians know, that by how much Christ our master and instructer doth excell their false prophet and seducer, authour of their vaine impietie; so much are wee superiours vnto them in all things. Seeing therefore wee are an holy campe, and an armie gathered by the power of God, let vs not cowardly lose our selues, or feare for Christ his sake honourably to aduenture our liues. For if Christ died for vs, how much more right is it that we for him should die also? Vnto this so honourable an expedition let vs also giue an honourable end: let vs fight in Christs name, with a most assured hope of an easie victorie. For none of them (I trust) shal be able to abide our force, but shall all giue way, euen to our first charge. But if wee shall die (which God forbid) there shall be an honourable place of our buriall, whersoeuer we shall for Christ fall. Let the Persian archer for Christ his sake, strike me, I will die in assured hope: and with that arrow, as with a chariot, I wil come vnto that rest, which shal be to me deerer than if I should with a base ordinarie kind of death in my sinnes end my dayes in a bed. Now at length let vs take reuenge of them, with whose impure feet our kinsmen and Christian brethren troden downe, are gone into that common sanctuarie, in which Christ our Sauiour, equall and associate to his Father, is become a companion of the dead. Wee are those mightie men, wee all haue drawne our swords, which stand about the liuely and diuine sepulchre, as about* Salomons *bed. Wherefore we that be free borne, let vs take out of the way these Agarens, the children of the bondwoman: and let vs remoone them as stones of offence out of the way of Christ: whom (I know not why) the Grecians feed vp as greedie wolues to their owne destruction, and with shame fat them with their bloud; when as with courragious mindes and thoughts beseeming wise men, they ought so to haue beene driuen from their prouinces and cities, as rauening wilde beasts from their flocks. Now for as much as this Riuer, as it seemeth, is not, but by some aduenture to be passed ouer, I my selfe will shew you the way, and be the first that shall take it. Let vs, serred together, forcibly breake into the riuer. And wee shall well enough ride thorow it. I know that the water beaten backe by our force, will bee at a stand, and breake the course, returning as it were backward. By not vnlike meanes the Israelites in antient time on foot passed ouer Iordan, the course of the riuer being staid. This attempt shall be spoken of in all posterstie, it shall by no tract of time be worne out or forgotten, but stil remaine in fresh remembrance, to the great dishonour of the Turkes, whose dead bodies ouerthrowne at this riuer, shall lie like a mountaine, and be seene as a Trophey of our victorie, vnto the worlds end, and our immortall praise and glorie.*

Hauing thus said, and the signall of battell giuen, euery man hauing before by deuout praier commended himselfe vnto almightie God, he was the first that put spurs to his horse, & tooke the riuer; after whom followed the rest, so close & so forcibly, with such a terible outcry, that the course of the water, being by the force of their horses staid, and as it were beaten back towards the fountain, the whole army passed ouer with lesse trouble than was feared. And then charging the Turks, already discouraged to haue seen them so desperatly, & contrary to their expectation, to haue passed the riuer; after some smal resistance put them to flight, wherin such infinit numbers of them fel, the Christians like fierce lions pursuing the chace, that al the valies

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the christians with a wonderfull slaughter.

lies ran with bloud, and the fields were couered with the bodies of the dead. Many of the Italians were wounded with the Turks arrows, and but few or none slain. But what a multitude of the enemies there fell, the sundrie and hugie heapes of bones, to bee compared vnto great hils, did long time after well declare; whereat euery man that trauelled that way did worthily wonder, as did I my selfe (saith *Nicetas Choniates*) in reporting this historie. Not much vnlike that, is reported of the Cimbers, slaine by *Marius* in such number, that of their bones the countrey people about Marcellis where the field was fought, long time after made walls for the defence of their vineyards.

Nicetas Choniates Annali primo rerum a Manuele Comneno Imperatore gestar. fol. 139

After this so great a victory, the Christians without resistance came to Iconium, the chiefe seat of the Turkish Kings in the lesser Asia, which they hardly besieged. Neuertheless, such was the strength of the citie, being strongly fortified both by Nature and Art, together with the valour of the defendants, that lying there long, they little preuailed, pressed in the meane time with greater extremities & wants in the camp, than were the besieged in the citie: whereupon ensued such a mortalitie, people dayly without number dying in the army; that the Emperor was glad to raise his siege and to returne into his countrey. The chiefe cause as well of this so great a mortalitie, as of the ouerthrow of so notable an action, most men ascribe vnto the malice of the Greekes; who not without the priuitie of their Emperour (as it was commonly bruited) mingled lime with the meale which they brought to sell into the armie, whereof the hungrie souldiers desirously feeding, were therewith poisoned, and so miserably died. Of the certaine time of this iourney of the Emperours into Asia, Authours agree not; howbeit must referre it vnto the yeare 1146.

Iconium vaine besieged by the christians.

1146

This expedition, though not so fortunat as it was at the first wel hoped of, yet profited the Christian common weale in this, That the Turks therewith throughly busied, and doubtful of the euent thereof, *Baldwin* in the meane time fortified Gaza (sometimes a famous citie of the Philistines, but as then ruinous) which serued as a most sure bulwarke for the defence of that part of his kingdome towards Ægypt: and also for the distressing of Ascalon, the only refuge of the Ægyptians, then left in that countrey: which strong citie standing vpon the sea side, he with all the power of his kingdome afterward besieged both by sea and land; vnto the reliefe whereof, the Caliph of Ægypt, after it had beene fiue moneths by the Christians besieged, sent a strong fleet of threescore and ten gallies. At which time also on the other side *Noradin* the Turke, who had now got into his hand all the kingdome of Damasco, to withdraw the Christians from the siege of Ascalon, besieged Paneada, from whence he was by the valour of the citizens repulsed, as was also the Caliphs fleet at sea, and the siege at Ascalon continued. Where at length the Christians after long batterie had made a breach in the wall, but giuing thereunto an assault, they were with great losse of their men repulsed, and the breach againe by the enemie repaired; who to the greater despight of the Christians, hanged ouer the wals in ropes the dead bodies of their slaine: with which spectacle the chiefe commanders of the armie were so moued, that they with all their power returned againe to the assault, with a full resolution to gage thereon their whole forces: which they so couragiously performed, that the besieged discouraged with the great slaughter of their men, and now with true valour ouercome, craued parley; and so couenanting that they might with their liues in safety depart, agreed to yeeld vp the citie, which they accordingly performed. The spoile of the citie was giuen to the soldiers, and the gouernment thereof vnto *Almericke* the Kings brother, Earle of Ioppa. By this victorie, great securitie was gained vnto that side of the kingdome, the enemy hauing now no place left in those parts whereon to set his foot.

The honourable expedition of Lewis the French king, by the malice of the Greekes, and enuie of other Christian princes of Syria frustrated and brought to nought.

About the same time also (or as some write, euen at the same time together with the Emperor) *Lewis* the French King, the eight of that name, tooke vpon him the like expedition for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy Land: who setting forward with all the chiualrie of France, and accompanied with diuers other great Princes, with a right puissant army came to Constantinople, where he was by *Emanuel* the Emperor honorably receiued, with all the outward shews of feigned courtesie that could be deuised. But hauing passed the strait, and landed in Asia, he found nothing answerable to that the dissembling Greeke had before most largely promised. And to distresse him the more, was by false guides before corrupted by the Emperour, conducted thorow the most desolate and barren countries, where by the way a wonderfull number of his souldiers perished of hunger and thirst: many of them also being cut off in the

the strait and difficult passages, or as they straied from the army by the Greeks themselues, appointed by the malicious Emperour for that purpose. Yet after many dangers passed, and his armie sore wasted, he came at length into Syria, and laid siege vnto Damasco, the royal seat of *Noradin* the Turkish king; which he so notably impugned, that the defendants were almost out of hope to be able for any long time to hold out. Neither had it otherwise happened, had not enuie, the inseparable attendant of all honourable actions, frustrated so great an hope: for the besieged Turks being brought to great extremity, and now euen at the point to haue yeelded the citie, certaine of the Christian Princes of that countrey, vnderstanding that the king had promised the gouernment of that so famous a citie, vnto *Philip* Earle of Flanders, if it should be won; & secretly grudging to haue a stranger preferred before themselues, corrupted also (as some say) with the Turks gold, fraudulently persuaded the King to remoue from that part of the city where he lay, and might in fine haue taken the same, vnto another far stronger: where, after he had lien a great while, striuing with no small extremities, he was enforced for want of victuals to raise his siege and to depart. And so without any thing done worth the remembrance, returned againe into France, detesting the very name of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor; by whose sinister dealing, so notable an expedition was brought to be of none effect, to the great discouraging of all other Christian Princes for taking the like againe in hand.

Damasco in vaine besieged by Lewis the French King.

1147

Now had the state of the Christians in Syria, for certaine yeres after the aforesaid expeditions, rested in good peace: when *Noradin* the Turke (moued with some iniuries done by the Christians vnto the Turkes and Arabians, who by the leaue of King *Baldwin* dwelt in the forest of Lybanus) came and straitly besieged Paneada, a citie of the Christians there by: vpon whom the Christians in the citie, now brought vnto great extremitie, made a most desperate sallie, and had with the Turks a sharpe and cruell fight: but oppressed with the multitude, and inforced to retire, they were so hardly pursued, that the Turks together with them entred the citie, and put to sword al that came in their way. Neuertheles, the greater part of the citizens (by good fortune) had in good time before retired themselues into the castle, which was of great strength, and there stood vpon their gard. Of whose distresse, with the taking of the city, *Baldwin* hearing, raised a great army, & so set forward to relieue them. But *Noradin* hearing of his comming, and doubtfull of his owne strength, after hee had taken the spoile of what hee could, set fire on the city, and so departed. The citizens thus deliuered, repaired again the wals of the city, the Kings power still defending them. *Noradin* with his power all the while lying close in the woods not farre off, still awaiting the offer of some good opportunitie to take the Christians at aduantage, which shortly after fel out according to his owne desire: for the king doubting no such matter, but supposing him to haue bin quite gone, hauing at his returne sent away all his footmen, followed after himselfe, accompanied only with his horsmen, and they also not very strong: but as he was passing the riuer Iordan, he was suddenly set vpon by *Noradin* & the Turks, and after a sharp conflict ouerthrown: the king himself with some few hardly escaped to Sapher, a town there by; most part of his nobility being there either slaine or taken prisoners: among the rest, *Bertrand* of Blanquefort, master of the Templars, with diuers others of great name, fel at that time into the enemies hands, & so were carried away prisoners.

Paneade taken and sacked by the Turks.

Paneade againe repaired by the christians.

After this victorie, *Noradin* strengthened with new supplies from Damasco, came againe and besieged Paneade, in good hope, that the citizens discouraged with so great an ouerthrow of the king, and out of hope to bee by them relieued, would now either yeeld the city, or else not be able long to hold it out. But the king, contrary to his expectation, had in shorter time than was thought possible, raised a great power; and aided by the prince of Antioch, and the countie of Tripolis, was marching to the reliefe of his citie: of which approch *Noradin* vnderstanding, although hee had made diuers breaches in the wals, and brought the citizens almost vnto vtter despaire, rose with his armie and departed. And so *Baldwin* hauing now twice relieued the besieged citie, returned also to Ierusalem.

Many an hard conflict with the Turks had this young king afterwards, during the fortunate time of his raigne: wherein that troublesome kingdom happily flourished amidst the miscreants; all which to recount, were long and tedious. Yet among other things, it is worth the remembrance, how that *Noradin* the Turke, then King of Damasco, besieging Sueta, a castle belonging to the kingdome of Ierusalem, was in a set battell by *Baldwin* ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the losse of the greatest part of his armie. King *Baldwin* had before married

ried *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperors neece: and now the ſame Emperor by *Guido Stephanus*, and G
Triſillus his embaſſadours, requeſted to haue giuen him againe in marriage one of the Kings
nigh kinſwomen. Vnto whom the King, after mature deliberation had concerning the matter,
offered him *Matilde*, an honourable Lady, the ſiſter of the countie of Tripolis; whom the Em-
perour refuſed: and afterward by the conſent of the king, made choice of *Mary* the daughter
of *Raimund* Prince of Antioch lately dead. Which the countie of Tripolis taking in euill
part, in reuenge therof, by certaine men of warre whom he put to ſea, grieuouſly infeſted the
frontiers of the Emperours dominions. Now during the time that the marriage was in ſolem-
nizing, the king made his abode at Antioch, at which time hee fortified the caſtle of Pon-
tiſter vpon the riuer Orantes, againſt the incurſions of the enemies. But lying there, he accor-
ding to his wonted manner, to preuent ſickneſſe, vpon the approch of Winter tooke phyſicke H
of *Barac* a Iew, the countie of Tripolis his phyſitian. After the taking whereof, hee fell pre-
ſently into the bloudie flix, and afterward into a conſumption: whereby it was verily ſuppo-
ſed, that he was poyſoned by the Iew; and the rather, for that ſome little part of the ſame me-
dicine that was left, being giuen to a dogge, he thereof in ſhort time dyed. The King thus lan-
guiſhing in paine, to change the aire, remooued firſt to Tripolis, and afterward to Berytus,
where hee departed this troubleſome life, to liue with his Sauiour Chriſt in bliſſe for euer.
His dead bodie was afterward with generall mourning of his ſubiects cõueied to Ieruſalem,
and there ſolemnly enterred by the bodie of his father. He departed the 13 of Februarie, in
in the yeare of Grace 1163, when he had raigned 21 yeares. He was a man ſo gracious, that
not onely his friends, but euen the Infidels themſelues (as it is reported) lamented his death. I
Inſomuch that *Noradin* King of Damaſco, his antient enemie, being incited by ſome of his
captains to inuade his kingdome at ſuch time as his funerals were in ſolemnizing, refuſed ſo
to doe, anſwering, That compaſſion and regard was to be had of the iuſt ſorrow of the Chri-
ſtians his ſubiects; for that they had loſt ſuch a King, the like was hardly againe to be found in
the world.

The death of king Baldwin lamented by his enemies.

1164

But leauing the kingdome of Ieruſalem, with the greater part of Seruia, thus victoriouſly
gained from the Infidels; let vs for the orderly continuation of our hiſtorie, againe returne to
ſee the proceedings of the Turkes at the ſame time in the leſſer Aſia alſo: wherein they yet
held the ſtate of a kingdome, though not ſo great as before the comming of the Princes of
the Weſt into thoſe countries. After the death of Sultan *Solyman* (with whom Duke *God-*
frey and the other Chriſtian Princes had much to doe as they paſſed into Syria) as is afore- K
ſaid, one *Muhamet* ſucceeded him: betwixt whom and *Maſut*, Sultan of Iconium, great diſ-
cord aroſe, which at length broke out into open war, to the further weakning of that late ſha-
ken kingdome. For the maintenance of which quarrell, as profitable for his ſtate, *Iohn Com-*
nenus the Greeke Emperor, gaue aid to *Maſut*, againſt his enemie *Muhamet*. Neuertheleſſe in
ſhort time the two Infidels (profeſſing both one ſuperſtition) became friends, & ioyning their
forces, ouerthrew the Emperour with his whole armie, as he lay at the ſiege of Iconium, at
which time he himſelfe with much adoe eſcaped by flight. *Maſut* afterwards hauing got into
his hands the whole kingdom of the Turks, at the time of his death diuided the ſame among
his three ſons: vnto *Clizaſtblan* his eldeſt ſon he gaue Iconium his chiefe city, with the towns L
and prouinces ſubiect thereunto: vnto *Iagupaſan* his other ſon (or rather as ſome will haue it,
his ſon in law) he allotted Amaſia and Ancyra, with the fruitfull countrey of Cappadocia, and
the places adioyning: but vnto *Dadune* his other ſon (or ſon in law) he gaue the great cities
of Ceſarea and Sebaſtia, with the large countries thereabouts, all ſometime a part of the
Greeke empire, but then the portions of the Turks. Long it was not after this diuiſion of the
kingdome, but that theſe brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetfull of the bonds
both of loue & nature, fell at diſcord among themſelues; the Sultan ſeeking the deſtruction of
Iagupaſan, and hee likewiſe of him, and that not by ſecret meanes, but euen by open force of
armes. *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor in the mean time wiſhing the deſtruction of them both,
heartily reioycing thereat, and by his embaſſadours ſecretly animating the one againſt the M
other, yet in open ſhew more fauouring of the part of *Iagupaſan* than of the Sultan, by whoſe
aid hee obtained againſt him many notable and bloudie victories: inſomuch that the Sultan
wearie of the quarrell, was glad not onely by his embaſſadours to ſeeke the Emperours fa-
uor, but euen in perſon himſelfe to goe and meet him, as he came with his army out of Syria,
and

Diſcord among the Turkes in the leſſer Aſia.

Maſut the Sultan diuideth his kingdome amongſt his three ſonnes.

A and ſo to accompanie him vnto Conſtantinople, where he was together with the Emperour
moſt honorably receiued, with all the ſignes of ioy and triumph that could poſſibly be deui-
ſed. The Emperor no leſſe rejoycing to be ſued vnto by ſo great a Prince, than did the Sultan
at his ſo honorable entertainment.

Among other queint deuices of many, for the ſolemniſing of ſo great a triumph, there was *Another fooliſh Icarus.*
an actiue Turke who had openly giuen it out, That againſt an appointed time he would from
the top of an high tower in the tilt yard flie by the ſpace of a furlong: the report whereof
had filled the citie with a wonderfull expectation of ſo ſtrange a noueltie. The time prefixed Nicetas Choniates, rerum ab imper. Manuele Comneno, geſtar. lib. 3. fol. 143.
being come, and the people without number aſſembled, the Turke according to his promiſe,
vpon the top of an high tower ſhewed himſelfe, girt in a long and large white garment, gathe-
B red into many pleits and foldings, made of purpoſe for the gathering of the wind: wherwith
the fooliſh man had vainely perſuaded himſelfe to haue houered in the aire, as doe birds vpon
their wings, or to haue guided himſelfe as are ſhips with their ſailes. Standing thus houering
a great while, as readie to take his flight; the beholders ſtill laughing, and crying out, Flie
Turke, flie, how long ſhall we expect thy flight? The Emperor in the meane time ſtill diſſua-
ding him from ſo deſperate an attempt; and the Sultan betwixt feare and hope hanging in
doubtfull ſuſpence what might happen to his countreyman. The Turke, after he had a great
while houered with his armes abroad, (the better to haue gathered the wind, as birds do with
their wings) and long deluded the expectation of the beholders, at length finding the winde
fit, as he thought, for his purpoſe, committed himſelfe with his vaine hope vnto the aire: but
C in ſtead of mounting aloft, this fooliſh *Icarus* came tumbling downe with ſuch violence, that
he brake his necke, his arms, his legs, with almoſt all the bones of his bodie. This fooliſh flight
of the Turke gaue ſuch occaſion of ſport and laughter vnto the vulgar people (alwaies readie
to ſcoffe and jeaſt at ſuch ridiculous matters) that the Turks attending vpon the Sultan could
not walke in the ſtreets vnderided; the artificers in their ſhops ſhaking their arms, with their
tooles in their hands, as did the Turke, and ſtill crying out, Flie Turke, flie: whereof the Em-
peror hearing, although he could not chuſe but thereat ſmile himſelfe, as not ignorant of the
ſcoffes and taunts of the vulgar people; yet in fauour of the Sultan, who was not a little grie-
ued therewith, he commanded ſuch their inſolencie to be reſtrained.

The ſolemnitie of the triumph ouerpaſſed (which by an ominous earthquake at the ſame
time hapning, was ſomwhat obſcured) the Emperor to ſhew his wealth, & to gratifie the Sul-
D tan, gaue vnto him many rich and royal preſents, with ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as that he much
wondred thereat. In requitall whereof, and in token of his thankfulneſſe, he again honored the
Emperor with the name of his father, and terming himſelfe by the name of his ſon, promiſed
to reſtore vnto him the citie of Sebaſtia, with the territorie thereunto belonging, then part of
Dadune his inheritance. Neuertheleſſe all this was nothing elſe but meere diſſimulation, as af-
terward by proofe appeared: for returning home, he thruſt *Dadune* indeed out of Sebaſtia,
which he ſpoyled, with the country thereabout; but forgetfull of his promiſe, kept it wholly
to himſelfe; and by force tooke alſo from him the city of Cæſarea, with the country of Ama-
ſia, by him before but lately poſſeſſed. In like manner he bent his forces alſo vpon *Iagupaſan*
E his other brother, who in the verie preparation of thoſe wars died: by whoſe vntimely death
the citie of Ancyra, with all his dominions in Capadocia, fell into the Sultans hands. Who
now poſſeſſed of all his fathers kingdome, and ſwelling with pride, forgetting all former cur-
teſies, inuaded the Emperors territories, & tooke from him the citie of Laodicea in Phrygia,
where he did great harme, as alſo in the country thereabouts, killing the people as he went, or
elſe carrying them away with him captiues. For the repreſſing of which outrages, the Empe-
ror with a ſtrong armie paſſed ouer into Aſia, and there in the frontiers of his territories forti-
fied Dorileum againſt the incurſions of the Turks. In performing whereof, he, to the example
and ſtirring vp of others, carried the firſt basket of ſtones himſelfe vpon his ſhoulders; and
vſed ſuch further diligence, that in ſhort time the citie was compaſſed about with ſtrong wals,
F and deepe ditches, maugre the Turks, who ceaſed not with continuall alarmes and skirmiſhes
to haue hindred the worke. With like care, and for like purpoſe he alſo fortified Subleum, ano-
ther ſtrong Hold; and leauing in either place a ſtrong garriſon, returned againe to Conſtanti-
nople. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ceaſed not with continuall inrodes to doe what harmes they
might vpon the frontiers of the Empire, although not altogether with ſo good ſucceſſe as
before,

Vnkindneſſe betwixt the emperour and the Sultan.

before, being many times cut off by the garriſons of the late fortified towns: which grieuances ſtill increaſing, cauſed the Emperor to expoſtulate with the Sultan, as with an vnthankfull man, and forgetfull of ſo great kindneſſe before done vnto him, as the eſtabliſhment of him in his kingdome came vnto: who with no leſſe vehemencie vpbraided him againe with inconſtancie and breach of promiſe, as well for fortifying the aforeſaid places, contrarie to the league betwixt them, as for that hauing promiſed much more, he had thereof performed nothing. Thus vnkindneſſe dayly growing vpon euerie triſle (as it commonly falleth out among men of great ſpirit, and jealous of their owne honors) it was dayly expected, when the matter ſhould fall out into open and bloudie war; both of them being men of great valour, and apt to reuenge the leaſt iniurie to them offered. Yet was it the Sultans manner, warily to mannage his wars by his politique and expert captaines; whereas the Emperour being of an hotter nature, and couragious aboue meaſure, commonly in all his great expeditions aduentured his own perſon, without reſpect what danger might thereof inſue vnto himſelfe or his ſtate. Long it was not but that the Emperour, fully reſolued to be reuenged of ſo many wrongs done vnto him and his ſubiects by the Turks, raiſed the whole power of his Empire, both in Europe and Aſia, in ſuch ſort as if he had therewith purpoſed, not only to haue raſed to the ground Iconium the regall ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultan, but euen vtterly to haue deſtroyed the whole Nation of the Turks. Thus with a moſt puiſſant and populous armie, wel appointed of all things neceſſarie, he paſſed ouer into Aſia, and ſo in good order marching thorow Phrygia, Laodicea, Chonas, (called in antient time Paſſas) S. Archangel, Lampis, Cælænas, (where the head of the great and famous riuer Mæander riſeth, whereinto the riuer Marſyas falleth) and from thence to Chonia, he with euill lucke, and worſe ſpeed, paſſed by Myriocephalon, an old ruinous caſtle, ominous by the name thereof, as by the euent in ſhort time after it prooued. And albeit that he marched verie circumſpectly, ſtill intrenching his armie in euery place where he lodged; yet could he make but ſmal ſpeed, by reaſon of the multitude of his carriages, and of the baſe people that attended the ſame. The Turks in the meane while oftentimes ſhewing themſelues in troupes, and in places of aduantage skirmiſhing ſometime with one part of the armie, and ſometime with another, but neuer daring to aduenture the fortune of a juſt battell: yet by ſuch meanes were the victuallers of the armie oftentimes cut off, and the paſſages for the Emperor made verie dangerous. And the more to diſtreſſe the Chriſtians in their long trauell, they found the countrey before them of purpoſe deſtroyed by the Turks, and the water in many places poyſoned, whereof the Chriſtians vnaduiſedly drinking, fell into many grieuous diſeaſes, eſpecially the flix, and thereof died in great number. The Sultan in the mean time, although he had in readineſſe a right puiſſant armie of his owne, and had procured great aid from the Perſian Sultan his kinſman and chiefe ſupporter; yet fearing the doubtful euent of war, & loath to aduenture his whole eſtate vpon the fortune of a battell, ſought by his embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe, to grow to ſome peace with the Emperour, and that vpon ſuch honorable conditions, as by the wiſer ſort were thought not to be at any hand refuſed: which large offers, the Sultan as deſirous of peace, made vnto him not once, but againe & again: which the Emperor neuertheleſſe (repoſing great confidence in his owne power, and prickt forward by the gallants of the court, better acquainted with the braue triumphs of peace, than the hard wars of the Turks) proudly reiected, and ſo diſmiſſing the Embaſſadors, ſcornfully willed them to tel their Maſter, That he would giue him anſwer vnto his requeſts vnder the wals of Iconium. Which cauſed the Sultan, now out of all hope of any reconciliation to be made betwixt the Emperour and him, with all his power to take the ſtraits of Zibrica, whereby the armie of the Chriſtians, departing from Myriocephalon, muſt of neceſſity paſſe. The entrance into theſe ſtraits was by a long valley, on either ſide incloſed with high mountaines, which towards the North riſing and falling according as the hils gaue leaue, opened into diuers large vallies, which by little and little growing againe ſtraiter and ſtraiter, with high and craggie rocks hanging ouer on either ſide, and almoſt touching one another, gaue vnto the painful trauveller a moſt hard and difficult paſſage.

A great ouerſight of the Emperour.

Into this ſo dangerous a valley the Emperor, not fearing the enemies force, deſperatly entred with his armie, hauing neither prouided for the cleering of the paſſages, or ſafetie of his carriages, in no other order than as if he had marched thorow the plaine and champaine countrey, although it were before told him (that which he ſhortly after, but too late ſaw) that the ene-

enemie had ſtrongly poſſeſſed both the ſtraits & mountains, to hinder his farther paſſage. The vauward of his armie was conducted by *Iohn* and *Andronicus* the ſons of *Angelus Conſtantine*, acompanied with *Macroducas Conſtantine* and *Lapardas Andronicus*: in the right wing was *Baldwin* the Emperors brother in law; and in the left *Maurozomes Theodorus*: after them followed the drudges and ſcullions, with an infinit number of carters and other baſe people, attending vpon the carriages, with the baggage of the whole armie: next vnto theſe came the Emperor with the main battel, conſiſting for the moſt part of right valiant & worthie ſoldiers: the rereward was ſhut vp by *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, with a number of moſt reſolute men. They were not far entred into theſe ſtraits, but that the Turks from the mountains and broken cliffs ſhewed themſelues on euery ſide, deliuering their deadly ſhot from the vpper ground, vpon the Chriſtians below, as thick as haile: neuertheleſſe the ſons of *Angelus*, with *Macroducas* and *Lapardas*, and the vantgard, caſting themſelues into a three ſquare battell in forme of a wedge, with their targuets in manner of a penthouſe caſt cloſe together ouer their heads, and their archers on euery ſide luſtily beſtowing their ſhot among the thickeſt of their enemies, by plain force droue them out of the ſtraits they had before poſſeſſed, and cauſed them to retire farther off into the mountains, and ſo hauing made themſelues way, with little or no loſſe paſſed thoſe dangerous ſtraits; vntil that at length hauing recouered the top of a hill very commodious for their purpoſe, as the caſe ſtood, they there ſtaied, & preſently incamped themſelues. And haply with like good fortune might the reſt of the armie haue paſſed alſo, had they in like order, and with like courage preſently followed after: but failing ſo to do, & troubled with the multitude of their carriages, which could not poſſibly make any way thorow thoſe ſtrait & rough paſſages, (but troubled themſelues one another, as alſo the whole armie) they were from the vpper ground miſerably ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh archers, whoſe arrows fel as thick vpon them from the mountains, as if it had bin a perpetual tempeſt or ſhoure of haile, to the great diſordring & diſmaying of the whole armie: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged, in great numbers came downe from the mountaines, where they had before houered ouer the heads of the Chriſtians, and forcibly entring the plaine ground, and comming to handie blows, firſt ouerthrew the right wing; where *Baldwin* himſelfe ſeeking to reſtore his diſordred companies, and to ſtay the furie of the enemie (now raging in the bloud of the Chriſtians) with a troup of valiant horſmen breaking into the thickeſt of them, as became a worthie captaine, was there compaſſed in with the multitude of his enemies, and ſlaine, together with all his followers, and the greateſt part of the whole wing by him commanded. With this victorie the Turks were ſo encouraged, that comming downe with all their power, they ſtopped all the ways whereby the Chriſtians were to paſſe, who as men couped vp in thoſe dangerous ſtraits, were not able either to defend themſelues, or to helpe one another: but incloſed as deere in a toyle, and one troubling another, were the cauſe both of the deſtruction of themſelues & others. For by reaſon of the ſtraitneſſe of the place, neither could they that were before, retire, neither they that were behinde in the rereward, come forward to relieue the one the other, as need required: the carriages alſo, which were many, & in the midſt of the armie, ſeruing them to no other purpoſe, than to the hurt of themſelues. There were the beaſts that ſerued for burden, together with the ſoldiers, ouerwhelmed with the Turks ſhot, the vallies lay ful of dead bodies, the riuers ran mingled with the bloud of men and beaſts, in ſuch terrible manner as is not by pen to be expreſſed. For the Chriſtians not able either to go forward or retire, were there in thoſe ſtraits ſlain like ſheepe: if any courage or ſparke of valour were by any ſhewed againſt the enemie, fighting at ſo great aduantage, it was but loſt, ſeruing to little or no purpoſe. And to increaſe their miſeries, the Turks in ſcorne ſhewed vpon the point of a lance the head of *Andronicus Bataza*, the Emperors nephew, who comming with an armie out of Paphlagonia, and Heraclea Pontica, againſt the Turks of Amaſia, was now by the way by them ouerthrown and ſlaine. The report whereof, confirmed by the ſight of his head, and the conſideration of the deſperate danger wherein the whole armie preſently ſtood, ſo troubled the Emperor, that he was at his wits end; and with drie teares (if it may be ſo ſaid) diſſembling his inward grief, as one out of comfort, ſtood doubtful which way to turn himſelfe. For the Turks hauing ſuffered the vantgard to paſſe, with all their power charged the Emperours maine battell, as his chiefe ſtrength, nothing doubting, but that hauing once ouerthrowne it, they ſhould eaſily and at pleaſure ouerthrow the reſt. Oftentimes had

Baldwin ſlaine.

The miſerie of the Chriſtians, by the Turks incloſed in the ſtraits.

The Emperor in great perplexitie.

had the Emperor attempted to haue driuen the enemy out of thoſe ſtraits, and ſo to haue opened away for his armie to haue paſſed, but all in vaine, the power of the Turks ſtil increaſing, and they at great aduantage notably maintaining the paſſages before by them taken. Neuertheleſſe ſeeing no leſſe danger in ſtaying ſtil, than in going forward, he with a few of his beſt ſoldiers, armed with deſpaire, and reſolued to die, (vnto which kind of men nothing is terrible) ſet forward directly vpon his enemies, willing the reſt with like reſolution euery man to make for himſelfe the beſt ſhift he could. And ſo with many wonds and ſturdie blows both giuen and receiued, he by plaine force and might of hand brake thorow the thickeſt of his enemies, and ſo eſcaped out of thoſe ſtraits as out of a trap: but yet not without many wounds receiued in his perſon, and himſelfe ſo wearied as that he was not able to lift vp his helmet, being beaten cloſe to his head, and in his targuet were found ſticking 30 of the Turks arrows, or thereabouts, the manifeſt tokens of his danger. The other legions ſeeking to follow the Emperour, (for other way they had none) were on euery ſide hardly aſſailed by the Turks, and infinite numbers of them ſlaine, beſide many others that periſhed in thoſe ſtraits, ouerborn and trodden to death by their own fellows. Yea ſuch as had the fortune to eſcape out of one of theſe perrilous ſtraits, were forthwith ſlaine in the next: for this ſo dangerous a paſſage thorow the mountains, was diuided (as is aforeſaid) into ſeuen vallies, which giuing faire and broad entrances, the farther a man went, grew ſtil ſtraiter and ſtraiter, all which ſtraits the Turks had before ſtrongly poſſeſſed. At which time alſo, the more to increaſe the terrour of the day, the light ſand raiſed with the feet of the men and horſes, was with the violence of a moſt tempeſtuous wind which then blew, carried ſo forcibly and thicke, that both the armies grapling together as if it had bin in the darkneſſe of the night, killed whomſoeuer they met withall, without reſpect of friend or foe; by which errour many were euen of their own friends ſlaine. In euery place lay great heaps of Turks ſlain together with the Chriſtians, and with them great number of horſes and other beaſts for carriage; ſo that thoſe vallies where this bloudie conflict was, ſeemed to be nothing elſe but a large burying place of the Turks & Chriſtians with their horſes: but the greater number was of the Chriſtians that periſhed, and they not altogether of the common ſort, but euen of the braueſt captaines, and the Emperours neereſt kinſmen. The violence of the wind ceaſing, and the day cleering vp, there was of all others to be ſeene (a moſt wofull ſpectacle) men yet aliue, ſome wounded, ſome whole, couered ſome to the middle, ſome to the necke, with dead carkaſes, in ſuch ſort as that they were not able with any ſtrugling to get out: who with their hands caſt vp towards heauen, with ruthfull voices cried out for helpe to ſuch as paſſed by; but al in vain, for euery man poſſeſſed with the common feare, and by their danger meaſuring their own, paſſed by them without compaſſion, as more careful of their own ſafetie, leauing them yet liuing, as men to be numbred among the dead.

The deſperat reſolution of the Emperour.

A moſt miſerable ſpectacle.

The Emperor himſelfe, as a man almoſt now ſpent, being got out of the danger, ſtood a while to breath himſelfe vnder the ſhadow of a wild peare tree, without any page or man to attend him; whom a poore common ſouldier eſpying, and mooued with compaſſion, came vnto him, and offering him the beſt ſeruice he could, helped him vp with his helmet, and buckled vp his armor, which before hung dangling here & there about him: when in the mean while a Turke comming in vpon him, had taken his horſe by the bridle, in hope to haue led him away priſoner: whom for al that, the Emperor as wearie as he was, with the trunchion of his broken lance which he had yet in his hand, ſtrucke down to the ground, and ſo cleered himſelf of him. Preſently after came alſo another ſort of the ſtragling Turks, readie alſo to haue ſeiſed vpon him, and to haue taken him priſoner; of whom he ſlew one with the aforeſaid horſemans ſtaffe, and with his ſword ſtrucke off the head of another of them, and ſo kept them off, vntill that by the comming in of ten of his own ſouldiers he was relieued. Departing thence with purpoſe to haue joyned himſelfe vnto the legions that were gone before in the vauward, he had not gone far, but that he was much troubled by other Turks that he met, and the heapes of the dead bodies that lay in his way: yet at laſt, hauing with much labour and more danger paſſed the ſtraits, & a riuer running thereby, being glad in many places to ride ouer the dead bodies of his own people, & ſome other of his own ſoldiers now reſorting vnto him, he there ſaw *Iohn Cataculene*, a noble & right valiant gentleman that had maried his niece, fighting alone againſt a great number of the Turks, to be compaſſed in and ſlaine; whom he was no way able to relieue. Which Turks alſo ſeeing him paſſe by, followed after him, as after a moſt rich prey, in hope

The emperor in danger to haue been taken, valiantly defendeth himſelfe.

hope to haue either preſently taken or ſlaine him: whom neuertheleſſe he (encouraging the ſmall companie he had about him) notably repulſed; and ſo ſometime marching forward, and again as occaſion required making a ſtand, came at length long looked for, but moſt welcome, vnto the legions that were gone before, not ſo ſorrie for their owne hard eſtate, as carefull of his danger.

But before he could come to thoſe his legions, he readie to faint for thirſt, commanded water to be brought him out of the riuer that ran faſt by; which after he had taſted, & by the vnpleaſant taſt thereof perceiued the ſame to be infected, he fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *O how vnfortunatly haue I taſted Chriſtian bloud!* whereunto an audacious and malapert ſoldier there preſent, and more bitter than the cruell time it ſelfe, replied, *Emperor, thou didſt not now, thou diddeſt not now, I ſay, firſt, but long ſince, and oftentimes drinke the bloud of the Chriſtians, euen vntil thou waſt drunke againe, at ſuch time as thou didſt with moſt grieuous exactions vexe and deuoure thy poore ſubjects.* Which reproachfull ſpeech the Emperor put vp in ſilence, making as if he had not heard it. With like patience he alſo forbare the ſame railing companion, at ſuch time as he ſeeing his treaſures hardly beſet, and in danger to be taken by the Turks, to animate his ſoldiers, willed them to do what they could to reſcue the ſame, and to take it for their labour: *This treaſure* (ſaid this impudent fellow) *ſhould before haue been giuen vnto thy ſoldiers, rather than now, when as it cannot be recouered but with great danger and bloudſhed: and therefore if thou be a man of valour, as thou wouldeſt be accounted, and as the preſent caſe requireth, valiantly charge the Turks (now readie to carrie it away) thy ſelfe, and ſo recouer thyne euill gotten goods.* Whereunto the Emperour anſwered no more but, *Good words ſouldier,* & ſo put it vp, as did *Dauid* the railings of *Shimei*. Shortly after the comming of the Emperor vnto thoſe legions of his vauntgard (the onely remainder of his armie that was left whole and vnbroken) came alſo *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, who had the leading of the rereward, with diuers other of great place, who had by good fortune eſcaped the furie of the Turks. The miſeries of that day (not well to be expreſſed) being ended by the comming on of the night, the Chriſtians ſate in the campe, oppreſſed with a generall heauines, leaning their heads vpon their elbows, & conſidering the preſent danger wherein they were, ſcarcely accounted themſelues among the liuing: the Turks in the mean time to increaſe their feare, all the night running about the campe, and crying aloud vnto ſuch of their countreymen in the campe, as had abiured their religion, or for other reſpects had taken part with the Imperials, that they ſhould that night get them out of the campe, wheras otherwiſe if they ſtayd vnto the morning, they ſhould be all but loſt men. In this ſo great an extremitie the Emperor not knowing not what to do, calling together his chiefe commanders, declared vnto them the deſperat danger they were in, together with his reſolution; which was, ſecretly himſelfe to flie, and to leaue the reſt, euerie man to make what ſhift he could for himſelfe. Which his baſe determination, ſo foule as fouler could not be, they all wondering at, as proceeding from a diſtraughted mind; and by chance ouerheard by one of the common ſoldiers that ſtood without the tent, the ſame ſoldier fetching a deepe ſigh, in deteſtation therof cried out with a loud voyce, *What meanes the Emperor?* And ſo turning himſelfe vnto him, ſaid, *Art not thou he that haſt thruſt vs into this deſolate and ſtrait way, and caſt vs headlong into deſtruction? and haſt as it were in a morter incloſed vs in theſe rockes and mountains, readie as it were to ouerwhelme vs. What had we to do with this vaile of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came we into theſe miſchieuous and rough ſtraits? What can we particularly complaine of the Barbarians, which in theſe inextricable windings and ſtraits haue thus intangled and beſet vs? Was it not thou that broughtſt vs hither? And wilt thou now, as ſheepe appointed to the ſlaughter, thy ſelfe betray vs?* With which ſo ſharpe a reprehenſion the Emperor throughly pierced, changed his former determination for flight, reſoluing now to ſtand by it, whatſoeuer hapned. But what ſhould he now doe, beſet with his enemies ſtill readie to deuoure him? Help he ſaw none, either in himſelf, or to be expected from others, nought remained but death and deſpaire. In this extremity, al mans help now failing, it pleaſed the moſt mighty (which chaſtiſeth & healeth again, which ſtiketh, and yet giueth life, and ſuffereth not the ſtaffe of the ſinners always to rage into the portion of the juſt) with mercifull eye to looke downe vpon theſe diſtreſſed men, and with an vnwonted kind of clemencie to touch the Sultans heart, in ſuch ſort, as that he which but the other day ſtood in dread of the Emperour, and now hauing him as it were in his power, was ouercome with his miſerie: or as in times paſt he by *Huſai* ouerthrew the councell of *Achitophel*, and changed

The malapert ſpeech of an inſolent ſoldier, to the Emperour.

The great patience of the Emperour.

The fearefull reſolution of the Emperour.

A ſharpe reprehenſio of a common ſoldier, vnto the emperor.

the mind of *Absalon* to follow such aduice as should bring him to destruction: so then also he turned the mind of the Turkish Sultan, that (persuaded by certain of the chiefe men about him, who in time of peace had vsed to receiue great gifts and Presents from the Emperor) he of his own accord by his Embassadors offered peace vnto the Emperor, before that he in so great distresse sued vnto him for any; and that vpon the selfe same conditions they had made their leagues before. The Turks in the meane time ignorant of the Sultans resolution, early in the morning were readie to assault the Emperors campe, in hope at once to haue ouerthrown his whole power; and with a barbarous outcrie still riding about it, came so nigh, that with their arrows they slew diuers of the Christians within their own trenches: against whom the Emperor sent out *Iohn* the son of *Constantinus Angelus*, and after him, *Macroducas Constantinus*, but to little or no purpose. In the mean time came one *Gabras*, a man of greatest reputation among the Turks, Embassador from the Sultan; by whose commandement the Turks ceased further to assault the campe. This *Gabras* comming vnto the Emperour, and after the manner of the Barbarians, honoring him with reuerence done euen down to the ground; first presented him with a goodly horse, whose furniture was all of siluer, as if it had bin for triumph, and a raire two edged sword. Afterwards falling into a large discourse concerning a peace to be made, and with many kind words as with an inchantment appeasing the Emperours heauinesse conceiued of his late losse; he among other pleasant conceits then vttered, seeing the Emperor in a rich robe of yellow ouer his armor, told him, that the colour was not fit for war, as ominous, and portending euil lucke: whereat the Emperor a little smiling, gaue it him, with the fortune thereof; and receiuing the horse and sword sent him from the Sultan, signed the peace. Amongst other conditions of the peace (which the dangerousnesse of the time suffered not the Emperor curiously to examine) one was, That Dorileum and Subleum, before by him fortified, and the ground of this vnfortunat war, should be again rased. Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the emperor deliuered of a great feare, purposed another way to return home, to auoid the sight of the slaine: yet was he by his guides, euen of purpose as it was thought, led back the same way, to behold with his eys those miserable spectacles of the slain, which could not with any teares be sufficiently lamented: for the straits were made plain, the vallies were raised into hils, and the forests lay couered with the carkasses of the slain: no man passed by, but with heauines and griefe, calling by name vpon their friends and familiars there lost. Hauing again passed those dolefull straits, the Turks were again in the taile of the armie: for it was reported, That the Sultan repenting himselfe to haue suffred his enemies so to scape out of his hands, had giuen leaue to such as would, to pursue them, but followed not himselfe with his whole power, as before; for most of the better sort of his soldiers loaded with the spoile, were now returned home. Yet these that followed after the army, slew many, especially such as were weake or wounded, and so vnable to follow the rest: although the Emperour to help the matter, had for the repressing of them placed the best of his captains and souldiers in the rereward. Being come to Chonas, and now out of feare of his enemies, he gaue vnto euery one of his hurt souldiers mony to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their countries; and comming to Philadelphia, there stayed for the refreshing of himself after so great miseries. In his return he rased Subleum, according to his promise, but not Dorileum: wherof the Sultan by his Embassadors complaining; he answered, That what he had, inforced thereunto by necessitie, promised, he greatly forced not to performe. In reuenge wherof, the Sultan sent out one of his most valiant captains, called *Atapack*, with 24000 good soldiers chosen out of his whole armie, with strait charge to wast & destroy all the Emperors prouinces and towns euen vnto the sea side, without sparing man, woman, or child; and in token thereof, to bring with him some of the sea water, an oare, and some of the sea sand: who according to his charge spoiled Phrygia, with the cities along the riuer Mæander, euen vnto the sea side: and so returning with a rich prey, by the way spoyled what before he had left vntouched. But in passing the riuer Mæander, when he feared least, he fell into the hands of *Iohn Bataza* the Emperours nephew, and of *Ducas Constantine* a most valiant Captaine; of purpose sent against him by the Emperour with a great power: where hee was by them slaine, together with all his Armie, and the rich bootie he had taken, all againe recouered. Manie other hard conflicts passed after this, betwixt the Imperialls and the Turkes, the one continually seeking to annoy the other; all which, for that therein nothing fel out much worth the

The Emperour returneth.

The Emperour altogether performs not what he had promised to the Sultan.

Atapacke with all his Armie slaine.

remembrance,

remembrance, I for breuitie willingly passe ouer. In these endlesse troubles died *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor, when he had by the space of eight and thirty yeres worthily gouerned that great empire, hauing in the time of his sickneesse but a little before his death taken vpon him the habit of a Monke, in token he had forsaken the world. All the time of his raigne he was no lesse iealous of the Christian Princes of the West, than of the Turks in the East; and therfore euer dealt with them vnkindly. In time of war he was so laborious, as if he had neuer taken felicitie but in paine: and againe in peace so giuen ouer to his pleasure, as if he had neuer thought of any thing els. After whose death the Turkish Sultan, without resistance inuading the frontiers of the empire, tooke Sozopolis, with diuers towns therabout in Phrygia, and long besieged the famous city of Attalia, and so daily encroched more and more vpon the prouinces of the empire, ioyning the same vnto his owne; which was no great matter for him to doe, the Greeke empire being then no better gouerned than was the chariot of the Sun (as the Poets feigne) by *Phaeton*, far vnfit for so great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwise called *Porphyrogenitus*, being then but a childe of about 12 yeares old, succeeding his graue father in the empire, after the manner of children altogether following his pleasure; his mother with his fathers kinsmen & friends, who aboue all things ought to haue had an especial care of his education, neglecting the old Emperors trust in them reposed, followed also their owne delights, without the regard of the ruine of the commonweale. Some enamoured with the beautie of the yong empresse, gaue themselues all to brauerie, & the courting of her: othersome in great authority, with no lesse desire in the mean time, with the common treasures filled their empty cofers: and a third sort there was (of all the rest most dangerous) who neither respecting their sensual pleasure, n or the heaping vp of wealth, looked not so low, aiming at the very empire it selfe. As for the common good, that was of al other things of them al least regarded. Among these third sort of the ambitious, was old *Andronicus*, the cousin of the late Emperor *Emanuel*, a man of an haughty & troublesome spirit, whom he the said Emperor *Emanuel* had for his aspiring, most part of the time of his raigne kept in prison, or else in exile, as he now was, being by him not long before, for feare of raising of new troubles, confined to liue far off from the court at Oenum: who now hearing of the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, of the factions in court, of the childishnes of the yong Emperor *Alexius*, giuen wholly to his sports; & the great men put in trust to haue seen to his bringing vp, & to the gouernment of the empire, some like Bees to flie abroad into the country, seeking after mony as the Bees do for hony; some others in the meane time like hogs, lying still and fatting themselues with great and gainfull offices, wallowing in all excesse & pleasure, to haue no regard of the honor or profit of the common weale: thought it now a fit time (in such disorder of the state) for him to aspire vnto the empire after which he had all his life time longed. That he was generally beloued of the Constantinopolitans, yea & of some of the nobility also, he doubted not: for them hee had long before by his popular behauior gained, together with the distrust of the late Emperor, iealous of his estate; which as it cost him his liberty, so missed it not much but that it had cost him his life also: but now that hee was dead, wanted nothing more than some faire colour for the shadowing of his foule purpose. Among many and right diuers things by him thought vpon, was a clause in the oath of obedience which he had giuen to the Emperor *Emanuel* & *Alexius* his son, (which oath he had deliuered vnto him in writing) That if he should see, heare, or vnderstand of any thing dangerous or hurtful to their honor, empire, or persons, he should forthwith bewray it, and to the vttermost of his power withstand it: which words (not so to haue beene wrested) as best seruing for his purpose, he took first occasion for to work vpon. And as he was a stout and imperious man, thereupon writ diuers letters vnto the yong Emperour his cousin, vnto *Theodosius* the Patriarch, and other such as he knew well affected vnto the late Emperour *Emanuel*: wherin among other things which he wished to be amended in the present gouernment, he seemed most to complain of the immoderate power and authority of *Alexius*, then President of the Counsell: who in great fauour with the young Emperour, and more inward with the empresse his mother than was supposed to stand with her honor, ruled al things at his pleasure, insomuch, as that nothing don by any the great officers of the empire, or by the emperor himselfe, was accounted of any force, except his approbation were therunto annexed: wherby he was grown vnto such an excessiue pride, hauing all things in his power, as that no man could without danger, as vpon the venemous Basiliske, look vpon him. Of which his so excessiue

Andronicus aspireth.

Ambitious couered with the zeale of the commonweale.

excessiue and insolent power *Andronicus* by his letters now greatly complained, moued thereunto (as he would haue it beleeued) with the care he had of the yong Emperors safety, which could not (as he said) long stand with the others great power, so which he therfore (as in duty bound) wished to be abridged: aggrauating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too much familiaritie with the empresse; which first muttered in court, afterwards flew (as he said) throughout the whole world. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of the person of the Emperour, & dishonor of the state, he forsooth as one in conscience bound, with great grauity and eloquence (beeing a very learned man) both in open speech and writing most earnestly desired: and therby so wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a man of great experience (as indeed he was) and a faithful counsellor to the state, a thing much to haue bin wished. Wherefore leauing Oenum, the place whereto hee was by the Emperour *Emanuel* in a sort banished, trauelling towards Constantinople, hee gaue it out in euery place where he came, what he had sworne, and what he would for his oathes sake do: vnto whom men desirous of the change of the state, & such as gaue credit vnto the report long before giuen out, That he should at length become Emperor; flockt in great numbers, as birds about n owle, to see him, and with vain praises to chatter about him. In this sort he came as far as Paphlagonia; in euery place honorably receiued, as if he had bin a deliuerer of his countrie sent from God. And in t he imperial city he was not longed for of the vulgar people only, as their light and load star, but diuers of the nobility also by secret messengers and letters, perswaded him to hasten his comming, and to take vpon him the gouernement; assuring him, that there would be none to resist him, or to oppose themselues against his shadow, but all ready to receiue him: especially *Mary* the yong Emperors sister by the fathers side, with her husband *Cesar* (who beeing a woman of great spirit, and grieuing much to see her fathers Empire made a prey vnto *Alexius* the president, & the Empresse her step mother, whom she naturally hated) had raised a great and dangerous tumult in the citie against them both, which was not without much bloodshed appeased: and now ceased not by often and most earnest letters (to her own destruction and her husbands, as it afterwards fel out) to prick forward *Andronicus* and to hasten his comming: who by letters and messengers daily comming vnto him from the court still more and more encouraged, leauing behind him the country of Paphlagonia, came to Heraclea in Pontus, and stil on towards the imperiall citie, with great cunning and dissimulation winning the hearts of the people as he went. For who was so stonie hearted, whom his sweet words and aboundant teares flowing from his gracious eyes, as from two plentiful fountains down by his hoary cheeks, might not haue moued? All that he did or desired, was (as he said) for the common good and liberty of the Emperor. By which means he had drawn vnto him a wonderfull number of the rude countrey people by the way as he came. But comming into Bythinia, he was by *Iohn Ducas* gouernor of the great city of Nice, shut out as an enemy to the state, and so at Nicomedia also. Neuertheless, passing by those cities, he held stil on his way, vntill at length he was neere vnto a castle called Charace, encountred by *Andronicus Angelus*, sent with a great power against him, by the great president *Alexius*; who otherwise as an effeminat man, giuen ouer to his pleasure, spending the greatest part of the night in rioting by candle light, and most part of the day in his bed, with curtaines close drawne as if it had beene night: yet doubtful now of the comming of his enemy, left nothing vndon which he thought might helpe for the assuring of his state. Many of the nobilitie of whom he stood in doubt, he gained vnto him by means of the Emperors mother; who by her rare beautie, sweet words, & gracious behauior, as with a line drew al men to her. Other some hee ouercame with gifts and great summes of money, whereof hee now made no spare: And so wrought the matter, that no man of any account or marke went ouer to *Andronicus*. Who neuertheless with such followers as hee had, ioyning battell with *Angelus* (sent against him, as is before saide) ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in great displeasure and without reason, called *Angelus* (now fled to Constantinople) to an account for the money deliuered vnto him for the defraying of the charges of that vnfortunate warre: who seeing his misfortune to be so taken as if he had framed it himselfe, and of purpose betraid the army committed to his charge; by the counsell of his six sonnes, being all men of great valor and wisedome, first tooke the refuge of his owne house: but finding himselfe there in no safety, with his wife and his said sonnes (two of which came afterwards to be Emperours) presently

Andronicus departeth from Oenum toward Constantinople.

presently fled ouer the strait to *Andronicus*: who seeing of him comming towards him, is reported to haue vsed this text of Scripture, *Behold I will send mine Angell before thy face, to prepare thy wayes*, alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the presage of his good successe. Wherefore incouraged with the comming of these noblemen his kinsmen, he without longer stay marched directly vnto the sea side, and there a little aboue Chalcedon encamped almost right ouer against Constantinople: causing many great fires (moe than needed) to be made in his armie, to make it seeme vnto them of the citie greater than indeed it was; and with the sight thereof to keep the citizens in suspence, with the doubtful expectation of some great matter to ensue. Wherein he was no whit deceiued; for they hauing him now as it were in sight, leauing their worke, ran some to the sea side, some vp to the hils and high towers to behold his armie a far off, willing with their friendly lookes, if it had bin possible, to haue drawn him ouer the strait into the citie. *Alexius* knowing himselfe not able by land to encounter with so strong an enemie, (for now some which on foot could not go ouer to *Andronicus*, were secretly in heart already with him; other some thought themselues sufficiently to shew their fidelitie to the Emperor, if sitting stil at home, they should take part with neither: for so haue subtill heads and aspiring mindes, for the furtherance of their desires, taught the common people both to say & thinke) thought it best by sea to auert the present danger: and therefore commanded all the Emperors gallies (being before rigged vp and ready) to be strongly manned and put to sea, for the keeping of Propontis and the strait of Bosphorus, that *Andronicus* should not that way passe. Now had hee determined to haue made especiall choice of some assured friend of his own to be General of this fleet, as he had done of the captains & m sters, being all his own kinsmen or domesticall seruants: but as he was about to haue so done, *Contostephanus* (surnamed the great captain) opposed himselfe against it, challenging that honor due vnto himself, before all others: so that ouercome by his authoritie (which was no time for *Alexius* now to dispute) he was glad to commit the charge and trust of the whole fleet vnto him, as Generall. Thus hauing (as hee thought) made the sea sure, he sent ouer vnto *Andronicus*, as from the Emperor, (for all was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with letters and other instructions, whereof the effect was, to command him forthwith in peace to returne to the place from whence he came, & not farther to trouble the state: promising him in so doing, the Emperors fauor, with many great honors and preferments to be afterward bestowed vpon him; which otherwise might turn to his vtter destruction. Which letters *Xiphilinus* hauing deliuered, and done his message, is reported to haue secretly aduised *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpose, and not in any case to yeeld to that which was of him required: wherwith *Andronicus* encouraged, proudly reiected the graces offered, & willed the messenger to tel them that sent him, that if they would haue him to returne vnto the place from whence he came, they should first displace the proud president *Alexius*; & call him vnto an account for the villanies he had don; then the Emperours mother they should deprive of her honors, & shut her vp as a Nun into some cloyster, there to learn to amend her life; & last of al, that the Emperor according to his fathers wil, should take vpon himself the gouernment, & not be ouertopt by others, by whose too much authority, his maiesty & honor was (as he said) too much impaired. But within a few days after, *Contostephanus*, the great captain & General, caried ouer al the gallies to *Andronicus*, leauing nothing but their names for the president in his rols to look vpon. whose reuolt aboue al other things encouraged *Andronicus*, & cast *Alexius* euen into the bottome of despaire. For now *Andronicus* his friends flocked together in the city, not secretly as before, but openly in al places: and such as wisht a change in the state, impudently scoffing at *Alexius*, passed ouer the strait to Chalcedon in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where hauing filled their eys with beholding of his goodly person, his cheerfull countenance, & reuerent age; and their eares with his sweet words & great promises, returned home merry & ioyful, as if they had bin in some terrestrial paradice, filling the city with his praises. After that, *Andronicus* his two sons, *Iohn* and *Manuel*, with diuers others, whom the president had cast in prison, were set at liberty, & other of his chiefe fauorits laid fast in their rooms. As for *Alexius* the president himself, with all his friends & faction in the court, they were taken & committed to the keeping of the guard: a right strange alteration. But about midnight, *Alexius* himself was secretly conueied out of the court to the Patriarchs house, & there kept with a stronger guard than before. A wonderfull change, & worth marking, a man so honorably born, but yesterday in greatest honor, attended vpon

Andronicus encampeth in sight ouer against Constantinople.

Xiphilinus sent ouer to Andronicus, deceiueth vnjustly fully in doing his message.

The proud answer of Andronicus.

Contostephanus reuolteth to Andronicus.

Alexius in despaire.

Alexius and his friends apprehended.

A strange alteration.

vpon with many thousands, all at his command, hauing the power to spill or saue: to day in bond, in disgrace, in miserie and despaire, and not so much as a page to wait vpon him. Which he taking very grieuously, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping of him, would not suffer him to sleepe or take any rest. Of whose miserie, the Patriarch taking pitie (although he had of him very euill deserued) yet cheered him vp with comfortable words, perswading him with patience to endure his hard fortune, and not with such speeches as tended not his present state, to prouoke his keepers to vse him euill. Within a few daies after early in a morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs house, and set vpon a very little and lade, and so with a ragged clout vpon the top of a reed in manner of an ensigne, carried before him in derision, was brought to the sea side, and there cast into a little boat, was so brought to *Andronicus*, by whose commandement, with the generall consent of the nobilitie, he for his euil gouerment shortly after had his eys put out. This was the miserable end of the intemperate power, or rather of the insolent soueraignitie of *Alexius*: who, had he with more moderation and vigilancie gouerned, might both haue kept *Andronicus* out of the citie, and himselfe from so great miserie; hauing at his command all the Emperors treasure, his gallies, with most part of the strength of the empire. Now came the noblemen ouer apace to *Andronicus*: the last that came, was the reuerend Patriarch *Theodosius*, with the chiefe of the clergie: of whose approch, *Andronicus* hearing, went out of his tent to meet him, and falling downe (as great as he was) flat at his horses feet, and in a while after arising againe, kissed the Patriarchs foot, calling him, the Emperors Sauiour, the louer of vertue, the defender of the truth; and comparing him with the famous Father *Iohn Chrysostome*, omitted not any honorable title hee could possibly deuise to giue him. But the deuout Patriarch, that had neuer seene *Andronicus* before, hauing now well viewed him, and marked his sterne countenance, his subtil nature, his craftie and dissembling manners, his exceeding stature, being almost ten foot high, his stately gate, his proud looke, his continual severitie, and melancholie silence; as it were pitying them that to their owne destruction had called such a man, said, *Hitherto I haue heard, but now I haue also seene, and plainly knowne*: and fetching a deep sigh, adioyning thereunto that saying of the Prophet *Dauid*: *As we haue heard, so haue we also seene.* In which words, he couertly quipped the dissembled meering and submission of *Andronicus*: and withall called to remembrance the words of the Emperour *Emanuel*, wherewith he had many times so painted forth *Andronicus* vnto the Patriarch, as if he would most liuely haue represented him vnto his view.

Andronicus passeth ouer the strait.

All things in the citie and in the pallace set in order according to *Andronicus* his mind, by his two sons, and leaue giuen vnto the Emperors friends to come ouer vnto him, and to be acquainted with him; at length *Andronicus* himselfe departing from Damalum, in a gallie crossed the strait, oftentimes by the way merrily singing that saying of the heauenly Psalmist: *Returne my soule into thy rest, because the Lord hath done well vnto thee, hauing deliuered my life from death, mine eyes from teares, and my feet from falling.* The Emperour with his mother *Xene*, then lay not in the pallace at Constantinople, but at another princely house of his in the countrey neere vnto Philopatium, as *Andronicus* had appointed: whither *Andronicus* first went, and comming vnto his presence, most humbly prostrat before him, with sobbing and teares, as his deceitfull manner was, kissed his feet. As for the Empresse his mother, he lightly saluted her, and as it were but for fashion sake, not dissembling in his countenance the old grudge he bare against her. And so without longer stay went vnto his tent prouided for him not far off; round about which, all the great noblemen had pitched their tents also, flocking vnto him as chickens seeking for refuge vnder the hens wings. Hauing there staied with the Emperour a good while, he was desirous to go vnto the imperiall citie, and to see the late Emperor *Emanuel* his cousins graue. Where entering into the monasterie of our Lady, where he was buried, and comming to his tombe, he wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainely out. So that diuers of the standers by, ignorant of his dissembling nature, by way of admiration said; *O what a wonderfull thing is this! O how he loued the Emperor, his cousin, although his fierce and cruell persecutor!* And when one of his kinsemen would haue pulled him from the tombe, saying that hee had sorrowed for him enough; he would not be remoued, but requested them to suffer him yet a little to tarrie by the tombe, for that he had something in secret to say vnto the dead: and so with his hands cast vp and close together, as if he had praied, and his eys fast fixed vpon the tombe, he moued his lips, and secretly said something, but what, no man could tel. Some said it was

was some charme or incantation. But others more pleasantly conceited, said, and (as it afterward appeared) more truly, that *Andronicus* did triumph ouer the dead Emperor *Emanuel*, and reuell with his ghost, with these or like words: *I haue thee now fast, my cruel persecutor, by whom I haue bin driuen to many great extremities: and hauing wandred almost all the world ouer, haue thereunto bin made by thee a common by-word. But now this tombe rising vp with seuen tops, & prison, out of which thou canst not start, holdeth thee oppressed with a dead sleepe, out of which thou shalt not be awaked, but by the sounding of the last trumpe. And now will I be reuenged of thy posteritie, and satisfie my selfe as a Lyon with a fat prey, and take sharpe reuenge of all the wrongs thou hast done me, when I haue once possessed my selfe of this royall citie.*

Andronicus keeth vpon him the gouernment

After that, visiting al the Emperors stately houses, but staying in no place long, he disposed of al matters of state, according to his own pleasure. Vnto the yong Emperor he allowed hunting, and other his vain delights, with keepers ioined vnto him, to watch not only his going in & out, but also that no man should talke with him of any matter of importance: for all the gouernment of the state he tooke vnto himselfe: not for that he wished so well therunto, aboue others, but so to driue from the court al them of the contrary faction to himself, that were able to do any thing, & had before borne some sway. The soldiers, whose help he had vsed in aspiring to the gouernment, he rewarded with great bounty; all their offices and preferments hee bestowed either vpon his own children, or other his great fauourits; diuers of the nobility of whom he liked not, were by him in short time driuen into exile: some were by him depriued of their sight, and some others cast in prison, not knowing any cause why, more than that they were by him secretly condemned, for that they were of the nobility, or had done some good seruice for the state, or exiled for their personage, or some other thing that grieued *Andronicus*, or els for the sparke of some old displeasure which yet lay hid as fire raked vp in the ashes. So that the state of that time began to grow most miserable: & the trecherie euen of men neerest in blood, seeking the destruction one of another, for to serue their own turns, or to gratify *Andronicus*, most horrible: not only one brother betraid another, but euen the father his son, and the son his father, if *Andronicus* would haue it so. Some accused their neerest kinsmen, that they derided *Andronicus* his proceedings; or that without regard of him, they more fauoured *Alexius* the yong emperor, then, a great offence. Yea, such was the mischiefe of the time, that many in accusing others, were themselues accused; & charging others of treason against *Andronicus*, were themselues charged by them whom they accused, & so clapt vp both together in one prison. Neither were they of the nobility onely, which were enemies to *Andronicus*, thus hardly dealt withal, but euen some of his great fauorits & followers also: for some whom but yesterday he had vsed most kindly, & enrolled among his best friends, vpon them to day hee frowned & tyranized most cruelly: so that you might haue seen the same man the same to day (as it is reported of *Xerxes* his admiral) to be crowned & beheaded, to be graced & disgraced: insomuch that the wiser sort deemed *Andronicus* his praisings, the beginning of a mans disgrace; his bounty, his vndoing; & his kindnes, his dearth. The first that tasted of his tiranny, was *Mary* the daughter of *Emanuel* the emperor, who for the hate she bare to *Alexius* the late President, & the empresse her mother in law had (as is aforesaid) aboue al other, wisht for his comming; but was now by one *Pterigionites* (somtime an eunuch of her fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, hauing in his aspiring mind purposed the vtter destruction of all *Emanuels* posteritie) cunningly poisoned; as was her husband *Cæsar*, who liued not long after her, poisoned also (as was supposed) with the same cup that his wife was. Now among others of the late emperors house, none had euer stood more in his light, than had the faire empresse *Xene*, the yong emperors mother, whom now he ceased not most bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuse, as an vtter enemie both to the emperor & the state, making as if he would leaue al, and again depart, if she were not remoued from the Emperor her son: and by his cunning so incensed the giddy headed vulgar people against her, that they came flocking to *Theodosius* the good Patriarch, ready to teare him out of his cloaths, if he consented not to the remouing of the empresse, as *Andronicus* had desired. So a counsel being called of such his fauorits and others, as were not like indifferently to heare her cause, but assuredly to condemne her; the guiltlesse empresse after many things falsly laid to her charge, was accused of treason: as that she should by her letters haue solicited *Bela* king of Hungarie, her brother in law, to inuade Brantizoba and Belligrade, two strong places belonging to the empire. Whereupon shee was condemned, and shamefully cast

Andronicus tyrannizeth.

A miserable state of a commonweale.

Mary the daughter of Emanuel, with her husband Cæsar poysoned by Andronicus.

Xene the Empresse accused of treason, and condemned.

cast into a most filthie prison neere vnto the monasterie of S.Diomede. Amongst other no- G
Dangerous to speake the truth to a tyrant. blemen called vnto this wicked counsell, were *Leo Monasteriotes, Demetrius, Tornicius,* & *Constantius Petrenus*: who not yet altogether deuoted to *Anaronicus*, being asked their opinions concerning the Empresse, said, They would be glad first to know, Whether that counsell against his mother, were called by the Emperors consent or not? With which speech, *Andronicus* peirced to the heart as with a sword, in great rage start vp and said, These are they which encouraged the wicked president to all his villanies, lay hands vpon them. Wherupon they of his guard in threatning manner shook their weapons & swords at them, as if they would euen presently haue slain them: and the tumultuous common people, catching them by their cloaks as they came out, pulling them some one way some another, were so fierce vpon them, as that they had much adoe to escape out of their hands with life. Now lay the faire Empresse (but H
A wicked counsell. the other day one of the greatest princes of the East, and honored of all her subiects) in great miserie & despaire, scorned euen of her base keepers, euery houre expecting the deadly blow of the hangman. Yet was not the crueltie of *Andronicus* against her, so any thing assuaged, but greening that she yet breathed, shortly after assembled the former counsell, the ministers of his wrath, demanding of them, What punishment was by law appointed for such as betraied any towne or prouince of the Empire? whereunto answere beeing giuen in writing, That it was by the law, death, he could no longer hold, but that he must in great choler breake out against the poore empresse, as if it had bin she that had done it: and therupon the wicked counsellors crying out with one voice, That she was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed; by and by without longer stay, a damned writing was subscribed by the yong Emperor her son, as if it had bin with the bloud of his owne mother, whereby she was (I abhor to write it) most vnworthily condemned to die. The men appointed to see this most horrible & cruell execution done, were *Manuel Andronicus* his eldest son, and *Georgius Augustus*, his neere kinsman; who both dismaid at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the emperors command, said plainly, that they neuer before consented to the death of the empresse, but had clean hands of so hainous an offence, & therefore would now much lesse see her innocent body dismembred in their sight. At which vnexpected answer *Andronicus* much troubled, with his fingers oftentimes pluckt himself by the hoary beard, and with burning eyes casting somtime vp his head, & somtime downe, sighed at his own most miserable tyrannical estate, fretting inwardly, that they which were neerest vnto him, whom he thought he might euen with K
a beck haue commanded to haue done any mischiefe, abhorring his cruelty, should refuse to do the thing he so much desired to haue done: yet repressing his anger for a while, within a few days after, he again commanded her to be strangled; which was accordingly don by *Constantinus Tripsicus*, and *Pterigionites* the vngracious eunuch, by whose helpe he had before poisoned *Mary* the emperors daughter, with *Cæsar* her husband, as is before declared. Thus perished
The miserable death of the empresse. this great empresse, cruelly strangled in prison, by these two wicked men, the mercilesse executioners of *Andronicus* his wrath. Her dead bodie lately adorned with all the graces of nature, euen to the admiration of the beholders, was without more adoe secretly raked vp in the sand fast by the seaside: a poore sepulchre for so great a person.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durst thus cruelly to deale with the yong L
emperors own mother, & neerest friends? yet was all couered vnder the pretence of the common good, and safety of the state and empire. And the more to shadow *Andronicus* his secret purposes, as not proceeding of any priuate or hidden malice, or aspiring humor, from which he of all men would seeme most free; and the more to manifest his deuotion & loyaltie to the young Emperour his cousin, he was the onely persuader vnto the rest of the nobilitie, to haue him solemnly crowned (which as yet by reason of his tender age he was not, and in the time of his coronation, with his own shoulders supported him vp, as he was after the manner of that solemnitie) carried vnto the great church, and so back againe; the Crocodiles teares full plenteously running downe his aged face, as if it had bin for exceeding ioy: which many of the meaner sort beholding, and deeming therof the best, highly commended his kindnes, accoun- M
ting the yong Emperor thrice happie, in so graue a gouernour, and faithfull counsellor; who in loue and kind affection towards him, seemed not inferior to his naturall father: so cunningly had hee vnder the vaile of pietie, shadowed his most execrable treacherie; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted most louing and kinde. But hidden treason, be it neuer so

A so wel dissembled, must at length shew it selfe. So *Andronicus* hauing got into his power both the Emperor and the empire, and the chiefe friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being taken out of the way, or else driuen into exile, thought it now high time for himselfe to aspire vnto that high soueraignetie, after which he had so many yeres longed. Wherfore calling together a councel of his flatterers and fauorits, whom he had for such purpose promoued vnto the high- *The slie practises of Andronicus in aspiring to the Empire.*
est places of state (all or the most part of the graue councellors and friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being now displaced, or otherwise taken out of the way) he as a man only carefull of the common good, declared vnto them the dangerous state of the empire, by reason of a rebellion raised in BYTHINIA at NICE, by *Isaack Angelus*, and *Theodorus Catacuzenus*; & another at
B PRVSA, by *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their graue aduice for the suppressing thereof: who not ignorant of their lords purpose (as thereof before sufficiently instructed) answered with one consent, That of such great mischiefes there would be no end, except hee were ioyned in fellowship of the Empire together with *Alexius*, by his grauitie and deepe wisedome to supplie what wanted for the good gouernment of the State in the yong Emperor his cousin. At which speech the by-standers (being in number many, and for the most part the followers of *Andronicus* his flatterers) gaue a great shout, and as if it had bin alreadie granted, with one applause cried out, *Long liue Alexius and Andronicus the Greeke Emperors*; and that with such auehemencie, as if they would therewith haue rent the verie heauens. The bruit thereof flying abroad into the citie, forthwith you might haue seene euery street and corner of the citie full
C. of the vulgar people, with some also of better sort, swarming together like Bees, & sounding the praises of *Andronicus* (who now was come out of his house into the court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long liue the Emperors Alexius and Andronicus.* With which loud acclamation, mixt with the heauie sighings of many men, (for all were not mad of that frenzie) the yong Emperor awaked, and seeing the court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them saluted his fellow in the Empire; knowing now no other remedy, thought it best to yeeld vnto the time, & so with the rest flattering the old tyrant, welcommed him sul
force against his will, by the name of his friend & companion in the empire: which he now in dissembling manner seeming vnwilling to take vpon him, & refusing the place offred, was by the rout of his flattering fauorites enforced to his own great contentment, to yeeld to their re-
D quest: some of them with both their hands carrying him vp, vntil they had as it were against his wil placed him in the imperiall seat, prepared for him fast by the yong emperor: others in the meane time no lesse busied in pulling off his priuat attyre, and putting vpon him the imperiall roabes.

The next day, when this participation of the empire should be published, & they both proclaimed emperors, the name of *Andronicus* was set before the name of *Alexius*: whereof his fauorits (though some others interpreted it otherwise) gaue this reason, That it fitted not with the maiesty of the empire, that the name of a boy should be set before the name of so reuerend graue, wise, & excellent a man as was *Andronicus* his companion in the Empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great temple to be crowned, then first began to shew to the
E people a chereful countenance, & setting aside his sterne looke, after his long deuotion done, filled the vain peoples heads with many large promises of a more happy form of gouernment than before. All which proued nothing but meere dissimulation and deep deceit, that cheerefulnes of countenance & speech serued but for a while to couer his inward, secret, & most inhuman crueltie. And the more to deceiue the world, the ceremonies of his coronation past, at such time as he should for consummation and confirmation of al, receiue the sacred & dreadful mysterie, the pledge of our redemption, not without due reuerence to be named, much lesse with impure hands touched: after he had receiued the bread, and taken the cup in his hand, he with a most deuout countenance framed of purpose to deceiue, & his eyes cast vp to heauen, as if his soule had there already bin (the fairest maske of hypocrisie) swore by those dreadful my-
steries, & most soleinnly protested in the hearing of the people standing by, that he had taken vp-
F on him the fellowship of the empire for no other end or purpose but to assist *Alexius* his cosin in the gouernment, & to strengthen his power: whereas his secret meaning was nothing lesse, as shortly after appeared. For after a few dayes spent in feigned deuotions for the prosperous beginning of his empire, hee forthwith turned his mind vnto other his more secret, but most wicked and execrable designes. And hauing aboue all things purposed the death of the yong

Emperor

Emperor, he called together them of the Councell, his owne creatures and corrupt ministers G
of his wickednesse, who had now oftentimes in their mouths that saying of the Poet,

Est mala res multos dominarier: vnicus esto
——Rex dominusque.

An euill thing it is to be ruled by many:
One King and one Lord, if there be any.

and that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Larke. So by the generall con-
Alexius deprived of the Empire. sent of that wicked assembly (vnworthy the name of a graue councel) a decree was made, That H
Alexius should (as a man vnfit to gouern the State) be depriued of all imperiall dignitie, and
commanded to liue a priuat life. Which disloyall decree of the conspirators was yet scarcely
Alexius condemned. published, but that another more cruell came out of the same forge, That he should forthwith
be put to death, as one vnworthie longer to liue. For the execution of which so horrible a sen-
tence *Stephanus Hagiochristophorites* (one of the chiefe ministers of *Andronicus* his villanies, and
by him promoted euen vnto the highest degrees of the honours of the court) with *Constanti-*
nus Trypsicus, and one *Theodorus Badibrenus*, captaine of the tormentors) were sent out; who en-
Alexius the emperor cruelly strangled. tring his chamber by night, without compassion of his tender age, or regard of his honour or
innocency, cruelly strangled him with a bow string: which detestable murther so performed, I
Andronicus shortly after comming in, spurned the dead body with his foot, railing at his father
the late Emperor *Emanuel*, as a forsworne and iniurious man; and at his mother, as a common
whore. The head was forthwith strook off from this miserable carkasse (the mirror of honors
vnstabilitie) and left for the monstrous tyrant to feed his eyes vpon: the bodie wrapped vp in
lead, was in a boat carried to sea by *Io. Camaterius*, and *Theodosius Chumenus*, two of *Andronicus*
his noble fauorits; who with great ioy and glee returned with the same boat to the Court, as
if they had done some notable exployt. But long continueth not the ioy of the mischieuous,
vengeance still following them at the heeles; as it did these two, who not long after, with the
rest that conspired the innocent Emperors death, all or most part of them came to shameful or
miserable ends. Thus perished *Alexius* the Emperor, not yet ful fifteen yeres old, in the third
yeare of his raigne: which time he liued more like a seruant than an Emperor, first vnder the
command of his mother, and afterwards of the tyrant which brought him to his end. K

An vnequall marriage. Who ioyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made yong again, as should seem, by his new gained
honors? for shortly after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French kings daugh-
ter (as some report) before betroathed to yong *Alexius*; a tender & most beautiful lady, not yet
full 11 yeres old, an vnfit match for three score and ten. And in some sort as it were to purge
himselfe & his partakers of the shamefull murther by them committed, & to stop the mouths
of the people, he by much flattery & large promises procured of the bishops a general absolu-
tion for them all, from the oath of obedience which they had before giuen vnto the emperor
Emanuel, & *Alexius* his son. Which obtained, he for a while had the same Bishops in great ho-
nor, and shortly after in greater contempt, as men forgetfull of their duties and calling. After
Andronicus seeketh by tyranny to establish his estate. that, he gaue himselfe wholly vnto the establishing of his estate, neuer reckning himself there- L
of assured, so long as he saw any of the nobility or famous captains aliue, that fauored *Emanuel*
the late Emperor, or *Alexius* his son: of whom some he secretly poysoned, as *Mary* the Em-
peror *Emanuels* daughter, with her husband *Cæsar*; some for light occasions hee depriued of
their sight, as he did *Emanuel* and *Alexius* the sons of that noble captaine *Iohn Comnenus*; *An-*
dronicus Lapardus, whose good seruice he had oftentimes vsed; *Theodorus Angelus*, *Alexius*
Comnenus the Emperor *Emanuels* base son: some he hanged, as *Leo Synesius*, *Manuel Lachanas*,
with diuers others: some he burnt, as *Mamalus* one of the Emperor *Alexius* his chiefe Secre-
taries; all men of great honor and place. For colour whereof he pretended himselfe to be sor-
rie for them, deeply protesting, that they died by the seueritie of the law, not by his will, and
by the iust doome of the Iudges, whereunto he was himselfe (as he said) to giue place; & that M
with teares plentifully running down his aged cheekes, as if he had been the the most sorrow-
full man aliue. O deepe dissimulation, and Crocodiles teares, by nature ordained to expresse
the heauinesse of the heart, flowing from the eyes as showers of raine out of the Clouds: in
good men the most certaine signes of greatest griefe, & surest testimonies of inward torment:

A but in *Andronicus* you are not so, you are far of another nature, you proceed of ioy, you pro-
mise not vnto the distressed pittie or compassion, but death & destruction! how many mens
eys haue you put out? how many haue you drowned? how many haue you deuoured? Most
of the nobilitie that fauored the late emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his son, thus taken out of
the way by *Andronicus*, strook such a feare into the rest, that for safegard of their liues they be-
took themselues to flight, some one way, some another, neuer thinking themselues in safety so
long as they were within the greedie Tyrants reach; whereof shortly after entued no small
troubles, to the shaking of the state of the whole empire. *Isaac Comnenus* the emperor *Emanuels*
nigh kinsman, took his refuge into Cyprvs, & kept that Iland to himselfe. *Alexius Comnenus*,
Emanuels brothers son, fled into Sicilia, & there stir'd vp *William* king of that Iland, against
B *Andronicus*, who with a great army landed at Dyrrachivm, tooke the city, & so from thence
without resistance passing thorow the heart of Macedonia, spoiling the country before him
as he went, met his fleet at Thesalonica, which famous city he also tooke by force, & most
miserably spoiled it, with al the country thereabout, so that he brought a great feare vpon the
imperial city itself. Vnto which so great euils *Andronicus* (intangled with domestick troubles,
and not knowing whom to trust) was not able to giue remedy; although for shew he had (to no
purpose) sent out certain of his most trustie ministers with such forces as he could well spare.
For the maiestie of his authoritie growing stil lesse & lesse, & the number of his enemies both
at home & abroad daily increasing, & the fauor of the vnconstant people (who now began to
speake hardly of him) declining, he vncertain which way to turn himselfe, rested wholly vpon
C tyrannie, proscribing in his feare, not only the friends of such as were fled, & whom he distru-
sted, but somtimes whole families together, yea and that for light occasions, sometime those *Exceeding cruelties.*
who were his best fauorits, whose seruice he had many times vsed in the execution of his cru-
elties: so that now no day passed wherein he did not put to death, imprison, or torture one great
man or other. Whereby it hapned that the imperiall city was filled with sorrow & heauines,
euery man hanging the head, & with silence couering his inward griefe, not without danger to
haue bin then vttered. Among many others appointed to this slaughter, was one *Isaac Angelus*
a man of great nobilitie, whom *Hagiochristopherites* (the chiefe minister of *Andronicus* his tiran-
nie, & for the same by him highly promoted) suspecting, as one that bare no good will to the
emperor (cause enough of death) came to his house to apprehend him; & finding him at home,
D after a few hot words commanded him to follow him: whereat the nobleman making some
stay, & abhorring the very sight of the wretch, as vnto him ominous & fatal, *Hagiochristopori-*
tes himselfe began to lay hands on him, reuiling his followers, that they had not forthwith
drawn him out of his house by the haire of his head, vnto the prison by him appointed. For
they, touched with the honor of the man, & moued with pitty, forced him not, but stood stil as
beholders. *Isaac* seeing himselfe thus beset, & no way now left for him to escape, resoluing ra-
ther there presently to die, than shortly after to be murdred in prison, drew his sword as the
rest were laying hands vpon him, and at the first blow cleft the wicked head of *Hagiochristo-*
phorites down to his shoulders; & so leauing him wallowing in his own bloud, & like a despe-
rate man laying about him amongst the rest, made himselfe way through the midst of them.
E And so imbrued with bloud, with his bloudy sword yet in his hand, running thorow the midst
of the city, told the people what he had done; and crying vnto them for helpe in defence of
his innocencie, fled into the great temple, there to take the refuge of the Sanctuarie: where he *Isaac Angelus taketh Sanctuarie.*
had not long sit (in the place where the gultie flying thither for refuge vsed to sit, & confessing
their offence, craue pardon of such as go in & out) but that the temple was filled with the mul-
titude of people flocking thither out of al parts of the city, some to see the nobleman, some to
behold what should become of him: for all men thought that he would before Sun-set (not-
withstanding the reuerence of the place) be drawn thence by *Andronicus*, & put to some shame-
full death. Thither came also *Iohn Ducas*, *Isaacs* vncle, and his son *Isaac*, to increase the tumult;
not for that they were any thing guiltie of the death of *Hagiochristophorites*, but for that they
F had before become sureties vnto the suspitious tyrant, for their kinsman *Isaac*, and he likewise
for them; by whose trespas they wel knew themselues now brought into no lesse danger than
if they had bin abettors thereunto. And beside them also, many other there were, which doub-
ting of their owne estate, and fearing the like might happen to themselues, pricked forward
with hard speeches, the common people flocking thither, instantly requesting them to stay

there, and to ſtand by them now at their need, being ſo iniuriouſly wronged; whoſe pittifull complaints mooued many to take part with them. At which time alſo, no man yet comming from the Emperor (being as then out of the city) to repreſſe the ſedition, nor any of the Nobilitie oppoſing themſelues, no friend of *Andronicus* appearing, none of his bloudie miniſters or officers ſhewing themſelues, nor any that did ſo much as ſpeake a good word in his behalfe, or in diſlike of the tumult; the boldnes of the ſeditious people increaſed, euery man in ſo great libertie ſaying what he liſt, and after their rude manner one incouraging another. So ſpent *Iſaac* that long night, not thinking (God wot) of an Empire, but ſtill expecting the deadly ſtroke of *Andronicus*. Yet had he with great intreating ſo preuailed, that diuers of the aſſemblie ſhutting the church doores, and bringing lights into the church, ſtayed there with him all night, and by their example cauſed ſome others to ſtay alſo. The next morning by breake of day were all the citiſens flockt again vnto the temple, curſing the tirant to the deuil, as the common enemy of mankind, wiſhing vnto him a ſhamefull death, & the honor of the empire vnto *Iſaac*. At that time by fortune, or rather God ſo appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the city at his pallace of MELYDINVM, on the Eaſt ſide of PROPONTIS, where he was by nine a clocke at night certified of the death of *Hagiochriſtupheorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night ſtirred he not, neither did any thing more, but by ſhort letters aduiſed the people to pacifie themſelues, and not by fooliſh rebellion to caſt themſelues into further danger. In the morning *Andronicus* his fauorits began to ſhew themſelues, and to doe what they might to haue appeaſed the tumultuous multitude; yea and preſently after came *Andronicus* himſelfe, and landed with his imperiall galley at the great pallace in the city. But with the inraged people naught preuailed either the perſuaſions of the one, or report of the preſence of the other: for they all, as vpon a ſignall giuen, and as inſpired with one ſpirit, or ſtirred vp with the ſame fury, flocked together into the temple S. SOPHIA, one incouraging another, and ſcoffing at ſuch as ſtood by as idle lookers on, without weapons in their hands, reuiling them and calling them rotten lymnes that had no feeling of the common harme. After that, they broke open the priſons, and ſet at libertie the priſoners, as fitteſt inſtruments to increaſe the tumult, who were not all notable offenders of the dregs of the people, but many of them borne of good houſes, and for ſome light fault, or inconſiderate word (whereof euery man was in thoſe times bound to giue an account) or for ſome friends offence againſt *Andronicus*, there laid faſt. Theſe of all others moſt animated the people, in ſuch ſort, as they which before for feare of the danger did but ſoftly murmure to themſelues againſt *Andronicus*, did now openly ioyne with the reſt of the baſe ſeditious. Then might you haue ſeen ſome with their ſwords and targets, ſome alſo in their armor, but the greateſt part armed but with clubs and ſtaues, & other ſuch like rude weapons, armes of furie, haſtily taken vp in their ſhops as by chance they came firſt to hand, running forth in euery place. By this aſſemblie of the moſt furious and promiſcuous people was *Iſaac* hoyſed vp, and with a generall applauſe ſaluted Emperor. At which time one of the Sextons of the church, with a ladder tooke downe *Conſtantine* the great his crowne of gold, (which for a monument hung ouer the holy altar, and ſet it on *Iſaacs* head: which he at the firſt ſeemed vnwilling to weare, not for that hee was not deſirous enough of the Empire, but for that he feared the extream danger of the matter, and thought thoſe things that were then done to be but as it were a ſicke mans dream, like enough ſtraitway to vaniſh: beſide that, he feared in ſo doing, the more to exaſperate *Andronicus*. Which his vncle *Iohn Ducas* (as is ſayd before, ſtanding by him) perceiuing, plucking off his owne cap, and ſhewing his old bald head, requeſted the people, That if his nephew did refuſe it, they would ſet it vpon his: whereunto they with a great outcry anſwered, That they would no more yeeld their obedience to an old bald man, as hauing receiued many harmes from the hoarie haires of old *Andronicus*, and therefore for his ſake hated euery old man, more fit for *Charons* boat, and his coffin, than for an Empire, and eſpecially if he had a forken beard and bald head, as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus was *Iſaac* by the tumultuous multitude inueſted in the empire; and ſo royally mounted vpon one of the Emperors horſes, richly furniſhed with a ſaddle and trappings of gold, which they had by chance gotten, was by them brought from the temple vnto the court. *Baſilius Camatorius* the Patriarch, waiting vpon him, whom the headſtrong people had inforced againſt his wil to confirme with his authoritie what was by them done for the eſtabliſhing of *Iſaac* in the empire. *Andronicus* at his comming to the pallace perceiuing firſt by the confuſed crie of the tumultuous

The people in a tumult report vnto Angelus.

Andronicus in vaine ſeeketh to appeaſe the tumultuous people.

Iſaac Angelus by the people in a tumult ſaluted Emperor.

multuous multitude, and afterward by that which he ſaw with his eies, how the world went; calling vpon his old friends and flattering fauorits, thought firſt by their helpe to haue repreſſed the furie of the rebellious: who as friends of his better fortune, and not of himſelfe, were now for the moſt part ſhrunk from him; and thoſe that were left ſo feintly comming on, as if in his quarrell they had had no mind to ſpend their liues: with which heartleſſe company *Andronicus* fearing to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the furie of the multitude, with his bow & arrows in his hand got him vp into the higheſt tower of the pallace, called CENTENARIA, and from thence beſtowed certaine ſhot among the people. But ſeeing that to be to no purpoſe, and better perſuaded to do more with them by faire words, than ſuch vain force, hee from the top of the tower cried aloud vnto them, That if they would be quiet and depart, hee would by their conſent reſigne the empire vnto his ſon *Manuel*: whereat the people more inraged, ſpared not to poure forth moſt reprochfull words in contempt both of himſelfe and his ſon; and ſo furiouſly brake into the court by one of the gates called CAREA. Which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope, caſting from him all his habiliments of honour, and diſguiſing himſelfe fled again to his gally, accompanied only with *Anna* his wife, and *Maraptica* his minion, & ſo returned to MELYDIVM, his place from whence he came. *Iſaac* but yeſterday in the bottom of diſpaire, and ſhadowed as it were with the hand of death, by the ſtrange change of fortune to day mounted vnto the higheſt type of worldly honour, entering the palace, was there again with the greateſt applauſe of the people that might be, ſaluted Emperor. From whence he forthwith ſent out certain companies of his moſt aſſured friends & followers, to apprehend *Andronicus*; who now as a man at once forſaken both of his friends and of his better fortune, ſecretly fled with his wife and his paragon, before remembred, to CHELE, attended vpon only with a few of his truſtie ſeruants, which had of long time ſerued him before he was Emperor. There taking ſhip, with purpoſe to haue fled vnto the Tauro-ſcythes (as not thinking himſelfe ſafe in any prouince of the empire) he was twice or thrice by foule weather put backe again, the wrought ſea abhorring (as it ſeemed) to carrie him that had ſo polluted it with the dead bodies of the innocent by him ſlain, and ſtill threatning (as it were) to deuoure him. Thus ſtrangely ſtayed by foule weather, or more truly to ſay, by the reuenging hand of the higheſt, he was found by ſuch as were ſent out to ſeeke after him, & being by them apprehended, was with two great yron chains faſt locked about his proud necke, and heauie gyues vpon his legs, caſt into the caſtle of AMENA; and in that miſerable habit ſhortly after preſented to the Emperor *Iſaac*, yet buſied in appeaſing and reforming of the diſordred citie: where by the way as he went, he was by the people moſt ſhamefully reuiled, and iniuriouſly vſed; ſome plucking him by the beard, ſome by the haire of the head, ſome other in the meane time playing with his noſe, and bobbing him in the face, with a thouſand other deſpights done vnto him; eſpecially by ſuch women, as whoſe husbands he had before murdred or depriued of their ſight. Afterward being committed to the hatefull furie of the people, he had his right hand cut off, and was againe committed to the ſame caſtle, without meat, drinke, or other comfort: where after he had lien a few days, hauing one of his eyes put out, he was ſet vpon a foule leane cammel, with his face toward the taile therof, and ſo (as it were in triumph) led through the Market place, his bald head all bare, as if it had bin a dead mans skull taken out of a charnel houſe; in a ſhort old coat; ſo miſerable a ſpectacle, as might haue expreſſed a fountain of teares out of the eyes of a right hard hearted man. But the bedlam & moſt inſolent citiſens, eſpecially they of the baſer ſort, as cookes, coblers, curriers, and ſuch like, flocking about him like Bees (without regard that he had but the other day worne vpon his head the imperiall crowne, then honored by them as a god, & extolled vnto the heauens; that they had not long before ſolemnly ſworne vnto him obedience and loyaltie) ranne now as men out of their wits, omitting no kind of villanie they could deuiſe to do vnto him: ſome thruſt nailes into his head, ſome caſt durt in his face, ſome the dung both of men and beaſts, ſome prickt him in the ſides with ſpits, ſome caſt ſtones at him as at a mad dog, and other ſome opprobrious and deſpightfull words, no leſſe grieuous vnto him than the reſt: amongſt others, an impudent drab comming out of the kitchen, caſt a pot ful of ſcalding water in his face; and in brief, their outrage ſo exceeded, as if they had ſtriuen among themſelues, who ſhould do him the greateſt villanie. Hauing thus ſhamefully, as in a ridiculous triumph brought him into the Theatre, they there betwixt two pillars hanged him vp by the heeles: where hauing ſuffered all theſe deſpightfull indignities, with

Andronicus forſaken of his flattering fauorits.

A ſtrange chāge

Andronicus the Emperor taken, and brought in bonds to Angelus.

Andronicus the Emperor hanged vp by the heeles.

with many moe, not without offence to be named, he with an inuincible courage yet ſtill held his patience, not giuing one euill word, but ſometimes ſaying, *Lord haue mercie vpon me*; and otherwhiles, *Why do you breake a bruiſed reed?* Yet the furious people nothing mooued with the calamitie of ſo great a man, (of all others now the moſt miſerable) ſtript him of his bad cloathes as he hung, & cut off his priuities. One among the reſt, to make an end of him, thruſt his ſword in at his throat vp to the twiſt as he hung: other two with their long ſwords proued their ſtrength, who could ſtrike furtheſt into his buttocks. Thus miſerably periſhed this famous Emperour, after he had raigned two yeares. That which was left of his bodie (for many had carried away ſome pieces thereof) being taken downe from the place where he hung, was caſt into a baſe vault in the Theatre, where it for a ſpace lay, as the loathſome carkaſſe of ſome wilde beaſt, and the miſerable ſpectacle of mans fragilitie; for *Iſaac* the Emperour would not ſuffer it to be buried. Howbeit afterwards (the furie of the people ouerpaſſed, it was by ſome more charitable men remooued thence, and layd in a low vault neere vnto the monaſterie of the *Ephori*: which as *Nicetas Choniates* (author of this hiſtorie, ſpeaking of the time wherein he liued) ſaith, is yet there vndiſſolued to be ſeene. He was a man moſt honorably diſcended, of ſtature tall, and well proportioned; in his countenance ſate a certaine reuerend maieſtie, adorned with ſuch notable vertues, as might haue made him worthily to haue bin compared vnto the greateſt Emperors of his ſtocke and familie, had he not obſcured the ſame with too much ambition and cruelrie; whereof the one cauſed him to lead the greateſt part of his life in priſon or exile; the other brought vnto him a moſt ſhamefull end.

Nicetas Choniates, Annal. lib. 1. fol. 161. col. 4.

Iſaac Angelus his ſucceſſor, by the fauour of the people thus exalted vnto the Empire, at the firſt gouerned the ſame with great lenitie and moderation, as if hee had altogether abhorred from the effuſion of his kinſmans bloud: but afterwards not a little troubled both with forrein enemies, and domeſticall rebellion, beſieged in the Imperiall Citie by ſuch of the Nobilitie as thought themſelues no leſſe worthie of the Empire than himſelfe: for repreſſing of which inſolencies, and the aſſuring of his State, he became ſo ſeuere in chaſtiſing the offendors, and ſuch others as he had in diſtruſt, that he was counted of moſt men not inferiour in crueltie to *Andronicus* his predeceſſor; few dayes paſſing without the condemnation or execution of one great man or other, beſides them of the meaner ſort, of whom hee ſeemed to make no great reckoning: whereby he in few yeares loſt the loue and fauour of his Subiects, who before had him in great honour; and became vnto them no leſſe odious than was before *Andronicus*. Vpon which generall diſlike of the people, his ingratefull yonger brother *Alexius* (by him before for a great ſumme of money redeemed from the Turkes) tooke occaſion to riſe vp againſt him, and by the fauour of the ſoldiers depriued him together both of the Empire and his ſight: and hauing put out his eyes, thruſt him into a Monaſterie, there to liue as it were out of the world, as a man condemned to perpetuall darkeneſſe, after he had raigned nine yeres and eight moneths, being not yet full fortie yeares old. Whither it were the reuenging hand of God, for the hard meaſure vſed to *Andronicus*, or not, I leaue it to the wiſer to conſider; who in his deepe prouidence, wherewith he beſt gouerneth all things, would haue a moderation vſed in puniſhment of our moſt capitall enemies, as hauing alwayes before our eyes the ſlipperie ſtate of power and authoritie: and that as all worldly things are ſubiect to change, ſo by the iuſt iudgement of God it oftentimes falleth out, that what hurt we doe vnto others, the ſame we may receiue againe from others. In theſe ſo great and ſtrange mutations of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire (which I haue ſomewhat more at large proſecuted, not ſo much for the nouelty of the matter, although it were right ſtrange, as for that out of the loſſes & ruin thereof, the greatnes of the Turks for the moſt part grew) *Clizaſthlan* Sultan of Iconium, after the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, found meanes to take from the Empire diuers ſtrong Townes and caſtles in the leſſer Aſia, together with a great part of the country of Phrygia: *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Iſaac* the ſucceeding Emperours, troubled with dangers neerer home, hauing nothing to oppoſe againſt him, but faire intreatie and rich preſents; ſo redeeming for a while an vnſure peace, with no leſſe charge in ſhort time to be renewed againe. This victorious Sultan (for ſo he may of right be called) holding in his ſubiection a great part of the leſſer Aſia, now a man of great yeares, dying, left behinde him foure ſonnes, *Maſut*, *Coppatine*, *Reucratine*, and *Caichoſroes*, all men growne. Amongſt whom he diuided his Kingdome: Vnto *Maſut* he bequeathed Amaſia, Ancyra, Doryleum, with diuers other pleaſant Cities of Pontus: vnto

Iſaac Angelus the Emperour tyranniſeth.

Iſaac the Emperor thruſt from the Empire, and depriued of his ſight by his brother Alexius.

Clizaſthlan the Turkiſh Sultan incroacheth vpon the Greeke Empire in the leſſer Aſia.

Clizaſthlan diuideth his kingdome amongſt his foure ſonnes.

SALAR JUNG LIBRARY 140

A vnto *Coppatine* he aſſigned Melytene, Ceſarea, and the colonie now called Taxara: vnto *Reucratine* hee allotted Aminſum, Docea, with ſome other Cities vpon the ſea coaſt: but vnto *Caichoſroes*, he left Iconium his regall ſeat, and with it Lycaonia, Pamphilia, and all the countries thereabouts as farre as Cotrianyum. Of theſe foure, *Coppatine* long liued not after his father; for whoſe inheritance *Reucratine* Prince of Docea, and *Maſut* Prince of Ancyra (his two brethren) fell at variance, and ſo at laſt into open warre. But *Maſut* finding himſelfe too weake for his warlike brother *Reucratine*, yeelded vnto him the territories which hee ſaw he muſt needs forgoe; and glad now to keepe his owne, ſo made peace with him. *Reucratine* being a man of an ambitious and haughtie ſpirit, with his forces thus doubled, denounced warre vnto his brother *Caichoſroes*; who doubting his owne ſtrength, fled vnto the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* for ayde, as had his father done before him vnto the Emperour *Manuel*, although not with like good fortune. For the Emperour but of late hauing obtayned the empire by the depoſing of his brother, and altogether giuen to pleaſure, reputing alſo thoſe domeſticall warres of the Turkes, ſome part of his owne ſafetie; ſent him home without comfort, as one ſtrong enough of himſelfe to defend his owne quarrell againſt his brother.

The ſonnes of Clizaſthlan at variance among themſelues.

Howbeit, hee was ſcarcely come to Iconium, but he was by *Reucratine* expulſed thence, and driuen to flie into Armenia, where hee was by *Zebune* King of that countrey, a Turke alſo, honourably receiued and courteouſly vſed, but yet denied of the ayd he requeſted: the King pretending that hee was already in league with *Reucratine*, and therefore could not; or as ſome thought, fearing the dangerouſneſſe of the matter, would not intermeddle therein.

C Wherewith the poore Sultan vtterly diſcouraged, returned againe to Conſtantinople, and there in poore eſtate, as a man forlorne, paſſed out the reſt of his dayes.

Now hauing thus paſſed through the Turkiſh affaires in the leſſer Aſia, together with the troubled eſtate of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, no ſmall cauſe of the Turks greatneſſe; the courſe of time calleth vs backe againe before we paſſe any farther, to remember their proceedings alſo at the ſame time, and ſhortly after, in Syria, Iudæa, Ægypt, and thoſe more Southerly countries, where theſe reſtleſſe people ceaſed not by all meanes to enlarge their empire, vntill they had brought all thoſe great kingdomes vnder their obeyſance.

Almericus firſt King of Ieruſalem.

After the death of *Baldwin* King of Ieruſalem, of whom wee haue before ſpoken, *Almericus* his younger brother, Earle of Ioppa and Aſcalon, being then about ſeuen and twentie
D yeares old, was by the better good liking of the clergie and people, than of the nobilitie, elected King: not for that there wanted in him any good parts worthy of a kingdom, but for that ſome of them enuied vnto him ſo great an honour. Neuertheleſſe he was (as wee ſaid) by the generall conſent of the people, elected, proclamed, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch with al ſolemnitie crowned, the 17 day of Februarie, in the yeare of Grace, 1163. To begin whoſe troubled raigne, the Ægyptians firſt of al denyed to pay vnto him their wonted tribute. In reuenge whereof, he in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant armie entred into Ægypt; and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and put him to flight: who to ſtay the further purſuit and paſſage of the Chriſtians, cut the bankes of the riuer Nilus, and ſo
E drowned the countrey, that the King was glad to content himſelfe with the victorie he had already gotten, and ſo to returne to Hieruſalem.

The next yeare *Almericus* was againe drawne downe with his power into Ægypt, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him againſt *Saracon*; whom *Noradin* the Turke, King of Damaſco, had ſent as Generall with an army, to reſtore *Sanar* the Sultan before expulſed, and to depoſe *Dargan*. In which expedition *Dargan* being ſlaine, and *Saracon* hauing won certaine townes, kept them to himſelfe; *Sanar* doubtfull of his good meaning, ioyned his forces with *Almericus*, and by his helpe expulſed *Saracon* out of Ægypt. But whileſt *Almericus* was thus buſied in Ægypt, *Noradin* the Turk making an inroad into the frontiers of the Chriſtians neere vnto Tripolis, was by *Gilbert Lacy*, maſter of the Templars in thoſe quarters, and the other Chriſtians, when he leaſt feared, ſo ſuddenly ſet vpon, that he had much adoe by flight to ſaue himſelfe,
F halfe naked for haſte, moſt of his followers being at the ſame time ſlain. In reuenge of which diſgrace, he not long after with a great power came and beſieged Arethuſa: for reliefe wherof, *Bohemund* Prince of Antioch, *Raymond* the younger, Earle of Tripolis, *Calamon* gouernour of Cilicia, and *Toros* Prince of Armenia, came with their power. Of whoſe comming the Turk hearing, raiſed his ſiege and departed. After whom theſe Chriſtian Princes eagerly

Noradin the Turke diſcomfited by the Chriſtians.

gerly following, were by the Turkes shut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto G
they had vnaduisedly too far entred) and there with a great slaughter ouerthrowne. In which
conflict, all the chiefe commanders of the armie, were taken, except the Prince of ARMENIA,
who forecasting the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine diſswaded the rest from the fur-
ther pursuit of the flying enemie. The Prince of ANTIOCH there taken, was about a yeare
after for a great summe of money redeemed; but the Countie of TRIPOLIS was after eight
yeares straight captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victorie returning againe to the
siege of ARETHVSA, in few daies won the towne: and encouraged with such good successe,
and the absence of the King, laid siege to the citie of PANEADE, which was also deliuered
vnto him, vpon condition that the citizens might at their pleasure in safetie depart.

At the same time *Saracon* Generall of *Noradin* his forces, tooke from the Christians two H
castles; the one in the countrey of SIDON, the other beyond IORDAN vpon the borders of
ARABIA, both in the custody of the Templars: twelue of whom the King at his returne han-
ged vp for treason.

Rhortly after *Saracon*, King *Noradin* his great man of war, with all the power of the Turks,
came downe againe into ÆGYPT, with purpose to haue fully subdued all that notable king-
dome vnto his Lord and master. Of whose power, *Sanar* the Sultan standing in dread, praied
aid of *Almericus*, promising vnto him beside his yearely tribute, the summe of fortie thousand
ducats for his paines. The matter fully agreed vpon, and all things now in readinesse, *Almeri-
cus* set forward with his armie, and encountring with *Saracon* and his Turkes at the riuer NI-
LVS, ouerthrew him in a great battel: yet not without some losse, for the Turks in their flight I
lighting vpon the Kings carriages with the whole baggage of the army, and ouerrunning them
that had the charge thereof, carried away with them a most rich prey, whereby it came to passe
that as the Christians had the victorie, so the Turks inioyed the spoile.

Saracon after this ouerthrow, hauing againe gathered together his dispersed soldiers, tooke
his way to ALEXANDRIA, where he was by the citizens receiued: after whom the King fol-
lowing, gaue no attempt vnto the city, for that he knew to be but vain, but incamped close by
the side of the riuer NILVS, from whence the citie was chiefly to be victualled. Whose pur-
pose *Saracon* perceiuing, and betime foreseeing the distresse of his whole armie for want of
victuals, if he should there long stay: leauing there his son *Saladin* (or as some call him his ne-
phew) with a thousand horsmen for the keeping of the citie, secretly by night departed thence K
himselfe with the rest of his army: and passing through the deserts, did great harm in the vpper
parts of EGYPT. Of whose departure *Almericus* vnderstanding, was about to haue followed
Saladin left by Alexandria by Saracon, craftily layd. him, but that he was otherwise persuaded by the Egyptian captaines to continue his former
purpose for the gaining of the citie: wherefore now after the departure of *Saracon* he began
to approach the wals, and with diuers engines of war to disturb the defendants: wherewith the
citizens (better acquainted with the trade of merchandize, than the feats of war) discouraged,
began now to consult amongst themselues for the turning out of those troublesome guests
whom they had so lately receiued: which *Saladin* perceiuing, certified *Saracon* his vncle ther-
of, requesting his speedie reliefe in that his so dangerous estate, and with much intraty persua-
ded the citizens for a while to hold it out, vntil he might from him receiue answer: of al which L
the Christians and Egyptians without, hauing intelligence, laid so much the harder vnto the
citie. Gladly would *Saracon* haue done what he was by his nephew requested: but perceiuing
it to be a matter of no lesse danger than difficultie, he by the means of *Hugh*, Countie of CE-
SAREA, and one *Arnolphus* another noble Christian, both then prisoners with him, conclu-
Alexandria yeelded to Almericus. ded a peace with the King: whereupon the citie was forthwith yeelded vp, and *Saladin* with
his Turks suffred in safetie to depart. At which time also al prisoners were on both sides free-
ly and without ransome set at libertie. Thus *Saracon* for this time disappointed of this his pur-
pose for the conquest of EGIPT, returned back again to DAMASCO: and *Almericus* with great
1167 glory to ASCALON, where he arriued with his armie the 21 of September in the yeere 1167.

In this late expedition, K. *Almericus* on the one side enflamed with the wealth of EGYPT, M
and on the other encoraged with the weaknes of that effeminate people: resting for the most
part vpon forraine strength; had purposed himselfe to inuade the kingdom, & so if possible he
might, to ioine it to his own. For color wherof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrary to
his faith before giuen, had secretly sought to ioine in league & amity with *Noradin* the Turk,
King

A King of DAMASCO. The chiefe stirrer vp of the King vnto this warre, was one *Gerbert* master
of the Templars; who in respect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of
the king, after the victorie gained, to haue the city of PELVSIVM with all the rich countrey a-
bout the same, giuen vnto him and his brethren the knights of the order for euer: vpon which
hope, he contrarie to the mind of many of the Knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged
his whole wealth and credit, with all the treasure of his house. So all things now in readinesse
for so great an enterprise, *Almericus* with his army set forward in October, and hauing in ten *Pelusium taken by Almericus.*
daies passed the sandy desert, came to PELVSIVM; which city he (after three daies siege) took
by force, and put to sword al them that were therein, without respect of age, sex, or condition:
which citie, he according to his promise before made, gaue vnto the Templars. After that, he
B began also to besiege CAIRE; at which time his fleet sacked the citie of TAPIVM. In the
meane time, *Sanar* the Egiptian Sultan, considering the danger he was in, to satisfie *Almericus*
his greedy desire, offred to pay him twentie hundred thousand ducats to withdraw his for-
ces: & forthwith sent him one hundred thousand, for the ransom of his son & his nephew ta-
ken prisoners at PELVSIVM: and for the rest to be paid within fiue daies after; he gaue two of
his nephewes hostages. Neuertheles the paiment he deferred from day to day, of purpose in
the meane time to raise the whole power of ÆGIPT, as also to receiue aid from the Turks by
Saracon, which he daily expected: of whose speedie comming, *Almericus* vnderstanding, left
part of his armie at PELVSIVM, and with the rest went to haue met him: but missing him by
the way, *Saracon* with his Turks came in safetie to CAIRE vnto the Sultan, as he had desired.
C Wherefore *Almericus* dismaid with the multitude of two so great armies now ioyned toge-
ther, retired back againe to PELVSIVM, and there taking with him the garrison before left, re-
turned home to HIERVSALEM: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith)
laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeres after, it by proofe appeared,
by the cuill neighbourhood of the Turks, by that meanes brought downe into EGIPT.

Saracon the Turke after the departure of *Almericus*, easily perceiuing a most fit time and *The Sultan of Aegipt vnder the colour of friendship slain by Saracon.*
opportunitie to be offered for him now to obtaine that, which hee had in vaine before both
fought and fought for, encamped with his army neere vnto CAIRE, and notably counterfei-
ted himselfe of all others the most deuoted friend of the Sultans: so that betwixt them two
D passed all the kind tokens of loue and friendship, that could possible be deuised; the Sultan of-
tentimes feasting the Turk, and in kindnes likewise being feasted of him: but at length going
as his manner was, vnto the camp to visit him, he was by the Turkes slaine. So *Saracon* hauing
brought to passe what he desired, and entring the citie with his armie, was by the great Ca-
liph (from whom the Ægyptian Sultans, as from their superiors, the true successours of their
great Prophet *Mahomet*, tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the first of the Turks that
euer enioyed the same: which royall dignitie hee had not possessed fully a yeare, but that hee
was taken away by death. In whose stead *Saladin* his brothers son, by and by stept vp: who
altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerent maiestie of the Caliph (as had his vncle
Saracon, and al the Egiptian Sultans before him) with his horsmans mase struck out his brains;
and not so contented, vtterly rooted out all his posteritie, the better to assure himselfe and his
E successors the Turks in the possession of his new begotten kingdom; and after that diuided the
great treasures of the Egyptians among his Turks, to encourage them the more to follow him
in his warres against the Christians.

This glorious kingdome so much spoken of in holy Scripture, & renowned of the learned *How the kingdome of Aegypt first fell into the hands of the Sarasins, with the notable alterations thereof.*
historiographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Roman empire, was sometime part of the
Constantinopolitan empire, & a notable member of the Christian cõmon weale; vntil that a-
bout the yere of our Lord 704, the Egiptians weary of the pride & couetousnes of the Gre-
cians, reuolted from them vnto the Sarasins, whose superstition they also receiued: & so vnder
the gouernement of the Sarasin Caliphs, the successors of the false prophet *Mahomet* liued
about 464 years, vntil that now being inuaded by *Almericus*, they prayed aid of *Noradin* the
F Turke, Sultan of DAMASCO: who to their relefe sending *Saracon* with an army, repulsed in-
deed the Christians, but oppressing their liberty, took to himselfe the kingdom; which he left
vnto his nephew *Saladin*, in whose posterity it remained vntil it was from them again taken by
the Circassian slaues the Mamalukes: vnder whose seruile gouernment it was holden of long
time, til that by the great emperor of the Turks *Selimus* the first, it was again conquered & the
Mamalukes

Mamalukes vtterly destroyed: In the gouernement of whose prosperitie, the mightie Emperours of the Turks, it hath euer since remained as part of their empire, vntill this day, as in the processe of this Historie God willing shall appeare.

1170 *Saladin* thus possessed of the great kingdome of EGIPT, and all things set in such order as he thought best for the Newnesse of his estate, with a great armie entred into the land of PALESTINE, in the yere 1170, and there besieged DARON; which towne he woon, and ouerthrew such as were sent by King *Almericus* to haue relieued the same: with which small victorie contenting himselfe, as with the good beginning of his rising fortune, he returned backe again into his kingdom: yet was his army so great and populous, as that the like armie of the Turks had neuer before bin seene in the Holy land. Wherefore *Almericus* considering in what great danger he stood, his kingdome now being on both sides beset by the Turks, sent out his embassadors vnto the Christian Princes of the West, to craue their aid for the defence of that kingdom which their fathers had won: and for the same purpose went himselfe in person vnto the Emperor of CONSTANTINOPLE, of whom he was royally entertained, and afterward sent backe loaded with the promises of great matters, as were also his embassadours from the Princes of the West. All which for all that sorted vnto nothing, but vanished into smoake.

1171 The yeare following, *viz.* 1171, *Saladin* besieged PETREA, the Metropoliticall Citie of ARABIA: but hearing that *Almericus* with a great power was comming to the relefe thereof, he raised his siege and retired: as he did also next yeare after, hauing in vaine attempted the strong castle of MONT-ROIALL, on the further side of IORDAN. In like manner also the third yeare he came againe into the Holy Land, and spoiled the countrey beyond IORDAN; but hearing of the Kings comming against him, he forthwith returned againe into EGIPT. All these light expeditions, this politique Prince made not so much for hope of victorie, or to proue his enemies strength, as to traine his souldiers, especially the effeminate Egyptians, and to make them fitter to serue him in his greater designes.

1173 Shortly after died *Noradin* Sultan of DAMASCO, and in his time a most notable champion of the Turks, after he had raigned nine and twentie yeares. Vpon whose death, *Almericus* forthwith besieged the citie of PANEADE, in hope to haue againe recouered the same: but he was by the widow of the late dead Sultan, for a great sum of money and the deliuerie of certaine noble prisoners, intreated to raise his siege and depart. So hauing sent away his armie, and traueling with his ordinarie retinue to TIBERIAS, where he had the Summer before bin sicke of the flix, feeling himselfe not well, he returned on horse backe by NAZARETH and NEAPOLIS to HIERVSALEM, where his old disease increasing vpon him, he was also taken with a Feauer: wherwith after he had bin some few dayes grieuously tormented, he requested his Physitians, with some gentle potion to loose his bellie, which was now somewhat stayed: which they refusing to doe, he commanded the potion to be giuen him vpon his owne perill, hap thereon what hap should: which being giuen him, and his bellie againe loosed, he seemed therewith to haue beene at the first well eased; but his wonted Feauer with great vehemencie returning, before his weake and spent bodie could be with conuenient meats refreshed he suddenly died the xenth of Iuly, in the yeare 1173, when he had raigned about ten yeares. His dead bodie was with the great lamentation of all his subiects, solemnly buried by his brothers. He was a most wise Prince, and withall right valiant, amongst many most fit for the gouernment and defence of that troublesome kingdome, so hardly beset with the Infidels, if it had pleased God to haue giuen him longer life.

Baldwin the fourth of that name, seuenth King of Hierusalem.

Foure daies after the death of *Almericus*, was *Baldwin* his sonne, then a youth about thirteene yeares old, by the generall consent of the Nobilitie chosen King, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch in the Temple with great solemnitie crowned in the yeare 1173: vnto whom as not yet by reason of his tender age, fit himselfe to mannage the weightie affaires of the kingdom, *Raymond* Countie of TRIPOLIS, was by the whole consent of the Nobilitie appointed Tutor to supplie what was wanting in the young King.

Noradin Sultan of DAMASCO (dead as is afore said) left behind him *Melechsala* his sonne, yet but a youth, to succeed him in his kingdome. Whose gouernment the Nobilitie disdaining, sent secretly for *Saladin* Sultan of EGIPT, vnto whom at his comming they betrayed the city of DAMASCO, the regall seat of the Turkes in SIRIA. Whereof *Saladin* possessed, and entring into CELESIRIA without resistance, tooke HELIOPOLIS, EMISSA, with the great citie of CESAREA;

A CESAREA; and in fine, all the whole kingdome of DAMASCO, the citie of ARETHVSA onely excepted. But thus to suffer *Melechsala* the young Prince to be wrouged, and the kingdome of DAMASCO to be ioyned to the kingdome of EGIPT, was of the wiser sort thought not to stand with the safetie of the kingdome of HIERVSALEM, lying in the middle betwixt them both. Wherefore the Countie of TRIPOLIS, gournour of that kingdome, made out certain force to haue hindred his proceedings. At which time also, *Cotobed* Prince of PARTHIA, and *Melechsalas* vncle, sent certaine Troupes of Parthian horsemen to haue aided his distressed Nephew, who were by *Saladin* ouerthrowne and almost all slaine, neere vnto ALEPPO where *Melechsala* lay. This for the Countie of TRIPOLIS and the other Christian Princes, with whom *Saladin* in the Newnesse of his kingdom had no desire to fal out; he appeased them with faire intreatie, and towards vnto the Countie hee sent freely the hostages, which yet lay for
B his ransome at EMISSA: vnto the other princes he sent rich presents; and therewith so contented them all, that they returned without any thing doing against him. After which time, three or foure yeares passed in great quietnesse, to the great strengthning of him in those new gotten kingdoms. At length vpon the comming ouer of *Philip* Earle of FLANDERS, the Christian Princes of SYRIA encouraged, consulted of an expedition to be made in EGIPT, whereof *Saladin* hauing intelligence, drew down into that countrey the greatest part of his strength. But *Philip* disliking of that expedition, and the rather for that he saw no great cheerfulnesse in the Countie of TRIPOLIS and the rest thereunto; they with one consent changed their purpose for EGIPT, and turning their forces a quite contrarie way, miserably and without resistance wasted the country about EMISSA and CESAREA.

C Whilest the Christians was thus busied in CÆLISIRIA, *Saladin* on the other side tooke occasion out of EGIPT to inuade the kingdome of HIERVSALEM, of whose comming, King *Baldwin* hauing intelligence, with such small forces as he had gathered hastened himselfe to ASCALON. In the Meane time *Saladin* with a great armie was entred into the Holy Land, where burning the countrey before him, and raging in the bloud of the poore Christians, hee came and encamped not farre from ASCALON: and strucke such a feare vpon the whole countrey, that they which dwelt in HIERVSALEM, were about to haue forsaken the citie: as for the King himselfe, hee lay close within the citie of ASCALON, not daring to aduenture vpon so strong an enemie. Wherewith *Saladin* encouraged, and out of feare of his enemies, dispersed his armie, some one way, some another, to forrage the countrey. Which the King perceiuing,
D secretly with all his power issued out of the citie, if happilie so he might ouertake the Sultan vnawares; neither was he deceiued in his expectation: for comming suddenly vpon him, and secretly charging him, he had with him for a good space an hard and doubtfull battell, vntill that the victorie by the power of God, at length inclining to the Christians, *Saladin* with his Turkes fled, ouerthrowne with a great slaughter, most part of his great armie beeing eyther there slaine, or lost afterward with hunger and could. This victorie fell vnto the Christians the 25. day of November, in the yere 1177, not without the almightie hand of God, the Turk hauing in his army aboue 26 thousand horsmen, and the king not past 4. hundred horse with some few footmen. After which victorie, *Baldwin* in great triumph returned to IERVSALEM, and there shortly after with great care & diligence repaired the decaied wals of the city. 1177

Saladin ouerthrown by king Baldwin.

E *Saladin* in reuenge of this ouerthrow, made diuers incursions into the frontiers of the Christians, and did great harm, specially in the country about SIDON. For the repressing wherof, the king put himselfe in armes, and going against him, ouerthrew part of his army, as they were carrying away a great bootie. Of which ouerthrow *Saladin* vnderstanding, came in such haste with the rest of his army, as if it had bin a sudden tempest, vpon the Christians, then in great securitie diuiding the spoile; of whom they slew a great number, and put the rest to flight: In which so sudden a confusion, *Otto*, grand master of the Templars, and *Hugh* the Earle of TRIPOLIS his son in law, were both taken prisoners. The Earle himselfe with a few fled to TIRE: the king also at the same time was glad to shift for himselfe, & by flight to saue himselfe as he might: after which victory, *Saladin* besieged a strong castle which the king but the yere before had built vpon the bank of the riuer IORDAN, and giuen it to the Templars, with the country
F round about; which castle *Saladin* took by force, and put to sword al that were therein, except some few whom he carried away prisoners. By this victory *Saladin* became dreadful vnto the christians in SIRIA, which caused them, especially such as had any charge, with more vigilan-

The Christians diuiding the spoile, ouerthrowne by the Turkes.

cie

cie to looke about them. Yet shortly after, a peace was for a time concluded betwixt the Sultan and the King: whereby their troubled estates breathed themselues almost the space of two yeares.

But this so welcome a calme was by domesticall troubles againe by the Kings friends suddenly troubled: for the countie of TRIPOLIS, to whom the gouernment of the kingdome was committed, comming towards HIERVSALEM, being by the suggestion of his enemies brought into suspition with the King, as if he had affected the kingdome, was to his great disgrace by the way commanded to stay. The chiefe authors of which discontentment, were the Kings mother, a woman of a turbulent nature, and her brother the Kings Steward; who in the absence of the Earle, had wrought the Kings sicke mind according to their owne appetites. But the rest of the nobility wisely foreseeing vnto what great danger the discord might tend; in dispight of them, with much labor, caused him to be sent for againe, and so reconciled vnto the King: by which means, that dangerous fire of dissention was for that time appeased, which afterwards brake out againe, to the vtter ruine of that kingdome.

Saladin goeth out of Aegypt to Damasco:

Saladin now wearie of the league he had before made with King *Baldwin*, as no longer standing with his haughtie designes, renounced the same, and raising a great power in ÆGIPT, set forward toward DAMASCO. Of whose comming, King *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, with the whole power of his kingdome went to haue met him, not farre from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old towne called PETRA. But *Saladin* turning out of the way, into the Kings territorie, came and encamped before MOVNT-ROIALL, a castle which *Baldwin* had giuen vnto the Templars, about three daies march fom the place where the King lay.

Galiley spoiled, and the castle of Burie taken by the Turkes,

There *Saladin* with the spoile of the country refreshing his armie, now weary of long trauel, set forward againe, and so without resistance arriued with his armie at DAMASCO. At the same time, the Turks Captains about DAMASCO, BOSTRVM, and EMISSA, perceiuing the frontiers of the Christians thereabout to be kept with small strength, passed ouer IORDAN, and spoiling a great part of GALILEY, besieged the castle of BVRIE, at the foot of mount TABOR, not farre from the ettie of NAIM; which castle they in few daies tooke, and hauing there made a great slaughter, carried away with them about fiue hundred prisoners. *Saladin* being come to DAMASCO, called together all the garrisons of that kingdome, and ioyning them vnto the forces he brought out of ÆGIPT, entred into the Holy Land: at which time the Countie of TRIPOLIS, gouernour of the kingdome, lay sicke of a burning feauer. Neuertheless the King encouraged by the Knights of the order, went out with his armie against him; and encountring with him neere vnto a village called FROBOLET, ouerthrew him in a great battell; wherein, and afterward in the flight, most part of the Sultans armie perished: *Saladin* himselfe being glad by speedie flight to escape the danger, and so by long marches to get him againe to DAMASCO.

Berita in vain besieged by the Turkes.

In reuenge of this ouerthrow, *Saladin* hauing repaired his armie, and sent for his fleet out of ÆGIPT, came and besieged BERITVS both by sea and land: at which time also his brother, whom he had left gouernour in ÆGIPT, besieged DARVM, a strong towne in the vttermost bounds of the kingdom of HIERVSALEM towards ÆGIPT: both whose forces *Baldwin* being not able at once to represse, by the counsell of his nobilitie, thought it best first to relieue BERITVS, as the place of greatest importance. And for that purpose set forward with his armie by land, hauing also rigged vp three and thirtie gallies at TYRE, for the reliefe thereof by sea. Of which preparation *Saladin* vnderstanding, as also of the Kings comming (by letters intercepted by his scouts, directed to the besieged, for the holding out of the siege, with promise of speedie reliefe) he presently rose with his armie, and departed: whereof the King being aduertised, retired to SEPHOR.

Saladin inuading Mesopotamia, is himselfe inuaded by the King of Hierusalem.

Not long after, *Saladin* according to his ambitious nature, desirous aboue measure to extend the bounds of his Kingdome, and seeing the successe of his attempts against the King of HIERVSALEM not answerable to his desire, conuerted his forces vnto the countries more Eastward; and passing the riuer EVPHRATES, and entring into MESOPOTAMIA, partly by force, partly by corruption, got into his hands the cities of EDESSA, CARRAS, and diuers others. In which time the king of IERVSALEM took occasion first to spoile the country about DAMASCO, and after that diuers other places of the Sultans kindome, making hauocke of whatsoeuer came in his way, & so laded with the spoile of the Turks, retired to IERVSALEM.

Saladin

Saladin with victorie returning out of MESOPOTAMIA, in reuenge of the iniuries done vnto him in his absence, marched directly to ALEPPO, the strongest citie of the Christians in that part of SYRIA, which aboue all other he longed after: where he had not long lien, but that it was by the treason of the gouernour deliuered into his hands, with all the countrey thereabouts: wherewith the Christian Princes were so discouraged, that they euen then began to feare greater matters to ensue. The Prince of ANTIOCH sold TARSVS the metropoliticall citie of CILICIA, to *Rupinus* Prince of ARMENIA; for that hee saw it was not without great charge and danger to be by him defended, being so farre from him, and *Saladin* as it were now stept in betwixt him and it.

Aleppo betrayed vnto the Turke

At the same time, King *Baldwin* at NAZARETH fell sicke of a feuer, the leprosie also his old disease growing dayly more and more vpon him: insomuch as despairing of his life, hee called vnto him *Guy Lusignan* Countie of IOPPA & ASCALON, vnto whom he had before espoused *Sybil* his eldest sister, and in the presence of his mother, the Patriarch, and all the chiefe commanders of the soldiers of the sacred war, appointed him gouernor of the kingdome, reseruing vnto himselfe only the title of a King, with the citie of IERVSALEM, and a yerely pension of ten thousand duckats: all which was done, to the great disgrace and discontentment of the Countie of TRIPOLIS the old gouernor.

It was not long, but that *Saladin* hauing breathed himselfe a little, after so great labors came againe into the Holie land, where he tooke many castles, and did infinite harm; insomuch that the country people were glad for feare to forsake their houses, & to flie into cities. The Christian armie in the meane time lying fast by at SEPHOR, not once mouing, although many a faire occasion were offered: for the chiefe Commaunders affectionated vnto the Countie of TRIPOLIS, and enuying at the preferment of *Guy* the new gouernor, were vnwilling to fight, but finding one excuse or other, suffered the enemie at his pleasure to spoyle the country, and so in safetie to depart, which he had neuer before done in those quarters.

Petra in vaine besieged by the Turki.

Within lesse than a moneth after, *Saladin* with a great armie well appointed with all the habiliments of war needfull for the besieging of a city or strong castle, came againe into the land of PALESTINE, and passing thorow the countrey beyond IORDAN, sate downe at last before PETRA, in hope by the taking thereof to haue made his passage between ÆGYPT and DAMASCO more safe. Of which his purpose King *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, and taught by the euill successe of late, to what smal purpose it was to commit the mannaging of his wars vnto a Generall so euill beloued, and lesse regarded, as was *Guy* his brother in law; sent against him with his armie, *Raymund* the Countie of TRIPOLIS the old gouernor, whom he had again restored vnto the gouernment, and displaced *Guy*. Of whose comming *Saladin* hearing, raised his siege after he had lien there a moneth, and so departed.

A little before this expedition, the King stil growing sicker and sicker, his foule disease stil increasing, by the common consent of the nobilitie, appointed *Baldwin* his nephew by his sister *Sybilla*, a child but of fiue yeres old, to succeed him in the kingdome; and the Countie of TRIPOLIS to haue the gouernment of the state during the time of his minoritie. This *Sybilla* the kings sister was first married to *William* the yonger, Marques of MOVNT-FERRAT, who dying within three months after, left her with child with this his posthumus sonne *Baldwin*, now by his vncle deputed vnto the hope of the kingdome. After whose death she was married to *Guy Lusignan* Countie of IOPPA and ASCALON, the late gouernour: who taking in euill part this the kings designement, especially for the gouernment of the kingdome by the Countie of TRIPOLIS, departed from the court as a man discontented, vnto his city of ASCALON: whereof the Patriarch and the Princes of the sacred war, fearing (and that not without cause) great danger to ensue, came to the King, then holding a Parliament in the citie of ACON, most humbly requesting him for auoyding of further danger, and the safetie of his kingdome, to receiue againe into his fauour the Countie *Guy* his brother in law, and to make an attonement betwixt him and the Countie of TRIPOLIS. But this their request sorted to no purpose, so that the Parliament was dissolued without any thing for the good of the Commonweale in that point concluded.

Dissention in the court of Ierusalem.

After that time the kingdome of IERVSALEM began stil more and more to decline. In the old King *Baldwin* (sicke both in bodie and mind) was almost no hope: in the young King (yet vnfit for so great a burthen) much lesse: and the dissention betwixt the two Counties *Guy* and

Raymund,

Raymund with their fauorits, was like enough to bring great harme vnto the State. Besides that, the Countie of Tripolis fearing the power of *Guy* his enemie, was thought to haue secret intelligence with *Saladin* the Turke, insomuch as the King was almost in purpose to haue proclaimed him traitor. Wherefore the King now rested only vpon the councel of *William* Archbishop of Tyre, and the masters of the Knights of the sacred warre: by whose aduice he sent *Heraclius* Patriarch of Ierusalem, *Roger Molins* master of the Knights of S. *Iohns*, and *Arnold* master of the Templars, Embassadors vnto *Lucius* the third, then Pope, vnto *Frederick* the emperor, *Philip* the French King, and *Henry* the second, King of England, to declare vnto them the dangerous state of that Christian kingdome, and to craue their aid against the Infidels. *King Baldwin sendeth Embassadors vnto the Christian Princes of the west for aid.*

These Embassadors comming to the Councell then holden at Verona, with great grauity and diligence, in the presence of the Pope & of the Emperor, declared the hard estate of the Christians of the East, with their humble request vnto them for aid; in such sort that they mooued them, with all the Princes there present, to compassion. From thence they were by the Pope directed vnto *Philip* the French King, with whom hauing dispatched their affaires, they from him passed ouer into England, and afterward into Germanie: and had at length brought their negotiation to so good passe, that in euery place great preparation was made for a great expedition to be made against the Turks, for the relefe of the Christians in the East: with which good newes the Embassadours returning to Ierusalem, filled the sicke King with the hope of great matters. But greater quarrels shortly after arising betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, and sharpe warre likewise betwixt the French King and the King of England, and the other Christian Princes also being at no better quiet, the notable expedition that had with the expectation thereof so filled the world, was againe layd aside and quite dashed. Whereof King *Baldwin* vnderstanding, both by messengers and letters from his friends, oppressed with griefe and heauinesse more than with the force of his disease, (a man for his prowesse and painefulnesse not inferior to any his predecessors) died without issue the 16 day of May, *Anno* 1185, being but fiue and twentie yeres old, whereof he had raigned twelue. His bodie was afterward with the generall mourning of his subiects, solemnly buried in the Temple neere vnto the mount Caluarie, together with his predecessors the Kings of Ierusalem.

1185.

King *Baldwin* thus buried, *Baldwin* the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned King. But then began the sparkes, which had of long lien raked vp and hidden in the ashes, to breake out into a great fire: for *Raymund* Countie of Tripolis contended the whole gouernement of the kingdome, & tuition of the King to be due vnto him, by the appointment of the late King, and consent of the nobilitie; and did so much, that he had almost obtained it to haue bin confirmed vnto him in open Parliament. But *Sybylla* a woman of a most haughtie spirit (sister vnto the late King, and mother vnto the yong King yet liuing) prickt forward her husband *Guy*, in no case to giue place vnto his competitor *Raymund*; and so animated him, that by the helpe of his own fauorits, and the countenance of *Boniface* Marquesse of Mount-Ferrat, (who euen then was come with a great power into Syria) he extorted from the nobilitie whatsoeuer hee desired. But seuen moneths were scarce well passed, but that this yong King *Baldwin* was dead and buried; poysoned (as was reported) by his mother, for the desire shee had of the Kingdome her selfe: whose death she with all secrecie concealed, vntill she had obtained of the Patriarch and other Princes of the kingdom, that *Guy* her husband might be proclaimed king. So by her means it was so wrought, that vpon one and the selfe same day the yong King *Baldwin* was buried by his vncle, and *Guy* the Countie crowned. This yong King *Baldwin*, by reason of his tender yeres and short raigne, is of some not reckoned amongst the Kings of Ierusalem: howbeit, seeing he was by his vncle and the Princes of that time thought worthy of the kingdome, let him also haue his place amongst the rest as the eighth King of Ierusalem. *Guy the ninth and last King of Ierusalem.*

When *Guy* was thus possessed of the kingdome, the Countie of Tripolis seeing himselfe out of al hope of the gouernment, & highly therewith discontented, did what he might by al meanes to crosse the doings of the King: whose sicke and aspiring mind *Saladin* prickt dayly more and more forward, promising him his helping hand whensoeuer he should need; which curtesie the Countie desirously embraced. For now the fatall period of the kingdome of Ierusalem grew fast on, & al things tended to destruction, discord raigning in euery place: which *Saladin* well perceiuing (after that he had compacted with the County) by messengers sent of purpose, inuited the Turks, Sarasins, and Ægyptians, as men agreeing in one and the same religion,

A gion, generally to take vp armes in so fit an opportunitie of the discord of the Christians, assuring them of great prey and spoyle, besides the honor of the conquest. The city of Ptolomais was the place by him appointed, where all this power should meet: whither such a multitude of the barbarous Mahometans (partly for the hatred of the Christian religion, partly for the hope of the rich spoyle which *Saladin* had promised them) came flocking out of all places, that in short time there was met together about fiftie thousand horsemen, besides an infinite number of foot: and vnto such as could not safely passe by the borders of Ierusalem, to them the false Countie gaue safe conduct, by the countries of Tiberias, Nazareth, and Galile. *Saladin the occasion the Christians taketh occasion to inuade the Holy land.*

All the power of the Infidels thus assembled, *Saladin* laid siege vnto the city of Ptolomais: which the Templars and the Knights hospitallers had notably fortified, and strongly manned, B (as before vnto them giuen by the Kings of Ierusalem, to defend against the Infidel) and therein now were both the masters of both those honorable Orders, with the whole flower of the Knights of their profession. Vnto this citie *Saladin* gaue a most terrible assault vpon May day in the morning, in the yere 1187; which was by the Christians notably defended, & the enemie with great slaughter still beaten downe. In the heat of this assault, the two great masters sallied with certaine troupes of their most readie horsemen, assailed the enemies campe, and bearing downe all before them, raised there a great tumult; and by and by turning vpon the backes of them that were assaulting the citie, made there an exceeding great slaughter. Insomuch that *Saladin* dismayd, first with the confusion in his campe, and now with the sudden danger behind him, was glad to giue ouer the assault, and to turn his whole forces vpon them, C where was fought a most bloudie and terrible battell. Amongst others that there fought, the Countie of Tripolis, now an enemie vnto God and his Countrey, disguised in the habit of a Turke notably helped the Infidels, and meeting with the great master of the Knights Hospitalers, vnhorsed him; who surcharged with the weight of his armor, and oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, there died. Neuertheless, such was the valor of these worthy men, and new succor still comming out of the citie, that *Saladin* hauing in that battell, and at the assault lost fifteene thousand of his Turkes, was glad with the rest to betake himselfe to flight. Neither was this so notable a victorie gained by the Christians without bloud, most part of the worthie Knights Hospitalers being together with their grand master there slaine. *Ptolome is besieged by Saladin.* 1187.

Saladin by this ouerthrow perceiuing, that by open force he should not be able to do much D against the Christians, thought it good vnto his forces to ioyn also policie. Wherein the false Countie of Tripolis was the man hee thought best to make choice of, as his fittest instrument to worke by. Him he compacted withall, to seeke for grace at the King of Ierusalems hands, as of his dread Soueraigne, and after so long discord, to sue to be reconciled vnto him, as now wearie of the Turks amitie, with whom he should make shew to be vtterly fallen out. At which time also, to giue the matter the better grace, *Saladin* of purpose with a great armie came and besieged Tiberias, a citie of the Counties iurisdiction: for the relefe whereof, the traiterous Countie craued aid of the King and the other Princes of the sacred warre. Who with an Armie, though not great, yet very well appointed, came according to his desire, and encamped neere vnto the fountaine of Sophor: where they had not long stayed, but that they met with E the huge armie of the Turks, being in number one hundred and twentie thousand horse, and one hundred and sixtie thousand foot: with whom they ioyned a most sharp and terrible battell, which by reason of the extremitie of the heat of the weather (it then being the twelfth of Iuly) and the approch of the night, was againe giuen ouer, both armies (as if it had bin by consent) retyring. The next day the battell was againe begun, wherein the Turks, by the treason and shamefull flight of the false Countie of Tripolis, gained the victorie. In this battell *Guy* the King himself, with *Gerard* master of the Templars, *Boniface* Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat, and diuers others, men of great marke, were taken prisoners. And to say the truth, in this battaile was broken the whole strength of the Christians in the East. *Guy King of Ierusalem taken prisoner.*

The Christian commonweale by the treason of the false Countie thus betrayd vnto the Infi- F dels, *Saladin* without any great resistance had the cities of Ptolomais, *Biblis*, and Berithus deliuered vnto him: in all which places he vsed his victorie with great moderation, not enforcing any Christian (more than the Latines) to depart thence, but suffering them there still to remaine as before, yeelding vnto him their obedience, with such tribute as he had imposed vpon them. With like good fortune he within the space of one moneth tooke all the port townes

betwixt Sidon and Aſcalon alongſt the ſea coaſt, excepting only the antient citie of Tyre: vnto the citie of Aſcalon alſo he laid ſiege by the ſpace of nine days; but loth to ſtay the courſe of his victorie, by the valour of the defendants reſolued there to ſpend their liues, he departed thence, and marched directly vnto Ieruſalem the chiefe citie of that kingdome: and approching the ſame, gaue ſummons thereunto, perſuading the citiſens yet whiles they had time, to yeeld themſelues, together with the citie, vnto his mercie. Which they refuſing to do, he incloſed the ſame with his armie, and by the ſpace of fourteene dayes layd hard ſiege vnto it, leauing nothing vndone or vnattempted, that might helpe for the gaining thereof. At which time the citiſens conſidering the danger they were in, and that the ſtrength of the Kingdome, with the flower of their chiualrie, were in the late battell loſt, and that they were not now to expect any forreine aid, agreed vpon certaine conditions to yeeld vp the Citie: which were, That ſuch Chriſtians as would, might remaine ſtill with their liberty and goods; & that ſuch as would not, might in ſafetie depart with ſo much of their goods as they could carrie vpon their backes. Theſe conditions being by *Saladin* granted, the holy citie was vnto him deliuered the ſecond of October, in the yeare 1187; after that it had been by the Chriſtians holden from the time that it was by *Godfrey* of Bullion and other Chriſtians woon, about 89 yeares. *Saladin* entring into the citie, prophaned firſt the Temple of the Lord, conuerting it vnto the vſe of his Mahometan ſuperſtition; the other churches he vſed as ſtables for his horſes, only the temple of the Sepulchre was by the Chriſtians for a great ſumme of mony redeemed, and ſo kept vndefiled. The Latine Chriſtians he thruſt out of the Citie, yet with leaue to carry with them ſuch things as they were able themſelues to beare: who trauelling with heauie burthens, but much more heauie hearts, ſome to Tripolis, ſome to Tyre, ſome to Antioch, (for only theſe three cities were now left vnto the Chriſtians in Syria) were by the falſe Countie of Tripolis by the way lightned of their burthens, to the increaſing of the heauineſſe of their hearts, moſt of them beeing by him and his followers ſpoyled of that little they had by the mercie of their enemies ſaue in the ruine of their ſtate.

Ieruſalem beſieged.

Ieruſalem taken by Saladin.

Vnto the other Chriſtians that were naturall Syrians, Greekes, Armenians, Georgians, and ſuch like, *Saladin* appointed certain places of the citie for them to dwel in, where ſome of their poſteritie were long time after to be found. All the monuments of the Chriſtians were by the barbarous Mahometans and Turks defaced, only the Sepulchre of our bleſſed Sauior Chriſt, with the monument of *Godfrey* of Bullion, and his brother *Baldwin*, for the reuerence of the men, were by them ſpared. In theſe ſo great troubles aboue twentie thouſand of the Chriſtians periſhed: amongſt the reſt, the Countie of Tripolis was ſhortly after found dead in his bed, and (as ſome ſay) circumciſed; a manifeſt token of his reuolt, not from the King onely, but from the Chriſtian Faith alſo.

The death of Raymund the traiterous Countie of Tripolis.

Ieruſalem thus woon, *Saladin* returned againe to the ſiege of Aſcalon, which after he had by the ſpace of ten dayes moſt ſtraitly beſieged, was vnto him by compoſition deliuered: wherein amongſt other things agreed vpon for the ſafe departure of the citiſens, was compriſed alſo, that he ſhould freely ſet at libertie *Guy* the King, and *Gerard* maſter of the Templars, both before taken priſoners, as is before declared; which he afterward performed.

Thus the victorious Turke ſtil vrging his good fortune, departing thence, attempted to haue taken Tripolis; but hauing made ſome proofe of his owne forces, and the valor of the defendants, he was glad to giue ouer the ſiege, and to depart as he came. Marching thence with his army, becauſe he would leaue no place vnattempted, he laid ſiege vnto the city of Tyre, where *Conrade* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat was a little before arriued with *Iſaac Angelus* the Greeke Emperors fleet, and a ſupplie of certaine companies of good ſoldiers. Vnto which place were come great numbers of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians, fled from Ieruſalem and other places, ſo that the citie was full of men.

This citie *Saladin* moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, but was by the Chriſtians notably repulſed, not without the great loſſe of his beſt ſoldiers. At which time alſo the Admirall of Sicilia diſcomfited his fleet at ſea, and landing his forces, came vnlooked for vpon the backe of him: ſo that hauing his hands full before by them of the towne, and charged behind by theſe new come enemies, he was glad to retyre in ſuch haſt, as that he left his Tents, with all that therein was, vnto the ſpoyle of the Chriſtians.

Within a few dayes after, *Saladin* hauing againe repaired his armie, inuaded the Countrey about

about Antioch; with fire and ſword deſtroying whatſoeuer was ſubiect to his furie, euen to the gates of the citie: but knowing that ſo ſtrong a citie was not without great charge & long ſiege to be woon, he thought it good to make proofe if it might by policie or corruption bee gained. Wherein he ſo cunningly dealt with the Patriarch, that he had by his means the caſtle (otherwiſe almoſt impregnable) for gold betrayd vnto him. By means whereof he in ſhort time became lord and maſter of that famous citie, (about ninetie yeres before hardly gained by the whole power of the Chriſtians, after eleuen moneths ſiege) and with it fiue and twentie cities moe, that depended of the fortune thereof, with all the prouinces belonging thereunto, alwayes deemed to haue been the third part of the kingdome of Ieruſalem.

The famous city of Antioch betrayd vnto the Turkes.

The loſſe of ſo great a citie, together with the ruine of the whole kingdome, had in a ſhort ſpace filled euery corner of Chriſtendome with the heauie report thereof. Wherewith the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt (namely *Frederick* the German Emperor, with *Frederick* his ſon Duke of Sueuia, *Philip* the French King, *Henry* the ſecond, king of England, *Otto* Duke of Burgondie, *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria, with many other great Princes and Prelats of Germanie, Italie, and other places) not a little mooued, as alſo with the pittifull complaints of the Embaſſadors at the ſame time ſent from the diſtreſſed Chriſtians, and the effectuall perſuaſions of *Clement* the third, then Pope; promiſed, and all, or moſt part indeed, made great preparations: which they afterwards, though not all at once (as letted by other occaſions) but at diuers times imployed, for the moſt part with the danger of their owne perſons, againſt the Turkes, for the reliefe of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, and recouerie of the Holy land: but with what ſucceſſe ſhall hereafter (God willing) be declared.

Of which ſo great preparations made againſt him, *Saladin* not ignorant, ſet at libertie *Guy* the King of Ieruſalem, who contrarie to his promiſe made at Aſcalon, he had now detained a yeare in priſon; yet before his inlargment exacting of him an oath, Neuer by force of armes afterwards to ſeeke to recouer his kingdome, or to reuenge the wrongs he had ſuſtained: hoping thereby to ſtay the comming of the other Princes in his quarrell. Which oath for all that, the Pope diſpenſed withal, as extorted by conſtraint from him, at ſuch time as *Saladin* had longer detained him in priſon, than of right he ſhould.

Guy now at libertie, and yet in mind a King, came to Tyre, but could not be there receiued, the citiſens hauing before ſworn their obedience vnto *Conrade* marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, by whom they had bin notably defended againſt the furie of *Saladin*. Wherfore departing thence with ſuch power as he had, and the diſperſed Chriſtians dayly repairing vnto him out of all parts of Syria, he came & beſieged Ptolemais: where he had not long lien, but firſt came vnto him the Venetian fleet, with them alſo of Piſa, and after them the Flemings with a fleet of fiftie ſaile, who all ioyned their forces together for the winning of the Citie. But whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, came *Saladin* with a great armie to the reliefe of the beſieged: where betwixt him and the Chriſtians was fought a great battell, wherein the Chriſtians at the firſt had the better; but afterward feinting, and readie to flie, had there vndoubtedly receiued a notable ouerthrow, had not *Geffrey Lyſignan* the Kings brother (left for the guarding of the campe) in good time come in with new ſupplies; and not only ſtayd their flight, but alſo repreſſed the further purſuit of the fierce enemie, now almoſt in poſſeſſion of the deſired victorie. Neuertheleſſe there were 2000 Chriſtians there ſlaine, and among them *Gerard* maſter of the Templars. *Saladin* by that which was now done, perceiuing how hard a matter it would be for him by land to relieue his citie, ſent for the fleet which he had ſtrongly rigged vp at Alexandria, and ſo by force put new ſupplies both of men & victuals into the beſieged citie. Wherewith the Turks encouraged, made often ſallies vpon the Chriſtians; and in deſpight of the Chriſtian religion, whipped the image of Chriſt crucified, which they had for that purpoſe in the ſight of the Chriſtians ſet vp vpon the top of the wall. With the ſame fleet alſo he ſo ſcoured the ſeas, that no victuals or new ſupplies of men could that way without great danger be brought vnto the campe: wherby ſuch ſcarcitie & want of al things began ſhortly after to ariſe among the Chriſtians, that ſome of them not able longer to indure the famin, fled vnto the Turks campe, then lying not far off, crying out for bread. Of which diſtreſſe in the campe of the Christians, *Saladin* knowing right well, both by ſuch fugitiues as dayly came ouer vnto him, and by his own eſpials, yet made ſhew as if he vnderſtood nothing thereof: but ſuddenly riſing with his armie (as doubtfull of his owne ſtrength) departed, leauing his

his campe ful of all manner of victuals. Whereof the Christians vnderstanding, and supposing him to haue for feare been gone indeed, in great numbers hasted vnto the forsaken campe, as vnto a most desired prey: where whilest they were gorging themselues *Saladin* suddenly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great slaughter. Neuertheless the Christians hauing now lien before the citie six moneths, continued the siege all the Winter, ouercomming with patience the hardest difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Christian Princes, whose comming they expected with the first of the next Spring: during which time many an hot skirmish passed betwixt them and the Turks both by sea and land.

1160. *Fredericke the Emperour setteth forward towards the Holy Land.*

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of Ptolemais, *Frederick* the Emperor, with diuers of the great German Princes and others, before resolued vpon an expedition for the recouerie of the Holy land, and the relefe of the distressed Christians in Syria: hauing now raised a great armie, furnished with all things necessarie for so long a iourney, set forward from Ratisbone, and so comming to Vienna, and passing thorow Hungaria, Bulgaria, and Thracia, ariued at length at Constantinople; where he was by *Isaac Angelus* the Emperour that then raigned, honorably entertained: but indeed more for feare and fashion sake, than for any loue or good will; for that he after the supicious manner of the Greekes, hauing in disturst so great a power of the Latine Emperors, wished rather for his absence than his presence. And therefore ceased not in what he might, to hasten his passage ouer into Asia, pretending for the color thereof, the necessitie the Christians had of his present aid. So the Emperor with his Armie passing ouer the streight, and without resistance marching thorow the greatest part of the lesser Asia, entred Into Lycaonia, where meeting with a great power of the Turkes, that were come from the Sultan of Iconium to stay his further passage, hee ouerthrew them in a great battell, and so marching directly on to Iconium, tooke it by force, and gaue the spoyle thereof vnto his soldiers, in reuenge of the iniuries before done vnto his vncle the Emperour *Conrade*, by the Sultan of that citie. Departing thence, and marching thorow Cilicia, hee in another battell ouerthrew the Turks, that hauing taken the straits of the mountaines, had thought to haue stayd his further passage into Syria. After that, he tooke the citie Philomela, which the Sultan had strongly fortified, which he rased to the ground, and put to sword all the people therein, for that they contrarie to the law of nations, had slaine such messengers as hee had sent vnto them for the summoning of the citie. In like manner hee entred into the lesser Armenia, where he tooke the citie Melitene, and subdued all the countrie thereabouts: vnto the relefe whereof the Turks comming with a most huge armie, were by him with an exceeding great slaughter ouerthrowne and put to flight. After that, entring into Comagena, and meeting with *Saphadin*, *Saladin* his sonne, with a great armie of the Turks, he ouerthrew him in the plaine field, and discomfited his whole armie: but whilest hee too eagerly pursueth the enemie he had then in chace, his horse foundring vnder him as he passed the riuer Saleph, hee was so ouerthrowne, and his foot hanging fast in his stirrop, drawne thorow the deepe Riuer, and almost drowned; and at the farther side of the riuer was so plunged by his horse, at his landing, that he was taken vp for dead: yet breathing a little, and casting his eyes vp to heauen, with much adoe he vttered these few words, *Lord receiue my Soule*; and so in the hands of them that tooke him vp gaue vp the ghost, vnto the great griefe and hindrance of the Christian Commonweale: for *Saladin* hearing of his approch, was so affraid of him, as that hee began to doubt, not how to keepe that he had before woon in Syria, but how to defend himselfe in Ægypt. Thus miserably perished this worthie Emperor, the tenth of Iune in the yeare of Grace, 1190, being then of the age of seuentie yeares, whereof hee had with much trouble raigned eight and thirtie. His dead bodie was carried along with the armie, and afterward with all funerall pompe buried in the Cathedrall church at Tyre.

Frederick the Emperor is son chosen Generall of the Christian Armie.

Frederick the Emperor thus dead, *Frederick* his son Duke of Sueuia, was by the general consent of the Princes in the armie chosen Generall in his stead: vpon whom, with the rest of the armie, yet mourning for the death of the Emperor, the Turks gaue a sudden & fierce charge, in hope so to haue ouerthrowne them: but finding greater resistance than they had before supposed, and hauing lost some of their men, they with like speed that they came, retyred again. Now began famine (one of the ordinarie attendants of great armies) to increase in the campe: for why, the Turkes for that purpose had before destroyed or carried away all that was in the Countrey, leauing nothing for the Christians more than the bare ground. Wherefore

Frederick

A *Frederick* turning a little out of the way, came to Antioch, which was easily deliuered vnto him, and his hungrie souldiers well refreshed by the citizens, beeing as yet for the most part Christians. But he had not there staied past fifteene daies for the refreshing of his armie, but that the plague (the handmaid of famin and another scourge of the greatest multitudes) began to rage among his soldiers, in such sort, that he was glad with his army to forsake the citie, and to get him abroad againe into the open field: where forthwith newes was brought vnto him, that *Dodequin* Generall of such forces as *Saladin* had sent for out of Ægypt (which were not small) was by great iourneyes comming towards him: against whom hee in good order set forward, with his fathers corse still carried in the midst of his armie. These two armies meeting together, and both willing to fight, ioyned a great and doubtfull battell, fortune now in-

B clining to the one side, and by and by to the other; the Christians exceeding their enemies in valour, and they them again in number. At length the Christians in the vanguard began to retire, and they that seconded them were also hardly charged: when *Frederick* mindfull of his fathers valor, with a troupe of valiant horsmen brake into the enemies battel with such force, that the Turks were glad to giue ground: after whom *Leopold* Duke of Austria comming presently on with his footmen, brought such a feare vpon the whole army of the Turks, that they betook themselues to speedie flight. In this battell were foure thousand of the enemies slain, with small losse of the Christians; and about one thousand moe taken prisoners, with fifteen of their ensignes. After which victorie, *Frederick* marching further in Cælo-Syria, pacified Laodicea then in mutinie, and like to haue beene deliuered vnto the Turks. He also with a lit-

C tle labour tooke Berythus, with diuers other cities of Syria, which before belonging vnto the Kings of Ierusalem, were now reuolted vnto the Turks. So Afterward comming to Tyre, he there solemnly buried his father, (dead, as is before said:) and from thence certified *Guy* the King (still lying with the other Christian Princes at the siege of Ptolemais) of his comming: who forthwith sent the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, with part of the fleet, to transport him with his people that were left, by sea: for that by land he could not so safely haue come, being now but weake, for meeting with *Saladin*; who with a great armie lay still houering about his besieged citie, intentiue to all opportunitie. So was Duke *Frederick*, with his souldiers yet left, safely by sea conducted from Tyre to the campe at Ptolemais, and there ioyfully receiued by the King and the other Princes, with the generall applause of the whole campe.

A great battell betwixt the Turks and the christians.

D In the meane time the Turks sallying out of the citie of Ptolemais, had done great harme among the Christians, by whom they were not without some losse againe repulsed. But after the comming of Duke *Frederick* and his Germans, it was thought good by the generall consent of all the great commanders in the army, that the citie should be assaulted round: and to that purpose was euery mans regiment appointed what place to assaile. The King himselfe with the Templars and the Italians from Pisa, vndertook that part of the citie which was toward the sea: vnto Duke *Frederick* & his Germans, was allotted all betwixt the bridge ouer the riuer Bele, and the Bishops palace: the Venetians, Genowaies, and Knights Hospitalers, were appointed vnto the rest of the wall as far as the court of *Raymund*: the Friselanders, Flemings, and Hollanders, tooke vp all the rest of the wall vnto the sea side. Thus was the citie at

Ptolemais assaulted by the christians.

E once in euery side assailed by the Christians, with such furie, as if they had theron purposed to gage their whole forces; seeking by a thousand wounds, and a thousand kinds of death to haue by their scaling ladders gained the top of the wals; the Turks with no lesse courage still beating them downe again. But in the heat of this so dreadfull and desperat an assault, *Saladin* still houering aloofe, came now vpon the sudden and assailed the campe of the Christians, filling the same with feare and tumult: whose charge they that were left for the defence of the same, at the first notably receiued, but finding themselues too weake, began to giue ground; by which means the Turks tooke certaine tents with some ensignes, and fired some other of the pauillions of the Christians, hauing slaine somewhat moe than an hundred of the defendants.

The Christians in the mean time little preuailing in the assault, and troubled with the dan-

F ger of their campe, retired to the relefe thereof. But the Turke perceiuing himselfe too weak for the whole power of the Christians, retired also; yet not with such haste, but that he had there almost lost himselfe. This notable assault was giuen the fourteenth of October: after which, many light skirmishes passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks, but more for bootie, than for any other great purpose.

In

In the meane time, diuers great Princes of the Weſt that had vowed themſelues vnto this
G ſacred warre, came thither, whoſe number rather increaſed the want of victuals, than furthered
the ſeruice. At which time alſo the diſcord betwixt *Guy* the King (whoſe wife and children
were now dead) and *Conrade* Marques of Mont-Ferrat (who had married *Iſabel* the late queens
ſiſter, by whom hee pretended a claime vnto the title of the imaginarie kingdome) did much
harme vnto the proceedings of the Chriſtians: ſo pleaſing a thing theſe haughtie ſtiles be vn-
to the loftie mindes of the ambitous. Shortly after the Chriſtians yet lying at the ſiege, the
contagion and famine ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that Duke *Frederick* fell ſick of the Plague,
whereof hee died; and with the great mourning of the whole armie, was afterward ſolemnly
buried faſt by his father in the cathedral Church at Tire: after whoſe death the Chriſtians at-
H tempted no great matter againſt the city, although they were oftentimes by the Turks prouo-
ked, but lay ſtil ſtrongly intrenched, expecting ſome greater aid from the princes of the Weſt.
Now all the hope of the Chriſtian affaires in Syria, and in the land of Paleſtine, reſted vpon
the comming of the two mightie Princes, *Phllip* the ſecond of that name, King of France, and
Richard the firſt, King of England: who hauing agreed betwixt themſelues, with their com-
bined forces to relieue the diſtreſſed Chriſtians of the Eaſt; and againe (if it were poſſible) to
repaire the broken ſtate of the kingdome of Ieruſalem, were now met together at Matſeil-
les in Prouence. From whence the French King firſt departing with his fleet for Cicilia, and
with a proſperous gale for certaine dayes holding on his courſe, and now come nigh vnto the
Iſland, was by force of a furious tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, ſo toſſed and tumbled in the deep,
I that many of his Ships there periſhed, eaten vp of the Sea; others by force of weather driuen
vpon the ſands and rocks, were there broken all to pieces; and the reſt, ſome with their maſts
broken, ſome with their tacklings and ſailes rent, and all in generall ſore weather beaten, with
much adoe arriued at Meſſana, the deſired Port. At which place King *Richard* afterwards
(but with better fortune) arriued with his fleet alſo. Both the Kings now met together, reſol-
ued there to winter: the French king enforſed by neceſſity ſo to do, for the reparing of the late
loſſes he had receiued, as well in his people & prouiſion, as in his ſhipping, al which was to be
relieued by new ſupplies out of France: and the king of England ſtaying to take order for the
dowrie of his ſiſter *Ioan* (widow of *William* the late King of Cicilia) with *Tancred* the baſe
ſonne of *Roger*, that had now aſpired vnto the kingdome of that Iſland. About which matter
K great ſtirs aroſe betwixt King *Richard* the Queenes brother, and *Tancred* the new King, inſo-
much that it was like to haue broken out into open warre, had it not to the good contentment
of King *Richard* beene otherwiſe taken vp, and ſo the controuerſie ended. But whileſt
theſe two great Kings thus wintred in this fruitfull Iſland, and oftentimes as good friends
met together, ſometime for their diſport, and ſome time to conferre of their ſo weightie af-
faires; the way (as was thought) to haue appeaſed all former diſpleaſure, and to haue increa-
ſed loue: it fell out clean contrarie, iealouſie & diſtruſt, not only reuiuing the old, but alſo ſtil
raiſing new quarrels betwixt them, to the great hindrance of the common good by them in-
tended: which may ſerue for a warning to all great Princes, willing to continue in amitie, and
to hold a good opinion one of another, neuer to ſee one the other; or comming ſo to an in-
L terview, not to conuerſe or ſtay long together: which as it is not often done without the dan-
ger of their perſons, ſo can it not poſſibly be long continued, but that it wil engender in them-
ſelues as well as in their followers, iealouſie, enuie, hatred, and miſtruſt, as we haue before ſaid
and hereafter in the courſe of this Hiſtorie may appeare.

An old grudge betwixt Philip the French King, and Richard king of England.

There was an old quarrell betwixt theſe two great Kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela*
the French kings ſiſter; whom *Richard* hauing before (his father yet liuing) aſſianced, had now
reiected, as her whom his aged father *Henry* the ſecond had too familiarly vſed: and in ſtead
of her, to the great diſgrace of the French, eſpouſed the Lady *Berengaria*, daughter to the king
of Nauar: which indignitie with diuers others, then ariſing betwixt the French and the En-
gliſh, as then with great heart-burning ſmouldred vp in reſpect of the common cauſe then in
M hand, afterwards brake out againe, to the ſhamefull ouerthrow of this moſt honorable expedi-
tion, and lamentable diſturbance of both realmes.

Winter paſt, and the Spring now come, the French King not altogether the beſt pleaſed,
firſt looſed from Meſſana, and with his fleet in ſafetie arriued at Ptolemais, where he was by
the Chriſtians, now the third yeare lying at the ſiege, ſo ioyfully receiued, as if he had beene

to

A to them ſent with ſuccours from heauen. After whom, ſhortly after followed alſo King *Ri-
chard*: of whoſe fleet (by force of weather ſore beaten and diſperſed) ſt. ſhips by the rage of
the tempeſt driuen a ground vpon the coaſt of Cyprus, were by the Iſland people ſpoyled,
and the men that in them had hardly eſcaped the danger of the ſea, with moſt barbarous inhu-
manitie, ſome ſlaine and ſome taken priſoners: the reſt of the fleet ſtriuing there alſo, were
with like inciuilitie forbidden to land; the Cipriots ready at han i all places to keepe them
off. With which ſo great an indignity the king iuſtly moued, and l y force landing his people,
with incredible celeritie and ſucceſſe ouerran the whole Iſland, neuer ceaſing vntill hee had
made a ful conqueſt therof, and taken *Iſaac Comnenus*, commonly called the King of that Iſland
B and of ſome (for what treaſon I know not) Emperor of the Griffons, priſoner: yet was he in-
deed neither King nor Emperor, but being a man of great nobilitie and power, and of the ho-
norable ſtocke of the *Comneni*, had in the troubleſome raigne of *Andronicus Comnenus* the Em-
peror, his couſin, laid hold vpon that fruitfull Iſland, and there tyrannized as a reputed King;
vntill that now he was by King *Richard* taken priſoner, and for his vnfaithfull dealing ſent faſt
bound in chaines of ſiluer into Syria. The King thus poſſeſſed of the whole Iſland, there at
Limozin married the Lady *Berengaria* the King of Nauars daughter, brought thither by *Ioan*
late Queene of Cicilia, the Kings ſiſter. And ſo diſpoſing as he thought beſt of all things for
the ſafe keeping of the Iſland, ſet forward againe with his fleet towards Siria. Where by the
way he light vpon a great ſhip of the Sultans, laded with victuals and other warlike prouiſi-
C ons for the reliefe of the beſieged; all which became a prey vnto him. So holding on his
courſe, he at length arriued at Ptolemais, where he was by the French King, and the reſt of the
Chriſtians there lying, moſt honourably receiued.

King Richard ſ. reuengeth the iniurie done to his people by the Cipriots.

King Richard arriueth at Ptolemais.

Now had the citie of Ptolemais beene three yeares beſieged by the Chriſtians, and nota-
bly defended by the Turks: during which time many an hot aſſault and bloudie skirmiſh had
paſſed betwixt them. And now the eies of all men were fixed vpon the two Kings of England
and France, vnto whom all the reſt offred their obedience and ſeruice. The Chriſtian campe
was great, compoſed eſpecially of Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and Almaines; not them
that were left of the Emperor *Frederick* his armie (for they were for the moſt part dead, or els
returned home againe into their countries) but of ſuch as (moued with the zeale they bare vn-
to this religious warre) came daily in great numbers thither: as did alſo many others of diuers
D nations, deſirous in ſome meaſure to be partakers of ſo honourable a warre.

Theſe religious and venerous Chriſtians thus lying at the ſiege, had with much painful la-
bor vndermined one of the greateſt towers of the city, called the accurſed Tower, with ſome
part of the wall alſo, by means whereof they were in hope to find a way into the city. Where-
fore all things being now in a readineſſe for the firing of the mine, it was thought good by ge-
nerall conſent, that an aſſault ſhould alſo at the ſame time be giuen vnto the citie: and thereupon
euery regiment was by lot appointed which part of the wall to aſſaile, which they all with
great courage vndertooke. In the heat of which aſſault, the aforeſaid vndermined tower, with
ſome part of the wall (the timber whereon it ſtaied, now burnt) fell down with a great fal, lay-
ing open a faire breach for the Chriſtians to enter: wherewith the Turks diſmaied, forthwith
E craued to come to parle: which granted, they for ſafegard of their liues yeelded forthwith to
giue vp the city, and to reſtore to the Chriſtians the holy Croſſe, with two thouſand captiues,
and two hundred horſemen, ſuch as they ſhould require of all them that were in the power
of *Saladin*; beſides 200000 Conſtantinopolitan ducats, to be by him giuen to the two Kings,
for the coſt by them beſtowed in the ſiege. For paiment whereof the Turks in the city were to
remain as hoſtages vnder the ſafe keeping of the Chriſtians, ſo that if all the couenants afore-
ſaid were not within forty daies performed by *Saladin*, they ſhould all for their liues be at the
kings mercie. So was this ſtrong city, after it had bin almoſt three yeres beſieged, deliuered vp
vnto the Chriſtians the 12 of Iuly, in the yere 1191. The firſt that entred were the Germanes 1191
of Auſtria, who as if they had bin the only men by whoſe valour the city had bin won, at their
F firſt entry preſumptuouſly aduanced their enſignes vpon the top of the walls, to the great of-
fence of al the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, but eſpecially of king *Richard*, who (not vnworthi-
ly for his princely courage was commonly called *Richard Cueur de Lyon* (not brooking ſo
proud an indignity, cauſed the enſignes of *Leopold* their Duke to be puld down, and foiled vn-
der foot; which ſhortly after gaue him occaſion of repentance, as ſhall hereafter be ſeene.

The

The two Kings possessed of the citie, diuided the same, with all the people and spoile thereof betwixt them, without regard of the rest of the other noble Christians, that had sustained the whole trauell of that long siege: for which cause most part of them, seeing themselues so deluded, withdrew themselues from them, and with one consent sent them word, That they would forsake them, except they were made partakers of the gaines, as they had beene of the paines. Which the two Kings to content them, promised they should: howbeit they delayed so long their promises, that many worthy men, constrained by pouertie, departed discontented from them into their countries.

But long it was not, that this one citie, so lately gained, could contain these two great kings, whom two large kindomes could not retaine in peace. For albeit that they were in body together present, and in one, and that a most honorable action, combined, yet were they in hearts farre asunder, and their secret designes much different: enuie and distrust still reuiuing vnkindnesse past, and ministring new matter of greater discontentments. King *Richard*, according to his noble nature, was of nothing more desirous, than to haue the war continued vntill they had made a full conquest of Syria and the land of Palestine; and for that cause requested the French King to bind himselfe together with him by solemne oath, there to stay yet three yeeres, for the regaining of those countries. But he in mind long before estranged from King *Richard*, and in his deep conceit plotting matters neerer home better fitting his purpose, would by no meanes be persuaded so to doe; but still found one occasion or other for to colour his departure. And shortly after (as the French Chronicles report) falling extreamely sicke, hee requested King *Richard* and the other Christian Princes to come vnto him: vnto whom being come, he in few words declared his purpose of returne, as followeth:

I cannot my Lords longer endure the inclemencie and intemperature of the ayre in this extreame hot season. If my death might profit the Christian religion, or any one of you, or the Christian Commonweale; there should be no distemperature whatsoeuer, that could seperate me from you, or withdraw mee from hence. But more may the life of one absent, serue and profit you, than the death of him present. I must of necessitie depart, yet at my departure I will leaue you fiue hundred men at armes, and ten thousand footmen, the flower and choice of all the forces of France, vnder the conduct of my cosin Odo *Duke of Burgundie, vnto whom I will giue pay and entertainment, with a continual supplie of all things for them necessarie.*

The French king sweareth to king Richard in his absence not to inuade his territories in France.

This excuse of the French Kings, King *Richard* could not take in good part: but said, That it was apparant to all men, that hee abandoned the warres in Syria, to returne into France, for no other end or purpose, but the more easily to inuade the prouinces of Guien and Normandie, now disfurnished of their garrisons, and so subiect to his malice. Which point he so vrged, that the French King could haue no leaue with his honor to depart, vntill such time as he had by solemne oath bound himselfe vnto King *Richard*, not to attempt any thing either by force or fraud against him, or any thing of his, vntil fiftie daies were expired after King *Richard* his return home: which how well it was by the French king obserued, I leaue it to the report of the histories of that time. And so the French king, not to be intreated longer to stay, leauing behinde him the aforsaid number of men hee had promised, embarking the rest of his armie, and accompanied with three tall ships of the Genowaies his friends, and *Ruffin Volta* their admirall, departed from Ptolomais to Tyre, the first of August, and two daies after, loosing thence, sailed alongst the sea coast of Asia, and cutting through the Mediterranean, arriued at length in the mouth of the riuer of Tyber, and from thence went to Rome: where after he had visited Pope *Celestine*, and the famous places of that most renowned citie, he returned again to his fleet, and so by sea arriued in safetie in France; hauing in that great expedition, so honorably by him entertained, performed nothing answerable to that the world looked for.

After the French King, followed *Leopold* Duke of Austria, with his Germans: and not long after him the Venetians also, with them of Pisa and Genua. Of whose departure *Saladin* vnderstanding, & that the Christian forces were thereby much empaired, refused either to pay the money or to restore the prisoners, as was promised at the giuing vp of Ptolemais: threatning moreouer to chop off the heads of al such Christian captiues as he had in his power, if the king should shew any extremity vnto the pledges of the city. Neuertheles, shortly after he sent his embassa-

A embassadours with great presents vnto the King, requesting a longer time for the sparing of his pledges; which his request, together with his gifts, the King refused to grant or accept: Whereupon *Saladin* forthwith caused such Christian captiues as were in his power, to be beheaded: which albeit King *Richard* vnderstood, yet would hee not preuent the time before agreed vpon for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20 day of August: vpon which day he caused the Turks prisoners, to the number of 2500 (or as the French and Germans write, to the number of 7000) in the sight of *Saladines* armie to be executed.

The losse of the strong towne of Ptolemais, much empaired the reputation of *Saladin*, euen among his owne people; as it commonly falleth out, that the euill successe of a great commander in his affaires, altereth the good will, affection, and opinion, especially of the vulgar
B sort, which iudge of all things by the euent. And albeit that his losses were great, and such as much daunted him: yet hee thought it best as the case then stood, to make them greater, and with his owne hands (as it were) to ruinate and ouerthrow such towns and cities as he saw he could not keepe, rather than to suffer them whole and vndefaced to fal into the enemies hand. So carried headlong with dispaire, he caused all the townes he had along the sea coast in Syria and Palestine, to be sacked and ruinated, and their wals ouerthrowne; especially such as were of most importance, and like to stand the Christians in stead, namely Porphiria, Cesarea, Ioppa, Ascalon, Gaza, and Elam, with diuers other castles and citadels in the countries thereabouts; most part whereof were againe by King *Richard* and the Templars fortified and repeopled, although *Saladin* in the meane time did what hee might to haue letted the same.

C Nothing more hindred the good proceeding of the Christian Princes, in this and other their most honourable expeditions against the Infidels, than the discord among themselues: one still enuying at anothers honor, and euery one iealous of his owne. Great strife and heartburning there had been betweene the two Kings of France and England, during the time they were together in this sacred expedition, to the great hindrance of the same. No lesse contention had there bin betwixt *Guy* the late King of Ierusalem, and *Conrade* Marquesse of Montferrat, about the title of that lost kingdome: whereby the whole power of the Christains in Siria was diuided into two factions. *Richard* King of England, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, *Henry* Earle of Champaine, the Knights Hospitalers of S. *Iohn*, the Venetians and Pisans, taking part with *Guy*: And *Philip* the French King, *Odo* Duke of Burgundie, *Rodolph* Earle of Clare-
D mont, the Templars, the Genowayes, the Lantgraue of Thurin, *Leopold* Duke of Austria, and *Robert* Countie of Nassau, taking part with *Conrade* the Marquesse. But *Conrade* shortly after the taking of Ptolemais beeing slaine, by two of the desperate Assassins, or (as some others say) by two desperate ruffians, (suborned thereunto by the Prince of Torone, in reuenge of the despight done vnto him by the sayd Marquesse, by taking from him *Isabel* his espoused wife) as hee was walking in his citie of Tyre, and doubting no such treason: King *Richard* seeing now a fit occasion offered for the vtter extinguishing of that claime, and how to intitle himselfe vnto that kingdome; perswaded the aforesaid *Isabel* (the widow of the late Marquesse, and in whose right he had laid claime vnto the kingdome) to relinquish that so troublesome a title, and to take to her husband *Henry* Earle of Champain, his
E nephew, vnto whom he gaue the citie of Tyre. *Guy* the King exclaiming to the contrary, as of a wrong done vnto himselfe. Shortly after he began also to temper with *Guy*, perswading him to resigne vnto him that little right and interest hee had in the kingdome of Ierusalem, and in lieu thereof to receiue at his hands the kingdome of Cyprus: which his offer the poore king was glad to accept. By which exchange, *Guy* became King of Cyprus; and *Richard*, King of Ierusalem; which honourable Title hee afterwards (as some report) vsed in his stile, as did some others his successours the Kings of England after him. So *Guy* with al his wealth passing ouer into Cyprus, tooke possession of the kingdome, where he long liued not. Neuertheless that pleasant kingdome continued in his family of the Lusignans, by the space of about 283 yeares afterwards: vntill that at length that familie failing in the posthumus sonne of *Iames*
F the bastard, last King of that Island, it fell into the hands of the Venetians: by whom it was holden as a part of their seigniorie almost an hundred yeares, vntill that it was in our fresh remembrance againe from them taken by *Selymus* the second, great Emperour of the Turkes, in the yeere 1571, as in the processe of this historie shall in due place (God willing) be delared.

King Richard marcheth with his armie towards Ierusalem.

Now was King *Richard*, for the increase of his honor, more desirous than before of the citie of

of HIERVSALEM, as the most precious and honorable prize of all that religious warre. And thereupon with all the power of the Christians then at his command, set forward from PTOLEMAIS, and was come on his way as farre as ARSVA, a towne scituated betwixt CESAREA and IOPPE. In the vauward was King *Richard* himselfe, with the Englishmen: after whom followed *Odo*, Duke of BVRGVNDIE, with his French: and in the rereward *Iaques de Auenes*, with the Flemings, Brabanders, and Wallons, who after the death of their Countie *Philip* at the siege of PTOLOMAIS, had put themselues all vnder his regiment. *Saladin* with a great army still at hand, and as it were tending vpon them, first with certain embuscadoes charged the rereward, and so afterward came on with his whole power: vpon whom *Iaques* turning himselfe, with his Flemings, receiued the charge with great assurance, and so long themselues endured the same, vntill the French came in to their succours, and after them the Englishalso. There was fought a notable battell, and great valour shewed both on the one side and on the other, but especially by them of the Turks part; who knew wel the purpose of the Christians for the besieging of HIERVSALEM, and that thereon depended their only hope, and that he that could hold the same, might almost assure himselfe to carrie away the glorie of that war. The French and English in that battell honourably stroue who might shew the greatest valour: neither would the low countrey men vnder *Iaques* their Generall, seeme to bee any thing behind them. This sharpe conflict began about noone, and continued vntill the going downe of the Sunne. King *Richard* (as some write) was there wounded with an arrow: and *Iaques* valiantly there fighting was slaine, hauing sold his life deere, to the great admiration of the Infidels, and dying left the victorie vnto the Christians. It is reported, that in this battell was slain more Turks and Sarasins, than in any one battell within the memorie of man before: of the Christians were not lost any great number, either any man of name, more than the aforesaid *Iaques*, the valiant Generall of the Flemings.

A notable battell fought betwixt King Richard and Saladin.

The next day the Christians remoued to BETHLEM, a towne about the mid way betwixt IOPPE and HIERVSALEM. But Winter now comming fast on, & want of victuals like enough to increase, the king changing his mind for the siege, returned with the greatest part of the armie to ASCALON, which he that winter new fortified, the wals therof being before by *Saladin* in his dispaire demolished: the Duke of BVRGVNDIE, with his Frenchmen, all that while quietly wintring at TIRE. In the mean time the power of the Christians was that greatly diminished, some one way departing from the campe, and some another. The Italians for the most part, with them of PISA (who in these three yeres wars had striuen with the Venetians for the honor of their seruice) were now returned home, as were the Venetians themselues also. Neuertheless, Winter now past, and the Spring time come, King *Richard* tooke the field again, and came to BETHLEM: where by the way he met with an exceeding great number of cammels, charged with great store of victuals and munition, sent by *Saladin* out of EGIPT to HIERVSALEM, all which he took: but purposing to haue gone on to the siege of IERVSALEM he was by the backwardnes of the French glad to change his purpose, and to returne to PTOLOMAIS: for the Frenchmen, persuaded by the Duke their Generall (who well knew the French Kings minde) that if any thing worth remembrance were done, it was to be done by them, and that the glory therof should wholly redound vnto the King of ENGLAND, as there in person present, and to his Englishmen; shewed themselues so vnwilling to the siege, as that therin was nothing done, to the great griefe of that worthy Prince. At which time also news was brought vnto K. *Richard*, how that *Philip* the French King (forgetful of his solemne promise made before his departure out of SIRIA) had now inuaded the country of NORMANDIE, & excited Earle *Iohn* (the kings brother, a man of a hauty and aspiring nature) to take vpon him the kingdome of ENGLAND in his absence: as had before in like case *William* the yonger brother, serued duke *Robert* his eldest brother, then absent at his father the Conquerors death, in the first sacred expedition vnder *Godfrey* of BVLLION. Wherfore K. *Rich.* beside the premon weale, he might lose his kingdom at home; thought it best to grow to some good end with *Saladin*, and so to make his return: but the politick and warie Sultan, not ignorant of the discord of the Christians, & that their forces daily decai-d in SIRIA; either of the troubled estate of the kings affaires at home in his kingdom or of his desire to return; would not hearken to any other conditions of peace, but such as might both for the present, weaken the forces of the

King Richard purposing to haue besieged Hierusalem, is by the backwardnesse of the Frenchin. forced to retire

King Richard glad vpon hard conditions to conclude a peace with Saladin.

the Christians in Syria, & discourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward, when they should see that for naught they should trauel to conquer that, which in the end they must of necessitie restore again. The conditions he offered, were, That the Christians should forthwith restore whatsoeuer they had woon in those three yeres wars, Ptolemais only excepted; and from thenceforth for the space of fiue yeres, the Turks should not in any thing molest the Christians, but to suffer them in peace to liue by them: which hard conditions (for that no better could be had) the king was glad to accept, and so concluded a peace. Wherby the labor and trauel of the two great kings, & so many nations with them, were all become frustrate and vain; hauing now to no purpose lost their men, their mony, their time, their hope, their bloud; their long trauell, to gaine that they must now in one houre forgo; nothing more left vnto the poore Christians in Syria, than the cities of Antioch, Tyre, and Ptolemais.

This done, King *Richard* leauing the affaires of Asia vnto the charge of *Henrie* Countie of Champagne his nephew, shipping the greatest part of his people, with his wife *Berengaria*, first for Sicilia, and from thence for England, (where they in safetie at length arriued) followed shortly after with some few himselfe; where by the way, by extremitie of weather he was in the Adriatique driuen to land vpon the coast of Histria: where trauelling with a small retinue homewards in the habit of a Templar, he was discouered & taken prisoner by *Leopold* duke of Austria, whom he had before disgraced at the winning of Ptolemais, as is before declared: who now glad to haue him in his power, made prise of him, and sold him to *Henrie* the Emperor, for fortie thousand pounds; by whom he was kept prisoner by the space of a yere & three moneths, and then ransomed for the summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand pounds.

King Richard returning out of the Holy land taken prisoner by Leopold duke of Austria.

About this time died the great Sultan *Saladin*, the greatest terrour of the Christians: who mindfull of mans fragilitie, and the vanitie of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his death no solemnitie to be vsed at his buriall, but onely his shirt in manner of an ensigne, made fast vnto the point of a lance, to be carried before his dead bodie as an ensigne, a plaine Priest going before, and crying aloud vnto the people in this sort: *Saladin Conqueror of the East, of all the greatnesse and riches he had in his life, carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his shirt.* A sight worthie so great a King, which wanted nothing to his eternall commendation, more than the true knowledge of his saluation in Christ Iesus. Hee raigned about sixteene yeares with great honour, and dying left nine sonnes, which were all murthered by *Saphradin* their vncle, excepting one called also *Saphradin* Sultan of Aleppo; who by the fauor and support of his fathers good friends, saued himselfe from the treacherous practises of his vncle. Of this *Saphradin* the vncle, descended *Meledin* Sultan of Ægypt, and *Coradin* Sultan of Damasco and Ierusalem: *Saladin* his great kingdome being by them now againe rent in pieces.

The death of *Saladin* in short time bruited abroad, with the discord amongst the Turks and Sarasins about his dominions, put *Celestinus* (then Pope) in good hope, that the citie of Ierusalem might in that change and hurlie be easily againe recouered, and that kingdome established. But when hee had in vaine dealt to that purpose with the Kings of France and England, (then altogether busied in their wars the one against the other) hee persuaded *Henrie* the sixt, then Emperor, to take the matter in hand: who (for that he well could not, or else would not himselfe in person vndertake that long expedition) sent *Henrie* Duke of Saxonie his Lieutenant, with a great armie into Asia: vnto whom were ioyned two Legats, *Conradus* Archbishop of Mogunsia another of the Electors, and *Conradus* the Bishop of Herbipolis. At which time also many other great Princes tooke vpon them that holy war; namely *Herman* Lantgraue of Thurin, *Henrie* Palatine of Rhine, *Henrie* Duke of Brabant, *Conrade* Marquesse of Morauia, *Frederick* Duke of Austria, and *Albertus Hapspurgensis*, with some others: vnto whom also ioyned themselues the Bishops of Rheme, Halberstat, and Ratisbone, with diuers other great Prelats. Who hauing passed thorow Hungarie and Thracia, and by the Greeke Emperor *Alexius Angelus* relieued with all things necessarie, were by the Grecian ships transported vnto Antioch, and so by land came to Tyre, and from thence to Ptolemais, with purpose to haue gone to relieue the Germans besieged in Ioppe; who before their comming were all by treason slaine, and the citie rased: wherefore being come to the ruines thereof, they departed thence to Sidon, which they found also abandoned by the Turks. After that, they tooke Berithus, which citie they fortified, and so went to besiege Torone; which citie when they had brought to the extremitie, as that it must needs (as it was thought) either yeeld or be taken, the Turkes came

on so fast to the relieſe thereof, that the Chriſtians were glad to raiſe their ſiege and to bee gone: which they in garriſon at Berithus perceiuing, and ſeeing the enemie to approch them, they abandoned the citie, and ioyning themſelues vnto the reſt of the armie, marched all together to Ioppe, a little before ruinated, which they now againe fortified. But the enemie comming to Berithus, and finding it forſaken, raſed it downe to the ground, and ſo in few moneths

1197. ſpace was Berithus both repaired and raſed, in the yeare 1197.

But whileſt the Chriſtians were repairing the citie of Ioppe, the Turks proud of that they had done at Berithus, came now to diſturbe alſo the fortifying of that place. Of whoſe comming the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, remooued by night about fiue miles from the citie, of purpoſe to draw the Turks vnto a conuenient place for battell. The Turks thinking them to haue been fled for feare, ſent part of their armie to aſſaile the citie; & with the other followed after them diſorderly, as if it had bin after men they had had in chaſe. Vpon whom the Chriſtians turning, had with them at the firſt a ſharpe encounter, but afterwards put them to flight: in which conflict certain thouſands of the Turks fel; of whom the Chriſtians taking the ſpoile, and hauing put the reſt to flight, returned againe vnto the fortifying of the citie. But the ioy of this victorie was by the ſudden death of two of the greateſt Princes in the armie greatly diminiſhed: for the Duke of Saxonie hauing in the battell taken great paines in performing the parts both of a worthie Generall and valiant ſouldier, had ouer-heated himſelfe, and thereupon without regard of his health taking cold, died of a feuer the fourth day after. The Duke of Auſtria mortally wounded in the battell, died alſo the night following.

The Turks ouer throwne by the Chriſtians.

Ioppe repaired by the Chriſtiãs.

About this time, or not long after, died *Celeſtinus* the Pope, author of this expedition, and *Henrie* alſo the German Emperor: after whoſe death great troubles began to ariſe in Germanie about the chuſing of a new Emperour. Whereof the Biſhop of Mogunſia (then chiefe Commander of the Armie of the Chriſtians in Syria) one of the Electors, and the other German Princes with him, hauing intelligence, could not by any entreatie of the poore Chriſtians (in whoſe quarrell they were come) be perſuaded longer to ſtay, but that needs home they would, and indeed home they went the ſame way that they came. After whoſe departure the Turks tooke Ioppe, hauing one of the ports betrayed vnto them by one of the Citie, at ſuch time as the Germans there in garriſon, after the manner of their countrie, vpon S. *Martins* day were careleſly making merrie together in their pots: vpon whom ſo ſurcharged with wine, the Turks entring by the port giuen vnto them, put them all with the reſt of the Chriſtians to the ſword, and ſo afterward raſed the citie downe to the ground. Of which victorie they became ſo proud, that they had thought without ſtop to haue driuen the Chriſtians quite out of Syria: but by the comming of *Simon* Countie of Mont-Fort (a moſt valiant and expert Captain, ſent thither by *Philip* the French King, with a Regiment of tall ſoldiers, at the inſtance of *Innocentius* 3, that ſucceeded *Celeſtinus* in the Papacie) & by ciuil diſcord then raigning amongſt the Turks themſelues for ſoueraigntie, their furie was repreſſed, and a peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians concluded for the ſpace of ten yeares; during which time the Turks promiſed not to moleſt the Chriſtians in Tyre or Ptolemais: which hapned in the yere

The Germane Princes returne home.

1199. 1199, or as ſome others ſay, 1198. After which peace ſo concluded, the worthie Countie returned againe with his ſouldiers into France: with whom we alſo will repaire into the leſſer Aſia (whither the courſe both of the time and of the hiſtorie now calleth vs) to ſee the other great affaires of the Turks in thoſe Eaſterne Countries; leauing for a ſeaſon theſe poore remainders of ſo many Chriſtians in Tyre and Ptolemais now for a while in peace, but to be ere long deuoured of the Infidels their enemies, as in the proces of this Hiſtorie ſhal in due time and place appeare.

* *
*

The

The ruine of the Turks firſt Empire in PERSIA:

with the ſucceſſe of their ſecond Kingdome in the leſſer *Aſia, vnder the* Aladin *Kings.*

Kingdomes after the manner of other things, haue but their time to flouriſh in, and ſo again decay.

NO Kingdome or Empire vpon earth (were it neuer ſo flouriſhing or great) was euer yet ſo aſſured, but that in the reuolution of time, after the manner of other worldly things, it hath as a ſicke bodie beene ſubiect vnto many ſtrange innouations and changes, and at length come to nothing: ſo fared it now with the Turkiſh Empire, which firſt planted by *Tangrolipix* in Perſia and the other farre Eaſterne Countreys, increaſed by *Axan* his ſonne, and ſo by the Turkiſh Sultans their Succeſſours (although their names and doings, as too farre off, bee not vnto vs all knowne) for the ſpace of one hundred and ſeuentie yeares continued, muſt now (I ſay) giue place vnto a greater power, and ſettle it ſelfe elſewhere, the ineuitable deſtinie thereof ſo requiring. It fortuned, that about this time (when in the ſpace of a few yeares ſuch mutations as had not before of long beene ſeene, chanced in diuers great Monarchies and States) that the Tartars, or rather Tattars, inhabiting the large, cold, and bare countries in the North ſide of Aſia (of all others a moſt barbarous, fierce, and needie Nation) ſtirred vp by their owne wants, and the perſuaſion of one *Zingis* (or as ſome call him, *Cangis*) holden amongſt them for a great Prophet, and now by them made their Leader, and honoured by the name of *Vlu-Chan*, that is to ſay, The mightie King, (commonly called the great *Cham*) flocking together in number like the ſand of the ſea, and conquering firſt their poore neighbours, of condition and qualitie like themſelues, and eaſie enough to be entreated with them to ſeeke their better fortune, like ſwarmes of Graſhoppers ſent out to deuoure the world, paſſed the high Mountaine Caucaſus, part of the Mountaine Taurus, of all the Mountaines in the world the greateſt; which beginning neere vnto the Archipelago, and ending vpon the Orientall Ocean, and running thorow many great and famous kingdomes, diuideth Aſia into two parts: ouer which great Mountaine, one of the moſt aſſured bounders of nature, that had ſo many worlds of yeares ſhut vp this rough and ſauage people, they now paſſing without number, and comming downe as it were into another World, full of ſuch Natures pleaſant delights as neuer were to them before ſeene, bare downe all before them as they went, nothing beeing now able to ſtand in their way. Old *Zingis* their fortunate Leader dead in this ſo great an expedition, *Hoccata* his ſonne, eldeſt of his twelue bretheren, a man of great wiſedome and courage, tooke vpon him his fathers place: who ſending part of his great Armie for the ſubduing of the Countreys Weſtward, turned himſelfe with a world of people towards the Eaſt: where hauing ſubdued the Bactrians and Sogdians, with diuers others, he entred into India, and ſubduing that rich countrey on both ſides the riuer Indus, euen to the Eaſt Ocean, there in the countrey of Cathai built the famous citie of Cambalu, in circuit eight and twentie miles about; for pleaſure and plentie of all things neceſſarie for the life of man, of all the cities of Aſia the chiefe: where the great *Cham* of Tartarie ſtill reſiant, as in his Imperiall Citie, commandeth ouer one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Empires of the world. In whoſe Kingdome alſo, in the Prouince of Mangy more towards the Eaſt, he hath another moſt famous Citie called Quinſay, of all the Cities in the world the greateſt, in circuit an hundred miles about, as *M. Paulus Venetus* writeth, who himſelfe dwelt therein about the yere 1260. It is ſcituate in a lake of freſh water, and hath in it twelue thouſand bridges; of which ſome are of ſuch an heigth, that tall Ships with their ſailes vp may eaſily paſſe vnder them. In this populous citie the great *Cham* hath for the keeping thereof alwayes thirtie thouſand men in garriſon. The Tartar Kingdome thus planted in Cambalu, *Hoccata* contenting

ting himselfe with the rich pleasures of India, afterward managed his wars by his lieutenants, being for the most part his brethren, or other his nigh kinsemen; of whom he sent out with his armies some Northward, some Westward, and some toward the South: by whom he subdued the Arachosians, Margians, and diuers other great nations; and entring into Persia, subdued the country, with all Parthia, Assiria, Mesopotamia, and Media. At this time in the city Balch or Belch in the countrie of Chorasan in the farthest part of Persia, raigned ouer the Turks one *Cursumes*, of the Greekes called *Corsantes*; who finding himselfe farre too weake to stand before the Tartarians, fled with all his people, leauing vnto them both the citie and the countrie which hee and the Turkes his predecessours had euer since the time of *Tangrolipix* possessed: which citie the Tartars raised, and tooke the Countrey vnto themselues. In this generall flight of the Turks, when as euery man was glad to make what shift he might for himselfe, *Cursumes* their Sultan died, the last of the kings of the *Selzuccian* famile that raigned ouer the Turks in Persia: whose sonne *Vgnan-Chan* taking vpon him the leading of such multitudes of Turks as followed his father, setled vpon the great city of Babilon, now called Bagadat, neere vnto the ruines of the old Babylon: where hauing put to the sword all the inhabitants thereof, he there and in the country thereabout seated himselfe with the Turks his followers: but long he had not there rested, but that the Tartars hearing thereof, pursued him, tooke him prisoner, and expulsed thence all his people. There was at the same time also another kingdome of the Turks at Nachan a citie in Persia, giuing name vnto the countrey wherein it stood, not farre from Chorasan: wherein then raigned one *Solyman*, of the *Oguzian* familie, as had diuers other of his progenitours before him; who terrified with this dreadfull storme so suddenly risen out of the North, and warned by the sudden fal of the *Selzuccian* Sultan & his kingdom, of far greater fame and power than himselfe or his, fled also with such his subiects as would follow him, into the lesser Asia. But of him and his proceedings more shall bee said hereafter in the rising of the victorious *Othoman* familie, as descended from him. After this, the Tartars together with their good fortune still extending the bounds of their Empire, conquered Armenia the greater, with the countries of Colchis and Iberia: so that now their Empire was become of all others the greatest and most flourishing. This great Conquerour the Tartar, had in his proud conceit purposed to haue subdued all Asia, and to haue made the sea the only bounder of his Empire: but ouercome with the delicacies of India, hauing diuided amongst his people those great prouinces and fruitfull countries, with the rich cities & pleasant fields, he so rested, embracing the manners and superstition of the people hee had ouercome. Long it were, and far from our purpose, to recount al the famous victories and conquests of this bare Northerne people: sufficeth it to the Historie we haue in hand, that the Turks were by them then driuen out of Persia, with the countries thereabouts, and their *Togran* kingdome (as they call it) first founded by *Tangrolipix*, there extinguished, about the yere of our Lord 1202. The Turks thus driuen out of Persia, and their kingdome ouerthrown, retired themselues into the lesser Asia, possessed by the Turks their countrey men, long before brought thither by *Cutlu-Muses* and his sonnes, (as is before declared) and by them euer since in some part, though with diuers fortune holden. Where these Turks now arriued out of Persia vnder the leading of *Aladin* the sonne of *Kei Husren*, descended also of the *Selzuccian* familie in Persia, and taking the opportunitie offered them by the mortall discord of the Latines with the Greekes, and the Greekes among themselues, seised vpon Cilicia with the countries thereabouts, and there first at Sebastia, and afterward at Iconium, erected their new Kingdome; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turks called the Kingdome of the *Aladin* Kings, although their names were not all so.

The Turkes driuen out of Persia by the Tartars.

1202.

The beginning of the Aladinian kingdome in the lesser Asia, at Sebastia and Iconium.

Now about this time, and within the course of some few yeares after, such great & strange mutations happened in the Constantinopolitane Empire, as had not therein at any time before bin seen: whereby the whole estate of that great Empire, which sometime commanded ouer a great part of the world, was almost vtterly subuerted, and a fit opportunitie giuen vnto the Turks & infidels for the sure setling of themselues, and establishing of their kingdoms both in Syria and the lesser Asia: which briefly to run thorow shall not be from our purpose; their affaires prospering by these troubles, and their proud & stately empire that now braueth all the rest of the world, being raised out of the ruines of that Christian Empire; & at this present triumphing euen in the same Imperial citie wherein these so great innouations hapned through the

A the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and destruction of a great part of the Christian Commonweale.

Alexius the vsurper, but now Emperor, not contented (as is before declared) traiterously to haue depriued *Isaac* his elder brother of his empire and sight together, sought also after the life of the yong Prince *Alexius* his brothers son, & heire apparant of the empire; who seeing the villanie committed in the person of his father, saued himself by flight from the fury of his vncle, and so accompanied with certaine great Lords of the Greeks his fathers friends, fled to craue aid of the Christian Princes of the West, whō the Grecians commonly cal the Latines. And first he tooke his way to *Philip* the German Emperour, who had married *Irene* his sister, the Emperor *Isaacks* daughter, by whom he was most honorably receiued & entertained. This

B great ladie not a little moued with the miserie of her father, and the flight of her brother, ceased not most instantly to solicite the Emperor her husband, not to leaue vnreuenged so great a villanie, by the example thereof dangerous vnto himselfe and others of like maiestie & state. She declared vnto him, what an execrable indignitie it was, to see her father the Emperor vnworthily imprisoned, depriued of his empire & sight, & of the societie of men, by his brother that had by him receiued & recouered his life, his light, & his liberty: and to see the heire apparant of the Empire banished by the wickednes of his vncle, to wander vp and down here and there like a beggar: a great part of which disgrace, as shee said, redounded vnto her selfe the daughter of *Isaac*, and sister to the young wandring Prince, and to himselfe also, the son in law vnto the vnfortunate Emperor her father. Moreouer she said, that the murderer *Alexius* durst

C neuer haue been so hardie as to commit so great and detestable a villanie, if he had not lightly regarded & contemned the maiestie of the said *Philip*; whom if he had had in any reuerence or honor, or at all feared, he durst not haue attempted so villanous an act. This Greek lady, moued with iust griefe, with these & such like complaints so preuailed with her husband, that he promised her to be in some part thereof reuenged; which hee could not for the present perform, letted by the wars he then had with *Otho* his competitor of the empire. At the same time it fortuned, that great preparations were making in France and Italy, and diuers other places of Christendome, for an expedition to be made against the Turks into the Holy land. The chief men wherein were *Theobald* Countie of Champagne, (a man of great fame, & Generall of the Christian armie) *Boniface* Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders and Henault,

D & *Henry* his brother Earle of S. *Paul*, *Henry* Duke of Louain, *Gualter* Earle of Breame, with diuers other noble gentlemen, which to name were tedious: vnto whom resorted also many valiant and deuout Christians out of diuers parts of Christendome, readie to haue spent their liues in that so religious a war: so that now the number of them was great, and the army right populous. But beeing thus assembled together, they thought it not best to take their way to Constantinople, thorow Hungarie & Thrace, and so to passe ouer into Bythinia, for that the Greekes had stil in all former times shewed great vncourtesie vnto the Latines, in passing with their armies that way: and therefore they thought it much better now by the way of Italie to take their journey by sea into the Holy land; and for their transportation, especially to vse the helpe of the Venetians, whom they found much the easier to be intreated; for that by the

B means of so great an army, they were in hope to scoure the Adriaticke (then much infested by the Dalmatians) as also to recouer Iadera, with some other cities vpon the coast of Sclauonia, before reuolted from their state to the Hungarians, as indeed they afterward did. But by the way as this army was marching out of France, & come into Piemont, the noble Countie of Champagne General thereof, there fell sicke & died, to the exceeding griefe & sorrow of the whole army: in whose stead, the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, a man of great nobilitie, & well acquainted with the wars of the East, was chosen General. This great army, transported by the Venetians into Sclauonia, tooke Iadera, with diuers other port townes along the sea coast, and hauing there done what the Venetians most desired, was about againe to haue bin imbarkt for Syria, & so into the Holy land. But the yong prince *Alexius* in the mean time had by himselfe

F & the noble Grecians (fled with him for feare of the tyrant) so wrought the matter with the Latin Princes of the West, especially with *Innocentius tertius* the Pope, with *Philip* the emperor his brother in law, & *Philip* the French king, that they pitying his estate, & induced also with some other considerations more proper to themselues, tooke him as it were into their protection, commending by letters & messengers for that purpose sent vnto the army, (which they might

Alexius the young Prince craueth aid of Philip the Emperour and the Latine Princes against his Vncle the Vsurper.

Great preparations made by the Christians, for an expedition into the Holy Land.

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR.

Alexius commeth vnto the Armie.

might command) the defence both of himselfe and his cause: who with the commendation of three so great Princes, comming to the armie yet lying at Iadera (expecting but a faire wind to haue passed into Syria) was there of them al most honorably receiued, as the son of an Emperor, and as became one to them so highly commended. And he himself also, as one knowing his good, was not wanting vnto himselfe, but recommended his person to their protection, as a poore exiled Prince in distresse; yet was hee of a liuely spirit, gratious in speech, beautifull to behold, and very young, and withall fully instructed by the noble Grecians that were with him, in all things that might serue to further his purpose. And forasmuch as this great Armie consisted of diuers nations, especially of the French, Italians, & Venetians, not all to be by one mean moued; he fitted euery one with such motiues as hee thought might best preuaile with them: Vnto the French hee promised to pay the great sums of money they had borrowed of the Venetians for the furnishing of themselues in this war: Vnto the Venetians he promised recompence for all the iniuries they had sustained by the late Constantinopolitan Emperors, especially by the Emperor *Emanuel* (who for that they refused to aid him in his warres against *William* king of Sicilie, did in one day confiscat al the goods of the Venetian merchants within his empire, of a great value; and afterwards contrary to the law of nations, shamefully entreated their embassadors sent vnto him, amongst whom was *Henry Dandulus*, now by fortune generall for the Venetians in the army: who moued as wel with the wrong in particular done vnto himselfe, as with the common, desired to be reuenged both of the one & the other; which although he could not haue of *Emanuel* himselfe, being long before dead, yet was he still desirous to haue it of some one of the Greeke Emperors, whosoeuer he were:) Vnto the Pope and the Italians, both he & the noblemen with him, had before promised, that the Greek Church should euer acknowledge the supremacie of the Church of Rome, and from thenceforth submit it selfe thereunto, as vnto the soueraign iudge of al the Christian Churches: which caused the Pope *Innocentius*, by letters, by legats, by embassadors, and by all other means possible, to further the cause of the yong Prince *Alexius*, (so combined with his own; alledging the diuersitie of opinions in matters of religion, betwixt the Greeks and the Latines, to haue beene the chiefe cause that the Mahometans had not beene long agoe by their vnited forces subdued, or vtterly rooted out. In briefe, the young Prince spared not to promise most bountifull rewards in generall, to all that should take his part against his vncle the vsurping Emperor.

By this means, the deuout war taken in hand for the reliefe of the poore Christians in Siria, was laid aside, & the same forces that should haue bin therein imployd, now conuerted against the Greeke empire, to the great weakning of that side of the Christian commonweale, and aduantage of the common enemie; who might then easily haue beene oppressed, had hee with the vnited forces of the Christians bin on this side charged home, as he was on the farther by the Tartars. The Grecian war thus resolued vpon, it seemed best vnto the great Commanders of the armie, to march directly to Constantinople, as to the head of the Grecian state, & place where the tyrant whom they sought after was resiant. In the meane time it was by them giuen out thorow all the Greeke cities which the Emperour had strongly manned and fortified for the staying of their passage, that their purpose was not to make war against the Grecians their friends, but only to restore their lawfull Emperour vnto his former state and honor: And that forasmuch as euery city and town in antient Greece had appointed rewards, and almost diuine honours vnto such as had deliuered them from tyrants, they should now more fauourably receiue & intreat them that came to restore vnto euerie citie, and to euery man in generall, their former libertie and honor. And so vpon the resolution for Constantinople imbarking their armie, and passing thorow the Ionian sea into the Ægeum, and so without let thorow the straits of Helespontus into Propontis, and entring the straits of Bosphorus Thracius, which diuide Europe from Asia, they came to an anker euen in the face of the citie. In this fleet were two hundred and fortie saile of tall ships, sixtie gallies, seuentie ships for burthen, and one hundred and twentie saile of Victuallers: which all together made a most braue shew, couering that strait in such sort, as that it seemed rather a wood than a part of the sea. Thus for a space they lay facing the city, attending if happily vpon the comming and sight of so great a fleet, and the report of so puissant an armie as the yong Prince *Alexius* had brought with him, any tumult or sedition might arise in the Citie. But the warie Tyrant had so well prouided therefore before hand, that the Citizens, although they in heart fauoured the young Prince, and wished him

A great fleet of the Latines before Constantinople.

him well, yet durst they not once moue or stirre in his quarrell. Whilest the fleet thus lay; embassadors came from the Isle of Creet, in two great gallies, with three banks of oars, yeelding vnto the yong prince that goodly island, with all the towns and cities therein: which he forthwith gaue vnto the Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat, Generall of the armie, thereby to encourage the other great commanders of the armie to doe the vttermost of their deuoire, in hope of recompence and rewards answerable to their deserts and valour.

Before the arriuall of this fleet, *Alexius* the Emperour had with a great chaine made fast the entrance of the hauen betwixt Constantinople and Pera, and appointed twentie great gallies wel manned for the keeping therof: but a great gale of wind arising, the General sent out the greatest and strongest ship in the fleet (of her greatnes and swiftnes called the Eagle) which with all her sailes vp, carried with a full gale of wind, by maine force brake the chaine, and made a way for the rest of the fleet to enter; which the Greekes in the gallies seeing, for feare fled, leauing the gallies for a spoile vnto the Venetians, by whom they were all taken, but not a man found in them. The hauen thus gained, *Theodorus Lascaris* the Emperours son in law, was presently ready vpon the shore with a select companie of the brauest gallants of the city and of the court, to haue hindered the Latines from landing; who running their ships a ground, landed with such cheerfulnes and courage, and with such hast, that in one moment you might haue seene them leape out of their ships, take land, enter into the battell, and lay about them like mad men. This hot skirmish endured a great while, for that they were only footmen that sustained this brunt, for the horses could not so soone be landed, and the Greeks were brauely mounted. All this great fight the Constantinopolitanes beheld, with doubtfull hearts, expecting what should bee the euent thereof. There were in the citie six thousand of the flower of Greece, which brauely sallying out, made the battel much more doubtfull; yet such was the valour and resolution of the Latines, that in fine the Greekes discomfited, were glad to retire themselues againe into the citie, but with what losse, was not certainly knowne: easie it were to guesse, that it was right great, for that the old tyrant *Alexius* discouraged therewith, and doubtful of his owne estate, with *Theodorus Lascaris* his son in law, and some few others of his trustie friends (hard to be found in so dangerous a case) the next night following secretly fled out of the citie, carrying away with him a wonderfull masse of treasure (which he against all such euents had caused to bee secretly hidden by his daughter *Irene*, in a monasterie of Nuns within the citie, whereof she was the abbesse) and so saued himselfe.

The Latines by force enter the hauen of Constantinople.

A hot skirmish betwixt the Greekes & the Latines at their landing.

The flight of the tyrant once bruted, the next morning the Constantinopolitans taking the old Emperor *Isaac* out of prison, saluted him againe for their Emperor, reioysing greatly for his deliuerance and the safegard of his life: and after that opened the gates of the citie to the Latines, calling and saluting them by the names of the reuengers and sauiours of the libertie of the Greekes, as also of the life and maiestie of their Emperor: they requested them that they might see and salute *Alexius* their young Prince, whom they had so long desired: and so was the citie of Constantinople, by the submission of the citizens, for that time saued from saccage and spoile. The old Emperor thus deliuered, and together with his son *Alexius* again placed in the imperiall seat, gaue the most hearty thanks that possibly he could vnto the Latine Princes, for that by their bounty, charity, and valour, the Greek empire had bin deliuered out of a long and miserable seruitude: and for his own particular, that he had receiued of them so great good, that albeit his sight could not be restored to him againe, neuertheless he acknowledged his life, his liberty, his empire, his countrey, his son, to haue bin vnto him by them restored, and he likewise to them, for which their so great deserts he could not (as he said) render them condigne thanks, or deuise rewards or honors answerable to their demerits and valour; and that therefore he did ratifie and confirme whatsoeuer his son had before promised vnto them for his deliuerance: and not only that, but further promised, That if they were not therwith contented, he would of his owne bountie giue them better contentment, not meaning they should goe discontented, that had saued his life, and otherwise so highly pleasured him. Hereupon this good old Emperor began to consult with his friends about the means whereby he might satisfie and content the Latines in such things as the yong prince his son had vnto them promised. And to the intent that the citizens of Constantinople might the more willingly doe that hee was to command them, and the more cheerefully pay such impositions as he was to lay vpon them, he intreated all the Latines to retire themselues out of the citie into

Isaac the old Emperor taken out of prison, & againe saluted Emperor, together with yong Alexius his son.

their

their campe or about their ſhips, which they accordingly did. But the impoſition beeing ſet G
downe, and what euery man was to pay, ſeemed vnto the Greeks (as men of long accuſtomed to receiue tribute of others, and not to pay tribute to others) a matter moſt heauie and intollerable. In this very inſtant that this exaction was required, died the old Emperour *Iſaac*, who hauing of long beene kept in a darke and ſtinking priſon in continuall feare of death, and now deliuered and reſtored to his Empire, could not indure ſo ſudden and vnexpected a change, both of the aire and of his manner of liuing, but ſo ſuddenly died.

At this exaction impoſed for the contentment of the Latines, the light Conſtantinopolitans grieuouſly murmured and exclaimed, ſaying, That it was a villanous thing to ſee the Greeke empire ingaged and bound (by a yong boy) vnto a couetous and proud nation, and ſo to be ſpoyled and bare of coyne: That the great and rich Iſland of Crete lying in the midſt of H
the ſea, was by him giuen as a gift vnto the Latines: That the citie of Conſtantinople and the Greeke church, had by him beene enforced and conſtrained to yeeld vnto the See of Rome, to receiue the opinions of the Latine church, to ſubmit it ſelfe vnto the obeyſance of old Rome, from whence it had once happily departed euer ſince the time that the empire was by *Conſtantine* the Great tranſlated thence to them. Thus euery one ſaid for himſelfe in particular: thus all men ſaid in generall. And therof the noble men in their aſſemblies, and the vulgar people in their meetings, grieuouſly complained: whereupon a great ſedition and tumult was raiſed in the city. Some preſently tooke vp armes, and the common people all enraged ran furiouſly diſordered vnto the palace, with a purpoſe to haue committed ſome great outrage vpon the perſon of the yong emperor *Alexius*: who in that ſo ſudden an inſurrection, as might I
well haue troubled a right conſtant man, without longer ſtay reſolued vpon a moſt wholſome and neceſſarie point for the appeaſing of the peoples furie; vnto whom (aſſembled in a wonderfull multitude) he ſhewed himſelfe from aboue in his palace, promiſing them to remain in their power, and not from thence forth to doe any thing without their aduice and liking, but wholy to depend vpon them: with which good words the people held themſelues well content, and ſo was the tumult for that time appeaſed. But forthwith the young emperor conſidering the iniury done vnto him, began with the deſire of reuenge and to change his purpoſe. He could not together ſatisfie the citizens and the Latines: for if he would keepe his promiſe with the Latines, he muſt of neceſſitie offend his owne people; neither was there any
Alexis ſeeketh to bring the Latines againe into the citie. means to be found to ſatisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himſelfe more bound K
to keep his promiſe with the Latines, whoſe forces he knew not how to withſtand, he ſent ſecretly to requeſt the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, General of the armie, to ſend him about midnight certaine companies of ſoldiers vnto the citie, aſſuring him to receiue them in by a gate neere vnto the palace, which ſhould bee opened vnto them by certaine of his truſtie ſeruants there left for that purpoſe. Of this plot *Alexius Ducas* (of his bittle browes ſurnamed *Murzuſle*, whom of a baſe fellow the Emperor *Iſaac* had promoted vnto the greateſt honors of the court) was not ignorant, who being a man of an aſpiring mind, and in thoſe troubleſome times hauing long thirſted after the Empire, tooke now this occaſion to worke vpon.

The Conſtantinopolitans again in an vprore. The night following, he by his agents, men inſtructed for the purpoſe, raiſed a tumult in the citie, not inferiour vnto that which had hapned the day before: and at the ſame inſtant, as if he L
had had nothing to do in the matter, came ſuddenly to the yong Emperor in the dead time of the night (which he might at all times do, by reaſon of the great confidence the Emperor had in him) and with a ſad countenance told him, That the people were vp again in an vprore, and eſpecially they of his guard, & that they were comming toward him to do him ſome violence for the loue he bare vnto the Latines. With which vnexpected news the yong Emperor terrified, demanded of him as of his moſt faithfull counſellor, What were beſt in that caſe for him to do? Who preſently embracing him in his night gown, led him out by a ſecret doore into a tent he had of his owne in the court, as if he would there haue kept him ſafe: but far was that from his traiterous thoughts; who departing from him, as if he had gone to appeaſe the tumult, had before taken order, that he ſhould preſently after his departure, be caſt into bonds, M
& ſo be clapt vp into a cloſe ſtinking priſon: which done, the falſe traitor openly ſhewing himſelfe made an oration to the people, wherin he ſhewed himſelf to haue great compaſſion of the Greek empire, & of the Greeks his countrymen themſelues, ſpecially in that they were gouerned by a youth vnfit for the gouerment, who ſuffred himſelf to be miſſ-led according to the pleaſure

A pleaſure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the citie of Conſtantinople, the ſeat of the Greeke empire, to looke about it, and to haue an eye vnto it ſelfe, ſith it was betraied and ſold by them which ought to preſerue and keepe the ſame: that they had now need of a man that loued his country and countrymen, before that which yet remained of the Græcian name were vtterly extinguiſhed by the Latines.

This his ſpeech, fitted of purpoſe vnto the humour of the ſeditious, was receiued with the great outcrie and applauſe of the windie headed people. Some cried out, that hee, and none but hee, was to bee made chiefe of the common weale that was by them to bee eſtabliſhed: otherſome cried as loud to haue him made generall of the armies and forces of the ſtate: but the greateſt crie was to haue him choſen and created Emperour; whereunto the reſt giuing
B place, he was by the generall conſent of the tumultuous people, without longer ſtay, choſen and proclaimed Emperour.

Murzuſle attempteth to burne the Venetian fleet. *Alexius* the traitour, by no lawfull election or rightfull ſucceſſion, but only by the fury of the tumultuous people, thus created Emperour; was of nothing more carefull than how to breake the forces of the Latines, of whom only he now ſtood in dread. And therfore to begin withall, hee firſt attempted by certaine gallies filled with pitch, flax, brimſtone, and ſuch like matter apt to take fire, to haue burnt the Venetian fleet: which gallies ſo ſet on fire & carried with a faire gale of wind among the fleet, had bin like enough to haue done great harm, had it not by the warineſſe of the Venetians bin preuented: who being good ſea men, and not vnacquainted with ſuch deuiſes, eaſily & without danger auoided the ſame, by keeping themſelues
C aloofe one from another in the ſea. This finenes ſorting to no purpoſe, he to color the matter ſent certaine meſſengers to the Generall, and other commanders of the army, to giue them to vnderſtand that that which was done for the firing of the fleet, had bin done without his priuity, by the malice of the tumultuous people, and that for his part he would be glad of their fauor and friendſhip, aſſuring them likewiſe of his, and promiſing them to aid them both with men and mony, and whatſoeuer els they ſhould haue need of in their wars againſt the infidels. Wherunto an anſwer was giuen by *Dandulus* the Venetian generall, that he would beleeue it; when *Alexis* the ſon of the Emperor *Iſaac*, whom the Latines had placed in the empire, ſhould aſſure them thereof, and intreat for the people, vpon whom the fault of that outrage was laid: which anſwer the more moued the traiterous tyrant, to rid himſelfe cleane of the feare of the
D yong prince, by taking him out of the way; to the intent to hinder the people of the hope and great deſire they had to grow to ſome peace with the Latins, by taking him out of priſon, and receiuing him againe for their Emperor. For the people (by nature mutable, and not deſirous of the good of themſelues, but according to the occurrents preſent, without any great regard of that they had already done, or ought to haue done) began now to repent themſelues of that they had done againſt the yong Emperor *Alexis* in the fauor of the tirant, and commonly ſaid; That they muſt find ſome meanes, whatſoeuer it were, to remedie their fault together with their troubles. Wherefore *Murzuſle* fearing the ſudden mutation of the people, with his own hands moſt villanouſly ſtrangled the young Prince *Alexis* in priſon, hauing as yet not raigned much aboue ſix moneths, and immediatly after cauſed it to be bruited abroad, That the ſaid
E young prince deſpairing of his eſtate, had as a man deſperat hanged himſelfe

Murzuſle encouageth his ſouldiers. The tyrant in vain hauing thus attempted the burning of the fleet, & ſtill fearing the reuenging ſword of the Latines, reſolued now by plain force to meet them in the field, and there to dare them battel. So hauing made ready and armed the whole ſtrength of the imperiall citie, he with cheereſull ſpeech encouraged his ſoldiers, requeſting them valiantly to maintain and defend their country of Greece, the monuments of their fathers, the glorie of their anceſtors, their preſent honor, and the future hope of their poſteritie: that hauing before their eyes the wals of their citie, within which they were borne, nouriſhed, and brought vp in hope of great matters, they would haue pitie and compaſſion of their temples, their wiues, their children, and in no caſe to ſuffer them to fall again into ſo miſerable & wretched a ſeruitude, but rather
F to die a thouſand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterpriſe taken in hand for the defence of his country (as he would haue the world to beleeue it) with the colour of a ſuperſtitious deuotion alſo, he cauſed the Prieſts in their eccleſiaſtick attire and ornaments, to march forth in the armie, with an enſigne, hauing in it diſplayed the picture of the virgin *Marie*. So couragiouſly marching forward, hee firſt charged that quarter of the campe where *Baldwin* the

the Countie of Flanders lay, where at the firſt was fought a right fierce and doubtfull battell. But afterward the alarum running throughout all the campe of the Latines, and new ſupplies comming in on euery ſide, the Greeks were put to the worſe, and inforced againe to retire into the city, hauing loſt a great number of men, together with their ſuperſtitious enſigne. It was a wonderfull thing to ſee, with what rare agreement the Latines, being of diuers nations, continued this expedition vndertaken againſt the Greekes. Seuentie two daies was this City of Conſtantinople ſtraightly beſieged by the Latines both by ſea and land, without giuing any time of reſt or repoſe day or night to the beſieged, freſh men comming ſtill on to the aſſault, as the other fell off, and in ſuch ſort troubled the Greekes in the citie, that they knew not well what to do or which way to turne themſelues. The Venetians vnto whom was committed the charge to aſſault that ſide of the citie which was toward the hauen, vpon two great gallies made faſt together, built a ſtrong tower of wood, higher than the wals and rampiars of the town, out of which they both with ſhot and fireworks much troubled the defendants, wherwith they in the time of the aſſault approaching the wal, by their fine deuices fired that ſide of the citie: by the rage whereof, a great number of houſes were burnt, with many other ſtately buildings and ancient monuments of that famous citie: and had at that preſent gained a great towerneere vnto the port, deſtitute of defenders, had not the tyrant himſelfe in good time come with new ſupplies to the reſcue thereof. In like manner, the French, with the reſt, aſſayled the other ſide of the citie by land, where they were to fight not againſt the defendants only, but againſt deep ditches, high and ſtrong wals, and bulwarks alſo: neuerrheleſſe, ſuch was the valour and furie of the Latines, with the deſire of victorie, as that they were not with any difficulties to bee diſmaied; but preſſing ſtill on, by a thouſand dangers, at length after a moſt ſharpe aſſault, they gained one of the greateſt baſtilions on that ſide of the city, called the Angels tower, and ſo by plain force opened a way both for themſelues and the reſt into the city. Whereof *Alexius* vnderſtanding, and ſtrucke with preſent deſpaire both of his ſtate and life, the night now comming on, fled with *Euphroſina* the Emperour *Alexius* his wife, and *Eudocia* her daughter, whom he had married when he had raigned about a moneth and ſixteene daies.

Conſtantinople hardly beſieged.

Conſtantinople ſet on fire.

The tyrant, author of all this miſchiefe, and of the calamities enſuing, thus fled, and the Latins furiouſly entring; the Prieſts and religious men in their ſurplices, and other eccleſiaſtick ornaments with their croſſes and banners (as in ſolemne proceſſion) met the Latins, and falling downe at the ſoldiers feet, with flouds of teares aboundantly running down their heauy countenances, beſought them, but ſpecially the captains and commanders, to remember the condition of wordly things, and contenting themſelues with the victory, the glorie, the honour, the empire, the immortality of their name, to abſtain from ſlaughter, from burning, from ſpoiling & ranſacking of ſo beautifull a city: and that ſeeing they were themſelues men, they would alſo haue pitie of men: and being themſelues captains and ſoldiers, they ſhould alſo haue compaſſion vpon captains and ſouldiers; who although they were not ſo valiant and fortunate as they were, yet neuertheles were both captains and ſouldiers: and that they would keepe and preſerue their city, whereof (if they ruinated it not) they might haue much more pleaſure and commodity, than if they ſhould deſtroy the ſame, which as it had bin the principall ſeat of the Greek empire, ſo might it now be of the Latines: That ſeeing they had thereof a carefull regard, as then belonging to another man, they ought now vpon better reaſon to haue more care therof, being their own: That the authors of all thoſe troubles and miſchiefes, *Alexius* the elder, and *Murzuffle*, had already receiued a reward anſwerable to their follies, in that they were driuen into exile: That they would haue pity and compaſſion of an innocent and vnfortunate multitude of poore people, oppreſſed and grieuouſly tormented with the often tyrannies of their murderous lords and gouernors: That in ſo doing, God the Lord of hoſts, the giuer and guider of battels, the God of mercy, would therfore reward them: To conclude, they humbly beſought them to pardon their citizens, to put on the hearts of gracious & merciful lords and fathers, not of enemies and rough maſters; of forgiuers, not of reuengers; and to vnderſtand by their tears, their miſerable eſtate and woes paſſed. With this ſo humble a ſubmiſſion and complaint of the religious, ſome of the better ſort were happily moued: but with the common ſoldiers, breathing nothing but victory, with their weapons in their hands, & the ſpoile of an empire in their power, what auailed praiers or teares? Euery man fel to the ſpoile, and in ſo great choice & liberty of al things, fitted his own diſordred appetite, without reſpect of the wrong or

A or iniurie done to others: onely from the effuſion of innocent bloud they abſtained; they whoſe liues they ſought after, being already fled, together with the tyrant. Other iniuries and outrages (ſo great, as that greater none could be) were in euery place ſo rife, that euery ſtreet, euery lane, euery corner of the citie was filled with mourning and heauineſſe. There might a man haue ſeene noble men earſt of great honor, and reuerend for their hoarie haires, with other citizens of great wealth, thruſt out of all they had, walking vp and downe the citie weeping and wringing their hands, as men forlorn, knowing not where to ſhroud their heads. Neither ſtaied the greedie rage of the inſolent ſoldiers within the wals of mens priuate houſes, but brake out into the ſtately palaces, temples, and churches of the Greekes alſo, where al was good prize, and nothing dedicated to the ſeruice of God, left vnpolluted and defaced, no B place vnſought, no corner vnrifled: right lamentable and almoſt incredible it were to report all the miſeries of that time. Some of the Greeke Hiſtoriographers, men of great marke and place, and themſelues eye-witneſſes and partakers of thoſe euils, haue by their writings complained to all poſteritie, of the inſolencie of the Latines at the winning of the citie, to their eternall diſhonor: but that diſordered ſouldiers in all ages in the libertie of their inſolent victorie, haue done ſuch outrages, as honeſt minds abhorre to think vpon. Thus Conſtantinople the moſt famous citie of the Eaſt, the ſeat and glory of the Greeke empire, by the miſerable ambition and diſſention of the Greekes for ſoueraignty, fell into the hands of the Latines, the twelfth of Aprill, in the yeare 1204, or after the account of others, 1200.

Nicetas Choniates, annalium, fol. 280.

1204

Conſtantinople thus taken, and the tyrants put to flight, the Princes and great commanders C of the armie held a counſell, to conſider what were beſt to bee done concerning the citie and the new gained empire: for after ſo great a victorie, they thought it not good to raſe ſo ancient and important a citie, ſeated as it were a watch-tower vpon the theatre of the world, ouerlooking both Aſia and Europe from the one to the other, as an eye of the vniuerſall, and ſo commodiouſly planted, as was no other city of the world, for the keeping vnder of the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion: but that it were much better to place there a Latin gouernor, to eſtabliſh there the Latine lawes and cuſtomes, and to vnite the Greeke church as a member vnto the Church of Rome. In which conſultation, ſome were of opinion, not to haue any moe Emperours in Chriſtendome but one, and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the Germane Emperour, authour of this warre, whoſe wife *Irene* was the onely daughter and heire of D the late Emperour *Iſaac Angelus*, vnto whom by all right the inheritance of her fathers empire belonged. But the greater part, conſidering that the troubled affairs of Greece, in ſo great a change and newneſſe of the empire, had need of the perſonall preſence of a Prince, thought it better to make choice of one among themſelues, who there ſtill reſiant in that place, might at all times giue aid vnto the Latines in their ſacred warres, taken in hand againſt the infidels: which opinion as the better, was approued of them all. The chiefe men in this election of the new Emperour, were *Baldwin* Countie of Flaunders and Hainault, *Henrie* his brother, *Lewis* Countie of Bloys, *Symon de Montfort*, *Iohn de Dammartin*, *Gualter de Brienne*, *Hugh* Countie of S. *Paul*, *Iohn* Countie of Brenne, *Boniface* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, *Stephen* Countie of Perch, and fiue gentlemen of Venice: vnto whome alſo were ioyned two Bi-
E ſhops of Syria, the one of Bethlem, the other of Ptolemais, who had oftentimes come to the campe of the Latines, to ſtirre them vp for the taking in hand the ſacred warre in Syria; with two Biſhops of France alſo, namely of Soiſſon and Troy in Champagne, and the Abbot of Lemely. Theſe great Lords and Prelates aſſembled into the Church of the holy Apoſtles, after they had there with great deuotion craued of God to inſpire them with his ſpirit for the choice of a good and iuſt Prince fit for ſo great a charge; with one conſent made choice of *Baldwin* Countie of Flaunders and Haynault, for Emperour of Greece: a braue and valiant Prince, about two and thirtie yeares old, who was afterward the ſixteenth day of May in the yeare 1204 (or after the computation of others, in the yeare 1205) in the great Temple of S. *Sophia* ſolemnly crowned by *Thomas Mauroceus* a Venetian, firſt Patriarch
F of the Latines in Conſtantinople. From which time the Greeke Church in Conſtantinople began to receiue the rites and ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the ſupremacie of the Church of Rome.

The Greeke empire diuided amongſt the Latines.

It was not long after that Conſtantinople was thus taken by the Latines, but that they diuiding their forces without any reſiſtance, tooke in the moſt part of the great countries and

and prouinces on Europe side, belonging to the Greeke empire in the time of *Isaac Angelus* the late Emperour: the fortune of the whole empire, as it were following the fortune of the imperiall citie. Which large countries so gained from the Greeks, the Latins diuided amongst themselues, as good prize taken from their enemies. Vnto *Baldwin* the emperor and his successors in the empire, was assigned the imperiall Citie of Constantinople, and the countrey of Thracia, with a limited soueraigntie ouer all the rest of the prouinces by the Latines alreadie or afterwards to be gained. Vnto the Venetians in this diuision of the empire, was allotted for their share all the rich Islands of the Ægeum, and Ionian, with the famous Island of Candie also; which although it were before by the youug Emperour *Alexis* in the beginning of these warres, giuen vnto the Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat, yet in this diuision of the empire, it was taken from him (not without his good liking) and giuen to the Venetians, as for them more fit: in stead and lieu whereof, the Marquesse had the citie of Thessalonica with all the kingdome of Thessalie, and a great part of Peloponesus assigned vnto him, with the Royall title of a King. Of the aforesaid Islands (in number many and exceeding rich) the Venetians in the name of the state, fortified some few of the greatest with conuenient garrisons, the rest they left to bee possessed and defended by the better sort of the citizens at their priuate cost and charges; who according to their abilitie, tooke into their possession, some one Island, some another, and some two or three, one, as they were able to set out their gallies, one, two, or moe, for the keeping of the same: ouer all which, the seigniorie neuertheless had a generall care, still keeping a fleet with one of their Admirals at sea: by whom they not onely repressed the Genoa pirats then busie in those seas, but also tooke in certaine strong townes in the maine vpon the coast of Peloponesus, namely Modon and Corone; all which they of long time after held as a part of their seigniorie. Some other particular places, yet parts also of the empire, were giuen vnto particular men: as the dukedom of Athens vnto one *Geffrey* of Troy in Champaigne, a French man, a valiant Captaine, whom they also made Prince of Achaia: Another Dukedome was also giuen to the Countie of Bloys; as were diuers other countries and townes also vnto other more priuate men: who neuertheless were bound to hold the same of the Emperor, as of their Lord, and to pay him yerely a fourth part of the reuenue arising thereof, towards the maintenance of his state. Yea the Greekes themselues in this shipwracke of their state and empire, although they disdained nothing more than the strange gouernment of the Latines, yet could they not be perswaded to ioyne together in so common a calamitie, but after their wonted manner sought euery man how to share out something for himselfe, without regard of the common good: one seized vpon one strong towne or citie, and so likewise another; which for all that they held not long, driuen thence for the most port by a greater power, either of the Latines, or of their owne countreymen.

The man whom the discontented Greekes most looked after, was *Theodorus Lascaris*, the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* his sonne in law; who at the taking of the citie, fled to Adrianople, and afterward into Bythinia, where hee was of the people, not of that countrie onely, but of others also farther off, ioyfully receiued and honoured as their Emperour. So taking into his hands the countries of Bythinia, Phrygia, Missia, Ionia, and Lydia, euen from the windings of the famous riuer Mæander Southward, vnto the Euxine Sea Northward; hee with the generall good liking of the people, tooke vpon him the estate of an Emperour, and so in the renowned citie of Nice made the seat of his empire. At the same time also *Dauid*, and *Alexius Comneni*, the nephewes of the tyrant *Andronicus* (sometime Emperour of Constantinople) by his sonne *Manuel*, possessing the more Easterne countries of Pontus, Galatia, and Capadocia, erected vnto themselues another empire in Trapezond, where their posteritie of the honourable house of the *Comneni* raigned in great glorie many yeares after, vntill their empire, together with the empire of Constantinople, was by the great Emperour of the Turkes, *Mahomet* the second, subuerted and brought to nought, as shall afterward in due time and place be declared. Thus the Greek empire exposed (as it were) to the generall spoile, was no longer one, but many empires: *Baldwin* raigning in Constantinople, the Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat in Thessalie, *Theodorus Lascaris* at Nice, *Alexius Comnenus* in Trapezond, and the Venetians in the Islands, all in royall dignitie. Besides whome were many other lesser Princes, which had heere and there according to their abilitie seized vpon some one or other part of the Empire, and there erected their Toparchies, raigning therein as

The beginning of the empire of Trapezond by the Comneni.

petty

A pettie Kings: as did *Alexius Mandinus* in Attalia, *Michael Angelus* in Epirus, with diuers others too long to rehearse.

Baldwin (as is aforesaid) created Emperor of Constantinople, by the helpe of the Venetian Admirall *Dandulus*, and other great commanders of the Armie, in short time brought vnder his obeisance all the cities of Thracia, excepting the citie of Adrianople, whereunto the better sort of the discontented Greeks, together with *Theodorus Lascaris* (disdaining the gouernment of the Latines) were fled, as vnto a most safe sanctuarie: which *Baldwin* knowing, and withal desiring whilest yet he had his friends about him, to set his new Empire in some good stay, without farther delay came and laid hard siege to the same. Now the Greekes generally euill entreated by the Latines, and grieued to be gouerned by them, were some of them fled B into other their neighbour Princes countries, but especially into Bulgaria, otherwise called Misia, a large kingdome, lying betwixt the great mountaine Æmus, and Danubius: by whose persuasion, *Iohn* King of that country, aided by the Scythians, (a fierce Northerne people, but lately come into those quarters) and by the fugitiue Greeks themselues, tooke vpon him to relieue the besieged citie: and so with a great armie approching the same, sent before certaine troups of the Scythian Archers on horseback, to fetch in such bootie of horses or cattell as they should find neere vnto the Emperors campe; and withall commanded them, that being charged by the Imperials, they should forthwith retire, so to draw them out of their trenches, into the place where the King with the greatest part of his armie lay couertly to intrap them. Which the Scythians (well acquainted with such seruice) so well performed vnder the leading of one *Cozus* their Generall, that hauing once or twice drawne their enemies vnto some C light skirmishes, and so retyring, and ere long againe with a greater number returning, they at length cunningly drew the Emperor with all his armie, in hope to do some great matter vpon them, euen as they wished, into the place whereas the King with his armie lay in wait among the woods and mountaines for them; where they, wearied and out of breath with the former pursuit, & now on euery side beset with fresh enemies, were ouerthrowne with a great slaughter. In which conflict to increase the losse, *Baldwin* the Emperour himselfe was taken and sent prisoner in bonds to Ternoua; where afterwards by the commandment of the barbarous king he was most cruelly put to death, hauing his hands and feet cut off, & so dismembred was cast out into a deepe valley, where hee yet lay miserably breathing three dayes after, and so died; D leauing his bodie as fortunes scorne, for a prey vnto the wild beasts and birds of the aire, no man vouchsafing to burie it. Thus perished this worthie Prince, for his vertues commended euen of the Greeks themselues, being about the age of three and thirtie yeres, and not hauing raigned yet a full yeare, in the yere of our Lord 1206.

Hadrianople besieged by the Emperor Baldwin.

1206.

The victorie thus gained, and the citie relieued, the barbarous King with his sauage souldiers hauing tasted the wealth of the Latines ouerthrowne in the late battel, and the pleasures of Thracia now subiect to their lust; greedily pursued their good fortune, without respect of all humanitie: the open country they ouerran, spoiling whatsoeuer came to hand, the rich and famous cities they rifled, and afterward rased them down to the ground; namely Serræ, Philippopolis, Apri, Rhedestum, Perinthus, Daonium, Arcadiopolis, Mesena, Zurulus, & Athyra: E the citizens & country people fled into the cities for refuge, they put all to the sword, without respect of age, sex, or condition, except some few, whom they carried away with them prisoners; so that of all the prouinces of that rent and ruinated empire, the country of Thrace was most miserable, as first spoyled by the Latines, and now layd desolate by the Bulgarians and Scythians. Only some few of the strongest cities, as Didymotichum and Adrianople (valiantly defended by the Greeks and Latines) escaped this furie of the Barbarians, all the rest that fell into their hands being layd waste and desolate.

In this so troubled a state of the new erected Empire of the Latines in Constantinople, the Latines made choice of *Henrie* the late Emperor *Baldwins* brother, as of all others the fittest to succeed him in the Empire: who aided by the Marquesse, now King of Thessalie, & the other F Latine Princes, notably repulsed the Barbarians, and left them not vntill that at length he had recouered from them all such townes and cities as they had before taken, and driuen them quite out of the countrie, and so well established himselfe in his new Empire.

Henry second Emperor of the Latins in Constantinople.

But to leaue this dismembred empire, now in the hands of many, and to come neerer to our purpose: *Alexius Angelus* the vsurper, driuen out of the imperiall citie by the Latines, to saue

himselfe

himselfe,fled into Thessalie,& from thence vnto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great fame among the Greekes) who tyrannising at Nauplus,as had his father before him, was in these troublesome times growne greater, by surprising of the two famous cities of Argos and Corinth: by whose meanes he cunningly entrapped *Alexius Ducas*, syrnamed *Murzuphle*, the traitour, and for a secret grudge not commonly knowne, put out his eyes: himselfe an exiled man, being a most heauie enemie vnto the other also exiled; and himselfe thrust out of the Empire, a deadly foe vnto the other, oppressed with the like calamitie. Shortly after which losse of his sight he was by chance taken by the Latines, and so brought backe to Constantinople, where hee was for murdring the yong Emperor *Alexius*, worthily condemned vnto a strange and horrible kinde of death; for, cast off from an high tower, and tumbling heeles ouer head downward, hee was with the waight of himselfe, and violence of the fall, crushed all to pieces, and so miserably died, a death too good for such a traitor. Not long after it fortuned also, that *Alexius* himselfe wandering vp and down in Thracia, was by the Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat, going against *Scurus*, taken and stript of his great treasure, and whatsoeuer else hee had; and so sent away naked, long time after in beggars estate wandred about in Achaia and Peloponesus, now farre vnlike that *Alexius* which sometime proudly raigned in Constantinople: but such is the assurance of euill gotten honour. He hearing that *Theodorus Lascaris* his sonne in law raigned in Asia, and there held the state of an Emperour, reioyced not thereat as a kind father in law, but inwardly grieued thereat as an enemie, sorrie that any other but himselfe should be honoured with the title of the Greeke Emperour: in which malicious humor he sailing out of Greece into Asia ouer the Ægeum, came secretly vnto the Turks Sultan *Iathatines* his old acquaintance, then lying at Attalia, (which famous citie he had not long before taken from the Christians) vnto whom he declared his heauie estate, and how his empire had been rent from him, as well by the Greekes as the Latines; requesting, that by his meanes hee might be restored againe into some part thereof, especially that in the lesser Asia, which was by *Theodorus Lascaris*, together with the honour of the Greeke Emperor, vniustly (as he said) detayned from him. This *Iathatines*, now Sultan of Iconium, was the yonger sonne of Sultan *Aladin*; who not long surviuing his father *Cai-Chosroe*, left his kingdome vnto his two sonnes *Azadin* and *Iassadin*, of the Greekes called *Azatines* and *Iathatines*: where long it was not, but that these two brethren falling out for the soueraignetie, (which admitteth no equalitie) *Iathatines* was by *Azatines* his elder brother driuen into exile, and for the safegard of his life glad to flie vnto this *Alexius*, I then raigning at Constantinople, by whom he was honorably entertained, and as some write, conuerted and baptised. But *Azatines* the Sultan shortly after dying, this *Iathatines* returning home again, and renouncing the Christian Religion, was by the Turks receiued for their Sultan: of whom the Emperour *Alexius* in like extremitie now craueth aid. The Sultan not forgetfull of his owne troubles before passed, or of the kindnesse he had receiued, and mooued with the pittifull complaint of his old friend, together with his large offers; besides that hee was in hope to share out some good part of whatsoeuer he got, for himselfe; tooke him into his protection, and forthwith sent Embassadours to *Lascaris*, threatning vnto him all extremities, except he did forthwith giue place vnto *Alexius* his father in law, vnto whom, as vnto the Greeke Emperor, those countries which were by him possessed, of right (as he said) appertained. With which vnexpected message *Theodorus* was not a little troubled, as fearing both the Sultans power, and the inclination of the people to their old Emperor. Neuertheless, hauing propounded the matter in councel, and finding the minds of his subiects well affected towards him, & a readines in them in his quarrell to aduenture their liues; he encouraged therewith, accompanied only with two thousand choice horsemen, together with the Sultans Embassador, without farther stay set forward to Philadelphia: the Sultan at the same time with *Alexius*, (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceiue the people withall) and twentie thousand Turkes, besieging the citie of Antioch, scituate vpon the winding bankes of the riuer Meander. Which the Emperour *Theodorus* well vnderstanding, and that the Sultan by gaining that strong citie (standing vpon the passage of the great riuer, the bounder of his Empire) should open a faire way for himselfe into the heart of Romania Asiatica, to the great hazard of his whole Empire, resolued with those few he had, to doe what he might to relieue his Citie. And so setting forward vpon the spurre, carrying nothing with him more than a little victuall; and now come neere vnto the Citie, sent before the Sultans Embassador, following him at

Antioch besieged by Iathatines.

A at the heeles. Who comming to the Sultan, and telling him of the Emperors approch with so small a power, could hardly persuade him that it was so, although hee bound it with many oathes: yet at length persuaded of the truth of the matter, and that indeed it was so, hee in all hast put his armie in the best order he could vpon such a sudden, but not to his best aduantage, being hindred so to do by the straitnes of the place wherein he lay. Of the two thousand select horsemen in the Emperours armie, were eight hundred Italians, all most resolute men, who giuing the first charge, brake through the middest of the Sultans army, disordering his whole battell as they went; after whom followed also the Greeks, though not with like courage: but those Italian horsemen now diuided from the rest, & in number but few, in comming backe again, were by the disordred Turks, some on horseback, some on foot, so beset on euerie side, as that there was no way left for them to passe, but there valiantly fighting, were altogether slaine, hauing both before and at the time of their death made such a slaughter of the Turkes, as is hardly to be beleeued to haue beene possible for so few men to haue made. The Greeks also hardly laid to by the Turks, and discouraged by the slaughter of the Latins, were euen vpon the point to haue fled: when as the Sultan, now almost in possession of a certaine victory, descrying the Greeke Emperor, and trusting to his own great strength, singled him out, beeing as readie as himselfe to meet him; when as at the first encounter, the Sultan with his horsemans mase gaue him such a blow vpon the head, as might haue killed a Bull, so that the Emperour therewith astonied, fell downe from his horse: who yet euen in the fall comming something againe vnto himselfe, and although dismounted, yet quickly recouering his feet, with his faulchion hoxed the hinder legs of the Mare whereon the Sultan rid, beeing a most beautiful beast, & of a wonderfull height; which now suddenly faultring vnder him, and so the Sultan tumbling down as from an high tower, before he could recouer himselfe, had his head cut off by the Emperor: which by and by put vpon a launce, and so holden vp, with the sight thereof so dismayed the Turks, that strucken with a sudden feare, they presently fled, leauing the victorie vnto the Emperour, before more than halfe ouercome: who for all that, considering his small number, durst no further pursue them, but entring the citie, gaue thankes to God for so great a victorie. Vnto whom the Turkes shortly after sent their Embassadors, and so vpon such reasonable conditions as it pleased him to set downe, concluded with him a peace. *Alexius* himselfe author of these troubles, taken in this battell and carried to Nice, was by the D Emperor his sonne in law, notwithstanding his euill deserts, well intreated and vsed.

B

C

Iathatines the Sultan slaine by Theodorus Lascaris the Greek Emperour.

Whilest the Latins thus spend those forces in subuerting of the Greek empire, which should haue bin imployed for the reliefe of the Christians in Syria, and that the Greeke Emperour *Lascaris* was thus troubled with the Turks, the affairs of the Christians in Syria and the Holy-land grew still worse and worse. Whereof the Knights Hospitalers and Templars (the chiefe champions of the Christian religion in those countries) greatly blamed *Almericus* the king of Cyprus, for that he being so neere at hand, and hauing married *Isabella* the heire of that kingdome, and so in her right taken vpon him the title of the King of Ierusalem; gaue himselfe wholly to pleasure, doing nothing for the defence or reliefe of the poore distressed Christians, or repressing of the Turks: who although they were yet in league with the Christians there, E and at some discord also among themselues, yet spared not as occasion serued; still more and more to encroach vpon them, & by building of new castles & fortresses to cut them short. Of al which things, the aforesaid Knights by their embassadors certified Pope *Innocentius*, requesting his fatherly care for the remedy thereof: certifying him withal, that there was yet liuing one *Mary*, the daughter of the Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat, a ladie of rare beautie, whom they as her tutors had brought vp in hope of the kingdome, & now were ready to bestow her vpon some such man as he should thinke worthie of her, together with the right she had vnto the kingdome. Hereupon *Innocentius* discharging *Almericus* of the title of the kingdome of Ierusalem, gaue it to *Iohn* Countie *de Brenne* of Daulphine in Fraunce, a man of great fame & valour, then in armes with the other Latine Princes against the Greeks. Who now returning home, F commended his earledome to his brother, and with such power as he was able to make, setting forward, came first to Venice, where he was royally entertained: and from thence sailing to Constantinople, was with like honour receiued by the Emperor *Henry*, and so at length the fift of September arriued at Ptolemais in Syria, where hee was with the great rejoycing and applause of the people receiued as their King. And the last of the same moneth marrying the

Iohn Brenne by Innocentius the Pope appointed King of Ierusalem.

the aforesaid Ladie *Mary* at Tyre, was there together with her with a great solemnitie crowned King in the yere 1209. Which *Almericus* the old King of Cyprus hearing, shortly after
1209. died for griefe. Neither wanted this noble gentleman, thus honoured with the title of a Kingdome, some that enuied at his promotion, and therefore commonly called him in derision, a King, but still with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to say, Without a Towne.

Now was the ten yeres peace, before taken betwixt the Turks and the Christians in Syria, at the comming ouer of *Simon* Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat (as is before declared) almost expired: which had not so much giuen to those poore remnants of the Christians some time of rest and breathing, as had the discord of the Turks among themselues; which hauing for the space of nine yeres continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the soueraigntie, was now by the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himselfe with the gouernement of Aleppo, and *Corradin* and *Meledin* the two sonnes of *Saphadin*, diuiding their fathers kingdome betwixt them, the one taking vnto himselfe Damasco and Syria, and the other the great kingdome of Ægypt, but all enemies vnto the Christians.

Corradin and Meledin diuide their fathers Kingdome betwixt them.

About this time also, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius* yet Pope, summoned a generall Councel to Lateran, whereunto, besides a multitude of great Bishops, and other reuerend Prelats, repaired also the honorable Embassadors of most of the Princes of Christendome: vnto whom so assembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous estate of the Christians in Syria, and how the same was by the helpe of the Christian Princes of the West to be relieued. Whereunto all the Fathers & Princes there assembled easily gaue their consent: and thereupon were some appointed in euery countrey and prouince, to publish this decree of the Councel, for the reliefe of the oppressed Christians, and to stir vp the deuout people for the vndertaking of so religious a war. The chiefe furtherers of this sacred expedition, to bee thus taken in hand against the Infidels, were the Bishops of Germany, especially the three great Bishops of Mets, Cullen, and Triuers, whose example moued also many others, all which to rehearse were tedious. Out of France also were sent *Henry* the Countie of Niuers, & one *Gualter* the Kings great Chamberlain, with a great number of the gallant youths of France, and so out of diuers other places also: so that at length such a number of men were met together at diuers ports of the Adriaticke, as made vp a fleet of two hundred saile; which with a prosperous wind carried ouer into Syria, arriued in safetie at Ptolemais the chiefe citie of the Christians, now that Ierusalem was lost. After whom followed also *Andrew* King of Hungary, long before bound both by his fathers commandement and his owne promise, for the vndertaking of that sacred expedition: with whom came also *Lewis* Duke of Bauaria, and *Leopold* Duke of Austria, with their forces all wel appoynted: vnto whom also *Iohn* King of Ierusalem ioyned himselfe with his power. Great hope and expectation there was for some great matter to haue been done, now that so great forces of the Christians were thus met together. Who setting forward from Ptolemais, and the first day marching into Galilee, by the way met with certain companies of the Turkes, whom they easily ouerthrew and put to flight. The next day they came to the riuer of Iordan, where they also distressed certaine of the Turks garrisons. There the King of Hungarie bathing himselfe in the riuer, forthwith (as one discharged of his vow and promise) returned with all his power vnto Ptolemais, and so from thence backe again into his country, all the rest of the armie of the Christians crying out to him to the contrarie: who after the kings departure still marching on, came to the mount Thabor. But shortly after, Winter now comming on, and many of their cattell dying for cold and want of meat, they returned some to Ptolemais, some to Tyre, and there wintred. King *Iohn* and the Duke of Austria in the mean time tooke a castle betwixt Cesarea and Caipha, called *The castle of Pilgrims*, from whence they much troubled the Barbarians thereabouts all that Winter. Vpon the appearance of the Spring, and the armie againe met together, it was thought best by all the great commanders, that for so much as the kingdome of Ægypt was the chiefe maintenance of the Mahometan superstition, against the Christians in those parts, and that so long as it stood vpright, they should not be able to do any great matter in Syria, to attempt the conquest thereof, as an exployt best beseeming their valour, and so great preparation: for that that kingdome being once subdued, the Citie of Ierusalem, with all the land of Palestine, would of themselues without more adoo streightway yeeld vnto them. And for as much as the famous Citie of Damiata, called in antient time Pelusium, not much inferiour vnto Alexandria,

andria, was the first and most commodious port for their purpose, as neerest vnto Syria; and that by the taking thereof they should haue a faire entrance into the great riuer Nilus, with the command of a most rich and pleasant countrey about it. They resolued there to begin the war: and thereupon embarking themselues with all things necessary for so great an enterprise, at Ptolemais, & carried with a faire wind, they in short time arriued at the desired port. Now that rich and antient citie, the key of that side of the kingdome, stood about a mile from the sea, and somewhat distant also from the great riuer, enuironed with a nauigable ditch or Cut, drawn out of the Nile, in manner of an Island, as a man commeth from Syria by land; & compassed about with three strong stone walls, the worke of the good Emperour *Ælius Pertinax*, and of him (as some affirme) called also Æliopolis. At the mouth of this cut, as you should enter vnto the citie, stood a strong Watch-tower for the defence thereof, and round about it a number of faire houses, in manner of a pretty town entrenched. Beside that, for the more safetie thereof, the same cut was barred with a great strong yron chaine, in such sort, as that it was not possible for any ship, without breaking of the same to enter. The Christians with their fleet entring the mouth of the riuer, & comming to this cut, by great strength brake the chain: but thinking so to haue made their passage vnto the city, they found a greater stay at the watch tower, which strongly built of square stone, & wel stored with warlike engins of all sorts, and a good garrison of valiant souldiers, stayed their further passage, ouerwhelming them as they approched, with shot, fire, stones, timber, and such like, before prouided for that purpose.

The situation of Damiata in Ægypt.

The Christians (after the manner of the fight of that time) had vpon certaine flat vessels built certain high towers of wood for the assailing of the watch-tower: in the approching wherof, they were not only troubled with the enemie, but with the tumult and stir of their owne people also; some crying that they should yet draw neerer vnto the tower; other some crying out as fast, to haue the bridges cast out, thereby to enter; and the enemie likewise with much clamor encouraging one another for the repulsing of the Christians. So the soldiers hindred the mariners to do their busines, and the mariners the soldiers. In the midst of this hurly-burly & tumult, one of the wooden towers surmounting the rest in height, ouercharged with the presse of men, fel, and in falling made such a noise, as if heauen it selfe had fallen: where in a moment (as it were) was presently to be seen a most heauy spectacle; many ouerwhelmed with the falling of the tower, lay there crushed to death; some grieuously hurt, & yet not dead, lay oppressed with the timber, crying out for helpe; others bruised or hurt, but not ouerwhelmed, for feare of further harme, leapt some into the Nile, some aboord the other ships neere by, some crying out of his arm, some of his leg, some of his head or other part of his bodie, to the great discomfiture of the rest, in so much that the assault was for that time giuen ouer.

King *Iohn* (as well for his valour, as for the title of the King of Ierusalem, chosen Generall of the armie) after he had appeased this tumult, and giuen the charge of them that were maimed or hurt, vnto skilfull surgeons, and buried the bodies of such as were found drowned or ouerwhelmed; with cheerful speech encouraged the rest of his soldiers, perswading them not to be discouraged with the accident of the fal of a tower, which was neither to be imputed to their cowardise, or the valour of the enemie, but only to the chance of warre.

In the mean time *Meledin* the Ægyptian Sultan, had with a great armie encamped himselfe within the sight of Damiata, thereby to encourage the besieged, and to fill them with hope of reliefe; sending them oftentimes by the riuer, newes, messages, victuals, soldiers, armour, and whatsoeuer else they wanted. The chiefe cause of his staying there, was to take occasion for the surprising of the Christians, if any should bee offred, either by chance, or their owne negligence. Euery day some skirmish or other passed betwixt our men and the Barbarians, ours still carrying away the victorie: yet could these Barbarians neither be drawn forth to battell, neither could our men keep them from victuals, for as much as they had the riuer of Nile at command, whereby victualls were out of the vpper part of Ægypt in great aboundance conueighed into the Sultans campe: whereas on the contrary part, the same riuer diuiding it selfe into many armes, in some places here and there ouerflowing, in another cut into many ditches and channels, and in some other pent vp by walls and causies, gaue vnto our men a thousand displeasures. And therfore seeing that the Sultan would neither giue nor accept of battel, they resolued againe to lay siege to the tower. Wherefore hauing with great cunning, vpon two ships made fast together, framed a Tower of most strong timber, equall in height vnto the Watch-

tower, they brought the same neere vnto the Turks tower, & the suburbs adioining thereunto, after which followed also the rest of the fleet well appointed for the assault. At which time all the rest of the armie at land stood in battell readie ranged, as well to discourage them of the town, as that the Sultan should not be able to helpe them without the hazarding of battel. There began a fierce and cruell assault; they of the suburbes right valiantly defending themselues against their enemies. Within these suburbs, the tower, and the trenches, dwelt not only Ægyptians, (the naturall inhabitants of the countrey) but also Arabians, Persians, Syrians, Indians, Moores, and Æthyopians, who were there resiant; for that, that citie was a publique mart whereunto all kind of merchandise were brought from farre out of the remotest parts of the world, and so from thence in like manner transported also: which encouraged them the more to fight for the defence of their liues and goods, the two things which men hold most deare: and in like sort animated our men vnto the assault, as well in the quarrell of the Christian religion, as to inrich themselues with the spoile of those rich nations. The Christians with their ships drew as neere as possibly they could vnto the land, to the intent that vpon the bank of the riuer they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and so come close vnto their enemies. But the Barbarians on the other side sought by shot and all other meanes they could, to keepe them further off, and so from landing.

A desperat act of a Christian.

That which most feared the Ægyptians, was, that as one of our ships by chance ran a ground vpon that side of the riuer where the enemy lay, and being boorded by the enemie, thronging in as fast as he could, and there making a cruell slaughter, one of the Christian souldiers going down vnder the hatches, made there a great hole, whereby the water abundantly comming in, I sunke the ship before the enemie was aware, and so drowned a great number of the Ægyptians together with the Christians. At which time also the high Tower built vpon the two ships, ioyning now close vnto the watch-tower, and mating the same, dismaied the defendants with the strangenesse thereof, as with a miracle, in such sort, that they strucken with a great feare, as now being to fight with a strange, hardie, and cruell kind of men, without any great resistance forsooke the tower and fled. The watch-tower thus taken, and they that should haue defended the same, some slaine, and some fled; they in the suburbs discouraged, and flying away, were many of them wounded from aboue, out of the watch-tower but now gained by the Christians. At which time also the other ships landed the souldiers, who entring the suburbs, put all they found there to the sword, euen vnto the last man. There was found great abundance of victuals, but far greater store of riches, in so much that it seemed to haue bin the spoyle of Arabia, Persia, and the rich Indies.

Damiata in vain assaulted.

Now yet remained the strong towne of Damiata, which was forthwith assaulted by the Christians, more to proue if in that heat and sudden feare it would bee yeelded, than for any hope they had by force to win it. But hauing done what they could both by scaling, and by other engins, they gained nothing but hard blowes and wounds, & so retyred. Neuertheless they lodged themselues in the suburbs, and layd a great part of the armie betwixt the Sultan and the besieged citie, to the intent that no supplie of victuals should be brought vnto it; yet both the enemie oftentimes attempted to haue entred the citie, and the besieged to haue sallied out, but both the one and the other were letted to doe what they would haue done, & that not without the great losse of their men: for why, the town was now on euery side so inclosed by the Christians, as that no man could enter in or out thereof. Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege, it fortuned that the riuer of Nile swelling with a great Easterne winde, rise aboue the banks, & so ouerflowed the places wherein the Christians lay, that they could keep nothing drie, and that most part of their victuals were therewith spoyled. With which vnseasonable rising of the riuer, the Christians not a little troubled, by commandement of *Pelagius* the Popes Legate, gaue themselues to fasting and prayer by the space of three dayes. But the wind falling the fourth day, and the riuer againe decreasing, they gaue themselues more earnestly to prayer than before, thanking the Almightie, that as he had put them in a great feare, so he had in mercie againe comforted them.

Now with long lying began victuals to grow scant in the Sultans campe, so that hee was glad to send away halfe of his armie vp againe into the countrey of Caire. At which time also it chanced (as if it had beene in an extreame and common danger of the Mahometan superstition) that Embassadours sent from *Corradin* Sultan of Damasco and Ierusalem, vnto the Princes

A Princes of the Christian armie, came to sue for peace, both for himselfe and his brother the Ægyptian Sultan; promising in regard thereof againe to restore vnto them the Holy Crosse, and whatsoeuer els himself, his father, or Sultan *Saladin* had before taken from them: of which their offer, most part of the army liked wel, saying, That they had therefore taken vp arms for the recouerie of that which had been before gotten, and gained by the valour of the worthie Christian captains, and had of late beene taken from them; and to blot out the ignominy of the losse thereof, to the end it should not be said, that they could not leaue whole and entire vnto their children, what their fathers had got, when they had the keeping thereof; neither hauing lost it, be able again to recouer it: that al these things being restored, there rested not any further occasion of war, or let to stay them as most victorious conquerours to returne home.

B Neuertheles *Pelagius*, Pope *Honorius* his Legat (for *Innocentius* in the preparation of the wars was before dead at Pelusium) with king *Iohn*, the Masters of the knights Hospitalers and Templars, the Duke of Austria, and the Germaines, were of opinion to the contrary: aleadging, That this sacred warre was vndertaken generally against the Infidels, and for religions sake against the Mahometan superstition, whereof the kingdome of Ægypt was the chiefe seat and stay; and that therefore they ought especially to impugne that. Which persuasion, together with the authoritie of the persuaders, so preuailed, that the Sultans large offers were reiected, and so the embassadors dispatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Whereupon *Corradin* fearing that the Christians would at length come to Ierusalem, as the place they most desired; and doubting how hee should bee able to defend the same, forthwith rased the C wals thereof, and the more to deface it, ouerthrew and pluckt downe most of the goodly houses, and other stately buildings therin, sparing yet the tower of *Dauid*, and the holy Sepulchre; which he is said to haue done at the humble request and intercession of the Christians of diuers countries, which yet dwelt there mixt with the Turks and Sarasins.

A faire offer euill refused.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of Damiata, the plague began to arise in the campe, whereof so many died, that it began to repent the great commanders of the armie that they had so much hearkened to the persuasion of the Legate (a man making no profession of armes) rather than to the sound aduice of others, who by long experience taught the sudden alteration of matters of war, would willingly haue accepted of the Sultans large offers: so began *Pelagius* the Legat to be generally euill spoken of. There were now already six moneths past D since the beginning of the siege, and the Sultan lying in sight had not with him so great an army as before, but only the flower and choice of his people, hauing (as we haue before said) for want of victuals sent away the rest vp again into the country: now it fortuned that the Christians, as men weary of the long siege, stood not so carefully vpon their guard, with watch and ward, as before, but gaue themselues more to ease: which the Sultan perceiuing, drew nerer to the town, in hope vnder the couert of the silent night, to send new supplies vnto the besieged; which companies by him appointed for that seruice, couragiously set forward, in hope to haue deceiued the Christian sentinels, & so indeed came neer vnto the town vnseen or discouered: and now the foremost of those companies were already entred the town; when the Christians perceiuing them, & rasing an alarme, put themselues in arms, and so furiously assailed the hin- E dermost of them, and in such sort, that they which were before within, & those that were but now entred, fearing lest the enemie in that hurly burly should pell mell enter in with the rest, shut them out of the gates, exposed to the butcherie, where all were presently cut in peeces.

Succours sent vnto the besieged.

The Christians encouraged with this victory, the next day leauing a great part of the army before the town to continue the siege, presented themselues before the Sultans camp to giue him battell: who for all that well considering that the losse of a battell might endanger the whole state of his kingdome, would by no meanes be drawne out of his trenches, but lay still; wherewith the Christians, especially the French men (in the first charge naturally furious) greatly encouraged, attempted to haue forcibly entred their rampiers, but not with successe answerable to their courage. For the Ægiptians perceiuing the smal number of their enemies, F notably repulsed them, & in fine inforced them to retire, hauing lost *Gualter* one of their chiefe commanders, with diuers others: yea King *Iohn* in assailing the campe, lost many of his men, and grieuously burnt in his face, hardly escaped himselfe with life. After which discomfiture, they resolued, not to thinke of any thing else but of the siege, and aboue all things to prouide that no succours should be brought into the towne. They in the citie more straitly beset and

besieged

beſieged than before,and now brought vnto extream neceſſitie and famine,and out of al hope of reliefe,aſſembled themſelues to conſult of their affaires,and what were beſt for them to do in ſo dangerous a ſtate: ſome one or other of them by night or otherwiſe ſecretly flying into the camp. And that more was,the citie had vndoubtedly bin yeelded by the greatet part,had not the chiefe commanders within mured vp the gates,and commanded that none of the inhabitants vpon paine of death ſhould come vpon the wals,or rampiers,to the intent they ſhould not get out,or caſt themſelues from aboue ouer the wals into the ditches. The chiefe commanders and captains went here and there vp and down the city,to ſearch and view al things, eſpecially the ſhops and ſtorehouſes, where finding ſmall ſtore of wheat, they diuided it in ſmall portions among themſelues: the common people enforced with want, eat whatſoeuer came to hand,were it lawfull or vnlawfull or forbidden by their ſuperſtition,wholſom or vnwholeſome,good or bad,ſalt or freſh,roaſted or raw; and ſo prolonged their liues with ſuch things as they could find. Now the beſieged, not able to indure theſe extreamities of the famine (being the paſſion that moſt grieuouſly and often troubleth mankind) they were alſo attached with the wrath of God: for the plague(the fury wherof had before attainted the camp of the Chriſtians,and afterward quite ceaſed)was now got into the city,where it made a great ſlaughter: which mortalitie day by day in ſuch ſort increaſed,that men were not only now no more to be found,to viſit,comfort,ſuccour, ſerue, and help the ſicke; but were wanting alſo to burie them,to draw them out of their beds and houſes,and to ſeperate the liuing from the dead: the ſtreets and houſes full of dead bodies,gaue forth a moſt horrible ſtinke,with a moſt grieuous and infectious aire: there was not any place cleare from the plague, or any man that could boaſt hee had not bin attainted therewith,or the feare thereof; and remedie was there none. The rage and furie of theſe two deuourers,the famine,and plague,deuoured them without number,chuſing rather ſo to dy,than to ſubmit themſelues vnto their enemies;or to humble themſelues ſo low, as to craue their fauour. That they within were thus pinched with famine,the Chriſtians knew: but that the plague ſo raged amongſt them,they knew not. Now the Chriſtians had of purpoſe caſt vp certain trenches and baricadoes, for the keeping in of ſuch as the famin ſhould enforce to come out of the town; thinking that the beſieged,to eaſe their wants,would thruſt the baſer ſort of the people & vnprofitable mouths out of the city; vnto whom the Chriſtians meant not to giue any paſſage: for they hauing long before ſo ſtraitly enuironed the citie,as that no reliefe could be brought vnto it,lay now ſtil expecting when the beſieged,enforced by neceſſity,ſhould yeeld themſelues;and ſo without loſſe of any man, to become maſters of ſo ſtrong and rich a towne. It was now more than a yeare that the Chriſtians had thus lien at the ſiege of Damiata, when as certaine of the ſouldiers vpon a brauerie aduentured with a few ſcaling ladders to mount the wal: in which doing,finding no reſiſtance, and withall hearing ſo great ſilence, as if there had bin no bodie within the citie,they ſtood ſtill a great while hearkening,but ſeeing that dumbe ſilence ſtil to continue,they returned vnto the camp,giuing the captains to vnderſtand how the matter ſtood;who at the firſt thought it to bee ſome policie and fineneſſe of the deceitfull enemie: yet afterward they thought it good to aduenture certaine men, to proue their fortune, and to cauſe certaine companies well appointed to ſcale one of the bulwarkes of the citie, in ſuch ſort, as if they ſhould haue gone againſt a puiſſant enemy,that had had the power to reſiſt them. And hereupon were ſcaling ladders brought forth, and all things made ready, as for a great aſſault. So the Chriſtians couragiouſly mounting the ladders, without reſiſtance tooke the bulwarke. But as they were entring farther into the towne,a ſmal company of the Turks and Barbarians (all the ſouldiers that the furie of the plague had left,and they alſo with the famine & infection of the aire very weake and feeble) met them,and began to make ſome ſmal reſiſtance,but to no purpoſe,being forthwith al cut in pieces. Which done,the matter wherewith the gates of the city were mured,was preſently remoued,the gates ſet open,& the Chriſtians with enſignes diſplaied let in. But euen at the very entring in at the gates,they were attainted with a moſt grieuous and horrible ſtinke,they ſaw a faire city diſpeopled,and that which was moſt feareſull to behold,the ſtreets couered with bodies of the dead,and ſuch a dreadfull deſolation, as might moue euen the enemy himſelf to compaſſion. The Chriſtians were entred,as men appointed to haue done a great execution,and to haue made the channels run with bloud,as men iuſtly prouoked with the long ſiege,and the paines they had endured; they had their ſwords and weapons in their hands,

Damiata without reſiſtance taken by the Chriſtians.

Damiata vnpeopled by the plague.

A hands, but found none againſt whom to vſe them: for a man could not enter into any houſe, or goe into any ſtreet, but he muſt paſſe ouer the dead, or others which being not yet altogether dead,were miſerably drawing toward their end. Of ſeuentie thouſand perſons in the citie,were not found aboue three thouſand aliue,and thoſe for the moſt part yet yong children: for all the reſt were dead, taken away either with the ſword, famine or the plague; the greateſt part whereof lay yet ſtinking aboue the ground vnburied. Theſe three thouſand that were left,were ſo maigre and poore,that pitie it was to behold them: vnto whom their liues were granted,vpon condition that they ſhould make clean the city,and burie the dead,which they were three moneths in doing.

Thus was Damiata taken by the Chriſtians the fift day of Nouember,in the yeare 1221,af-
B ter it had beene more than a yeare by them beſieged. The ſpoile there taken was great,for beſides the rich marchandiſe brought thither from farre,was found great ſtore of gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtones. The Chriſtians thus enriched,and the citie made clean,ſtaied there more than a yeare after,as in a Colonie wherein they had beene willing to dwell,forgetfull of their owne country. In the beginning of theſe wars, the Princes of the army had with one conſent agreed, That whatſoeuer citie or territorie ſhould by them be taken from the Turkes or Infidels, ſhould bee giuen vnto the King of Ieruſalem, whom after the departure of the King of Hungarie,they had made Generall of the whole armie. But now that the citie was taken, *Pelagius* the legat,pretending, That by the vertue of his legation,it belonged vnto him to diſpoſe of all things taken in that ſacred war, (as a man not vnmindfull of his maſter)adiudged the ci-
C tie from thenceforth to belong vnto the See of Rome. With which indignitie and wrong,the King inwardly diſcontented, (and yet for the authoritie of the Legat, diſſembling the matter) withdrew himſelfe,and ſo retired to Ptolemais. 1221

The yere following, *Pelagius* wearie to ſee the armes of the Chriſtians to corrupt with ruſt, 1222
and nothing doing, conſidering the deſire and hope hee had vtterly to haue ruinated the Infidels,togerher with their ſuperſtition;commanded, That euery man ſhould again take vp armsfor the proſecuting of this war againſt the Sultan,and the beſieging of Caire. But for all that, when he had commanded what he would,or could,the ſoldiers little regarding his command with one voice cryed out, that they would not be commanded by any, but by the King of Ieruſalem only. So that the Legat,enforced by the ſouldiers,was glad to ſend vnto the King,to
D requeſt him againe to returne vnto Damiata, and to take vpon him the charge for the managing of that war, taken in hand for the defence of the Chriſtian Religion: who for all that excuſed himſelfe from ſo doing,one while by his owne particular affaires,another while by his owne indiſpoſition: yet in fine, preſſed and ouercome with the praiers and requeſts of the other Latine Princes, he returned to Damiata,at the ſelfe ſame time, that the Duke of Bauaria arriued there with a goodly companie of braue men,brought thither out of his owne countrey, after he had beene now from thence ten moneths abſent.

Pelagius the Legat perſwadeth the Princes of the Chriſtian armie to proceed for the conqueſt of Aegypt.

The Legat deſirous of the proſecution of this war, requeſted and vrged the King, with the reſt of the Princes & great commanders, without delay to take the field,telling them,that the
E enterpriſe of the holy war was growne old,and cold,by thoſe long delaies and protracting of the time: and that they which kept wars ſo far from home,ought to make haſt to force the enemie,to take all occaſions, to loſe no time, but euer to be doing,and to proue all things for the annoying of the enemy: and that that was the way, whereby the Worthies of antient times, both Kings and Emperors,had gained vnto themſelues empires,glory, greatnes,and wealth: That it was for them that were inuaded and aſſailed,vpon whoſe liues depended the ſafety of their country,their wiues,their children,& goods,to delay & prolong the time as they might to delude the enemy,to fruſtrate his deſignes,to defeat his attempts,and with delaies to dally him off,vntil that hauing therby weakned his forces,he ſhould together with his courage loſe alſo his hope: Caire(he ſaid)to be indeed a great city,but yet that the greateſt cities that euer were,had by the wars become great deſarts,forced by the power of their puiſſant and ſpeedy
F enemies: & that great empires,as were thoſe of the Sultans,ought not to be inuaded or aſſailed by any forrain force,if they were not at the firſt onſet, ouerthrown,or at leaſt ſo weakned, as that they could not afterwards lift vp their heads or recouer themſelues;for otherwiſe,that they which had prepared a deſtruction for others, ſhould fall into the ſame themſelues: That it behooued either not to haue attempted or aſſailed Ægipt at al; or els now, after it had bin

once

once assailed, not so to giue it ouer before it were conquered. The King of Ierusalem, whether it were that he were pricked with the griefe, that being called the King of the holy land, hee could not haue the citie of Damiata (vnder the leading and conduct won by the Christians come to the sacred war) giuen vnto him by the Legate; or that he had before proued that the higher country of Ægypt was not without great and manifest danger to be attempted; sayd, that he would not in any case goe: alleaging that honorable and sacred war to haue bin taken in hand, onely for the recouerie of the holy Land, and not for the winning of Memphis, Babylon, or Thebes in Ægypt; which after they were taken, would not for any long time continue in their fidelitie or allegeance, and could not possibly be kept by force: whereas Syria, by *Godfrey* of Bullion and the other great princes his associats, entred into, conquered and possessed; and since his time, by diuers other Christian Kings & Princes holden, was in right their own: and that therefore he greatly commended the forwardnes, the diligence, the courage, the desire, and whatsoeuer thing else *Pelagius* commended: but that he ought to employ the same in Syria, and not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawne or expected. Neuertheless the Legat wedded to his owne opinion, by the power of his authoritie, commanded the King of Ierusalem, the Duke of Bauaria, with the rest of the great commanders and captains, to take vp their armes, to get them into the field vpon the expidition by him appointed against the Sultan; threatning the paine of the high sentence of excommunication against him or them, that would shew themselues backward or vnwilling to doe what he had commanded. So as it were enforced by the Legat, they began with euill wil and worse speed, to set forward in August, in the very hottest time of the yeere. At which time the Sultan beholding the great armie of the Christians, in number about seuentie thousand, retired as a man [illegible] into such places as hee thought best, farther off: which the Legat seeing (as one not acquainted with the feats of war (reioyced greatly, as if the victorie had bin already more than halfe gained; commending to the heauens them that he saw couragiously marching forward, saying, That fortune alwaies fauoured the valiant, and that vnto cowards all things fell still out to the worst. By the way the Christians seized vpon a bridge, which the enemie had made ouer the Nile, and cut in pieces such companies as were left for the keeping therof: so marching on they drew neere vnto Caire, and there in the sight of that great and rich citie encamped, where running vp and down, the more to terrifie them of the citie, prouoked them to battell, vpraiding vnto them their lazines, their cowardise and sloth, brauing them (if they were men) to come out: Yet for all that they would not so doe, but keeping themselues close and couert within the citie, let them alone to brag & boast at their owne pleasure. This siege continued long, of purpose protracted still from day to day by them of the citie: and the great opinion of the Christians had of their owne valour, with the small regard they had of their enemies, made them so proud and careles, that they remembred no more to take good care of the war, of their dutie, their watch, or their sentinels: their confidence was in their owne valour and good fortune, not considering or remembring that they were come into Ægypt, and that they had put themselues within the trenches, sallies, channels and cuts, of a deceitfull riuer, which not only brought victuals vnto their enemies, but also fortified them; who by how much they were the lesse valiant, and lesse vnderstood of the art of war, the more they vsed of craft & subtilty for the preseruing of themselues: so the crafty enemies drew the Christians out at length, abusing them with many delaies and deceits; making semblance of great feare, to make themselues the lesse to be feared; & more contemptible in their doings, to the end that they knowing the passages and straights of the country, and reseruing themselues vnto the occasions and aduantages both of the time, & of their enemies, might circumuent them and entrap them at such time as they least feared any such matter. The Christians, at all aduenture had encamped themselues in a low ground, within the banks and cusies of that fenny country, vnder the couert therof, thinking themselues safe as in their trenches, against al sudden sallies or attempts of their enemies: but these places wherin they lay, were soft & durty, for so much as the country people vsed at their pleasure to water them by channels & sluces out of the riuer of Nile: which now pluckt vp and opened, the riuer began to rise and ouerflow all. Then too late they perceiued themselues taken as in a grin, without power to defend themselues, or to make any resistance, or by any other means to shew their valor. So the riuer still arising and ouerflowing gaue vnto the Turkes and Ægiptians good hope of their wars, and of a victorie more desired than

The Christians entrapped within the sluces of the riuer Nile.

than hoped for ouer a warlike and victorious people. All the ground where the Christians lay encamped, was couered with water, so high that the victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to stand or lie drie in.

Now at the same time the Ægyptians had taken the high places, with the passages vpon the wals and banks in that drowned countrey, to the intent that the Christians should not be able to retire or to saue themselues out of the bogs and marishes couered ouer with water. So was their rash valour and presumptuous confidence in themselues, exposed vnto the enemies shot and furie; and when they would by force haue defended themselues, their hardinesse was ouercome by the craftie subtilitie of the weake enemie. Then began euery man to crie out against *Pelagius* the Legat, accusing, condemning, and railing at him: the King himselfe they blamed not, for that he had done his dutie, in dissuading of this expedition, and was contrary to his good liking himselfe drawn into this war, the charge whereof he had not without great intreatie taken vpon him: neither might he with his credit wel complaine of this misfortune, lest in so doing, hee might seeme to haue had no comfort in himselfe. But as for the Legate, what counsell could hee then giue, what counsell could he then take for himselfe? They of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, left at Damiata, were indeed strong at sea, but how could they come to relieue him ■ Caire? And how, or by what forces could the Christians breake out of the banks & sluces of the cuts & channels; which winding in and out with a thousand inextricable turnings inclosed them, beset also on euery side with the victorious enemie? After they had bin thus coupt vp, and enuironed with the waters three dayes, you might haue seene the poore soldiers in euery place fall downe dead for want of food and sleep, and so perish in the water; the like miserable kind of death, the rest were also in short time after to expect: other helpe was there none, but to yeeld vnto necessitie, and to accept of such conditions as it should please the proud enemie to propound. Now the Sultan desired not so much their liues, as the liberty of his country; and therfore required to haue the citie of Damiata again restored vnto him, & all things els in such sort as were before the besieging thereof: and so the Christians without more adoe to depart his country. Hard conditions if a man respect the hope whereupon the Christians had vndertaken this war, & were so come into Egypt, with the toile there by them endured: but vnto him that wil but enter into consideration of mens affairs, and especially in martiall matters, it wil seem but an accident to be yeelded vnto, the like whereof hath oftentimes hapned vnto the greatest men of the world. These conditions (such as they were) were by the distressed Christians accepted of. But when they were brought to Damiata, and there propounded to the Christians there left, a great contention began to arise among them: some said they would not accept of them, or surrender the towne, which beeing kept would be a stay for al the affairs of the Christians in the East, and a most commodious place for them to haue recourse vnto; but being restored and lost, carried away with it all the hope of the Christians, and that therfore it were better to indure al extremities, than to receiue such dishonorable and hurtfull a peace. Others of the contrary opinion said, That they ought not to forsake them that were in danger before Caire, nor to expose them to the butcherie; but to haue a Christian compassion of so many thousands of soules as there lay distressed, seeing they might be saued by the surrendrie of that one town: Towns (they said) consisted of the number of men, and not men of the inclosures of wals and ditches. They that were of this opinion, for the deliuering vp of the town, seeing the other obstinatly set down to the contrary, withdrawing themselues from the counsel, presently tooke vp armes, & by force entred the houses of them that were of contrary opinion, and took from them their weapons, by that means & perforce to constrain them to yeeld to their desire. As soon as they that lay before Caire (almost drowned in the waters) vnderstood of this dissention at Damiata about the deliuery of the town, they sent them word, that if they would not yeeld the towne to the Sultan, they would forthwith send to Ptolemais, which would not faile to doe what should be commanded, to haue it in stead of Damiata surrendred to the Egiptians. So was Damiata again yeelded to the Infidels, and so great labors of the Christians taken at the siege & winning therof, all lost. That which made this indignity more tollerable, was that Sultan *Meladin*, hauing without bloudshed gain'd so great a victory, did neither by word or deed any thing in dispight or reproch of the Christians, but vsed them with al courtesie, relieuing them also with victuals & such other things as they wanted, and by faithfull guides conducting them in safetie out of the country.

The miserie of the Christians in the drowned land.

In

In like manner alſo, *Corradin* his brother, Sultan of Damaſco, made truce with the Latines G
for eight yeares. Wherupon the King of Ieruſalem went ouer into Italie, and there by the perſuaſion of *Honorius* the Pope, his wife being now dead, gaue his daughter *Yolande* (now crowned Queene of Ieruſalem in the right of her mother) in marriage to *Frederick* King of Sicilia, and Emperor of the Latines, the rather thereby to ſtirre him vp for the taking in hand of the ſacred warre. Euer ſince which time, hee and the Kings of Sicilia his ſucceſſors haue beene called Kings of Ieruſalem, albeit that they haue euill proſecuted that their pretended right and title, as ſtill buſied in more prophane warres againſt other Chriſtian Princes. King *Iohn* afterwards departing from Rome for France, was by the way honourably entertained at Piſa: but arriuing at the French court, he found *Philip* the French King deſperately ſicke, who by his laſt will and teſtament gaue vnto the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, fixtie thouſand H
crownes for the maintenance of their warres againſt the Infidels; which money was to their vſe afterward payd vnto King *Iohn*. Who ſhortly after to diſcharge himſelfe of a vow he had made, to viſit the pilgrimage at Compoſtella, going into Spaine, by the way married *Berengaria*, the King of Caſtile his daughter: and there ſtaying a great while, returned againe into France, where he lay long expecting the ſetting forward of the Emperor *Fredericks* ſon in law for the recouerie of his wiues right to the kingdom of Ieruſalem; which although he ſolemnly vowed at ſuch time as he with all princely magnificence married the ſaid Lady at Rome, yet otherwiſe letted with troubles neerer home, performed not the ſame, vntill almoſt ſeuen yeares after: all which time the Chriſtians in Syria enioying the fruit of the late concluded peace for eight yeares, liued in great reſt and quietneſſe; where ſo leauing them, vntill the ariſing of new troubles, let vs in the meane time returne againe vnto the troubled affaires of the Turkes, Greekes, and Latines, at Conſtantinople, and in the leſſer Aſia.

The death of Henry Empevour of Conſtantinople.

Henrie the ſecond Emperour of the Latines at Conſtantinople, after he had (as is aforeſayd) with much adoe repreſſed the furie of the Bulgarians and Scythes, his barbarous enemies, and ſo giuen peace to the miſerable countrey of Thracia, died, hauing raigned a moſt troubleſome raigne, about the ſpace of eleuen yeres. After whom ſucceeded *Peter*, Countie of Auſſerre, his ſonne in law, third Emperour of the Latines in Conſtantinople: who in the beginning of his empire, willing to gratifie the Venetians, and to reuenge himſelfe of *Theodorus Angelus*, a great Prince of Epirus, competitor of his empire, beſieged him in Dirrachium, which ſtrong citie; the ſaid *Theodorus* had but a little before ſurpriſed, belonging vnto the Venetian ſeigni- K
orie. At which ſiege, *Peter* the Emperour lying, was ſo cunningly by the wilie Greeke vſed, that a peace was vpon moſt honorable conditions betwixt them concluded, & a familiar kind of friendſhip ioined. Inſomuch that the Emperour at his requeſt, not well aduiſed, came vnto him as his gueſt: who now of his enemy became his hoſt, entertaining him with al the formalities that faigned friendſhip could deuiſe. But hauing him now in his power, and fearing no harm, regarding neither the lawes of fidelitie or hoſpitalitie, he moſt traiterouſly ſlew him, as that he ſhould by the ſame *Theodorus* haue bin intercepted about the pleaſant woods of Tempe in Theſſalia, as he was trauelling from Rome to Conſtantinople, and ſo afterwards to haue bin by him cruelly put to death. Of whoſe misfortune, *Tepulus* gouernour of Conſtantinople L
vnderſtanding, for the more ſafetie of the ſtate in that vacancie of the Greeke empire, made peace with *Theodorus* for fiue yeares, and the Turks for two. Shortly after came *Robert* (the ſon of the aforeſayd vnfortunate Emperour *Peter*) with his mother to Conſtantinople, and there in his fathers ſtead was ſolemnly ſaluted Emperor; but not with much better lucke than was his father before him: for ſhortly after his comming he tooke to wife a faire young Lady, the daughter of a great rich and noble Matron of the citie, but before betrothed vnto a gallant gentleman, a Burgundian born; with whom the old Lady broke her promiſe, and more carefull of her daughters preferment, than fidelitie, gaue her in mariage vnto the new Emperour. The ioy of which ſo great an honor was in ſhort time conuerted not into a deadly heauineſſe, but euen into death it ſelfe: for the yong Burgundian, more enraged with the wrong done him M
than diſcouraged with the greatneſſe and power of the Emperour, conſorted himſelfe with a
An horrible outrage committed vpon the perſon of an Empreſſe.
company of luſtie tall ſoldiers, acquainted with his purpoſe, and awaiting his time when the Emperour was abſent, by night entred the court with his deſperate followers, and firſt meeting with the beautifull yong Empreſſe, cut off her noſe and her eares; and afterward threw her old mother

Robert Emperour of Conſtantinople.

A mother into the ſea, and ſo fled out of the citie into the woods and mountains, with thoſe deſperate cut-throats the miniſters of his barbarous crueltie. The Emperor pierced to the heart with this ſo great a diſgrace, ſhortly after went to Rome, to what purpoſe was not certainely knowne; but in returning backe againe thorow Achaia, he there died, leauing behinde him his yong ſon *Baldwin*, yet but a childe, begotten by his firſt wife, to ſucceed him in the Empire; who by the name of *Baldwin* the ſecond, was crowned the fift and laſt Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople. And for becauſe he was as yet but yong and vnfit for the gouernment, hee was by conſent of the Nobilitie affianced, and afterward married vnto *Martha* the younger daughter of *Iohn Brenne* King of Ieruſalem, a worthie old captaine, (but as then Gouernour of Rauenna, which city, he being certaine yeres before ſent for out of France for that purpoſe, by
B *Honorius* the Pope, he notably defended againſt the Emperor *Frederick* his ſon in law, but that affinitie was before broken off by the death of the ſaid Emperors wife) who now ſent for out of Italie vnto Conſtantinople, had committed to his charge and protection, both the perſon and Empire of the young Emperour *Baldwin*, now his ſonne in law. Which great and heauie charge he for certaine yeres after worthily and faithfully diſcharged, vntill ſuch time as that *Baldwin* was himſelfe growne able to take vpon him the gouernment. Now although the Imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, with the countries of Thracia, Theſſalia, Macedonia, Achaia, Peloponeſus, and the reſt of the prouinces of Greece, were all or for the moſt part vnder the gouernment of *Baldwin* the Emperor, the Venetians, or other the inferior Latine Princes; yet were the oppreſſed Greeks, the natural inhabitants thereof, in heart not theirs, as abhorring no-
C thing more than that their forreine gouernment; but wholly deuoted to their owne naturall Princes, *Theodorus Laſcaris* and *Alexius Comnenus*, the one raigning at Nice in Bithynia, the other at Trapezond in Pontus, both called by the Greekes, Emperors, and ſo of them generally reputed. *Laſcaris* of the two the better beloued, and by farre of greateſt power, had during the time of his gouernmet fought many an hard battell, (as is in part before declared) and ſtrongly fortified his chiefe cities againſt the inuaſion of his enemies, as well the Turks as the Latines: and ſo hauing as it were erected a new Empire in Aſia, and there raigned eighteene yeares, died, leauing behind him one *Iohn Ducas Batazes*, that had married the faire Ladie *Irene* his daughter and heire, to ſucceed him in the Grecke Empire in Aſia. This *Iohn* was a man
D of a great wit and ſpirit, and of more grauitie for his yeares, than was *Theodorus* his father in law, neuer vndertaking any thing before he had thereof well conſidered; and once reſolued, not omitting or neglecting any thing for the performance thereof. So that it was not vnfitly ſayd of the Greekes, The planting of this new Empire to haue required the celeritie of *Laſcaris*, but the ſtay thereof to haue been the grauitie of *Ducas*. He in the beginning of his raigne in very ſhort time hauing ſet all things in good order, greatly augmented his legions, & ſhooting at a fairer marke than the Empire he held, euen the imperiall citie it ſelfe, and the recouerie of all Thracia and Grecia out of the hands of the Latines, which could not bee done without a fleet at ſea, built a great number of gallies in the ports of the leſſer Aſia. And ſo hauing rigged vp and manned a ſtrong fleet, and ſcouring the ſeas, in one Summer took in moſt of the Iſlands of the Ægæum, namely Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Icaria, Coos, with the famous Iſland of the
E Rhodes, and many others alſo. And not ſo contented, to haue increaſed his Empire, the next Spring croſſing the Helleſpont, and landing his forces, firſt inuaded Cherſoneſus; and afterward to terrifie the Latines, forraged the countrey farre and neere, euen to the gates of Conſtantinople, no man daring to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him. At which time alſo he took many cities and ſtrong townes alongſt the ſea coaſt, as Calliopolis, Seſtus, and Cardia, with diuers others thereabout, ſome by force, ſome by compoſition, the Greekes almoſt in euerie place yeelding themſelues, where they were not ſo oppreſſed by the Latines, as that they could not helpe him. Now by theſe proceedings of the Greeke Emperor in Europe, was plainely to be ſeene againe the ruine of the Latine Empire in the Eaſt, all things proſpering in his hand ac-
F cording to his hearts deſire. *Aſſan* the Bulgarian King (no ſmall terror both vnto the Latines and the Greekes) mooued with the fame hereof, by his Embaſſadours ſent of purpoſe vnto *Iohn* the Greeke Emperour, offered his daughter *Helena* in marriage with young *Theodore* his ſonne: of which offer the Emperour gladly accepted. For beeing buſied in his great affaires, he was loath to haue ſo great a King as was *Aſſan*, his enemie, able at his pleaſure to call in the Scythes; who with their multitude, as a great floud breaking ouer the bankes, had oftentimes

Baldwin the laſt Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople.

Iohn Batazes made emperor of the Greeks in Aſia.

carried away whole countries before them. Wherefore the match agreed vpon, the two great Princes by appointment met together about Cherſoneſus, where *Helena* King *Aſſans* daughter, beeing then about ten yeres old, was with great joy and triumph ſolemnly married vnto yong *Theodor* the Emperors ſon, much of the ſame age. Not long after, embaſſadors were alſo ſent vnto the Emperour from the Sultan of Iconium, to confirme and prolong the league betwixt them; for the Tartars not contented to haue driuen the Turks out of Perſia and the farre Eaſterne Countries, began now alſo to cut them ſhort in their prouinces in the leſſer Aſia. Wherefore the Sultan of Iconium, fearing leſt whiles he had his hands full of thoſe his moſt dreadfull enemies, of themſelues too ſtrong for him, hee ſhould behind be ſet vpon by the Greeke Emperour, and ſo thruſt out of all; ſent theſe his embaſſadours vnto him for peace: which hee for many cauſes eaſily granted. Firſt, for that hee foreſaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintain war at once both in Aſia againſt the Turks, and in Europ againſt the Latines: then by this warlike nation, as by a moſt ſure bulwarke, to keepe his owne countries ſafe from the inuaſion of the barbarous Tartars, vnto whoſe furie hee ſhould himſelfe lie open, if the Turks were once taken out of their way. Both ſufficient reaſons for the Emperor to yeeld vnto the Sultan, which he did: ſo was the peace concluded, and the embaſſadors diſpatched. This peace exceedingly comforted, and afterwards inriched the Emperors countries: for now the people generally deliuered of the feare and miſerie of continuall warre, began on all hands to fall to their fruitfull labours of peace. Yea the Emperour himſelfe, to the ſtirring vp of others to the like good husbandrie, cauſed ſo much land to bee ploughed vp for corne, and ſo many vineyards to be planted, as might plentifully ſuffice his owne houſe, and ſuch poore as he dayly relieued; with a great ouerplus, which he cauſed to be carefully layd vp in ſtore: he kept alſo great heards of cattell, flockes of ſheepe, and fowles of all ſorts without number. Likewiſe he cauſed his kinſmen and other of the nobilitie to do, to the intent that euery great man hauing ſufficient for his owne ſpending at home, ſhould not take any thing from the poore country men, that ſo euery man contenting himſelfe with his own, might liue in peace without the grieuance of others. By which means in a few yeres euery barne and granarie was full of corne, euery cellar full of wines, euery ſtable full of cattell, euery ſtorehouſe full of victuals; the fields were couered with corne and cattell, and in euery mans yard were to be ſeene all kinds of tame fowles, without number. About which time alſo there fortuned a great famine among the Turks, inſomuch as that they were enforced to fetch their greateſt reliefe from out of the Chriſtian countries. Then might you haue ſeen euery way full of Turks, men, women, and children, trauelling to and fro into the emperors countries for victuals; their gold, their ſiluer, their other rich commodities, they gaue vnto the Chriſtians for food; a little corn was worth a good commodity, euery bird, ſheep, & kid, was ſold at a great rate: by which meanes the country mens houſes were full of the Turks wealth, & the emperors coffers ſtored with their treaſure. The greatneſſe of the profit ariſing of this plentie of the Chriſtians, and penurie of the Turks, may hereby eaſily be gathered, for that of eggs dayly ſold, ſo much monie was in ſhort time gathred, as made the empreſſe an imperial crown of gold, richly ſet with moſt orient pearle and precious ſtones of great price; which the emperour called *Ouata*, for that it was bought with egge money. Thus flouriſhed the Greeke empire in the leſſer Aſia, vnder the good Emperor *Iohn Ducas*: the Turks at the ſame time declining as faſt, daily pilled in one corner or another by the Tartars, and conſumed with famine at home.

Plentie enſuing of peace.

An imperiall crown bought with egge mony

Frederick the German Emperor had of long time vowed to take vpon him an expedition into the Holy land; for performance wherof he was hardly called vpon, firſt by *Honorius quartus* the Pope, & afterward for his long delay excommunicated by *Gregorie* the ninth: not ſo much for the zeale they had vnto the ſacred war, as to buſie the Emperour afar off in warres abroad, whileſt they in the mean time, to increaſe their own power, drew from him ſome one part or other of his empire: which he not without cauſe fearing, from day to day, & yere to yere, delayed the performance of his vow, ſo much vrged by the Pope; by his preſence & power ſtil diſappointing all the ſlie deſignes of the Popes, conceiued or put in practiſe againſt him. But now at length mooued, or more truly to ſay, inforced with the thundering and lightning of Pope *Gregorie*, he reſolued to ſet forward in the yeare 1227. About which time, *Iolenta*, or *Yolanda* his wife, the king of Ieruſalem his daughter, died in childbed, being before deliuered of a faire ſonne. Now were met together at Brunduſium an exceeding great number of courageous

1227.

A gious and deuout ſouldiers out of all parts of Chriſtendome, eſpecially out of Germanie, vnder the leading of *Lodwick* Lantgraue of Thuringe, and *Sigefride* Biſhop of Anguſta; all ſtirred vp with the fame of ſo notable an expedition. But whileſt they there ſtayed ſomewhat long, the plague aroſe among the Germans, whereof in ſhort time after, both the Lantgraue and the Biſhop died, with many of the other beſt ſouldiers. The Emperour himſelfe was vpon his way as farre as Malea, vpon the further ſide of Peloponeſus, where falling deſperatly ſicke of a burning feauer, and put backe with contrarie windes, he returned againe to Brunduſium, and there ſtayed a great while after. Then began the Pope againe to fret and fume, and to caſt out his excommunications againſt the Emperour, as if it had been thunder and lightning, accuſing him of periurie, infidelitie, and many other grieuous crimes; of all which the Emperour was
B readie to haue cleered himſelfe in an open aſſemblie of the Princes of Germanie to haue bin holden at Rauenna, had it not bin by the Pope and the troubles of Lombardie diſturbed. Neuertheleſſe, he by open proteſtations and writings, fully anſwered all the Popes vniuſt accuſations, wherewith he had been ſo hardly charged: and yet deſirous to performe the expedition by him taken in hand, hauing ſet all things in good order, and put himſelfe againe in a readineſſe, he ſet forward from Brunduſium in Auguſt, in the yeare 1228, leauing the charge of his territories in Italie vnder the care of *Reynold* Duke of Spaleto. The Pope diſpleaſed, for that the Emperor at his departure had neither reconciled himſelfe, nor taken his leaue of him, and deeming therein his excommunications and fulminations to be contemned and ſet at naught, fell into ſuch a rage and choler, that he forbad all the Chriſtian forces that were in Syria, to
C follow him, or to yeeld to him their obedience; and writ letters alſo vnto the Sultan, not to come to any agreement with the Emperour, or to yeeld vnto him any part of the Holy Land: which letters the Sultan afterwards ſent vnto the Emperor. Neither yet ſo contented immediatly after his departure, ran vpon his kingdome of Naples, and ſo filled all Italie with troubles. Neuertheleſſe the Emperor happily arriuing at Ptolemais, was there honorably receiued of the Chriſtian forces, notwithſtanding the Popes threats and curſings. Of whoſe arriuall Sultan *Meledin* hauing intelligence, and loth to draw ſo mightie an enemie as was the Emperor, vpon him, by his Embaſſadors offered him moſt honorable conditions of peace: which before he would accept of, he by conuenient meſſengers ſent vnto the Pope, to haue his conſent and approbation. But ſuch was his rage, as that hee would not ſuffer the meſſengers to
D come into his preſence, or vouchſafe to read the Emperours Letters, being brought vnto him, but like a mad man preſently rent them in pieces. All which indignities the Emperor neuertheleſſe tooke in good part, and concluded a peace with the Turkes for ten yeares, vpon theſe conditions: Firſt, That he ſhould be annointed and accounted King of Ieruſalem: then, That the holy Citie, with all the land of Paleſtine ſhould be deliuered vnto him: thirdly, That hee might at his pleaſure fortifie the cities of Nazareth and Ioppe: fourthly, That all ſuch places as were ſometime in the power of *Baldwin* the fourth King of Ieruſalem, and taken from him by Sultan *Saladin*, ſhould be reſtored: and laſt of all, That all priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at libertie without ranſome. So the peace concluded, the Emperor with his armie came to the deſolate citie of Ieruſalem, and there vpon Eaſter day with great ſolemnitie was crowned
E King thereof, in the yere 1229. And ſo hauing repaired the walls of the Citie, with certaine churches, fortified Nazareth and Ioppe, & furniſhed them with ſtrong garriſons, and appointed *Raynold* duke of Bauaria, his lieutenant in Syria, he with two gallies only returned into Italie. Euer ſince which time the Kings of Sicilia haue been alſo called Kings of Ieruſalem, and haue oftentimes borne the armes of both kingdomes.

1228.

1229. *Fredericke the Emperor crowned King of Ieruſalem.*

The next yere Pope *Gregory*, in deſpight of the emperor *Frederick*, more than for any zeale to the Chriſtian religion, did by the Dominicans & Franciſcans (two orders of Friers but then lately erected) as by his trumpeters, ſtir vp a wonderfull number of zealous and deuout Chriſtians, almoſt in euery part of Chriſtendome, to take vpon them the croſſe (as they termed it) the cogniſance of ſuch as had by vow bound themſelues to take vp arms againſt the Turks and
F Saraſins, for the recouerie or defence of the Holy land. Theſe deuout men met together in great number, vnder the leading of *Theobald* King of Nauar, *Almericus* Countie of Montfort, *Henrie* Countie of Champaigne, and others too long to rehearſe, (of purpoſe ſtirred vp to trouble the ten yeres peace before concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Turks in Syria) ſet forward, and after long trauell paſſing the ſtraight of Boſphorus, not farre from Conſtanti-

1230. *The vnfortunat expedition of the King of Nauarre into the Holy Land.*

nople into Bithynia, came to the riuer Sangarius, & there staied a while to refresh themselues. G
Afterwards passing through Galatia, and so from country to country thorow the lesser Asia, they came at length vnto the streights of the mountaine Amanus (a part of the mountain Taurus) which they found before taken by the Turks, and the Sultan of Iconium himselfe not far off incamped with a strong armie. Neuertheless the valiant Countie of Montfort, which had the leading of the vantgard, couragiously marching forward, by plain force opened the passage of the mountain, hauing slain or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof: the King of Nauarre in the mean time (though in vaine) assailing the Sultan in his campe; who fearing the great power of the Christians, kept himselfe within his owne strength, and would not stirre. Wherefore the King seeing it to no purpose there longer to stay, diuiding his armie into three parts, left the Sultan, and followed after the Countie, placing his baggage H
in the midst, and the best of his soldiers in the rereward. But whilest they thus march vp the great mountaine, the Turks better acquainted with those passages, were still at hand, assailing them sometime behind, sometime on the one side, sometime on the other, as they saw occasion: and at length taking them at an aduantage in a great plaine, set vpon them, now before almost spent with hunger and trauell, and there slew of them an exceeding great number. But by the comming on of the night the battell was broken off, and the Christians repairing vnto their ensignes, passed the straits, and so at length arriued at Antioch, hauing lost by the way the greatest part of the armie, with all their wealth, their victuals, and most part of their horses: the remnant yet left, hauing a little refreshed themselues, were by sea transported to Ptolemais; from whence they were afterward by the Templars conducted to Gaza, where they I
lay, and of the spoyle of the country greatly enriched themselues. As for any other great matters they were not able of themselues to take in hand; and holpe of such forces as the Emperor had before left at Ierusalem, and other places, they could haue none; hauing expresse charge from the Emperor himselfe, not to doe any thing against the enemie, tending to the breach of the ten yeres league: which the Turks well perceiuing, and that they had to do but with these new come guests, and some few others their partakers; hauing gathered together their forces, lay in ambush for them in euery corner, to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that these of Gaza going far into the Country, and returning laded with spoile, were set vpon by the Turks; whom they (casting away the spoyle they had before taken) notably repulsed and put to flight, the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeared a farre K
greater number of Turkes than before; which now putting on, charged the Christians, who all that night had stood watching in their armor, and so ioyned with them a most cruell battel: wherein the Christians shewed so much valour as was possible for men to doe; but wearied with the long fight, and oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, they were ouercome and slaine almost euery mothers son. Among the rest, the two Counties, *Americus* and *Henry* fell: the King of Nauarre himselfe hardly escaped by the exceeding swiftnesse of his horse, and by vncertaine wayes wandring vp and downe the country, not knowing well which way to take, after two days came by good fortune to Ioppe: some few others escaped by flight to Ptolemais, the heauie messengers of the misfortune of their fellowes. The King afterwards visiting the holy places at Ierusalem, returned home into his countrie, with some few of his L
followers, hauing performed nothing of that the world expected.

The Christians by persuasion of the Templars, breake their League with the Turks.

About foure yeares after, *Raynold* Duke of Bauaria, whom *Frederick* the Emperor had left his lieutenant in Ierusalem, died; hauing by the space of fiue yeres peaceably gouerned that bruised kingdome. After whose death, the Templars (who, he yet liuing, would oftentimes haue broken the League, but that they were by his wisedome restrained) now tooke occasion to stir vp the people to take vp armes against the Turks, without respect vnto the league yet in force, or of the dangers like thereof to ensue. Whereof the Ægyptian Sultan hearing, raised a great armie, sending also for the Chorasines, a warlike nation then lying neere vnto Babylon, to come vnto his aid. Thus become verie strong, he first layd siege to Gaza, but a little before repayred and fortified by the King of Nauarre and the Templars, which hee at length M
tooke by force, and put to sword all that were therein, as well the citisens, as the garrison souldiers: in like manner he dealt also with them of Ascalon and other places as hee went. To represse this his furie, the Templars and Hospitallers had assembled the whole strength of that weake Kingdome, and neere vnto Tyberias came to haue giuen him battell. Who vpon their

A. their approch hastily retyred, as if he had for feare shunned battel. But whiles the Christians as victors the night following lay negligently incamped along the riuer side, he returning back again with his armie, came vpon them before they were well aware, halfe sleeping, halfe waking, but altogether vnarmed, with a most horrible outcry. The Christians now altogether awaked, and not a little troubled with the suddennes of the matter, hastily and disorderly (as must needs in so great a confusion) tooke vp their weapons, such as came first to hand, and so couragiously opposed themselues against their enemies. There was fought a most terrible and doubtfull battell, and that also for a long space, the Christians still encouraging one another to do their last deuoir: but the Turkes still keeping their order against the disordred Christians, and far moe also than they in number, preuailed, & there ouerthrew them with a great slaugh-
B ter, but not without the losse of many thousands also of their own men, which there lay dead vpon the ground. Most part of the best Commanders both of the Templars and Hospitalers were there slaine, such as escaped fled to Tyre.

The Sultan incouraged with so great a victorie, marched forthwith to Ierusalem; which he tooke without resistance, and there put to sword all that hee found therein, men, women, and children, without respect of sex or age: and afterwards hauing rifled the same, rased it downe to the ground, burning the buildings, and ouerthrowing the walls not long before repaired by the Emperor *Frederick*, and much beautified by his lieutenant *Raynold*. And carried with an infernall fury, defaced and most shamefully polluted the sepulchre of our blessed Sauiour, neuer before then violated or defiled, but of all nations vntouched & reuerenced; which for all that 1234.
Ierusalem taken and rased by the Turks.
C may seem to haue bin done not so much for the hatred vnto the Christian religion, as for that it was the place of all others most desired of the Christians; and for the gaining whereof they had vndertaken so many hard aduentures, and so much troubled the Sarasins and Turkes.

Thus by the vnfaithfull breaking of the league, the most antient and famous citie of Ierusalem, sometime the terrestriall seat of the most Highest, and glorie of the world, fell again into the power of the Turks & Infidels, in the yere 1234, in whose hands it hath euer since remained euen vntill this day: now a poore ruinous citie, gouerned by one of the Turks Sanzacks, and for nothing now more famous, than for the Sepulchre of our blessed Sauior, againe repaired and much visited by the deuout Christians, and not vnreuerenced by the Turkes themselues.

D The losse of this so famous a citie, together with the dangerous state of the Christians in Syria, much grieued the other Christian princes of the West, especially *Frederick* the Emperor, by whom it had bin but a few yeres before gained. Howbeit hee could not now remedie the matter according to his desire, being himselfe grieuously entangled with the endles troubles which Pope *Gregorie* had as it were by tradition left vnto the other Popes his successors, for the troubling of his state, vntil at length they had depriued him of his Empire, & not long after of his life also. Among other the great Princes, carefull for the poore Christians in Syria, was *Lewis* the ninth, the French King, a Prince of great power, but of all others of that time most famous for his zeale vnto the Christian religion, and for his deuout manner of life: who abounding in wealth and all things else of a great Prince to be desired, and withall oftentimes
E considering the notable expeditions many Christian Princes had (to their immortall glorie) made, some into Syria, some into Ægypt, against the enemies of Christ, and for the relefe of the oppressed Christians, was many times about to haue taken vpon himselfe the like. But in these his deuout motions, before he could resolue vpon so great an enterprise, hee fell dangerously sicke, insomuch that for certaine days he lay speechlesse, deuoyd of sence and motion, without any signe of life, but that hee did a little faintly breathe: when comming a little vnto himselfe, (whither moued by deuotion, or troubled with his former conceits then running in his weake braine, is vncertaine) the first thing he asked for was the Crosse (the Cognisance of such as vowed themselues vnto the sacred warre) which he solemnly receiued at the hands of the Bishop of Paris. At which time also his three bretheren, *Alphonsus* Countie of Poitiers, *Charles* Countie of Aniou, and *Robert* Countie of Arthois, with *Hugh* Duke of Bourgon-
F die, *William* Earle of Flanders, *Hugh* Countie of Saint *Paul*, and afterwards most of the nobilitie of France, to accompanie the king, tooke vpon them the same charge. Neuertheless it was not by and by taken in hand, but some few yeares let passe in the consultation and preparation 1248.
for so great an enterprise: many in the meane time discharging their vow, by dying before

at home in peace in their own countries. At length the deuout King ſtill reſolute in his former determination, hauing taken order with *Blanch* his mother for his affaires at home, and put all things in readineſſe for his journey, came to Lyons to take his leaue of Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, (who for feare of the Emperor *Frederick*, then lay there for his more ſafetie) and from thence to Marcelles; where imbarking himſelfe with his armie the fiue and twentieth day of Auguſt, the yeare 1248, hee the twentieth day of September following arriued in ſafetie in the Iſland of Cyprus, and was there royally entertained by *Guy Luſignan* then King of that countrey.

King Lewis ſetteth forward toward the Holy land.

Now was the French King deſirous to haue gone directly for Ægypt, without longer ſtay in Cyprus, had he not beene otherwiſe perſuaded, both for that his whole fleet was not yet come, and the time of the yere began to grow vnſeaſonable, and the weather tempeſtuous. But whileſt he there ſtayed, paſſing the Winter, the plague (one of the readie attendants of great armies) began to ariſe in the campe, which dayly increaſing, had in ſhort time taken away a great number of men, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort. Amongſt whom were *Robert* Biſhop of Beauvais, *Iohn* Countie Montfort, the Counties of Vendoſme and Dreux, *Archambaut* Lord of Burbon, with diuers other Knights & Gentlemen, to the number of 240. ſo that by force of the infectious contagion, the King was conſtrained to diuide his armie into diuers places of the Iſland, attending vntill the infection ſhould ceaſe. In the meane time the Templars hauing in ſuſpect both the French and the Turkes, (the Turkes, for feare they ſhould ouerrun all; the French, leſt hauing gotten the victory, they ſhould take all into their owne hands, and ſo diminiſh their power and authoritie wherewith they tyranniſed ouer the other poore Chriſtians) I ſent Embaſſadors ſecretly vnto *Meledin* Sultan of Ægypt, to perſuade him betimes to come to ſome good agreement for peace, ſo to auert the power of the French King from doing him further harme, or proceeding further in that war. Of which motion the Sultan well liking, ſent one of his noblemen to intreat with the maſter of the Templars concerning a peace, ſo that it might be by conſent of the French. The Templars glad of ſo honourable a meſſage, writ vnto the French King out of Siria, how the matter ſtood; perſuading him to accept of the peace offered, ſetting out in great words, the Sultans great preparations and power. And ſo indeed had abuſed the King, had not the King of Cyprus acquainted with his doings, perſuaded him that it was but a fineneſſe of the great maſter, and that he had firſt ſent vnto the Sultan, and procured that nobleman to bee ſent: which the King vpon conſideration perceiuing to be true, K fed the Turks Embaſſador with hope of peace, but writ vnto the Maſter of the Templars, vpon the price of his head, from thenceforth not to receiue any embaſſage from the enemie, or to haue any further intelligence with him.

Winter now paſt, and the plague well ceaſed, diuers noble gentlemen and great commaunders which following the king, and ſetting forth ſomewhat late, or for feare of the plague had ſtayed by the way, and wintred ſome in one place ſome in another, began to repaire vnto Cyprus: as *Robert* duke of Burgondie, who hauing wintred in Achaia, came now in the beginning of the Spring vnto the king, with a number of good horſemen; and with him, *William* Prince of Achaia, with a great fleet out of Peloponeſus, which country, with moſt part of Grecia, was then vnder the command of the Latines; amongſt others came alſo *William* ſyrnamed *Longeſpie*, Earle of Salisburie, with a band of luſtie tall ſouldiers. So the army being met together, L and all things againe in readineſſe, King *Lewis* departing from Cyprus, and toſſed at ſea with contrarie winds, about fiue days after fell with the coaſt of Ægypt, and there with all his fleet came before the ſtrong town of Damiata, being (as wee haue ſaid) the key of that kingdome. The Sultan long before vnderſtanding of the French Kings purpoſe for the inuaſion of his country, had ſtrongly fortified his frontier townes, and put into them ſtrong garriſons, beſide the great power he kept with himſelfe in readines at all aſſaies, as occaſion ſhould require. Vpon the approch of the Chriſtians, the gouernor of Damiata was readie vpon the ſhore, with a number of braue ſouldiers to keepe them from landing; who neuertheleſſe reſolutely before ſet down for the performing of that they came for, manning forth their long boats with their M archers and croſſebowes to beat the enemie from the ſhore, ran a ground with their other ſmal boats, made of purpoſe for the landing of men; and ſo without longer ſtay came to handie blowes; where for a while was fought a moſt ſharpe and cruell battell, the Chriſtians ſtriuing to land, and the Turkes to keepe them off, many falling on both ſides. But what ſhould

A ſhould an handfull doe againſt ſo many? The Turks oppreſſed with the multitude ſtill landing more and more, and hauing done what was poſſible for them to doe, fled into the towne, leauing behind them their gouernor, with fiue hundred of their beſt ſoldiers dead on the ſhore.

This citie of Damiata was exceeding rich and populous, and had in the former warres not bin taken but by more than a yeares ſiege, (as is before declared) and that not ſo much by the valour of the Chriſtians, as by the extremity of the plague and famin: ſince which time it had bin ſtrongly fortified by the Turks, with deepe ditches, high wals, and ſtrong bulwarkes, and was at that time wel ſtored with victuals alſo, and al things els for the induring of a long ſiege. Neuertheleſſe, the ſoldiers that were left, and the citizens (diſcouraged with the loſſe of their gouernor, and remembrance of the miſeries before indured in the former ſiege, and ſeeing the B Chriſtians now ready againe to beſiege the ſame) the night following, a little before the break of day, ſet fire euery man vpon his owne houſe, and ſo by a bridge which they had made of boats fled ouer the great riuer, breaking the bridge when they were ouer, for feare their enemies ſhould thereby haue followed after them. The Chriſtians perceiuing their flight, without reſiſtance entred the city, and being ſtrangers, did what they could to quench the fire, and to ſaue that which the inhabitants themſelues would faine haue with fire deſtroyed; and ſo afterwards found great aboundance of riches, with plentifull ſtore of all manner of victuals, wherewith the ſouldiers both inriched and refreſhed themſelues. This ſo happy and vnexpected a victorie happened vnto the Chriſtians about the beginning of October, in the yeare 1249. Sultan *Meledin* himſelfe, diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo ſtrong a citie, offered vnto the C French King for the redeeming thereof, and to haue peace at his hands, more territorie in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, than the Chriſtians had of long time before: which large offer was by the French, eſpecially by the Earle of Arthois the Kings brother, proudly reiected, and Alexandria the moſt famous port and metropoliticall citie of Ægypt, further demanded, to the great diſcontentment of the Turks and Saraſins. In theſe troubles died *Meledin* the old Sultan, a man not much beloued of his people: in whoſe ſtead *Melech-ſala* (or *Melexala*, as ſome call him) a valiant and couragious Prince, wel beloued of his ſubiects, and but euen then returned out of Syria and Arabia, where he had beene to craue ayd of the other Mahometane Princes, was choſen Sultan. Which Princes, eſpecially the Sultan of Damaſco, although they had not of long beene at any good accord amongſt themſelues, or with the Ægyptian; D yet in this common danger of their ſuperſtition, which by the loſſe of Ægypt was like to bee greatly weakened, they ioined hands together, and ſo ſent him great ayd.

1249

The citizens of Damiata ſet fire vpon the citie, and run away by the light.

The new Sultan thus ſtrengthened, drew neerer vnto the Chriſtians, which then lay encamped not far from Damiata, and had with them a hot skirmiſh, wherein he was put to the worſe, & ſo with ſome loſſe glad to retire. But the Chriſtians the next day, in hope of like ſucceſſe ſallying out again were ouerthrowne, with ten times more loſſe than was he the day before, and ſo faine to flie vnto the campe. By which victorie the Sultan encouraged, began now to conceiue better hope of the ſucceſſe of his wars; and by ſtopping the paſſages both by water and land, to prouide, that no victuals could without great perill be brought either vnto the citie or the campe, inſomuch that at length victuals began to grow ſcarce in both: whereof E the Sultan was not ignorant, as beeing thereof throughly informed by ſuch fugitiues, as for want or other cauſes, oftentimes fled out of the French campe into his.

Winter thus paſſing, and wants ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that the gouernor of the great citie of Caire (vpon the fortune whereof depended the ſtate of the whole kingdom) a man not euill affected vnto the Chriſtian religion, and in his heart highly offended with the Sultan, for the death of his brother by him wrongfully executed; by ſecret meſſengers perſuaded the French king to come on with his army to the citie, the regal ſeat of the Sultan, promiſing him to deliuer it into his power, with ful inſtructions what he had in all points to do for the gaining thereof. Whereupon the King, who had before of himſelfe purpoſed the ſame exploit, but now filled with a greater hope, aſſembled together the greateſt forces he was able to make. At F which time alſo he ſent for the Earle of Salisburie, with the reſt of the Engliſhmen, who for many proud indignities offered them by the French (eſpecially by the Earle of Artois the kings brother) whereof they could haue no redreſſe, were gone to Ptolemais, without purpoſe to haue any more ſerued in thoſe wars: but now being ſent for by the King, with promiſe of better vſage and honorable recompence for the wrongs paſt, returned againe into Ægypt,

there

there to doe their last endeuor. With whose comming the King strengthned, but more by the new supplies brought vnto him by his brother *Alphonsus* out of France, leauing the Duke of Burgundie with a conuenient garrison, with the Queene his wife, *Odo* the Popes Legate, and diuers other great Ladies in Damiata, he himselfe set forward with his army towards Caire. Of whose comming the Sultan hearing, and loth vpon the fortune of one battel to aduenture his whole estate, offered by his embassadors to restore vnto him all the land of Palestine, with a great summe of money for the defraying of their charges of those wars, and all the prisoners he had taken, so that he would redeliuer vnto him the citie of Damiata, and ioyne with him in league and amitie. Which faire offer for all that, the French King, by the perswasion of the Legat and others, refused. So the King marching still on, was to passe an arme of the great riuer Nilus (the Sultan on the other side still readie with his armie to stay his passage) which he had thought to haue made by a bridge of boats, prepared for the same purpose: but better conducted by a fugitiue Sarasine vnto a foord, before to him vnknowne, sent his brother *Robert* Earle of Arrois, with the third part of the armie before him, accompanied with the master of the Templars and the Earle of Salisburie, with their followers. Who passing the riuer at the aforesaid foord, suddenly assailed the Turks in their tents (the Sultan being then absent in solemnising one of their prophane feasts) and put them to flight. With which victory the French Earle aboue measure encouraged, would needs on forwards, as if hee would himselfe alone haue carried away the glorie of the whole conquest. Whom for all that certaine of the ancient Templars, better acquainted with the manners of that deceitfull nation than hee, and better considering also of their owne abilitie and strength, perswaded him to content himselfe with the honour hee had already got, and not to proceed any further in prosecuting of the enemie, vntill the comming of the rest of the armie; especially in that desperate estate of the enemie, wherein he was to win or lose all. Vnto whom the proud Earle in great dispight replied, that he would prosecute his victorie, and follow his good fortune; calling them dastards and cowards, opprobriously obiecting vnto them the common fame, whereby it was commonly reported, That the Holy land might long since haue beene againe vnited vnto the bodie of the Christian common-weale, but for the foule collusion of the false Templars and Hospitalers with the Turks and Infidels. With which reprochfull speech, the master of the Templars not without cause mooued, answered for himselfe and his fellowes, that he should, when he would and where he durst, display his ensignes, and he should find them as ready to follow as he was to goe before them. The Earle of Salisburie also willing to stint this strife, perswaded Earle *Robert* not to be so wedded to his own opinion, but to listen to the graue and wholsome counsell of the Templars, being men of great experience: and so turning vnto the master of the Templars began likewise with gentle words to pacifie him also. But whilest he was yet speaking, the Earle interrupting him with many opprobrious words, called him dastard and coward, and wished that the army were rid of him, and the fearefull cowards his countreymen. Whereunto the Earle of Salisburie answered, *Well Generall, on in Gods name, and whersoeuer you dare set your foot, mine shall be as far as yours; and I beleeue we goe this day, where you shal not dare to come nigh my horses taile*; as afterward indeed it proued. How be it the Earle so said, for that Earle *Robert* and the Frenchmen had many times in reproch and disdaine, after their manner, called him and his followers Englishtailes.

A faire offer fondly refused.

The proud earle constant in his former purpose, and not to be otherwise perswaded, set forward; and first assaulted a little towne or castle, not far off, called mansor, whereunto he inconsiderately approching, was notably repulsed; and hauing lost a number of his men, was as a man discouraged, about to haue retired. When suddenly the Sultan, neerer at hand than the Earle had thought, stirred vp with the noise of the alarum, came on with his whole power; and finding the army of the Christians now diuided (as he had long wished) with the multitude of his people enclosed them round, and had with them a great and mortall fight: wherein though the Christians right worthily behaued themselues, for the small number they were, yet oppressed with the multitude, and on euery side beset, they were slaine downe right. Then but all too late, it repented the Earle of his foolish rashnes, and that he had not hearkned vnto better counsel, and seeing the Earle of Salisburie valiantly fighting, cried out vnto him to flie, seeing God as he said fought against them. Whereunto the noble Earle answered no more, but *God forbid that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Sarasin.* The French Earle think-

King

king by the swiftnes of his horse to haue saued his life, flying out of the battell, and taking the riuer of Thasnes, ouerladed with his armour, was there drowned. The Earle of Salisburie couragiously enduring the enemies charge, with his owne hand manfully slew many a Turke and Sarasin that day, vntill that at length hauing his horse slaine vnder him, and himselfe so wounded in the legs, as that he was not able longer to stand, yet vpon his knees laying about him like a desperate man, and selling his life as deere as he could, was there slaine, but not vanquished. With him perished the whole armie, so enclosed by the Sultan, that scarce any one escaped aliue, more than two Templars, one Hospitaler, and one common souldier, the messengers of this heauie newes.

Earle Robert in flying drowned.

The Earle of Salisburie valiantly fighting slaine.

About the same time also sickenesse daily increasing in the French campe, the king purposing to march forward to Caire, sent a great number of sicke and weake people downe the riuer of Nilus to Damiata: of whose going the Sultan vnderstanding, caused a great number of small boats to be carried in carts by land vnto the riuers side, which well manned, and meeting them by the way, set vpon them, and burnt or drowned them euery mothers sonne, sauing one only Englishman, called *Alexander Giffard*, who wounded in fiue places of his body, escaped yet into the French campe, reporting there what had happened vnto the rest.

Now had the Sultan also got intelligence of the compact betwixt the gouernour of Caire and the King, for the betraying of the city: and thereupon had caused him to be suddenly apprehended and put in safe keeping, vntil he were at better leisure to vnderstand farther of the matter: which no lesse troubled the French King, than did the former misfortune; al his hope for the yeelding vp of the city, being therby cut off. Thus his hopes together with his strength daily decreasing, he would haue gladly accepted of the conditions which he before refused which the Sultan, now growne very strong, would by no means heare of, but in stead thereof, by way of derision, sent to know of him, what was become of all his mattockes, forkes, rakes, sythes, plowes, & harrows, which he had brought ouer with him: and why he set them not to worke, but suffred them like an euil husband to rot and rust beside him? All which, with much more, the good king was glad to put vp: for now his forces greatly diminished, aswell by sicknesse, as by the former losses, finding himselfe far too weake, he would faine haue retired back again to Damiata: which the Sultan foreseeing, got so betwixt him and home, that now there was no remedy, but either to fight it out, or yeeld. The king himselfe had bin often before intreated by his nobilitie, whilst the riuer was yet vnpossessed by the enimie, to haue conueyed himselfe by water to Damiata, for that in the safetie of his person consisted (as they said) the safety of his kingdom, whatsoeuer became of them: whereunto he could neuer be perswaded, saying, that he would neuer forsake his people, because he would not be forsaken of them, but was resolued to indure with them whatsoeuer it should please God to lay vpon him: so passing the riuer by the same foord wherby his brother had not long before vnfortunatly passed, and comming to the place where the battell was fought, he might see the dead bodies of the Christians pitifully mangled, with their heads & hands cut off: for the Sultan, the more to encourage his soldiers, had before the battel proclaimed, that whosoeuer should bring him the head or hand of a Christian, should haue a great reward for his labor; in hope wherof, they had so dismembred them. But long he had not there staied, but that the Sultan began suddenly to appeare, with a most huge great army, as if he would euen with the sight thereof haue discouraged the Christians: against whom for all that, the Frenchmen in good order opposed themselues, and for the space of 3 houres made great resistance: but what could one do against ten, and he also fainting for sicknes & food? the hard plight wherin the greatest part of the French army then was. In conclusion, oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, and no way left to flie, they were all ouerthrowne and slain, except some few, saued in hope of great ransome. The king himselfe, with his two brethren, *Alphonsus* and *Charles*, and some few others, were taken prisoners, and brought vnto the Sultan: who demanding of him, what had moued him so to make war against him? was answered by the King, that it was for religion, and the defence of the name of his God. In this vnfortunat battel, fought the 5. of Aprill, in the yere 1250, besides the common soldiers, were slain most of the nobilitie of France, & all their tents taken.

The gouernour of Caire apprehended.

The Sultan presently vpon this ouerthrow, sent of his owne soldiers the like number that the French were of, with French ensignes, and disguised in the attire of the slaine Frenchmen, to Damiata, where the Duke of Burgundie, the French Queene, and the Popes Legate lay; in

hope

hope to haue bin so let in for Frenchmen: but they were not so wel masked, but that they were G
by them of the citie discouered for enemies, and so kept out and deceiued of their purpose.

The Christians thus ouerthrowne, and the French king taken prisoner, *Melech-sala* the Sultan taking compassion vpon him, and yet minding of his life to make his owne gaine; cheering him vp with comfortable speeches, began to talke with him of his deliuerance, & of a good attonement to bee made betwixt them. The conditions whereof propounded by the Sultan were, That the King should forthwith deliuer again vnto him the citie of Damiata, and moreouer pay vnto him for the ransome of himselfe and his, and for the charges of the warre, eight thousand pound of gold: That all prisoners should on both sides be frankly set at libertie, and so a peace to be taken for ten yeres. For the more assurance wherof, the Sultan offred to sweare That if he failed in the performance thereof, to renounce his Mahomet: requiring also of the H
king to sweare, If he failed in any thing that he had promised, to denie his Christ to be God: which prophane oath the King detesting, and wishing rather to die than to giue the same; the Sultan wondring at his constancie, took his word without any oath at all, and so published the league. But whilst they were comming together to Damiata, *Melech-sala* now in the pride of this victorie, fearing nothing lesse than the sudden change of fortune, or the mischiefe hanging ouer his head, was in the presence of a number of his noblemen suddenly slain by two desperat Mamalukes; and one *Turquiminus* a sturdie slaue of their owne order and vocation (by whose procurement it was supposed to haue been done) by the consent of the whole armie created Sultan in his stead: who reuoking the league before concluded by *Melech-sala*, made another in his owne name with the King, much vpon the same conditions that the other was; I
which after he had receiued Damiata, he caused openly to be proclaimed. Neuertheless after [illegible] had paied his ransome, and was with the remnant of his armie by the Genowaies transported from Damiata to Ptolemais, the false miscreant performed not the halfe of that he had promised, of twelue thousand Christian captiues that should haue beene set free, scarce enlarging foure thousand; and killing all the sicke souldiers whom by his promise hee ought to haue relieued, neither suffering any Christian to carrie any of his goods with him out of Ægypt, which by the league he ought to haue done also.

The French King comming to Ptolemais, and purposing to haue returned home, was intreated by the master of the Templars and Hospitalers, and other the nobility of the Christians, to stay, which he did almost by the space of foure yeares: in which time he repaired the K
cities of Cesarea & Ioppe, and fortified many strong places for the defence of the Christians againſt the Infidels: and so commending the protection thereof vnto the Knights of the sacred war, and sending his brethren away before him, followed after himselfe, greatly lamented for by all the Christians in Syria, and so arriued in France the sixt yeare from the time of his departing thence. This was the end of this long and vnfortunat expedition of *Lewis* the French King, wherein as some write, were eightie thousand Christians lost: Howbeit the French Chronicles extenuating their losse, report, of two and thirtie thousand French, six thousand to haue returned againe into France. The citie of Damiata in the space of a few yeares twice woon, and twice lost by the Christians, was shortly after the deliuering vp thereof, by the Sultan rased downe to the ground, becauſe it should no more serue the Christians for an en- L
trance into his kingdome.

The beginning of the Mamalukes and their kingdome.

The late Ægiptian Sultans thus oftentimes inuaded by the Christian princes, and reposing no great assurance in the prowes of the effeminate Ægiptians, a people fitter for merchandize and other base occupations than for chiualrie and war, had for the strengthning of their kingdom, bought an infinit number of slaues, especially of the poore and hardie Circassians, called in antient time *Getæ* and *Zinchi*, neere vnto Cholchis and the Euxine sea, brought vnto Alexandria and other ports of Ægypt out of those bare cold countries, by merchants, and from thence transported to Caire & other cities of Ægypt: of which poore slaues, the late Ægiptian Sultans taking their choice, & culling out from the rest such as were like to be of greatest spirit and ability of body, deliuered them vnto most skilfull and expert teachers; by whome M
they were carefully taught to run, to leape, to vaut, to shoot, to ride, with al other feats of actiuity, and withal cunningly to handle al manner of weapons, as well on horsebacke as on foot, and so instructed, and become cunning, were taken out of their schooles into pay, and inrolled togethe as the Sultans choice horsemen, were commonly called by the name of Mamalukes,

A lukes. In whose good seruice the late Sultans finding great vse, spared for no cost, both for their maintenance and increasing of their number; daily erecting new nurseries stored with yong frie, which growing vp and ready, was stil ioined to the other. It is wonderful to tel, vnto what a strength and glory this order of the Mamalukes was in short time grown, by the care of the Ægyptian kings: by them they managed their greatest affaires, especially in time of wars; and by their valour, not only defended their country, but gained many a faire victorie against their enemies, as they did now against the French: but as too much power in such mens hands, seldome or neuer wanteth danger, so fell it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melech-sala*, and those masterfull Mamaluke slaues; who proud of their preferment, and forgetful of their duty, and seeing the greatest strength of the kingdom in their hands, traiterously slew *Melech-sala* *The ruine of the Turks kingdom in Aegypt.*
B their chiefe founder, setting vp in his place (as aforesaid) one *Turquiminus*, a base slaue, one of their owne order and seruile vocation, but indeed otherwise a man of a great spirit and valour. This *Melech-sala* murthered by the Mamalukes, was the last of the free born Kings of Ægipt; in whom the Turks kingdome in Ægypt, erected by *Sarracon* and the great Sultan *Saladin* (as is before said) and in his stocke and family euer since continued, tooke end, as did also all the power of the Turks in that great and rich kingdome. For the proud Mamalukes hauing now got the soueraignte into their hands, & exalted a Sultan out of themselues, imperiously commanded as great Lords ouer the rest of the people, not suffering them to haue the vse either of horse or armor, or to beare any sway in the common-weale: but keeping them vnder with most heauie impositions, and still preferring their owne slaues (wherewith the countrey of Ægypt
C now swarmed) made the naturall countrey people, of all others most miserable, not daring to meddle with any thing more than Merchandise, their husbandrie, or other their base mechanicall occupations: whereof the greatest profit still came vnto the Mamalukes, who as Lords of all, with great insolencie, at their pleasure tooke it from them as their owne. As for the great Sultan, they still chose him from among themselues, not suffering any the Sultans children to succeed their fathers in the kingdome; for feare least they in processe of time, proud of their ancestors and parentage, should reckon of them as of his slaues (as indeed they were) and so at length bring in another more free kinde of gouernment.

Against which they prouided also, not only by this restraint of their Sultans children, but of their owne also: taking order and establishing it as an immutable law, That though the sons
D of the Mamalukes might enioy their fathers lands and wealth after their death, yet that it should not be lawfull for them in any case to take vpon them the name or honor of a Mamaluke: so debarring them from all gouernement in the common wealth, to the intent it might still rest with the Mamalukes. Neither was it lawfull for any borne of Mahomatane parents (which could not be slaues) or of the race of the Iewes, to be admitted into that order; but only such as being borne Christians and become slaues, had from the time of their captiuitie bin instructed in the Mahometan superstition; or else being men growne, and comming thither, had abiured the Christian Religion (as many reprobates did in hope of preferment.) Right strange it is to consider, vnto what honour and glorie this slauish empire in short time grew: many of these poore slaues by rare fortune or secret diuine power, exalted out of the
E dust vnto the highest degree of honor, prouing most excellent and renowned Princes, of such strength and power, as was dreadfull euen vnto the greatest Princes of the world. In which great glorie, this seruile empire (to the worlds wonder) flourished from this time amongst the greatest by the space of 267 yeares; vntill that hauing run the appointed race, it was with a great destruction by *Selymus* the victorious Emperour of the Turks, ouerthrowne in the yeare 1517, and the kingdome of Ægypt, with all Syria and the land of Palestine, brought into the forme of Prouinces, vnited vnto the Turks empire, as they are at this day, and as in the course of this historie shall in due time and place (God willing) at large appeare.

But leauing the kingdome of the Turks thus ouerthrowne in Ægypt, and the Mamalukes there triumphing, the French King returned into France, and the Christians in peace in Syria;
F let vs againe returne into the lesser Asia, and vnto the imperiall Citie of Constantinople, whither the affaires both of the Turkes and of the Christians now call vs. All this while the Greeke empire (for so the Greekes will haue it called) flourished both in peace and plentie in the lesser Asia, vnder their Emperour *Iohn Batazes*: the power of the Latines in the mean time declining as fast at Constantinople, vnder the gouernment of the Latine Emperour

Baldwin

Baldwin the second. As for the Turks whom we left grieuously troubled both with famine and the often incursions of the Tartars, they had all this while, and yet also, enough and more than enough to doe to withstand the same enemie. At length it fortuned that *Iohn Ducas* the Greeke Emperour died, being at the time of his death about threescore yeares old, whereof he had happily raigned three and thirtie: by whose good and discreet gouernment, the Greek empire before brought low and almost to nought by the Latines, began againe to gather strength and to flourish both in Asia and some little part of Europe also. Of him are reported many notable matters; which as impertinent to our purpose I could willingly passe ouer, were I not by the worthy remembrance of one of them staied a while by the way.

This noble and famous Emperour hauing long lamented the death of the faire Empresse *Irene* his first wife, at last married another young Lady, the sister of *Manfred* King of Sicilie, called *Anne*, with whom amongst other honorable and beautifull dames, sent by the King her brother for the accompanying of her to Constantinople, was one *Marcesina*, a rare paragon, of such a feature as if nature had in her meant to bestow her greatest skill. From whose mouth alwayes flowed a fountaine of most sugred words, and out of her eyes issued (as it were) nets to intangle the amarous in: vpon this so faire an obiect, the Emperor not fearing further harme, tooke pleasure oftentimes to feed his eyes, vntill that at length caught with her lookes, he had lost his libertie, and was of a great Emperour become her thrall, in such sort, as that in comparison of her he seemed little or nothing to regard the yong Empresse his wife; but so far doated vpon her, that he suffered her to be attired and honoured with the same attire and honour that the Empresse was her selfe; whom she now so far exceeded both in grace and fauor with the Emperour, and honor of the people, as that she almost alone enioyed the same, without regard of her vnto whom it was of more right due. Whilst she thus alone triumpheth, at length it fortuned that she in all her glorie, attended vpon with most of the gallants of the court, and some of the Emperors guard, would needs goe (whether for her deuotion or for her recreation, I know not) to visit the monasterie and faire church, which *Blemmydes* (a Noble man of great renowne, both for his integritie of life, and learning) had of his owne cost and charges but lately built in the country, where he together with his monks, as men weary of the world, liued a deuout and solitarie contemplatiue life, after the manner of that time, with the great good opinion of the people in generall. This *Blemmydes* was afterward for his vpright life and profound learning, chosen Patriarch of Constantinople: which great honour, next vnto the Emperor himselfe, he refused, contenting himselfe with his cell. *Marcesina* comming thither in great pompe, and thinking to haue entred the church, had the doores shut against her by the Monks, before commanded so to do by *Blemmydes* their founder: and so was to her great disgrace kept out. For that deuout man deemed it a great impietie, to suffer that so wicked and shameless a woman, against whom he had most sharply both spoken and written, with her prophane and wicked feet to tread vpon the sacred pauement of his church. She enraged with this indignitie, hardly by so proud a woman to be with patience digested, and prickt forward by her flattering followers also, returning to the court, grieuously complained thereof vnto the Emperour, stirring him vp by all means she could to reuenge the same, persuading him to haue beene therein himselfe disgraced. Whereunto were ioyned also the hard speeches of her pickthanke fauourities, who to currie fauor, spared not as it were to put oyle vnto the fire, for the stirring vp of the Emperour to reuenge. Who with so great a complaint nothing moued vnto wrath, but strucke as it were to the heart with a remorse of conscience, and oppressed with heauinesse, with teares running downe his cheekes, and fetching a deepe sigh, said, *Why prouoke you me to punish so deuout and iust a man? Whereas if I would my selfe haue liued without reproach and infamie, I should haue kept my imperiall maiestie vnpolluted or stained. But now sith I my selfe haue bin the cause both of mine owne disgrace, and of the empires; I may thanke mine owne deserts, if of such euill seed as I haue sowne, I now reape also an euill haruest.*

The Emperor in loue with Marcesina.

Marcesina the Emperors concubine shut out of the Church.

Theodorus Lascaris chosen Emperour.

After the death of this good Emperor, *Theodorus* his son, borne the first yeare of his fathers raigne, being then about three and thirtie yeres old, was by the generall consent of the people saluted Emperour in his stead: who in the beginning of his empire renewed the league which his father had made with *Iathatines* the Turkish Sultan. And so hauing prouided for the securitie of his affaires in Asia, he with a puissant armie passed ouer the strait of Hellespontus into Europe, to appease the troubles there raised in Macedonia and Thracia, by the King of

A of Bulgaria his brother in law, and *Michael Angelus* the Despot of Thessalia; who vpon the death of the old Emperor began to spoile those countries, not without hope at length to haue ioyned them vnto their own: by whose comming they were for all that disappointed of their purpose, and glad to sue to him for peace. But whilest he was there busied, he was aduertised by letters from Nice, that *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left there gouernor in his absence, was secretly fled vnto the Turks: with which newes he was not a little troubled. The cause of whose flight, as *Paleologus* himselfe gaue it out, was, for that he perceiued himselfe diuers wayes by many his enemies brought into disgrace, and the Emperors eares so filled with their odious complaints, so cunningly framed against him, as that they were not easily or in short time to be refelled: and therefore fearing in the Emperors heauie displeasure to bee suddenly
B taken away, to haue willingly gone into exile, if so happily he might saue his life from the malice of them that sought after it.

At his comming to Iconium, he found *Iathatines* the Sultan making great preparation against the Tartars; who hauing driuen the Turks out of Persia and other the far Easterne countreys, (as is before declared) and running still on, did with their continuall incursions spoyle a great part of their territories in the lesser Asia also; and now lay at Axara, a towne not far off from Iconium: against whom the Sultan now making the greatest preparation he could, gladly welcommed *Paleologus*, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthie captain, commending to his charge the leading of certaine bands of Greekes, whom hee had retained to serue him in those wars, as he had others of the Latines, vnder the conduct of *Boniface Moline* a Nobleman
C of Venice: and so hauing put all things in readinesse, and strengthned with these forrein supplies of the Greekes and Latines, set forward against his enemies the Tartars: who at the first sight of the strange ensignes and soldiers were much dismaied, fearing some greater force had been come to the aid of the Turks; neuertheless, ioining with them in battel had with them at the first a most terrible & bloudie conflict, wherein that part of the armie that stood against *Paleologus* and his Greeks, was put to the worse, to the great discomfiture of the Tartars, being euen vpon the point to haue fled, had not one of the greatest Commanders in the Turks army, and a nigh kinsman of the Sultans, for an old grudge that he bare vnto the Sultan, with all his regiment, in the heat of the battel reuolted vnto the Tartars: whereby the fortune of the battel was in a moment as it were quite altred, they which but now were about to haue fled, fighD ting like lyons; and they that were victors now glad to turn their backs & flie: in which flight a great number of the Turks fell, the fierce Tartars most eagerly pursuing them. *Paleologus*, with the Generall of the Turks, hardly chased by the Tartars, and glad euery houre to make a stand, and to fight for their liues, with much adoe, after many dayes flight recouered a castle of the Generals, neere vnto Castamona, and so saued themselues. The Tartars after this so great a victorie (wherein they had broken the whole strength of the Turks, and brought in hazard the whole state of their kingdome) without resistance forraged all the countries and prouinces subiect vnto the Turkish Sultan, making spoyle of whatsoeuer they light vpon: insomuch that the Sultan discouraged, & hauing now no strength left to oppose against them, fled vnto the Greeke Emperour *Theodorus* for aid; who most honorably entertained him, with all
E his train, and comforted him with such small aid as he thought good then to spare him: which for his more safetie he sent home with him, vnder the leading of *Isaacius Ducas*, syrnamed *Murtzufle*, a man in great credit with him. In recompence of which kindnesse, the Sultan gaue vnto the Emperor the citie of Laodicea, whereinto he presently put a strong garrison: neuertheless, it was not long before it fell againe into the hands of the Turks, being a place not to be holden by the Greekes. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himselfe stil too weake to withstand the continuall inuasions of the Tartars, and wearie of the harmes he dayly sustained, by the aduice of his chiefe councellors made a league with them, yeelding to pay them a certain yerely tribute, thereby to redeeme his peace. From which time the Tartars accounted of the Turks as of their tributaries and vassals.

F Not long after this, *Michael Paleologus* was by the Emperors kind and gratious Letters called home; with his faithful promise also before giuen for his security: who before his return bound himselfe also by solemne oath, to be vnto the Emperour and his sonne alwayes loyall, and from thenceforth neuer to seeke after the Empire, or giue cause of new suspect for such matters as he had beene before charged with: but for euer to yeeld vnto the Emperour, his sonne,

sonne, or other his successors in the Empire, his dutifull obedience and fidelitie. Vpon which conditions he was againe made great Constable, and so receiued into the Emperors fauor, and liued the rest of his raigne in great honour and credit with him.

The death of Theodorus the Greek Emperor

Now *Theodorus* the Emperor hauing raigned 3 yeres, fell sicke & died, leauing behind him his sonne *Iohn*, then but a child of six yeres old, to succeed him in the empire: whom he vpon his death bed, together with the empire, commended to *Arsenius* the Patriarke, & one *George Muzalo* his faithful councellor, as to his trustie tutors, to see him safely brought vp, & the empire wel & peaceably gouerned. This *Muzalo* was a man of a meane parentage, but for his familiar acquaintance & ciuile behauiour, of a child brought vp in the court with the Emperour as his play fellow: with whom he growing vp, so framed himselfe to his manners & disposition, that he alone was vnto him in stead of all, still at hand, readie to say or do whatsoeuer might be vnto the Emperor gratious or pleasing. And the elder they grew, so increased this their mutual affection and loue also: in such sort, that with him now Emperour, he was of all others in greatest fauour and authoritie; a wary obseruer of his delights, a readie minister of his affairs, & faithful partaker of his secrets: for which he was in short time promoted vnto the greatest honors of the court, & honorably married vnto one of the Emperors nigh kinswomen; and now at his death, by his last wil, with the reuerend Patriarke appointed tutor to the yong Emperor & his two yong sisters. And for the more assurance thereof, a solemne oath of obedience to the yong Prince, as Emperor, and vnto them as his tutors, was exacted of al sorts of men, both high and low, of what vocation soeuer; and that not once, but first a little before the Emperors death, & again after he was now dead: for many of the nobilitie honourably discended, seeing the sudden change of *Muzalo's* fortune, among themselues murmured thereat, as grieuing at his preferment, seeing there were many among them, vnto whom both the tuition of the yong emperor, & administration of the empire, of better right appertained; insomuch as they were both neerer of kin vnto the Emperor, & fitter (as they thought) for so great a charge than was *Muzalo*; whom (as they said) they had many causes both to contemne & hate: For, beside that hee was not honorably borne, & had serued the late Emperor *Theodore*, as the minister of his wrath against some of the nobilitie, causes sufficient of the peoples hatred, if he should now also in so great authoritie affect the empire, it was by his malicious enemies vainly doubted, that hee would not spare to commit any manner of villanie for the effecting of his inordinat desire. Of all which *Muzalo* was not ignorant, a man at all other times of a most quicke apprehension for such matters, but as then especially, his wits being awaked with these so great motiues & dangers. Wherfore speedily calling together all the nobility into the court, he welcommed them one by one, & curteously discoursing with them, offred to discharge himselfe both of the administration of the empire, and tuition of the yong emperor, & willingly to yeeld the same to any one of them, whom the rest should thinke fittest for so great a charge: which though they all with one consent as it were refused, saying, That he was of all others to be preferred, vnto whom the emperor, lord both of the empire and the child, had committed the same: yet *Muzalo* earnestly requested them to the contrarie, & stifly withstood their desire, wishing indeed rather to haue led a quiet priuat life in securitie, than to haue bin so ouercharged; not so much for doubt of the enuy then arising, as for feare of some great danger therof to ensue. But would he, would he not, remedy there was none, but that as the late emperor had appointed, so must he take the charge vpon him. And now was euery one, as well of the nobilitie, as of the inferior sort, again with greater solemnitie than before, the third time sworn, to the vtmost of their power to defend the yong emperor in his empire, and *Muzalo* in the tuition of him, and administration of the affaires of the State, & faithfully to yeeld vnto them both all due honour and obedience: which if they should faile religiously to performe, they wished to themselues euery man, & to all theirs, a shamefull end and destruction. Yet notwithstanding all this solemne

Enuie in court.

swearing, mixt most times with much forswearing, there was not fully nine days past, but that certain of the chiefe nobility, forgetful, or else careless of their oath, and ful of enuy, seldome satisfied but with bloud, conspired the vnworthie death of *Muzalo* the Protector both of the Emperour & the empire. The ninth day appointed for the funerall of the Emperour, was now come; at which time were met together at Sosandra (an abbey by himselfe built in the honor of the virgin *Marie* at Magnesia) many great ladies & graue matrons, to mourn as the manner was; all the great princes of the nobilitie, and among them the conspirators also: thither repaired

A paired also a number of souldiers prepared for the slaughter, with an infinite number of the common people, as at such solemnities is vsual. But what needs many words, while the hymns were yet in singing, and the obsequies performing, the soldiers as they were before instructed, suddenly breaking into the church with their drawn swords in their hands, slew *Muzalo* (then fled to the altar for refuge) with his two bretheren *Andronicus* & *Theodorus*, both men of great account, & diuers others appointed to the massacre. So the matrons and the rest of the multitude breaking off their mourning, & for feare thronging out one in anothers necke, fled as fast as they could, some one way, some another, as they thought for their best safety: but the priests & monks thinking to haue done the like, were by the imperious soldiers, whether they would or not, again inforced into the church; where tumbling one ouer another, as thronging in with

Muzalo traiterously murdred in the church.

B great force & violence, and scarce able to stand by reason of the slipperines of the bloud there shed vpon the pauement, they in great feare made an end of those bloudie obsequies. This outrage appeased, *Arsenius* the Patriark, & only tutor of the yong emperor now left, was therwith yet much troubled, as with a thing dangerous both to the person of the yong prince, & quietnesse of the state; but what good course to take therein he could not tell: for as he was a man for his learning & integritie of life not inferior to the best, so in matters of state he was as farre to seeke: as it commonly hapneth, the contemplatiue man buried in his meditations, to be vnfit for temporal gouernment; whereas he that should performe both, must to his rare vertues and great learning ioyne a ciuil conuersation, with great experience in worldly affaires, not to be learned but by great and long practise. This reuerend father (of no great reach, yet wishing

C all well) calling together the nobilitie, consulted with them what were best to be done for the gouernment both of the yong Emperor and the empire, now that *Muzalo* was dead; not considering in the mean time, who they were with whom hee consulted, or, that councel grounded vpon no wise foresight, or approoued experience, was more dangerous vnto him whome hee would haue prouided for, than all the enemies murthering swords, as shortly after appeared.

Amongst others of the nobilitie called to councel, was *Michael Paleologus* (of whom we haue before spoken) much superior to the rest, as discended of the imperiall house of the *Comneni*, a man of a cheerefull countenance, gracious and curteous, and withall exceeding bountifull and liberall, whereby he easily woon the hearts of all men in generall, but especially of the Colo-

Michael Paleologus aspireth.

D nells, captains, and other martiall men, commanders in the armie: of whose aspiring to the Empire, many presages and common rumors (not always vaine) had in former time passed also, to the mouing of many: yea the Patriarke himselfe not considering his haughtie and aspiring nature, made no lesse account of him than did the rest, but vpon an especiall fauor, committed to his only trust the keyes of the common treasure, at such time as mony was to be deliuered out for payment of the armies, or other like great occasions of the state; the most effectual means for the furtherance of his secret practises, and the readiest way for the effecting of that he had so long before plotted: for hauing in his fingring such a masse of treasure, as hee might well haue wished, but neuer reasonably hoped for, hee poured it out as it were by bushels, amongst the nobilitie and martiall men, and such others as he thought were able to doe most with the people; amongst whom were many of the clergie also: of which his fauorits were made ma-

E nie meetings, and by them was the Patriarke continually solicited, but yet in generall termes, without delay (according to the necessitie of the time) to take order for the good gouernment of the state, which now as a great ship in the middest of the sea without a master, was (as they said) in danger to perish, and being once lost, was not to be againe recouered. At which time also the name of *Paleologus* was in euery mans mouth, as the only man for his wisdome and experience fit to take vpon him the charge and gouernment of the empire, vntil the yong emperor were come to age. Vnto which common good liking, the Patriarke also (seeing no more, or peraduenture not so much as the rest) gaue his consent: and so without longer stay, to the great contentment both of the nobilitie and people in generall, made him gouernor of the empire, and tutor to the yong Emperor, wanting now nothing of an Emperor himselfe, more than the

F title and imperiall ornaments. This was the first step whereby the aspiring man (twice before in disgrace with the two late Emperors, *Iohn Ducas*, and his son *Theodorus*) mounted at last vnto the Empire.

It was not many days after, but that his fauorits held another councel, wherein it was alledged, That it was not seemly for him that was tutor vnto the Emperour, gouernour of the state and

and empire, and to giue audience vnto the Embassadours of forreine nations, to want the ho- G
nour next vnto the Emperor, as well for the magnificence of the State, as for the credit of his
place: whereupon he was both by the Patriarke and the yong Emperor honored with the ti-
tle of the Despot, another step vnto the empire. But what contentment finde the ambitious
euen in the greatest honours, so long as there is one aboue them? Little sure, or none at all,
more than that it serueth them to step at next vp to the highest: as did this new made Despot,
who shortly after, was by certain of the nobilitie his great fauorits, neere vnto Magnesia, with
the great applause of the people, hoysed vp and saluted Emperor. Whereof *Arsenius* the Pa-
triarke hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the young
child, the right heire of the empire. And first he was about to haue excommunicated as well
him that was made Emperor, as them that had so made him: but afterward changing his pur- H
pose, for feare of greater troubles, he thought it better by solemne oath to bind both him and
the rest, that they should not seek after the life of the child, or by any force or colour go about
to depriue him of the Empire; which was so done. Yet it was not full a moneth after, but that
euen he that had so great a care of the young child, and so prouided for his safetie, (perswaded
by them of the nobilitie and clergie) with his owne hands, and all the accustomed ceremonies,
Michael Paleologus crowned Emperor by Arsenius the Patriarke. set the imperiall crowne vpon this vsurpers head; yet not as vpon him that should still enioy
the empire, but as vpon a man according to the present necessitie of the time and state, thought
fittest for so great a charge, vntill the young child came to age; vnto whom then hee was to
giue place, and to resigne to him the Empire. All which being by more solemne oath than be-
fore, confirmed, good news (as the certaine signes of his fortunate gouernment) were brought I
vnto him of a great victorie obtained by his captaines, against *Michael Angelus* Despot of
Aetolia and Epirus: who hauing married the late Emperors daughter, & hearing of his death,
with the troubles in Asia, aided by the King of Sicilia, and the Princes of Peloponesus and A-
chaia, his sonnes in law, had thought in that hurle and perturbation of the State, to haue taken
to himselfe the greatest part of the Emperors territories in Macedonia and Thracia; and for
the same purpose was with a great armie entred into them, burning and spoyling the countrey
before him: whereof *Michael Paleologus* (then but newly made Despot) hauing intelligence,
sent his brother *Iohn*, and some other his best captaines, with a great armie against him, by
whom he with his complices were put to the worse, and not without great losse enforced to
retyre: the ioyfull newes whereof he receiued euen as he was crowned. Which was shortly K
after confirmed by the comming of the great Commaunders themselues, bringing with them
the Prince of Peloponesus and Achaia, by them taken prisoner; who for his ransome was af-
terward glad to giue vnto the Emperor *Paleologus*, Monembasia, Maine, and Sparta, three of the
best cities of Peloponesus: whereinto he put strong garrisons vnder the command of *Constan-
tinus* his brother by the mothers side, a right valiant captaine. By whose good seruice, and the
commodious scituation of the places, he gained diuers other townes and cities, and at length
the greatest part of Peloponesus, out of the hands of the Latines: for the vtter rooting out of
whome, hee shortly after with a great Armie passed ouer into Thracia, with purpose (as was
thought) to haue besieged Constantinople: but finding it to bee a matter of more difficultie
than was before supposed he left that, and laid siege to the castle of Pera ouer against it on the L
other side of the hauen, in hope by winning of that castle, to haue become master also of the
towne: which he was not able to effect, and enforced with losse to retyre. Sorting with his
armie he fortified diuers castles and strong holdes in the countrey about Constantinople. And
put in [illegible] garrisons, thereby continually incommoding, & troubling the
Constantinopolitans, and [illegible] as much as possible, that they should become
[illegible] Which they [illegible]
[illegible] M

Now raigned at Constantinople the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the second (as it before declared) a man of good courage, and lesse power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greeks or Latines: Who for the maintenance of his state, was glad to sel away the publike orna-
ments of the citie, and to pawne his ion vnto the Bruges merchants for money; by whom he
was

A was left at Venice to be brought vp: which gaue occasion for some writers to report, That he
was pawned vnto the Venetians.

About this time *Mango*, the great Chan of Tartarie, stirred by *Aitonius* the Armenian king,
by whose persuasion he had also receiued the Christian religion, sent his brother *Haalon* with 1260.
an exceeding great armie against the Turkes and Sarasins in Syria and the Land of Palestine.
This *Haalon* (conuerted also vnto the Christian faith by his wife) setting forward with a world *Haalō the Tartar sent with a great Armie against the Turks*
of people following him, in the space of six moneths ouerran all Persia, with the countries ad-
B ioyning, excepting one strong place in the mountains, (which some say was Samarchand, after-
ward the royall seat of the great terror of the world, the mightie *Tamerlane*) which besieged
by ten thousand horsemen, by him appointed for that purpose, and so continued by the space
of seuen and twentie yeres after, was then at length (as *Aiton* himselfe writeth) yeelded by the
defendants, only for want of cloathes to couer their nakednesse. *Haalon* (in whose armie those
ten thousand left behind were not missed, marching on, and as a violent tempest bearing all
down before him, entred at length into Assiria, and there layd siege vnto the great citie of Ba-
bylon, then the seat of the great Caliph; whom all the Mahometan Princes honoured aboue
all others, as the true successor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and receiued from his mouth
the interpretation of their law as most diuine oracles. Which great citie *Haalon* woon, and
putting to sword all he found therein, men, women, and children, with the spoile thereof, and
the rich treasures of the Caliph, inriched his souldiers. The Caliph himselfe (reserued for
that purpose) he commanded to be set in the middest of the infinite treasure which he and his
C predecessors had most couetously heaped vp together, and that he should of that gold, siluer,
and precious stones take what it pleased him to eat, saying (by way of derision) That so gain-
full a guest should by good reason be fed with nothing but things of greatest price, whereof
he willed him to make no spare: in which order the couetous wretch kept for certaine dayes,
miserably died with hunger, in the middest of those things whereof he thought he should ne-
uer haue had enough; which though they were in valew great, and with great care laid toge-
ther, yet serued they him not now to suffice nature, best contented with a little. Babylon thus
sacked, and almost rased, the Tartar marching on through Mesoporamia, by the way tooke
the Citie Rhoais, where *Aiton* the Armenian King, and authour of this the Tartars expediti-
on, came to him with twelue thousand horsmen, and fortie thousand foot, as reporteth *Aiton*
D the Armenian Kings Nephew, then there present. So entring into Syria, in a few dayes tooke
Aleppo, which he sacked and rased in the yeare of our Lord 1260. with diuers other strong *Aleppo rased by the Tartars.*
townes sometime belonging vnto the Kingdome of Antioch. Then was one *Malacnesir* Sul-
tan of Damasco, commanding ouer all Syria and the land of Palestine: who terrified with the
losse of his Cities, and the feare of farther danger, with his wife and children came and hum-
bled himselfe before the Tartar Prince, in hope so to haue saued vnto himselfe some good
part of his kingdome. Wherein he was much deceiued, beeing (as some say) carried away
afarre off into exile; because hee should not hinder the Tartars proceedings: or as others re-
port, and happily with more probabilitie) being by him detained as his prisoner, and after-
wards to the terrour of his foe, cut in peeces in his sight vnder the walles of Damasco, after
E that it had in vaine been twice assaulted by the Tartars: which strong citie for all that the af- *Damasco woon.*
terwards tooke by strong hand, and sacked it, and by the perswasion of his wife ouerthrew all
the Mahometan temples, as hee had before in euery place where he came. But purposing to
haue gone forward to Ierusalem, and to haue conquered the whole land of Palestine, news
was brought him of the death of his brother *Mango*, the great Chan: whereupon he layd his
iourney, and returned backe againe, in hope of the great empire, hauing in this expedition
[illegible] of six yeares.

Thus ouer the Tartars vastie kingdome of the Turkes at Damasco ouermuch for winter
time, the broken affaires of the Christians in Syria and the land of Palestine might easily haue
been repaired, and those two gainfull kingdomes againe restored to the Christian Common-
F wealth, had the Christian Princes of the West then in time put to their helping hand, or come
[illegible] as the Tartars on the other: but they then at vaine dilcord amongst themselues
and busied with their warres at home, let slip that so faire an opportunitie, the like whereof they
[illegible] neuer had since. *Haalon* the Tartar Prince in token of his good will toward the
Christians and their affaires, at his departure from Damasco left his sonne *Albaga* there with
twentie

twentie thousand horsemen to aid them in their warres, if they should come (as was expected) for the recouerie of the Holy land: who hauing there stayd some while, and hearing of his fathers troubles at home, followed himselfe after him; but yet left behind him *Guirboca* a valiant Captaine, with ten thousand of his horsemen, to like purpose that his father had him: who by the insolencie of certaine Christian souldiers in garrison about Sidon, was of a friend, together with his Tartars, made a foe. These garrison souldiers hauing by chance set in some bootie out of the Tartars territorie, not onely refused to restore the same againe, but also foulely entreated such as the Tartar had sent for the demanding thereof. Whereupon further quarrels arising, it fortuned a nephew of *Guirboca's*, a valiant young gentleman, to be slaine: in reuenge whereof hee besieged Sidon, and hauing taken it, sacked it, and burnt it downe to the ground. After which time, hee and his Tartars became vtter enemies vnto the Christians, doing them all the harme they could deuise.

The Ægyptian Sultan inuadeth Syria.

This discord betwixt the Tartars & the Christians, gaue occasion vnto *Melech* the Ægyptian Sultan, now iealous of the Tartars neernesse, with a great armie of his Mamalukes & others to enter into Syria, and to spoile the countrey of Damasco; against whom *Guirboca* with his Tartars, although both in strength and number far inferior, went out. But ioyning battell with him at too much odds, and the victorie inclining vnto that side where most strength was, hee there valiantly fighting was slaine, with most part of his Tartars: such as escaped fled into Armenia vnto the friendly king. By this victorie, all Syria, with the land of Palestine, excepting some few places holden by the Christians, fell again into the hands of the Ægyptian Sultans; as did some of them shortly after also: for *Bandocader* succeeding *Melech* in the Mamaluke kingdome, comming into Syria with a great armie, tooke Antioch from the Christians, and with it most of the places before by them defended. The citie he burnt, and rased the Castle down to the ground, and afterward entring into Armenia, did there great harme also.

Antioch taken from the Christians.

Whilest the Turks kingdome thus goeth to wracke in Syria, ruinated by the Tartars, but possessed by the Mamalukes; their affairs in the lesser Asia, now the whole hope of that Nation, went not at that time much better: for *Iathatines* the Turks Sultan, there also inuaded by the Tartars, and hauing lost Iconium his regall citie, fled with his brother *Melech* to the Greek Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in hope to be of him relieued, for the kindnesse hee had not long before shewed him in like case, when as he fled from the late emperor *Theodore*; whereof now putting him in remembrance, hee requested him either with some conuenient force to aid him, or else to assigne him some corner in his large empire, where he might in safetie rest with his wife & children, and other followers, whom with much wealth he had brought with him in great number. The Emperor on euery side himselfe incombred with warres, thought it not good in so great newnesse of his empire, to diminish his owne forces: and to assigne vnto him any place to inhabit, seemed no lesse dangerous; for that he hauing been a great Prince, and commanding ouer many great countries, and brought vp in all princely royaltie, was not like to content himselfe with a little: beside that, his nobility, then dispersed by the Tartars, were like enough in great numbers to resort vnto him, as vnto their head, so soone as they should once heare that he were seated in any place: and vnkindly to cast him off, that had so nobly vsed him in like extremitie, the Emperor was loath. And therefore feeding him vp with faire words, & foording him on from time to time with delays, he held him a great while as a man in suspence, betwixt hope and despaire. At length in the absence of the Emperor (though happily not without his priuitie) he was commanded with all his traine, in number about twelue hundred, to get him to Ænus a citie of Thracia, standing vpon the sea coast: where hee much discontented, liued like an honorable prisoner at large; but with the watchfull eyes of so many vpon him, as that he could by no meanes (as he desired) escape. In which case we will for a while leaue him, to feed vpon his owne melancholy thoughts.

1261. Now had *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor raigned at Nice two yeares, when new troubles began again to arise in the West part of his Empire in Europ side, by the treachery of *Michael Angelus* Despot of Epirus. For the speedie repressing whereof, he sent one *Alexius Strategopulus*, a worthie captaine, and a man of great nobilitie (whom for his good seruice against the said Despot, he had in the beginning of his raigne made *Cæsar*) with little aboue 800 Bythinian Souldiers, and Commission for the taking vp of so many mo as hee should for that seruice need, in Macedonia and Thracia: commanding him when hee had passed the streight, with those

those souldiers to take his wayes thorough the suburbs of Constantinople, to terrifie the Latines, whom he was loth to suffer too long to liue in rest and quiet, or to stirre too farre out of the gates, but to keepe them as prisoners coupt vp within the wals of the citie. This warlike captaine with this handfull of men, passing ouer Propontis, encamped at Regium, not farre from Constantinople; where by chance lighting vpon certain poore labouring men, Greeks borne in the citie, and there dwelling, hee diligently inquired of them the state thereof, and of what strength the Latines were, with many other things, such as he was desirous to know: who not onely told him that the strength of the Latines was but small, but also that the greatest part thereof was gone to the siege of Daphnusia, a towne not farre off vpon the side of the Euxine sea: and withall (as Greekes euill affected to the gouernment of the Latines, and desirous of the libertie of their countrey) offered of themselues to shew him a meanes how to giue him entrance into the citie. These poore men dwelt within the citie, close by one of the gates, neere whereunto by an old ruinous mine almost swarued vp, was a secret vnsuspected way into the citie, not knowne to any but to themselues: by this blind hole they promised him by night to receiue in fiftie of his best souldiers; which suddenly setting vpon the watch fast by, and dispatching them out of the way, might presently breake open the gate, and so let in the rest of the army: whereunto they promised themselues with their friends to put to their helping hands, assuring him of the good successe thereof. This plot for the betraying of the citie thus laid and agreed vpon, *Alexius* and *Cæsar* well rewarding the men, and filling them with greater promises sent them away: who as if they had bin about their countrey work, were after their wonted manner receiued into the citie, without suspition at all. And within a few daies after according to their promise, at an appointed houre receiued in by night the aforesaid fiftie souldiers; who aided by them, presently slew the watch, and brake open the gate, whereby *Alexius* entring a litttle before day, in conuenient place put his men in order of battell, and afterward to the greater terror of the Latines, caused the citie to be set on fire in foure places, which increasing with the winde, burnt in most terrible manner, and was in short time come almost vnto the Emperors palace. Who scarce well awaked, and seeing the citie all on a fire about his eares, and the enemie comming on, was about at the first with those few Latines that he had (for Greekes he had none) to haue made head against them. But better aduised, and perceiuing it to be now to no purpose, hee (the last of the Latine Emperors that euer raigned in Constantinople) with *Iustinian* the Latine Patriarch, and some other of his friends, fled by sea into Euboea, and so from thence afterwards to Venice, and afterwards to *Lewis* the French King, in hope to haue beene by him and the Venetians relieued. After whom fled also all the rest of the Latines. Thus the imperiall citie of Constantinople by great fortune fell againe into the hands of the Greekes, in the yeare 1261, after that it had beene in possession of the Latines about 58 yeares.

The ioyful news of the recouerie of the imperiall citie, was in short time carried vnto *Michael Paleologus* the Greeke Emperor at Nice; who at the first beleeued it not, as thinking it scarce possible, so strong a citie to haue bin by so weake a power surprised, wheras he himselfe not long before was not able with a right puissant army, and much other like prouision, to win the castle of Galata ouer against it. But afterwards assured of the truth thereof, with his hands and eyes cast vp towards heauen, gaue most heartie thanks to God therefore, causing hymnes and psalmes of thanksgiuing to be solemnly sung in euery church, with all the other signes of ioy and triumph that could be deuised. So setting all other things apart, hee wholly busied himselfe in making preparation for his going vnto Constantinople, now once again the seat of the Greeke empire: wherein, and in trauelling hauing spent many dayes, hee at length with the Empresse his wife and *Andronicus* his sonne, then but two yeares old, as if it had been in solemne procession, on foot entred into the citie, by the Gate called the Golden Gate; and so after prayers and thankes giuen, went to the palace prepared for him neere vnto the Tiltyard: for the other imperiall palaces of greater beautie (sometime the stately dwellings of the greatest Emperours of the Greekes) had now of long during the raigne of the Latines, lien ruinous, or altogether defaced. And shortly after, because vertue and true desert should not want their due honour, he caused *Alexius Cæsar* (by whose meanes the citie was recouered) in solemne triumph in his roabs of honour, with a crowne vpon his head, not much inferiour vnto the imperiall crowne, with great pompe to be carried thorow all the

Paleologus the Greeke Emperor taketh possession of the citie of Constantinople.

citie;

citie: and farther commanded, that his name for one yeare next following, in all solemne praiers and hymnes of thansgiuing, should be ioyned with the name of the Emperor himself. And yet not thinking to haue done him honour enough, caused his liuely image afterward to be most curiously made, and as a trophie to be set vpon a faire marble pillar, before the great church of the holy Apostles, in perpetuall remembrance of him, and that he had done for the deliuerie of his countrey; which shortly after ouerthrowne by an earthquake, was by his son againe restored. Now was this great and famous citie, sometime the beautie of the world, by these strange and fatall mutations, wonderfully defaced, and brought to great desolation: in euery place was to be seene great heapes, or rather (to say the truth) great hils of rubbidge, the eternall witnesses of the ruine thereof; the houses stood some quite fallen downe, some readie to follow after, and some other great and stately buildings now the small reliques of great fires: for the great beautie thereof was before, at such time as the Latines tooke it, most defaced by fire; who all the time that they had it, ceased not night and day to destroy some part or other of it, as if they had knowne they should not long keepe it; neither did this last fire raised by the Greeks themselues to terrifie the Latins, a little deforme it: for which cause the Emperors chiefe care now was to cleanse the citie, and in best sort he could to reform so great a confusion of things not to be all at once amended; first beginning with the churches, which ruinous or ready to fall, he repaired; and next to that filled the emptie houses with new inhabitants. And albeit that the chiefe of the Latines were together with the Emperour fled and gone, yet was the most part of the artificers and tradesmen of the citie, Venetians, and of them of Pisa, mingled together; vnto whom also to ioyne the Genowaies, and so to fill the citie with Latines, he thought it not altogether safe, although that by them he reaped great profit: wherefore he assigned vnto them the citie of Galatia now called Pera, on the other side of the hauen, for them to inhabit; granting them great priuiledges, and euery of those companies to be gouerned by a Consull or Potestate of their owne. As for the imperiall citi eit selfe, he stored it (so neere as he could) with naturall Greekes borne.

Paleologus is exlous of his state.

Now although all things went as *Paleologus* the Emperor could himselfe haue wished; yet could he not rest so contented, for feare lest those which now did eat their owne hearts, and with great griefe smouldred their anger, should at length as the rightfull heires of the empire by him vsurped, breake out into open force, and so breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps worke his confusion. For such is the tormenting state of vsurping tyrants, neuer to think themselues safe so long as any one liueth, whom they may suspect. Wherefore at once to rid himselfe of this feare, he thought it best so to dispose of the children of the late Emperor, *Theodorus Lascaris*, as that he should not need of them to stand in doubt: to take them out of the way, besides that it was a thing odious, he saw it like to be vnto him dangerous; *Mary* and *Theodora* (two of the eldest daughters) beeing before by their father married vnto two great Princes, (one the Despot of Epirus, and the other Prince of Bulgaria) with whom he had much before to do, and of them yet stood in some doubt; but these was safe enough out of his reach. Other two yonger sisters there were in his custodie, *Theodora* and *Irene*, with their brother *Iohn*, the only heire of the empire: *Theodora* he married vnto one *Belicurt*, a gentleman of Peloponesus; and *Irene* to one *Vigintimilio* of Genoa; both Latines, men of no great birth or power, such as he needed not to stand in doubt of. These two Ladies, the daughters of so great an Emperour as was *Theodorus*, thus basely bestowed; remained onely their brother *Iohn*, the onely heire of the empire, then but ten yeare old, whom *Paleologus* long before euen in the beginning of his raigne, had sent vnto Magnesia, there to be safely kept farre off from the court; for feare least ginne some new stirres dangerous vnto his estate. Which indignitie done vnto the young Prince, *Arsenius* the Patriarch (put in trust by his father for the bringing of him vp) tooke in so euill part, that he forsooke the court with all his ecclesiasticall dignitie, and as a man weary of the world, retired himselfe vnto a little monasterie of *Pascasius* in the countrey; there to spend the rest of his dayes. From whence for all that hee was after the taking of Constantinople from the Latines, almost against his will drawne thither by *Paleologus* the Emperour, and made Patriarch thereof, there together with so great an honour to finde his greater discontent. For *Paleologus* the vsurper, altogether vnmindfull of his faith so solemnly before giuen, for the safetie of the young Prince, and the restoring vnto him of his empire; and now

A now fully resolued to establish vnto him and his posteritie the soueraignetie of so great an empire, howsoeuer it was got, caused the yong Princes eies to be most cruelly put out: the vsual practise of the tyrants of the East, vpon such as they are loth or feare to kill, and yet would make them vnfit for gouernment. Of which barbarous crueltie, his sister *Theodora* (married to *Constantinus* Prince of Bulgaria) hearing, ceased not with teares and praiers and all other womanly persuasions, to stirre vp her husband in reuenge thereof: whereunto also *Iathatines* the Turkes Sultan, gaue no small furtherance; who wearie of exile, and to bee so into a corner confined as into a prison from whence he might not start, by secret messengers intreated the Bulgarian Prince to make war vpon the vsurping Emperor: promising him a great summe of mony, if by his helpe he might recouer his former libertie. Wherewith hee the rather mo-

Paleologus causeth the young Emperors eyes to be put out.

B ued, with a great power of his owne, and aboue twentie thousand Tartars which then lay by the riuer Ister, suddenly brake into the Emperours territories, and in shorter time than was to haue beene thought, ouerranne all the countrey of Thracia, euen vnto the Sea side, leauing neither man nor beast in all that countrey as hee went: in good hope also to haue by the way surprised the Emperour himselfe, euen then returning from his warres against the Despot in Thessalie: who hearing of his speedie comming, beeing got vnto the Sea side, and (hauing no way left to haue escaped by land) shipped himselfe into a Galley of the Latines, which with another, her consort bound for Constantinople, by good hap put in there for to water, and so in two dayes arriued in safetie at the imperiall citie. Thus disappointed of the Emperor, all his care was for the deliuerie of the Turks Sultan. Wherefore marching in hast

C to Ænum, he so terrified the citizens with his comming, that they without farther delay deliuered him into his hands, so to redeeme their owne peace. In his returne you might haue seene the souldiers, especially the Tartars, driuing before them infinit numbers both of men and cattell, in such sort, as that in the open countrey of Thracia for a space, was hardly to bee seene either countreyman or beast, it was so cleane swept both of inhabitants, and likewise of cattell.

Iathatines the Sultan by the Tartars carried ouer Ister, and so by them set at libertie, shortly after dyed. In whose kingdome succeeded not his sonne *Melicke* (as some write) but two others (as the Turkes themselues report) the one called *Mesoot*, the sonne of *Kei-Cubades*, and the other *Kei-Cubades*, the sonne of *Feramcine*, borne also of the *Selzuccian* family, as

Iathatines dyeth in exile.

D were all the other Turkes Sultans, but how neere of blood vnto the late Sultan *Iathatines* they say not. Betwixt which two, as his vassals, *Gazan* the great Tartar Chan (by whome they were so preferred) for the payment of a yearely tribute, diuided the Turkes kingdome: apportioning vnto *Mesoot* the cities of Amida (in antient time called Amisus, and Aminsus in Galatia, Melatia otherwise called Meletine in the lesser Armenia, Siuaste) in antient time Sebastia, and Harbarie, before Satabrea, both in Cappadocia, with all the countrey about them. And vnto *Keicubades*, Iconium, the antient seat of the Turkish Sultans, with all Rumilia, Asiatica, or the countries of the lesser Asia alongst the Sea coast; which these two Princes held as the Tartars tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Iathatines* before them, vntill such time as hee was by the same Tartars againe expulsed. So that the Turkes kingdome,

E which had of long time flourished in the *Selzuccian* familie in Persia, in Syria, Palestine, and Ægypt, there quite ouerthrowne by the Mamalukes and Tartars (as is before declared) and now brought vnderfoot in the lesser Asia also, where onely rested all the hope of that Nation, was now at a low ebbe, diuided betwixt two weake Princes, raigning but at the deuotion of the Tartar. In which confusion of the Turkish empire, so rent; not onely diuers men of greater power and authoritie amongst them, shared vnto themselues, some one corner of the declining kingdome, and some another; but many of the obscure and basest people also, bearing with them nothing but their bowes and arrowes, tooke the strait passages of the mountaines, and from thence with their dayly incursions, did much harme in the countries of the Christians ioyning vpon them: which was no great matter for them to doe, the

F garrisons which were woont to defend the same, beeing for want of pay quite disbanded, and the Castles vpon the frontiers by them abandoned; which at the first, as a thing of small importance neglected, was at length vnto the Greekes a great cause of the ruine and decay of the greatest part of their estate in Asia. These mischiefes vnregarded, grew dayly more and more, the Turkes still gayning vpon the Greekes what they lost vnto the Tartars. Whose

inua-

inuasions (the glorie of their kingdome onely excepted) was not so hurtfull vnto them, as the
G cause of their much greater felicitie afterwards. At length it fortuned, that a great power of
these aduenturous Turks meeting together in Paphlagonia, were about to haue inuaded the
territotries of the Christians: against whom *Michael Paleologus* the Emperour sent out a strong
and puissant armie to stay their further comming on, least breaking in that way, they should
without resistance at their pleasure forrage the countrey before them. Which army conduc-
ted by vnskilfull captaines, encountering with the Turks, was by them in a great battel ouer-
throwne and vtterly defeated, few or none of all that great multitude escaping: for whilest
the Greekes vnaduisedly pursued the Turks, retiring of purpose before them, they were by
them drawne into the danger of a greater power lying in ambush for them, and so entrapped,
H were slaine with an exceeding great slaughter. After which so great a victorie (the beginning
of the miserie of the Christians in the lesser Asia) the Turks without let or stay ouerranne
all the countrey, vnto the riuer Sangarius: vpon the bankes whereof the Greeke Emperour
was glad to fortifie diuers townes and forts to keepe them out of Bithynia. Neuertheless
they in short time after subdued all the countries, from Pontus and Galatia, vnto the Lycian
and Carian Sea, and the riuer Eurymedon, which they diuided amongst them into diuers
Toparchies: little or nothing acknowledging the soueraignty eyther of *Mesoot*, or *Kei-*
Cubades.

Whilest the Turks in the lesser Asia thus win from the Christians on the one side, and lose
to the Tartars on the other, many an hard conflict in the mean time passed betwixt the Ægyp-
I tian Sultans with their Mamalukes, and the Tartars, for the soueraignty of Syria. The poore
remainder of the Christians all that while there, in doubt both of the one and of the other:
from whom and from the Armenians (then also much infested with the Mamalukes) diuers
embassadors were sent vnto the Pope and the Christian Princes of the West, to craue their aid
and helpe in that their hard estate: whose prayers little preuailing with the rest, yet so moo-
ued *Lewis* the French King, and *Henry* the third, then raigning in England, that they both pro-
mised them aid. Whereupon *Lewis* a man of a great deuotion, and alwaies forward in that ser-
uice against the Infidels, tooke vpon him the Crosse, the cognisance of the sacred war; causing
his three sons, *Philip* that succeeded him in the kingdome, surnamed the Faire, *Peter* countie of
K Alangon, and *Iohn* Countie of Neuers (surnamed *Tristan*, for that his mother was in her grea-
test heauines for the taking of her husband, deliuered of him in Ægypt) and most of the nobi-
litie of France to doe the like: vnto whom also *Theobald* King of Nauar his son in law, *Alphon-*
sus his brother, and *Guydo* Earle of Flanders, joyned themselues. And so hauing put all things
in readines, tooke his way to Marseilles, and from thence embarking himselfe with his armie
1270 in the Genoway ships, hired for that purpose, set forward the first of March, in the yere 1270.
But being at sea, he was by force of weather constrained to land in Sardinia, and there to stay a
Carthage besie-
ged by K. Lewis. while: departing thence, he at length arriued at Carthage, the place by him desired; where in
the entrance of the hauen he surprised certaine of the enemies ships; but landing his men, and
assaulting the towne, he was there notably repulsed. This is not that antient, great, and famous
L city, which sometime mightily stroue with the proud Mistresse of the world for soueraigntie,
but another built long after in the ruines, or at lest not far from the ruines of the same. In the be-
sieging whereof, the Frenchmen found such resistance, as wel put them in remembrance of the
antient glory of the Carthaginians. One day it fortuned as the King thus lay at the siege, that
the defendants made a great & fierce sallie out vpon the Frenchmen, who before commanded
so to do, by little and little retired, to draw their enemies further on; betwixt whom & the ci-
tie, the Constable with a great power comming in & charging them behind, and they which
before retired now standing close vnto them, they were on both sides hardly beset; who for al
that, as became valiant men, worthily defended themselues, & made there a great fight, though
not without extreame perill: which they in the citie beholding, gaue out a most hideous and
piteous cry, a certain signe of their hard estate within; astonying with the suddennes thereof,
M both their friends & their enemies. But whilst they of the town betwixt hope & dispair stood
thus beholding the fight at land, the Frenchmen by sea approching a bulwarke on that side of
Carthage won. the town, took it without resistance: which so dismaid thē without, that they began forthwith
to flie, of whom the greatest part casting away their weapons, were by the Kings commande-
ment taken to mercy; and they likwise of the town vpon promise of their liues, yeelded the
same

A same vnto the King. Carthage thus woon, the King laid siege vnto Tunes, the chiefe citie of
that kingdome, beeing not far off: whether by the way he was encountred by the King of the
countrey, who hauing there lost ten thousand of his Moores, betooke himselfe to flight with
the rest. Who thus ouerthrowne, resolued no more to tempt fortune, but to keepe himselfe
safe within the wals of his city, if happily so he might (as it oftentimes falleth out) more wea-
ken his enemies by lying still and protracting the time, than by open force and valour. Which
their purpose King *Lewis* perceiuing, resolued not to stir from thence vntill that hee were be-
come master of the citie; which as it seemed, could not hold out for want of victuals, consi-
dering the multitude of people that were got into it. Neuertheless thus besieged both by sea
and land; and so straitly hemmed in on euery side, as that no reliefe could possibly be brought
B vnto it; yet held it out by the space of six moneths. After which time wants daily more and
more increasing amongst the besieged, embassadours were sent out to the King, to intreat
with him of peace. But whilest these embassadours goe to and fro, and reason vpon the capi-
tulations of the desired peace, behold a great and furious plague arose in the French campe,
which began to cut them downe by heapes: there dyed *Iohn Tristan* Countie of Neuers, the
Kings youngest sonne, borne in the first expedition that the said King his father made into the
holy Land, euen at such time as he was taken prisoner; which *Tristan* dyed the 25 day of Au-
gust in the yeare of our Lord 1270. The good King hauing yet scarcely performed the ob-
sequies of his sonne, fell sicke of the bloudie flix, whereof he there shortly after died also. A-
bout which time arriued there *Charles* King of Sicilie, the French Kings brother, with a great
C number of fresh souldiers: whose comming lightned somewhat the Frenchmens hearts (hea-
uie for the death of their King) and daunted the Moores, before bragge of the same. Shortly
after whom arriued there also Prince *Edward*, King *Henry* the third his eldest sonne, who tra-
uelling thorough France, and taking shipping at Aquesmort, not farre from Marseilles, was
now in ten dayes with a braue companie of Englishmen come to Tunes; and there of the
other Christian Princes, namely of *Philip* the French King (his father *Lewis* being now dead)
of *Charles* King of Sicilie, and of the two Kings of Nauar and Aragon, ioyfully receiued.
But these Princes had a little before his arriual concluded a peace with the Moors King, & the
Infidels, vpon condition that hee should pay a yeerely tribute of fortie thousand crownes vn-
to the King of Sicilia; and to suffer the Christian religion to bee freely preached in his do-
D minions, by such deuout persons as should bee there left for that purpose; and that vnto such
as should by their preaching be conuerted vnto the faith in Christ Iesus, it should bee lawfull
for them to be baptized, and to professe the Christian religion. Of which peace, Prince *Ed-*
ward vnderstanding, did what hee might to haue dissuaded them from the same; saying, that
the warre was by them al taken in hand against the Infidels, as enemies to the crosse of Christ,
with whom they were not to haue peace: and for the recouerie of the Holy Citie. But say
what he would, and doe what hee could, the peace (to his great discontentment) was now
concluded, which they might not (as they sayd) againe breake: and thereupon with the first
faire winde hoised saile, and returned towards Sicilia, with purpose the next Spring to haue
gone into Syria; which their determination was shortly after by the hand of God disappoin-
E ted. For beeing come vpon the coast of the Island not farre from Drepanum, most of the
great Princes and other Nobilitie, in their long boats went on land, the rest of the fleet lying
at anker about a league off; for that being for the most part ships of great burthen they were
not able to put into the harbour: But as they so lay, by force of a sudden and violent tempest
then arising, some were eaten vp with the rough sea; some falling foule one of another, there
perished together; others driuen vpon the maine, were there beaten in peeces: so that of that
great fleet before the storme ceased, perished about an hundred and twentie saile, with all
the people, as well marriners as souldiers left in them, and great store both of armour and
munition: In such sort that most of the common souldiers and marriners which had esca-
ped the plague at Tunes, there vpon the coast of Sicilia perished by shipwracke. Onely
F Prince *Edwards* fleet, beeing in number but thirteene ships, escaped free without losse either
of ship or man. Neither were they that were got to land at Drepanum in much better case,
the plague still following them; whereof dyed *Theobald* King of Nauar, and *Isabel* his
wife, King *Lewis* his daughter; *Elizabeth* the French Queene, with a wonderfull number of
noble gentlemen, and other common souldiers; in such sort that that *Philip* the French King

The Christian princes returning from Tunes suffer shipwracke vpon the coast of Sicilia.

discouraged

discouraged with the greatnes of the mortalitie, and the miserable losse at sea, resolued there G
to make an end of the intended war, and so returned into France, as did the rest that were left,
1271 euery man into his own country. Only Prince *Edward* hauing passed that Winter in Sicilia,
Prince Edward arriueth at Ptolemais. with the first of the next Spring set forward again on his voyage, and in 15 dayes after arriued
with his fleet at Ptolemais: where after he had by the space of a moneth rested himselfe and
his souldiers after their long trauell, and fully inquired of the state of the country, he with six
or seuen thousand souldiers marching from Ptolemais about twentie miles into the Land,
tooke Nazareth, and put to sword all them hee found therein, and so againe returned. After
whom the enemies following, in hope to haue taken him at some aduantage, hee vnderstan-
ding therof, turned backe vpon them, and killing a great number of them, put the rest to flight.
And after that about Midsummer, vnderstanding that the Sarasins were againe making head H
at a place called Cakhow, about fortie miles off, he set forwards towards them, and comming
vpon them early in the morning before they were aware, slew aboue a thousand of them, and
dispersed the rest. Ayded also by the Nobilitie of Cyprus, hee with like successe as before,
made a third expedition against the Turks & Infidels: insomuch that his fame began to grow
great amongst them, and they to stand of him in no little dread. But whilest hee thus pre-
uailed, he was by foule treacherie almost taken out of the way. The Admirall of Ioppa faig-
ning himselfe desirous to become a Christian, and willing to further the Princes proceedings,
had by a secret messenger and letters sundrie times intelligence with him, as well concerning
his owne good entertainment, as the effecting of that which he had promised. This messenger
by the Admirall thus employed, was (though to the Prince vnknowne) one of the *Assasines*, a I
companie of most desperate and dangerous men among the Mahometans, who strongly delu-
ded with the blind zeale of their superstition, and accounting it meritorious, by any means to
kill any great enemie of their religion; for the performance thereof, as men prodigall of their
liues, desperatly aduenture themselues vnto all kinde of dangers. So now this messenger, be-
ing resolued to die, comming the fift time vnto the Prince, and being searched for hauing any
weapon about him, as the manner was, had accesse vnto him, then lying in his chamber vpon
his bed, in his ierkin, bare headed, because of the heat of the weather: where after due reue-
rence done, he pulled out certaine letters from his Lord vnto the Prince, which he read with
great delight, as penned of purpose for to please. But as he was further questioning with him
of many matters, and all the companie voided, the desperate messenger making as though hee K
would haue pulled out some other secret letters, suddenly pluckt out an enuenomed knife,
which hee had secretly hidden about him, thinking to haue strucke him into the bellie as hee
Prince Edward wounded. lay: for the auoiding of which stroke, the Prince lifting vp his arme, was therein grieuously
wounded. But as the villaine was about to haue doubled the stroke, the Prince with his foot
gaue him such a blow, that he felled him to the ground, and with that starting vp, caught him
by the hand, where in strugling with him for the knife, in wresting it out of his hand, he hurt
himselfe therewith in the forehead; but getting it from him, presently thrust it into the mur-
therers bellie, and so slew him. The Princes seruants being not farre off, and hearing the buste-
ling, came running in; where finding the messenger dead on the floore, one of them with a
stoole beat out his braines: whereat the Prince tooke some displeasure, for so striking a dead L
man. This danger of the Princes much troubled and grieued all the Christians in Syria; and
the more, for that the wound in his arme, after it had beene certaine dayes well dressed by the
skilfull Surgeons and Physitians, began to mortifie and grow blacke, insomuch, that they
and others about him began to mutter among themselues, and to looke heauily vpon the mat-
ter, as not without danger. Which hee perceiuing, sayd vnto them, Why whisper you
thus amongst your selues? What see you in mee? Can I not be healed? Tell mee the truth
and feare not. Whereunto one of them answered; And like your Highnesse, wee doubt not
of your healing, but that it will be painfull for you to suffer. If suffering (sayd he) may againe
restore my health, I commit my selfe vnto you, worke on mee your skill, and spare not. So
the next day they cut out all the dead and poysoned flesh out of his arme, and in fifteene M
dayes after perfectly cured his wound, to the great reioycing of all his people. The great
Sultan to cleere himselfe of this so dishonourable a treacherie, sent three of his noblemen
vnto the Prince, calling to witnesse his false Prophet, That the same was done neyther
by him nor his consent. Which Embassadours the Prince honourably vsed, but suffered
them

A them not to come nigh him. So hauing tarried eighteene moneths at Ptolemais, and no ayd
comming from the other Christian princes, as was expected, he tooke shipping, and returning
homeward, landed first in Sicilia, and from thence crossing ouer into Apulia, and so trauelling
to Rome, was there honorably entertained by *Gregorie* the tenth, then Pope; and from thence
by the way of France arriued in England, where he was shortly after crowned king, in the yere
1272. his father the old King, *Henrie* the third, being a little before his returne dead.

The yeare following, *Gregorie* the tenth, not ignorant of the hard estate of the Christians
in Syria, (as hauing there bin of late himselfe with Prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his
1273. absence elected Pope) and now desirous to procure them some reliefe, ratified the election of
Rodulph the Emperour taketh vpō him the Crosse. *Rodulphus* of Hapspurge vnto the Empire; vpon condition, That hee should promise to take
B vpon himselfe the Crosse, and to giue them reliefe: for the performance whereof he offered
vnto the Emperour two hundred thousand crownes, with the tenths both of the Clergie and
Temporaltie for six yeres: and many goodly blessings were in his name also, by the preachers
of that time, promised vnto all such as should with him take vpon them that sacred warre.
Whereupon the Emperour with all his familie tooke vpon them the Crosse, the signe of the
sacred expedition intended: as did also the Duke of Lorraine shortly after, with some others.
Neuertheless the Emperour, otherwise busied in warres against the Bohemians and Bauari-
ans, and delaying still the time, as not greatly willing to take vpon him so long and dangerous
a journey, and the Pope still threatning his high sentence of excommunication, the time pas-
sed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Vntill that at length the Emperour hauing
C happily finished his warres in Bohemia, and finding himselfe at some good leisure in some
part to discharge his vow, and to satisfie the expectation the world had of long conceiued of
him, sent *Henrie* Prince of Megapolis, or as the Germanes call it, Meckelbourg, with a strong
power into Syria, to performe what himselfe had promised. Who comming to Ptolemais,
made many notable incursions into the countrie about Damasco, with fire and sword destroy-
ing all before him as he went, and carrying thence many great and rich booties; vntill that at
length hee was by the Mamalukes circumuented and taken prisoner, and so carried vnto the
Henr. the prince taken prisoner, & sent to Caire Sultan at Caire, where he remained in strait prison six and twentie yeares after; vntill that by
chance one of the Mamalukes (a renegate Germane) beeing chosen Sultan, caused him to be
brought before him, and at his comming demanded of him, If it would not doe him good to
D celebrate the remembrance of the natiuitie of his Christ with his friends in Germanie? (for
now that time of the yere was at hand) And I know (said the Sultan) that thou art so addicted
vnto thy superstition, that thou respectest the same more than thy libertie. Truth (said *Henry*)
mightie Prince; for libertie would auaile me nothing, if Christ by his most mild incarnation
had not taken away our captiuitie: and therefore how much all men owe vnto the reuerend
remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, ô King, didst also vnderstand; which as I most
heartily wish, so I would I could thereof perswade thee. God forbid (said the Sultan) for I re-
member that when as I was chiefe enginer vnto thy father at Knese-Fenicke in Liuonia, and
there did him good seruice, I was altogether of the Christian perswasion; but now hauing
left that common error, haue therewith also changed my priuat fortune. But as for thy Reli-
E gion I haue nothing to say, my talke is onely concerning thy libertie: Wouldest thou there-
fore gladly be free, and so returne home to thy friends? That, Nature craueth (sayd *Henry*) al-
though my fortune gainsayeth, which yet dependeth of your pleasure: I desire indeed to re-
turne home, which if you should denie me, I must as I haue done, take it in good part; assuring
my self, that my wife *Anastasia*, with my beloued sons, *Henry*, *Leo*, and *Iohn*, haue long since ce-
lebrated my funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceiued, (said the Sultan) for I am
sure that they know thou yet liuest, and pray most heartily for thy returne. Truly I owe much
vnto the remembrance of thy father, and therefore this day giue thee thy liberty. And hauing
so said, furnished him with all things necessary, and gaue him leaue to depart with one *Martin*
his seruant, who taken with him, had borne him companie all the long time of his captiuitie.
F So taking his leaue of the Sultan, hee came to Ptolemais: but shipping himselfe for Cyprus,
hee was by the way by certaine Pyrats taken at sea, and as a fugitiue captiue brought backe
againe vnto the Sultan: who pitying his hard fortune, set him againe at libertie, and by a ship
set out for that purpose, transported him into Cyprus: where he was by the Queene of that

Iſland his aunt (as ſome ſay) honourably entertained, and ſo furniſhed of all things fit for his G
eſtate. Departing thence he came to Marſeilles, where after he had ſome few dayes refreſhed
himſelfe, he from thence trauelled by land home into his owne Countrey: where at the firſt
he was not knowne of his owne children and friends, as being grown old in priſon, & by them
long before accounted among the dead; but now at laſt found againe, and by them known, he
was of his children ioyfully receiued as their father, and of his ſubiects as their Prince. How-
beit he ſhortly after died, and was honorably buried in the monaſterie of Dobran.

Thus in the whole courſe of this hiſtorie it appears, by that which is already written, what
notable expeditions euen the greateſt Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to their immortal glory,
from time to time vndertooke againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and his moſt ſacred word, & for
the reliefe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria and in the land of Paleſtine: whereof as H
diuers of them had right glorious ſucceſſe, vnto the great profit of the Chriſtian Common-
weale; ſo ſome of them anſwered not with like euent, as vndertaken with too ſmal ſtrength,
or otherwiſe ouerthrown by the diſcord or malice of the Chriſtians themſelues, rather than
by the enemies force. Which neuertheleſſe how vnfortunatly ſoeuer they fel out in the hands
of ſuch worthie men as vndertooke them, yet haue they this glory, commendation, and com-
fort, That they were taken in hand for the honor of the Son of God, Chriſt Ieſus, and the de-
fence of his veritie, againſt the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, & his moſt blaſphemous doctrine; ſo
honorable and iuſt a quarrel as might well beſeeme the greatnes of the greateſt Prince, yea of
all the Princes of Chriſtendome. Yet could not the worthines therof, euen in thoſe more zea-
lous times, or the dangerous eſtate of that part of the Chriſtian commonweale, euen then like I
to periſh, (as ſome others be now) or the lamentable complaints of the poore oppreſſed Chri-
ſtians, crying out vnto their Chriſtian brethren for aid, any whit moue the Chriſtian princes
of that time, with their combined forces to reach vnto them their helping hands, or to yeeld
vnto them any ſuccor or reliefe: for they little feeling thoſe harmes ſo far off, & more regar-
ding their owne hereditarie quarrels, employed thoſe forces one againſt another, vnto the ef-
fuſion of ſo much Chriſtians bloud, as might haue ſufficed not for relief of the diſtreſſed Chri-
ſtians in Syria onely, but alſo to haue regained whatſoeuer had been before from them taken
by the Turkes or Saraſins. The German Princes were ſtil at a iarre about the choice of their
Emperors: the French agreed not with the Engliſh, or them of the Low-countries: neither the
Engliſh with the Scots: the Arragonians were at odds with the French: and in Italy were al- K
moſt as many deadly factions as prouinces. Of which diſcord of the Chriſtians (the greateſt
occaſion of their ruin and decay) *Melechſares* the Ægyptian Sultan vnderſtanding by his eſpi-
als, raiſed a great armie of the Mamalukes and others, with a full purpoſe to haue vtterly roo-
1289. ted out all the remainders of the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, and ſo to haue
entirely ioyned thoſe two great countries vnto his owne kingdome. But what he had ſo miſ-
chieuouſly deuiſed, hee liued not to bring to paſſe, beeing in the midſt of thoſe his great de-
ſignes taken away by ſudden death. After whom *Alphix* (or as ſome cal him, *Elpis*) ſucceeding
him in the Kingdome, & with a puiſſant armie entring into Syria, laid ſiege to Tripolis, which
Tripolis woon and raſed by Elpis the Ægyptian Sultan. he at length tooke by vndermining of it, and put to ſword all the Chriſtians therein (except
ſuch as by ſpeedie flight had in time got themſelues out of the danger) & raſed the city down L
to the ground: which calamitie betided vnto the Chriſtians the ninth of Aprill in the yeare
1289. Preſently after, he had the ſtrong caſtle of Neleſine yeelded vnto him, whereinto he
put a ſtrong garriſon, to hinder the Chriſtians from building againe the late deſtroyed city. In
like manner alſo he tooke the cities of Sidon and Berythus, which he ſacked, and laid them flat
Sidon and Berythus raſed. Tyre yeelded. with the ground. And after that, hee remooued to Tyre, which after three moneths ſtraight
ſiege, was by the Citizens (now out of all hope of reliefe) yeelded vnto him, vpon condition,
That they might with bagge and baggage in ſafetie depart. With like good fortune hee in
good time, and as it were without reſiſtance, tooke all the reſt of the ſtrong Townes and
Caſtles which the Chriſtians yet held in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, excepting onely the
Citie of Ptolemais; whereunto all the poore Chriſtians fled as vnto a Sanctuarie, to be there M
defended by the honourable Knights Templars and Hoſpitallers. Nothing now left vnto
them more than that ſtrong Citie, the Sultan of his owne accord made a peace with them for
the ſpace of fiue yeares, fearing (as was ſuppoſed) to haue drawne vpon him all the Chriſtian
Princes

A Princes of the Weſt, if hee ſhould at once haue then vtterly rooted out all the Chriſtians in
thoſe countries together.

The Chriſtians affaires thus brought to the laſt caſt in Syria, and yet faintly as it were brea-
thing, by the benefit of the late obtained peace; *Peter Beluiſe* maſter of the Templars, with the
grand maſter of the Knights Hoſpitallers, ſuddenly paſſed ouer (as Embaſſadors from the reſt)
into Europe, vnto *Nicholaus quartus* then Pope, craning his fatherly ayd. Who mooued with
ſo great miſeries of the poore afflicted Chriſtians, ſolicited the other Chriſtian princes to
haue ſent them reliefe; eſpecially *Rodolph* the Germane Emperour, who then buſied with the
affaires of the empire, and his troubles neerer home, (as were the other Chriſtian Princes
alſo) gaue good words, but no helpe at all. Yet ſome of them vnder the colour thereof, got
B from their ſubiects great ſummes of money, which they imployed to their other worſe vſes:
onely the Pope ſent fifteene hundred men at armes, whom with deuout perſuaſion, and much
earneſt preaching, he had induced to take vpon them that ſacred expedition, and entertained
them of his owne charge: vnto whom alſo many others out of diuers countries, vpon a reli-
gious zeale, ioyned themſelues as voluntarie men: who meeting together at Brunduſium, and
there imbarked with the two graund maſters of the Templars and Hoſpitallers, in ſafetie at
length arriued at Ptolemais. There was then in the citie a great number of people of all ſorts; *The miſerable eſtate of a citie about to periſh.*
of able men there was about fiftie thouſand, and about fortie thouſand of the weaker ſort:
amongſt whom, diuers murders, felonies, rapes, and ſuch other ſhameful outrages, (all haſting
the dreadfull iudgments of God) were dayly committed, and let paſſe vnregarded, more than
C of them that were iniured. For all the chief commanders were then at variance among them-
ſelues, euery one of them laying claim (not worth a ruſh) vnto the vaine title of the kingdome
of Ieruſalem. *Henrie* King of Cyprus comming thither with a great fleet, charged the Tem-
plars to deliuer him the Crowne of that kingdome, which they had (as he ſaid) wrongfully ta-
ken from *Almericus* and *Guy* his Auncеſtors. And *Charles* King of Sicilia by his Embaſſadors
layd claime vnto the title of that Kingdome, as due vnto the Kings of that Iſland: and vnder-
ſtanding it to be giuen vnto *Henrie* King of Cyprus, cauſed all the reuenues of the Templars
within his dominion, to be brought into his Treaſuries, and their lands & houſes to be ſpoy-
led. *Hugh* alſo, Prince of Antioch, laboured with tooth and naile, to defend the ouerworne
D right that his father and grandfather had vnto that loſt Kingdome. And the Countie of
Tripolis layd in for himſelfe, That hee was diſcended from *Raymund* of Tholous; and that
beſide himſelfe, remained no Prince of the antient Nobilitie, which had woon that kingdome
out of the hands of the Saraſins, and that therefore that regall dignitie did not of better right
appertaine vnto any other than vnto himſelfe. Neither did theſe foure Princes more ſtriue
for the title of the loſt Kingdome, than for the preſent gouernment of the Citie, ſtraightway
about to periſh. The Popes Legate pretending thereunto a right alſo; for that King *Iohn*
Brenne had before ſubiected it vnto the See of Rome. As for the claime vnto the Citie of
Ptolemais; the Patriarke of Ieruſalem challenged vnto himſelfe the preheminence, for that
the Metropoliticall Citie of Tyre (vnder which the Citie of Ptolemais was the third Epiſco-
pall Seat) was vnder his iuriſdiction, euen by the Decree of the Weſt Church. The Tem-
E plars alſo, and the Knights Hoſpitallers, whoſe power in the Citie was at that time farre the
greateſt, pretended the gouernment thereof of beſt right to belong vnto them, as the iuſt re-
ward of their bloud, alreadie and afterward to bee ſpent in the defence thereof: promiſing
great matters if it might be wholly referred vnto them. Neither ſpared the French King, or
the King of England, by their meſſengers to claime the ſoueraigntie of the citie, by their pre-
deceſſors ſometimes woon. And they of Piſa hauing ſtill a Conſul therein, and by often mar-
riages with the naturall inhabitants, grown into great affinitie with them, did what they might
to get the gouernment into their hands. The Venetians alſo by their authoritie and great
wealth, laboured to gaine the good will of the people, ſparing therein no coſt. And they of
Genoa, no leſſe cunning than the reſt, ſupplanted the ſtrongeſt factions, by giuing aid both ap-
F pertly and couertly vnto the weaker; that ſo hauing weakned the faction they moſt doubted
and hated, they might by the ioynt fauour of the weaker, aſpire vnto the gouernment of the
ſtronger, and ſo conſequently of the citie it ſelfe. The Florentines alſo by their continual traf-
fique thither, were not out of hope, by one fineneſſe or other, amongſt ſo many competitors,

to find a meane to ſtep vp aboue the reſt. But the greateſt part of the people for all that were moſt inclined vnto the Armenians and Tartars, as both for their neerneſſe & power moſt like of all other to ſtand them in ſtead. All theſe aimed at one marke, which was, the gouernment and commaund of the Citie; and moſt of them had in the ſame their owne proper lawes and courts, to decide their cauſes and controuerſies in. Whereby it came to paſſe, that euerie man might without checke or controlement almoſt doe what he liſt, the offendors from one court to another, remooving their ſuits as beſt ſerued their turnes. Thus were murders (as is before ſayd) dayly committed in the ſtreets, men abuſed, houſes robbed, ſhops broken vp, and many other outrages done, to the haſtning of the wrath of God, and griefe of all good men.

1291. Diuiſion and diſſention (the ruine of all Common-weales) thus raigning in the Citie, the ſouldiers of late ſent thither, or in zeale come of themſelues, for the defence thereof, gaue occaſion for the more ſpeedie deſtruction of the ſame: Such is the power of the Almightie, in his wrath and iudgements for ſinne, euen by thoſe things wherein we moſt truſt and ioy, to worke our vtter ruine and deſtruction. Theſe Souldiers, for want of ſuch pay as was promiſed them, were enforced to ſeeke abroad; and therefore contrarie to the league before made with the Ægyptian Sultan, oftentimes went out in great parties into the frontiers of his territories, taking the ſpoyle of ſuch things as they light vpon. Whereof the Sultan vnderſtanding, demaunded by his Embaſſadors, That reſtitution might be made, and the offendors deliuered vnto him to be puniſhed, according vnto the League. But in that ſo ſicke a ſtate of a dying Commonweale, neither was reſtitution made, as reaſon would, or yet the Embaſſadours courteouſly heard. With which inſolencie the Sultan prouoked, ſent *Emilech Araphus* a notable Captaine, (and as ſome ſay, his ſonne) with an hundred and fiftie thouſand men, to beſiege the Citie: who comming thither, and hauing made his approches, had by a mine in ſhort time ouerthrowne a piece of the wall; but in ſeeking to haue entred by the breach, hee found ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, that hee was glad with loſſe to retyre. Whileſt *Araphus* thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, *Alphir* the Sultan died at Damaſco: in whoſe ſtead the Mamalukes made choice of this *Araphus* for their Sultan; who more deſirous of nothing, than of the glorie of the vtter rooting vp of the Chriſtians in Syria, was ſo farre from raiſing of his ſiege, (either for the death of the Sultan, or the newes of his Kingdome) that he more ſtraitly beſet the citie than he had in the three moneths ſpace that he had there lien before. Now had they in the citie choſen *Peter* the maſter of the Templars, their gouernor; a man of great experience and valour: vnto whom, and the reſt of the nobilitie, the Sultan offered great rewards, and vnto the ſoldiers their pay, with free libertie to depart, ſo that they would without more adoo yeeld vnto him the city, which they could not long hold. Which his offer the maſter reiected, and flatly told him, That he had not learned of his anceſtors, to ſel for money vnto the Infidels a Citie bought with ſo much Chriſtian bloud; either did ſo much regard his vaine threats, as therefore to forget his ſeruice due vnto his Sauior Chriſt and the Chriſtian Commonweale. With which anſwer the tyrant inraged, the next day with all his forces aſſaulted the citie, and that in ſuch deſperat and furious manner, as if hee would euen then haue cartied it; hauing before filled the ditches, and promiſed the ſpoyle vnto his ſouldiers, the more to encourage them. Yet hauing done what he could, and loſt a number of his men, ſlaine both in the aſſault, and in a ſallie which the Chriſtians made out at the ſame time, he was enforced to retyre backe againe into his trenches. In this ſo terrible an aſſault, not repulſed without ſome loſſe alſo of the Chriſtians, the grand maſter and gouernour of the citie was wounded with a poyſoned dart, whereof he in three dayes after died: with whom the courage of the Defendants fainted alſo, no man beeing left like vnto him to vndertake ſo great a charge, although many there were, that ouerweening of themſelues deſired the ſame. In the beginning of this ſiege the Chriſtians had ſent away all their aged and weake people, vnfit for ſeruice, into Cyprus, where they in ſafetie arriued. But now many of the better ſort, both Captaines and others, diſcouraged, one after another conueighed themſelues away out of the citie: of whom a great number in paſſing thence to Cyprus, were vpon the Coaſt of the Iſland, together with the Patriarke drowned. In the citie remained only twelue thouſand, which were thought ſufficient for the defence thereof; who afterwards (as ſome report) fled alſo by ſea after their fellowes, and ſo left the citie emptie vnto the barbarous enemie: ſome others reporting of

Ptolemais beſieged.

Ptolemais in vain aſſaulted by the Sultan.

of them more honourably, as that they ſhould right valiantly defend the citie againſt the aſſault of their enemies, vntill ſuch time as that moſt of them being ſlaine or wounded, and the reſt by force driuen from the walls into the market place, and there for a while notably defending themſelues, in flying thence vnto the ſhips, were by the way al cut in ſunder, or els drowned. But howſoeuer it was, the Sultan entring the citie (by the Chriſtians abandoned, or by force taken) gaue the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiers; who after they had rifled euery corner thereof, by his commandement ſet it on fire and burnt it downe to the ground: and digging vp the very foundations of the wals, Churches, and other publicke or priuat buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no ſigne of any citie at all; but purging the place euen of the very heapes of the ſtones and rubbidge left of the raſed citie, made it a fit place for husbandmen to plow and ſow corne in; which he did both there, at Sydon, Beritus, and other townes alongſt the ſea coaſt, becauſe they ſhould neuer more ſerue for a refuge vnto the Chriſtians, orgiue them footing againe into thoſe countries. Thus together with Ptolemais was the name of the Chriſtians vtterly rooted out of Syria and the Land of Paleſtine, in the yeare 1291, about 192 yeares after the winning of Ieruſalem by *Godfrey* of Buillon and the other Chriſtian Princes his confederates.

This loſſe, as tending to the great diſgrace of the Chriſtians in generall, mooued not a little euen the greateſt of the Chriſtian Princes; wronged all or moſt part of them in the perſons of the Templars or Knights Hoſpitalers, their ſubiects, ſo ſhamefully now quite caſt out of Syria and the land of Promiſe; howbeit, troubled with their owne turbulent affaires at home or with their neighbour Princes not farre off, none of them once ſtirred for the redreſſe or reuenge thereof. Onely *Caſſanes* the great Tartar Prince, hauing of late ſubdued the Perſians, and married the daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection, and of a Mahometane become a Chriſtian) at the requeſt of his wife and his father in law, tooke the matter in hand. And for that purpoſe hauing raiſed a moſt puiſſant armie of two hundred thouſand fighting men, and ayded by the Armenians and Georgians, paſſing ouer the mountaine Amanus into Syria, not farre from the citie Hama met with *Melcenaſer*, the Ægyptian Sultans Lieutenant, with a mightie armie, whome hee ouerthrew in a great and mortall battell, wherein fortie thouſand of the Ægyptians are reported to haue beene ſlaine, and ſo draue him quite out of Syria: ſending *Molais*, one of his captaines, with part of his armie to purſue him, who neuer left him vntill hee had chaſed him ouer the deſart ſands into Ægypt. The victorious Tartar after this battell tooke the citie of Hama, where lighting vpon the great treaſures of the Sultan, hee bountifully diuided it, together with the ſpoile, amongſt his ſouldiers; reſeruing nothing thereof vnto himſelfe, more than a ſword and a casket full of ſecret letters. The Ægyptian thus put to flight, hee without reſiſtance tooke in moſt of the cities of Syria, with the citie of Ieruſalem alſo; which in many places by the Turks and Ægyptians defaced, he againe repaired: and together with the Temple of our Sauiour gaue it to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Chriſtians, repairing thither out of Cyprus, Crete, and other places, to inhabit. And hauing himſelfe honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his armie to Damaſco, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him. But lying there, with purpoſe in Autumne following to haue gone into Ægypt, and to haue vtterly deſtroyed that kingdome, he was certified of new troubles ariſing in Perſia, and ſome other parts of his empire: for repreſſing whereof, he with the greateſt part of his army returned himſelfe into Perſia, leauing one *Capcapus* gouernour of Damaſco; who after the ouerthrow of the Sultans armie had reuolted vnto him; and *Molais* (of whom wee haue before ſpoken) gouernour of Ieruſalem: commanding them at his departure to re-edifie the citie of Tyre, and to ſend embaſſadours vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to ioyne in league with them, for the more ſure holding of thoſe new gained countries. And ſo Tyre was indeed repaired as he had commanded, and deliuered to the Chriſtians, with a conuenient garriſon for the keeping thereof: but the embaſſadors comming to the proud Biſhop *Boniface* the eight, then Pope, whom of all others it beſeemed to haue furthered their buſineſſe, they could of him obtaine nothing, but returned as they came. For hee at the ſame time fallen out with *Philip* the French King, thundering out his excommunications, diſcharging his ſubiects of their loyaltie, and ſo much as in him was, depriuing him of his kingdome, had giuen the ſame vnto *Albertus* Duke of Auſtria, whom he had declared Emperour: whereof

Caſſanes the Emperour inuadeth Syria.

Ieruſalem taken and repaired by Caſſanes.

arise great troubles. Besides that, he being of the *Guelphes* faction, was not in any thing more carefull, than of the vtter extinguishing of the contrarie faction of the *Gibellines*, especially of the most honorable familie of the *Columnij*, of whom some he had slaine, some hee had depriued of their honours, some he had imprisoned, and driuen other some into exile; so that thus wickedly busied for the maintenance of his owne proud estate, hee had no leisure to further the good of the Christian commonweale: which his intollerable pride, and forgetfulnesse of dutie long escaped not the reuenging hand of God; being when hee thought least, suddenly taken prisoner at his fathers house in the city of Anagnia (where he was borne) by *Sara Columnius* his mortall enemie; whom but lately before redeemed out of a pirats gally, the French King had sent for that purpose, with one *Longaret* (or as some call him, *Nogaret*) a French Knight: by whom the proud Prelat brought to Rome, in the castle of S. *Angelo* within fiue and thirtie days after most miserably died, in his madnes (as some report) renting himselfe with his teeth, and deuouring his owne fingers. This worthie Tartar Prince *Cassanes* (by whom the Christian commonweale might haue againe risen in Syria and the land of Palestine, had not the pride of the great Bishop, & the dissention of the Christian Princes hindred the same) was (as *Aitonus* writeth, who was present in this warre, following his vncle the Armenian King) a man of a verie short stature, and exceeding hard fauor; but with valor, bountie, and other vertues of the minde, plentifully recompencing what wanted in the feature of his bodie. After whose departure into Persia, *Capcapus* gouernour of Damasco, considering that the power of the Tartars there left was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Christian Princes of the West; to recompense his former treason of reuolting from the Sultan, with a new reuolt from the Tartar, rose vp into open rebellion, drawing after him not onely the citie of Damasco, but the greatest part of Syria also. Whereof *Molais* gouernor of Ierusalem vnderstanding, was about to haue gone against him with his Tartars; but aduertised by his espials, that *Capcapus* in this his conspiracie had compacted with the Ægyptian Sultan also: perceiuing himselfe too weake to withstand so great a power, retyred with his Tartars into Mesopotamia, there expecting new supplies both from *Cassanes* and the King of Armenia. Of whose departure out of Syria the Ægyptian Sultan vnderstanding, came directly with his armie to Ierusalem, which he tooke, (being forsaken of the inhabitants) and prophaned the temple; sparing only the Sepulchre of our Sauiour, at the humble suit of the religious, making there a greater shew of deuotion, than of crueltie. After that, hee woon all the other lesser townes, which the Tartars had either kept for themselues, or giuen to the other Christians, and vtterly rased all the forts of the Hospitallers and Templars, which valiant men, without other helpe, for the space of almost a yeare held out against the tyrant; in which time most of them were honorably slain: the rest that were left aliue being taken by the enemie, had neuertheless leaue giuen with bag & baggage in safetie to depart, hauing before by solemne oath for euer abiured the country of Syria: and so these worthie men, the great ornaments of the Christian commonweale, the Hospitalers and Templars, which to the vtmost of their power had by the space of 300 yeres right worthily defended both the Christians and the Christian religion, against the Infidels in Syria and the Holy land, were now for euer driuen out thence about the yeare of our Lord 1300, to the great dishonour of all Christendome.

The description of Cassanes.

The city of Ierusalem, with all Syria again recouered by the Ægyptian Sultan.

1300.

Wherefore with them now taking our leaue of Syria and the Holy land, leauing the same in the possession of the Ægyptian Sultan and the Mamalukes, although it were shortly after like enough to haue bin againe recouered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the great Tartar Prince *Cassanes*, and their domesticall troubles letted: we will againe returne return to the troubled affaires of the Turks in the lesser Asia, whither the course of the time had somewhat before called vs, with the occurrents thereof, more proper to our purpose and the argument we haue in hand, but that al cannot be at once told: and for the better vnderstanding of the desirous Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to breake off the course of the aforesaid historie, drawing so neere to an end, but to make him partaker of the heauinesse thereof.

The death of Mesoot and Beiubades.

Now had the Turks no kindome left in the lesser Asia, and that also at the pleasure of *Gazan* the great Tartar *Chan* diuided betwixt *Mesoot* and *Cei-Cubades*, as his vassals, bound vnto him by a yerely tribute, as is aforesaid: who both kept in awe by the greatnes of the Tartar, did nothing worth the remembrance, but as they liued, so also died, almost buried in obscuritie. Of these two, *Mesoot* died without issue; but *Cei-Cubades* departing, left behind him his sonne *Aladin*,

A *Aladin*, who by the name of *Aladin* the second succeeding in the kingdome, vnited againe the same before diuided, yet paying still tribute vnto the Tartar his Soueraigne, as had his father with the other first Sultans of the Turkes before him. Much it was not that this *Aladin* did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time beganne to decline, and not to lie so heauie vpon the Turkes as before. Hee was a man of a quiet spirit, and therefore much delighted in peace: a great friend vnto *Othoman* the first founder of the glorious and mightie *Othoman* empire, as in his life shall appeare. But this *Aladin*, the last of the Turkes Sultans of the *Selzuccian* familie, dying without issue; one *Sabib* his Vesir-Azemes or chiefe Counseller, and then a man of greatest authoritie, aspired vnto the kingdome, which he had for most part himselfe swaied all the raigne of the late Sultan his master: which vsurped soueraigntie, no

B way vnto him due, hee could neither himselfe long hold, or deliuer vnto his posteritie; for that many others of the nobilitie, men of great power; and borne of greater families than hee; enuying at his honour, and disdayning to bee gouerned by him, or any other no greater than themselues, layed hold some vpon one countrey or prouince, some vpon another, where they were able to doe most, erecting vnto themselues greater or lesser Satrapies, according to the measure of their own strength and power, without respect of any superioritie one should haue ouer another, but euery one of them absolutely commanding ouer so much as he was able by strong hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, that the great Monarchies destitute of their lawfull heires, had in part, or all, become rich preyes vnto such as could first lay strong hand vpon them; euen so fell it now out in the great kingdom of the Turks, euery

C one of their great Princes, measuring the greatnesse of his territorie, not by the measure of his right, but by the strength of his owne power. Wherein they shared so well for themselues, that *Sabib* at first in possession of all, was in short time thrust quite out of all: and so the great kingdome of the Turkes in the lesser Asia, brought vnto a meere Anarchie; no King now left among them, the whole kingdom being now diuided into diuers Satrapies, or other lesser Toparchies. The greatest of those Princes that thus shared the Turks kingdome amongst them, was one *Caraman Alufirius*; who as strongest, tooke vnto him the citie of Iconium, the regall seat of the Turkish Sultans, with all the great countrey of Cilicia, and some part of the frontiers of the countries of Lycaonia, Pamphilia, Caria, and the greater Phrigia, as farre as Philadelphia, and the citie of Antioch vpon the riuer Meander: All which large territorie, was

D of him afterward called Caramania, and by the same name is commonly at this day knowne, and by our late Geographers described. Of this *Caraman* also descended the Caramanian Kings, who of long time after vnfortunately stroue with the *Othoman* Sultans for the Soueraigntie of their empires; vntill that at length they with their kingdome, and all the rest of these Turkish Satrapies, were in the fatall greatnesse of the *Othoman* empire, swallowed vp and deuoured, as in the processe of this Historie shall (if God so will) in due time and place be declared. Next neighbour vnto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greekes called *Sarchan*, of whome the countrey of Ionia-Maritima was and yet is called Saru-Chan-Ili, and Sarnchania, that is to say, *Saruchans* countrey. The greatest part of Lydia, with some part also of the greater Misia, Troas, and Phrygia, fell to *Calamus* and his sonne *Carasius*, of whome it is

E called Carasia, or Carasi-Ili, (or as wee might say) *Carasius* his countrey. The greatest part of the antient Misia, with some part of Lydia, was possessed by *Aidin*, and was of him called Aidinia, or Aidin-Ili, as his countrey. Some part of the great countrey of Pontus, with the cities of Heraclea-Pontica, Castamona, Synope, and others neere vnto the Euxine, and the countrey of Paphlagonia, fell into the handes of the sonnes of *Omer*, or as the Greekes call him, *Amur*; of whome that countrey tooke not name, as did the others, of such Princes as possessed them, but is commonly called Bolli, of a Citie in that Countrey by the Turkes so named. As was also Mendesia, or as some call it Menteşia, a Countrey in the lesser Asia, so by the Turkes called of Mendos or Myndus, a Citie in Caria. There were beside these, diuers other places and Toparchies in the lesser Asia, which in the rending of this great kingdome, from the Turkes receiued names, before vnto the world vnknowne; all which to prosecute, were tedious. Sufficeth it vs, for the manifesting of the Turkes Anarchie, and the ruine of their kingdome in the lesser Asia, as in part also for the more euidence of the heauie Historie following, to haue remembred these as the chiefest; especially such as tooke their names of such great Princes or Captaines as in that so great a confusion

Caramania.

Saruchania.

Carasia.

Aidinia.

Bolli.

Mendesia.

The Turkes kingdome rent, in sunder by themselues.

The Turkes Anarchie.

confuſion of the Turks kingdome, by ſtrong hand firſt ceazed vpon them, and ſo left them to their poſteritie, of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter. Theſe Princes one and all that thus ſhared the late *Aladinian* kingdome, were deſcended of the better ſort of the Turkes, which with the *Selzuccian* & *Aladinian* Sultans driuen out of Perſia by the Tarrars, had vnder them ſeated themſelues in the leſſer Aſia, as is before at large declared. Now amongſt theſe great men that thus diuided the Turks kingdome, moſt of them that write of the Turks affaires, both Greekes and Latines, reckon vp *Othoman* (the raiſer of his houſe and familie) for one, who indeed in the latter time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flouriſh, and was of him for his valour extraordinarily fauoured (as in this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare) but of his kingdome held no more than one poore lordſhip, called Suguta in Bythinia, not farre from the mountaine Olympus, (long before giuen vnto his father *Ertbogrull*, for his good ſeruice) with ſuch other ſmall holds thereabout, as he had himſelfe gained from the weake Chriſtians his neighbours. For although he were a Turke borne, yet was hee not of the *Selzuccian* family, as were the reſt, but of another houſe and tribe, and therefore not of them fauoured or thought to haue ſo good right to any of the late Sultans prouinces or territories, as had they who beeing of his houſe, and holpen with the preſcription of time, enuied at the ſudden riſing of this *Oguzian* Turk, being to them as it were a meere ſtranger: whoſe fortune for all that (I know not by what ſecret foreknowledge) they ſeemed to feare, as in time to grow dangerous vnto them and their poſteritie; wherin they were no whit deceiued. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be ſaid hereafter: leaue wee him now therefore with the reſt vnto their fortunes in this the Turkes Anarchie, and ſo conclude this part of our Generall Hiſtorie: Glad when I looke backe to haue waded thus far, yet fearing to be drowned before I get ouer; ſuch a ſea of matter and world of troubles yet remaining, not without much labour and toile, and that in long time to be paſſed through.

Othoman none of the Selzuccian familie.

* * *

FINIS.

THE LIVES OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS AND EMPERORS.

FAITHFVLLY GATHERED OVT OF the beſt Hiſtories both antient and moderne, and digeſted into one continuat Hiſtorie.

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

ECCLES. 10. 4.

The gouernment of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, [and all iniquity of the nations is to be abhorred:] and when time is he wil ſet vp a profitable Ruler ouer it.

LONDON,
Printed by ADAM ISLIP,
1620.

Phi. Lonicerus Hist. Turc, Lib. 1.

Multiplici lassata Asiæ res clade premuntur.
Hinc Sarracenus, Tartarus inde ruit.
Mutua Christicolæ gladios in vulnera stringunt:
Græcia funesta seditione perit.
Impiger interea noua concipit Ottomannus
Concilia, & valida surgit in arma manu.
Et vasta tricis regno fundamina turbæ
Ponit: & in multo sanguine sceptra lauat.

With endlesse wars the Asian state farre spent and ouerworne:
By Sarasins and Tartars force, is all in peeces torne.
The Christians draw their bloudie swords, wherewith themselues to wound:
And Greece with ciuill discord seekes it selfe for to confound.
Meane while the warlike *Othoman*, new counsels doth deuise,
And with a crue of Martiall men doth vp in armes arise:
And layes the fatall plot whereon the wastfull Turkes should raigne,
And bathes his sceptre in much bloud of people by him slaine.

THE RISING OF THE GREAT AND MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF THE TVRKES VNDER *OTHOMAN* FIRST FOVNDER THEREOF: WITH HIS LIFE AND DOINGS.

C

D

WHAT small assurance there is in mens affaires, and how subiect vnto change euen those things are wherein wee for the most part repose our greatest felicitie and blisse, (beside that the whole course of mans fraile life, by many notable examples well declareth) nothing doth more plainely manifest the same, than the heauie euents and woe full destructions of the greatest kingdomes and empires: which founded vpon great fortunes, increased with perpetuall successe, exalted by exceeding power, established with most puissant armies, wholesome lawes, and deepe counsels; haue yet growne old, and in time come to naught: So that euen as men, all things else belonging vnto man, are subiect vnto the ineuitable course of destinie, or more truly to say, vnto the fatal doome of the most Highest, prefining vnto euery thing that in time begun, a time also wherin to take end, being himselfe without time the great commander thereof, and of all things else done therein. The fame of the first Assyrian Monarchie, is very antient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it neuertheless found an end; and the more to put vs in remembrance of our infirmitie, was neuer with so much glorie and valour by *Ninus* erected, as it was with shame and cowardise by *Sardanapalus* subuerted. With like necessitie fel the great empire of the Medes & Persians, the time thereof being come. And

E

after them, the Macedonians also. Neither hath the great Roman empire, or the proud citie of Rome it selfe (sometime the mistresse of the world) herein found any exemption, but runne the same course with the rest: which grown great with continuall triumphs, and so strong as that it was not with forrain power to be shaken; conuerted the forces of it selfe vpon it selfe, to the ouerthrow of the antient liberty thereof, together with the vtter subuersion of the state. After which time that mightie monarchie (of all that euer yet were, the greatest) vnder the Romane Emperors felt many an hard and perillous storme, and by little and little still declining (though sometime like a sick aged bodie, by the valour or vertue of some one or other her worthie Emperors, a little relieued, and by and by againe cast downe by the follie or negligence of some others succeeding) it became at length a prey vnto a foolish rude & barbarous nation, whielf it

F

had before oftentimes ouercome, and ouer which many the Roman captains had triumphed, and therof taken their glorious surnames: which now againe without compassion, burning and sacking it, caused it to stoope, and to yeld vnto the seruile yoake which it had in former time proudly imposed vpon the necks of others: wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the fortune or folly of this or that man, then sitting at the helm (although that may also much help the

All worldly things subiect to change.

The greatest kingdomes hath in time taken end, & so come to naught.

the matter as a meane) but the instabilitie of worldly things neuer permanent, but alwayes changeable, and the sooner for their height; and that so forcibly, as that no man knoweth how to remedie the same, either if he did, were he able to performe it; the greatest means that men could possibly deuise for the stay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater power from aboue, conuerted vnto the more speedie effecting of that, against the which they were by mans wisedome prouided. The like might be said of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, the Thebanes, and of whom not? What maruell then, if the antient kingdomes of the Turks likewise in Persia, and the lesser Asia, in Syria, Palestina, and Ægypt, hauing run their appointed times, mightily impugned by the Christians, oppressed on the one side by the Tartars, and on the other by the Mamalukes, and at length by themselues rent in sunder (their destinie so requiring) lost at last their wonted maiestie, and so fel into a meere Anarchie, as in the former part of this Historie at large declared? Yet in this far more than any other people fortunate, That after the ruine of their former kingdomes, straight way out of themselues arise another, namely this *Othoman* monarchie, the chiefe obiect of this Historie: which at the first scarce of the world perceiued, or of themselues regarded, in short time so prospered, as that the power and glorie thereof obscured not their former kingdomes only (nothing, in comparison of this) but euen the greatest monarchies of the world; ouer a great part of which, it now so proudly triumpheth, as if it should neuer haue end: at the beauty wherof the world wondereth, and at the power thereof quaketh: within the greatnesse whereof are contained no small portions of Asia, Europe, and Africke, but euen the most famous and fruitfull kingdomes thereof: no part of the world left vntouched but America onely; not more fortunate with her rich mines, than in that she is so farre from so great and dangerous an enemie. The foundation of this so great a kingdome (and now so mightie an empire, as holdeth the world in awe) was first laid by the valiant *Othoman*, or as the Turks call him, *Osman*; not descended of the *Selzuccian* family, as were al the former Turks Sultans, but of the *Oguzian* tribe and kindred: in whose line this glorious empire hath euer since, by the space of three hundred yeeres and three, to the astonishment of the world, wonderfully flourished; and so yet doth at this day; vnder the gouernment of *Mahomet* the third, which now raigneth thirteenth in descent from him, knowing none in this world greater than himselfe. But forasmuch as both his greatnesse, and the greatnesse of the rest of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors his progenitors, tooke their begrnning from this worthy and warlike *Othoman*, with whose life and doings we purpose to begin this part of our Historie, it shall not be amisse both for the continuation of that we haue in hand, with that we haue already written, and for the more manifesting of that which hereafter followeth, a little farther to fetch his race and descent also: not meaning with a long and faigned pedegree to set him out of *Noah* his arke, (which continuall succession of Princes, no Nation of the world, be it neuer so antient, the Iews onely excepted, and they also by writings and Histories as much as was possible eternized, could truly and iustly challenge) but onely so farre as shall be pertinent vnto our purpose, and by the authoritie of good Histories to be auerred.

At such time as the Turks kingdome founded by *Tangrolipix* in Persia, flourished in the *Selzuccian* Princes his successors, there was also another kingdome of theirs at the citie of Machan, as is before declared, but nothing comparable to the other either in glorie or power. In this citie, and ouer this small kingdom, raigned one *Solyman*, by his subiects honored also with the name of a Sultan or King; at the same time that the Tartars vnder the leading of old *Zingis* their great captaine, leauing their owne countrey, and bearing downe the world before them, hauing conquered the farthest parts of the East, and there seated their kingdome, turned their forces into Persia, and there ouerthrew the Turkes kingdome at Balch in Corasan, and draue the Turks with *Cursumes* their last King, out of the countrey: after that they had there from the time of *Tangrolipix* raigned about an hundred and seuentie two yeares.

Solymon, Sultã of Machan forsaketh his kingdome for feare of the Tartars.

This *Solyman* of whom we speake, then raigning at Machan, was not of the *Selzuccian* familie (as were all the other Turks Sultans, the successors of *Tangrolipix*) but of the *Oguzian* tribe, a familie famous also amongst the Turkes; who seeing the *Selzuccian* Sultan *Cursumes* (or as some call him, *Cussumes*) his countryman, beaten out of his kingdome by the Tartar, and his country ouerrun, and the great Caliph of Babylon also ouerthrown; thought it not good longer to stay in that country which he could not hold, but by speedie flight betimes to prouide for the safetie of himselfe & of such his subiects as would follow him: and hearing that *Aladin* the

A the son of *Kei-Husreu*, or as the Greeks call him, *Cai-Cosroe* (a great man of the *Selzuccian* familie, & neere of kin vnto the late Sultan *Cursumes*) who for feare of the Tartars but lately come into Romania-Asiatica, had there by force of armes most honourably seated himselfe and the Turks his followers, amongst the Christians: in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeale towards his superstition (accounting all wel gotten that was gained from the Christians) tooke his way after him, with such of his kinsmen and subiects as would accompany him in his new aduentures. And comming to Artezerum, a citie in the borders of Armenia and Cappadocia, thereabout in the country according to the season of the yere seated himselfe with his followers, being in number many; who with their wiues and children, after the manner of the Tartar Nomades their ancestors, in poore tents and carts couered with a course kind of cloth, had
B followed him; being indeed nothing else but a verie rude and rough kind of sturdie heardsmen, not wedded to any place, but still remouing with their tents and carts vp and down, as best serued for their purpose and the feeding of their cattell, as do the Turcoman nation, the true discent of the Turks, in many places of Asia at this day: and were thereof not only called Nomades, that is to say, Heardsmen, (by which name the proud Ianizaries will oftentimes in contempt call euen the greatest of the naturall Turks) but *Hamaxophoreti*, and *Hamaxobij*, that is to say, people carried or liuing in carts. *Solyman* hauing stayd a while about Erzerum, remouing thence came to Amasia; and there spoyling the country, then inhabited by the Christians, did them much harme, oftentimes encountring them in the plain field, and sometimes seising vpon their townes and cities, vntil he had subdued vnto himselfe a right large territory:
C yea at length hauing in so many battels by him fought, and cities by him besieged, lost a great number of his people, and so wearied the rest as that they were not willing farther to follow him; and fearing also with such small power as he had left, to be able to defend and keepe the country by him alreadie gotten, in the midst of so many enemies, thought it best to depart thence, and to seeke his better fortune elsewhere. At the same time it was rifely reported, that the affaires of Persia, after so long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began to grow againe to some good quiet, the furie of the Tartars beeing now well abated, and that storme ouerblowne: wherefore *Solyman* resolued now to returne home againe, and to visit his native country, of him and his people aboue all others desired. So passing thorow Syria, (for
D that was now his way) neere Aleppo he seised vpon a castle called Ziaber-Cala, & there staid a space for the refreshing of his people. Afterward setting forward againe, he came at length to the great and famous riuer Euphrates, ouer which hee must needs passe: but finding there neither bridge nor foord, or other means to get ouer, he stood still as a man dismaid, not knowing what to do. Stay there he would not, and go further he could not: his desire bid him go, but the great riuer said not so. In this perplexitie *Solyman* himselfe with his horse oftentimes taking the riuer, in hope to haue found some passage; but finding none, aduenturing too farre, was with the force of the streame carried away, and so together with his horse drowned. His bodie after long seeking being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his people buried neere vnto the castle Ziaber, not long before by him taken: whereof they say the place is now in their tongue called *Mesari-Zuruc*, (*viz.*) the Turks Graue. Some of these *Oguzian*
E Turks, after the death of their Sultan, wearie of their long trauell, seated themselues in the countrey thereabouts, vnto whom the Turks that now hold that castle do refer their beginning. The rest of that great tribe and familie diuersly diuided, went vnto diuers places as their fortunes led them; some of them into the wast ground and desarts of Arabia and Syria, and are at this day called the Damascene Turcomans: other some returned backe againe into Romania, the same way that they came; of whom are discended the Turcomans of Iconium, & Anatolia: who yet with their wiues and children, as heardsmen in great companies wander vp and downe the countrey, after the manner of their ancestors.

Romania Asiatica.

Solyman thus lost, left foure sons, *Sencur-Teken*, *Iundogdis*, *Ertogrul*, of some called *Orthobules* (the father of this *Othoman* founder of the Turks empire that now is) and *Dunder*. With these foure brethren, most part of these *Oguzian* Turkes that were left, returning into Romania (as
F is aforesaid) after they had there rested themselues a while, marching vp along the riuer Euphrates, came to a place called Pasin-Ouasi, about ten miles aboue Arterum, where *Ertogrul* and his brother *Dunder*, with foure hundered families, not willing to goe any further, stayed with their tents and carts, their best dwellings. *Sencur* and *Iundogdis* their other two bre-

The sonnes of Solyman, and their first aduentures.

thren,

thren in the meane time passing the riuer, returned with the rest into Persia: whom wee there leaue vnto their vnknowne fortunes. In this place *Ertogrul* with his brether and his three sons staid a while, and had diuers conflicts with the country people thereabout, vntill that at length he thought it best to returne againe into Romania. So setting forward, he came to Ancyra, and from thence vnto the black mountains, and so to a plain called of the Turks *Sultan Vngi*, about 75 miles Eastward from the city of Nice in Bithynia, where he had many skirmishes with the Christians.

Now a great while before this, *Aladin* the elder (of whom wee haue before spoken in the former part of this historie) fled out of Persia, had subdued diuers great prouinces & countries in Romania Asiatica, or the lesser Asia, for so it is more truly called: so that he was of all the people thereabouts accounted for a great Prince, and of the Turks themselues honored with the name of their *Vlu Padischach*, that is to say, their great King or Emperor. Hauing placed his regal seat first at Sebastia, and afterward at Iconium; which two cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein raigned, as did some few of his posterity after him, as is before declared. Neither was *Ertogrul* ignorant of the honour, glorie, and power of this great Sultan: but hauing three sons, namely *Iundus*, *Serugatin*, and *Othoman*, sent *Serugatin* his second son (a bold wel spoken man) vnto him, to request him in that his so large a kingdome, as yet not well peopled by the Turks, to grant vnto them his poore exiled countrymen, of long time oppressed with diuers fortunes, some small corner for them with their families and cattell to rest in. Which his request, the Sultan not forgetfull of his own distresse sometime in like case, graciously heard, and with great curtesie vsed the messenger. Now for the furtherance of his suit it fortuned, that this Sultan before driuen out of Persia by the Tartars, and by them also much troubled in these his new gotten countries in the lesser Asia, had with them diuers hot skirmishes & sharp conflicts: in one of which it fortuned the Sultan himselfe, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beset by his enemies, and in danger to haue lost the day: when as *Ertogrul*, but newly come into the country, & willing to do the Sultan seruice, & awaiting al opportunities for the commending of himselfe and his followers; vpon the sudden vnlooked for, with foure hundred men came vpon the backs of the Tartars, then almost in possession of a great victory, and so forcibly charged them, that vnable to endure the charge, & to maintain the fight against the Sultan, (whose men encouraged by this vnexpected aid, as by succour sent from heauen, began now to fight with greater courage) being both before and behind hardly beset, they as men in despaire of the victory they had before assured themselues of, turned their backs and fled. After which good seruice, the Sultan honorably welcommed this new come Turke, giuing him his hand to kisse, as the manner of the nation is; and highly commending his valor, commanded a rich cloake to be cast vpon him (amongst those Easterne nations a great honor) and all his souldiers to be bountifully rewarded; and presently after gaue vnto *Ertogrul* and his Turks a country village called Suguta, betwixt the castle Belezuga & the mountain Tmolus in the greater Phrygia: in which village they might liue in in Winter, and vpon the aforesaid mountain, and the mountain Ormenius, betwixt the riuers Sangarius and Licus, feed their cattell in Sommer. And yet not so contented thus to haue honored him, in whom he saw such approoued valor, committed to his protection that side of the countrie wherein he dwelt, being in the verie frontiers of his kingdome: which his charge he so well looked vnto, that all the country thereabout, before much infested with the often incursions of the enemie, was by his vigilant care and prowesse well secured.

Thus is *Ertogrul* the *Oguzian* Turke, with his homely heardsmen, become a petty Lord of a country village, & in good fauour with the Sultan: whose followers, as sturdie heardsmen with their families, liued in Winter with him in Seguta; but in Sommer in Tents, with their cattel vpon the mountains. Hauing thus liued certain yeres, and brought great peace vnto his neighbors, as well the Christians as the Turks, before much troubled with the inuasion of the Tartars; it fortuned that the Christians of Cara-Chisar (a castle thereby, called by the antient Greeks, *Melanopyrgon*, and of later time, *Mauracastron*, that is to say, the blacke tower or castle) wearie of their owne ease, and of the peace they had by his cares enioyed, fell out with him, and euil intreated both him & his people. Which their ingratitude he taking in euil part, thereof, and of the wrongs by them done vnto the Turkes, so grieuously complained vnto the Sultan, that hee therewith moued, raised a great armie, and so himselfe in person came and besieged

The Christians of Cara-chisar fall out with the Turke.

besieged the castle. But lying there at the siege, news was brought him, that the Tartars with a great armie vnder the leading of one *Baintzar*, were entred into Caria, and there spoiling the country, had taken Heraclea. For the repressing of whom, the Sultan was glad to rise with his armie; yet leauing a sufficient strength behind him for the continuing of the siege, vnder the charge of *Ertogrul Beg*, for so the Turks now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountring with the Tartars at Baga, ouerthrew them in a great battel. Whilest *Ertogrul* in the mean space hardly besieged Cara-Chisar, wherein fortune so much fauoured him, that at length he tooke the Castle, the spoyle whereof he gaue vnto the souldiers, reseruing only the fift part thereof, as due vnto the Sultan; which he sent him for a Present, together with the Captain of the castle, who he had taken aliue: which captaine the Sultan afterward inlarged, and restored again to him his castle, for the payment of a yerely tribute, which he truly payed during the life of the Sultan; but he dying about two yeres after, he refused any more to pay it, and so reuolted from the Turks.

Sultan *Aladin*, founder of the Aladinian kingdome (for so the Turkes call it) being dead at Iconium, after him succeeded *Azatines* his eldest son; and after him *Iathatines* his yonger brother: who slaine by *Theodorus Lascaris* the Greeke Emperour, (as is before declared) after him succeeded in that kingdome another *Iathatines*, the son of *Azatines*, who was by the Tartars expulsed, and his kingdome subdued, as in the former part of this historie it appeareth. After which time the *Selzuccian* familie there also by the Tartars in the lesser Asia depressed, retained scarce the name and shadow of their former maiestie and glorie. In which troublesome times, and confusion of the state, *Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the world, kept himselfe close in his house at Suguta, as well contented therewith as with a kingdome; seeking by all meanes to keepe peace on euerie side with his neighbours, as well Christians as others. In which quiet kind of life he sweetly passed ouer the troublesome times of *Mesoot* the sonne of *Kei-Cubades*, and of *Kei-Cubades* the son of *Feramuzin*, both Sultans, but the great Tartars tributaries, and raigning but at their pleasure, vntill the time of the second *Aladin*, the sole and last heire of the Iconian kingdome, before by the Tartars diuided, which was no few yeres. At which time *Ertogrul* liued quiet at Suguta, as one amongst many other of the Iconian Sultans subiects, wisely considering the fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultans, both in Persia and at Iconium; as also the ruine of his owne house and familie, both from royall state brought almost vnto nothing: and therefore with patience taking the world as it came, and making a vertue of necessitie, contenting himselfe with a little, bare himselfe kindly towards all men. In which contented kind of life he grew to great yeres, with his three sons, great beloued and honored of their neighbours, as well Christians as Turks; and no lesse fauored by the second *Aladin* then Sultan, than he had been of all the Sultans before him: whom the yong men his sons, after the manner of their nation (forbidding them with empty hands to salute their Princes) oftentimes visited with one Present or other. In all which his sons were many good parts to be seene, yet so, as that in *Othoman* was easily to be seene a greater courage and spirit than in the other two his brethren: which was the cause that he was the more of them of his tribe regarded, but especially of the youthful and warlike sort, which commonly resorted vnto him when he went to hawke or hunt, or to other delights of the field (the counterfeits of war) and was of them commonly called *Osman Gazi*, that is to say, *Osman* the Warlike.

Small things in time of trouble yeeld vnto the wise great rest.

In this frontier countrey neere vnto Suguta, the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan *Aladin* diuers lieutenants and captains, gouernors of his castles and strong holds vpon those frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was wel acquainted, and vnto whom he for friendship sake oftentimes resorted: but especially vnto the captaine of In-Vngi, for that he knew himself to be of him well beloued, & therefore vnto him verie welcome. So it fortuned vpon a time, that as *Othoman*, being yet but yong, was going to make merrie with the gouernor of Eski-Chisar (a castle about foure and twentie miles off, called of the Greeks, *Palaeocastron*) by the way as hee went, at a place called Itburne (a town in Phrygia) chanced there to see, and afterwards to fall in liking of a faire maiden called *Malhatun*: vnto whom his affection daily increasing, he without his fathers knowledge sent a secret friend of his to intreat with her of marriage. Which after long discourse to her made concerning *Othomans* affection & request, gaue him answer, that betwixt *Othoman* & her was great inequality; a thing especially to be regarded and eschued of such as wished to liue a happie life in wedlock bands: she was (as she said) but meanly borne, and

Othoman amorous of Malhatun a Country Maid.

and therefore was not to expect so great a match: whereas he could not want choice of other G
maids of more worth, & in all respects more answerable vnto himselfe. But among other causes why she gaue him this answer, one was, for that some that wished her well, had put into her head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marrie her, but vnder that color to obtain of her some few days pleasure, and so hauing dishonored her, afterward againe to cast her off: which was indeed far from his thought; for he the more inflamed with her modest denial, the more desired her for his wife. In the mean time *Othoman* going again vnto the gouernor of Eski-Chisar, and curteously by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth among familiar friends in their merriments) to fall in speech of his Loue, with greater affection than discretion, commending her beautie, her feature, and gracious perfections, not dissembling also, to her greater praise, the repulse by him receiued at her hands. Which the gouernor hearing, seemed greatly H
to like of his choice, saying, that she was by the diuine prouidence (for so the Turks religiously vse to speak) appointed only for him to haue. But in the mean time secretly inflamed with the immoderat commendation of *Othoman*, without respect of friendship, he began to grow amorous of her himselfe, whom he had neuer seen; so light is that foolish affection: & that so far, as that being otherwise a man of good discretion, hee was not able to conceale or couer these new conceiued flames, but that *Othoman* by certain coniectures & tokens perceiued the same. And yet dissembling the matter as if he had suspected nothing, being risen from the banquet, calling vnto him one of his trustie seruants, secretly sent him away vnto certaine of the maids friends, willing them in his name, as they tendred her honour, presently to send her away vnto some safe place further off, for feare shee were not ere long taken from them by a great man I
more amorous of her person, than respectiue of her honour. And by and by after taking leaue of his vnfaithfull friend, & bidding him farwel, took his way to the captain of In-Vngi, whom he knew to be his deere friend. But whilest he there stayed certaine dayes, passing the time in hawking, hunting, and other youthfull disports, with the captain his friend; the gouernor of Eski-Chisar, who commanded all the country thereabout called Sultan-Vngi, sent one of his trustie seruants to Iburne, to see faire *Malhatun*, and how all things went there. Who comming thither, and vnderstanding of her secret departure, and that by the aduertisement from *Othoman* she was conueyed to certain of her friends afar off, at his returne, from point to point certified his master thereof. Who exceedingly grieued with the report, and fretting aboue measure to see himselfe so deluded by *Othoman*, presently sent vnto the Captaine of In-Vngi, K
(being within his iurisdiction) to commaund him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him. But he louing of him well, as a faithfull man vnto his friend, could with no threats or intreaty be persuaded so to do. Wherefore the gouernour in a great rage presently raising the greatest power he was able to make, came to the castle of In-Vngi, requiring to haue *Othoman* forthwith deliuered vnto him. Where among the souldiers there in garrison with the captain, began to arise diuers opinions; some wishing, for the auerting of the present danger for which they were now vnprouided, to haue him deliuered; & other some abhorring so treacherous a fact, willing rather to endure al extremities. In the end after much consultation honesty preuailed, & it was generally resolued, that he should be defended, who could not without their great infamie be deliuered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diuersitie of opinions, which had L
euen at first shewed it selfe; & thinking it not for his safety, to commit himselfe vnto the trust of such wauering men, entred into a deep conceit of a matter of great aduenture, which was, by a sudden sally to make himselfe way thorow the midst of his enemies. Wherewith hauing made his brother *Iundus* and those few his followers there present acquainted, and thereupon resolued; he fiercely sallied our, and by plaine force brake thorow the midst of them, and so tooke his way towards Suguta, still notably repulsing them that were sent to pursue him. But being come into the frontiers of his fathers territorie, & the report of his dangers known, & that being but weakely accompanied, he was by a great number of his enemies pursued; presently all the lustie youths and such as loued him well, took horse to come to his rescue: who meeting with the gouernors soldiers, that had *Othoman* in chace, in a sharp conflict slew diuers M
of them, and put the rest to flight. Of whom some were also taken prisoners, & among the rest one *Michael Cigla* a Christian, Captaine of a little castle in that countrey, called Hirmen-Caia, of the people of *Ormeni*; Of whom *Othoman* taking compassion, freely pardoned him that offence. With which vnexpected curtesie he was so moued, that euer after he tooke part with

A folly common vnto Louers.

No friendship in loue.

Othoman besieged, and in danger for his loue.

A him, and did him great seruice in his wars: whose posterity hath euer since euen vntil this our age continued, next vnto the *Othoman* family, most honorable and famous amongst the Turks, by the name of *Michael Oglies*, that is to say, the sonnes or posteritie of *Michael*.

Ertogrul now spent with age, shortly after died, in the yere of our Lord 1289. hauing liued 93 yeres, and thereof gouerned the *Oguzian* familie after the death of his father *Solyman*, 52. His death was of all his tribe and kindred generally lamented, and his body after the Turkish manner honorably buried at Suguta, where he had of long time liued.

After whose death, these plaine *Oguzian* Turks, in a generall assemblie consulting whome they might chuse for their lord and gouernor in stead of old *Ertogrul*; casting their eyes especially vpon two, stood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although most men *The Oguzian Turks in doubt of whome to make choice for their gouernor.*
B were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as wel of bodie as of mind, was to be preferred before the rest of his brethren the sons of *Ertogrul*; yet were there some, & they also men of great grauitie and experience, who had in suspect the yong mans age, as of it selfe slipperie, & for the most part prone to vice, especially in the liberty of great power: & therefore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertoguls* brother and *Othomans* vncle) a man of far greater grauitie, iudgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himselfe being indeed a wise man, & far from all ambition, persuaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all vnto his honor or preferment, but to consider what were best for their state & welfare in general. For he prouidently foresaw in what danger the *Oguzian* state stood, exposed on the one side to the mortall hatred and treacheries of the Greeks, grieued to see themselues spoiled by the
C Turks, & naturally hating them for the *Mahometan* religion: and on the other side not surely backt by the Sultans of Iconium, brought in thraldome to the Tartars, and dayly grown weaker and weaker. Vnto which inconueniences & dangers (he said) an old, weake, & ouergrown bodie (as his was) could giue no helpe or remedie at all, but required the helpe of a wise, politicke, vigilant, stirring, and valiant man, such as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers son. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the chiefe of the *Oguzian* familie: & afterward in their request comming to the generall assemblie, all mens minds & eies now fixed vpon *Othoman*, he first of al (by his example to encourage the rest) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his antient house and family, saluted him their great lord & gouernor, promising vnto him all loyaltie, with the vtmost of his seruice: whereunto by and by
D ensued the great applause of the rest of the people, as vnto a gouernor sent vnto them by God; vnto whom they ioyfully wished all happie successe, with long long life, and a prosperous gouernment. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernor of the *Oguzian* Turks, and so become among them a great commander, and honored with the title of *Osman-Beg*, or the lord *Osman*. Yet was this his honor included in a small circuit, plain & homely, without any great pompe or shew, as commanding amongst rough and rude heardsmen and shepheards, not acquainted with the curtesie of other more ciuil nations: for as yet they were the same homely Scythian Nomades that they were before, & could not as yet be persuaded to forsake their woonted rude and vnciuil manners, by long tradition receiued from their ancestors, and so best agreeing with their nature and calling. Amongst which rude heardsmen,
E this new gouernor himselfe, not too far exceeding the rest in ciuilitie, commanded much like vnto another *Romulus*; of whom also the Turks report many such things as do the Romans of their founder, which for breuitie I thought good to passe ouer.

Now it fortuned that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his gouernment fel first at ods with one *Hagionicholaus*, or S. *Nicholas* (captaine of Einegiol, a castle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpose troubled and molested these *Oguzian* heardsmen, in passing to and fro with their cattell by his castle. For which cause *Othoman* was inforced to request the captain of Bilezuga (another castle there by, also his neighbour & friend) that is people in passing that way to the mountains, might with their goods & cattell, as occasion should require, take the refuge of his castle; which the curteous captain (wel acquainted with old *Ertogrul*, *Othomans* father)
F easily granted: yet with this prouiso, that none should with such goods or cattell haue accesse into his castle, but the Turks women only: which his curtesie *Othoman* refused not. So was the castle of Bilezuga from that time forward a refuge vnto the Turkes women, who passing that way, and there shrouded with their goods and cattell, vsually presented the Captaine with some one homely countrey Present or other, which afterwards was the losse of the Castle.

Yet was not *Othoman* vnmindful of the wrong done vnto his people, by his euill neighbor the captain of Einegiol: but purposing to be thereof reuenged, made choice of seuentie of his best and most able men, whom he appointed secretly to passe the mountain Ormenius, and so if it were possible, to surprise or set on fire his enemies castle. Of which his designement the warie captaine hauing intelligence by one of his espials, in place conuenient vpon the mountain laid a strong ambush for the cutting off of such as were by *Othoman* sent to haue surprised his castle: wherof *Othoman* (no lesse wary than he) before warned by his scouts, & augmenting the number of his men, marched directly to the place where the enemie lay. Where betwixt them (for so small a number) was fought a right bloudie and cruell battell, and many slaine on both sides; amongst whom *Hozza*, *Othomans* nephew was one. The victorie neuertheless fel vnto *Othoman*: after which time his people in much more safetie fed their cattel in the Summer time on the mountains, as the manner was, and so in quiet passed to and fro.

The castle of Chalce surprised by Othoman

Shortly after, *Othoman* by night surprised the little castle of Chalce, not far from Einegiol; and there without mercie he put to the sword all the Christians he found therein, and so afterwards burnt the Castle. Which outrage was the beginning, and occasion of great troubles thereof ensuing: for the Christians of the countries adioyning, much grieued therewith, and assembling themselues together, complained vnto the captaine of Cara-Chisar the greatest commander thereabout, That these Turks, which not many yeres before were of meere pitty receiued as poore heardsmen into that countrey, began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands vpon the antient lands and possessions of the Christians; which insolencie (as they said) if it were longer winked at and suffered by him, and other such men of account and authoritie as were to reforme the same, they would no doubt in short time driue both them and all the rest of the Christians out of their natiue countries: wherefore it were now high time, & more than necessarie for him, and all the rest, to awake (as it were) out of the dead sleep wherein they had long time drowsily slept; and ioyning their forces together, to expulse those vnthankful, incroching, and mercilesse strangers out of their countries: the mischief (they said) being now spred far, therefore needed speedie remedie; and that repentance would come too late when it was past cure. The Captaine mooued with the indignitie of the late fact, and iust complaint of the poore country people, sent with all speed a strong companie of souldiers, vnder the leadinh of *Calanus* his brother; with commandement that they should march vnto the Castle of Einegiol, and there to ioyne with the rest of the Christian forces.

The Christians complain of the wrong done vnto them by the Turks.

Othoman vnderstanding of this preparation made against him, gathering his soldiers together, marched to a place called Opsicium, neere vnto mount Tmolus in Phrygia; where betweene him and the Christians was fought a sharpe battell, wherein he lost his brother *Sarugatin* (whom the Turks account for a Saint or Martyr at this day) with many other of his souldiers. In this battell was also *Calanus* slain, whose bellie *Othoman* caused to be ripped, and his intrals to be pulled out, naming the place where he was buried, *Mesari-Repee*, that is to say, The Dog-Graue, by which name the place is at this day known. The bodie of his brother *Sarugatin* he carried to Suguta, and there honorably buried it neere to the bodie of his father *Ertogrul*. *Aladin* Sultan of Iconium vnderstanding of this conflict, was very sorry for the losse happened vnto *Othoman*, being a Mahometan of his owne religion: wherefore in token of his good will and fauour, he gaue vnto him the citie of Paleapolis, with all the territorie thereunto belonging, giuing vnto him also leaue to besiege, take or spoyle, the seigniorie and castle of Cara-Chisar: for accomplishment whereof he sent vnto him both souldiers and munition. *Othoman* incouraged with this great bountie of the Sultans, straightly besieged the castle of Cara-Chisar, which at last he woon, and slew all the Christians therein: the captain he tooke aliue, whom he cruelly executed: the spoile of the castle he gaue vnto his souldiers, reseruing only the fift part therof, which he sent for a present to the Sultan. All this hapned in the yere of our Lord 1290. This castle of Cara-Chisar, with the rest of Einegiol, Bilezuga, Chalce, & others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned, were all scituate in the borders of the greater Phrygia, or else neere thereunto in the confines of Bithynia and Mysia: In which pleasant countries (but lately part of the Constantinopolitan empire) the Christians the antient inhabitants thereof, as yet dwelt, intermingled with the Turks at the rising of the *Othoman* empire; with whom they liued at continual jars, vntill that at length they were by them altogether vtterly oppressed and extinguished.

Othoman

Othoman encouraged with this good successe, and supported by the great Sultan of Iconium, began now after his ambitious nature to conceit greater matters, for the further increase of his honor and territorie: yet not trusting altogether to his own deuice, he entred into consultation with his brother *Iundus*, which way was best to take to distresse and bring in subiection his neighbours the Christians. In which case, *Iundus* a man of greater courage than discretion, aduised him with all celeritie to vrge his good fortune, and presently to inuade the Christians alreadie discouraged with the losse of Cara-Chisar. But this counsell altogether pleased not *Othoman*; for (said he) the castles and forts by vs gained, must bee kept with strong garrisons, otherwise they will again be recouered by the enemie; which garrisons cannot be maintained and kept, if we spoile or dispeople the countries adioyning vpon vs; for in so doing we shal (as it were) with our owne hands cut our owne throats: wherfore I thinke it better, that we enter into a league of amitie and friendship with the Christians round about vs; which league wee will keep with some, & breake with others, as shall serue best for our purpose. And according to this resolution, he made peace indeed with al the Christians, but specially with *Michael Cossi*, captain of Hirmen-Caia castle, of whom we haue before spoken, who afterward serued him to great vse in the managing of his wars, & became also a renegat of the Mahometan religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, because he was then at great variance with one *Germean-Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Selzuccian* familie) who enuying at the rising of *Othoman*, sought by all means possible to hinder his greatnes, as did also the others, his quietnesse: which discord the Christians liked well, as a meane for them to liue in more rest by.

Othoman consulteth with his brother Iundus what course to take for the oppressing of the christians his neighbours.

In the meane time, *Othoman* deuised with all carefulnes to beautifie and strengthen his new commonweale: and for the greater concourse of people, built a faire temple in Cara-Chisar for the exercise of the Mahometan religion; appointed markets to be kept in al peaceable maner, in his great townes, granting great priuiledges to such as resorted thither, as wel Christians as Turks: vsing therin such justice, that all sorts of people without feare, in hope of gaine resorting thither, furnished his country and townes with all things necessarie: yet this care of ciuil policie and gouernment, could not so withdraw him, but that according to his aspiring mind, he had alwaies a greater desire and care to inlarge his possessions and territorie. Wherefore intending to make a rode into Bythinia, he requested *Michael Cossi*, the Christian captaine before mentioned, to deliuer his opinion what was best to be done: who so politickely directed him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great spoile and more honor. This road so terrified most of the Christians thereabouts, that they were loth to giue *Othoman* any cause of offence, for feare lest they should by him be spoiled.

Othoman setteth in order his little commonweale.

It fortuned about this time, that the captains of Bilezuga and Cupri-Chisar falling at ods, he of Cupri-Chisar first taking vp armes fiercely inuaded the captaine of Bilezuga: who thereupon sent vnto *Othoman*, to pray his ayd, which hee easily granted, and so without further delay presently came vnto him with certaine companies of lustie tall souldiers. By whose comming, the captaine of Bilezuga not a little encouraged and strengthened, set vpon his enemie: where betwixt them was made a sharpe conflict, and diuers on both sides slaine: but the victorie by the helpe of *Othoman* the Turke, at length inclining to the Bilezugian, the other vanquished captaine in all hast fled vnto his owne castle. After whome *Othoman* following, laid siege vnto the Castle, which at length he tooke together with th captaine, whom he caused to be presently slaine. It is strange to tell, how proud the Lord of Bilezuga was, to haue sed to be presently slaine. It is strange to tell, how proud the Lord of Bilezuga was, to haue so reuenged himselfe of his enemie, and to haue gained the victorie: although it were indeed gotten, not so much by his owne valour as by the prowesse of the Turke: for whome and his followers in token of his thankfulnesse, he caused a great feast to be prouided in the countrey there, whereby he honorably entertained them: and in the end of the feast, caused garments of great price (according to the manner of the Easterne nations) to be giuen to *Othoman*, in token of his fauour; and his souldiers to be also bountifully rewarded: but this was done with such a presumptious state & grace, as if he had bin some great Prince, offring vnto the common soldiers of the Turks, in passing by them, his hand to kisse, as a great fauour. With which exceeding insolencie, *Othoman* was so much offended, that hee had much adoe to hold his hands from him: yet repressing his anger, hee in secret imparted his discontentment vnto his cosin *Dunder*, his vncle *Dunders* sonne, grieuously complayning of the intollerable pride of the Christian captain, and of the disgrace by him done vnto the Turks, in offring them his hand to kisse;

kisse; requiring his opinion how he were for the same to be corrected: who but a little before, G
beeing by the said captaine made his lieutenant, franckly told his kinsman, That as then no-
thing was to be attempted against him: first, for that on the one side they had *Germean Ogli* (a
great man amongst the *Selzuccian* Turkes) their enemie, and round about them besides they
were enuironed with the Christians, whom he should haue all in his neck at once if he should
offer the Bilezugian captain any wrong. By which answer, *Othoman* perceiuing his cosins great
affection towards the Christian captaine, and doubting to haue the mischiefe he had imagi-
ned against him, by him reuealed, or at least wise hindered; without more adoe suddenly ta-
king vp his bow in his hand, with an arrow shot him quite thorow, and so slew him.

Michael Cossi inuiteth Othoman to the mariage of his daughter.

Not long after, *Michael Cossi* the captaine of Hirmen-Caia, *Othomans* great friend, hauing
concluded a marriage betweene a gentleman of that countrey and his daughter, inuited all the H
Christian captains of the castles thereabouts, requesting them to come to the marriage; and
the rather, that so they might grow into acquaintance with *Othoman*, whose power began now
to grow dreadfull vnto them: hoping that such means might be found at that merry meeting,
that all being made friends, euery man might in more security possesse his own without feare
of being spoiled by him. Vnto this marriage came al these bidden guests, bringing with them
such presents as they thought good to bestow vpon the new married folks, according to the
maner of the country: but *Othomans* gifts far exceeded al the rest, who besides many other rich
things, gaue vnto them whole flocks and droues of sheep and cattel: which thing drew all the
Christian captains into no little admiration of his bountie; insomuch that they began to say I
among themselues, that *Othomans* wealth and good fortune did portend some greater matter,
to their vtter ruin and fall: which to preuent, they thought it best by secret meanes to com-
passe his death. The execution of which deuice they referred to the captaine of Bilezuga, as
vnto one with him best accqainted. This captaine was of great wealth, credit, and authoritie
amongst the Christian rulers thereabouts, but very full of craft and dissimulation: which his
euill disposition, *Othoman* of longtime well perceiued; yet hauing occasion to vse him, in
subtill manner gaue him (in outward shew) al the honour he could, magnifying him in words,
and debasing himselfe as plaine and poore in comparison of him. But to giue a beginning to
this trecherous deuise; the captaine meeting with *Othoman*, in friendly manner told him, how
that he intended shortly to marrie the daughter of the captain of Iar-Chiser, earnestly reque-
sting him to honor that his marriage with his presence, of the time whereof, he said he would K
giue him farther knowledge afterwards: and al was but a color, to bring *Othoman* whithin his
danger, not fearing any such treason. *Othoman* vnderstanding that the time of the marriage
drew nigh, sent thither a present of certain fat oxen and sheep, in the name of his brother *Iun-
dus*, for the captains prouision against the mariage; certifying him, that *Othoman* himselfe, with
his simple rétinue, would be present at the mariage, & then present him, not with such presents
as were agreeable wito his honor, yet such as his poore abilitie could affoord. This message
with the presents, were wonderful welcome to the captain, hoping assuredly that his deuised
trecherie would take such effect as he wished: and therefore calling vnto him *Michael Cossi*, in
whom he had reposed an especiall trust, declared to him his whole deuise (wherof he was not L
before altogether ignorant) requesting him to take the pains to go vnto *Othoman* to bring him
to the marriage, the time beeing now certainly appointed and at hand; which hee knew *Cossi*
might easily do, being of his familiar acquaintance: and in token of great friendship, he sent vn-
to *Othoman* by the same messenger, a present of gilt plate. *Cossi* tooke vpon him this message,
which when he had deliuer'd to *Othoman*, he found him very willing to go, as a man not doub-
ting any harme. But *Cossi* inwardly grieuing to see so braue a man, and his kind friend, by such
trecherous maner to be brought to his end, moued with compassion, discouered vnto him the
whole conspiracy of the captain against him, & of the plot laid for his destruction, willing him
to take heed vnto himselfe: for which verture, *Othoman* gaue *Cossi* great thanks, as to his friend
for sauing his life; & withall richly rewarded him, promising him greater matters if he would M
continue that his faithfull friendship. Now concerning the captaine of Bilezuga (sayth he) at
your returne recommend me vnto him, and tell him, That I thinke my selfe much bound vn-
to him for many courtesies, but especially for that he hath heretofore diuers times in most
friendly manner protected my goods and cattell, within the safegard of his castle: which his
friendship I most humbly request him to continue for one yeare more, enforced thereunto by

A reason of the dangerous wars betwixt me and the Prince *Germean-Ogli*; as he well knoweth:
wherefore if it might so stand with his good pleasure, I would presently send vnto his castle
such things as I make most reckoning of, requesting him once more to be the faithfull keeper
thereof, as he hath bin before: and tell him further, that my mother in law, with her daughter
my wife, desire nothing more than to find opportunitie to be acquainted with the honorable
Lady his mother; for which cause (if it please him) I wil bring them both with me to the mar-
riage. This *Othomans* request, when the captaine of Bilezuga vnderstood by *Michael Cossi*, he
sent the same *Cossi* backe againe to hasten his comming, willing him to bring with him what
guesse he pleased; appointing certain time and place when and where the marriage should be
solemnised. And because the castle of Bilezuga was thought to be too little conueniently to
B receiue the multitude of people which were expected at the mariage, there was another open
place of greater receipt appointed in the country for that purpose, about three miles distant
from the castle. The marriage day drew nigh, whereunto *Othoman* must repaire for his promise
sake: and therefore prepared with all diligence to set forward, and to put in execution what
he had deuised for the safetie of himself, & destruction of his enemy. *Othoman* had of long ac-
customed in dangerous times, to send by carriage the best of his things, made vp in packs, to be
kept in safetie in the castle of Bilezuga: vnder the colour whereof, he now made great packes
in forme as he was wont; but in stead of his rich houshold stuffe, & such other things of price,
he thrust in armed men, couering those packs with homely couerings, sending them by carria-
ges to the castle of Bilezuga, giuing charge that they should not come thither before twilight.
C After that, he apparelled certaine of his best soldiers in womens apparell, as if it had been his
wife and mother in law, with their women: so casting his iourney, that he with these disguised
soldiers, and the other sent in packs, might at one instant meet at the castle aforesaid. The cap-
tain being now in the countrey, and vnderstanding that *Othoman* was comming in the euening
with a great traine of gentlewomen; thought the cause of his late comming to be, for that the
Turkish women vse to shun the sight of Christian men by all means they can. *Othoman* beeing
now come to the place in the country where the marriage was next day to be solemnized, ha-
uing done his humble reuerence to the captaine; requested him to do him the honor, that his
gentlewomen which were nigh at hand, might by his appointment be sent to his castle, there
to haue some conuenient lodging where they might alight and bestow themselues apart from
D others, according to the homely fashion of their nation; lest peraduenture the presence of so
honorable a companie of noble men and gallants, might put them out of countenance: which
the captaine granted, and hauing saluted them a farre off after the Turkish manner, comman-
ded them to be conueyed to his castle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the
same time that these disguised souldiers arriued at the castle, came thither also the other soul-
diers couered in packs in the carriages: which so soone as they came into the castle, suddenly
leapt out of the packs, and drawing their short swords, with the helpe of their disguised fel-
lowes, slew the warders of the castle, and without more adoe possessed the same: the greatest
part of the captaines people beeing before gone out of the castle to the place of the marriage.
Othoman hauing tarried so long with the captaine, as he supposed the castle at that time by his
E men surprised; so soone as the captaine had taken his chamber, suddenly tooke horse, with all
his followers, accompanied also with *Cossi*, taking his way directly to the castle of Bilezuga, of
whose sudden departure the captaine vnderstanding, presently tooke horse and pursued him
with all his traine, which were for the most part drunk; and ouertaking him before he came to
the castle set vpon him: in which conflict, he was by *Othoman* slain, and the rest put to flight.
F The same night *Othoman* with great celeritie, early in the morning surprised the castle of
Bursia, also where he tooke prisoners the captain therof, with his faire daughter *Lulufer*,
(who should haue bin married to the captaine of Bilezuga the next day) with all her friends,
as they were readie to haue gone vnto the marriage, which faire Lady he shortly after mar-
ried vnto his eldest sonne *Orchanes*; who had by her *Amurath*, third King of the Turkes, and
Solyman Bassa. *Othoman* omitting no opportunitie, presently sent one of his captains called *Dargut-Alpes*,
a man of great estocme and valour, to besiege the castle of Einegiol, wherein hee vsed such
celeritie, that preuenting the fame of that was done at Bilezuga, hee suddenly enuironed the
castle in such sort that none could passe in or out; vntill such time as that *Othoman* hauing

The captain of Bilezuga treacherously seeking the death of Othoman, is by him, himselfe slaine.

brought

brought his prisoners and prey to the castle of Belizuga, and there hauing set all things in good order, came with the rest of his men of warre to Einegiol; which he presently by force tooke, promising the spoile thereof vnto his souldiers. The captaine called *Hagio Nicholaus* his antient enemie, he caused to be cut in smal peeces, and all the men to be slaine: which cruelties he vsed, because they a little before had vsed the like tyrannie against his Turks.

Othoman by administration of Iustice strengtheneth his gouernment.

When *Othoman* had thus got into his subiection a great part of the strong castles and forces of the greater Phrygia, with the territorie to them belonging, he began with all carefulnesse to make good laws, and to execute Iustice to all his subiects, as well Christians as turks: with great indifferencie studying by all means to keepe his country in peace and quietnesse, and to protect his subiects from the spoile of others, as well Christians as Turks: whereby it came to passe, that the old inhabitants which had for the most part forsaken the countrey, by reason of the great troubles therein, repaired now againe to their antient dwellings; and not only they, but many other strangers also, supplying the places of them whom the late warres had consumed. So that by his good gouernment, that wasted countrey in short time grew to bee againe very populous.

The citie of Nice besieged by Othoman.

The ciuill gouernment of his countrey well established, he besieged the citie of Isnica, in antient time called Nice, a citie of Bythinia, famous for the generall Councell there holden against *Arius* in the time of *Constantine* the Great. This citie he brought into great distresse, by placing his men of war in forts new built vpon euery passage and way leading vnto the same, so that nothing could bee brought out of the countrey for the releefe of the poore citizens. They in this extremitie, by a secret messenger certified the Emperor of Constantinople (vnder whose obedience they were) in what distresse the citie stood; and that except he sent them present releefe, they must of necessitie either perish with famine, or yeeld themselues into the hands of their enemies the Turks. The Emperour moued with the pitifull complaint of this messenger, with all expedition embarked certaine companies of souldiers from Constantinople to relieue his besieged citie. But *Othoman* vnderstanding by his espials, where these souldiers were appointed to land, in secret manner withdrawing most of his forces from the siege, lay in ambush neere to the same place where the Emperors soldiers (casting no peril) landed; who before they could put themselues in order of battel were by *Othoman* & his turks in such sort charged, that most part of them were there slaine, and the rest driuen into the sea, where they miserably perished. *Othoman* hauing thus politickely ouerthrown the Constantinopolitan souldiers, returning to the siege, continued the same in straiter manner than before. The besieged citizens driuen into great penurie, and now dispairing of all helpe, yeelded themselues with the great and rich citie of Nice into the hands of *Othoman*, with the spoile whereof he greatly enriched his men of warre.

Aladin the great Sultan of Iconium, glad to heare of this good succes of *Othoman* against the Christians, in token of his fauour and loue, sent vnto him a faire enfigne, with certaine drums, and trumpets, a sword and princely robe, with large charters, That whatsoeuer he tooke from the Christians should be all his owne; and also that publicke prayers should be said in all the Turkes temples, in the name of *Othoman*, for his health and prosperous estate: which two things properly belonged to the dignitie of the Sultan. These extraordinarie fauours gaue occasion for many to thinke, that Sultan *Aladin* (hauing no children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptiue sonne and successour in his kingdome.

The presents and charters sent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, sending vnto *Aladin* the fift part of the spoile of Nice, taken from the Christians, but the princely honours due to the Sultan only, he vsed not during the life of *Aladin*: intending not long after to haue gone himselfe in person to visit the Sultan, and so to haue growne into his further fauor. But hauing prepared all things for so honorable a iourney, at what time as he was about to set forward, he was certainly informed of the death of *Aladin*, and that *Subli* (one of his great counsellors) had taken vpon him the dignitie of the Sultan (as is before declared): which newes much discontented the aspiring mind of this *Oguzian* Turk, in good hope to haue succeeded him in the kingdom, or at leastwise to haue shared the greatest part thereof vnto himselfe, whereof he was now altogether disappointed. Yet immediatly after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take vpon him the princely honours before granted vnto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modestie sake had forborn, *Aladin* yet liuing, wherefore he made one *Dursa* surnamed

named *Fakitche* (that is to say, a man learned in the Turkish law) Bishop and Iudge of Cara-Chisar, commanding the publick praiers which were wont to be made for the health & prosperous raigne of the great Sultan, to be now made in his owne name; which was first openly done by the said Bishop in the pulpit of Cara-Chisar. At the same time also he began to coin money in his owne name, and to take vpon him all other honours belonging vnto a Sultan or King: which was about ten yeares after the death of his father *Ertogrul*, and in the yeare of our Lord 1300, vnto which time the beginning of the great empire of the Turks is vnder the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun. 1300

When *Othoman* had thus taken vpon him the maiesty of a King, he made his sonne *Orchanes* Prince and gouernour of Cara-Chisar; promoting his principall followers, to be gouernours of other strong castles and forts, diuers of which places retaine the name of those captaines at this day. He himselfe made choice of the citie Neapolis, about twentie miles from Nice, to seat his regall Palace in; where also diuers of his Nobilitie built them houses, and changed the name of the city, calling it Despotopolis, as who should say, the city of the Lord or Prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceased not to deuise by all meanes he could, to augment his kingdome: and for that cause beeing accompanied with his sonne *Orchanes*, made many rodes into the countries adioyning vpon him, surprzing such places as might best serue his purpose, for the enlargement of his kingdome, all which in particular to rehearse were tedious.

Neapolis the first regall citie of the Othoman Kings.

Prusa besieged by Othoman.

The Christian Princes, rulers of the countries bordering vpon this new kingdome, fearing lest the greatnes of *Othoman* might in short time be their vtter confusion, agreed to ioyne all their forces together, and so to commit to the fortune of one great battell their owne estates with his: according to which resolution, the Christian confederate Princes, which were for the most part of Mysia, and Bythinia, leuying the greatest forces they were able to make, with fire and sword inuaded *Othomans* kingdome. Who hauing knowledge beforehand of this great preparation made against him, had in a readinesse all his captaines and men of warre: and hearing that his enemies had entred his dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with them in the confines of Phrygia and Bythinia, fought with them a great and mortall battell, wherein many were slaine on both sides, as well Turks as Christians: and after a long fight, obtained of them a right bloudy victorie. In this battell *Casteleanus*, one of the greatest Christian captains was slaine: another called *Tekensis* of the country which he gouerned in Phrygia, chased by *Othoman* vnto the castle of Vlubad, not far distant from the place where the battell was fought, was for feare deliuered vnto him by the captaine of the same castle, and was afterward by *Othomans* commandement most cruelly cut in pieces, within the view of his chiefe castle: which *Othoman* afterward subdued, with all the countrey thereabouts. The other Christian Princes and captains saued themselues by flying into stronger holds farther off. The Prince of Bythinia the chiefe author of this war, fled into the strong citie Prusa, which the Turks now call Burusa, whither *Othoman* not long after led his army, in hope to haue won the same: but finding it not possible to be taken by force began presently at one time to build two great and strong castles vpon the chiefe passages leading to the citie, which castles he with great industrie finished in one yeare: and in the one, placed as captaine *Altemeur* his nephew; in the other one *Balaban Zuck*, both men of great courage, and skilfull in feats of warre: and in this sort hauing blocked vp the citie of Prusa, so that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he subdued the most part of Bythinia, and so returned home, leauing the two castles well manned with strong garrisons, vnder the charge of the captaines before named.

Othoman returning home to Neapolis, honorably rewarded his soldiers, according to their deserts, establishing such a quiet and pleasing gouernment in his kingdom, that people in great number resorted from far into his dominions, there to seat themselues: wherby his kingdom became in few years exceeding populous, and he for his politicke gouernment most famous. And so liuing in great quietnesse certaine yeares, being now become aged and much troubled with the gout, his old soldiers accustomed to liue by the wars, abhorring peace, came to him, requesting him as it were with one voice, to take some honorable warre in hand for the inlarging of his kingdome, with great cheerfulnes offring to spend their liues in his seruice rather than to grow old in idlenes: which forwardnes of his men of war greatly pleased him, and so giuing them thanks, for that time dismist them, promising that he would not be long vnmindfull

full of their requeſt. But yet thinking it good to make all things ſafe at home before he tooke any great wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call vnto him *Michael Coſte*, the onely Chriſtian Captaine whom for his great deſerts he had at al times ſuffered to liue in quiet with his poſſeſſions, as it were in the heart of his kingdome; and by faire meanes (if it might be) to perſuade him to forſake the Chriſtian religion, & become a follower of *Mahomets*, ſo to take away all occaſion of miſtruſt: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then forgetting al former friendſhip, to make war vpon him as his vtter enemie. Whereupon *Coſti* was ſent for, being perſuaded by the meſſenger, that *Othoman* had ſent for him, becauſe he had occaſion to vſe his wonted faithfull counſell and ſeruice in a great exploit which hee had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Coſti* thinking of nothing leſſe than of that which enſued, came accompanied with ſuch ſoldiers as he thought to vſe in that ſeruice: But comming vnto *Othoman*, and vnderſtanding the very cauſe why hee was ſent for, and ſeeing danger emminent on euery ſide, kiſſing *Othomans* hand, after the manner of the Turks, requeſted him in curteous manner to enter him in the principles of the Mahometan religion, which he promiſed euer after to embrace: And ſo ſaying certain words after *Othoman*, he turned Turke, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the contentment of *Othoman* and his nobilitie. For which his reuolting, *Othoman* preſently gaue him an enſigne and a rich robe, tokens whereby the Mahometan Sultans aſſure their vaſſals of their fauour and the vndoubted poſſeſſion of ſuch land and liuing as they then hold.

Michael Coſti turneth Turk.

Oftentimes after this, *Othoman* for the contenting of his ſoldiers, inuaded the countries bordering vpon him, tooke many ſtrong caſtles and forts, ſubdued the moſt part of Phrygia, Miſia, and Bythinia, and other great regions, vnto the Euxine ſea: and being now very aged and diſeaſed as is aforeſaid with the gout, and thereby vnable to goe into the field in perſon himſelfe, oftentimes ſent his ſonne *Orchanes* againſt his enemies; who to the imitation of his father atchieued many great enterpriſes, *Othoman* his father yet liuing.

Now happily might the conſiderate reader (and not without iuſt cauſe) maruell, what dead ſleep had ouerwhelmed the Greeke Emperors of thoſe times; firſt *Michael Paleologus*, and afterwards his ſonne *Andronicus*, both men of great valour, and ſtill reſiant at Conſtantinople, thus to ſuffer the Turks (not *Othoman* for he as yet bare no ſway; but others the ſharers of Sultan *Aladins* kingdom) to take their cities, ſpoile their countries, kil their ſubiects, and dayly to incroch vpon them in the leſſer Aſia, and eſpecially in Bythinia, ſo neere vnto them, and as it were euen vnder their noſes: But let him with me, heere as in a moſt conuenient place but breath a little, and conſider the troubled ſtate of that declining empire, now haſting to an end; and he ſhall plainly ſee the cauſes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diſeaſed bodie quite ouerthrowne and ſicke to death, it became at length a prey vnto the aſpiring Turks. *Michael Paleologus* hauing by great trecherie obtained the Greeke empire, and by rare fortune recouered alſo the citie of Conſtantinople from *Baldwin* the Emperor (as is in the former part of this Hiſtorie declared) fearing the power of the Princes of the Weſt, but eſpecially of *Charles* King of Sicilia, then a Prince of great fame and power, whom he knew *Baldwin* (the late Emperor) ceaſed not to ſolicite for the reſtitution of him againe into his empire, and to haue alſo ioyned with him a neere bond of affinitie, by marrying his daughter vnto *Charles* his ſon: to auert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles neere home, by his embaſſadors offred vnto *Gregorie* the tenth, then Biſhop of Rome, to vnite and conforme the Greeke Church vnto the Latine, and to acknowledge the Biſhops ſupremacie, in ſuch ſort as that it ſhould bee lawfull for any man to appeale vnto the court of Rome, as vnto the higher and moſt excellent court; of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promiſing to performe what he had before requeſted, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwiſe buſied. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of religion in the Greek church ſhould be made, *Ioſeph* the Patriarch, to begin withall, gaue vp his place, & ſhortly after forſaking the city, retired himſelfe into a monaſterie neere vnto the ſtrait of Boſphorus, where he at quiet deuoutly ſpent the reſt of his life. The reſt of the clergie alſo diſcontented with this innouation, in their ſermons openly inuaighed againſt it, perſuading the people not to receiue it; crying out, That now was come the time of their trial, the time of their martyrdome, and the time wherein they were to receiue the glorious crown of their painfull ſuffrings; inſomuch, that great tumults were therupon raiſed, and all the citie and the country in an vprore: for it was not the clergie only, and the vulgar people by them moued, which diſliked and abhorred theſe the Emperors proceedings, & made theſe ſtirs, but many of the better ſort, yea, of the chiefe magiſtrats themſelues alſo. So that *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor leauing all other forrein buſines, was enforced to conuert all his power and ſtudy vnto the appeaſing of theſe domeſticke troubles, as deeming them of greater danger than thoſe abroad. And firſt to perſuade his diſcontented ſubiects, hee told them, That this alteration was made not for any good liking he had thereunto, but in reſpect of the dangerouſnes of the time: and that it was a point of wiſedome, to foreſee dangers hanging ouer our heads, & not to delay, if any thing were to be altred, for the auerting therof: for if the enemies (as he ſaid) ſhould come, the city yet in many places rent, or but lately repaired, & as it were but newly raiſed from death to life, the preſent miſchiefs would be far greater than thoſe forepaſſed, & that then their enemies would become lords not of their religion and ceremonies only, but of al at once, their wiues, their children, & whatſoeuer elſe they had: where their libertie changed into bondage, they ſhould be conſtrained to conforme themſelues not with their bodily ſeruice only, but euen with their minds alſo, vnto the wills of the Latines their enemies. And that ſo it would come to paſſe, that no man ſhould be able to keepe the old cuſtoms & manners of their anceſtors, but ſhould ſee euen their moſt ſacred rites and ceremonies changed & quite ouerthrown. Which he carefully foreſeeing, had not (as he ſayd) refuſed to yeeld vnto neceſſity, and as wiſdome would, neglected a little harme in reſpect of a greater benefit; & in the leſſe to haue yeelded vnto his enemies, to enioy the benefit of the greater. With which the emperors perſuaſion ſome were mooued, & ſo held themſelues contented: and ſome others not; againſt whom hee was inforced to vſe other more ſeuere remedies, as againſt his rebellious ſubiects: of whom ſome he impriſoned, ſome he baniſhed, ſome he tormented, ſome he diſmembred, ſome he bereft of their ſight, or confiſcated their goods, vſing (in briefe) all the means wherby the minds of the reſolute or the weake were to be mooued. All which things, they whoſe zeale was grounded vpon knowledge (in number feweſt) with patience indured: but the greater part void of iudgement, & the refuſe of the people in ſimple attire, ranne rogueing abroad, ſome into Peloponeſus, ſome into Thracia, ſome into Achaia, & ſome as far as Colchos, as men perſecuted for their conſcience, not regarding greatly whether, ſo it were out of the emperors iuriſdiction, & ſomthing fitting their owne humors; neither conforming themſelues vnto the religion then commonly by the emperor eſtabliſht, neither yet agreeing among themſelues, but taking vnto them diuers names, ſome as the diſciples of *Arſenius*, ſome of *Ioſeph*, & ſome of others; ſome of them, themſelues deceiued, and deceiuing others alſo. Thus for the auoiding of forrein danger out of the Weſt, was the Empire at home no little indangered, & the ſtate thereof ſhaken. Wherewith the Emperor was ſo encombred, as that he had no leiſure to prouide for the tempeſt ariſing by the Turks out of the Eaſt, but was inforced wholly to imploy himſelf & al his indeauors to the keeping of his people & ſubiects in their due obedience at home. All whoſe deep deuices, firſt in aſpiring to the empire, no way vnto him due, & great trauells afterwards for the aſſuring of the ſame to himſelfe and his poſteritie, againſt all right, euen with the alteration of the religion of his fathers, yeelded him in the winding vp of all, not ſo much as credit of an honorable ſepulture: but dying in theſe troubles not far from Liſymachia, as he was making preparation againſt the prince of Theſſalie, was there by his ſon *Andronicus* his commandement (for whoſe aduancement he had ſtrained both his faith & honor) obſcurely buried in the field, a good way from his camp, as vnworthie of a better ſepulture, for reuolting from the antient religion of his anceſtors, although his obſequies were for faſhion ſake afterward with ſome ſolemnitie celebrated. This was the end of the great emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in whoſe time the Turks, the ſucceſſors of *Aladin*, greatly incroched vpon him in the leſſer Aſia, as is in part before declared: a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of the bodie and the mind, had hee not for the aduancement of himſelfe and his poſteritie, ſtained the ſame with foule treacherie and apoſtacie: for which (as ſome ſay) he euer after liued in conſcience troubled, and dying was euen by his own ſon not thought worthie of an honorable funerall. *A notable example vnto all ſuch as with greedineſſe ſeeke after vaine glorie, and fooliſhly expoſe themſelues vnto ſuch aduentures, as oftentimes ouerwhelme their deepeſt deuices, hauing in themſelues no certaintie, preferring their inordinate deſires (either for themſelues or their poſteritie) before that which is good and vertuous. Twice wretched in ſo doing; firſt in their follie, and then in their indeauors: who beſide that they finde God himſelfe againſt their deſignes and purpoſes, they by & by alſo euidently meet with other things than what they had foreaſted,*

Alteration of religion in the Greeke church.

Perſecution in the Greeke church for matters of religion.

casted, contrarie vnto them; and so themselues oftentimes, contrarie to their expectation, cast headlong into extreame miserie: for loe, euen he of whom we now speake, otherwise a man of great wisedome, and happie in his doings, ouercome with his affection towards his children, in desiring to leaue vnto them the empire, when as he ought to haue cast all the care both of himselfe and of them especially vpon the prouidence of God; hee like a blind man following his owne deepe conceits, not grounded vpon the feare of God, but vpon mans wisdome only, cast himselfe before he was aware into miserable troubles, and became odious euen vnto his subiects, and them also for whom he had so forgot himselfe. For whereas God had euen from his childhood allotted vnto him the empire (as was by many euident signes and tokens to haue bin gathered) if he could haue moderated his vntimely desires, kept his tongue from periury, & his hands from bloud, and not turned out of the way after strange doctrine; hee had by many degrees excelled euen the best Emperors his predecessors: wheras now he lieth obscurely buried, shrouded in the sheet of defame, the repors of his foule and faithlesse dealings far exceeding all his other worthie vertues.

Andronicus Paleologus succeeding his father in the Empire, and thinking by restoring again the gouernment of the church, together with the rites and customes of the Greeks, to haue appeased all such troubles as were before by his father raised, by bringing in those of the Latines; found himselfe therein much deceiued, and his troubles no lesse than his fathers: they which had before receiued the Latine customes, and well liking of them, with great obstinacie defending the same; and the other of the contrarie faction now countenanced by the Emperor, without modestie or measure insulting vpon them: whereof arose exceeding great stirs and troubles, especially in the beginning of his raigne: to the great benefit of the incroching Turks, who in the mean time ceased not by all means to increase their territories in Asia; and not only there, but in the islands of the Mediterranean sea also. For *Andronicus* by the death of *Charles* King of Sicilie, deliuered of the greatest feare for which both he and his father before him had to their great cost and charge both built and maintained a strong fleet of gallies; now persuaded by some, whose actions and speeches were after the manner of the court, all framed vnto the princes appetite, (as the readiest way to thriue, without respect of the common good) to spare that needlesse charge (as they termed it) which yerely cost him more than any thing else; had discharged all his mariners and sea men, and commanded all the gallies to be laid vp, some in one creeke, some in another; where neglected and not looked vnto, they in time for the most part rotted and perished. As for the Marriners, they went some one way, some another, as their fortunes led them, to seeke for their liuings in forreine countries, euen with the Emperors enemies; and some gaue themselues to husbandrie, thinking it better by doing something to liue, than by sitting still to perish. Which good husbandrie at the first seemed to be verie profitable vnto the Emperour, but especially vnto such as beeing neere vnto him, and couetously giuen, made small reckoning of all other the most necessarie defences of the empire, in comparison of hoording vp of mony, vntil that it was afterward too late by experience found hereof to haue sprung many great mischiefes, vnto the great weakning of the Greeke Empire. For besides that the Turks without let did great harme on the sea; the Pyrats now out of feare of the Emperours gallies, at their pleasure tooke the spoyle of the rich Islands in the Mediterranean, and robbed the towns all along the sea coast, to the vnspeakable griefe of the poore country people: and yet not so contented, came with their gallies, sometime two, sometime three, and sometime moe, as it were in contempt, euen close vnto the imperiall citie. Yea the Venetians were so bold, as vpon a right small displeasure to rifle and afterward to set fire vpon the suburbs thereof, which they would hardly haue aduentured, had the Emperors fleet bin preserued and maintained in the woonted strength.

At the same time also *Andronicus* the Emperor (to the great hindrance of the affaires of the empire, and aduantage of the forrein enemie) was not a little troubled with a jealous suspition of his brother *Constantine* (commonly called *Porphyrogenitus*) as if he had sought to haue aspired vnto the empire; seeking by all means to win vnto himselfe the loue and fauor of all men, but especially of the nobility both at home and abroad, & so by that means to mount vnto the height of his desires: All which (as most men thought) were but meere slanders, maliciously deuised by such as enuying at his honor, and taking occasion by the emperors suspition, ceased not to increase the same, vntill they had wrought his vnworthie destruction. The first ground of this false suspition in the Emperours head, was, for that that this *Constantine* euen from his childehood, was for many causes, better beloued of the old Emperour his father, than *Andronicus*,

dronicus, as better furnished with those gifts of nature which beautifie a prince; and of a more curteous behauior than was his brother: insomuch that had he not bin the yonger brother, his father could willingly haue left him his successor in the empire. This was one and the chiefest cause of the emperors grudge, and the ground of his suspition. Yet was there another also, and that not much lesse than this: for that his father in his life time had of long thought to haue separated from the empire a great part of Thessalia & Macedonia, and to haue made him absolute Prince thereof; & had haply so done, had he not bin by death preuented: which thing also much grieued *Andronicus*, and the more incensed him against his brother. Which his secret hatred he for all that according to his wisedome, cunningly dissembled, not onely during the time that his father liued, but three yeres after his death also, making shew of the greatest loue and kindnesse towards him that was possible. *Constantine* in the meane time, of such great reuenues as were by his father assigned vnto him, eaping great profit, most bountifully bestowed the same vpon his followers and fauorits, and others that made sute vnto him, as well the meaner sort as the greater, and with his sweet behauiour woon vnto him the hearts of all men: for affabilitie and curtesie in high degree easily allureth mens minds, as do faire flowers in the spring the passengers eyes. This was that precept of the wise Indians, That the higher a Prince was in dignitie, and the more curteous he shewed himselfe vnto his inferiors, the better he should be of them beloued. He therefore that should for the two first causes blame *Constantine*, should doe him wrong; as both proceeding not of himselfe, but of his fathers too much loue: but in the third he was not altogether blameless; for if for want of experience he prodigally gaue such gifts, as for the most part might haue beseemed the Emperor himselfe, he ignorantly erred, yet did he no little offend: but if hee knew, that for his too profuse bounty he could not be vnsuspected of his brother, & yet without regard held on that course, he was greatly to be blamed therin. For if nothing else might haue moued him, yet he should haue considered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had sorted, and how many it had brought to vntimely end. So although perhaps that *Constantine* meant no harme vnto his brother, or any way to supplant him, yet did these things not a little increase and aggrauate the former suspitions, and open the eares of the Emperour his brother vnto such calumniation as commonly attendeth vpon immoderat bountie. But to returne to our purpose, this honorable *Constantine* then liued in Lydia, but lately married, and in good hope long to liue, being not past thirty yeres old: but pleasantly spending the time with his wife at Nymphea in Lydia, at such time as he was thus secretly accused vnto his brother, the Emperour thought it good, as vpon other occasions of businesse, to passe ouer into Asia himselfe, but indeed with a secret resolution, vpon the sudden to oppresse his brother vnawares, as by proofe it fel out. For at his comming ouer, *Constantine* fearing nothing lesse, was forthwith apprehended, with all his greatest fauorits, of whom one *Michael Strategopulus* (sometime a man in great authoritie with the emperor his father, and of all other, for wealth, honor, & noble acts most famous) was chiefe: who together with *Constantine* were fast clapt in prison, where wee will leaue them euery houre looking to die, their lands and goods being before confiscated. But these worthie men, especially *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*, thus laid fast; who many times in great battels discomfited the Turks, & notably defended the frontiers of the empire along the East side of the riuer Meander; they now finding none to withstand them, forraged not only all the rich countrie beyond the riuer, but with an infinit multitude passing the same, did there great harme also: so that there was no remedie, but that the Emperor must of necessitie make choice of some other worthie captaine for the defence of those his cities and countries, by the incursion of the Turks then in danger in that part of Asia.

There was then in the Emperors court one *Alexius Philanthropenus*, a right valiant and renowned captain, and then in the flower of his youth; of him the Emperour thought good to make choice for defence of those frontiers of his empire in the lesser Asia (against the Turks) which were before, the charge of his brother *Constantine* & *Strategopulus*; ioyning to him one *Libadarius*, an old famous captain, & a man of great experience also: appointing vnto him the gouernment of the cities of Ionia; and vnto the other the frontiers along the winding bankes of Meander. Where *Alexius* hauing now gotten a charge worthie his valour, & in many great conflicts with the Turks still carrying away the victory, became in short time of great fame: besides that, he was exceeding bountifull & curteous vnto all men; a costly, but a readie way

vnto dangerous credit and renown. Thus at the first al things prospered in his hand according G
to his hearts desire: yea the Turks themselues, bordring vpon him, hardly beset on the one side
by the Tartars, & on the other by himselfe; & yet not so much feared with their enemies be-
hind them, as moued with his curtesie, came ouer to him with their wiues and children & ser-
ued themselues (many of them) in his campe. But as they say, That in *Iupiters* court no man
might drinke of the tun of blisse, but that he must taste also of the tun of woe: so fell it out with
this great captain, who hauing but tasted of the better tun, had the worse all poured full vpon
his head. For *Libadarius* seeing all to prosper with him, and somewhat enuying thereat, began
to feare & suspect, lest he proud of his good fortune, & now grown very strong, casting off his
allegeance, should aspire vnto the empire, and so first begin with him, as the neerest vnto him:
which thing many of the nobilitie secretly surmised also, but how truly many doubt. But this H
enuious plot was not yet ripe, but lay as fire raked vp in the ashes. Now there was with *Alexius*
Philanthropenus, certaine companies of Cretensians, whom for their good seruice and fidelitie
he both honored & trusted aboue others, vsing them all for the gard of his own person. These
men proud of their credit, hearing of the surmised aspiring of their General, & in hope by his
aduancement to raise their own fortunes also, ceased not continually to suggest vnto him high
conceits of himselfe, & to persuade, with al speed to take the matter vpon him; the very con-
ceit whereof (as they said) would be vnto him no lesse danger, than if he should enter into the
action it selfe, as he might well see by the wofull examples of the noble *Constantine* and *Stra-*
tigopulus, both in extreame perill but for the iealous conceit surmised against them. Which I
quicke suggestions wrought in his great mind diuers, & those most contrarie motions, so that
he scarce knew himselfe what he would or would not. *For they which are vnto themselues in con-*
science guiltie of any grieuous crime, if any mischiefe hang ouer their heads therefore, it happeneth vnto
them as foreknowing and expecting the same euen from the time that they offended: vnto whom, if no-
thing else, yet that same verie foreknowledge easeth not a little the griefe and miserie: whereas contrari-
wise, they which are with sudden mischiefes, and vnlooked for, ouerwhelmed, not knowing any iust cause
why, must needs stand as men dismaid, and almost besiae themselues. But at length after diuers great
conflicts with himselfe, the euill persuaders of rebellion preuailed with him. Yet did hee at
Alexius Philanthropenus aspireth. the first forbid any mention to be made of him in the army as emperor: which caused the Cre-
tensians, the chiefe authours of his rebellion, almost to force him forthwith to take vpon him K
the imperiall ornaments, thereby to confirme the minds of his followers and fauorits: for that
such resolutions were (as they said) forthwith to be put into execution; neither that any thing
required so ioynt celeritie and dexteritie both of the minde and the hand; and for that longer
delay would but fill his soldiers heads with doubts, and discourage them with the feare of the
vncertaintie of the euent: all which for all that moued him not so to do; but whether for feare
of the greatnes of the danger, or for that he secretly thought how first to circumuent *Libada-*
rius, of whom he stood most in doubt, is vncertaine. The report of all which his doings and de-
signes were in short time carried first vnto *Libadarius*, as the neerest, & so in post vnto the Em-
peror: who were therewith not a little both disquieted. And had *Alexius* (as some persuaded
him) at the first set vpon *Libadarius*, then vnprouided, no doubt but hee had done much: but L
God, by whom all princes raign, and whose power confoundeth the deuices of the proud, tur-
ned him from *Libadarius*, by whom he was to be oppressed, to follow after *Theodorus* the Em-
perors brother, of whom he was to haue feared no harm. This *Theodorus*, the first man that *A-*
lexius shot at, warned by his brother *Constantines* harmes, liued a pleasant priuat life in Lydia,
far from the ambition of the court, and therefore so much the more beloued of the emperor:
but *Alexius* fearing lest in that hurle many should resort vnto him, as vnto the Emperours bro-
ther, and so hinder his proceedings, thought best first to make him sure, and afterward to op-
Libadarius opposeth himselfe against the proceedings of Philanthropenus. presse *Libadarius* not aware, that in stead of the bodie, hee followed but after the shadow. But
Libadarius, as a man of great experience, taking the benefit of this his ouerfight, and knowing
money to be the sinewes of warre, gathered together all the coyne he possibly could, both of M
his owne and his friends, sending also for the Emperours Treasures to Philadelphia, and
with all speed raised the greatest power he possibly he could out of Ionia, which hee furni-
shed with all things necessarie, promising vnto his soldiers great matters, and filling them with
greater hopes, and that within ten dayes hee would with a great armie meet the Rebell in the
heart of Lydia, and there dare him battell. But withall considering that the Cretensians, men
but

A but of a mercenarie faith, had always the gard of *Alexius* his person, he thought good to make
proofe if they might with gold be woon to betray him: and so well wrought the matter by
great summes of mony presently giuen, & promises of greater preferments with the emperor,
that they (somwhat before discontented with *Alexius* his slacknes, and now doubting also his
successe) yeelded vnto his desire, promising in the beginning of the battell to deliuer him into
his hands; which they shortly after in the very ioyning of the battel accordingly performed,
deliuering him fast bound vnto *Libadarius* his enemie. Who not a little proud thereof, vsed
him with great insolencie, and within three dayes after put out his eyes, for feare the emperor
according to his curteous nature should haue giuen his pardon; and so kept him in prison vn-
B till the Emperors pleasure were further known. Thus through false suspect and ambition were
the greatest champions of the Greeke empire brought to confusion.

Now after this rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, *Andronicus* became so iealous of his owne peo-
ple, as that he wist not whom to trust, reposing greater confidence in strangers, than in his own
subiects, to the great hurt of his estate. At the same time it fortuned, that the Messagets (com-
monly called *Alani*) which then dwelt beyond Ister, being Christians, but oppressed by the
European Tartars, wearie of their slauerie, sent secretly vnto the Greeke Emperor *Andronicus*,
offring that if he would assigne vnto them a conuenient place for them to dwell in, they would
come ouer vnto him with ten thousand of their families, and faithfully serue him in his wars
against the Turks (who then grieuously wasted his countries in Asia, destitute of good captains
and commanders:) which their offer he gladly accepted, as standing then in need of aid, & not
C greatly trusting his own people. But when these Massagets, in number aboue 10000, comming
ouer with their wiues & children, were to be furnished with all things, and especially the men
with horses, armor, and pay, (all which the emperor could not of himselfe doe) the subiects
were therewith hardly charged, and Commission sent out into euery countrey and prouince,
for the taking vp of horses and armor; euery citie, euery countrey towne and village, euerie
gentlemans house and poore mans cottage, was searched and ransacked, and all things taken
from them, that was there found fit for seruice, to their great discontentment, euery man mur-
muring and grudging to haue his armes taken from him, and giuen to strangers: but when they
were also to be contributers vnto their pay, they then openly cursed and banned them euen
vnto their faces. Yet at length (though with much adoo) these strangers well furnished with
D all things necessarie, were with some other forces also, shipped ouer into Asia, vnder the lea-
ding of *Michael Paleologus* the Emperours eldest sonne, and then his companion in the Empire.
Who marching alongst the country, came and incamped about Magnesia. Where the Turkes
at the first, after their woonted manner retyred themselues into the high mountains and thick
woods, that from thence they might more safely learn what strength their new come enemies
were of, and what discipline of war they kept: for they knew, that vpon the comming of great
armies many false reports did run, & that things were made far greater than indeed they were,
as did of these also, as of a people inuincible: and therefore they thought it best so to protract
the time, vntill they might see in what sort best to deale with them. But so houering ouer
their heads, and perceiuing them oftentimes without order to roame abroad into the country
E seeking after prey, (for why, they after the manner of mercenarie men spoiled their friends no
lesse than if they had been their enemies) they came downe in good order from the moun-
taines, from whence at the first they aduentured but a little; but afterwards they came on
further, and with greater confidence, in such sort, as that it seemed they would ere long assault
the yong Emperor in his campe. Wherewith he with the rest discouraged, without any stroke
giuen retyred; the Turks still following him at the heeles. For neither he, neither the rest, any
thing considered the small number of their enemies: but as drunken men, whose heads filled
with grosse vapors, are deceiued in the greatnesse of the obiect that they see, and oftentimes
thinke one thing to be two; so were they also in like manner with their owne feare blinded.
Beside that, most commonly it falleth out, that the army which insolencie and iniury forerun-
F neth, is appointed to destruction, and by the fearefulnesse of it selfe ouerthrowne before the
enemie set vpon it, they themselues becomming enemies to themselues and Gods iust venge-
ance appointing vnto them such an end as their deeds haue deserued: neither was it like that
they should doe any great good, that at their first setting forth, *in* stead of prouision, carried
out with them the bitter curses and execrations of their friends. *Michael* the Emperor seeing
the

Andronicus the Greeke emperor reposing more trust in forrein aid, than in his owne Subiects, greatly hurteth his state.

the Massagets flie, and not daring with those few hee had left, to oppose himselfe against his enemies, retyred himselfe into the strong castle of Magnesia, there to expect what would become of these mischiefes. But the Massagets spoyling the countrey of the poore Christians as they went, marched directly vnto the strait of Helespontus, and there againe passed ouer into Europe, as if they had been therefore onely sent for ouer the riuer Ister, to shew the Turks the sooner the way vnto the sea in Asia. For it was not many dayes after, but that *Michael* the Emperor being returned to Constantinople, the Turkes comming down, with a great power, subdued all the Countries, euen vnto the coast of Lesbos, to the great ruine and weakening of the Greeke Empire.

It was not long after these great stirs made by the Massagets, but that one *Ronzerius* (sometime a notable pirat, but as then a most famous Captaine) hearing of the great entertainment that the Greeke Emperor gaue vnto strangers, by messengers sent for that purpose offred vnto him his seruice in his wars against the Turks, as had before the Massagets. This *Ronzerius* of whom we speake, had out of Catalonia a prouince of Spaine, and out of that part of France which is called Narbonensis, and some other places also, gathred together a great number of base needie naked men, yet lustie able bodies, and fit for seruice either by sea or land; with whom hee manned foure tall gallies, and so as a notable pirat long time robbed, not onely the merchants trading to and fro in the Mediterranean, but landing his men oftentimes in the rich Islands, carried away thence much rich spoyle also; vntill at length by the mischiefe hee did being become famous, and great wars then arising betwixt *Charles* King of Naples, and *Theodorus* King of Sicilia, he was by *Theodorus* sent for and requested of aid: which hee (liuing of the spoyle) easily granted, and so came vnto him with a thousand horse and as many foot, all old expert souldiers, whose good seruice stood the King in those wars in great stead. But as the end of war is peace, so at length vpon the euil successe of *Charles*, a peace being concluded betwixt the two Kings, and confirmed by a marriage betwixt their children; *Ronzerius* liuing altogether by his fortunes, was to seeke for new entertainment, both for himselfe and his men, as hauing neither house nor certain dwelling place to repaire to; but being as needy men met together, some out of one place, some out of another, in hope of bootie as their fortune led them. In which case *Ronzerius* their Generall thought it best to offer his seruice to the Greeke Emperor in his wars against the Turks; whereof he gladly accepted, and so sent for him: vnto whom he shortly after came with two thousand good soldiers, called (after the proud Spanish manner) by the name of Catalonians, for that they were for the most part Spaniards of the country of Catalonia. Of whose comming the Emperor reioycing more than he had cause (as afterward by proofe it fell out) in token of his great fauor, honored him with the name of the Great Captaine, and afterwards gaue him his neece *Marie* in marriage. But within a while after, when as one *Tensa* another Catalonian captain sent for by *Ronzerius*, was come thither also with more aid, the Emperor to gratifie them both, gaue vnto *Ronzerius* the name of *Cæsar*, and vnto the other the name of the Great Captaine. But when these new captains with their followers were to be transported into Asia, it is not to be spoken what harm they did by the way vnto the countrey people, and in the villages alongst the sea coast; abusing the men and women as their slaues, and spending their substance at their pleasure, for which they had many a bitter curse: and this was their first yeares entertainment. The next Spring they set forward to relieue the great Citie of Philadelphia, being as then long besieged by the Turks, and hardly bestead without with the enemie; and within, with extreame penurie and famine: which good seruice they most valiantly performed, and raised the siege. For the Turkes beholding the good order of these Latine souldiers, their bright armour, and couragious comming on, rose presently and departed, not only from the citie, but quite out of the Emperours territorie. Besides that, in this armie were ioyned vnto these Catalonians great numbers of the best souldiers of the Greeks, and all the power of the Massagets: so that had not the Emperor expressely before commaunded, not to pursue them too farre, it was by many thought, all those cities and countries might then againe haue beene in short time recouered from the Turkes, which they had before taken from him. But in Kingdomes appoynted vnto ruine, faire occasions helpe not for the stay thereof; yea the greatest helpes prouided by the worldly wise, by a secret commaunding power aboue, beeing oftentimes conuerted to the destruction of that they were prouided for the safegard of; as it now fell out with the

Emperour

Ronzerius what he was.

A Emperour and these Spanish souldiers: for this seruice done, the Greekes returned home, as did the Massagets also. But these Catalonians with *Ronzerius* their Generall, roaming vp and downe the Emperours territories in Asia, did there great harme, turning their forces (as enemies) vpon them whom they were sent for to relieue: alleadging that they had not their pay according to the Emperors promise; and that therfore they must liue vpon them that had sent for them and deceiued them. So were the poore people in euery place spoiled, their wiues and daughters rauished, their Priests and aged fathers tortured to confesse such secret store as they had: all was subiect vnto these dissolute soldiers rage and lust; yea many of them that had nothing to redeeme themselues, vpon the greedie souldiers imagination; hauing their hands or feet, or some other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high waies side begging an

B halfepenie or a peece of bread, hauing nothing left to comfort themselues with, more than their miserable voice and fountaines of teares: with which their wrongs and miseries, worse than those they had sustained by the Turks, the Emperour much grieued, and well the more, for that they were done by him whom he had entertained to relieue them: but what remedy, his coffers were so bare as that he was not able to doe any thing for the redresse thereof. *Ronzerius* hauing thus spoiled the Emperours countrey in Asia, and left nothing that pleased either him or his, with all his power passed ouer into Europe: and leauing all the rest of his armie at Calipolis, with two hundred of his men went vnto the yong Emperor *Michael* (then lying with a small power at Orestias in Thracia) to demand of him his pay, or if neede were to extort it from him with threats: with whose insolency at his comming, the Emperor more offended than before, his souldiers there present perceiuing the same, with their drawne swords

C compassing him in, fast by the court, slew him, with certaine of his followers, the rest fled in al haste to Calipolis to certifie their fellowes what had happened.

Ronzerius for want of pay spoileth the Emperors subiects.

Ronzerius slain.

Thus by the death of *Ronzerius*, the young Emperor had thought to haue discouraged the Catalonians and abated their pride, as like enough it was to haue done: yet in proofe it fell not out so, but was the cause of far greater euils. So when God prospers not mens actions, the best falleth out vnto the worst, & their wisest deuices turn to meere follies: for the Catalonians at Calipolis hearing of the death of *Ronzerius* their Generall, first slew al the citizens in the city, and notably fortifying the same, tooke that as their refuge. Then diuiding their soldiers into two parts, with the one part of them manned out eight gallies, which vnder the leading of the

D great captaine *Tenza*, robbed and spoiled all the merchants ships, passing the straits of Hellespontus, to or from Constantinople: the other part left in the citie, in the meantime forraging the countrey all about them. But *Tenza* shortly after encountering with a fleet of the Genowaies, wel prouided for him, was by them ouerthrowne, & most of his Gallies sunk, and himselfe taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his fellows, and so again inlarged. Now the Catalonians at Calipolis somwhat discouraged with the losse of their fleet and so many of their men, for certain dais kept themselues quiet in within their wals, not knowing wel what course to take, for they feared both the Massagets and Thracians: them for that they had vpon light causes abused them, & slain diuers of them in the late Asian war; and these, for that they had but euen the other day burnt their houses & spoiled their labors in the country there by: for

E which and other their outrages, they vtterly despaired of the Emperors fauor, whom they had so highly offended. But that which most of al terrified them, was, for that they looked for euery day, when *Michael* the yong Emperor, who as then lay not far off, should with a great power come to assault them: for feare of whom they cast a deepe ditch about the city, with a strong counterscarfe, so preparing themselues, as if they should haue beene euen presently besieged. But the time so passing, and the Emperor delaying his comming, they began to think of other matters: for being brought to that strait, that they could not wel tel which way to turn them, but that they were on euery side beset with danger, they vpon a malicious resolution, and vnto the Greekes most fatall, by messengers sent of purpose, craued aid of the Turks that dwelt on the other side of the strait ouer against them, in Asia; who presently sent them fiue hundred

F good soldiers, after whom followed also many other fugitues and loose companions, in hope of spoile; with whom the Catalonians for the present strengthned, & being themselues three thousand strong, issued out of the city, and forraged the country therabouts, bringing in with them great heards & flocks of sheep and other cattel, together with their keepers: wherewith both the Emperors & their subiects incensed, prepared themselues for reuenge. This was the

first

The Turks first called into Europe by the Catalonians.

first calling in of the Turkes into Europe (that I read of) and the beginning of those endlesse miseries wherewith the Christian commonweale hath beene euer since most grieuously afflicted, and a great part thereof ouerwhelmed; few or none greeuing therat, but such as themselues feele the heauinesse thereof, whom God in his mercie comfort.

The Turcopuli.

The Catalonians and Turkes now lying about Cypsella and Apri in Thrace, *Michael* the Emperour with his Macedonian and Thracian souldiers, the Massagets and the Turcopuli, encamped at Apri. These Turcopuli were Turks, also in number about a thousand (who as is in the former part of this Historie declared) beeing fled with their Sultan *Iathatines* vnto the Greeke Emperour, and left behind him at such time as he was by the Europian Tartars deliuered, had forsaken their Mahometane superstition, and so being become Christians, were inrolled amongst the Greeke souldiers. Shortly after the Emperour (aduertised by his scouts of the approch of his enemies) commanded euery man to be in a readinesse, and his captaines to put his armie in order of battell: who seeing the enemies battell diuided into three parts, put theirs also in like order, placing the Turcopuli and Massagets in the left wing, the Macedonian and Thracian choice horsemen in the right wing, and the rest with the footmen in the maine battell. At which time the Emperour himselfe riding from place to place, with comfortable speeches encouraged his men to fight valiantly against their enemies. The Sun rising, the enemies battell began to come on, in number much inferiour vnto the Emperours, yet in like order, the Turks being placed in both wings, and the Catalonians wel armed in the midst. But the signall of battell being giuen on both sides, the Massagets, whether it were by agreement so before made with the enemie, or vpon a sudden conceiued treason, presently withdrew themselues aloofe off, and so stood as idle beholders, giuing aid neither to the one nor to the other, as did also the Turcopuli their companions; which greatly dismaied the Grecians, and encouraged their enemies: for the Greekes dismaied with that sudden defection of their fellowes, were euen in the ioyning of the battell discouraged. Which the Emperour perceiuing, with great instancie intreated the captaines and commanders of his armie, calling them oftentimes by name, not to bee so suddenly discouraged: but they in so great a danger little regarding his words, and stil shrinking from him, when as the greatest part of his footmen were troden vnder foot and slaine, turning himselfe vnto them that were left, which were but few, hee said, *Now worthy men is the time wherein death is better than life, and life more beter than death.* And hauing so said, valiantly charged the enemie: in which charge his horse was slain vnder him, and he in dauger to haue bin taken, had not one of his faithful followers remounted him vpon his owne horse, and so saued his life with the losse of his own. The Emperor flying to Dydimotichum, where *Andronichus* his father then lay, was of him ioyfully receiued, but sharply reproued for aduenturing his person so far. The enemies pursuing the chace, slew some, tooke others, vntill that by the comming on of the night, & weary with the long fight, they retired: and the next day diuiding the spoile, afterwards at their pleasures forraged the country. The renegat Turks, called Turcopuli, within a few daies after reuolting to the Catalonians, were of them ioyfully entertained, and inrolled into the regiment of *Chalel*, the Turks Generall.

The vnfortunat battel of Michael the Emperour against the Catalonians and Turks.

Shortly after this victorie, the Catalonians began to mutinie among themselues, the great captaine *Tenza*, and *Pharenza* his companion, disdained to be commanded by *Recafort* their General: in which tumult, the matter comming to blowes *Tenza* was slaine, and *Pharenza* for safegard of his life glad to flie vnto the Emperor *Andronichus*; of whom he was, contrary to his expectation, right honorably entertained. About this time also the Massagets hauing done the Greekes more harme, than the Turkes against whom they were entertained, and enriched themselues with the spoile of their friends both in Asia and Europe, were about with their wiues and children, and wealth, to returne againe vnto their old dwellings beyond Ister. Which the Turcopuli, with the Catalonians vnderstanding, and bearing vnto them a secret grudge, for that they (as the weaker) had by them oftentimes bin wronged in the diuision of the spoile of the Greekes, lay now secretly in wait for them, as they should passe the straits of the great mountain Hemus, which bounded the Greek empire frō the Bulgarians: where setting vpon them, fearing no such danger, they slew them almost al; and with the spoile of them, recompenced themselues for all the wrongs they had from them before receiued.

The Catalonians proud of their victorie at Apri, and well strengthened by the reuolt of the Turcopuli with continuall rodes spoiled not onely all alongst the Sea coast of Thracia, but

A but al the inland country also, as farre as Maronea, Rhodope, and Bizia, laying al waste before them. And hauing forraged most part of Thracia, brake into Macedonia, and there wintred about Cassandria, sometime a famous citie, but as then all desolate and ruinous. But the Spring being come, they remoued thence, with purpose to haue spoiled the cities of Macedonia, and especially the rich citie of Thessalonica, where the empresse *Irene* then lay: wherein they were by the Emperors good care and foresight preuented; who doubting such a matter, had fortified his cities in that countrey, and furnished them with strong garrisons, and all other things needull for their defence: which they quickly perceiuing, and findiug the country al desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, were about to haue againe returned into Thracia: but as they were therupon resoluing, they were informed by one that was with them captiue, how that the

Cassandria.

The Catalonians shut out of Macedonia.

B Emperor by a mightie strong wall built at a place called Christopolis, from the sea side euen vnto the top of the mountaines, had so shut vp the passage, as that it was not possible for them that way to enter. With which vnexpected news they were at the first exceedingly troubled, as foreseeing, That if they should there long stay in that spoiled country, they should in short time be driuen to exceeding wants (for they were now in number aboue eight 1000 fighting men) and afraid also by a general conspiracie of the people about them, to be oppressed. Thus beset, and not well knowing what to doe, or which way to turne themselues, they desperately resolued, no longer there to stay, but forthwith to set forward, and to breake into Thessalie, with the plentifulnesse thereof to relieue their wants, or into some other country further off, towards Peloponesus, and there to seat themselues, and to end their long trauels: or at leastwise, if they could not so do, to enter into league with some that dwelt vpon the sea coast, and

C so returne againe into their owne countrey. Wherefore leauing Thessalonica, and deliuering the Emperour of a great feare, they in three dayes came to the Thessalian mountaines, Olympus, Ossa, and Pelius; where they at the foot of them found such plentie of all things necessarie for their reliefe, that they there wintred. But Winter past, and the Spring being come, they passed ouer those high mountaines and the pleasant vallies called Tempe, and so at last came downe into the fruitfull plaines of Thessalie, where they spent that yeare at their pleasure without resistance, deuouring the labours of the poore country people, and making hauocke of whatsoeuer thing came in their way: for as then the state of that countrey was but weake, the Prince thereof being but yong, and withall very sicke and like to die, and the suc-

D cession so ending in him, as that it was feared, who after his death should lay hand thereon; and euery man therefore more carefull of his own priuat than of the common good. Yet to auert these forraine enemies, who like a consuming fire deuoured the country before them; the nobilitie thought it good, with great gifts to ouercome their captains and commanders, and then to offer them guides to conduct them into Achaia and Bœtia, countries more pleasant and fruitfull than was theirs, and more commodious for them to dwell in: promising also to giue them aid for the seating of them there, if they should so need. Of which their offers the Catalonians accepted, as thinking it better with their hands ful of gold so easily gotten, to go seeke their better fortunes, with their power yet whole and strong, and helpe also if need were, than to hazard al vpon the successe of a doubtfull victorie, and so foolishly to preferre an vncertain

E hope before a most certain benefit. So making peace with the Thessalians, and the Spring being come, receiuing of them their promised rewards, and guids to conduct them, passing ouer the Mountaines beyond Thessalie, and the straits of Thermopile, they encamped neere vnto Locris and the riuer Cephisus: which rising out of the mountain Pernassus, and running towards the East, hath on the North side of them Locris and Opus; and on the South the inland countrey of Achaia and Bœtia: and beeing a great riuer vntill it come to Lebadia and Haliartes, is there diuided into two riuers; the one called Æsopus, and the other Ismenus; whereof the former runneth thorow the countrey of Attica, vntill it come into the Sea; and the other neere vnto Aulis (where the noble Grecians, as they say, beeing about to goe vnto Troy, met, and there stayed) falleth into the Euboean Sea. But the Duke of Thebes and

F Athens, and of all that countrey, hearing of their comming, and (as hee thought well) prouided also for them (as hauing all the Winter and Spring time before put his forces in readinesse) with great pride and contempt denied them passage thorow his countrey, at such time as they asked the same; making no more reckoning of them, than as of a sort of loose wandering rogues that could find no place to rest or thriue in: wherewith they intraged, resolued

among

among themselues, either there to seat themselues in his country, or to die therefore. And so G
passing the riuer into Beotia, not far from the same encamped themselues, being in number
about 3500 horse, and 4000 foot. But so lying and expecting the comming of their enemies,
A notable stratagem of the Catalonians. they caused all the plaine ground about where they lay and meant to fight, to be plowed vp,
which they with certaine small cuts out of the riuer so watered, as that it differed but a little
from a deepe marish or bog. Hither about the middle of the Spring commeth the Prince of
the countrey, with a gallant armie raised out of Athens, Thebes, Plate, Locris, Phocis, and
Megara, in number about 6400 horse, and 4000 foot, an armie too strong he thought for so
contemptible an enemie. But the weakest enemie not feared, doth oftentimes the greatest
harme, as here by proofe was to be seene: for the Prince comming vnto the aforesaid plaine,
now growne greene with grasse, and casting no perill, encouraging his men, came brauely on H
with all his horsemen to haue charged his enemies: who stood fast vpon the firme ground, a
little without their trenches, as readie to encounter him. But before he was come to the mid-
dle of the plaine, his horses sinking deepe into the rotten and new ploughed ground, and there
intangled as in a marish, lay for the most part tumbling in the mire, together with their riders;
or else plunging in the deepe, and hauing cast them, ran vp and downe the plaine, as fortune
led them; othersome sticking fast, stood with their riders vpon their backs, as if they had bin
very images, not able for to moue. Which the Catalonians beholding, and therewith encou-
raged, ouerwhelmed them with all manner of shot, and slew them at their pleasure, vntill they
had almost made an end of them: and with their horsemen so speedily pursued the rest in
chace, euen vnto the cities of Thebes and Athens, that they without more adoe euen at that I
instant surprised them both, with all that was in them. So the Catalonians hauing as it were at
a cast at dice won a most goodly countrey, garnished with faire townes and cities, which they
neuer built; and stored with all manner of wealth, which they neuer sweat for, there ended
their long trauels, and seated themselues: not ceasing (as saith *Nicephorus Gregoras*, the repor-
ter of this historie, speaking of the time wherein these things were done, and wherin he him-
selfe liued in Constantinople) vnto this present day, by little and little to extend the boundes
of their territorie. Where leauing them, with whom we happily haue too long strayed from
our purpose, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks and Turcopuli their companions.

In the armie of the Catalonians, at such time as they were about to haue besieged Thessa-
lonica, were three thousand Turks, of whom eleuen hundred were of them (as we said) which K
remained with *Melech* at Ænum, after the flight of *Iathatines* their Sultan vnto the Tartars, and
renouncing their superstition, became Christians; and so being baptized, and hauing wiues
and children, were enrolled among the Emperors souldiers; but at the battell of Apri reuol-
ted vnto the Catalonians, and were commonly knowne by the name of Turcopuli: the other
being the greater part, were such Turks, as with *Chalel* their captaine came out of Asia, being
sent for by the Catalonians. Now all these Turks, as well the one as the other, at such time as
the Catalonians were about to inuade Thessalia, and to seeke their new fortunes in the coun-
tries more westward, and so farther off from Asia: partly distrusting the societie of them, as
dangerous vnto them; and loath also further to follow their vncertaine fortunes into coun-
tries further off, amongst people to them vnknowne, began to rise in mutinie, and to refuse to L
goe. Whereupon their captaines *Melech* and *Chalel* requested of the Generall of the Catalo-
nians to giue them leaue with quietnesse to returne: which their request he easily granted, (as
now not greatly needing their helpe, after that he was departing out of the Emperors domi-
nion) and so they gladly departed; proportionally diuiding all the captiues and spoiles they
had taken in that long warre, according to the number of both parts.

The Turks diuided into two factions. These Turks after their departure from the Catalonians, diuided themselues into two parts,
the Turcopuli or renegat Turks following *Melech*, & the rest *Chalel* their General. But *Melech*
being before becom a Christian, as were his followers also; & after that hauing receiued most
honorable entertainment at the Emperors hands, and yet againmost shamefully breaking his
faith before giuen, and violating his religion, had reuolted to his enemies, despairing of the M
Emperors further friendship, which he had so euill deserued, made choice rather to goe vnto
Crales Prince of Seruia, by whom he was sent for, than to come againe into the sight of *Andro-
nicus* the Greeke Emperour. And so going vnto him with a thousand horse, and fiue hundred
foot, was there of him well entertained himselfe: but his souldiers all commanded to deliuer

vnto

A vnto the Prince both their horses and armour, and to fall to other trades, and not to beare
armes but at such time, and so many of them as should seeme good vnto the Prince, that had
receiued them into his countrey.

But *Chalel* with the Turkes his followers, in number about 1300 horse and eight hundred
foot, staying at Macedonia, offered vnto the Greeke Emperour quietly to depart his country,
so that he would giue him passage by the straits of Christopolis by him fortified; and in safe-
tie transport him and his souldiers with all their substance, ouer the strait of Helespontus into
Asia: vnto which his request, the Emperour considering the great harme done in his prouin-
ces, and desirous also to be discharged of so great a burthen, easily granted; and so sent *Senna-
cherib*, one of his most valiant captaines, to conduct them out of Macedonia into Thracia, vn-
B to the straits of Helespontus. Where the Greeke captaines and souldiers seeing the great
multitude of horses, and aboundance of money and other spoiles, which they hauing taken
from the Greekes, were now about to carrie away with them into Asia; they thought it a
great indignitie to suffer them so to doe: and allured also with the hope of so rich a prey, as
had bin of long in gathering, they entred into a deuice far different from that which was vnto
the Turks before promised, neither prouiding them of shipping, neither careful of their safety
but purposing vpon the sudden by night destroy them. Whereof the Turks hauing got
vnderstanding, suddenly rising, surprised a castle in the country there by, which they notably
fortified for the defence of themselues, to the great astonishment of them that had purposed
their destruction; who now not able to force them, were glad to get them farther off, and to
C certifie the Emperor what had happened: who (after I wot not what receiued custome of the
Greek Emperors his predecessors) slowly dispatching things requiring greatest hast, carelesly
delaid the time, to the great trouble of his state, and aduantage of his enemies. For they wise-
ly considering the danger and distresse they were in, by speedy messengers sent ouer the strait,
craued aid of the Turks their countrymen in Asia, which they presently sent them; wherwith
they not a little both encouraged and strengthned, with their often & sudden incursions grie-
uously wasted the country round about them, to the great discontentment of the Greeke cap-
tains, not able without greater help to remedy the same. Who thereof certified the yong Em-
perour *Michael Paleologus*, requesting him with all the power hee could make, to come and be-
siege the castle, and to suppresse these so dangerous enemies. For the performance whereof
D not only the captains with their soldiers, but the country people in generall with their spades
and mattocks came flocking vnto the Emperor; not as if they would haue besieged the castle,
but haue digged it downe and ouerthrowne it together with the Turks their enemies.

The vnfortunate battel of the Emperour Michael Paleologus with the Turks in Chersonesus. Now the Emperor with his captains and souldiers, and a multitude of those countrey peo-
ple, being come thither, who all gladly followed him, most part of them foolish, thinking of
nothing, but of the spoile of their enemies, not considering with what danger the same was to
be gained: so that the more the enemies prouided for the necessary defence of themselues, as
in number but few, & shut vp in their enemies country, the more carelesly & neglegently, and
without al order, the Greeks proceeded in their siege, for that they were in number far more,
and better prouided of al things than their enemies: not reputing with themselues, nothing in
E this world to be firm and sure; and al wordly things (as saith the diuine Philosopher) to be but
the mockerie of God, and to be hastily turned vp side downe, and with most vncertain course
this and that way to wander. But their enemies, who before feared euen the very fame of their
comming, accounting themselues rather among the dead than the liuing, seeing their confused
and disordered rashnesse; therewith much more than before encouraged, bestowed all their
wealth, their women, and other things vnnecessarie for battel, in good safetie within their tren-
ches: but themselues, with eight hundred chosen horsemen only, and they very well armed,
fallied out, euen to the place where the imperial ensigne stood; being neither of any great safe-
ty, neither guarded with any such strength or carefulnes as beseemed: with which sudden and
desperat eruption of the enemies, the Grecians terrified, especially that rustical and vplandish
F company, began to flie: after whom by little and little others followed, vntil at length all the
rest without further resistance fled also: which the Emperor seeing, did what he might to haue
staid their flight: but in so generall a confusion and feare, when euery man was to shift for one,
who regarded him: wherefore wearied and seeing no other remedie, he was glad to take the
same course & to flie with the rest: yet many of the more expert captains, ashamed of so foule

a flight,

a flight, made diuers stands: and so staied the barbarous enemie from further pursuit of the Emperor and the other flying Greeks. In which doing, many of them inclosed by the Turks, were of them taken prisoners: vnto whom all the Emperours treasure became a prey also, and whatsoeuer honorable ensignes of the empire else that were found in the Emperors tent; yea the imperiall Crowne it selfe, richly set with pearle and precious stones, was there taken also, which (they say) *Chalel* putting vpon his head, pleasantly scoffed at the Greeke Emperor that but late before wore it.

Thracia spoiled by the Turks.

After this victorie, the Turks with great pride spoiled almost all Thracia, in such sort as that the people for two yeres together durst scarcely go out of their strong walled townes to plough and sow their land; which exceedingly grieued both the emperors, the father and the son: for in their own power they had no great confidence, God hauing (as it were) taken from their people, both their hearts and courage, so that all their hope was to entertaine forraine aid (the miserable shift of the great distressed ones) wherin also they found many difficulties and lets, whilst they considered the greatnes of their charge, their coffers being then, if euer, empty by reason their territories were so long and grieuously by their enemies wasted: yet need admitting no law, *Andronicus* the old Emperour was glad to send to *Crales* Prince of Seruia, his son in law, to pray his aid. But in the meane time he making no hast (as men in relieuing others commonly doe) and the miserie more and more increasing, it pleased God to stir vp the heart of one *Philes Paleologus* the Emperours neere kinsman, to vndertake the protection and deliuerance of his Prince and countrey; and was afterward for his great valour by the Emperour worthily made Lord great martial of the empire. This *Philes* of whom we now speake, had all his life time bin brought vp in the court, and was for his vpright dealing and integritie of life beloued of al men, but specially of the old Emperor his kinsman, whom he with like affection honored; but was a man altogether vnskilful of the wars, as being by nature of a weake constitution of body, and so very sickly; and withal more giuen to deuotion and the seruice of God than the affaires of the world, oftentimes spending most part of the day at his prayers in the church. He now grieued to see the perplexed Emperor, and the miserie of his country, requested of him that he might with some small power, and some few captains of his owne choice, goe out against these proud Turks: hoping (as he said) by Gods grace to reuenge the wronge by them done, and to returne to him againe with victory. Vnto which his reqnest, the Emperor easily yeelded; saying, that God was iust, which delighted not in many legs, neither in the greatnes of any mans strength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind: not so giuing his help vnto *Michael* the Emperour, his son, for the offences of his parents: as happily he might vnto this so vpright and deuout a man, regarding more his integritie of life, than his skill in armes: for turning me about, I haue seen in this world (said he) I haue seene, the swift not to gaine the prize, neither the valiant the victorie; wise men to want bread, and men of vnderstanding, wealth; the simple to gain fauor, and the subtill to fall into disgrace: such alteration worldly things in time find. So the Emperor (as is aforesaid) yeelding to his request, furnished him with mony, horses, and armor, and such a conuenient power, as he himselfe desired. Which he hauing receiued, first of al incouraged his captains and soldiers with all manner of courtesie and kindnes, giuing vnto them mony, horses, armour, iewels; yea sometime hee gaue vnto one his purse, vnto another his cloke, his rapier, or some other such thing, as he had about him, to encourage them in their forwardnes: after that, he perswaded them to an honest temperate course of life, & valiantly to play the men, promising according to their deserts to reward euery one of them, the war once happily ended: & before his setting forth, vnderstanding by his espials, that *Chalel* with a thousand foot & two hundred horse was forraging the country about Bizia, he hasted his departure, that so he might by the way encounter them, laded with the spoil of the country: and so setting forward, came the third day to a little riuer, which the inhabitants call Xerogipsum, & there in a great plain neere vnto the same, encamped. Where after he had set al things in order fit for battel, he with cheereful speeches as a great commander, encouraged his captains and souldiers; leauing nothing vnsaid or vndone, that might serue for the animating of them to fight. But he had not so lien two daies, but that his scouts about midnight comming in, brought him tidings, that the enemy laden with spoile, was euen fast by at hand: who by the rising of the Sun were come within sight, and had themselues a far off also discouered the Christian army, al glistering in bright armor. Wherefore staying a while to prepare them-

Philes Paleologus requesteth of the Emperor that he might goe against the Turke.

themselues for battell; and first of all, compassing themselues round with their waggons and other carriages, they bestowed in them all their captiues fast bound together, with the bootie they had taken; and afterwards as the manner was, casting dust vpon their heads, & their hands vp towards heauen, they came on. And now the Christian armie came on forward also, *Philes* still encouraging both the horsemen and footmen, and right wel conducting them, as the time and place required. So he fortuned, that he that had the leading of the right wing of the army, gaue the first charge vpon a squadron of the enemies, and at the first onset vnhorsed one of the enemies, and by and by after him another: But hauing his horse sore wounded vnder him, hee hastily retyred out of the battell; which somewhat troubled the Christians, and encouraged the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcrie began most fiercely to presse vpon the retyring Christians. *Philes* in the mean time with many cheerefull words and comfortable persuasions still encouraging them to play the men; and with his eyes oftentimes cast vp to heauen, with teares running down his face, most heartily besought God, the giuer of all victorie, no longer to suffer those his enemies, and the ministers of his wrath, to triumph ouer his people: as did also the poore captiues that lay bound, doubtfully betwixt feare & hope expecting the euent of the battell. The Christian footmen at the same time encountering hand to hand with the Barbarians, assailed them, and were assailed, slew of them, and were themselues of them slaine; so that there was a cruell fight made on both sides. But *Philes* with the multitude of his men hauing almost incompassed the Barbarian horsemen, with a companie of his most valiant soldiers broke in vpon the side of the enemies battell, and so made way thorow the midst of it; and so troubled the Turks, as that they well knew not how to stay, or what to do. So being on euery side circumuented and hardly charged, most of them there fell, excepting some few horsemen, whom the Greeke horsemen pursued vnto the entrance of Chersonesus, with purpose there to shut them vp. *Philes* comming thither also, there vpon those straits encamped: at which time the Emperor presently sent out fiue gallies to keepe the straits of Hellespont, so that no aid might be brought vnto those Turks out of Asia. Whilest these things thus went, two thousand choice horsemen came to the aid of *Philes* out of Seruia, and the Potestate of Pera came by sea also with eight gallies moe into Helespontus, to the aid of the Christians: wherefore when the Grecians and the Seruians had thus on the one side shut them vp by land, and they that were in the gallies on the other by sea, *Philes* with all his power came and incamped about the towne and the trenches wherein the Turks lay, planting his batterie against the castle, wherewith he greatly shooke the same, and made great slaughter of the Turkes and of their horses, and that not only by day, but by night also. But the Turks seeing death now present before their eyes, and no way left for them to escape, for that they were so on euery side both by sea and land inclosed, thought good thus to aduenture their liues, resoluing by night to set vpon the Grecians rather than vpon the Seruians, whom they had hitherto accustomed to ouercome, and whom they had with often slaughters terrified; that so the rest by them also happily discouraged, they might so delay the assault: but in attempting the same they perceiued themselues much deceiued, finding them euen at their first sallying out readie in armes to receiue them: wherefore hauing in vaine giuen the attempt (as against a strong fortresse) they were shamefully enforced to retyre. Yet were they not therewith so discouraged, but that the strait siege still continuing, they gaue the like attempt vpon the Seruians; but beeing also by them in a like manner with losse repulsed, they began now vtterly to despaire. Wherefore the next day about midnight casting away their armes, they with their bosomes and pockets ful of coyne ran downe vnto the sea side, towards the gallies, with purpose to yeeld themselues vnto the Genowaies that were therein; as fearing of them lesse harme, as of men whom they had neuer hurt. But the night being darke and mistie, and the Moone giuing no light, many of them vnawares came vnto the Greeke gallies, and there flying the smoke, fell into the fire: for being lightned of their mony, they were by them forthwith without any pittie slain also. But the Genowaies slew not all their prisoners, but only such as had brought with them the most coyne; lest afterwards bewraying the same, it should haue been sought after by the Greekes: the rest they cast into bonds, of whom some they sent vnto the emperor, other some they kept to themselues as their owne prisoners. Thus by the valour and good conduct of this worthie deuout captaine, the Turks were for that time againe chased out of Europe, and the country of Thracia deliuered of a great feare.

The battell betwixt Philes & the Turks.

The Turkes three

Now

The causes of the decay of the Greeke Empire.

Now by that we haue alreadie written, is easily to be seene the chiefe causes of the decay and ruin of the Greek empire, to haue bin, First, the innouation & change of their antient Religion and ceremonies, by *Michael Paleologus*, whereof ensued a world of woe; then, by Couetousnes, couered with the name of good husbandry, the vtter destruction of the chief strength of the empire; next vnto that, by Enuy, the ruin of the Great; false Suspect, the loser of friends; Ambition, honors ouerthrow; Distrust, the great minds torment; & Forrein aid, the empires faithlesse porter, opening the gate euen vnto the enemy himselfe: whereunto foule Discord joyned (as shall be forthwith declared) what wanted that the barbarous enemy could desire, for the helping of them in the supplanting of so great an empire? But againe to our purpose, *Michael* companion with his father *Andronicus* in the empire, had by his wife *Mary* two sons, *Andronicus* who was afterward Emperor, and *Manuel* syrnamed the Despot; and two daughters, *Anne* married vnto *Thomas* Prince of Epirus, and *Theodora* married to the Prince of Bulgaria: of all these, the old Emperour *Andronicus* their grandfather so entirely loued *Andronicus* his nephew, as that in comparison of him hee seemed little to regard either his owne children, or the rest of his nephews, wishing them all rather to perish than him: which many supposed him to do, as purposing by him the better to establish the succession of the empire in his house; as also for his excellencie of wit, and comlinesse of person; the likenesse of name also happily furthering his kind affection. For which reasons, he caused him to be honorably brought vp in his court, as not willing to spare him out of his sight either day or night. But when hee was out of his childehood, and growne to be a lustie youth (at which time mens hot desires are commonly most vehement) he began to contemne all chastisement and gouernment; especially in so high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Besides that, his companions became vnto him the ministers and persuaders of all those vaine delights which vnstayed youth most desireth: and at the first began to lead him forth to walke the streets, to hawke, to hunt, and to haunt plays, and afterwards to night walkes also, not well beseeming his state: which riotous course of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged grandfather gaue him but a certaine spare allowance for his conuenient maintenance; he acquainted himselfe with the rich merchants of Genoway which dwelt at Pera. Heereof arose hard taking vp of money, great debt, fine deuices how to come by coyne, with secret consultations and purposes of flight. For when he saw his grandfather old *Andronicus* long to liue, & his father *Michael* like to succeed him, he had no hope of aspiring vnto the empire; wherupon his ambitious thoughts and impotent desires long time tormenting his haughty heart, suggested vnto him such purposes. For when as he would not obey his grandfather as his tutor, nor follow other mens councels, as a child, he sought after the Imperiall libertie, and abundance of wealth, that he might haue that was sufficient for himselfe, and wherwith to reward others, as the followers of an Emperour. Which seeing he could not do, his grandfather yet liuing, and his father raigning; hee sought after the soueraignty of other principalities and countries: one while after Armenia, as belonging vnto him in the right of his mother the King of Armenia's daughter; another while after Peloponesus; and sometime hee dreamed of Lesbos and Lemnus, and other the fruitfull Islands of the Ægean sea: which when it was secretly told, somtime to his father, and somtime to his grandfather, he was now crossed and reproued of the one, and afterwards of the other. And to passe ouer many other his youthfull prancks, he vsed in his night walks secretly to repaire vnto a certaine gentlewomans house, more honourably borne, than honestly qualified: which woman, a certain gallant (and another *Adonis*) no lesse affected than himselfe: wherwith hee highly offended, as with his Riuall, appointed certaine ruffians and fencers to watch her house. But vpon a certaine time about midnight, *Manuel* the Despot (his younger brother) seeking after him, chanced to passe that way where these watchmen lay: who seeing him hasten by, and not knowing him in the darke, and supposing him to haue beene the man they looked for, (the gentlewomans best beloued) set vpon him, and so wounded him, that he fell downe for dead from his horse: but being by and by after knowne by others comming in, he was taken vp, and halfe dead carried vnto the Court. Which outrage in the morning boeing knowne vnto the Emperour, cast him into a great heauinesse, as beholding not the time present onely, but wisely considering what was like to ensue in the time to come also. But *Manuel* the Despot being dead of the wounds there receiued, and the report thereof brought vnto *Michael* the young Emperour his father, then lying at Thessalonica, strooke him to

A to the heart with so great a griefe, that falling sicke with the conceit thereof, he shortly after died.

Andronicus the vnstayed Youth neuertheless holding on his woonted course, with a secret purpose to haue fled, became thereby still more and more suspicious to his aged grandfather; not a little carefull vnto what end those his violent passions would at length tend. And therefore appointed one *Syrgiannes* (a man of great credit and authoritie in the court, in whom, as in a reconciled enemie, he had most vnaduisedly reposed too much trust) to insinuate himselfe into the youthful princes acquaintance and fauor; that so sounding him & his secret designes, he should not possibly be able without his knowledge to step aside; which of all things the old Emperor feared most, as the beginning of greater troubles. This *Syrgiannes* being a man
B of great place, and of a subtill wit, was somtime himselfe suspected of aspiring, and therefore as vpon the misprision of treason, was by the old Emperor imprisoned: but afterwards by him againe inlarged and receiued into fauor, was now put in trust warily to obserue the doings of the yong prince. But he not vnmindfull of the wrong before done vnto him, and in hope by troubling the state either to aspire vnto the empire himself, or at leastwise to some good part thereof; thought now a fit occasion to be ministred vnto him for him to worke vpon, both for the one and the other, by setting the old Emperor and his ambitious nephew together by the eares: which opportunity he not minding to let slip, taking the yong prince one day aside, discouered vnto him all his grandfathers deuice, in briefe, as followeth:

Syrgiannes his crafty seditious speech vnto yong Andronicus.

C *Your grandfather, noble Prince* (said he) *hath set me as a watch ouer your actions, or more truly to say, as a blood-hound, to seeke after not your doings onely, but if it were possible, euen after your most secret thoughts also: and so whilest hee maliciously prepareth for you snares and fetters, you not aware thereof, foolishly follow your shallow and childish conceits. For what shall it auaile you secretly to flie away? whereas, if the best chance, yet must you (as the common saying is) put your feet vnder another mans table, and liue of his charge; if it fall not out worse, that you be slaine or made away by them you flie vnto for reliefe, or else fall into the snares by your grandfather layd for you. But if so be that casting behind you these your fond deuices, you will hearken vnto my councell, I will shew you a readie way, how you shall in short time, and without any danger, aspire vnto the Imperiall Seat and dignitie; the onely way whereunto is this, if you leauing the Citie of Constantinople, shall flie out into the Cities and Pro-*
D *uinces of Thracia. For seeing men are most commonly by nature desirous of change, and the miserable Thracians are with often exactions grieuously vexed; if you shall but once proclaime a redresse of their grieuances, with immunitie for euer, they will all with one accord follow you whethersoeuer you will, your grandfathers long and heauie yoke beeing cast off, as if it were* Sisiphus *his heauie stone, which they had long rolled, and neuer the neere. If you like of this aduice, I will be vnto you both the author and the leader of this exployt, and will easily bring to good effect the whole matter: so that you*
E *againe on the other side promise vnto me vpon your faith, to reward this my trauell according to my desert therein. But what rewards shall these be? Honorable preferments, large possessions, great reuenues, the first place in your fauor, and that no great matter be done or concluded without my consent & knowledge. For you see how willingly I make my selfe partaker of your calamitie, and companion of your dangers, no necessitie enforcing me thereunto; forgetting euen my very faith, in comparison of the loue and Zeale I beare towards you; wherein if any mishap shall by the mutabilitie of fortune betide me, I haue set downe my selfe with patience to endure it. All which considered, you need not to grudge to yeeld vnto my requests, if you tender your owne safetie. And forasmuch as the shortnesse of the time will suffer no long consultations, and that delay bringeth extream danger, let vs without longer stay impart the matter vnto such others, as for the hatred of the Emperor are like to keepe our councell, and may yet much further our designes.*

The yong Prince mooued with this speech as if it had bin with a charme, easily granted to his desire, confirming the same by his oath conceiued in writing: at which time were present
F such as were especially to be acquainted with the plot of the conspiracie, namely *Iohn Catacuzene*, and *Theodorus Synadenus* (both men of great honour, and the old Emperors antient supposed friends, and of him beloued, much of like age vnto himselfe) and *Alexius Apocaucus* the third (not of like honor with the other, yet a man of great place, and of a most subtill and deepe wit:) who all vnderstanding the matter, shewed themselues not as ministers, but as ring-

leaders,

leaders and captains of the intended rebellion. This conſpiracie with moſt ſolemne oath and promiſes on euery part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter: and to begin withall, *Syrgiannes* & *Catacuzenus*, by corrupting diuers of the great and moſt gracious courtiers, procured to themſelues the gouernment of ſuch cities and prouinces in Thracia, as they thought fitteſt for them to begin their rebellion in. *Syrgiannes* hauing the gouernment of the ſea coaſt, & the inland country euen from the ſea ſide to the top of mount Rhodope; and *Catacuzenus* the gouernment of the country about Oreſtias. In all which places they muſtred ſoldiers, prouided armor, entertaining alſo ſtrangers, and other vagrant and maſterleſſe men; as for ſome great war: beſides that, in the cities for the gouernment therof, they placed their truſtieſt friends, remouing ſuch others as they had in ſuſpect. All which they colored by rumors falſly raiſed, one while of the comming of the European Tartars from Danubius, and another while by the comming of the Turks out of Aſia: againſt whoſe inuaſions theſe preparations were giuen out to be made, for auoiding of ſuſpition; and the traitors for their prouident care highly commended euen by the Emperor himſelfe, againſt whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgiannes* notably diſſembled, oftentimes withall certifying the young Prince what he had done, and what was likewiſe of him to be performed.

But the old Emperor ſeeing his youthfull nephew not to hearken to his graue aduice, but ſtill to proceed in his diſſolute kind of life, was about ſolemnly to haue reproued him before the Patriarch & ſome others of the chiefe nobilitie: if happily ſuch open reproof might haue wrought in him ſome change of manners; if not, then to haue committed him to priſon, & like enough he was to haue ſo done, had he not bin otherwiſe perſuaded by *Theodorus Mitochita*, (who of all others was able to do moſt with him) by reaſon of the liberty of the time; for then it was almoſt Shrouetide, when as the people diſtempred with exceſſe of meat & drinke, were of all other times moſt fit, vpon any light occaſion to be drawne into a tumult or vprore: for feare whereof, he was contented for that time to let him alone. But Shrouetide paſt, & a good part of Lent alſo, the old Emperor ſeeing no amendment in his nephew, calling vnto him *Geraſimus* the Patriarch, and the reſt of the reuerend Biſhops then preſent in the citie, ſent for his nephew, openly before them all to chide him, and to ſchoole him for his diſordred life; but eſpecially for his purpoſed flight; that aſhamed of ſuch open reproofe before ſuch reuerend fathers, he might either amend his life, or at leaſtwiſe of all men be thought iuſtly puniſht for the ſame, if he ſhould ſtil proceed therein. So the yong prince being ſent for, came, accompanied with many of his fauorits & followers, moſt of them being ſecretly armed, and hee himſelfe not altogether vnprouided: for it was agreed amongſt them, that if the Emperour ſhould vſe gentle and fatherly admonition towards him, that then they ſhould be quiet, without any ſhew of inſolencie or diſcontentment; but if he ſhould in anger reprooue him, or threaten to puniſh him, then vpon a ſigne giuen, forcibly with their ſwords drawn to breake in vpon him, and to kill him in the imperial ſeat, & without more ado to place yong *Andronicus* his nephew in his ſtead. But comming in, and (as his manner was) taking his place next vnto his aged grandfather, his diſperat followers attending without, he was indeed of him grieuouſly blamed and reproued for his former follies and euil courſe of life; yet with ſuch moderation & grauity, as that all ſeemed (as it did) to come of a moſt fatherly care and regard: ſo that at that time no ſuch outrage was committed, as was by diuers his followers wiſhed, but the aſſembly quietly diſmiſſed, & a ſolemne oath taken on both ſides: of the grandfather, That hee ſhould not appoint any but his nephew to ſucceed him in the empire: & of the yong prince, That he ſhould neuer go about to attempt any thing to the ſhortning or hurt of his grandfathers life or Empire. But the conſpirators thronging about him at his comming out, fretted & fumed at him, as if he had broken his faith & oath before giuen them; ſaying, *What greater wrong couldſt thou do vs, than being by vs made ſtrong, and become dreadfull vnto thine enemies, to diſpoſe of thine affairs at thy pleaſure to thine owne ſafetie, and to leaue vs thy moſt faithfull friends and ſeruants in the diuels mouth to be deuoured?* For now they both doubted and feared, leſt their conſpiracie was diſcouered. With which ſpeeches he both diſcouraged and aſhamed, ſent for *Theodorus Metochita* his grandfathers chiefe Councellour, requeſting him to deale with his grandfather, for the pardoning of all his followers, as hee had done for himſelfe: of which motion hee diſliking, told him, That he was to giue God thanks, that he had himſelfe eſcaped ſo great a danger; and to him alſo, as a meane for the ſafegard of his life, although he treated not for ſuch

Yong Andronicus commeth ſecretly armed to his grandfather

traiterous

traiterous perſons, with whom, if he were well aduiſed, he would haue nothing to doe, either thinke that they would euer be faithful vnto him, that reſpecting neither God nor man, had ſo fouly broken their faith before giuen vnto the Emperor his grandfather. With which vnexpected anſwer of ſo great and graue a Councellor, the prince not a little troubled, and withall diſcontented, ſtood a while as in a muſe all ſilent, reaſoning as it were with his owne paſſions: but afterwards commanding him without further replie to depart, and the old companions of his follies reſorting vnto him, hee by their perſuaſion entertained againe his former diſloyall thoughts & deſignements: which his grandfather vehemently ſuſpecting, and therewith not a little grieued, would (as if it had been by inſpiration) oftentimes in his heauines ſay vnto them that were about him, *In our time is loſt the maieſty of our Empire, and the deuotion of the Church.* Yet to preuent the worſt, he thought it good betime to lay hands vpon his ſuſpected nephew, and ſo to detain him in ſafe keeping: acquainting none therewith but *Geraſimus* the Patriark & his ghoſtly father; who preſently acquainted the Prince therwith, & was the cauſe that he haſtned his flight, flying himſelfe before. For he now certainly vnderſtanding the danger he was in, the night before he ſhould haue been apprehended, with all the reſt of the conſpirators his complices, in the dead time of the night fled out of the City, by the gate called Gyrolimnia; which gate (all the reſt being ſhut) was ſtil at his command, for that he vſed commonly therby at his pleaſure very early to go out on hunting, as he now pretended to doe; but the next day after came to *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus* campe, who then both lay with a great power at Hadrianople, expecting his comming. The old Emperor, before the riſing of the Sun aduertiſed of the flight of his nephew, the ſame day commanded him to be proclaimed traitor, and proſcribed, with all his conſpirators, and whoſoeuer elſe ſhould take his part. And for the more ſuretie, euery man in the city was ſworne to be loyall and faithfull vnto the old Emperour, and enemies vnto his nephew and his adherents. But he on the other ſide, proclaiming liberty and immunitie abroad in all the cities and villages in Thracia, to woon the hearts of the countrey people in generall, that they reſorted vnto him from all places in great numbers, readie armed to do whatſoeuer he ſhould command them. And to begin withall, they firſt laid hands vpon the collectors of the Emperors mony (then abroad in the countrey) whom they ill intreated, taking from them their mony. After that, and yet ſeuen days not expired, almoſt an incredible number of horſemen, footmen, archers, and others, departed from Hadrianople toward Conſtantinople, vnder the leading of *Syrgiannes*, in good hope at their firſt comming to take the citie, being at diſcord in it ſelfe, and moſt part of the meaner ſort, in hope of gaine, fauouring their rebellious proceedings, ſuch as the ſeditious find in ſuch rebellious tumults. So hauing marched foure days, they came and incamped at Selyrbia: but as they were about to haue gon on farther, the old Emperor doubting leſt the citiſens, ſeeing ſo great an army before the city, ſhould therein raiſe ſome tumult or ſtirre, to the indangering thereof; thought good before to ſend Embaſſadors vnto his nephew, to proue if happily theſe ſo dangerous troubles, might by their means in ſome good ſort be appeaſed. The chiefe of theſe Embaſſadors was one *Theoleptus* Biſhop of Philadelphia, a man no leſſe famous for his vertue than his wiſedome, and yet for both of all men honored; and with him alſo was ſent *Syrgiannes* his mother, as of all others moſt fit to appeaſe her ſon, and to perſuade him not to approch the city, for that thereof might enſue much bloudſhed, and the deſtruction of the city, or at leaſtwiſe the vtter vndoing of many; whereof if he ſhould be the author, how could he euer after liue in conſcience quiet, but that the torment thereof would follow him euen into his graue; and therefore to requeſt him to retyre a little, and ſo to come to talke, and to demand what he pleaſed. *Syrgiannes* moued as well with the preſence of the reuerend Biſhop, as the prayers of his mother, retyred to the young Prince, which lay then about Oreſtias; whither the Emperors Embaſſadors came alſo: with whom (after long debating) it was agreed, That the young prince ſhould in all royall manner hold all Thracia, from Criſtopolis vnto Rhegium, and the Suburbes of Conſtantinople: and withall, That ſuch lands as the young Prince had already giuen vnto his followers, in Macedonia, ſhould ſtill remaine vnto them (which were ſuch as yeerely yeelded vnto them a right great reuenue:) And that the old Emperour ſhould hold vnto himſelfe the imperiall Citie, with all the Cities and Prouinces of Macedonia beyond Criſtopolis: and that hee alone ſhould haue the honour to heare the Embaſſadors ſent from forreine Princes, and to giue them their diſpatch; for that the young Prince tooke no pleaſure

Thracia reuolteth vnto Andronicus.

Articles of agreement betwixt the old Emperor and his nephew.

sure in those waighty affaires, as by nature more delighted in hawking, hunting, & his other G
youthfull pleasures. Vpon which conditions a peace was concluded, better liked of the young Prince than of the old Emperor; who although he was desirous otherwise to haue redrest so great wrongs, yet wanting power, was glad to yeeld to what his nephew would request. Thus was the Greeke empire in Europe (as then all or the most part inclosed within the bounds of Macedonia and Thracia) now diuided betwixt the grandfather and his nephew: Asia in the meane time (wherein the Greeke Emperors their predecessors somtime held great kingdoms) being left for a prey to the greedie Turks. *Othoman* on the one side euen in the heat of these troubles laying the foundation of his empire in Phrygia & Bythinia; and the other the Turks Princes the successors of Sultan *Aladin*, encroching as fast vpon the emperours territories and countries on this side the riuer Meander. And not so contented, at the same time also built H
great store of gallies, wherewith they robbed the Christian Merchants trading to Constantinople, and spoiled the coasts of Macedonia and Thracia, and the Islands of the Ægeum, and among others tooke the famous Island of the Rhodes; which they held not long before they were againe driuen out of the same by the Knights Hospitallers, vnder the conduct of *William Villaret*, aided by the Genowaies and the King of Sicilia, which they from that time held (to the great honor and benefit of the Christian commonweale) by the space of 214 yeres, known by the name of the Knights of the Rhodes: vntill that in the memorie of our fathers it was (I say no more, but grieue therefore) shamefully lost vnto the Turke, for want of reliefe; neuer place being more honourably defended, as in the processe of this Historie shall appeare: euer since which time those honorable men (the flower of Chiualrie) haue seated themselues I
in the Isle of Malta, which they to their immortall glorie, and the comfort of all good Christians, haue most notably defended against the mightie Sultan *Solyman*, and all the furie of the Turks, as shall be also in due place declared.

The Greeke empire in Europe diuided.

Whilest the Grecians are at discord amongst themselues, Othoman layeth the foundation of the Turkes Empire, & the other Turks encroch vpō them also.

The Island of the Rhodes was by the knights hospitalers recouered from the Turkes in the yeare 1308.

But to returne again vnto the troubled estate of the Greeke empire. *Syrgiannes* the Greeke captain, & author of all the aforesaid stirs betwixt the old Emperor and his nephew, had euen from the beginning thought, as a companion to the yong Prince, to haue ruled all with him at his pleasure, and that nothing either great or little should haue bin done without him: but seeing it now to fall out far otherwise than he had before expected, and the Prince to be wholly ruled by *Catacuzenus*, and himselfe of all others least regarded, & not so much as called to any counsel; inwardly tormented with griefe and enuie, he began secretly with himselfe to deuise K
how he might be reuenged of the vngratefull Prince, which vnmindful of his former promises, had so vnthankfully cast him off. Wherefore he resolued again to reuolt to the old Emperor, not doubting but so in short time to ouerthrow all the councels and deuices of the young Prince, together with his state also, by himselfe before raised. For he, as worldly wise, excluding God from his councels, had such an opinion of himselfe, that which way soeuer he went, thither must all things follow also. Wherefore by one of his trustiest friends he secretly made the old emperor acquainted with his purposed reuolt, and how all things stood: for the greater credit thereof alledging, That he could not abide the sight of him that sought to corrupt his wife, meaning the yong Prince. This news from *Syrgiannes* was vnto the old emperor most welcome: for it grieued him (as an old man of a great spirit) to see himselfe so contemned and L
deluded by his nephew, his empire rent, and his old seruitors of all sorts, by him spoyled of their lands and possessions in Macedonia and Thracia. So a solemne oath in secret passed from the one to the other, *Syrgiannes* without longer stay secretly fled to Constantinople: which there bruted abaoad, reioyced many, now well hoping the whole gouernment would againe come vnto the old emperour, and that so they should againe recouer their possessions wrongfully taken from them by his nephew. But God not seeing it so good, all this hope was but in vaine, as ere long it appeared: for the yong prince, who of long knew how much he was beloued of the Constantinopolitans, and by them secretly sent for; taking occasion vpon the flight of *Syrgiannes*, with all the power he could make, marched towards the city: and being come within sight thereof, encamped, laying ambushes vpon euery way and passage thereabout, for M
to haue intercepted *Syrgiannes*; who was then at Perinthus, and the third night after, with three hundred select souldiers, deceiuing them that lay in waight for him as if they had bin all asleepe, before the rising of the Sun came to Constantinople: and if the old Emperour would haue giuen him leaue, he had suddenly charged them that did lie in wait for him, before they were

A were aware of his comming. But as soone as it was day, the Prince hearing of the escape of *Syrgiannes*, and no such tumult in the citie as he had expected, presently without more adoe retired with his armie the same way he came, backe againe into Thracia.

By and by after, *Constantine* the Despot was by the old Emperor his brother sent by sea to Thessalonica, to take vpon him the gouernment of Macedonia, and by the way to apprehend *Xene* the Empresse, the young Princes mother; and after with all the power he could make to inuade the yong Prince in Thracia: that so setting on him on the one side out of Macedonia, and *Syrgiannes* with the Turkes (for the Emperour in this ciuill discord was glad to vse their helpe also) and the Bythinian soldiers on the other, they might so shut him vp betwixt them and take him. According to which resolution, the Despot comming to Thessalonica, there
B tooke the Empresse, whom with all her familie he thrust into a gallie, and so sent her to Constantinople, where shee was in the palace kept close, as too much fauouring the proceedings of the Prince. And afterward raising all the power hee could in Macedonia, inuaded the Prince in Thracia, breaking by force thorow the wall of Cristopolis.

The yong Prince seeing himselfe by this means, now like to be driuen to a great strait, sent *Synadenus* with his Thracian armie, to defend the frontiers of his empire towards Constantinople, against *Syrgiannes* with his Turks and Bythinians: in hope himselfe by many subtle deuices & slights, to be able to encounter his vncle the Despot. And first he caused diuers edicts and proscriptions to be written in hast, wherin great rewards and preferments were with great solemnity of words promised to whomsoeuer could bring vnto him the Despot either quick
C or dead: which were of purpose giuen to the country people passing to & fro, to be dispersed abroad in the high waies, and about in the country neere vnto the Despots campe. And after that, he caused the death of the Emperor his grandfather to be euery where proclaimed, and how that he was by the Constantinopolitans in a tumult slaine: which the deuisers thereof, in euery place reported. Yea some there were, that swore they were themselues present at his wofull death, and saw it with their eies: others ome, more certainly to persuade the matter, shewed long white goats haire, or such like gathered out of white wooll, as if they had bin by the furious people pluckt from the old Emperors head or beard, at such time as he was slaine. Which things being commonly reported in euery town and village, but especially in the Despots campe, wonderfully filled mens heads with diuers strange and doubtfull thoughts; then
D diuers also of the dispersed edicts being found, and brought to the Despot, struck him (and not without cause) into a great feare; insomuch, that by the perswasion of his best friends, he without longer stay retired in hast to Thessalonica. Whither shortly after came a gallie from Constantinople, with secret letters from the Emperor to the Despot, for the apprehension of fiue and twentie of the chiefe citizens, vehemently suspected for the stirring vp of the people to rebellion, and so to haue deliuered the citie to the Prince: al whom the Despot should haue sent bound in that gallie to Constantinople: but they in good time perceiuing the danger they were in, secretly stirring vp the people, and by and by after ringing out the bels (the signal appointed for the beginning of the rebellion) had in a very short time raised a wonderful tumult in the citie; insomuch, that all the citizens were vp in armes, who running headlong vnto the
E house of the Despot, found not him (for hee forewarned of their comming, was fled into the castle) but slew al they met of his, or else robbing them, cast them in prison. As for the Despots house, they took what they found therin, and afterwards pulled it down to the ground. Then comming to the castle, they fired the gates: which the Despot seeing, & not able to defend the place, tooke horse and fled to a monasterie not far off, where being taken by them that pursued him, he ful sore against his wil, for the safegard of his life, took vpon him the habit of a Monk: neuertheles, he was from thence caried prisoner to the yong Prince his nephew, who shewed himselfe much more courteous to him, than al the rest of his nobilitie & waiters: for they, as if they would haue eaten him vp, were euen forthwith ready to haue torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his armes, saued his life. Yet the next day after, by the perswasion
F of his counsell, he sent him to Didimotichum, where he was cast into a most lothsome prison, being very deepe and strait, in manner of a well, no bodie to attend vpon him but one boy, where he lay in miserable darknes and stinke; they which drew vp his ordure from him and the boy, whether by chance or of purpose, pouring it oftentimes vpon his head. Where after he had lyen a great while in most extreame miserie, wishing to die and could not; he was at length

length by the Princes commandement (entreated thereunto by certaine religious men) remoued into a more easie prison, where we will for euer leaue him. G

Andronicus the old Emperour seeketh for counsell of the Psalter, as of an heauenly Oracle, and so seeketh to make peace with his nephew. Psal. 68. vers. 14.

Things falling out crosse with the old Emperor, and although they were neuer so well deuised, still sorting out vnto the worst, he became very pensiue and doubtfull what to do. So it fortuned, that one day in his Melancholie mood, hauing a Psalter in his hand, to resolue his doubtfull minde, he opened the same, as if it were of that heauenly Oracle to aske counsell: wherein the first verse that he light vpon was, *Dum cœlestis dissociat Reges, nive conspergentur in Salmon.* *When the Almightie scatered Kings (for their sakes) then were they as white as snow in Salmon.* Which he applying to himselfe, as if all those troubles, and whatsoeuer else had happened in them, proceeded from the will of God, although for causes to him vnknowne: hee by and by sought to reconcile himselfe vnto his nephew; contrary to the mind of *Syrgiannes*, desiring nothing but trouble. For (as we haue before said) the young Prince although he was desirous of the power and libertie of an Emperor, yet he left the ornaments and care thereof vnto his grandfather: and had he not oftentimes and earnestly beene egged forward by his companions to affect the whole empire, happily could and would haue contented himselfe with the former pacification: for being now sent for, hee came first to Rhegium, and there visited his mother (now set at liberty, and sent thither for the furtherance of the desired pacification) where hee with her and by her counsel did whatsoeuer was there done. So within a few dayes the matter was brought into so good tearmes, that an attonement was made, and he himselfe went and met the Emperour his grandfather before the gates of the citie: the old Emperour sitting then vpon his horse, and the Prince lighting from his, a good furlong before he came at him: and although his grandfather was very vnwilling, and forbad him so to doe, yet hee came to him on foot, and kissed his hand and foot as he sate on horsebacke; and afterward taking horse, embraced him, and there kissed one another, to the great contentment of the beholders: and so hauing talked some few words, departed; the old man into the citie, and the young man into his campe, which then lay neere vnto Pega: where staying certaine dayes, he came diuers times into Constantinople, and so went out againe; for as then his mother, partly for her health, partly for the loue of her sonne, lay at Pega. H I

But *Syrgiannes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and his nephew, walked vp and downe sicke in mind, with a heauie countenance, especially for that in time of peace his busie head stood the common weale in no stead. Wherefore in al meetings & assemblies, he wilingly conuersed with them which most disliked of the present state, & spake hardly as wel of the Emperor as of his nephew, wronged as he thought by them both; whereas in the time of their greatest distresse he had (as he said) stood them in good stead. But seeing one *Asanes Andronicus* walking melancholie vp and downe, as a man with heauinesse oppressed; who hauing done good seruice for the young Prince, & not of him regarded, had fled to the old Emperor, and there found no such thing as he expected for the ease of his griefe, although he were a man honorably born, and otherwaies endued with many good parts: with him *Syrgiannes* acquainted himselfe, as grieued with the like griefe that he himselfe was; with whom as with his friend, without any dissimulation hee plainly discoursed of all such things as his griefe desired. But *Asanes* handling him with great wisedome, did himselfe with like words speak hardly both of the Emperor & his nephew; but yet curiously noted whatsoeuer *Syrgiannes* said, for he had before hated him for his ambition, & as then, took it in displeasure, that he was enemy vnto *Cataeuzanus*, his son in law, who was all in all with the yong Prince, and did oftentimes comfort him. But the song being throughly set, *Asanes* came secretly vnto the old Emperor, and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except he betime laid hold on *Syrgiannes*, affecting the empire, he should in short time be by him brought to his end. Wherupon *Syrgiannes* was forthwith clapt fast in prison: whose house with all his wealth, the common people took the spoile of; and not contented to haue rased it down to the ground, conuerted the site thereof, together with the pleasant vineyards adioining vnto the same, into a place to feed goats and sheep in: a worthy reward for his manifold trecheries. The yong Prince shortly after going to Constantinople, was there crowned Emperour, as fellow in the empire with his grandfather: vnto which solemnity in the great temple of *Sophia*, both the Emperours riding, it fortuned the old Emperor by the stumbling of his horse to be ouerthrown, & fouley beraied in the mire, the streets being then very foule by reason of much rain but a little before K L M

fallen:

A fallen: which many tooke as ominous, and portending the euill fortune which shortly after befell him. During the time of this peace, it fortuned that as the yong Prince was a hunting in Chersonesus, seuentie Turks aduenturers, were by force of weather driuen on shore: who before they would yeeld themselues prisoners, made a great fight with the Emperors men, and slew diuers of them; in which conflict the young Emperour himselfe was wounded in the foot, wherewith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

Andronicus the late Prince, and now fellow in the empire with his aged grandfather, held not himself elong so contented, but after the manner of ambitious men (and continually prickt forward by his aspiring fauourites) longed to haue the whole gouernment to himselfe, which hardly brooketh any partner: and therefore wearie to see his grandfather liue so long,
B resolued no longer to expect his naturall death, (although it could not by course of nature be far off) but by one deuice or other to thrust him from the gouernment; or if that might not be wrought, at once to dispatch him both of life and state together. And the suter to lay the plot whereon so foule and horrible a treason was to be built, he by the councell of his mother and others, by whom he was most directed, sent for *Michael* the Prince of Bulgaria, his brother in law (though before to him vnknown, as was his wife his sister also) to make with him a firme league, to the intent by him to prouide, that if the Prince of Seruia (who had but lately married the old Emperors nigh kinswoman, and so to him much deuoted) should take part with him, he should by the Bulgarian his neighbour be intangled. Who so sent for, with his wife, the old Emperors daughter, came to Dydymotichum, where they were many dayes most ho-
C nourably entertained both by the yong Emperor and his mother: for why, this meeting plotted vpon great treason, was finely coloured, with the desire the yong Emperor had to see his sister and her husband, as before vnto him vnknowne; and the Empresse her daughter, whom she had not seene in three and twentie yeares before. But the secret conclusion betwixt them was, that the Bulgarian Prince should to the vttermost of his power aid the young Emperour against his grandfather, and he likewise him against the Seruian, as he should haue need: and further, that if his grandfather beeing deposed, he should recouer the whole empire, then to giue him a great sum of mony, with certaine special cities and prouinces confining vpon him, as in dowrie to his kind brother in law, and companion in his labours. So *Michael* the Bulgarian Prince honorably entertained by the yong Emperor and the old Empresse his mother in
D law, loaded with rewards, and promises of greater, returned home into his countrey.

A treacherous meeting.

This matter thus dispatched, the yong Emperor therewith encouraged, & knowing also the Constantinopolitans, besides the other cities of Thracia, exceedingly to fauour him and his proceedings, by whom also he was secretly inuited to hasten his comming thither (as wearie of the long life and lazines, as he termed it, of his grandfather) thought it best cunningly to go about the matter; that so his grandfather beeing with as little stirre as might be deposed, he himselfe might alone inioy the empire. But needing mony for the effecting of so great matters he by force tooke all the money from the collectors, whom the old Emperour had sent into Thracia for the taking vp of mony there, telling them that he was an Emperor also, and in need of money, and that the common charge was likewise by the common purse to be discharged.
E After that he tooke his way towards Constantinople, pretending that vpon speciall causes he had occasion to send embassadours vnto the Sultan of Ægypt: for the transporting of whom he was there to take order for the setting forth of a great ship, and other things necessarie for the iourney. Neither went he slenderly appointed, but with a great power; and the cities of Thracia before well assured vnto him, such as he suspected being thrust out of office, & others more assured vnto him placed in their steads. But whilest he thus bestirreth himselfe, one of those that were most inward with him, detesting so foule a treason, secretly fled from him vnto his grand father, from point to point discouering vnto him all the intended trecheries; and withall, how that his nephew had determined to depose him from his empire, or otherwise to
F bereaue him of his life if he should stand vpon his guard: but if in the attempt he should find ease succesfe, then to spare his life; and depriuing him of the imperiall dignitie, to thrust him as a Monke into a monasterie: and therefore aduised him to beware how he suffred him after his wonted manner to come into the citie, for feare of a generall reuolt, but rather by force to keepe him out. Which the Emperour hearing, and comparing with other things which hee had heard of others, yet sounding in his eares, deeming it to be true, stood vp, and in the anguish

guish of his soule thus complained vnto God : *Reuenge my quarrell ô God, vpon them that doe me wrong, and let them be ashamed that rise vp against me : and preserue thou vnto me the imperiall power, which by thee giuen vnto me, he commeth to take from me whom I my selfe begot and aduanced.* After, he began to consider what course to take for the assurance of himselfe and his state in so great a danger. And first he sent vnto his nephew (come halfe way) to forbid him from entring the citie, and to tell him, that it was a great follie for him, being so manifest a traitor, both vnto his grandfather and the state, to thinke his traiterous purposes to be vnknown vnto the world. And beside in way of reproofe to rehearse vnto him, how many occasions he had giuen for the breaking of the league with his grandfather : first in taking away the mony from the collectors, whereof the state neuer stood in more need, by reason of the diuision of the empire, which required double charge ; then in that he had in the citie euery where displaced such gouernors and magistrats as his grandfather had sent thither, and placed others at his pleasure, with many other like facts, declaring his trecherous aspiring mind, for which he was not without cause by his grandfather forbidden to enter the citie. After that, the old Emperor by secret letters craued aid of *Crales* Prince of Seruia, and *Demetrius* the Despot his son, who was then gouernor of Thessalonica and the countries adioining ; commanding him with *Andronicus* and *Michael* his nephews (gouernors of Macedonia) with all the forces they were able to raise, and such aid as should be sent vnto them out of Syria, with all speed to ioyne together and to go against the yong Emperor. But these letters thus written vnto the Prince of Seruia, the Despot, and others, (as is before said) were for the most part intercepted, by such as the young Emperour had for that purpose placed vpon the straits of Cristopolis, and the other passages ; especially such as were written in paper, yet some others in fine white linnin cloth, and secretly sowed in the garments of such as carried them, escaped for all their strait search, and so were deliuered. And in truth nothing was done, or about to be done in Constantinople, but that the yong Emperor was by one or other aduertised thereof : whereas the old Emperor on the other side, vnderstood nothing what his nephew did abroad, or intended. For all men of their own accord inclined to him, some openly both bodie and soule (as they say) and such as could not bee with him in person, yet in minde and good will were euen present with him ; and that not onely the common sort of the citizens of Constantinople, but the chiefe Senatours, the great courtiers, yea and many other of the Emperors neerest kinsmen also : who curiously obseruing whatsoeuer was done in the citie, forthwith certified him thereof. Amongst whom was also *Theodorus* the Marquesse, one of the old Emperours owne sons : who many yeres before by the Empresse his mother sent into Italy, and there honourably married, was by his prodigall course of life there, growne far in debt ; so that leauing his wife and children behind him, he was glad after the decease of his mother, to flie vnto his father at Constantinople, and there now liued ; who beside that he most honourably maintained him in the court, and bestowed many great things vpon him, paid also al his debts, which were very great. Al which fatherly kindnes he forgetting, went about most *Iudas* like to haue betrayed his aged father. For he also dreaming after the empire, & for many causes (but especially for that he was in mind, religion, maners, and habit, become a Latin) by him reiected, thought he could not do him a greater dispight than by reuolting vnto the yong Emperor : so that the neerer he was in bloud, the more he was his fathers vnnatural enemy. Shortly after, *Demetrius* the Despot, hauing receiued the Emperours letters at Thessalonica, called vnto him *Andronicus* and *Michael* his nephewes, the gouernors of Macedonia ; with whom ioyning all his forces, & daily expecting more aid out of Seruia, he first spoiled the young Emperours friends and fauourits in Macedonia, giuing the spoile of them in all the cities and townes of Macedonia, vnto their soldiers, who made hauock of whatsoeuer they light vpon : and whosoeuer seemed any way to withstand them or dislike of their proceedings, their goods and lands they confiscated, and draue the men themselues into exile. Neither was the yong Emperor *Andronicus* in the meane time idle, but secretly sent out his edicts, into all parts of the empire, yea into the very cities of Constantinople and Thessalonica, and ouer al Macedonia : whereby hee proclaimed vnto the people in generall, a releasement of them from all tributes, impositions, and paiments ; and frankly promised vnto the soldiers and men of war, the augmenting of their pensions and pay : which were no sooner bruited, but that most men were therewith moued, both in word and deed to fauour his proceedings, doing what they they

A they could to further the same, and by secret letters inuiting him to hasten his comming into the citie ; who thereupon comming to Rhegium, by his embassadours sent from thence, requested the old Emperor, either to giue him leaue according to the league betwixt them, to come into the citie, or else to send him certaine of the chiefe of the nobilitie and clergie, with some of the better and more vnderstanding sort of the Burgers and citizens also, vnto whome he might frankly speake his mind, for them faithfully to deliuer the same againe vnto the Emperor his grandfather, and the people. Which requests the old Emperor perceiuing to be full of deceit and trecherie, for a good space answered thereunto nothing at al, but stood al silent, as doubting which to grant : for, to suffer his nephew to come into the city, he saw was dangerous, the citizens (as he well knew) being for the most part inclined to reuolt to him so soone
B as they should once see him within the gates ; and to send any forth vnto him, as hee desired, might be (as he feared) an occasion of some tumult to be after raised in the citie : for he knew that his nephewes drift therein was, openly by faire words, and secretly with great gifts and large promises, first to gaine them, and by them the rest of the citizens. Both which things being dangerous, hee made choice of the easier, and sent forth vnto him two of the most Noble Senators, two of the most reuerend Bishops, two other graue Prelates, and foure of the chiefe Burgesses of the citie : vnto whom at their comming vnto him, hee in the open hearing of all men deliuered this premeditated and craftie speech :

The young Emperour sendeth Embassadours vnto his grandfather.

The speech of the young Emperour vnto his grandfathers embassadours.

C *It is not vnknowne vnto the world, you my subiects, to haue alwaies beene vnto mee more deare than I haue beene vnto my selfe : and how that I haue not vpon any ambitious conceit, or desire of the sole gouernment, against my grandfathers good will, gone out. For you see how that I neither spare mine owne life, or attend my pleasure, for the care I haue of you : I come not vnto you compassed about with a guard of armed men, as is the manner not of Kings onely, for the enuie of their high place, but of others also of farre meaner calling, whom disaster fortune, banished from their parents and kinred, hath enforced to wander heere and there, with death also before their eyes. Let any man tell mee how I came by these wounds which I yet beare in my bodie, but in fight with the enemies of my countrey which passe ouer out of Asia into Thracia ; or else dwelling neere vnto Ister, doe with their incursions from thence miserably waste that side of Thracia which is next vnto them ? For I (to tell you the very truth) seeing the old Emperour by reason of his great yeares to become slothfull and*
D *blockish, and not possible to bee awaked out of his drowsie sleepe, neither any whit to grieue when as the poore Christians his subiects were both by day and night, some as sacrifices slaine by the barbarous enemies, some carried away into most miserable captiuitie, and the rest poore and naked to bee driuen out of their houses and cities ; not to speake in the meane time of the greater mischieses in Asia, and how many cities haue beene there lost through the old Emperours sloth and negligence : when I saw these things (I say) strucken with a piercing griefe, which my heart could not indure, I went out for two causes, either by some kinde of honourable death to end my griefe together with my life, or else to the vttermost of my power to stand my countrey in some stead. For by no meanes it can come to passe, but that a man, and he that hath of long time raigned, must at length become loathsome vnto his subiects, and incurre their deadly hatred. For why, God hath made nothing in this life immutable and*
E *firme : whereby it commeth to passe, as we see, that all worlaly things ioy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force fortune to his desire, and striue to bind things vnto a certaine firme and constant course, hee shall but lose his labour, and in vaine striue against nature. But whatsoeuer is contrary vnto nature, or exceedeth the iust bounds thereof, hath in it neither comfort nor delight. This was it that caused the wise men to say, and to leaue to vs as rules, Not to dwel too long vpon any thing ; and a measure to be the faireſt vertue. For you see how that my grandfather being growne to great yeares, and hauing raigned so long (I may almost say) as neuer did any but hee, is become hatefull vnto all his people ; and yet regardeth not either how to discharge himselfe of so great a burthen, or how to releeue the declining state of the empire, or so much as grieueth to see the successours of the empire to die before him : For my father is dead without any fruit of the empire, except the bare title onely ; and*
F *others also neereſt to him of bloud, and farre younger than he, are dead likewise : and happily I my selfe may die also before I shall receiue any profit thereof : for what can more easily happen, especially vnto a man that shunneth no danger, and regardeth not his life ? But some perhaps will suspect me of ambition, for departing from the Emperour my grandfather, and for refusing to be ruled by him. Which thing I neither flatly denie, or altogether confesse : For might I see the Empire increase, and the*

bounds

bounds thereof inlarged, I could willingly content my selfe, and as my ease take my rest; cheering my selfe vp with such hope as doe they that beare with their cookes, making them to stay long for their dinner, in hope thereby to fare the better. But seeing the state of the empire daily to decline from euill to worse, and the miserable people carried away captiues, or slaine by their enemies euen at the gates and vnder the wals of the imperiall Citie: what deeme you mee then to thinke? For most men ease their present griefe, with the hope of future good, although the same be but vaine: But vnto mee is not left euen such vaine hope vnto my false comfort. And can you marueil at the impotent affection of the Great Alexander of Macedon, grieued and displeased to see his father to heape victorie vpon victorie, and to cut off all the hope of his sonnes glorie, by leauing him so few occasions of warre; and not thinke mee (to whom you see the quite contrarie is chanced, and from whom not onely the hope of the empire is cut off, for the wasting thereof, but euen the course of a quiet life) to fret and grieue thereat? Mooued herewith, and not able longer to indure it, at length I rise vp, and requested of the Emperour my Grandfather, but a thousand men at armes, promising him by the power of God with them preserue the Cities in Bythinia, and to driue his enemies further off, (before that hauing them), they should passe ouer the strait, and besiege the imperiall Citie of Constantinople: which so small a request hee not onely denyed mee, but hath euer since taken mee for his mortall enemie. But this and many other things else let passe: I haue now another request vnto him by you, which is, That hee would giue mee eight thousand duckats to content my souldiers withall, who of long haue from plac to place roamed vp and downe with mee, following mine vncertaine fortune: Which granted, I will no more bee vnto my Grandfather troublesome, but dismissing my forces, hold my selfe right well contented.

Hauing thus said, hee rose out of his seat, and taking them a part one after another, courteously discoursed with them, and so filling them with great hopes, sent them away: who departing from him and comming into the citie, became as it were the open proclaimers of his praises, enflaming the people with a greater desire of him than before. Which the old Emperour hearing, and perceiuing almost all his friends in the citie to bee in heart reuolted from him; and withall fearing to bee of them in some sudden concourse slaine, was therewith exceedingly vexed. Yet hee thought it best before any such thing should happen, to proue their mindes, and to heare the counsell of the Patriarch, and Asanes, and the other Bishops also: vnto whome; being by one of the Senators called together, he declared his mind, as followeth:

The speech of the old Emperour vnto the Patriarch and the rest of the Bishops and Nobilitie, concerning the young Empeour his nephew.

Were I assured, that hauing deposed my selfe of the imperiall dignitie, I should my selfe liue in safetie, and see my people wel gouerned, I would I should neuer be of the companie of the faithful, if I did not by much prefer a pleasant quiet contented life before an Empire. For if a man would seeke for the pleasure of the mind, what can be mor pleasant, than to be disburdened of all cares, & free from such dangers as attend high estates? But if for my sinne and the sinnes of my people, as also for the sinne of mine ancestors, the vengeance of God in manner of a violent tempest raging against vs, subuerteth our empire: and I yet but a youth, by the helpe of God reformed and quieted the state of the Empire, grieuously troubled with discord in the Church, and the often inuasion of the enemie; and taught by long experience know not how in so great hurle and tempest which way to turne my selfe: How can I with safetie commit vnto my nephew so great a charge, who as yet is both an vnstayed youth, and so careless of his owne good, as that hee knoweth not how well to gouerne his owne priuate affaires? For giuing ouer his power to young vnskilfull men, and hauing flung away his imperiall possessions amongst them, hee himselfe liueth in penurie and want; neither regardeth any thing more than his dogges and kites, of whome hee keepeth few lesse than a thousand curres, and as many hawkes, and not much fewer men to looke vnto them. Wherefore vnto such a man, how may I safely commit eyther my life, or the administration of mine Empire, by God committed vnto mee? But I will neuer witting and willingly cast away either my subiects or my selfe. For my nephew I haue loued, not onely more than my wife and children, but (to say the truth) more than my selfe also; as you well know how tenderly I haue brought him vp, how carefully I haue instructed and aduised him, as purposing to haue left him the heire and successour both of my wisedome and mine Empire, that so hee might the better please both God and man. But hee, contemning my good counsell, hath spent whole nights in banqueting, and riot, and brothelhouses; wherein hee hath also slaine his owne brother: and to bee breefe, hee hath risen and lifted vp his hand against mee his grandfather, and a grandfather that had

had of him so well deserued, attempting such a villanie as the Sunne neuer saw. Wherefore you ought also to hate and detest his wickednesse, and to rise vp to restraine his impudent disloyaltie, and by your Ecclesiasticall censure to denounce him vnworthie of the Empire and the communion of the faithful, as one seperated from God; that so ashamed and corrected, he may louingly thither returne from whence he is shamefully departed, and againe be made heire both of myne empire and staidnesse: for there is no man aliue whom I had rather haue promoted vnto the Empire, so that he would heare my precepts, and obey my councell. As for the conclusion he vsed in his former speech, it was altogether feigned, craftie, and malicious: for you haue heard how many reproches he hath giuen me in all that Speech wherewith his conclusion agreeth not; but the more to stirre vp the hearers thereof against mee, did of purpose so conclude his Speech.

Vpon this, most of the foresaid graue and learned Bishops agreed, that the young Emperor should no more be named in the prayers of the Church, vntill he had better conformed himselfe. Howbeit the Patriarch and some others secretly fauoring both him & his proceedings, liked not thereof, and therefore saying nothing therunto, returned home vnto their own houses. But meeting once or twice afterwards in the Patriarchs house, they there conspired together against the old Emperor; with whom also diuers of the nobilitie consented: and thereupon an oath was conceiued in writing, whereby they bound themselues to continue constant in that their wicked resolution. Whereupon, about three days after, the Patriarch causing the bels to be rung, and a great number of the common people flocking together, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against al such as should in their publike prayers omit the name of the yong Emperor, or refuse to do him all honour due vnto an Emperor. Which thing not a little grieued the old Emperor, as appeared by his speech, in saying, *If the Doctor of peace be so mad against vs, in hope of reward promised by my nephew, that casting off all shame and grauitie, hee doubts not to be the author of sedition; who shall represse the rash attempts of the vulgar people against vs, if we respect but mans helpe? for the Patriarch so much as in him lieth is, I see, the murderer of vs.*

The Patriarch with diuers of the Bishops conspire against the Emperor.

So the Bishops of the contrary faction, moued with the notable impudencie of the Patriarch, excommunicated him likewise, as he had done them, with his mad followers, as the authors of sedition and faction, and incited with bribes to the troubling of the state: for which cause also he was by the Emperors commandment committed vnto safe keeping in the Monasterie called Manganium. But about two dayes after, the young Emperour came to the walls of Constantinople, to know how his grandfather had accepted the messengers sent vnto him; earnestly requesting, that it might be lawfull for him alone to enter into the city, to do his duty to his granbdfather. But neither hee, neither his words were any whit at all regarded, but was by such as stood vpon the wals himselfe with stones driuen away; who could not abide to heare him speake, but shamefully railed at him, saying all his talke to be nothing else but deceit and fraud: and so for that time he retyred a little from the wals. But night being come, certain busie heads among the common people (and they not a few) secretly meeting together gaue him knowledge, that about midnight, when as all the citizens were asleepe, and the watchmen in securitie, he should come vnto the walls, where they would be readie with ropes to draw him vp vnto the top of the bulwarks; which done, the matter (as they said) were as good as dispatched: for that they were persuaded, that the citizens so soone as they should once see him in the midst of the city amongst them, would forthwith all reuolt vnto him. So he according to this appointment, about midnight approching the wals, found there no such matter as he had well hoped, for the receiuing of him into the city; But contrariwise the watchmen carefully watching all alongst the wall, and calling one vnto another. Wherefore finding there no hope, he with *Catacuzenus* and *Synadenus*, his chiefe councellors, leauing the South side of the city, in a little boat rowed softly all along the wal that is toward the sea, if happily they might there finde their friends, and so be receiued in: but there the watchmen also descrying them from the walls, and calling vnto them, but receiuing no answere, began to cast stones at them, and to make a noyse: so that deceiued of their purpose, and out of hope, they were glad to get them further off, and to depart as they came.

Thessalonica yeelded vnto the yong Emperour.

But the euil successe of this exploit was shortly after with his better fortune recompenced: for by and by after, secret letters were sent vnto him from Thessalonica, requesting him with all speed to come thither, assuring him in the name of the Bishop, with diuers of the Nobilitie

tie, and the good liking of the people in general, at his comming to open the gates of the city vnto him: wherupon he leauing a great part of his army with *Synadenus*, to keep short the Constantinopolitans, hee himselfe with the rest of his power set forward towards Thessalonica, where he in the habit of a plain country man entred the city vnsuspected: but being got within the gate, and there casting off that simple attire wherewith he had couered his rich & royal garments, and presently known to be the yong emperor, the people came flocking about him, and with many ioyfull acclamations receiued him as their Lord and Soueraigne: yet some few, more fauoring the old Emperour, fled into the castle, and there stood vpon their guard: which after they had for a space notably defended, was at length taken from them.

Thessalonica thus yeelded, *Demetrius*, *Andronicus*, and *Asan Michael*, the old Emperors chiefe captains, then lying with his armie not far off, and not well trusting one another, fled; most of whose soldiers presently went ouer vnto the yong Emperor: who departing from Thessalonica, came to Serre, which by composition was deliuered vnto him also, but not the castle: for that was by *Basilicus Nicephorus* (the captain thereof) still holden for the old Emperor. This *Basilicus* was a man honorably discended, but of no great capacity or wit, as the finer sort supposed, and therefore not of them much regarded, or thought fit for the taking in hand of any great matter: whom yet the old Emperor for his plain sinceritie, more than for any thing else, had made captain of that castle, and gouernor of the country thereabouts; which he yet still held, and in these most troublesome times shewed himselfe wiser than them all that had so thought of him: of whom some died in dispaire, some fled, some were taken prisoners, and so suffred a thousand euils; the rest with the losse of their honor, traiterously reuolting from the old Emperor to the yong: whereas he alone, looking but euen forward vpon his allegeance, with his trust in God, so long as the old Emperour liued opposed himselfe against these troubles, and stood fast for him, and was not to be moued with any faire promises or cruell threats of the yong aspiring Emperor, whereof he lacked none. But hauing strongly fortified the Castle committed to his charge, there kept himselfe, vntill that hearing of the death of the old emperor, he then reconciling himselfe to the young, as vnto his right Soueraigne, deliuered vp vnto him the castle: who in reward of his fidelitie, gaue it him again to hold for him, in as ample manner as he had before held it for his grandfather. For wise men honour vertue euen in their enemies, as did king *Philip* in *Demosthenes*, when as he said, *If any Athenian liuing in Athens, doth say that he preferreth me before his countrey, him verily would I buy with much money, but not thinke him worthy my friendship: but if any for his countries sake shall hate mee, him will I impugne as a castle, a strong wall, or a bulwarke; and yet admire his vertue, and reckon the city happy in hauing such a man.* And so in few words to conclude a long discourse, the yong Emperor in short time hauing romed thorow all Macedonia, and without resistance taken all the strong towns & cities therein, he there tooke also *Demetrius* the Despots wife and children, with all his treasure, as also the wiues of *Andronicus* & *Asanes*, and of al the Senators that followed them: after whom the great commanders their husbands were also for the most part taken & cast in prison, some at Thessalonica, some at Didimotichum, some of the rest afterward most miserably perishing in exile. Wherewith the old Emperor discouraged, was about to haue sent his Embassadors vnto his nephew for peace, whilest hee was yet thus busied in Macedonia: and had indeed so done, had not another hope arising in the meane time, quite altered that his better purpose. It fortuned at the same time, whilest the old Emperour was thus thinking of peace, that *Michael* the Bulgarian Prince, in hope of great profit thereof to arise, secretly offered his ayd vnto him against the yong emperor his nephew: of which his offer the old Emperour gladly accepted, and Embassadors were sent to and fro, about the full conclusion of the matter, no man beeing acquainted therewith, more than two or three of the Emperour his most secret friends and trustie Councellours. Yet in the meane time disdaining to be so coupt vp as he was, by *Synadenus* one of his Nephewes Captaines, euen in the Imperiall Citie; sent out one *Constantinus Asan*, with the greatest part of his strength against him: who encountering him at the Riuer Maurus, was there by him in plaine battell ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, the rest of his discomfited Armie flying headlong backe againe to Constantinople. All things thus prosperously proceeding with the young Emperour, and the Countreys of Macedonia and Thracia now almost all at his command, he returned in haste with all his Power vnto Constantinople, to preuent the comming of the Bulgarians thither: as fearing lest

lest that they finding the city weakely manned, should treacherously kill the old Emperour, with such as were about him, and so seise vpon the citie themselues: or at least wise giue him such aid as might keep him out, and so cut off all his hope for obtaining of the same. At which time also there was great want of victuall in the city; he with his armie hauing shut it vpon the one side by land, and the Venetians with their galleys on the other side by sea: who then at odds with the Genowais dwelling at Pera, kept all that strait sea betwixt Europe and Asia, in such sort, as that neither victuals nor merchandise could be brought that way, either to Constantinople or Pera. The yong Emperor comming to Constantinople, attempted at his first coming to haue entred the city, in hope without any great resistance to haue been receiued; but repulsed by the defendants, was glad to get him further off. About this time came also vnto the citie three thousand horsemen, the appointed aid of the Bulgarian Prince, vnto the old Emperor: who although he wanted men, and was right glad of their comming, yet remembring the harms he had before receiued by forrein aid, and not now daring to trust them too far, suffered not them to come into the city, more than their General and some few others of their commanders with him. Now the yong Emperor vpon the comming of this aid, lest some great harme might betide either the old Emperor or himselfe, to the vtter subuersion of their state; secretly sent vnto his grandfather, requesting him to be well aduised how hee trusted those forrein people too far; offering himselfe to do whatsoeuer he should command, rather than so great a harme should happen vnto either of them, as was from them to be feared. But the trust the old Emperour had conceiued of this Bulgarian aid, had so confirmed his mind, as that he little listned vnto his nephews request: besides that, how could hee well trust him that had so oftentimes deceiued him? Wherewith the young Emperor much grieued, and now againe almost dispairing of his further successe, dislodged, and drew neere vnto the place where these Bulgarian horsemen lay encamped: from whence he sent certaine Embassadors with great gifts and Presents vnto the Generall, and the rest of the chiefe commanders: promising them far greater, if they would without further troubling themselues return home againe: whereunto they willingly granted, and so were of him honourably feasted, and the next day after conducted vpon their way homewards.

Constantinople betrayed vnto the yong Emperour.

It fortuned, that the yong Emperor returning backe again from the Bulgarians, and incamped in the same place where he before lay; two of the watchmen of the city, the one called *Camaris*, & the other *Castellanus*, both smiths, fled secretly vnto him: who admitted to his presence, and all others commanded to depart, excepting *Catacuzenus*, offered to betray the Citie vnto him, so that he would vnder his hand writing assure them of such a summe of mony, and such possessions as they required: which he easily granting, and the houre & manner of performing of the same, being by them declared and agreed vpon, they by & by without longer stay, for feare of suspition, returned again into the city. But the Emperor staying foure days in the same place, caused certain ladders to made of great ropes, such as they vse in great ships: But the appointed night being come, the two traitors hauing before prouided great store of good wine, liberally gaue the same by way of curtesie vnto the watchmen their companions neere vnto them: who dranke so plentifully thereof, that not able any longer to hold vp their heads, they fel into so found a sleep, as that but for breathing they differed not much from dead men. About midnight came certain soldiers of the yong Emperors, with the foresaid ladders; which the traitors by and by drawing vnto them by a rope cast downe, and making them fast vnto the top of the wall, receiued by the same eighteene armed men: who being got into the city, without more ado brake open the Roman gate, whereby the yong Emperor with his Armie presently entred, no man letting him. But it is worth marking, how things appointed to befal vs, are by no means to be auoided, although we be thereof before neuer so plainly forewarned: For the same night the city was surprised, immediatly after the setting of the Sunne; the gates being shut, a certain country man came running in all hast from out of a village there by, and knocking hard at the gate called Girolimna, required to speake with some of the souldiers, who being come, he told them, how that a little before he had seen, a great number of the young Emperours men marching towards the citie, by the way that leadeth vnto the Roman gate: which being told vnto the old Emperor, did not a little trouble him. And therefore thought it good to send out certain scouts, to see if al were cleere along the wals toward the land, from sea to sea: which his purpose *Metochita* his chiefe Councellor letted, saying, it

it not to beseeme a courtagious mind to be vpon so light an occasion so much moued; for that either the rumor was false, or the endeuors of so few vnne, the walls and gates of the citie being so filled with armed men: which happily he said not so much vpon ignorance of martiall affaires, as blinded by a certaine commanding power, that the supernall decree giuen by God himselfe against the old Emperor, might at length take place. And againe, the third part of that night yet scant past, diuers other countrymen came running vnto the said gate Gyrolimna, and told the watchmen vpon the walls, that a great number of men were met together at the Roman gate: whereof the Emperor hearing, was there with much more troubled than before; insomuch that sharply rebuking *Metochita*, he said vnto him, Thou seemst to be strangely metamorphosed into a man of yron, which are become so secure, as not to haue any feeling of the danger wherwith we are inclosed: Seest thou not that the matter requireth, not that we should thus sit still and take our rest. For the noise of my nephew sounderh in mine eares as the sound of a great drum, and disquieteth my minde. I feele a sea of calamitie broken out against mee, which ouerwhelmeth and drowneth my heart and courage. Neuertheles he, firme in his former opinion, made no reckoning of those reports: and therefore rose to go to bed, to shew indeed that he accounted nothing of them, but as false alarmes. But the Emperor left alone, and no bodie with him vnto whom he might breake his griefe, laid him downe vpon a pallet, not putting off his clothes; but as if he had together with them put on extreame desperation, lay tumbling too and fro as a man in mind troubled with diuers many and heauy thoughts. In the mean time he heard a great noise at the court gate, and the report of the entring of the young Emperor his nephew, with a great clattering of armour; for there were aboue eight hundred soldiers entred with him, and withal they of the city on euery side saluted him with most ioifull acclamations. But the old Emperour hearing the great tumult and outcrie, rose from his pallet, exceedingly troubled; and destitute of all the helpe of his captaines and souldiers, (for why, his palace was altogether desolate, except of such as were his ordinarie waiters) betooke himselfe vnto his praiers, beseeching God not to forsake him in so great a danger, but in his mercie to defend him from the fury of those wicked men. Who presently heard him, & sent him present reliefe: for whilst he was thus praying in the palace, the yong Emperor without, calling together all his captaines and lieutenants, straitly charged them vpon paine of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the maiestie of the old Emperor his grandfather, nor any other about him: for this victorie (said he) God hath giuen vs, and not we our selues; his will ordereth all things, whereunto all things obey; the stars, the aire, the sea, the earth, men, flouds, tempests, plagues, earthquakes, shoures, dearth, and such like, sometimes to our blisse, & sometime to our correction and destruction: wherefore vsing vs as the instruments of his chastisement, he hath giuen vnto vs this present victorie, which peraduenture tomorrow he will giue to others to vse against vs, and then as we haue been vnto them we haue ouercome, such will they also shew themselues vnto vs again: wherefore if neither nighnes of bloud, neither that we be all of one country, may moue vs, yet in respect of our selues let vs vse mercie, that wee feele not the hand of God vpon vs in like case. In the meane time a courtier opened a wicket vnto the young Emperour, with this message from his grandfather.

The pitifull supplication of the old Emperour to his nephew.

Forasmuch as God this day (my sonne) hath giuen vnto thee the imperiall scepter, taken from mee, I request of thee this one good turne; for many which I haue euen from my birth bestowed vpon thee, (for in this my hard estate I let passe, that I next vnto God haue beene the author of thy nativitie and increase) giue mee my life, spare thy fathers head, and with violent weapon spill not that bloud from which thou thy selfe hast taken the fountaine of life. Man truly beholdeth heauen and earth, and heauen and earth behold mens actions: wherefore make not the heauens and the earth beholders of so wicked an outrage as neuer man euer committed. If brothers bloud long agoe cryed out vnto the Lord against Cain, how much louder shall the fathers bloud crie vnto the Lord, and declare so great a wickednesse vnto the earth, the sunne, and starres, and make it abhorred of all the Princes of the world? Regard my miserable old age, which of it selfe promiseth vnto mee shortly death, but vnto thee a rest after long cares. Reuerence the hands which haue oftentimes most louingly embraced thee, yet crying in thy swathing clouts. Reuerence those lips which haue oftentimes most louingly kissed thee, and called thee my other soule: Haue pittie vpon a bruised reed, cast down by fortune, and doe not thou againe tread vpon it. And seeing thou art thy selfe a man, be not too proud of thy present fortune, but consider the vi-

certaintie

A certaintie and varietie of worldly things, taking by me example: see in me the end of long life, and meditate, how one night hauing receiued me an Emperor of many yeares, leaueth me now subiect vnto another mans power for euer.

The yong Emperor *Andronicus* moued with this speech, and taking great care of his grandfathers safetie, scarce abstaining from teares, entred the palace, and comming to his grandfather, humbly saluted him, embraced him, and with chereefull words comforted him. Straitway after he went vnto the Monastery Manganium, where (as is aforesaid) the Patriarke *Esaias* was by the old emperors commandment kept in safe keeping; whom the yong emperor now tooke from thence, and carrying him away in one of the emperours richest chariots, restored him again vnto his Patriarchal dignitie; wherein he afterwards spared not to reuenge himself to the full, and most cruelly to persecute the old emperors friends. That day from morning vnto night, a man might haue seene all the riches and wealth of such noblemen as had taken part with the old emperor, carried away, and their goodly houses ouerthrown and made the scorn of the base common people: but especially the house & wealth of *Theodorus Metochita*, a man but the day before in greatest fauor with his Prince, and of all others next vnto the Emperour himself, of greatest authoritie and credit, whose whole wealth (not that only which was found in his house, but that also which he had laid vp in trust with his friends, discouered by Notes found in his studie) became most part a prey vnto the common people, & the rest confiscated vnto the Prince. Thus he which earst of all others next vnto the Emperor was accounted most fortunate, was now vpon the sudden, with his wife and children brought vnto extream beggerie; and after many yeares felicity, in one day cast into the bottome of despaire and miserie: where a man might haue heard many complaining, say, All that wealth and treasure to haue bin the bloud and teares of the poore oppressed subiects, brought vnto him by them whome he had made rulers and gouernors of the prouinces & cities of the empire; to the intent that when they had dealt cruelly with the people, as with their slaues, he might stop them for comming to complaine of their griefes vnto the emperour: and that the eye of the Reuenger had not always slept, but was now at length awaked, & had of him yet scarcely taken sufficient punishment: which euery where to heare, increased not a little his griefe. As for himselfe, he was confined vnto Didymotichum, as the place of his exile and banishment; where after he had a certain time poorely liued, he was sent for backe again to Constantinople: where hauing nothing left to relieue himselfe (for his house at the comming of the yong emperour, was in the furie of the people pluckt down to the ground, and the very pauement thereof digged vp) he went vnto the monasterie of Chora there by, which long before built by the Emperor *Iustinian*, and become ruinous, he in the time of his prosperitie had with great charge repaired, and therein now (hauing made shipwracke of all that he had) quietly shrouded himselfe, to the great comfort both of his bodie and afflicted mind, where he not long after died.

But to return again vnto the old Emperor, as yet in doubt what should become of himself: it fortuned that the same day that the city was taken, the yong emperor at night returning to the palace, by the way met with *Niphon* sometime Patriarch, who asked him how they meant to deale with his grandfather. Wherunto the yong emperour answering, That he would deale with him honorably and emperor like; he was by him therefore blamed and reproued. For this *Niphon* being of a craftie subtill wit and malicious nature, besides that hee secretly hated all them vpon whom fortune greatly either fauned or frowned, bare an especial grudge against the old Emperor: First, for that at such time as he was right worthily for his shamefull couetousnesse & extortion, by the rest of the Bishops and clergy thrust out of the Patriarkship, hee was not by him (as he looked for) defended: & secondly, for that dreaming again after the Patriarchal dignity, he thought it one good step thereunto, to haue him (as his greatest enemy) taken out of the way. Wherefore he said now vnto the young Emperour, *If thou desire to raigne without feare, giue not thyne honor vnto another; but taking all the ornaments of the Empire from the old man, cast haire-cloath vpon him, and so clap him fast in prison, or thrust him out into exile.* This mischieuous councel this wicked man gaue against the poore old distressed Emperour, not remembring how vnworthily he had by him been before preferred vnto the highest degrees both of honour and wealth, if he could there haue kept himselfe: vnto which vngracious councell, diuers others of the nobilitie also consenting, so wrought the matter amongst them,

Niphon intiseth the young emperor against his grandfather.

that although they could not quite draw the yong Emperors mind from his grandfather, yet they much changed the same, so that he could no longer indure to take him for his companion in the empire. Whereupon after many meetings and consultations had, it was decreed, That the old man should still retaine the name and ornaments of an Emperour, as before, but not to meddle in any matters, nor to come abroad, but to sit still quietly in his Chamber, with the yerely maintenance of 10000 duckats, for the maintenance of himself e and such as tended vpon him; to be raised of the fishing before the city of Constantinople: a poore pension for the maintenance of so great an Emperor. Of which so shameful a decree, *Esaias* the Patriarke was also a furtherer: who seeing an Emperor that had raigned so long, cast downe, and shut vp as it were in prison, was so far from grieuing thereat, that foolishly reioycing, hee in token thereof absurdly wrested this Text of Scripture, saying in his merriment, *Lætabitur justus, cum viderit vltionem*; The just shall reioyce when he seeth the reuenge: calling himself, Iust, and the emperor, Reuenge. But the old Emperor thus shut vp in his chamber (differing in nothing but in name, from a prison) not long after, the state of his bodie ouerthrown with griefe and corrupt humors distilling out of his head, first lost one of his eyes, and shortly after the other also: and so oppressed with eternall darknes, mingled (as saith the Scripture) his drinke with teares, and ate the the bread of sorrow, being oftentimes (to his great griefe) most bitterly mocked and derided, not of them only which were by his enemies set to gard him, but of his own seruants also. Not long after, the young Emperour falling sicke, in such sort as that it was thought hee would not recouer, *Catacuzenus*, and the rest of his greatest fauorits and followers carefull of their own estate, and yet doubtful of the old blind Emperor, deuised many things against him, but all tending to one purpose, for the shortning of his days. But in the end all other deuices set apart, they put him to his choice, either to put on the habit of a religious, and so for euer to bid the world farewell, or else to take what should otherwise ensue; the best whereof was either death, exile, or perpetuall imprisonment in the loathsome castle of forgetfulnesse: For the putting whereof in execution, *Synadenus* (of all others to him most hatefull) was appointed. At which hard choice, the old Emperour as with a world of woes suddenly oppressed, lay a great while vpon his bed as a man speechlesse: for what could he do else, except he had an heart of steele or adamant? beeing then compassed about with many barbarous and mercilesse soldiers, and his domesticall seruants kept from him, and no man left that would vouchsafe to direct him (being blind) whither to go, or where to stand. But to make the matter short, would he, would he not, they made choice for him themselues, polling and shauing him, and casting a Monks habit vpon him, changed his name, after the name of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthonie* the Monke. Glad was *Esaias* the false Patriarch, of this the hard estate of the old Emperor: for that now that he was professed a religious, there was left no hope for him to recouer againe the empire, either cause for himselfe to feare. Yet he thought it good to be aduised, in what sort remembrance should be made of him in the church prayers, if any were at all from thenceforth to be made. Whereof to be by the old Emperor himselfe resolued, hee (seeming to be very sorie for that which was done, but purposing indeed therein to deride him) sent vnto him two Bishops, to know what his pleasure was to haue done therein. Vnto which their demand, he oppressed with heauinesse, and fetching a deepe sigh euen from the bottome of his heart, answered:

The old Emperor becommeth blinde.

Andronicus the old Emperor against his will made a Monke, and called Anthonie.

The notable answer of the old Emperor, to the catching question of the proud Patriarch.

As in poore Lazarus *appeared a double miracle, that being dead, he rose; and being bound, walked: euen so was it to be done in me, though in quite contrary manner: for lo, being aliue, I am dead, as ouerwhelmed with the waues of calamity and woe; and being loose, I am bound, not my hands and feet only, but my tongue also; wherewith vnable to doe any thing else, I might yet at least bewaile my woes and wrongs vnto the aire, and such as by chance should heare me, and vnto this most wofull darknes wherein I must for euer sit. But shame hath closed my mouth, my brethren abhor me, and my mothers sons account me for a stranger vnto them, and the very light of myne eys is not with him, my friends & neighbors stood vp against me, and all that saw me, laughed me to scorne: my feet had almost slipped, and my footsteps were almost ouerthrown: for I fretted against the wicked, when I saw the peace of the vngodly. The Emperors long ago gaue great priuiledges vnto the Church, euen those which it at this day inioyeth: and the Church gaue to them again power, to chuse whom they would to be Patriarks. Now concerning him that sent you, I not only nominated him vnto the Patriarkeship, but I my selfe made choice of him, and*

and preferred him before many other right worthy and most famous men, being himselfe a man growne old in a more priuat life, neuer before preferred, or for any other thing famous: I will not say how often I haue holpen him and done him good. But now when he should againe haue relieued me in my calamity, he ioyneth hands with mine enemies against me, more cruel vpon me than any other bloudie handed executioner; not ashamed to aske me how I would be remembred in the Church: faigning himselfe to be ignorant and sorrie for mine estate, much like vnto the Ægyptian crocodile of Nile, which hauing killed some liuing beast, lieth vpon the dead bodie and washeth the head thereof with her warme teares, which she afterwards deuoureth together with the bodie. But what I answere him vnto this his catching question, I know not: for if I shall say, As an Emperour, I shall forthwith be slaine by them which for that purpose haue me in hold: but if I say, As Anthonie *the Monke, it shall be taken as the franke confession of mine estate, by them which haue craftily contriued mine ouerthrow; as if I had not by compulsion, but euen of mine owne free will put on this monasticall habit, which God knoweth was neuer in my thought.*

Hauing thus said, he sent them away without any other answer vnto their demand: but sitting downe vpon his bed side, said, *My soule return againe into thy rest, for the Lord hath dealt wel with thee*: neither spoke any one word more in declaration of his griefe, his tongue there staid by his singular wisedome, or else with the greatnes of his griefe; & so against his wil in silence passing ouer his sorrow, his mind with the greatnes of his woes ouercome, and as it were astonished, before the humors gathered into the brain could be dissolued into tears: for as the Sun sending forth his moderat beames, draweth vnto it many exhalations and vapours, but casting the same forth more plentifully, doth with his immoderat heat consume the same before they can be drawne vp, so the moderat affections of the mind may haue their griefes by words and teares expressed; but such as exceed all measure, & with their vehemency as it were ouerthrow the mind, commonly make men to stand still mute and silent, or if they speake at all to speake idly, & nothing to the purpose, as men beside themselues, or in an extasie: but for the resolution of the question by the Bishops demaunded, the deuout Patriarch decreed, That in the church-praiers he should be remembred before the Emperor his nephew, by the name of the most religious & zealous Monke *Anthonie*: which was done (God wot) for no good zeale to the poore blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if hee weary of the world, had voluntarily taken vpon him that silly profession. Neuertheles, within foure daies after, *Synadenus*, vnderstanding them in euery place to whisper among themselues, & secretly to mutter against the hard dealing with the old Emperour, who had long raigned ouer them, & so by right was again to do, if his nephew should chance to die, and that the Ecclesiasticall laws enforced no man against his wil to enter into religious orders; he therewith enraged, sent to him certain of his own confederacy, to exact of him an oath in writing, That he should neuer more after that time, seek after the empire, or yet accept of the same if it were offred him, neither to substitute any other: which if he refused to do, to put him in feare of his life: and the more to terrifie him, set a guard of insolent barbarous soldiers ouer him; for feare of whom, he yeelded to do whatsoeuer they required; and so his oath being solemnly conceiued into writing) another man leading his hand, because he was blind) he signed the same with a red crosse aboue, & a blacke crosse beneath, after the maner of the religious. Hauing thus liued in darknes disgraced, shut vp in his chamber as a man forsaken of the world, with an vnsure guard euer to attend him, by the space of two yeares, it fortuned that the 12. of February towards night (a day in the Greek church dedicated to the vigill of S. *Anthony*, whose name they had geuin him certain of his friends that were suffred to haue accesse vnto him, going as their manner was, once in three or foure days to visit him (among whom was his daughter, somtime the Prince of Seruia his wife, but as then a widow, & *Nicephorus Gregoras*, author of this History) he entred with them, as with his friends, into a familiar discourse of many matters, wherin he so deceiued the time, that it was past midnight before they perceiud how the time past. But the cocks crowing, he brake of the talke, & bidding them farewel, gaue them leaue to depart, pleasantly saying, that tomorrow they would make an end of their discourse; who all thereupon took their leaue and departed, no signe of any sicknes as then appearing vpon him: and after they were gon, called for meat & did eat: the meat he eat, was certain shel-fish, for it was with them a fasting day, & he had not eat any thing after which, when as he should haue drunk a cup o fwine, for the comforting of his old stomack, & digesting of that so hard meat, hee

The death of the old Emperour.

he drunke could water, as his manner was, when he felt any inward heat, to drink the same im- G
moderatly: which hurtfull manner of diet he then vsing also, began by and by to feele a great
paine in his stomack, and so presently after became very sicke, falling withall into a great loos-
nesse of bodie, so that in the space of one quarter of an houre he was glad oftentimes to arise,
and to goe vnto an homely house of office in an inner chamber thereby to discharge natures
burden; where after many euacations, sitting downe vpon an homely bed fast by, and not able
to recouer his owne bed, hauing as then none to helpe him, there before it was day, died, af-
ter he had raigned 43 yeares. His death was by many strange signes and accidents as it were fore-
told: first a great eclipse of the Sunne appeared, iust so many daies before his death as he had
liued yeares: and after that, another eclipse of the Moone; and with it an earthquake, the day
before he died at night, being S. *Anthonie* his euen, whose name his enemies had thrust vpon H
him: at which time also, the sea with a great tempest rising aboue the wonted bounds, made
diuers breaches in the wals of the citie towards the sea, as if it had been some violent enemie,
and ouerflowed also diuers houses in the citie. Many crosses and pinacles were then also from
the tops of churches and other high buildings ouerthrown; and with them a great pillar, som-
time one of the ornaments of the city, standing before the church, commonly called *the church
of the fortie martyrs*; which being very high, and below burnt and worne away with time, had
put many in feare as they passed by it, least it should haue fallen vpon them; insomuch that the
Emperor vpon a time passing that way, was requested by some of the nobilitie there present,
to ride farther off from it, for feare of falling vpon him: who smiling at their vaine feare, by
chance answered, *ô would to God I might liue so long as this pillar will stand:* which now falling I
out according to his speech gaue many of them that had heard him so say, occasion to maruel.
His dead bodie was honorably buried in the monasterie of Libe, which his mother *Theodora*
the Empresse had not long before new built, and his obsequies there (after the manner of that
time) yearely solemnly kept by the space of nine dayes.

The Turks king-dome founded by Othoman in Asia, at such time as the Greeke Empe-rors were at variance be-twixt them-selues in Eu-rope.

Thus at length hauing passed through the troubled state of the Greeke empire, during the
long raigne of the old Emperor *Andronicus*, the considerat Reader may easily see the causes of
the declining and ruine also of this famous empire; and how that the Greeke Emperors, trou-
bled with their tempestuous affaires neerer home in Europe, yea in the very imperiall citie it
selfe, and in their owne palaces, were not at leasure to looke ouer the strait into Asia, but glad
to leaue their territories there vnto the weak defence of themselues. At which time, and euen K
in the middest of the aforesaid trouble, *Othoman* on the one side, with great industrie laid the
foundation of his Empire in Phrygia and Bythinia, now the greatest terror of the world: and
then did those things which we now haue of him written. The other Princes of the Turks al-
so, the successours of Sultan *Aladin*, at the same time on the other side, alongst the Riuer Me-
ander encroaching on as fast: vntill that at last amongst them they had thrust the Greeke
Emperours quite out of Asia, and in fine became themselues, together with the Greeke em-
pire, a prey vnto the *Othoman* Kings, as in the processe of this Historie shall more at large
appeare.

Prusa yeelded vnto the Turkes.

But againe to returne vnto *Othoman* himselfe, who all this while (that old *Andronicus* the
Greeke Emperor was thus troubled) had with his sonne *Orchanes* sought by all means on euc- L
ry side to inlarge his kingdome: the garrisons by him left in the two late built castles neere vn-
to the great citie of Prusa, vnder the charge of the two valiant captains *Acthemur* and *Balaban-
zuck* (as is before declared) hauing now continued there certaine yeres, had by shutting vp the
passages, and spoiling of the countrie, brought the city into such distresse and penurie, that ma-
ny of the citizens and other the poore Christians fled into the citie, there died of famine. The
rest now out of all hope to be relieued by the Greeke Emperour, not then able to relieue him-
selfe, came to composition with *Orchanes* (for *Othoman* was then sicke of his old disease the
gout) couenanting with him, that they might in safetie with life and libertie depart, and so
much of their goods as they themselues could carrie: and so yeelded to him the citie. Which
conditions (as most write) were on the Turks behalfe well and faithfully performed: yet some M
there be that report them to haue bin in most part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was Prusa, one of
the greatest cities of that part of Asia, yeelded vnto the Turks, in the yere of our Lord 1327:
and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the royall seat of the *Othoman* Kings.

About this time, or very shortly after, *Othoman* in the eight & twentieth yere of his raigne
dyed,

A died, at the age of 69, in the yeare of our Lord 1328, and lyeth buried at Prusa, where his *The death of Othoman.*
tombe is yet at this day to bee seene, in a certaine chappell of an old monasterie in the castle, *Othoman buri-ed at Prusa.*
standing in the midst of the citie; couered with a mantle of greene chamlet, and a little Tuli-
pant or Turkish hat (such as he vsed to wear) lying ouer his head, differing from those which
he Turkes now weare, especially the better sort of them, so great that they can therewith
scarcely come in at a door. There is also another monument of him to be seene at Suguta, fast
by the Sepulchre of his father *Ertogrul*; there made by his sonnes in remembrance of him;
whereof some haue reported him to haue bin there buried. Howbeit the Turks themselues
generally suppose the true monument wherein he is interred, to be at Prusa, as is aforesaid. He
was wise, politicke, valiant, and fortunat, but full of dissimulation, and ambitious aboue mea-
sure; not rash in his attempts, and yet very resolute; what hee tooke in hand, he commonly
brought to good effect: to all men he was bountifull and liberall, but especially to his men of
war, and the poore, whom he would many times feed and cloth with his owne hands. Of a
poore lordship he left a great kingdome, hauing subdued a great part of the lesser Asia: and is
worthily accounted the first founder of the Turks great kingdome and empire. Of him, the
Turkish Kings and Emperors euer since haue beene called the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors,
as lineally of him descended: and the Turks themselues *Osmanidæ*, as the people or subiects
of *Othoman*, or *Osman*, for so he is of the Turks commonly called.

NOte, that in the reckoning vp of certaine of the great Christian Princes and Prelates of the same time, at the end of euery the Turkish Kings and Emperours liues, the first and greatest number following their names, sheweth the yeare of our Lord, wherein such an Emperour, King, or Bishop began to raigne, or sit: and the number following, how long hee raigned or sate: as for example, *Andronicus* the elder began to raigne in the East, in the yeare of grace 1282, and raigned 43 yeares: and so of the rest. Wherein wee seeke not the exact computation vnto a moneth or day (as not much materiall to our Historie, or any part of our purpose) but onely the reasonable view of the great Princes of the forepassed times, as they liued in ages together.

Christian Princes of the same time with with Othoman.

Emperours	of the East	*Andronicus Palæologus the elder.*	1282.	43.
		Andronicus Palæologus the younger.	1325.	29.
	of the West	*Albertus of Austria.*	1298.	10.
		Henrie of Lucelbourg.	1308.	6.
		Lewis the fourth, of Bauaria.	1314.	32.
Kings,	of England	*Edward the first.*	1272.	34.
		Edward the second.	1307.	20.
		Edward the third.	2327.	50.
	of France	*Philip the faire.*	1286.	28.
		Lewis.	1314.	2.
		Philip the long.	1316.	5.
		Charles the faire.	1321.	7.
	of Scotland	*Iohn Baliol.*	1292.	
		Robert Bruce.	1306.	24.
Bishops of Rome,		*Boniface the VIII.*	1295.	8.
		Benedict the XI.	1304.	2.
		Clement the V.	1306.	11.
		Iohn the XXII.	1317.	18.

Suscipit Orchanes *defuncti sceptra parentis:*
Maior vt ingenio, sic magis arte valens.
Bithynos, Phrygiamque domat, Prusamque superbam:
Et populos late (Marte fauente) premit.
Sic latus tantis Asiam turbasse ruinis;
Transit in Europam, Callipolimque capit.
Rident interea Græci sua damna: sed ecce,
Dum sua contemnunt, in sua fata ruunt.

RICH. KNOLLES.

His father dead, *Orchanes* takes his scepter vp in hand;
As one of deeper wit and reach his foes for to withstand.
The Phrygians and Bythinians he by force of armes brought low;
Proud Prusa, with faire Nicomede, and many cities moe.
And glad in Asia to haue made such hauocke and such spoyle;
His forces into Europe sends, the Grecians there to foyle.
Who meane while laughing at their losse, did make thereof a game;
Not thinking what a world of woe was to ensue the same.

THE LIFE OF ORCHANES, OR VRCHAN, SECOND KING OF THE TVRKES.

AFTER the death of *Othoman*, his two sonnes, *Orchanes* (whom the Turks call *Vrchan*) and *Aladin* his brother, hauing with great solemnitie enterred their father at Prusa, immediatly summoned a Parliament, whereunto both the brethren came accompanied with the chiefe of their nobilitie. This Parliament was called especially, for the establishing of the succession in this new Kingdome, and for the diuision of *Othomans* treasure and goods, betwixt them two, his sonnes. But vpon view taken, there was no money, plate, or iewels found in the Kings coffers, for that he had in his life time most bountifully bestowed it vpon his men of warre: so that all the wealth he left vnto them his sonnes, was, the honourable remembrance of his life for them to imitate, large dominions for their possessions, store of ready horses and armour fit for seruice; with great heards of beasts and cattel for houshold prouision. Whereupon *Orchanes* demanded of his brother *Aladin*, what order he thought was best to be taken with those things by their father so left? To whom *Aladin* answered, That it was most requisit, first to establish a King in their fathers kingdome; which like a good sheepheard might gouerne and defend his subiects, rule and maintaine his men of warre, prouiding all things meet for defence of his kingdome: And that vnto him of right belonged all these other things by their father left, as the patrimonie of his successour, for the common good and maintenance of his estate. As for mine owne part (said *Aladin*) I claime no interest therein, you being my elder brother, and so vnto me in stead of a father: by whom also you haue bin these two yeares, as it were alreadie put in possession of the kingdome, all things being committed to your gouernment, during the time of his late sickenesse. This modesty of *Aladin* was greatly commended of all the antient counsellors; by meanes whereof, the kingdome in all peaceable manner descended to *Orchanes*. In regard of which courtesie, *Orchanes* would gladly haue made *Aladin* his brother President of his counsell: which honor he would in no wise accept, but requested rather that hee would giue him the lordship of Fodore in *Tekences* countrey; which *Orchanes* frankly granted. In which lordship of Fodore, *Aladin* most part liued a priuate and quiet life, and afterwards built two Mahometan churches, and an Abbey at Prusa, there yet at this day to be seene.

The two eldest sonnes that Othoman left vnto his two sons, Orchanes and Aladine

Some Latine Historiographers otherwise report this beginning of *Orchanes* his raigne; as that *Othoman* should haue three sonnes, and that *Orchanes* the yongest obtained the kingdome by murthering of his other brethren. A practise of late much vsed amongst the Turkish Princes, but not before the time of *Baiazet* the first of that name, who first of the Turkish Monarchs embrued his hands with his brothers bloud: where before, they vsed all brotherly loue one to another, as the most probable histories collected out of the Turks owne Chronicles affirme.

When that barbarous manner of murthering their brethren first began among the Turkish Sultans.

The

The citie of Nice with diuers other castles recouered from the Turks after the death of Othoman.

The Christian Princes and captains, presently vpon the death of *Othoman* recouered the citie of Nice, with diuers other castles and forts, out of the hands of the Turks: as it commonly chanceth, that dominions lately woon with great perill, are soone againe lost, the conqueror dying before there be a firme gouernment established. Amongst other forts by the Christians repossessed, the castle of Tzuprichiser, scituate vpon the passages of the riuer Sangarius, most grieued the Turks, for thereby their passage into that part of Bythinia was much impeached. Wherefore *Orchanes* desirous to recouer this castle, disguised himselfe with a few other of his best souldiers, in the apparell of Christian marchants, and came to the castle, craūing leaue to passe as marchants: the warders of the castle verily supposing them by their attire to be marchants, opened the gates, and let them into the castle: who presently drew their swords, slew the warders, and so by force possessed the castle, to the great benefit of the Turks, and the hurt of the poore Christians yet left in the countrey of Bythinia. For they now hauing opened a way ouer the riuer Sangarius, and as it were broken down the strongest defence of that side of the Greek empire, at their pleasure forraged the countrey in such sort, as that the great city of Nice (for want of victuals to relieue so great a multitude as for feare of the Turks was fled out of the country into it) was brought to great extremitie and want. For the relieue whereof, and for the repulsing againe of the Turks, *Andronicus* the young Emperor, who then all commanded, with such an armb as he was then able to raise, passed himselfe in person ouer the strait of Constantinople, into Asia: the greatest strength of his army consisting in two thousand choice horsemen; the rest as well horse as foot, being for the most part artificers taken vp in the city, men altogether vnacquainted with armes (who in token of their cowardise, and that they were more mindful of flight than of fight, carried ouer with them almost as many long boats and such other small vessels, as they were men, to be readie to receiue them at such time as they should flie) or else abiect rascals, taken vp here and there, men of whom no great thing was to be expected, & of all others most vnfit for so great a prince (as was the Emperour) to commit the defence of his person and honor vnto. But *Orchanes* hearing of his comming, sent certain of his most expert captaines, to forelay the strait passages of the country whereby the Emperor was to passe; following also himselfe after with his army, of purpose to encounter the Emperor. Who in thre daies march after his landing in Asia, being come to Philochrene, a little towne in Bythinia, and vnderstanding that *Orchanes* hauing before taken the straits, lay not far off encamped with his army; he there at Philochrene pitched his tents, and staied that night also. But the next morning, the Sun as yet scarcely risen, he seeing diuers companies of the Turks comming down from the mountains fast by, put his armie into order of battell, and so set forward to meet them: where to begin the fight, the Turks archers freely bestowd their piercing shot amongst the Christians, still keeping themselues aloofe off, so to doe the more harm. Which the Emperor mistaking, and supposing that their keeping off to haue proceeded of feare, encouraged therwith, commanded certain loose companies disorderly to march forward, & to skirmish with them: which his more expert captains not liking, would haue otherwise persuaded him, as to haue kept his strength together against the danger of the battel. Neuertheles, such was his youthfull heat, as that he could by no means be otherwise intreated, but that forward needs they must. But al the forenoon spent in this light and tumultuarie kind of skirmishing, and the Sun at the highest now shining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the mountains perceiuing the Christians wel wearied with the heat of the day and long skirmishing, came down from the hils with a world of men following him; who with a most hideous cry, charged the Christians on euery side, some a far off with their arrowes, and some hand to hand with their swords & other weapons: whose assault the Christians at the first most valiantly receiued, and a great while right worthily defended themselues, hauing wounded and slain a number of their enemies. Which hard fight was on both sides couragiously maintained, vntil the approching of the night, with great slaughter on both sides: at which time, the Christians weary of the long fight, & oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, disorderly retiring toward their trenches, & hardly pursued by the Turks, receiued there a great losse, as wel of their horsmen, as of their foot: but by the comming on of the night, the battel was at length ended with vncertain victory. Among others there hurt, the Emperor himselfe was wounded in the foot with an arrow. That night hapned a wofull mishap, and a manifest token of God his wrath: for *Orchanes* hauing to his cost made proofe of the strength and valor of the Christians,

The Emperour wounded.

A stians, & doubting they would the next day come on further into the country, left three hundred horsemen as scouts, to attend the enemies remouing: and himselfe with his army retired before hand to take aduantage of such places as the Christians were to passe by. But the Emperor in the euening leauing his campe, and going to Philocrene, a little town fast by, the better to haue his wound dressed; the rest of the armie vnderstanding of his departure, and supposing him to haue fled for feare (as if *Orchanes* with a great armie would that night haue slain them all) fled themselues also out of the campe, euery mothers son; some to their long boats and other little vessels they had for that purpose brought ouer the strait; some hasting toward the town gates, were by the multitude of others running headlong after them, ouerborne and trodden to death; other some hanging one at anothers taile, like a chain, got some part of them
B vp to the top of the rampiers of the towne; other some drawne backe by them that hung vpon them, falling down together by heaps, and trod vpon by others, there perished; some (as is reported) died there for verie feare, no man either chasing or hurting them, so weake is mans courage, when God withdraweth from him his strength. But in the morning the Sun arising, the three hundred Turks left for scouts, perceiuing the flight of the Christians, entred the forsaken campe, where they found horses, armor, and emptie tents, yea the Emperours owne furniture, and his horses ready sadled: of all which, two hundred of these Turks tooke the spoile at their pleasure, and the other hundred pursuing the dispersed Christians, like heartlesse men wandring here and there, slew a great number of them. The Emperor himself seeing his armie thus (as it were by the hand of God) ouerthrown and dispersed, tooke shipping also, and so re-
C turned to Constantinople. After whose departure, the Turkes seising vpon many sea townes alongst the coast of Bythinia, & there seating themselues, layd heauy tributes vpon the other country townes and villages; for the benefit whereof they spared to destroy them, together with the inhabitants, which they might at their pleasure full easily haue done.

Now lay the great city of Nice in the suds, the enemie commanding all the country about it, liuing as sicke men doe by hope, and holding out onely vpon hope of a thousand horsemen which the Emperour (notwithstanding his late discomfiture) had promised forthwith to send, there to lie in garrison for the suppressing of the Turks. Of which aid so promised *Orchanes* vnderstanding, furnished eight hundred of his horsemen after the manner of the Christians; & fetching a great compasse about, came at length into the high way that leadeth from Con-
D stantinople to Nice, and so trouped directly towards the city, as if they had come from Constantinople. At the same time he sent 300 of his other horsemen in the habit of Turks, to forrage and spoyle the country as much as they could within the view of the city, now for want of victuals brought into great extremitie; which whilest they were a doing, the other eight hundred horsemen in the attire of Christians, following vpon them, as if it had bin by chance, charged them, and in the sight of the citisens put them to flight: which done, these counterfeit horsemen returned directly again towards Nice. The citisens, which with great pleasure had in the mean time from the wals seen the most part of the skirmish, and how they had put the Turks to flight, supposing them to be the Constantinopolitan horsemen, whom they dayly expected, with great ioy opened the gates of the city to receiue them as their friends. But *The citie of Nice surprised by the Turks.*
E they being entred the gates, presently set vpon the Christians, fearing no such matter: & being seconded with the other three hundred, which in dissembling manner had fled before, & were now speedily returned, bringing also with them other companies of Turkes, before laid in secret ambush not far off, they woon the great and famous city of Nice, which they haue euer since vntill this day possessed: the spoyle whereof was giuen vnto the souldiers for a prey, and the citisens all lead away into miserable captiuitie & thraldome. Whilest *Orchanes* was thus busied, his other captains did with great courage & successe inlarge his dominions on al sides, dayly incroching vpon their weake neighbors the Christians. *Cunger-Alpes* one of his valiant captains, subdued the country of Mudurn, or Modrin, in Phrygia; and Bolli in Paphlagonia: appointing one *Abdurachman* a man of great valour, to gouerne the country. And at the same
F time another of his old captaines called *Accecozza*, brought Candara in Paphlagonia, and Ermeni, a country neere vnto the mountain Horminius, into the Turkish subiection; placing garrisons in all the Castles and forts which he had woon, of whom some part of those Countries was after his name called *Cozza Ilini*, that is to say, The old mans country. So that *Orchanes* his kingdom grew dayly greater & greater, as wel by the industry of his chieftains, as of himself.

About this time it fortuned, the captains ſonne of Scamandria (a town not far from the ruines of the antient city of Troy, & about a days journy from the renowned caſtle of Abydus) to depart out of this world: vnto whoſe funerals, being kept in the country, whileſt his woful father the captaine with his friends out of Scamandria reſorted, the old craftie Turke *Accecozza* lying always in wait, as a fox for his prey, ſuddenly ſet vpon thoſe heauie Chriſtians, whereof he ſlew the moſt part, and tooke the reſt priſoners. Amongſt whom he alſo tooke the Captain of Scamandria, with his caſtle and countrey: whom he afterwards led priſoner vnto the caſtle of Abydus, which is one of the moſt famous caſtles ſcituate vpon the ſea coaſt of Aſia, ouer againſt Seſtus in Europe; where the ſea of Helleſpontus by the narrow ſtrait falleth into the ſea of Ægeum: two caſtles much renowned by reaſon of their nigh ſcituation, and yet placed in diuers parts of the world; eterniſed alſo by the euer liuing wits of Poets, for the aduenturous paſſage of *Leander* ouer that fret of the ſea, to his loue *Hero*: which caſtles are now called Dardanelly. *Accecozza* hauing brought the captiue captaine of Scamandria (lately a man of great account in that country) ſo neere as he could vnto the caſtle of Abydus, offred to ſet him at libertie if they would ſurrender their Caſtle, otherwiſe they ſhould ſee him cruelly ſlain before their faces. Theſe Turkiſh threats nothing moued them of Abydus, more than to ſay, That they might if they would cut off his head, ſeeth him and eat him, but the caſtle they intended not to deliuer. The ſame captaine was afterward by the commandment of *Orchanes* profered to the Emperor of Conſtantinople to be redeemed, which he refuſed: yet at the laſt he was ranſomed by the gouernor of Nicomedia, and againe ſet at liberty. *Accecozza* of long time held the caſtle of Scamandria; yet ſo continually moleſted with the gariſon of Abydus, and men of war ſent from Conſtantinople, that he with his followers were glad for the moſt part to liue on horſebacke, to be always in more readines againſt the attempt of their enemies. The captain of the caſtle of Abydus had at that time a faire yong gentlewoman to his daughter, who (as ſhe ſaid) chanced to dream (what ſhe had happily waking for the moſt part wiſhed) That being fallen into a deep myrie ditch, out of which ſhe could by no means help her ſelfe, a luſtie yong gallant comming by, did not only help her out, but alſo in friendly manner made her cleane, and afterwards apparelled her in rich and coſtly attyre. The danger of this dreame much troubled the tender gentlewoman, but the image of the young gentleman was ſo well phantaſied in her brain, that waking, ſhe thought ſhe ſtill ſaw him, and ſleeping longed ſore for what ſhe ſaw not. Thus whileſt this yong gentlewoman with great deuotion entertained this imaginarie man, the old gray headed Turke *Accecozza* came, and with a ſtrong companie beſieged her fathers caſtle of Abydus. During which ſiege, this gentlewoman oftentimes went vp into the high turret of the caſtle, from whence ſhe might at pleaſure ſee the martiall deeds on both ſides, and take full view of all the enemies campe. But ſee the chance, as *Abdurachman* with great courage & no leſſe brauerie, approched neere to the ſiege of the caſtle, ſhe thought (vpon the firſt ſight of him) that he was the verie man whom ſhe had before dreamed of, and whoſe Idea was in her heart ſo deepely imprinted: wherefore ſhe fully reſolued to performe what ſhe had without witneſſe with her ſelfe determined. And waiting another time when *Abdurachman* approched the caſtle, ſhe caſt downe to his feet a letter written in Greeke, and made faſt vnto a ſtone: which letter he taking vp, deliuered the ſame to the general *Accecozza*. Wherein after ſhe had diſcouered her paſſionate affection, ſhee promiſed to deliuer the caſtle into *Abdurachmans* power, if the Turkes would raiſe their ſiege, and *Abdurachman* himſelfe with ſome few would ſecretly returne to the caſtle in the dead time of the night, and then follow her direction. *Accecozza* like an old foxe, which is ſeldome taken in the trap, gaue ſmall credit to theſe louing lines, for feare of treaſon; yet for ſo much as you are the man (ſaid hee to *Abdurachman*) whom ſhe vpon ſpeciall liking hath made choice of for the purpoſe, wil you aduenture your perſon? And he armed with a manly courage, a ſurer defence than any armor of proofe, incited alſo with hope of honour, riches, and beautie, all worthie prizes for martiall minds; ſaid he would vndertake the atchieuement of that exployt, if it were his pleaſure ſo. Whereupon *Accecozza*, becauſe nothing ſhould be ſuſpected by his ſudden departure, gaue a ſharpe aſſault to the caſtle, as if hee would haue taken it by fine force, yet in the end retyred, and preſently brake vp his ſiege, as deſpairing of the winning thereof. The Defendants of the Caſtle thinking themſelues deliuered of a great danger, greatly reioyced: and as in the like caſe it oftentimes falleth out, in their great jolitie ſurcharged themſelues that night with exceſſe

Abydus beſieged by the Turks.

exceſſe both of meat and drink. But *Abdurachman* at the time in the letter appointed, put himſelfe vpon the way with certaine ſelect ſouldiers, and about midnight came to the appointed place of the caſtle, where the yong gentlewoman was attending his comming: and hee by her means was conueyed into the caſtle, and ſo by her directed to the porters lodge; where hee ſlew the porter being faſt aſleepe, and opening the gates, let in his followers; which went directly to the captains lodging, and there took him priſoner, being before their comming ouertaken with wine, and faſt aſleepe. Thus was the caſtle of Abydus ſurpriſed by the Turks, from whence they had a faire proſpect out of Aſia into Europe. The captaine with his faire daughter, and the greateſt part of the rich ſpoyle of the caſtle, was deliuered to *Abdurachman*, to be preſented to *Orchanes* at his court, then lying at Neapolis. Who wonderfull glad of ſo good news, gaue the faire gentlewoman, with the greateſt part of the prey to *Abdurachman*. The poſteritie of this man (as they ſay) yet remaine among the Turkes. Amongſt others of the warlike captaines there was alſo one *Cararachman*, whoſe name was ſo dreadfull to them of Conſtantinople, that when their children cried, they would terrifie them to make them hold their peace, by ſaying, *Cararachman* comes. Not long after, the two valiant aforenamed worthy captains, *Cunger-Alpes* and *Accecozza* died. After whoſe death, *Orchanes* made his ſons, *Solyman* & *Amurath*, lords and gouernors of thoſe countries and prouinces. And intending (by the perſuaſion of *Abdurachman*) to beſiege Nicomedia, he leuied a great armie, wherewith he tooke diuers ſmall caſtles and forts as he marched towards the citie. Nicomedia was at that time gouerned by an honorable ladie, kinſwoman vnto *Andronicus* the Emperor of Conſtantinople: but ſhe ſeeing her citie beſieged by the Turks, and doubting her own forces not to be able to hold out the ſiege, by a truſtie meſſenger offered to yeeld the city vnto *Orchanes*, vpon condition, That ſhe with ſo many citizens as would, might in ſafetie depart with their liues, liberty, and goods: which being granted, ſhe with ſo many as would follow her, departed out of the citie by night, taking ſhipping for Conſtantinople.

Nicomedia yeelded vnto Orchanes.

Orchanes hauing taken Nicomedia, made his ſon *Solyman* gouernor of the ſame. The churches of the Chriſtians he conuerted vnto Turkiſh Meſchitas or temples. The greateſt church (being of wonderfull beauty) he conuerted into a colledge or ſchoole, for the learned profeſſors and ſtudents of *Mahomets* law, which is yet called in Nicomedia, *Orchanes* his ſchoole or colledge. And becauſe the Countrey neere vnto Nicomedia, lying vpon the ſea, was euer in danger to be ſpoyled by the gallies of Conſtantinople, he placed in thoſe countries diuers of his moſt experienced ſoldiers to defend the ſame, appointing to euery of them poſſeſſions & penſions, according to their degrees and merit. After this, *Orchanes* by the councel of his brother *Aladin*, commanded all his men of war to weare white caps, thereby to be knowne from others, which commonly wore red. Such manner of caps the Ianizaries vſe at this day. The Turks alſo in *Orchanes* raigne, and long time after, vſed not to cut or ſhaue their beards, but did weare them long: ſo that if the King would diſgrace any man, hee would in his diſpleaſure command his beard to be cut or ſhaued. The maner of cutting and ſhauing their beards which they now vſe, they learned of the Italians; of whom they haue alſo borrowed many other faſhions, not only differing, but quite contrary to their antient manners & cuſtomes. *Orchanes* about this time remoued his court to Nice, where hee lay a long time after. There he built a ſumptuous church, appointing a Preacher to preach to the people euery Friday: he erected in Nice alſo two faire abbies, in the one of which, he with his own hands ſerued the ſtrangers & poore the firſt dinner. He was the firſt that builded abbies or monaſteries among the Turks; whoſe example moſt of his ſucceſſors haue imitated, and is amongſt them vſed vnto this day.

Orchanes remoueth his Court to Nice.

The gouernment of Nicomedia *Orchanes* committed to his eldeſt ſon *Solyman* (as is before ſaid) a prince of great towardlineſſe; giuing him in great charge to haue a vigilant eye to the townes of Taraxa, Gouinuca, and Mudurne, which were nigh vnto Nicomedia, yet in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians: all which townes, with the countries adioyning, *Solyman* in ſhort time got without force, by compoſition. This *Solyman* was of a princely diſpoſition, ſo tempring juſtice with clemencie in his gouernment, that many Chriſtians allured with his vertues, became of his religion, & gladly put themſelues vnder his ſubiection: the politicke lawes of the country he neither abrogated nor changed, but maintained as they had beene of antient time accuſtomed, whereby he greatly woon the hearts of the people. *Amurath* his younger ſonne, *Orchanes* made lord and gouernour of Pruſa, after he had remooued his court to Nice. And the caſtle

castle of Chara-chisar, with the seigniorie thereto belonging, he gaue to his cousin *Artemure*, G
the sonne of his vncle *Iundus*.

Orchanes inuadeth the countrey of Carasina

There was at this time in *Orchanes* court a noble yong gentleman called *Turson-beg*, the son of *Dharasis* King of Charasia; by whose persuasion *Orchanes* in person himselfe with a strong armie, made an expedition into that country: for that his fathers subiects after the death of the King his father, denied their obedience to his elder brother, wishing rather to haue *Turson* for their soueraign. In whose behalfe *Orchanes* taking that journy, surprised by the way many castles and townes to his own vse. *Orchanes* was no sooner entred the countrey of Charasia, but *Tursons* elder brother fled to Pergamum, whither the Turks shortly pursued him: where *Turson* desirous to speake with his brother, vnwarily approching the city, was wounded with an arrow shot from the walls, and there slaine. With whose death *Orchanes* was so greatly offen- H
ded, that he threatned to destroy the whole country with fire and sword, if they did not by a day prefixed, generally submit themselues to his mercie.

The country of Carasina yeelded vnto Orchanes.

The people terrified with this proclamation of so great a Prince alreadie in armes, yeelded themselues vnto his subiection. The Kings sonne also that was fled into Pergamum, vpon reasonable conditions yeelded himselfe vnto *Orchanes*, who sent him to Prusa, where after he had there liued two yeres, he died of the plague: after whose death *Orchanes* made his son *Solyman* Prince of Carasina. Neither is this taking in of the country of Carasina to be accounted a smal conquest; one of the greatest houses of the Turks the successors of the Iconian Sultan *Aladin*, now thereby taking end, & their dominions (which were not small, as containing almost Lydia, with some good parts of Misia, Troas, and the lesser Phrygia) now vnited vnto the *Othoman* kingdome. *Orchanes* vpon his re- I
turne, for the good successe of this journy, built a Church and Monasterie at Prusa, placing therein religious men, with all diligence sought for out of all his kingdome: of which religious the Turks write many fables, better worth the smiling at, than the serious reporting. Hitherto the kingdome of *Othoman* and *Orchanes* his son, was contained within the bounds of the lesser Asia, which the Turks call Anatolia.

Now it resteth to be shewed, vpon what occasion *Orchanes*, or rather his son *Solyman Bassa*, as it were fatally, with a small power first passed ouer Hellespontus into Europe; where they and their successours haue by little and little so enlarged their dominions, that they haue now long ago quite ouerthrown the Grecian empire, with many other great kingdomes, and are at this present a terror to all Christian Princes bordering vpon them: to the perpetuall infamie K
of the Greekes, who for want of courage, and busied with ciuil discord, neuer sought in time to impeach their greatnesse.

Orchanes hauing now so augmented his kingdome, that he might from many parts therof out of Asia take view of the pleasant borders of Europ, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow sea of Hellespontus; and continually incited with the insatiable & restles desire of soueraignte, began to deuise how he might possibly passe that strait sea, and set foot into Europ another part of the world. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his son *Solyman*: who presently answered his father, That if it would please him to giue him leaue, hee would not doubt to passe the strait of Hellespontus, & in time to plant the Mahometan religion in those countries of Europe possessed by the Christians. Which answer of *Solyman* much pleased his L
father, who gaue him leaue to depart into his country, and in that matter to proceed further, as he thought best, & as occasion should best serue. *Solyman* taking leaue of his father, tooke his journy into Carasina, where riding vp & down the country, as it had bin for his pleasure only, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous citie of Troy sometime stood; where yet (as the Turks and some others say) are to be seen the wonderful ruins of that vnfortunate citie by the sea side. In this place *Solyman* stood still a great while, as it were in a studie, forecasting (as it seemed) some great matter, without speaking one word to any of his followers. When one of his chiefe traines called *Ezes-beg*, to put him out of his deepe thoughts, boldly said vnto him, My lord and great soueraign, what strange thing is this, that you are so deepely drowned in these your melancholy thoughts? vndoubtedly it is some great matter that you are studying vpon. Truth it is, (said *Solyman*) for I was thinking how it were possible to passe ouer this sea of Hellespontus into the borders of Europ, and to take view of that country, and so to returne vndiscouered. If this be the matter, (said *Ezes-beg*, ioyning vnto him one *Fazil-beg*, a man of no lesse valour than himselfe) wee two will by the power of God performe

vnto

A vnto you this enterprise. Then was *Solyman* desirous to know of them, about what place they would passe ouer: which they well knowing the sea coast, shewed him not far off. Wherefore *Solyman* giuing them leaue, they departed: and shortly after making a little boat, or rather as some suppose a raffe, passed ouer Hellespontus by night, and arriued in Europe side, neere vnto a castle of the Turks, called Zemenic or Zembenic, but of the Greeks *Coiridocastron*, that is to say, The hogs castle, not farre from Sestus: where going ashore, they tooke prisoner a Greeke in a vineyard neere vnto the castle, whom they finding to be a good sensible fellow, without delay put him into their boat or raffe, and returning backe againe, presented him to *Solyman*. This Christian captiue *Solyman* entertained courteously, giuing him great gifts, & rich apparel, to discouer vnto him the estate of his countrey: and in fine, learned of him a means to take
B the castle Zembenic, before the Christians should thereof be aware. For atchieuement wherof, certaine boats were speedily made ready by *Solymans* commandement, and he with eightie chosen soldiers easily passed ouer in them by night, with their Christian guid the Greeke: for in that place, the strait betwixt Asia and Europe, is not past an Italian mile ouer. This guid brought *Solyman* directly to the aforesaid castle, where was a great dunghil, so high, that from the top thereof *Solyman* with his souldiers easily got into the castle, which they woon without any great resistance; for it was then haruest time, and most part of the people were in the vineyards, or treading out of their corne al night, as the vse of those countries is. *Solyman* thus possessed of the castle of Zembenic, vsed no extremity against the inhabitants therof, seeking rather by courtesie to gaine their good wils, than by extremitie to force them to his: yet such
C gentlemen as he took, with some others also of the better sort, he sent by shipping into Asia, and by the same ships returned souldiers as fast as he could into Europe: so that he had in one day two hundred souldiers more brought ouer vnto him: and manning such smal vessels as he had left about the castle, sent *Ezes-beg* alongst the coast on Europe side, to burne such shipping or vessels as hee could find, least the Christians should by them hinder his passage vpon the strait of Hellespontus. So in a few dayes *Solyman* had transported into Europe two thousand good souldiers of the Turks, whom he so gouerned, that they did not in any violent sort iniurie the vulgar Christians, by reason whereof the common people began to like reasonable well of the Turks, and to conuerse with them without feare. This was the first comming ouer of the Turks into Europe, with purpose there to conquer and inhabit, vnder the fortune of the
D *Othoman* kings. For albeit that some of that nation had at sundry times before come ouer, as men seeking after spoile, or otherwise sent for, yea sometimes by the Greek Emperors themselues, yet neuer staied they long, but hauing done what they came for, or els lost themselues, returned backe againe into Asia; vntil that now conducted by *Solyman*, and possessed of the little castle of Zembenic (as is aforesaid) they there tooke so fast footing, as that they and their posteritie after them, were neuer thence to be since that time remoued; but stil more and more encroching vpon the Christians, haue vnto their Asian kingdome ioyned a great part of Europe also, to the terrour of the rest that yet remaineth, as in the processe of this Historie shall (if God will) at large appeare.

The castle of Maditus taken by the Turks.

About two miles from Zembenic in Chersonesus was another castle called Maito, or more
E truly Maditus, which *Solyman* also tooke: so that now hee had gotten two castles in Europe, both which he strongly manned. After which time, the Turkes in great numbers came out of Asia into Europe ouer that narrow strait of Hellespontus, to dwell in Chersonesus: and *Solyman* instead of them, to make roome for his Turkes, sent Christians out of Europe to bee placed amongst the Turkes in Asia. The report of this comming ouer of the Turkes into Chersonesus, and of the taking of the castle of Zembenic, carried in post to Constantinople, was sufficient to haue stirred vp any prouident or carefull men, presently to haue taken vp armes for the recouerie of the lost castle, and the driuing out againe of the barbarous enemies out of Europe, before they had gathered any greater strength, or setled themselues in those places: but such was the careless negligence and great securitie of the proud Greekes, that
F instead thereof, they to extenuate the greatnesse of the losse, commonly said, That there was but a hogstie lost; alluding vnto the name of the castle: and vainely (as said a graue father of their owne) ieasting at that was not to be ieasted at, and laughing at that was not to be laughed at but lamented for, as in few yeres it proued; their fooolish laughter beeing not without good cause conuerted into most bitter teares.

Callipolis taken by the Turks.

Solymans strength so stil increasing by the daily comming ouer of the Turks, he proceeded further to spoyle the country of Chersonesus, almost as far as Calipolis, distant from the castle Zembenic about two and twentie miles: after which pleasant citie the proud Turk began now to long. Which the gouernor thereof perceiuing by the Turks continuall incroaching vpon him, raised what power he was able to make, and so went out against them; all the rest of the Greeks in the mean time lying still, as if they had bin asleepe, or that the matter had not concerned them: but meeting the Turks, he was by them (after a great conflict) ouerthrown, and for safegard of his life glad to flie into his city: after whom the Turks following, spoiled the country round about, and in their returne, by plain force tooke the city, together with the castle also: which hapned in the yere of our Lord 1358. Where the madnesse of the Greeks was againe more than before to be wondred at; for the newes of the losse of Callipolis beeing brought to Constantinople, the people there made small account thereof, although it was indeed a right great losse, and much concerned the state: but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talke therof, in jesting wise commonly said, That the Turks had but taken from them a pottle of wine. But by taking of such hogstyues and pottles of wine (as they termed it) the Turks in a few yeres after had gone so far in Thracia, that *Amurath* (the same *Solymans* nephew which now tooke from the Greeks the city of Callipolis) euen in the heart as it were of the Greeke Empire, placed his royall seat at Hadrianople: and immediately after him, *Baiazet* his sonne (hauing subdued all the countrey euen to the walls of Constantinople) for certaine yeares layd hard siege vnto the Imperiall citie it selfe; and had no doubt then carried it, had not the great expedition of the mightie Tartar Prince *Tamerlane* (vnto *Baiazet* fatall) in the meane time happened: whereby (God so appointing it) the prosperous succeedings of the Turkes were for a space well stayed, that they should not before the time by him prefined, deuoure the reliques of the Greeke Empire. And it were to be wished, that the Christians of our time also (by their example warned) would at length awake out of their dead sleepe: who of late hath lost vnto the same enemie, not the castle of Zembenic, or the city of Callipolis, but whole kingdomes, as Hungarie and Cyprus, and are still faire in the way: I say no more for griefe, and foreboding of euill fortune. But againe to our purpose: *Solyman* hauing made this prosperous entrance into Europe, and there got strong footing, by speedie messengers certified his father what he had done, and that it was expedient for him with all speede to send vnto him a great supplie of men of warre, as well for the sure defence and keeping of those castles and forts by him alreadie gotten, as for the further inuasion of the Countrey. This message was wonderfull welcome vnto *Orchanes*, and whereas many families of the Sarasins at that present were come into the countrey of Carasina, to possesse the dwellings and places of them, which in hope to better their estate were before gone ouer into Europe; all these Sarasins hee commaunded to passe ouer into Europe likewise: which they did accordingly, seating themselues for a time in the country neere to Callipolis. In the meane time *Solyman* omitted no opportunitie to enter further into the country, winning small forts and Holds, and still peopling the same with his Turks. And on the other side, they of Carasina passed ouer into Europe, placing themselues as it were in a new world. For which cause, and for the great desire they had to extend the Turkish Dominion and Religion, they refused no paines of warre: so that all things at that time prospered with the Turks, and went backward with the Christians.

In the time of these wars, not far from Callipolis was a little castle called Congere, the captain whereof was by a Greeke name called *Calo Ioannes*, a valiant and painfull man: this captain continually molested and troubled the Turkes which lay on that side of Callipolis, vnder the leading of *Ezes-beg*, many of whom he slew and tooke prisoners, as he could find them at any aduantage. *Solyman* much angred herewith, by crattie and secret espials learned a certaine time when he was gone out of his castle to do some exployt vpon the Turks. Whereupon he presently so beset the Castle with souldiers, that he could by no means returne thither, but he must first fall into their hands; and for more assurance placed others also in by-wayes, lest he should by any way escape. The Captaine ignorant of all this, prosecuted his enterprise, and hauing taken a Turke prisoner, thinking to returne to his castle, was hastily pursued by *Fazil-beg*; for which cause making the more haste, hee suddenly fell into the danger of the Turks layd in ambush: where his men were all slaine, and himselfe taken and brought before

before his own castle, and had there his head presently strucke off: whereupon the castle was forthwith by them that were therein (hauing now lost their captaine) surrendred, and *Chazi Ili Beg*, a valiant captaine of the Turks, placed therein: who from thence neuer ceased to trouble the country, euen to the walls of Didymotichum, as did *Solyman* also out of Callipolis.

Thus in the space of one yere the Turks got strong footing in Europe, possessing diuers Castles and towns, with the country about them, which *Solyman* gaue in reward vnto his captains and soldiers, as appeareth by the graues and tombes of *Ezes-beg* and *Fazil-beg*, the two which first came ouer into Europe, which are there yet well knowne.

About this time it fortuned, that as this martial Prince *Solyman* was for his disport hawking in the fields of Bolayre on Europe side, galloping in to his faulcon, was with his horse ouerthrowne in a ditch, of which fall hee being sore bruised, shortly after died. The newes of his death being brought to *Orchanes* his father, gaue vnto him (then beeing sicke) iust occasion of great sorrow: so that within two months after he died also, being fourescore yeres old, when he had raigned thereof 31 yeres; and died about the yere of our Lord 1359. Some histories report otherwise, both of his death, and of the time wherein hee liued: as that hee should be slaine in a battell against the Tartars: or as others write, with an arrow at the siege of Prusa, in the yere of our Lord 1349. But *Ioannes Leunclauius* in his historie collected out of the Turkes owne chronicles (whom we follow as most probable) reporteth it as before.

The death of Solyman Bassa, Orchanes his eldest sonne.

The death of Orchanes.

This *Orchanes* was wise, curteous, and bountiful, more ingenious than his father in deuising warlike engins. He built diuers princely Churches, Abbies, Colledges, and Cels, and was in his superstitious religion verie zealous: in so much that hee appointed pensions to all such as could in the Church say the book of *Mahomets* law by heart: and appointed competent maintenance for all Iudges of his Courts, because they should not take any thing in reward of his subiects, for the peruerting of justice. He greatly inlarged his kingdome in Asia, and not content to be inclosed with the seas of Euxinum & Hellespontus, set fast footing in Europ, which some attribute to his sonne *Amurath*. He was to the Christians always a most mortal enemy, and so died.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Orchanes.

- Emperours
  - Of the East
    - Andronicus Palæologus the younger. 1325. 29.
    - Iohn Palæologus. 1354. 30
  - Of the West
    - Lewis the fourth, of Bauaria. 1314. 32.
    - Charles the fourth, sonne to Iohn King of Bohemia. 1346. 10.
- Kings,
  - Of England
    - Edward the third. 1327. 50.
  - Of France
    - Philip Valois. 1328. 22.
    - Iohn Valois. 1350. 14.
  - Of Scotland
    - Robert Bruce. 1306. 24.
    - Dauid Bruce. 1341.
- Bishops of Rome,
  - Iohn the XXII. 1317. 18.
  - Benedict the XII. 1335. 7.
  - Clement the VI. 1342. 12.
  - Innocent the VI. 1354. 10.

Scauus Amurathes, animo dum maxima versat :
Discordes Græcos sternere Marte parat.
Totus & intentus fines extendere regni :
Europam penetrans, obuia quæque rapit.
Atoniti trepidant, nimia formidine Thraces :
In medio quorum, sceptra superba locat.
*Hinc Mæsos premit ille feros, * miserumque Dynasten*
Cossoni in campis, obruit atque necat.
Sed non longa fuit sceleris tam dira voluptas :
A seruo cæsus, concidit ense ferox.

*Lazarum Seruiæ principem.

RICH. KNOLLES.

Whilest *Amurath* in his deepe thoughts, of greatnesse plots the ground:
The wrangling Greekes by force of armes he seekes how to confound.
And wholly bent for to extend his kingdome, with his power,
Piercing the confines of Europe, doth what he meets deuoure.
As men dismaid, the Thracians quake, to see their foule disgrace:
Amiddest whom, the tyrant stout his scepter proud doth place.
The fierce Bulgarians he did meet, and in the field subdue:
And in Cossou'as fatall plaines, the wofull Despot slue.
But long is not the wickeds ioy, which they in mischiefe take:
Stab'd by a slaue, the wretch his end in that same place did make.

R. K.

Lazarus Despot of Seruia.

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THIRD KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT AVGMENTOR OF THEIR KINGDOME.

B

Amurath the younger sonne of *Orchanes* succeeded his father in the Turkish kingdome, his elder brother *Solyman* being dead a little before his father. This *Amurath* with greater zeale than any one of the Turkish Kings, aduanced the Mahometan religion, and had therein wonderfull successe. In the beginning of his raigne, he gathered a great armie out of all parts of his kingdome, to Prusa; purposing to passe ouer Hellespontus, to inuade the Christians in Thracia. But vnderstanding, that the other Mahometan Princes in Asia had combined themselues against him, he was thereby inforced to leaue his former determination for Europe, and to turne his forces vpon them. In which warres hee mightily preuailed against them, and returned with victorie to Prusa. But hauing so subdued those confederate Princes, hee the next yeare after prosecuted his warres before intended against the Christians in Europe. For which purpose hauing leuied a strong armie in Asia, he passed ouer to Callipolis, accompanied with his tutor, whom the Turkes call *Lala Schabin*: whose graue aduice and counsell hee most followed in all his waightie affaires, beeing at that time one of his chiefe counsellors. From Callipolis hee marched to the castle of Benutum, which was by composition yeelded vnto him. From thence he went to Tzurulus, where the Christians gaue him a sharpe encounter: but in the end he woon the towne, and carried away the victorie. And so proceeding farther, tooke diuers other small castles and townes in that part of Thracia, which of the antient Romane colonies was then called Romania, and now of the Turkes Rumilia, namely Mesine, Burgos, and others; whereof some he vtterly rased, and into the rest put strong garrisons. At this time also, *Chasi-Ilbeg* and *Eurenoses*, two of his most valiant captaines, tooke certaine forts standing vpon the Riuer Meritza, in antient time called Hebrus: whereby they much troubled the inhabitants of the countrey thereabouts. Wherewith the captaine of Didymotichum offended, gathered his souldiers together, intending to haue intercepted the great captaine *Chasi-Ilbeg*: in which attempt he lost most of his followers, and was himselfe there taken prisoner. For whose ransome and certaine other conditions, the citizens of Didymotichum yeelded the citie vnto the Turkes.

Amurath succeedeth his father Orchanes in the Turkish kingdome.

Didymoticum yeelded vnto the Turke.

Shortly after, *Amurath* sent his tutor *Lala Schahin* to besiege Hadrianople, now called Andrianople, but in ancient time Orestias: of whose comming the Christians hearing, encountred him vpon the way, and fought with him a great battell, wherein many were on both sides lost: but in the end the Christians being put to the worst, retired againe to the citie. Of this victorie *Schahin* sent news vnto *Amurath*, with certaine of the heads of the slaine Christians: who therupon sending *Chasis* and *Eurenoses* before, he himselfe with a great army followed after to the siege of Hadrianople: of whose comming, the gouernor of Hadrianople vnderstanding, fled secretly out of the citie by night to Ænus. The citizens seeing themselues so forsaken of their gouernour, yeelded their citie vnto *Amurath*, in the yeare of our Lord 1362.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turke.

The taking of these strong cities in Thracia, especially of Didymotichum and Hadrianople, is (by some of the Turks owne Historiens) otherwise reported: which, because it is neither improbable nor disagreeing from the subtil dealings of the Turks, & of themselues also

receiued

receiued, I haue thought good to set downe as their owne Historiographers report the same.

The Turkish King *Amurath* had(as they say,and as truth was)in the beginning of his raigne concluded a peace with the Christians of Thracia: during which peace,the gouernor of Didymotichum intending to fortifie his city with new and stronger fortifications against the assaults of the Turks,entertained all the masons, carpenters, and other workemen he could by any meanes get: which *Amurath* vnderstanding,secretly caused two hundred good and lustie workemen and labourers to come out of Asia,to offer their seruice vnto the gouernour; who gladly entertained them,vsing their help in that his great and hastie worke. Which thing some of the wiser sort of the citizens disliking,wished the gouernor to beware of those Asian workmen,as by them suspected. But he presuming vpon the peace made with *Amurath*, and considering they were but base workemen and no soldiers, had the lesse care of them: neuertheles (vsing their worke all day) he commanded them to lodge without the wals of the citie euery night. *Amurath* vnderstanding that these workemen were thus by the gouernor entertained, sent for the valiant captaine *Chasis-Ilbeg*, and requested him with thirtie other good souldiers disguised as poore labourers,to goe to Didymotichum to seeke for worke,and in doing therof to espie if any opportunitie might be found for the surprising of the citie. *Chasis* with these thirtie according to *Amurath* his direction,comming as poore men lacking worke,found entertainment at Didymotichum, where they carried stones,morter, and such like things, euer shewing themselues very diligent in their worke: *Chasis* with vigilent eye still awaiting what might best serue his turne for the surprising of the citie. When night was come, the Turkish worke men and labourers after their accustomed manner, and as they were by the gouernour appointed,went out of the citie into the suburbs to their lodgings: from whence *Chasis* secretly departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and shewed him how one of the gates of the citie might vpon the sudden be taken, if it would please him to place a sufficient number of Turks in ambush neere vnto the citie,to ioyne with him and the other Turkish labourers when occasion should serue. Which being resolued vpon, *Amurath* sent him backe againe to put this his deuice in execution: So *Chasis* returning to Didymotichum, brake the matter to so many of the Asian workemen as he thought conuenient, fully instructing them what was to bee done. The next day(according to his appointment)the Christians being then at dinner,these Turkish workemen and labourers fell at words among themselues,and from words to fained blowes: in which counterfeit brawle and tumult, they suddenly ran to one of the gates of the citie fast by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands vpon the warders weapons, as if it had beene to defend themselues against their fellowes,suddenly set vpon those warders, being in number but few,and then at dinner also, and so presently slew them: which done, they opened the gate of the citie, and let in the other Turks which lay in wait not farre off: who with great celeritie entring the citie,presently tooke the same,and there put the chiefest of their citizens to the sword, sparing the rest of the meaner sort.

Rhodestum surprised by the Turks.

The citie of Rhodestum (of the old writers called Rhœdestum) was by *Amurath* his commandement, in this time of peace, by sudden assault giuen in the night by the Lord *Eurenoses*, taken also.

With this foule dealing & breach of league,yet in force,the Christians hardly charged *Amurath*; who turned it ouer to the vnrulines of his captains and men of war, whom he threatned with great seuerity to punish:& to giue the better color that it was done without his priuity,he had fained himself sick al the while these things were in doing:but being requested to restore those cities so wrongfuly taken from the Christians,he vtterly refused so to do,saying That it was against the law of his great Prophet *Mahomet*,to deliuer againe to the Christians, any towne or citie wherein the Mahometan religion had bin once openly taught. Whereupon wars began again to arise on fresh betwixt the Christians and him,wherein sometime the one preuailed, and sometime the other: in such sort, as that those warres at length became vnto them both very tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace againe with the Christians of Hadrianople, Selybria, and Constantinople: yet desiring nothing more in heart,than to take the citie of Hadrianople: which the better to bring to passe, hee caused *Chasis-Ilbeg* as a discontented captaine to flie to Hadrianople, pretending himselfe to haue beene hardly vsed by the tyrant his master: where hauing in his company other such dissembling fugitiues as was himselfe,he oftentimes issued out of the citie and valiantly skirmished with the Turks; which so greatly

greatly pleased the gouernour of Hadrianople, that he thereby grew into his great fauour. Many other Turkes also vnder pretence of like discontentment, resorted vnto *Chasis*: wherewith finding himselfe well strengthned,he writ letters secretly vnto *Amurath*,That he would deliuer one of the gates of Hadrianople vnto him at a certaine appointed time, if hee would against the same time be readie to send him present succors. All things being agreed vpon,*Chasis* at the appointed time came in the dawning of the day to one of the gates of the city,accompanied but with ten of his followers,as if he would haue gone forth to hunt,as he had before accustomed. But so soone as the gates were opened, he with the other ten well appointed for the purpose,furiously set vpon the warders,whom they slew; and being aided by the rest of the fugitiue Turks (which with all speed by appointment before made, resorted vnto them) they possessed the gate; vntill a great power of the Turks,whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambush neere vnto the city,hauing knowledge what was done,and hearing the alarme,speedily came on,and by that gate entred the citie: where was fought a cruell fight all that day,euen from morning vntill night. But in the end the Turks preuailing,tooke the citie, which they haue euer since possessed vnto this day.

Hadrianople the royal seat of the Turkish kings in Europe.

These great cities of Thracia thus taken,or otherwise as aforesaid (for that I leaue for the Reader to thinke of as he pleaseth) *Amurath* appointed the seat of his royall court at Hadrianople, as a place of all others most fit for the further inuasion of the Christians, and inlarging of his kingdome in Europe: from whence such a world of mischiefs and woe hath since that time ouerflowed a great part of Christendome,& drowned so many goodly kingdoms in Europe, as that both they,and most part of the rest that yet remain (daily in dread of like destruction)might iustly accurse and detest the wofull careles nesse and degenerate cowardise of the Greeks,were not they themselues together with the glorie of their church and empire,swallowed vp in the same gulfe of calamity & wo,and so become of al others most miserable: but what auail vain complaints,but to increase old griefs? wherfore again to that we haue in hand

The proud Sultan *Amurath* (hauing to his great content thus seated himselfe at Hadrianople,in the middest of Thracia) presently sent out his tutor *Lala Schahin* with a great power to inuade the countrey about Philippopolis with the countrey of Zagora,which lyeth towards the great mountain Hœmus,where the best Turkish Scimitars were made;giuing like charge vnto *Eurenoses*, for the subduing of the territorie of Ipsala; who both notably performed what he had commanded,and in short time brought all those countries vnder his subiection, wherein he shortly after placed diuers sanzacks or gouernours, for the better assurance thereof, being so lately gained.

About this time (by the suggestion of *Cara Rustemes* a doctor of the Mahometan law) *Zinderlu Chelil*,then Cadeleskher or chiefe Iustice among the Turks,but afterwards better knowne by the name of *Catradin Bassa*, by the commandement of *Amurath*,took order, that euery fifth captiue of the Christians,being aboue fifteen yeres old,should be taken vp for the King,as by law due vnto him: and if the number were vnder fiue, then to pay to the King for euery head 25 aspers, by way of tribute: apointing officers for collecting both of such captiues and tribute mony,of whom the aforesaid *Cara Rustemes* himself was chief,as first deuiser of the matter. By which means great numbers of Christiã youths were brought to the court as the kings captiues,which by the counsell of the same *Zinderlu Chelil*, were distributed among the Turkish husbandmen in Asia,there to learn the Turkish language,religion,& maners:where after they had bin brought vp in all painfull labour and trauell by the space of two or three yeares, they were called vnto the court, & choice made of the better sort of them to attend vpon the person of the prince,or to serue him in his wars: where they daily practising all feats of actiuity,are called by the name of Ianizars(that is to say,new soldiers.) This was the first beginning of the Ianizars vnder this Sultan *Amurath* the first,but had great increase vnder *Amurath* the second, insomuch that *Iouius* with some other Historiographers, attribute the beginning of this order to him:which neuertheles (as appeareth by the Turks own histories)had the beginning as is aforesaid;& hath euer since bin continued by the Turkish kings & emperors,by the same and some other greater means;so that in processe of time they be grown to that greatnes as that they are oftentimes right dreadful to the great Turke himselfe:after whose death they haue somtimes preferred to the empire,such of the Emperors sons as they best liked,without respect of prerogatiue of age,contrary to the wil of the great Sultan himself;& are at this day the

the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire, and not vnlike in time to be the greateſt cauſe of the ruin thereof: the finger of the Higheſt oftentimes (as wee haue before ſaid) turning euen thoſe helps which were by mans wiſedome prouided for the eſtabliſhing of kingdomes, vnto their more ſpeedie deſtruction: and eſpecially theſe continuall garriſons of martiall men, no leſſe to be feared than truſted, as in the courſe of this Hiſtorie may appeare.

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at Hadrianople, determining now to returne vnto Aſia, hee made *Schahin* his tutor *Beg-Lerbeg* or viceroy of Romania; and *Eurenoſes* lord gouernor of the marches; *Zinderlu Chelil* he made Vezir Azemes or lord preſident of his counſell, and changing his name, called him *Cairadin Baſſa*, that is to ſay, The *Baſſa* that had wel deſerued, his name witneſſing his good deſert. After this he returned into Aſia, where he ſpent that winter at Pruſa. Theſe two great men *Cairadin Baſſa* and *Cara Ruſtemes* before named, ſometimes two doctors of the Mahometan law, were (as the Turkiſh Hiſtories report) the firſt that corrupted the Turkiſh court with couetouſneſſe and briberie, and are therefore of them euen yet much blamed.

Whileſt *Amurath* thus wintred in Aſia, news was brought vnto him, That the Chriſtians of Seruia and Bulgaria had gathered a great armie for the beſieging of Hadrianople: which caused him to prepare great forces in Aſia, to aid his captaines in Europe. But in returning out of Aſia, he by the way tooke the towne of Boga; where he put to ſword all the Chriſtians that were therein able to beare armes, leading the reſt into captiuitie, and with the ſpoile rewarded his ſouldiers. This ſtrong towne was not long after againe recouered by the Chriſtians, who requited the Turkes with like meaſure, and doubting the keeping thereof, raſed it downe to the ground: yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turks, as it is at this preſent to be ſeene: which was done in the yeare of our Lord 1365.

Boga taken by Amurath and recouered again and raſed by the Chriſtians.

Boga new built by the Turks.

In the meane time, the Chriſtian armie of Seruia and Bulgaria, in number betwixt fortie and fiftie thouſand, marching towards Hadrianople, and now come very neere the ſame, fell in mutinie among themſelues. Whereof the Turks by their eſpials hauing intelligence, ſuddenly in the night ſet vpon them: who blinded with inward hatred, and no leſſe fearing one another, than their enemies, neglected to ioyne their forces againſt them, but were readie to turn their weapons one vpon another; and ſo by their owne diſcord, more than by the enemies force, were made a prey to the Turkes, by whom they were put to flight, and ſlaine with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the place wherein they fell, not far from Germia, is thereof at this day called *Zirf-Zindugi*, that is to ſay, the place wherein the Seruians were ouerthrown. The news of this ſo notable a victorie, with the fift part of the ſpoile, & a great number of the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turks) ſent to *Amurath* into Aſia, being now readie with a great power to haue come ouer to Callipolis: who ioyful therof, and glad to ſee ſuch a preſent, the aſſured witneſſe of the victorie, returned againe to Pruſa. This was done in the yeare 1366. In which yeare alſo *Amurath* with wonderfull triumph circumciſed his two ſons, *Baiazet*, & *Iacup*. At which time he alſo built a temple, with a monaſterie & a colledge, at Bilezuga: & another faire church at Neapolis: at Pruſa he alſo built a ſtatly pallace in the caſtle, with a great church at the gates thereof: in which citie he alſo founded an abbey and a colledge. *Germean Ogli*, a great Mahometan prince in Aſia (whoſe territorie for the moſt part lay in the greater Phrygia, and the countries thereabout, bordering vpon the *Othoman* kingdome) hauing alwaies enuied at the riſing of the *Othoman* kings (as did al the reſt of the Mahometan princes of the *Selzuccian* familie) and fearing that their greatnes might after his death grow dangerous to his ſon *Iacup*, being now himſelfe very aged, thought good for the more ſafetie of his ſtate to ioyn in alliance with *Amurath*. And for that purpoſe ſent *Iſaac* (a learned doctor of the Mahometan law) embaſſador to him, with many rich preſents, & to offer his daughter, the Lady *Hatun*, in marriage vnto his ſon *Baiazet*: promiſing with her in dowrie diuers great cities and townes, with their territories in Phrygia and Bythinia, adioyning vpon the *Othoman* kingdom; namely Cutaie, Simau, Egregios, Tauſanle, & others. Neither was this a ſmall dowrie, but well beſeeming ſo great a prince: the citie of Cutaie being at this day the place whereat the Turkiſh emperors great lieutenant or viceroy in Aſia is alwaies reſiant, as in the heart of his kingdome in the leſſer Aſia. Of which match ſo offered, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his ſon *Baiazet* vnto the ſaid ladie: and for ſolemniation of the mariage, prepared al things with great magnificence, ſending his embaſſadors to moſt of the Mahometane

A tane kings and princes both far and neere, to inuite them thereunto: commanding alſo moſt of the nobilitie of his kingdome, to honor the ſame with their preſence. The time of this marriage drawing neere, Embaſſadors came to *Amuraths* court, from all the Princes before inuited: amongſt whom, the Embaſſador from the Ægyptian Sultan had the higheſt place. Theſe Embaſſadors brought with them many great and rich gifts, ſuch as well beſeemed the great princes their maſters, which they with all reuerence preſented vnto *Amurath*. At length amongſt the reſt of his own nobilitie came the lord *Eurenoſes*, whom he had before left gouernour of the frontiers of his kingdome in Europe: who beſides many other rich gifts not eaſily to be valued, preſented vnto *Amurath* a hundred goodly boyes, with as many beautifull yong maidens, all Chriſtian captiues, ſutably attired in garments richly embroidred with gold & ſiluer,
B euery one of them carrying a cup of gold in the one hand, and a cup of ſiluer in the other; the cups of gold hauing in them diuers precious ſtones of great value, and the cups of ſiluer being filled with gold. The richnes of this preſent was ſo great, that all the embaſſadors of the forrein princes much wondred thereat. All which rich gift *Amurath* moſt bountifully beſtowed
D vpon the ſtrange Embaſſadors; and the Preſents which were ſent vnto him from other princes, he liberally gaue to *Eurenoſes*. The learned and religious which came to that marriage he ſo bountifully rewarded alſo, that none came to the ſame poore, but hee went away rich. He had before ſent diuers of his nobilitie, with an hundred ladies and gentlemen, and a guard of three thouſand horſemen, to attend the comming of the bride. On the other ſide, the old prince *Germean-Ogli* meeting this honorable companie vpon the way, ſaluted euery man of account
C according to his degree: and bringing them to one of his cities, in moſt royall manner feaſted them, beſtowing vpon them many rich and princely gifts: all which things with great ſolemnitie performed, he deliuered his daughter the bride to two of the moſt antient ladies, wherof the one had bin *Baiazets* nurſe; and ſo taking leaue of his daughter, ſent her away, accompanied with his wife *Ienſes*, and other of his courtiers: who conueying her to Pruſa, ſhe was there in moſt royal manner married to *Baiazet*. The cities and townes promiſed in dowrie, were accordingly deliuered into the poſſeſſion of *Amurath*, who ſhortly after tooke poſſeſſion of the ſame, and furniſhed them with his own garriſons.

At this marriage *Chuſen-Beg* prince of Amiſum in Galatia, by his Embaſſador ſold his territorie of Amiſum vnto *Amurath*, with many faire cities & townes; doubting, as it was thought,
D how to be able to keepe them, now that *Amurath* was come ſo neere him, whom hee ſaw not to let ſlip any occaſion offered vnto him for the inlarging of his kingdome. When *Amurath* had in this ſort ſpent great time in Aſia, he gathered a ſtrong armie to returne into Europe: but before his departure, he committed the gouernment of his kingdom in Aſia (which the Turks call Anatolia) vnto his ſonne *Baiazet*, ioyning with him *Temurtaſes* a valiant man of great experience: and hauing ſet all things in order in Aſia, paſſed ouer Helleſpontus, to Callipolis; from whence he marched towards Hadrianople: and becauſe he would take ſomething in his way, he beſieged Magalgara, which he in ſhort time woon: where *Lala Schahin* and *Eurenoſes* with all their forces came to him; which two captaines hee ſent to beſiege the citie Pheræ, which was by them after a few days ſiege taken. But he himſelfe to be reuenged vpon *Lazarus* the Deſpot, led his armie into Seruia: where after he had without reſiſtance forraged the
E countrey fourteene days, vnderſtanding by his captaines, That the ſtrong citie of Niſſa, being the metropoliticall citie of Seruia, was as it were the key of that kingdome, he preſently marched thither, and layd ſiege to the ſame; and by the aduice of *Iaxii-Beg* the ſonne of *Temurtaſes*, in ſhort time woon it. Which thing ſo daunted *Lazarus* Deſpot or Lord of Seruia, that he diſpairing in his own forces, hauing ſo ſoon loſt one of his ſtrongeſt cities, forthwith ſent Embaſſadours to *Amurath* to intreat a peace; offering to pay him a yearely tribute of fifty thouſand pounds, and to aid him with a thouſand men in his warres, whenſoeuer he ſhould require: vpon which conditions *Amurath* granted him peace, and ſo departed out of Seruia. In this expedition hee alſo with much adoo woon the great Citie of Appolonia, neere vnto the
F mount Athos, and gaue leaue vnto moſt of the Chriſtians, with their wiues and childeren to depart, and ſuch part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof ſpoyled by the ſoldiers. This done, he returned backe to Hadrianople, leauing *Eurenoſes* vpon the marches, who ſhortly after tooke Berrhea, with diuers other towns. At which time alſo *Lala Schahin* woon Zichne and Seres, in the confines of Macedonia, with many other ſtrong towns vpon the frontiers

Amurath inuadeth Seruia.

Niſſa taken by the Turks.

Appolonia won by the Turks.

of Thessalia and Thrace. In the Citie Seres *Eurenoses* made his abode, as in a chiefe frontier G
to wit: and because the Christians for feare of the Turks were all fled out of the country about
Seres, great numbers of people were sent for out of Asia, to inhabit that country by the Chri-
stians forsaken in the confines of Macedonia. *Amurath* had not long continued at Hadrianople, but that he was aduertised out of Asia, That *Aladin* his son in law king of Caramania, did
with fire and sword inuade his dominions in Asia: with which news he was exceedingly troubled. And for that cause sending for his councellors and nobility to the court, told them, how
that *Aladin* forgetting all the bonds of religion, faith, peace, and alliance, with all hostility inuaded his prouinces in Asia, whilest he with great danger of his person, and greater terrour of
his enemies, fought with honour to increase the Mahometan sincere religon (as he termed it)
in Europe: from which godly war (said he) I am against my will enforced to turn my sword, H
in iust defence of my selfe, against men ioyned with vs both in religion and alliance. And hauing thus declared his mind, he appointed *Chairadin Bassa* his lieutenant generall in Europ, and
also made his sonne *Alis Bassa* one of his Councell, although hee were by some thought too
yong for so great a place. And so hauing set all things in order according to his minde in Europe, tooke passage from Callipolis into Asia, and so to his court at Prusa, where he spent that
Winter. In which time Embassadors came vnto him from the Sultan of Ægypt, for the renewing of their former amitie and friendship; which *Amurath* tooke verie thankefully, and sent
them backe againe loden with kind letters and princely rewards.

Amurath and Aladin prepare themselues for warre.

When the Spring was come, in the yere 1387, he leuied a mightie armie to make war vp- I
on the Caramanian king his son in law. Whereof *Aladin* certainly informed, prepared no lesse
power to meet him, associating vnto him all the lesse Mahometan Princes of Asia, which were
not vnder *Amuraths* obeisance, to whom the *Othoman* kings were now grown terrible; which
princes brought with them great supplies to ioyne with *Aladin*.

Aladin thus aided by his friends, thinking himselfe now strong enough for *Amurath* his father in law, sent an Embassador vnto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in power inferior to him, & therfore nothing feared him: yet if it pleased him to haue peace, that he could
for his part be content to hearken vnto the same vpon reasonable conditions: but if he had rather haue war, he should find him readie to dare him battel in the field, whensoeuer he should
come. For answere of which embassage, *Amurath* willed the Embassadour to tell the periured K
King his master, That he had of late, contrarie to his faith before giuen, in most cruell manner
inuaded his dominions, whilest he was busied in most godly wars (as he termed it) against the
misbeleeuing Christians: from prosecuting whereof, he was by his violence (as he said) withdrawn, contrarie to the law of their great Prophet: for which outrages and wrongs he would
shortly come and take of him sharpe reuenge; and that therefore he was to expect nothing at
his hands but war, for which he willed him so to prouide, as that at his comming he might not
find him wanting to himselfe. *Aladin* by his Embassadour hauing receiued this answer from
Amurath, assembled all the confederat Princes his allies, with great persuasions & greater promises encouraging them to this war: and they againe kissing the ground at his feet, as the manner of that nation is before great princes, promised with solemne oathes neuer to forsake him, L
but to do all things which Princes desirous of honour or fame, ought by their oath to doe for
their Soueraigne, to whom they ought homage and dutie.

The death of Chairadin Bassa

In this great preparation for wars in Asia, *Charaidin Bassa* generall gouernor in Europe died: which *Amurath* vnderstanding, appointed *Alis Bassa* his sonne to go into Europe, there to be
gouernor in his fathers stead. But hee was stayed in his journey by vrgent occasions; which
Amurath vnderstanding, sent for him backe againe in post.

Aladin forecasting the great dangers like to ensue of this war, sent another Embassadour to
Amurath, with reasonable conditions of peace: to whom *Amurath* answered, That if *Aladin*
had made that offer one month before, he would perhaps haue accepted thereof: but for so
much as he had done him great wrong, and that he had now to his infinite charge drawn him M
into the field so far from home, he would not make any other end than such as the chance of
war should appoint: And wheras he in disgrace had called me a heardsman or shepheard (said
he) if he be not such a one himself, as he saith me to be, let him meet me in the field & there try
his valor. Hereunto the Embassador replied, saying, That the King his master made this offer
of peace not for any feare, but to saue the effusion of innocent bloud; which consideration set
apart,

A apart, he should find him not inferior to himselfe, either in number of most expert soldiers, or other warlike prouision: and that therefore if he reiected this offer of peace, hee needed not to doubt but to meet with men of courage, which would beare themselues so valiantly in the field against his Turks, as that he should haue no great cause to reioyce of his comming thither. Which words of the Embassador so netled *Amurath*, that in great rage hee commanded him to depart, & to wil his master, if he were a man of such courage & valor as he said, to shew himselfe in the field with all his forces, there to make an end of all quarrels; where he doubted not but in short time to chastice him according to his due deserts. So after the Embassador was departed, marching forward three days, *Alis Beg* came vnto him: of whose comming he not a little reioyced: for why, he loued him deerly, and although he was yet of yeares but
B yong, relied much vpon his councell.

The Embassador returning, recounted vnto *Aladin* all that *Amurath* had said, not omitting his hard speeches and proud threats, and how that he hoped shortly to take from him Iconium and Larenda (the principall cities of Caramania) with many things more, leauing nothing vntold. Which *Aladin* hearing, said vnto the confederate Princes that were with him, Verily *Amurath* threatneth to take from vs the cities of Iconium and Larenda; but let him take heed that we take not from him his faire citie of Prusa. Then demanding of the Embassadour, of what strength *Amurath* might be; it was answered by him, that hee deemed him to be about seuentie thousand strong. Whereat *Aladin* not a little reioycing, said, Assuredly when hee shall see our armie, he will not dare to giue vs battell; or if he do, he shal fight vpon great disC aduantage, his men being both fewer in number than we, and sore wearied with long and painfull trauell.

In the mean time *Amurath* held on his way towards Caramania, dayly encouraging his soldiers with persuasions and gifts bountifully bestowed vpon them, filling their heads with promises of greater, the wars once happily ended. At length he came to the great plaines in Caramania, called the French plains, because in former time the Christians (whom the Turks for most part cal Franks) in those places incamped their great armies, as they went to the winning of Ierusalem (as in the former part of this Historie is declared.) Into these plaines also came *Aladin* with his armie, and was now incamped within one days march of *Amurath*, and so rested that night.

D The next morning *Amurath* put his armie in order of battell, appointing the leading of the right wing to his youngest sonne *Iacup*, with whom he ioyned *Cutluzes Beg*, *Ein Beg Subbassa*, *Egridum Subbassa*, *Seraze*, and *Custendil*, two Christian Princes, all captains of great experience. The left wing was led by *Baiazes* his eldest son, with *Ferize* and *Hozze* both valiant captains: in which wings were also placed the Christian soldiers sent by *Lazarus* out of Seruia, according to the late conuention of peace: in the maine battell hee stood himselfe; the vauntgard was conducted by *Temurtases*; and the rereward by the Subbassa of Oxyllithus (called also *Temurtases*) and *Achmetes*. *Aladin* on the other side, with no lesse care and diligence set his men likewise in order of battell, placing himselfe in the maine battell, as did *Amurath*; and the Princes his allies, with his other expert captaines, some in the right wing, and some in the
E left, as he thought most conuenient: in such sort, as that in all mens iudgment he was in force nothing inferior to his father in law.

The great battel in the plains of Caramania, betwixt Amurath & Aladin.

These great enemies thus ranged, with ensignes displaid came on couragiously, one directly vpon the other: where approching together, the confused noise of trumpets, drums, fifes, with other instruments of warre, the neighing of horses, and clattering of armour, was so great, that whilest warlike minds thereat reioiced, cowards thought heauen fel. But the signe of battel on both sides giuen, *Samagazes* one of the confederat Princes, with exceeding courage first charged *Temurtases* in the vantgard, and broke his ranks: at which time *Teberruses* a Tartar Prince, and *Varsacides* another of the confederats, deliuered their arrows also vpon the vantgard, as if it had been a shoure of haile. Which *Baiazet* seeing, and how hardly *Temurtases* was charged,
F hauing before obtained leaue of his father, brake in vpon the enemie with such violence, as if it had been the lightning; whereof he was euer after syrnamed *Gilderun*, which is to say, The lightening. *Ferizes* and *Hozza*, with the other valiant Captaines in that wing, following *Baiazet*, with inuincible courage entred the battell; where for a great space was made a most dreadfull and doubtfull fight. A man would haue thought two rough seas had met together, swaying

swaying one against the other, doubtfull which way the current would at length fall. In this G
conflict many thousands were on both sides slain, so that the field lay couered with the dead
bodies of worthy men and valiant souldiers: yet at length these confederate Princes, finding
Aladin flieth to Iconium. themselues ouermatched by *Baiazet* and his soldiers, reseruing themselues to their better for-
tunes, turned their backes and fled; when *Aladin* seeing a great part of his armie thus ouer-
throwne, and himselfe now ready to be charged with *Amurath* his whole power, despairing
of victorie, sped himselfe in all hast to Iconium, his strong citie. The spoile which *Amurath*
Iconium besieged by Amurath. got in this battel was great, most part whereof he gaue in reward to *Temurtases* and his souldi-
ers, which had indured the greatest furie of the battell. *Amurath* after this victorie with all
speed marched to Iconium, and there besieged *Aladin* the Caramanian King, in his strongest
citie, giuing out proclamation in the meane time, That none of his souldiers vpon paine of H
death should vse any violence to any of the countrey people, or take any thing from them: to
the intent it might appeare vnto the world, that he made that warre against that Mahometane
King, rather to propulse iniurie and wrong, than for desire of soueraignetie or spoile. Which
his so strait a proclamation, the Christians sent by *Lazerus*, amongst others, transgressed; and
therefore by his commandement suffered (many of them) exemplarie punishment; which was
the cause of the Seruian warre which not long after ensued, fatall both vnto *Amurath* and *La-*
zarus the Despot, as hereafter shall appeare.

Aladin now on euery side besieged in Iconium, and without all hope of escape, sent to the
Queene his wife, *Amuraths* daughter, bewailing vnto her his desperate estate, and requesting
her by all the loue that so honourable a minded Ladie might beare vnto her miserable hus- I
band, to aduenture her selfe to goe to her angrie father, and to craue pardon for his great tres-
passe & offence. The Queen forthwith attiring her selfe, as was fittest for her husbands pre-
sent estate, came to her father: where falling downe at his feet vpon her knees, with words wise-
ly placed, and teares distilling down her faire cheeks from her faire eies, as if it had bin from
two fountains, in most sorrowful manner, craued her husbands pardon, imputing to the heat of
youth whatsoeuer he had done: and would not be comforted or taken vp, vntil she had obtai-
ned grace. *Amurath* most entirely loued this his daughter, and therefore for her sake not on-
ly granted vnto her, her husbands life (which in short time was like to haue bin in his power
to haue spilt) but also his kingdom, which he as a victorious conqueror might by law of armes
haue of right detained. She now assured of her fathers promise, sent vnto her husband *Aladin*, K
wishing him the next day without feare to come out of the citie, & in humble sort to acknow-
ledge his fault before her father. Who the next morning accordingly came out, and prostra-
ting himselfe before *Amurath*, acknowledged his vndutifulnes: of whom (for his wiues sake)
he obtained pardon, and restitution to his kinkdome, with many other great gifts, contrary to
his euell desert. The Latine histories mistaking the man, report this Caramanian war, to haue
bin fought against the king of Caramania, *Amurath* his own grandfather by the mother side;
and that hee was by *Amurath* then spoiled of a great part of his kingdome: but it agreeth not
with the Turkish histories, which make *Amurath* to be the sonne of *Orchanes* and *Lulufer*, the
daughter of the gouernour of the castle of Iarchiser, as is before declared in the life of *Otho-* L
man; which *Lulufer* lieth buried by her husband *Orchanes* in Prusa.

This great victorie gotten by *Amurath* against the Caramanian King, and the other confe-
derat Princes, was the true beginning of the greatnesse of the *Othoman* kingdom in Asia: wher-
with the other Mahometan Princes of the *Selzuccian* family were so discouraged, that they
were glad to submit themselues thus first vnto *Amurath*, and after that vnto his sonne *Baiazet*:
vntil that *Tamberlaine* the great Tartarian Prince, some few yeares after, taking *Baiazet* priso-
ner in a great battell at mount Stella, abated the *Othoman* pride, and restored the other oppres-
sed Mahometane Princes to their old possessions and kingdomes.

Amurath returning homewards, by the way tooke the city of Despotopolis, and comming
to Curaie brake vp his armie, and so in triumph returned to his court at Prusa. M

Lazarus, Despot of Seruia (in old time called Mysia) had sent a thousand armed men to *Amu-*
rath in this the late Caramanian warre, according to the conuention of the peace not long be-
fore made betwixt them: some of which souldiers, were with great seueritie (to the terror of
others) executed in Caramania, for transgressing *Amurath* his commandement. This great
warre being ended, and the army broken vp at Curaie, they with others were licensed to depart
into

A into their owne country. Whose General (whom they call the Vayuod) returning home, re-
ported vnto *Lazarus* the Despot, the successe of that war, and withall in what cruell and tyran-
nicall manner the men he had sent were in that seruice vsed by the commandment of *Amurath*.
With whom (said this Generall) you without cause haue made a most dishonourable peace:
first, by giuing your faith to such a miscreant, and then in sending your loyall subiects, in re-
compence of their good seruice, to be so butchered at his pleasure; beside the shamefull tri-
bute which you yerely pay vnto him. Whereas if it would please you in the depth of your
wisedome but to know your owne strength, you should find your selfe in warlike force and
power nothing inferiour to the tyrant: for we your seruants beeing in number but a handfull,
B were in these his late wars a terror vnto his enemies, and by our valor, and not his own, he got
the victorie ouer them. What cause is there then, that you should subiect your self vnto your
inferiour? I know hee cannot of himselfe bring into the field aboue fiftie thousand fighting
men: but admit he were able to bring a hundred thousand, are not you (if you so please) able
to leauie a far greater power? and for all other warlike prouision you are ten fold better pro-
uided than he. Besides that, the mightie Christian Princes wil send you such aid against this
hatefull and common enemie, that being vnited with yours, his Barbarian forces will be no-
thing in comparison of those which you shall then be able to bring into the field against him:
which no doubt the Christian Princes will the rather do, as men desirous to quench this de-
uouring, fire in another mans house, rather than in their owne.

These words of the Vayuod so much moued *Lazarus*, that hee determined in himselfe to *Lazarus the de-*
C breake that seruile league which he before had made with *Amurath*. And for that cause sent *spot by his Em-*
his Embassador with secret instructions to the King of Bosna (in time past called Illyria) his *bassadour cra-*
neighbour: whereof the chiefe point was, to craue his aid against the Turke their common *ueth aid of the*
enemie. By whom the King of Bosna returned this answere, That it had been much better *king of Bosna.*
such consideration had bin thought vpon before the foule contract (full of disgrace both to
himselfe and all other Christian Princes) was vpon a vaine feare by him rashly made with the
Turkish tyrant: yet for so much as things done could not be vndone, letting that passe which
was remediless, he promised to ioyne with him his whole forces against so dangerous an ene-
mie. And therupon appointing a place for an interuiew, met accordingly, and there fully con-
cluded all the articles of their confederation.

D There was in the confines of Bosna a castle called Alexandria, the captaine whereof being
a Christian, was yet tributarie vnto the Turk; wishing vnto him such good, as men oppressed
vse to do to them by whom they are so wronged. This captain vnder the colour of friendship
went to *Amurath*, & in great secrecy opened to him the whole state of the kingdom of Bosna;
and withall, that the King thereof intended some great matter against him: for the preuenting
whereof he offered his owne seruice, and shewed some probable meanes how that kingdome
might be brought into his subiection, if hee would but send some worthie Generall with a
conuenient power for the vndertaking thereof. This wonderfully pleased the ambitious old
tyrant, who therefore commanded a rich garment to be cast vpon the captain (which amongst
the Turks is taken for a sure token of the kings great fauor) and forthwith appointed his tutor
E *Lala Schahin*, according to this captains direction, to inuade the kingdome of Bosna. Who joi-
ning himselfe with this deceitfull captaine of Alexandria, with an armie of twentie thousand
men entred into Bosna; where ouerrunning a side of the country, he without resistance tooke
great booties: and seeing no apparant cause of feare, to doe the more harme, by the aduice of
the same captain diuided his armie, which he sent into diuers parts of the country, the more to
burne and spoyle the same. Of all whose proceedings the King of Bosna by secret messengers
from the captain aduertised, had in conuenient places layd strong ambushes for the intercep-
ting of his enemies. So that as *Schahin* was returning homeward with a rich bootie, hauing
then with him but a thousand men, suddenly appeared in his way thirtie thousand Christians
well armed: which *Schahin* seeing, thinking it follie to oppose so few against so many, would
F haue presently fled; but the rest of the gallants that were with him, presuming of their good
fortune, and loth to lose their rich prey, would needs first skirmish with the Christians: in
which desperat conflict they were almost all slaine, and the spoyle they had taken, all recoue-
red by the Christians. As for *Schahin*, he was glad by shameful flight to saue himselfe. The like
mishap befell the other Turkes in the other parts of Bosna, who for the most part were like-
wise

wise intercepted and slaine: so that of twenty thousand, scarce fiue thousand returned home. G

Amurath marrieth the Emperor of Constantinoples daughter.

Whilest these things were doing in Europe, *Amurath* in great triumph at Neapolis married the Emperor of Constantinople his daughter: whose two sisters were also giuen in marriage to his two sons: at which time he with great solemnity circumcised three of *Baiazets* sons. At this time also returned *Iazigi Ogli*, whom he had before sent Embassador to the Sultan of Ægypt, in requitall of the honorable embassage before to him sent from the said Sultan. Now *Amurath* vnderstanding of the losse of his men in Bosna, with the reuolt of *Lazarus* Despot of Seruia, was therewith much disquieted. Wherefore he commanded *Alis Bassa* his chiefe councellor, with all speed to send forth commissions into all parts of his kingdome, for the leuying of a royall armie: which was done in such post hast, that it was thought he would haue taken the field before the beginning of the Spring. At which time also the other Mahometan H Kings and Princes of Asia, *Caraman Ogli*, *Teke Ogli*, and the rest, bound vnto him by homage, with diuers others of smaller power, were sent for, to aid him in this warre: who partly for feare, and partly mooued with the zeale of their Mahometane superstition, brought their forces with great deuotion. Vnto this war against the Christians, came also great numbers of the Mahometans from far countries, as voluntarie soldiers. *Baiazet* his sonne also, then gouernor of Cutaie, with a great part of Galatia, gathring all his forces, came to aid his father in this religious war (as it was by them termed.) The Christian tributarie Princes were not then forgotten; of whom two came, namely *Custendil* and *Seratzil*: other two forsaking *Amurath*, came not, which was *Sasmenos* Prince of Bulgaria, and the Prince of Varna and Dobritza; with whom *Amurath* was highly offended. In the time of this so great preparation, old *Lala Shahin*, I *Amuraths* tutor and faithfull seruitor, died, being a man of great yeres: and *Temurtases* was appointed gouernor in his place.

The reuolting of the two Christian Princes, *Sasmenos* and the Prince of Varna, much grieued *Amurath*: Wherefore he commanded *Alis Bassa*, with an armie of thirtie thousand to inuade and spoyle *Sasmenos* his countrey, now called Bulgaria, and in antient time the lower Mysia. *Alis Bassa* according to that was giuen him in charge, calling vnto him *Iaxis Beg* the son of *Temurtases*, *Vlu Beg*, *Suratze Bassa*, with other captaines and commanders of the Turkes prouinces in Europe, assembled an armie of thirtie thousand for the inuasion of Bulgaria. With this armie the Bassa tooke many strong townes and castles in Bulgaria, as Pirauade, Venuzina, Madra, Suni, and others.

In the mean time, whilest *Alis Bassa* had thus begun the wars against the Christians in Bulgaria, *Amurath* hauing gathered a great Armie in Asia, determined in the beginning of the Spring to passe ouer with the same into Europe: commending the gouernment of his Countries in Asia, to *Temurtases Bassa*, *Ferices Beg*, *Temurtases Subbassa*, *Cutlu Beg*, & *Haza Beg*: and so all things set in order in Asia, he drew downe his Asian forces toward Hellespontus, where he was a while stayed with contrarie winds, but was afterwards transported to Callipolis, by *Ienitze Beg* Sanzack there. This was the third time that *Amurath* brought his armie out of Asia into Europe. But whilest he stayed at Callipolis, *Baiazet* his son with a great power came vnto him thither: *Alis* Bassa also vnderstanding of *Amuraths* arriuall in Europe, retyred out of Bulgaria, and came to him at Alcide, recounting vnto him the whole successe of his expedition L into Bulgaria.

Sasmenos Prince of Bulgaria, seeing his countrey spoyled, his strong cities and castles taken by the Turks, and withal hearing of their great preparations for war; by the aduice of his nobilitie thought it best betimes againe to submit himselfe vnto *Amurath*: wherefore tying a winding sheet about his necke, in token that he had deserued death (after the manner of the Barbarians) he came to *Amurath* at Calcide, where falling flat vpon the ground, at the horses feet whereon *Amurath* sate, he in most humble wise craued pardon, offring by a certain day to deliuer Silistria the chiefe city of his dominion, into *Amuraths* possession, as a pledge of his fidelitie: who thereupon granted him pardon, and to assure him of his fauor, commanded a rich garment to be cast vpon him, after the manner of the Turkes, sending *Alis Bassa* at the time ap- M appointed, to take possession of Silistria. But *Sasmenos* repenting himself of that he had so largely promised, would not deliuer his citie, but in strongest manner hee could presently fortified the same. Wherewith *Amurath* more offended than before, commanded the Bassa with fire and sword againe to spoyle and wast his Countrey: who according to his commaundement entred

A entred againe into Bulgaria, and stucke such a terrour of his comming into the hearts of the people, that many strong places were voluntarily yeelded into his power, namely Diritze, Cossoua, with the citie Ternoua, the seat of the Princes court; Tzerneui, Nouakestri, Zistoua, with diuers others: and proceeding farther, he layed siege to Nicopolis, the strongest city of Bulgaria, vpon the side of the great riuer Danubius, whether *Sasmenos* was for feare himselfe fled. Who finding himselfe vnable to hold out the siege, once againe (with shame enough) tying a winding sheet about his necke, as he had done before, and taking his sonne with him, went out of the citie, and in most abiect manner falling downe at the Bassa his feet, craued pardon: which the Bassa, moued with compassion to see the miserie of so great a man, and hauing alreadie taken from him the greatest part of his dominion, and now out of feare of B further resistance, easily granted. And hauing thus ended the Bulgarian warre, returned to *Amurath*, of whom he was right ioyfully receiued.

Amurath had now made great preparation for the inuading of Seruia, for which purpose hee had drawne ouer into Europe the greatest forces he possibly could out of Asia: sending also for his yongest sonne *Iacup*, gouernor of Carasia, who vnderstanding his fathers pleasure, repaired vnto him with all the power he could make. This army by *Amurath* thus assembled, was the greatest that euer was before that, brought by the Turkes into Europe. *Lazerus* not ignorant of this great preparation made by *Amurath*, had drawne into the society of this war, the King of Bosna (as is aforesaid) with *Vulcus* Prince of Macedonia, his sonne in law, who both brought vnto him great ayd: he had also by his embassadours procured great supplies C from other Christian Kings and Princes, out of Valachia, Hungaria, Croatia, Sclauonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Italie, besides great numbers of other voluntarie deuout Christians, which all assembled and met together, did in number farre exceed the great armie of the Turkes.

The castle of Sarkiue with the city ioyning vnto it, taken by the Christians and rased.

With this army *Lazarus* the Despot encamped vpon the side of the riuer Morona the greater, not farre from whence stood the strong castle of Sarkiue, which *Alis Bassa* had of late taken from *Sasmenos* the Bulgarian Prince, standing as it were betwixt Bulgaria and Seruia: this castle being now possessed of the Turkes, was thought by *Lazarus* dangerous to his country, who therefore sent one *Demetrius*, a right valiant captaine, with certaine companies of select men to take in the same. The name of this captaine *Demetrius*, was a generall terrour vnto the D Turks, for the harme he had done them: so that they in the castle hearing that he was come, without further resistance yeelded the same vnto him. Whereof *Amurath* vnderstanding, sent *Eine*, and *Sarutze* Bassa to recouer the same: but *Lazarus* doubting that the castle would hardly bee kept in that dangerous warre, sent *Vulcus* his sonne in law with twentie thousand men, to bring away all that was therein, and in the citie neere vnto it, lest it should become a prey vnto the greedie Turks; which he accordingly did, and at the same time rased both the castle and the city, before the comming of *Iaxis Beg*, sent from *Amurath* to haue done the same exploit; which he comming thither, found alreadie done to his hand by *Vulcus*.

As *Amurath* was marching towards Seruia, *Seratze* and *Custendyl*, two Christian Princes his tributaries, met him with their forces, whom hee caused to march before him, as his guides: E and passing thorow *Custendyl* his countrey, was there refreshed with plenty of all things necessarie: vntill at length passing the riuer of Moroua the lesse, he drew so neere to the plaines of Cossoua (where the Christian armie lay) that he with his sonne *Baiazet* from a little hil tooke full view of the Christian campe, which was so great, that it couered all those large plaines from side to side, and so daunted *Amurath*, as that returning to his armie, he presently entered into a great consultation with his greatest captaines and commaunders, what course to take against such a puissant enemie.

These great armies being now come so nigh together, as that they might the one wel descry the other, *Amurath* had purposed the same day to haue giuen the Christians battel: but being dissuaded by *Eurenoses*, both for that it was extreame hot, & his soldiers wearied with trauell, he rested that night. The next morning as soone as it was day, he put his armie in order of F battell, placing his sonne *Baiazet* with *Eurenoses* and *Eine Beg Subbassa*, in the right wing; his youngest son *Iacup*, with *Sarutze Bassa* in the left wing; the maine battel he led himselfe. *Lazarus* in the meane time had also set his army in good order: giuing the charge of the right wing to *Vulcus* his son in law; the left wing was led by the King of Bosna, and his sons; in the maine

maine battell ſtood *Lazerus* himſelfe; the Italians, Valachians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Bulgarians, he placed in both wings. It is thought, greater armies than thoſe two had ſeldom before met in Europe. *Lazarus* as the Turkiſh Hiſtories report (but how truly I know not) hauing in his armie fiue hundred thouſand men; and *Amurath* ſcarce halfe ſo many. G

To begin the battel, *Amurath* had drawne a thouſand of his beſt archers, vnder the leading of *Maleozzeus*, out of the right wing of his armie; & the like number of archers out of the left, vnder the conduct of one *Muſtapha*: which ſo placed on both ſides of the army, as he thought beſt, *Eurenoſes* a man of great experience, told *Amurath*, That the Chriſtians were for the moſt part wel and ſtrongly armed, & ſhouldring cloſe together in their charge, would be like a rock of yron, vnable to be pierced: but if in ioyning the battell, he would a little retire, the Chriſtians following vpon good hope, would ſo looſe their cloſe ſtanding (the chiefe part of their H ſtrength) and leaue an entrance for his men. Vpon which reſolution, *Amurath* commanded the archers to giue the firſt charge: which they courageouſly performed. At which time, the Turks army gaue ground a litle: which the Chriſtians perceiuing, with great force aſſailed the left wing of their armie, and after a hard & cruell fight put the ſame to flight: which *Baiazet* ſeeing, with ſuch fury renewed the battel, that the Turks wich before as men diſcouraged fled in the left wing, began now to turn again vpon their enemies; & the Chriſtians, hauing as they thought already got the victory, were to begin a great battell. In which bloudy fight many thouſands fel on both ſides: the brightnes of the armor & weapons, was as it had bin the lightning: the multitude of launces and other horſemens ſtaues, ſhadowed the light of the ſun: arrows and darts fell ſo faſt, that a man would haue thought they had powred down from heauen, the noiſe of the inſtruments of war, with the neighing of horſes, and outcries of men was ſo terrible and great, that the wild beaſts in the mountains ſtood aſtonied therewith: and the Turkiſh hiſtories, to expreſſe the terror of the day (vainly ſay) that the Angels in heauen amaſed with that hideous noiſe, for that time forgot the heauenly hymns wherwith they alwaies glorifie God. About noon time of the day, the fortune of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians began to giue ground, & at length betooke themſelues to plaine fight; whom the Turks with all their force purſued and ſlew them down right, without number or mercy. In which battel *Lazarus* ſlaine. *Lazarus* the Deſpot himſelfe was alſo ſlain. Howbeit ſome hiſtories report otherwiſe, as that he with his ſon were taken priſoners, and by and by afterwards (in reuenge of *Amurath* his death) cruelly ſlain: other ſome alſo reporting that he died in priſon. *Amurath* after this great K victorie, with ſome few of his chiefe captains taking view of the dead bodies, which without number lay on heaps in the field like mountaines; a Chriſtian ſouldier, ſore wounded and all bloodie, ſeeing him, in ſtaggering manner aroſe (as if it had bin from death) out of a heape of ſlain men, and making towards him, for want of ſtrength fell down diuers times by the way as he came, as if he had been a drunken man: at length drawing nigh vnto him, when they which guarded the Kings perſon would haue ſtayed him, he was by *Amurath* himſelfe commanded to come neerer; ſuppoſing, that hee would haue craued his life of him. Thus the halfe dead Chriſtian preſſing neere vnto him, as if he would for honor ſake haue kiſſed his feet, ſuddenly *Amurath ſlain.* ſtabbed him in the bottome of his bellie with a ſhort dagger, which he had vnder his ſoldiers coat: of which wound that great King and conquerour preſently died. The name of this man, L (for his courage worthy of eternall memorie) was *Miles Cobelitz*: who before ſore wounded was ſhortly after in the preſence of *Baiazet* cut into ſmall pieces. The Turks in their Annales ſomewhat otherwiſe report of the death of *Amurath*: as that this *Cobelitz*, one of the Deſpot his ſeruants, in time of the battell, comming to *Amurath* as a fugitiue, offering him his ſeruice and admitted to his preſence, in humbling himſelfe to haue kiſſed his feete (as the barbarous manner of the Turks is) ſtabbed him into the bellie and ſo ſlew him: being himſelfe therefore ſhortly after (as is aforeſaid) in the preſence of *Baiazet* moſt cruell hewen into ſmall peeces. Whereupon euer ſince that time, the manner of the Turks hath been, and yet is, that when any Embaſſadour or ſtranger is to come to kiſſe the Sultan his hand, or otherwiſe to approch his perſon, he is as it were for honours ſake, led by the armes vnto his preſence, betwixt two of the M great courtiers: but indeed by ſo intangling him, to be ſure that he ſhall not offer him the like violence, that did this *Cobelits* vnto *Amurath*.

The dead bodie of *Amurath* was preſently with all ſecrecie conueyed into his tent by the Baſſaes and captaines preſent at his death: whether *Baiazet* was alſo brought with an enſigne before

A before him, as the ſucceſſour in his fathers kingdome. His yonger brother *Iacup*, ſyrnamed *Zelebi* (or the noble) yet ignorant of that had hapned, was by the great Baſſaes ſent for, as from his father: who caſting no perill, but comming into his fathers tent, was there preſently by them ſtrangled, by the commandement of *Baiazet*, as moſt hiſtories report: howbeit the Turks annales charge him not therewith. This was the beginning of the moſt vnnaturall and inhumane cuſtome, euer ſince holden for a moſt wholeſome and good policie among the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors, in the beginning of their raigne moſt cruelly to maſſacre their brethren and neereſt kinſmen, ſo at once to rid themſelues of all feare of their competitors.

This *Amurath* was in his ſuperſtition more zealous than any other of the Turkiſh Kings; a man of great courage, and in all his attempts fortunate: he made greater ſlaughter of his ene- B mies, than both his father and grandfather: his kingdome in Aſia he greatly inlarged by the ſword, marriage, and purchaſe: and vſing the diſcord and cowardiſe of the Grecian Princes, to his profit, ſubdued a great part of Thracia, called Romania, with the territories thereto adioyning, leauing vnto the Emperour of Conſtantinople, litle or nothing more in Thracia, than the imperiall citie it ſelfe, with the bare name of an Emperour, almoſt without an empire: he woon a great part of Bulgaria, and entred into Seruia, Boſna, and Macedonia: hee was liberall, and withall ſeuere: of his ſubiects both beloued and feared: a man of very few wordes, and one that could diſſemble deeply. He was ſlaine when he was threeſcore and eight yeares old, and had thereof raigned thirtie one, in the yeare of our Lord 1390. His dead bodie was by *Baiazet* conueied into Aſia, and there royally buried at Pruſa, in a faire chappell at the Weſt *Amurath buried at Pruſa.* C end of the citie, neere vnto the Bathes there: where, vpon his tombe lyeth his ſouldiers cloake, with a little Turkiſh tulipant, much differing from thoſe great turbants which the Turks now weare. Neere vnto the ſame tombe are placed three launces, with three horſe tailes faſtened at the vpper end of them, which he vſed as guidons in his wars: a thing in ancient time not ſtrange. There ſtandeth a caſtle with a tombe, made in remembrance of him, in the plaines of Coſſoua, where hee was ſlaine and his entrailes buried: which giueth occaſion for ſome to report that he was there alſo himſelfe enterred.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath the firſt.

Kings,	Emperours	Of the Eaſt	*Iohn Palæologus.*	1354. 30
			Andronicus Palæologus	1384. 3.
			Emanuel Palæologus	1387. 30.
		Of the Weſt	*Charles the fourth,*	1346. 32.
			Wenceſlaus, ſonne to Charles King of Bohemia.	1378. 22.
		Of England	*Edward the third.*	1327. 50.
			Richard the ſecond.	1377. 23.
		Of France	*Iohn Valois.*	1350. 14.
			Charles the fifth.	1364. 16.
			Charles the ſixt, ſurnamed, The welbeloued.	1381. 42.
		Of Scotland	*Dauid Bruce.*	1341. 29.
			Robert Stewart.	1370.
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Innocent the VI.*	1354. 10.
			Vrban the V.	1364. 8.
			Gregorie the XI.	1372. 7.
			Vrban the VI.	1378. 11.

Phi. Lonicer. Hist. Turcic.

Fulminis in morem celeri rapit agmina motu
Baiazethes, *fidei pacis & impatiens.*
Regni Hadrianopolim sedes sibi legit vt esset,
Posset vt Europæ iungere regna suis.
Constantinopolim gemina obsidione fatigat:
Iam Græcas vana spe sibi spondet opes.
Cum Tamburlano *præbet sua terga, catenis*
Vinctus, & in cauea probra pudenda subit.

Proud *Baiazet* most false of faith, and loathing blessed peace,
His warlike troupes like lightning, to shake he doth not cease.
Of Hadrianople he makes choice for his imperiall seat,
That Europes kingdome he might ioyne vnto his Empire great.
Constantinople he distrest twice with strait siege and long:
And vainly thought to haue possest the Grecians wealth by wrong.
But ouercome by *Tamberlane*, fast bound in fetters sure,
Trod vnder foot, and cloas'd in cage, great shame did there endure.

THE LIFE OF BAIAZET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FOVRTH AND MOST VNFORTVNATE KING OF THE TVRKES.

C *Aiazet*, or as the Turks call him, *Baiasit*, of his violent and fierce nature syrnamed *Gilderun*, or lightning, succeeded his father *Amurath* in the Turkish kingdome, his younger brother *Iacup* being strangled immediatly after his fathers death, as is before declared. He in the first yeare of his raigne inuaded Seruia, and there besieged Cratoua, a citie of the Despors: whereunto the siluer mines of Seruia (not the least cause of that warre) belonged. Which city was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That the Christian inhabitants might with life and libertie depart. Who were no sooner gone out of the city, but that by his commandement they were all most cruelly slaine by his men of war, for that purpose sent out after them. At this time he also woon Vscupia, with diuers other castles in the country neere vnto Cratoua. *Baiazet inuadeth Seruia.*

D *Sigismund* at the same time king of Hungarie (a young Prince of great hope, and brother to *Wenceslans*, then Emperour of the West) aduertised from the Seruians his allies and confederates, of these proud proceedings of *Baiazet*; by his embassadours sent of purpose, requested him, That as he was a iust Prince, and wished to liue in quiet with his owne, to desist from doing of such open wrong, and from inuading of such countries of his friends and confederates, as he had no right in. Which Embassadours so sent, *Baiazet* detained without answere, vntill such time as hee had ouerrun a great part of the Despot his countrey, and therein done what he thought good. Then calling the said Embassadours vnto him into one of the strong townes which he had in euery corner filled with his owne souldiers, told them that they might there see, that his right both vnto that towne and the rest by him taken, was good enough, for as much as the very wals acknowledged the same: And so giuing them leaue to depart, willed
E them so to tell their master. Which his proud answer, by the same embassadours reported vnto the young King, no lesse troubled him, than if open warre had by them beene denounced vnto him, seeing the tyrant (as it should seeme) pretended right vnto whatsoeuer he could by force get: neuertheles, being himself'e not yet wel setled in his kingdom, and in doubt of the contrary faction (that altogether liked not of his election into Hungarie for their King) hee was glad at that time to put it vp, and so to hold himselfe content.

The next yeare, *Baiazet* by *Serises Beg*, tooke the citie of Vidina, with many other strong townes and castles in Seruia, and afterwards returned to Hadrianople. But whilest that hee thus raged in Europe, the Caramanian King inuaded and spoiled the frontiers of his countries in Asia: which although hee was not then at leisure, hee forgot not afterwards to reuenge to
F the full. At the same time *Eurenoses*, Lord gouernour of the marches of his kingdome in Europe towards Grecia, departing from Seres (where hee then lay) tooke the Citie of Sitros in Thessalia. And *Serises Beg*, not content to haue taken Vidina (as is aforesaide) passed ouer the great Riuer of Danubius, and grieuously spoiled Valachia: From whence hee returned loaden with a great prey. This was the first time (that I read of) that the Turks euer passed *Seruia the second time inuaded by Baiazet.*

sed ouer the Riuer Danubius. At this time also *Iegides Bassa* entred the kingdome of Bosna, from whence he carried a great number of captiues to Hadrianople, where *Baiazet* spent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring *Baiazet* passed ouer Hellespontus to Prusa, where hee built a faire Mahometan temple, with a colledge, and an almes-house: which works finished, he returned againe into Europe, and built a monasterie at Hadrianople: and so returned again into Asia, leauing *Temurtases*, *Begler-Beg* (or his viceroy) in Hadrianople. After he was come into Asia, he laid siege to the strong city of Philadelphia in Lydia, which was at that time the onely citie in the lesser Asia, yet holden by the Christians in the middest of the Mahometane Princes: for now was the Greeke Emperour by the *Othoman* Kings & the other Turks quite driuen out of the lesser Asia. In the beginning of this siege, *Baiazet* gaue straight commandement to his souldiers, That they shall not spoile or hurt any thing in the countrey belonging to the citizens: hoping by such faigned courtesie to make them the more willing to yeeld themselues vnto his obedience. But disappointed of his expectation, and finding them resolued to hold it out vnto the last, he forthwith gaue out contrarie commandement, not to spare any thing they could waste or destroy: which was accordingly by his greedie souldiers performed. After long siege, the citizens seeing the country about them vtterly wasted, & themselues vnable longer to indure, and out of all hope of reliefe, yeelded their citie vnto the pleasure of *Baiazet*. It is written by some, that this famous citie was not besieged without the consent of the Emperor of Constantinople: and that the Greeks themselues, moued with enuie to see that citie so long hold out, did helpe the Turkes in the winning thereof.

Philadelphia besieged by Baiazet.

In time of this siege *Aidin Ogli* Prince of Caria, a Mahometane, came to *Baiazet*, and yeelded himselfe into his power as his vassale: vnto whom *Baiazet* restored certain places which he had in this expedition a little before taken from him: yet vpon such condition, as that hee should not from that time coine any mony in his own name, either be remembred in publick praiers as a prince in their Mahometan temples, as he had before bin: but that all such things should be done in the name of *Baiazet*, as his dread Lord & Soueraigne. With which disgrace the poore Prince was glad to content himselfe, and to liue as his vassale. From Philadelphia he led his armie into the country of Saruchania, in ancient time called Ionia Maritima, which he subdued vnto himselfe vpon like conditions. After that, he passed farther to Mentesia, or Mentz, sometime called Myndos in Caria; the Prince whereof for feare fled to *Cutrun Baiazet*, Prince of Castamona and part of Pontus, leauing his countrey to the pleasure of the Tyrant. And forasmuch as the young King of Caramania had inuaded his countries whilest he was busied in Europe, *Baiazet* in reuenge thereof entred with his armie into Caramania, and tooke Cesaria, with diuers other places there: so that the young King discouraged with the losse of his townes, and fearing *Baiazet* his greatnesse, was glad to hold himselfe content with his losse, and to make peace with him as it pleased him to grant it. As *Baiazet* was making this expedition into Caramania, another young Mahometan Prince, the sonne of Prince *Germian*, came vnto him with one of his chiefe counsellors, and were both by him sent prisoners ouer the strait to the castle of Ipsala, where they lay in durance many yeares after. Thus *Baiazet* hauing oppressed & wronged most of the Mahometan Princes, the successors of Sultan *Aladin* in the lesser Asia, at last returned againe himselfe in triumph to Prusa.

The Prince of Mentesia, who for feare of *Baiazet* was fled out of his countrey, as is aforesaid, had now incited *Cutrun Baiazet*, Prince of Castamona, with a great power to inuade that side of *Baiazet* his kingdome which bordered vpon him. Which *Baiazet* vnderstanding, gathered a great armie to goe against this Mahometane Prince. At which very time the Vayuod of Valachia, hearing of *Baiazet* his troubles in Asia, with a strong armie passed ouer Danubius into those parts of Seruia and Bulgaria that were by the Turks as then possessed; where he spoyled the countrey, and slew great numbers of the Turkes, making Mahometan Saints and martyrs by heapes: for so the Turkes account all them whom the Christians kill in their warre: which done, hee retired backe againe into Valachia, carrying with him also many of the Turkes prisoners. *Baiazet* thus at once inuaded both in Asia and Europe, deferred his warres purposed against the Prince of Pontus, vntill a more conuenient time, conuerting his forces against the Valachians. Wherefore passing ouer the straite to Hadrianople, hee sent his armie from thence to Nicopolis, and there passing the Riuer of Danubius, entered into

into Valachia, burning and spoiling the countrey before him as he went. Where the Vayuod to represse his furie, met him in the field and gaue him battell, but was therein ouerthrowne, and many of his people slaine; so that at last he was glad to sue for peace, which he obtained, by submitting himselfe to *Baiazet*, and yeelding to pay him a yearely tribute.

Whilest *Baiazet* was thus busied in Valachia, newes was brought vnto him, That the Christians of the West with a fleet of Gallies did great harme alongst the coasts of his dominions in Asia. In reuenge whereof, he entred with his armie into Thessalie, destroying all the countrey vnto Thessalonica: in which expedition he tooke the Citie of Neapolis in Greece, and Ioannina in Ætolia, and after that returned into Asia, where he spent that Winter.

Thessalia inuaded by Baiazet.

In the beginning of the next Spring, he with a great power passed the strait of Callipolis to Hadrianople, intending to haue inuaded Hungarie. But as he was vpon the way, it chanced that a Constantinopolitan spie was by the Turks intercepted, with letters from the Greeke Emperor to the King of Hungarie, giuing him warning both of the Turks preparation & comming. By which spie *Baiazet* also vnderstood of another messenger before sent into Hungarie for like purpose. Whereupon *Temurtases* (then his great lieutenant in Europe) perswaded him to desist from his intended wars in Hungarie, and to besiege the imperial city of Constantinople, as a thing of more honour, and lesse danger; the city being alreadie (as he said, and as in truth it was) surrounded with the Turkish prouinces: bringing in Philadelphia (but a few yeres before woon) for example of the like exploit. Of whose councell *Baiazet* liking well, returned with his armie, and shortly after came & sate downe therewith before Constantinople, laying hard siege thereunto, first by land, and after by sea, with his gallies sent from Callipolis. Which hard siege continued (as most histories report) the space of eight yeres: in which long time he draue the Emperor *Emanuel Palæologus* to that strait, that he was glad to leaue his city, & himselfe in person to craue aid of *Wenceslaus* the Germane Emperour, and *Charles* the sixth the French King, and other Christian Princes also. At which time the Citisens were at length brought to such extremitie, that they were euen at the point to haue yeelded vp the city; and happely had so done, had not *Sigismund* King of Hungarie (assisted with a great armie of the French, & other voluntarie Christians almost out of euery part of Christendome, to the number of an hundred and thirty thousand, vnder the leading of *Iohn* Countie of Niuers, and after Duke of Burgondie) for the reliefe of the besieged Emperour, passed ouer Danubius into the Turkish dominions; and there hauing recouered Vidina, with certaine other strong Holds in Bulgaria, layd siege to Nicopolis: out of which citie the Turkes oftentimes sallied, and gaue him many an hot skirmish. It is reported, That the yong King *Sigismund* beholding the greatnesse of his armie, in his great iollitie hearing of the comming of the Turkes Armie, should proudly say, *What need we to feare the Turke, who need not at all to feare the falling of the heauens; which if they should fall, yet were we able with our speares and halberts to hold them vp for falling vpon vs.* But *Baiazet* vnderstanding what spoyle the Hungarian King had made in his late gained Countries, and of the siege of Nicopolis; commanded the ladders and other great prouision now in readinesse for the scaling and assaulting of the citie of Constantinople, to be burnt, because they should not come into the hands of the Christians; & so raising his siege, marched with a right puissant armie to Nicopolis, sending *Eurenoses* before, of purpose to intercept some of the Christians, thereby to learne the state of their campe and armie. But they hearing of his comming, so well looked to themselues, that he with shame returned to his master as he came, without any one prisoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Baiazet*, as fearing he should haue to doe with a warie enemie. *Sigismund* vnderstanding of the approch of *Baiazet*, leauing a sufficient power for the continuing of the siege, rose himselfe, and with the rest of his Armie went to meet his proud enemie. Of whose comming and approch *Baiazet* vnderstanding, diuided his Armie into two parts; and being now come within the sight of the Christian Armie, made shew but of the one halfe, keeping himselfe close in secret ambush not farre off with the other. The Christians deeming themselues (as they were) far more in number than the Turkes which they saw, diuided their Armie also into two parts, purposing betwixt them to haue inclosed the Turks. Of all the Christians that were there present, the French desired to haue the honour of the first charge to be giuen vpon the Turks, and in their heat vpon good hope set forward (the Hungarians, with a great part of the Armie, not yet set in order) and so began the battell: where betwixt them and the Turkes was fought a right cruell

Constantinople eight yeares besieged by Baiazet.

cruell fight, and in a little time many thousands slaine. But this fight had not long endured, C when *Baiazet* with the other half of his armie suddenly arising, came on with such violence, as well became his syrname of *Ildirim* or lightning; and so hardly charged the French, that they amased at the suddennesse of the danger, and oppressed with the furie and multitude of the vnexpected enemy, stood at the first as men dismaid; but seeing no remedie, encouraging one another, valiantly fought it out vntill they were almost all either slaine or taken prisoners; still in hope to haue been relieued by the Hungarians and the rest. In this hard conflict diuers of the French horsemen hauing forsaken their horses, fought on foot, as their manner was: which horses running backe without their riders, vpon the Hungarians, caused them to doubt that the French were quite ouerthrowne; wherewith dismayed, they without further comming on, all turned their backs and fled, in so great hast, as that it booted not the King or ny H other great commander to goe about to stay their flight. The French thus by their too much hast ouerthrowne, the Turks pursuing the Hungarians and the rest of the Christians, made of them a great slaughter: of whom also many were drowned in the great riuer Danubius. At which time also the Turks tooke so many prisoners, that it was thought euery seuerall Turke had his prisoner. King *Sigismund* himselfe, who but a little before had despised euen the falling of the heauens, had then also vndoubtedly fallen into his enemies hands, had he not in a little boat by good hap got ouer Danubius: not vnlike another *Xerxes*, who hauing couered the seas with his ships, & with a world of men passed ouer into Grecia, was afterwards by the strange change of fortune, himself alone in a smal fisher boat glad to get back again into Asia. *Sigismund* beeing thus got ouer Danubius, and fearing the violence of the Hungarians for the I losse of the battell, fled by sea into Thracia vnto Constantinople, from whence he sailed vnto the Iland of the Rhodes; and from thence sailing thorow the Ægean and Ionian sea, landed at length at Dalmatia; and so hauing wandred from place to place, tossed with many fortunes, after eighteene moneths long and painefull trauell returned againe into Hungary. Where hee found the state of his kingdome in his absence much troubled, the contrarie faction in the meane time hauing made choice of *Ladislaus* King of Naples for their King; who was euen then with a great armie going to haue taken possession of the kingdome, had not *Sigismund* in good time, by the helpe of certaine of the chiefe of the Hungarian nobilitie preuented him. In this battell, called the battell of Nicopolis, were of the Christians twentie thousand slain, and of the Turks three score thousand. The Countie of Niuiers the French Kings neere kinsman, I was there taken prisoner, with three hundred great commanders more: where after hee had endured great contumelie and reproch in the presence of *Baiazet*, he was commanded to make choice of fiue other of the captaines, such as he liked best, all the rest beeing cut in pieces before his face, and hee with the other fiue left aliue, sent prisoners to Prusa, from whence they were afterwards ransomed for two hundred thousand Duckats. This bloudie battell of Nicopolis was fought in the yere of our Lord 1396.

Constantinople the second time besieged by Baiazet.

Baiazet after this great victorie, hauing worthily relieued his besieged citie, returned againe to the siege of Constantinople, laying more hardly vnto it than before, building forts and bulwarks against it on the one side towards the land; and passing ouer the straight of Bosphorus, built a strong castle vpon that strait ouer against Constantinople, to impeach so much as was L possible, all passage thereunto by sea. This streight siege (as most write) continued also two yeres, which I suppose by the circumstance of the historie, to haue been part of the aforesaid eight yeres. *Emanuel* the besieged Emperor wearied with these long wars, sent an embassador to *Baiazet* to intreat with him a peace: which *Baiazet* was the more willing to hearken vnto, for that he heard newes, that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian Prince intended shortly to warre vpon him. Yet could this peace not be obtained, but vpon condition, that the emperor should grant free libertie for the Turks to dwell together in one street of Constantinople, with free exercise of their owne religion and lawes, vnder a judge of their owne nation; and further, to pay vnto the Turkish King a yeerely tribute of ten thousand duckats. Which dishonourable conditions the distressed Emperor was glad to accept of. So was this long siege broken vp, M and presently a great sort of Turks with their families were sent out of Bithynia, to dwell in Constantinople, and a church there built for them: which not long after was by the Emperor pulled downe to the ground, and the Turks againe driuen out of the citie, at such time as *Baiazet* was by the mightie *Tamerlane* ouerthrowne and taken prisoner.

A *Baiazet* in the beginning of his raigne, presently after the death of *Lazarus* the Despot, slain in the battell of Cossoua, woon part of Seruia, (as is aforesaid) the other part beeing still holden by *Lazarus* his son, called *Stephen* the Despot; who about this time sent an honorable embassador to *Baiazet* with louing letters, and royall Presents: by which embassador also the old Princesse *Lazarus* his widow, offred her faire daughter *Despina*, *Stephens* sister, a lady of incomparable beauty, in mariage to him, if it should please him to vouchsafe his handmaid (as she termed her) so high a place. This lady was long before promised him, whilest his father *Amurath* yet liued. Of this embassador *Baiazet* was verie glad, but especially for the faire ladies sake: which being known to the Princes her mother, & the Despot her brother, she was forthwith honorably sent to *Baiazet*, and so to him with great solemnitie and triumph shortly after ma- *Baiazet marieth Despina the faire daughter of Lazarus the Despot.*
B ried. Of all his wiues he held her deerest, and for her sake restored to her brother *Stephen* the citie & castle of Semendre (otherwise called S. *Andrew*) and Columbarium in Seruia: she allured him to drink wine, forbidden the Turks by their law; and caused him to delight in sumptuous banquets, which his predecessors, *Othoman*, *Orchanes*, and *Amurath*, neuer vsed.

As the Turkish kingdome grew in greatnesse, so corruption, the canker of great states and commonweales, increased likewise; but especially in the men of law, and judges of his courts. Wherewith *Baiazet* grieuously offended, commanded diuers of the same judges to be apprehended, determinig (to the terror of others) to haue executed them; whose dangerous estate was much pitied, and also fauoured of *Alis Bassa*, and other the Kings great Councellors: yet for so much as *Baiazet* was of a furious nature, and in his anger dangerous to be spoken vnto,
C none of them durst aduenture to intreat him in their behalfe; no not *Alis Bassa*, *Charadyn Bassa* his sonne, sometime Iudge of Prusa, although he were a man in such speciall fauour with him, that he was therefore of the common people not onely reuerenced, but as the King himselfe honoured.

There was at that time in the court an Æthiopian jeaster, who vnder some couert pleasant jeast, would many times bolt out that to the king in his greatest heat, which his graues councellors durst not once speake to him of in secret: this jester, *Alis Bassa* requested to deuise some means to intreat with the angrie King in the behalfe of these Iudges; promising to giue him what he would reasonably desire, if he could appease the Kings displeasure. The Æthyopian without feare vndertooke the matter, & presently putting vpon his head a rich hat al wrought
D ouer with gold, after the manner of the Turks embassadors, and fitting himselfe with other apparell better beseeming an embassador than a jeaster; thus attired presented himselfe before the King, with a great counterfeit grauitie. Whereat *Baiazet* maruelling, asked him the cause why he was so gay. I haue a request vnto your Maiesty (said he) and wish to find fauor in your sight. *Baiazet* more desirous than before to know the matter, asked what his request was. If it stand with your pleasure (said the jeaster) I would faine go as your embassador to the emperor of Constantinople, in hope whereof I haue put my selfe in this readinesse. To what purpose wouldst thou go? (said *Baiazet*) To craue of the Emperor (said he) some forty or fifty of his old graue Monks and Friers to bring with me hither to the court. And what should they doe bere? (said *Baiazet*) I would haue them placed (said the jeaster) in the roomes of the old do-
E ting judges, whom you intend (as I heare) to put to death. Why (said *Baiazet*) I can place others of my own people in their roomes. True (said the Æthyopian) for grauitie of look and countenance, and so would the old Monks and Friers serue as well; but not so learned in your laws and customes of your kingdome, as are those in your displeasure. If they be learned (said *Baiazet*) why do they then contrary to their learning, peruert justice, and take bribes? There is a good reason for that too (said the jeaster.) What reason? (said the King.) That can hee that there standeth by tell better than I, (said the jeaster, pointing to *Alis Bassa*:) who forthwith commanded by *Baiazet* to giue the reason; with great reuerence before done, shewed, That those Iudges so in displeasure, were not conueniently prouided for, and were therefore inforF ced many times for their necessarie maintenance to take rewards, to the staying of the due course of justice. Which *Baiazet* vnderstanding to be true, commanded *Alis Bassa* to appoint them conuenient stipends for their maintenance, and forthwith granted their pardon. Whereupon the Bassa set downe order, That of euerie matter in suit exceeding one thousand Aspers, the Iudge should haue twentie Aspers fee for judgment; and for euery writing and instrument out of the court, twelue Aspers: which fees they yet take in those courts at this day.

Not long after, *Baiazet* in his furie ſent for certain of his captaines and commanders of his men of war, with whom he was for ſome ſmall occaſion grieuouſly offended, intending in his rage to haue put them all to death, which was with him no great matter. Theſe captains being brought before him, the councellors ſeeing him al in choler, ſat looking on the ground, hanging down their heads, as the manner of the Turks is, not daring to looke him in the face, nor to ſpeak a good word for them. When ſuddenly the aforeſaid Æthiopian jeaſter ſtept forth, earneſtly requeſting the king, not to ſhew them any fauour, but to execute them preſently, as villains & traitors; railing vpon them, as if he had known ſome great fault by them. *Baiazet* thinking he could haue accuſed them of ſome great crime, becauſe of his earneſtneſſe, asked what reaſon he had ſo to exclaime againſt them. Reaſon, (quoth the jeaſter) becauſe the knaues be good for nothing; and they ſay that *Tamerlane* is with a great army comming againſt vs: if you wil but take vp an enſigne in your hand, and I go before you with a drum, I wil ſtrike vp ſuch a terrible march, and you make ſuch a dreadfull ſhew, that we ſhall need none of theſe bad fellows or their ſoldiers in the field to get the victory ouer our enemies. This conceit of the jeaſter ſtruck ſuch a melancholie imagination into *Baiazet* his head, that hee ſtood muſing a great while as it were in a deepe ſtudie: at laſt hauing well conſidered the drift of the jeſters ſpeech, and his furie now ſomewhat aſſuaged, granted them pardon, which they looked not for.

This Æthyopian jeaſter, *Baiazet* vpon a time ſent vnto the old Queene his mother, to bring her newes of the good ſucceſſe of his wars againſt the Chriſtians, for that ſhe had ſo deſired: who comming vnto her, of by her commanded to ſit down, ſhe began to demand of him, how the King her ſonne did, and of the ſucceſſe of his wars. Whereunto he anſwered, That hee did very wel, and had woon from the Chriſtians a great countrey, and greatly inriched his ſoldiers. But after a little more talke, the Queene mother deſirous to heare againe the good newes, (or elſe after the manner of ſome, which thinke nothing ſufficiently told, except it be told an hundred times) asked him againe, how the King her ſonne did, and how he ſped in his wars. Whereunto he anſwered euery word as before: but asking him the third time the verie ſame queſtion, how her ſon did? Do'ſt thou aske me ſo often (ſaid the Æthyopian) how hee doth? *Bre Cachpe* (ô whore, ſaid he) thou haſt brought forth a ſon like a diuell, who roaming vp and downe, doth nothing but burne and deſtroy the world where hee commeth. Whereat the Queen crying out, vp ſtart the Æthiopian, and betaking himſelfe to his heeles, was neuer more afterwards ſeene.

Temurtaſes, Baiazet his great Lieutenant in Aſia, taken priſoner by Aladin the yong King of Caramania.

In the wars which *Baiazet* had againſt *Sigiſmund*, the Vayuod of Valachia had giuen aid vnto the Hungarian king, wherwith *Baiazet* being offended, determined now at length to be reuenged: and therefore intending to make war vpon the Valachian prince, left *Temurtaſes* his great lieutenant at Ancyra in Aſia, and ſo paſſed ouer Helleſpontus himſelfe againſt the Valachian. Vpon whoſe departure, *Aladin* his ſiſters ſonne the yong king of Caramania, with a great power came ſuddenly in the night to Ancyra, and tooke *Temurtaſes* priſoner: who then feared nothing leſſe, than in time of peace to be ſo ſurpriſed, and carried away in bonds into Caramania. But when he vnderſtood that *Baiazet* had ended his wars in Valachia, and was with victorie returned to Pruſa, he fearing his heauy indignarion for ſo great an outrage, preſently releaſed *Temurtaſes* out of priſon, apparelled him richly after the manner of that nation, craued pardon for the wrong he had done him, and ſet him at libertie to go whither he would, & withal ſent one of his noblemen with great gifts and Preſents to *Baiazet*, to make his excuſe in beſt manner he could: vnto which embaſſador *Baiazet* (yet in choler) would not giue audience, or ſuffer him to come in his ſight: but at the ſame time leuied a great armie to inuade Caramania. Which *Aladin* vnderſtanding, and now out of all hope to appeaſe this mightie enemie, leuied all the forces he could in his own kingdome, and withall entertained all the mercenarie ſoldiers he could ger, intending to trie his fortune in the field, as a man of valour, rather than to be thruſt out of his kingdome like a coward: and ſo in readines, hearing of the comming of *Baiazet*, met him vpon the way, & at a place called Aczac gaue him battel: but being too weak, he was ouercome & put to flight; in which flight his horſe ſtumbling, & he falling to the ground, was there before he could recouer himſelf, taken by his enemies which had him in chaſe, and ſo brought bound to *Baiazet*: his two ſons *Muhamet Beg* & *Alis Beg*, being taken in that battell alſo, were ſent priſoners to Pruſa. *Aladin* himſelfe was by *Baiazets* command deliuered to his enemy *Temurtaſes*: who in reuenge of the wrong hee had before done him, preſently cauſed him

him to be hanged: which when *Baiazet* vnderſtood, he ſeemed verie ſorie that he had ſo put him to death, for that he was his owne ſiſters ſon. *Baiazet* following the courſe of his victorie, woon Iconium, Larenda, Nigde, with all the reſt of *Aladin* his kingdome. About this time alſo, Amaſia the great metropoliticall city of Capadocia, was by the prince thereof deliuered vnto *Baiazet*, being too weake himſelfe to defend the ſame againſt the force of *Caſi-Burchanidin*, Prince of the great and ſtrong citie of Sebaſtia, his enemie; now growne to be a man of great power in that part of Aſia, and had ſolicited the Sultan of Ægypt to aid him againſt *Baiazet*. Whereupon *Baiazet* returning from the conqueſt of Caramania, led his armie towards Sebaſtia, where the Citiſens had a little before depriued *Caſi-Burchanidin* of his gouernment, for his crueltie, and placed his ſonne in his ſtead: but in ſhort time no leſſe wearie of the ſon, than before of the father, they with like inconſtancie ſent word to *Baiazet*, That if he would come that way, they would yeeld vnto him the citie: vpon whoſe approch, *Caſit* (his ſon) for feare fled out of the citie, to Prince *Naſradin* his brother in law. After whoſe departure, the citiſens according to their promiſe, deliuered the citie vnto *Baiazet* at his comming, wherein he left *Solyman* his eldeſt ſonne gouernor. And ſo hauing in this notable expedition conquered the kingdome of Caramania, and taken the great cities of Amaſia and Sebaſtia, with moſt part of Capadocia, and all that part of Aſia which the Turks call Rumilia Aſiatica, hee returned to Pruſa and there wintred.

Amaſia yeelded vnto Baiazet.

Sebaſtia deliuered to Baiazet.

The next Spring, *Baiazet* hearing that his old enemy *Cutrun Baiazet* prince of Caſtamona & Pontus, was dead, came to Caſtamona with a great armie: which *Iſfendiar (Cutrun Baiazets* ſonne, and then Prince of that countrey) hearing, fled out of the citie of Synope, a little Citie vpon the coaſt of the Euxine: from whence he ſent an Embaſſador to *Baiazet*, humbly requeſting him, to ſuffer him to haue that little citie, as his ſeruant to liue in, (which he was ſure he would otherwiſe beſtow vpon ſome other of his ſeruants) and not to ſeeke the innocent bloud of the ſonne for the fathers offence. Which his requeſt *Baiazet*, mooued with pittie, eaſily granted: yet neuertheleſſe tooke from him Caſtamona, with the greateſt part of his dominion in Pontus, which he gaue to his ſonne *Solyman*. At the ſame time hee violently oppreſſed the prince *Germean*, and tooke from him the cities of Deſpotopolis and Hierapolis, with all the reſt of his dominion.

Baiazet inuadeth Iſfendiar Prince of Caſtamona.

The Prince of Menteſia long before driuen out of his countrie by *Baiazet*, (as is before declared) and hauing all this while made his abode at Caſtamona, doubting now of his owne ſafetie, after the death of his good friend *Cutrun Baiazet*, in the habit of an hermit fled to the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlane*.

Baiazet returning to Pruſa, there built a magnificent Mahometane Temple; during which worke he with great ſuperſtition forbore drinking of wine, repoſing himſelfe with the companie of graue and learned men, and the adminiſtration of juſtice: whereby hee greatly woon the hearts of his ſubiects, and had now ſo inlarged his kingdome, that all Kings and Princes bordring vpon him ſtood in great feare of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmetes* King of Bagdat (or new Babylon) and Eitacum, with *Ioſephus Niger* King of Colchis, inforced with the violent incurſions of *Tamerlane* & his Tartars, for ſafegard of their liues were glad to flie into Syria: where they being diſcouered, were both caſt in priſon by the commandment of the Ægyptian Sultan, who then commanded ouer Syria: from whence they afterwards hardly eſcaping, fled to *Baiazets* court. Where after *Achmetes* had ſtayd two moneths, he by the aid of *Baiazet* recouered the poſſeſſion of Eitacum part of his own inheritance. *Ioſephus* the other Mahometane King hauing tarried in *Baiazets* court eight moneths, at length procured him to inuade the dominions of the Ægyptian Sultan: in which expedition he mightily preuailed, and hauing ſlaine the Ægyptian Sultans General, and diſcomfited his forces, tooke the citie of Malatie or Meletine in Armenia, with Diorige, Derende, and Bexene, taken from the Turcomans, and ſpoyled all the country thereabours. From thence marching with his armie towards Erznitzane, the Prince thereof called *Tachretin* met him vpon the way, yeelding his citie and country into his power; which *Baiazet* preſently gaue to *Ioſephus Niger*: who after he had ſix days enioyed this new gouernment, finding the people vnwilling to be gouerned by him a ſtranger, ſurrendered the ſame againe into the hands of him that gaue it. Whereupon the Citiſens of Erznitzane humbly requeſted of *Baiazet*, That they might be againe gouerned by their old Prince *Tachretin*, now his vaſſall.

vassall. Which thing he at their earnest request granted: but taking his wife and children as a C
pledge of his loyalty, sent them away to Prusa, where they were all not long after made away.

The Mahometan princes of Asia oppressed by Baiazet, disguised flie vnto Tamerlane for eyd.

When *Baiazet* had now many yeres thus mightily preuailed against the Christian Princes in Romania, Bulgaria, Bosna, Thessalia, Valachia, & other places of Europe, as is before declared, and inflamed with insatiable ambition, had in worse manner oppressed the Mahometane Kings and Princes of Asia (of whom some were by him slaine, some driuen into exile, some imprisoned, and othersome brought into such subiection, that they liued as it were but at his deuotion) and was now growne to that greatnesse, that in the pride of his heart he stood in feare of no man, but was (as he thought) a terror vnto the world, hauing vnder his obeysance great and large dominions in Europe, but farre greater in Asia: it fortuned that diuers of these miserable & discontented Mahometane Princes, by great fortune, as if it had bin by appoint- H
ment, to meet together at the Court of the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlane*, whether they were fled for reliefe and succor. The Prince *Germian Ogli*, after long imprisonment in the castle of Ipsala in Europe, brake prison, and with *Hissar-beg* his great councellour and prison fellow, consorted themselues with a companie of loytring companions, roaming from place to place, delighting the countrey people with their apish toyes: in which companie hee passed Hellespontus, as a Beareward, and at length with much ado came to *Tamerlane* his court: whether the Prince of Mentesia was come before in the habit of an hermit (as is afore said) with his head and beard shauen: *Aidin Ogli* passing thorow the countrey as a pedlar, with a packe at his backe, came thither also: the Prince *Tachretin* as a seruingman, came attending vpon the prince *Isfendiar*; who came also, but in some better fashion than the rest, as an Embassador from some I
other prince. All these poore princes, with diuers others in like miserie, in short time arriued at Samarcand (great *Tamerlane* his court;) euery one particularly complaining of his own priuat griefe, and all together earnestly requesting that mighty prince, to take vpon him their defence, and to reuenge the wrong done vnto them by the Turkish tyrant *Baiazet*. Whose pittifull complaints much mooued the noble Tartarian; but especially the long and wrongfull imprisonment of *Germian Ogli*; and the pittifull complaint and moane of *Tachretin*, who had of late lost his wife and children by the cruelty of *Baiazet*. Yet in this matter of so great and important consequence, *Tamerlane* made no great shew of his forwardnesse, (although he was by nature in nothing more delighted, than in the relieuing of the distressed, and chastising of the proud) but coldly answered these Princes, That hee could not tell whither all were so as K
they had reported of *Baiazet*, or not, but that hee well knew him to be a very zealous King in setting forth of the Mahometan religion; and that he had therefore made great warres vpon the Christians, in which godly cause (he said) perhaps they had refused to assist him, or else had giuen him some other greater occasion of offence, to him vnknown: For I can hardly beleeue (said he) that so great and religious a prince as he, would without iust and sufficient cause, offer such violence as you complaine of, especially vnto you his neighbour princes, and of the same religion with himselfe: neuertheless, whatsoeuer I intend concerning your request (said *Tamerlane*) I will send first an Embassadour vnto him, to vnderstand more of him and his proceedings, before I resolue vpon any thing: with which answer he willed them vntill then to L
hold themselues contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to haue dispatched his Embassador to *Baiazet*, he was aduertised, that *Achmetes* late King of new Babylon, and *Iosephus* King of Colchis, both by him driuen out of their Kingdomes, hauing broken out of prison from the Sultan of Ægypt, were now come to *Baiazet* his court, to craue his aid and assistance: wherefore he deferred to send his Embassadour, suspecting that *Baiazet* incited by these two exiled Kings, would first in their quarrell begin to make war vpon him. But not long after, vnderstanding that they were both again departed from his court, as is before declared; he then dispatched his embassador to *Baiazet*, with many rich gifts and Presents; curteously requesting him, the rather for his sake, to deale kindly with these poore Mahometan princes, his friends; as also with the Greeke Emperor *Emanuel* his allye, for whom he was now become an intercessour vnto him. Some report also, that he besides this, requested to haue the two aforesaid Maho- M
metan Kings of Bagdat and Colchis deliuered vnto him; and withal seemed not a little to dislike of *Baiazets* his proceedings against the Turcomans his friends. But *Baiazet* being a prince of a great and haughtie spirit, and vnaccustomed to heare of any thing which fitted not his humor, highly offended with this embassage, in great scorne reiected the Presents by *Tamerlane*

A *lane* sent to him, and specially certain garments which *Tamberlane* after the manner of those Easterne nations, had in kindnes amongst other things sent him: willing the embassador to bid his master meddle with his owne matters, and to prescribe lawes vnto his owne subiects, and not vnto him, with whom he had nought to do; & to send his raggs for presents vnto his inferiours, and not vnto Princes of greater power and state than himselfe. Adding thereunto many other words full of despight and disdain, affording him no better stile than the plain name of *Tamberlane*: calling him the husband of a whore, if he met him not in the field; and wishing vnto himselfe againe, to take vnto him his thrice diuorced wife, after she had bin polluted by another man (as the greatest dishonor that might be) if he failed to meet him wheresoeuer he durst to dare him battel. Which proud answere of the Turke, by the embassador reported
B vnto *Tamberlane*, and aggrauated by *Axalla* (a Christian of the race of the Genowaies, born at Capha, and then one of the greatest counsellors about him, and the Greeke Emperours great friend) was so euill taken by him, that all other things set apart, he resolued to go against the Turke, and to take in hand that war, as of all other the fittest for the increase of his honor and glorie. Besides that, he thought it not in reason fit for the greatnes of the Tartarian empire, to suffer such an vnquiet neighbor to grow great; as still enchroching vpon other the weak Princes confining to him, and adding conquests vnto conquests; and yet neuer the more contented, might in the end proue dangerous vnto his owne estate and soueraignitie: a common care to such as be themselues great, & mounted vp vnto the highest degrees of worldly honour, to haue in iealousie and distrust the sudden rising of others neer or farther off, as perillous or dis-
C gracefull to themselues, or their estate: whose growing greatnes they therefore seeke by all meanes to hinder; as did now the mightie *Tamberlane* the proceedings and increasing of the great *Othoman* king, *Baiazet*: and the rather being continually prickt forward so to do, by the solicitation of the Greek Emperor *Emanuel*, the other oppressed Mahometan Princes, and by the great captain *Axalla* (as is afore said) a Christian: of whom for all that *Tamberlane* himself, a Mahometan, for the great fidelitie, valor and vertue he found in him, made no smal reckoning, but was contented euen in his greatest and most waightie affaires to be by him aduised; disliking of no man for his religion whatsoeuer, so as he did worship but one only God, creator of heauen & earth, and of al that therin is: being himselfe of opinion, That God in essence one, & in himselfe imutable, without change or diuersity; yet for the manifesting of his omni- *Tamberlanes his opinion concerning the diuersity of religions*
D potencie & power, as he had created in the world sundry kinds of people, much differing both in nature, manners, & condition, and yet al framed to the image of himself: so was he also contented to be of them diuersly serued, according to the diuersity of their natures & manners: so that they worshipt none other strange gods, but him alone, the maker and creator of all things: which was the cause that he suffered the vse of al religions within the countries subiect to his obedience, were they not meere Atheists, Idolaters, or worshippers of strange and vain gods.

Neither was proud *Baiazet* as one ignorant of the power or purpose of *Tamberlane*, in the meane time idle, but stil prosecuted his good fortune for the inlarging of his empire, and increasing of his strength: wisely deeming (as the truth was) whatsoeuer messages were sent to him from *Tamberlane*, to be no other than meere threatnings & forewarnings of his more dan-
E gerous purposes and designes against him and his state: which he was so far from fearing, as that to prouoke him the more, hee spared no intemperate speech, which might moue him to wrath; wishing (as should seeme) for nothing more, than to meet him in the field, there to try the fortune of a battell with him. So weake is our foresight of our fortunes to come, and the reach of our vnderstanding for the apprehension or declining of the fatal doom euen presently hanging ouer our heads; as that we oftentimes through ignorance most desirously wish for those things which are vnto vs the chiefe occasions of our vtter ruine and ouerthrow.

But here before we enter into farther discourse of the mortal war betwixt these two so puissant Princes, it shall not be much from our purpose to step a little out of the way, to see what this mighty *Tamberlane* (of whom so many Princes craued aid) was, who liuing, held the East
F in such awe, as that he was commonly called, *The wrath of God*, and *Terror of the world*; which he then filled with the glorie of his name. Most Historiographers report him to haue bin poorly borne, of base and obscure parents: and so himselfe also in his youth to haue liued as a poore shepheard or heardsman in the mountains; where consorting himselfe with other sturdy companions of like qualitie and disposition, such as there liued by robbing of marchants & other passengers, *The base opinion some haue, concerning the birth & rising of Tamberlane*

passengers, he became a masterfull theefe amongst them: vnto whom other such leaud mates daily still more and more reforting, he in short time grew (as they say) to that greatnes, that he is reported to haue been of such power, as neuer man but he euer yet came vnto. A matter almost incredible: for albeit that the Roman empire, yea and this great empire of the Turks also, with some others, had their beginnings not much better or greater, the one vnder *Romulus*, and the other vnder *Othoman*; yet grew they not as on the sudden, in their times to any great lustre (neither was it possible for them of so small beginnings so to do) but by many degrees, and that in long time; euery of the succeeding Princes, according to their fortunes, adding something to their state, before it could be made great: whereas he (by their report, contrary to the course of things both naturall & ciuill (which from their small beginnings grow to no notable perfection or greatnes, but by degrees, and than in the long reuolution of time, taking his beginning of nothing, grew vpon the sudden to be a burthen & terror vnto the world. Wherin our late historiographers seem too much to haue followed the report of the Turks, who by him brought low, and their kingdom almost in one battel subuerted, report nothing of him; but in what they may, detracting from his worthy praises, wrongfully charge him with many vntruths, not concerning his parentage only, but euen in the course of his life: so making him (as they would haue the world to beleeue) first to haue been a [illegible] men; & then for his inhumane crueltie a very monster in nature, or as it were more truly said of another great one much like himself) a dumb of great intemperancie. Which incredible reports concerning so great a monarch, I am not to follow, as [illegible] honor; especially wheras others of no lesse credit than they, with [illegible] more probability report of him the great [illegible] for that [illegible] (as they say) borne at Samarcand, the [illegible] on [illegible] Zagatain Tartarie Parthia) third [illegible] the former part of [illegible]

Tamberlane his vnworthy descended

A pleased him to set downe, was by him granted, and for the peace concluded [illegible] the great Cham of Tartaria (his fathers brother) being growen old and [illegible] renowned with the fame of his neighbor [illegible] offering him his [illegible] to his empire [illegible] finished [illegible] vnto [illegible] vnto [illegible] B [illegible] vnto [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

from Cambalu towards Samarcand, the place of his birth and seat of his empire; leauing behind him the forces brought from the great Emperor his vncle, to come after him to Ozara, where he had appointed the general meeting of his army. At which time amongst other Princes that thither brought or sent their supplies, the great Muscouite being requested so to do, promised to send him fifteen thousand horse, with a certain sum of mony, and leaue for his armie to passe thorow so much of his territories as should be necessary: all which he afterwards performed vnto *Tamberlane*, being glad that he did set vpon others, rather than on himselfe; and that so great a preparation should fall vpon them, whose greatnes was as dreadfull & dangerous vnto him as to any other. All the earth almost at that time being astonished at the sudden greatnes of this *Othoman* king, and the happy successe he had in all his wars: not the least cause that moued *Tamberlane* to oppose himselfe against him, deeming it much better to goe and set vpon him in his new conquests, than to stay vntil he therin setled, were come neerer to him, and so should debate the quarrell within his owne empire, to his dammage. A good and sound resolution: first in that it tended to the destruction of the enemies country; & then, that if any thing should fal out otherwise with him than wel, his country should not therby receiue any such astonishment as if the danger were neerer or within the bowels of the same. Now in the mean time that *Tamberlane* lay at Samarchand, *Axalla* the great captaine & *Tamberlane* his lieutenant generall, had assembled all the army at Ozara. Whereof *Tamberlane* vnderstanding, sent for him to Samarcand, to confer with him about the setting forward of his army. For although he were still accompanied with great renowned Princes, yet were they no body in comparison of *Axalla*, whose sound counsel had won him such credit with his Lord & master, as by his aduice he did al things, and without him nothing: which his so great authority and fauor with his Prince, wanted not the enuie of the court, but that his great vertues, and rare found courtesie (in so great fortune) together with so many worthy seruices as he had done, supported him against the malice of the same. He by the commandement of *Tamberlane*, leauing the charge of the army at Ozara, with the prince of Thanais, another of *Tamberlains* great captains, came himselfe to Samarcand, & there at large discoursed with him, about the estate and order of his army. And shortly after, departing with *Axalla* and the rest from Samarcand, for to goe to Ozara the place where all his army met: being come thither, entred into a great consultation with his most expert captaines, about the taking of his iourney, & conducting of his army: as whether it were better to lead the same by the coasts of the Muscouit directly towards Capha, or else on the other side of the Caspian sea by the skirts of Persia: where after long discourse and sundry opinions with their reasons deliuered, it was at resolued (although the way were the longer) to passe by the Muscouit, so to come to the Georgians, & to Trebizonda, and from thence to enter into the *Othoman* King his country. And so setting forward from Ozara, he came at length to Maranis, where he staied three dayes looking for the forces which Prince *Odmar* should send him from China, not long before by him conquered: whereof he there receiued news, & there caused his army to be paid, and a general muster therof to be taken. He had also there newes of the aid the Muscouit did send him: and caused an infinite quantity of victuals, and most part of his furniture to be conueied by the Caspian sea, being a great commodity & ease to his army, which marching by land, was of necessity to passe some twenty leagues thorow places destitute both of victuals & water. *Tamberlane* al the way coasting along the sea shore, passed the time in hunting, his army not comming neere him by ten leagues; which was so great, that it extended it selfe ful twenty leagues. Comming to the riuer of Edel, he staid at Zarazich whilst his army passed the riuer at Mechet, and two other bridges which he had caused to be made for that purpose. Now the Circassians, & Georgians, hearing of the approch of *Tamberlane* with his huge army, by their embassadors offred him al the help and assistance they could in his iourney as he passed that way. These Georgians were and yet are Christians, a great and warlike people, of long time tributaries vnto the Greek Emperors: and afterwards somtimes tributaries, & sometimes confederats vnto the Persians: but alwaies enemies vnto the Turks, by whom of late (and in our remembrance) but especiall by *Amurath* the third, they together with some part of the Persian kingdome, haue bin grieuously oppressed, as in the processe of this historie may appeare. Of these warlike people, glad of *Tamberlane* his comming for the repressing of the Turk, *Axalla* drew great numbers vnto the seruice of his Prince: who not a little esteemed of them, being al tall men, very beautifull, of great strength and

Prince Axalla in great credit with Tamberlane.

A and courage, and withall most expert soldiers; as hauing oftentimes resisted the power of the *Othoman* Kings, by reason of the aduantage their countrey affordeth them, being very rough and hard to come into. By these kind people, *Tamberlane* was in euery place honorably entertained, and his great army with all necessaries plentifully relieued. In passing thorow which country and the rest as he marched, he took such order with his soldiers, that none of the people whereby he passed, were any thing by them iniuried; insomuch that if a soldier had taken but an apple, or other thing of like value from any man, hee died therefore, so seuere were his commands. It is reported that one of his soldiers, hauing taken a little milke from a countrey woman, and she thereof complaining, he caused the said soldier to be presently killed, and his stomacke to be ript; where the milke that he had of late drunk being found, he contented the
B woman, and so sent her away; who had otherwise vndoubtedly died for her false accusation, had it not so appeared. Which his so great seueritie, and in other like cases, was of many accounted for extream crueltie: yet was it indeed the wholsom preseruation of his army, being so great, as that it was thought almost impossible to haue found sufficient victuals for the reliefe thereof: whereof for all that, there was no want, either of any thing else necessarie for the vse of man, his camp being stil as a most populous and wel gouerned citie, stored with al manner of things: wherunto both artificers and marchants, from far countries resorted with their commodities & marchandise, as to some famous mart; and the country people, without feare from euery place brought in their country commodities, for which they receiued present mony, and so in safety again departed. So marching on, he at length came to Bachichich where he
C staid to refresh his army eight daies, and there againe took a generall muster thereof, wherein were found (as most write) foure hundred thousand horse, & six hundred thousand foot; or as some others that were there present affirme, three hundred thousand horsmen, and siue hundred thousand foot of al nations. Vnto whom he there gaue a generall pay, and as his manner was, made vnto them an oration, informing them of such orders as he would haue kept, to the end they might the better obserue the same: with much other militarie discipline, whereof he was very curious with his captains. At which time also, it was lawfull for euery common soldier to behold him with more boldnes than on other daies, forasmuch as he did for that time, and such like, lay aside his imperial maiestie, and shew himselfe more familiar vnto them.

The number of Tamberlanes great armie.

Now could he hardly be perswaded, that *Baiazet* hauing subdued the most part of Grecia,
D distressed the Greeke Emperour, and so great means to recouer whatsoeuer he should lose in Asia, would be so aduenturous as to come ouer the straits out of Europe, to trie the fortune of a battell with him; but rather warily protract the time, to wearie him at length with wants, that in a strange countrey drew such a world of people after him. Wherein hee found himselfe much deceiued: for hauing passed the Georgian country, and being come to Buysabuich *Axalla* (whom he had not seen in eight dais before, because he led the head of the armie) came vnto him with such newes as hee knew would be right welcome vnto him: which was, that *Baiazet* had raised his siege of Constantinople (as indeed he had) for to come and defend his new conquests in Asia: and that he was certainely resolued, to come to a day of battell, not so much trusting vnto the multitude of his army, as to the valour and experience of his soldiers,
E beeing all men of long well trained vp in the wars. At which vnexpected newes, *Tamberlane* greatly reioiced: yet without insolencie or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of such a one as iudged the euents of battels to be (as they are) alwaies doubtfull: saying sometimes, that a smal number wel conducted, did oftentimes carrie away the victorie from the confused multitude. Three dayes he staied at Buysabuich, and caused his souldiers continually to march forward, which at Garga and Chiuserig passed ouer the riuer Euphrates: which he did the rather to maintaine his armie vpon the spoile of the enemie, in attending his comming, than vpon himselfe, or his allies. All the cities that yeelded vnto him by the way as he marched, hee
F receiued fauorably; the other that refused to submit themselues vnto his obedience, hee vsed with all extremitie: specially the great and strong citie of Sebastia, where certaine of the forerunners of his army were by the Turks there in garrison cut off and slaine, & the gates of the citty as it were in contempt of him, set wide open: wherwith *Tamberlane* offended, sent out certain of his Tartarian horsmen, commanding them on pain of his displeasure, so to beare themselues against their enemies, as that he might at his comming either find the citie taken, or the gates thereof shut against him: for hee had his men at so great commaund, that no danger was vnto

vnto them more dreadfull than his displeasure, neither did he punish any thing so seuerely as cowardise: insomuch, that if in his disport of hunting the wild beast, any did for feare giue way to the Lyon or Beare, and slew him not, was sure to die therefore himselfe: and to turne his backe vpon the enemie, was no lesse danger than to run vpon his owne death. Now the Turks in garrison at Sebastia, seeing these Tartarian horsemen marching towards the citie, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, issued out for to meet them, where they were so furiously charged by these few horsemen, that they were glad to retire, and for haste to shut part of their owne men out of the citie, least the enemie following them at their heeles, should haue entred the gates together with them: Which Turkes so shut out, were by the Tartarians slaine at the gates of the citie. Shortly after came *Tamberlane* with all his armie, and sate downe before the citie, where he lay still seuen dayes, not making shew of any violence at all; the defendants becausse the citie was of great strength, all that while thinking that heo had intended by long siege to distresse the same, and the more, becausse of his long lying still. But about the eight day, the walls and towers of the citie in many places vndermined, were suddenly ouerthrowne, leauing large breaches for the enemie to enter. Wherewith the Turkes in the citie dismayed, foorthwith yeelded the citie to *Tamberlan*, in hope so to haue saued their liues: but hee (as the Turkes report) beeing entred the citie, commaunded a great number of deepe pits to be digged, and all the people of the citie, without respect of age, sex, or condition, to be throwne into the same, and there buried quicke. Which done, the citie was by his commandement vtterly rased also. After that, calling vnto him *Malcozzius*, the gouernour of the citie, whom he had for that purpose onely spared, he commanded him to goe and tell his Master what was happened to his strong Citie of Sebastia, and what hee had there himselfe seene. Of which tragicall action, *Malcozzius* hauing made true relation vnto *Baiazet*, was by him demanded, whether of the two armies he thought bigger or stronger: for now *Baiazet* had assembled a mightie armie of three hundred thousand men, as some report of three hundred thousand horsmen, and two hundred thousand foot. Whereunto *Malcozzius* hauing before craued pardon, answered, That it could not be, but that *Tamberlane* might in reason haue the greater number, for that he was a commander of farre greater countries. Wherewith proud *Baiazet* offended, in great choller replied, Out of doubt, the fight of the Tartarian hath made this coward so affraid, that he thinketh euery enemie to be two.

Sebastia beseiged by Tamberlane.

Sebastia yeelded to Tamberlane.

Most of the Latine histories report, that when *Tamberlane* had taken Sebastia, hee put all the men to the sword, & bringing the women and children into the fields without the city, there ouer-ran them with his horsemen, excepting some few which were reserued for prisoners. As also that *Baiazet* there lost his eldest son *Erthogrul* (of some called *Orthobules*) whose death with the losse of the citie, so much grieued him (as it is reported) that marching with his great army against *Tamberlane*, & by the way hearing a country sheepheard merily reposing himself with his homely pipe, as he sate vpon the side of a mountaine feeding his poore flocke; standing still a great while listening vnto him, to the great admiration of many, at last fetching a deep sigh, brake foorth into these wordes: O happie sheepheard, which haddest neither *Orthobules* nor Sebastia to loose: bewraying therein his owne discontentment; and yet withall shewing, That worldly blisse consisteth not so much in possessing of much, subiect vnto danger, as inioying in a little, contentment deuoide of feare. Howbeit the Turkes themselues reporting the taking of Sebastia, speake not of *Orthobules* at all, but giue him lost six yeares before, in the warres against *Casi Burchaniden*, and lyeth buried by his father at Prusa. In this citie of Sebastia was lost twelue thousand Turkes, men women, and children; as their Histories report. The rest of the cities all the way as *Tamberlane* marched, warned by the destruction of Sebastia, yeelded themselues for feare of like danger: the citizens whereof he courteously vsed, specially the Christians, whom he set at libertie, in respect of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperour, whome hee seemed wholly therein to gratifie. But hee had not gone farre into the Turkes dominion, but that hee was certainly aduertized, how that *Baiazet*, with a great armie was comming against him, and now within thirtie leagues of him: which caused him after that time, to march with his armie more closely. *Axalla* leading the Vantgard sent foorth *Chianson* Prince of Ciarchan, with foure thousand Parthian horsemen, to get knowledge of the Turkes armie, and where *Baiazet* lay, as also what countrey that

A sheepheard more happie than Baiazet.

was

A was beyond Sennas; and if he could learne any thing thereof, to make relation of it vnto him. This Prince of Ciarcan was *Tamerlanes* neere kinsman, a man of great reputation, & next vnto *Axalla*, in whose absence he had the commanding of the auantgard, his charge; who also sent before him another Parthian captaine with 500 horsemen. So he had not ridden ten leagues but that he heard news of *Baiazets* comming, & hauing surprised Sennas, vnderstood there the certain estate of the Turks army, which was then at Tataia, and so marching forward. Whereof *Tamerlane* certified, commanded him not to retire from that place, vntill he did see the arriual of the enemie, and thereof to giue him aduertisement euery houre; being himselfe reiolued to passe on no further, as come to a faire large plain, & a country of aduantage for the order of his battel: for he knew that his army was far greater than *Baiazets*, & therfore he made choice
B of those great plains. Yet for that his armie consisted of diuers nations, and withal considering that he was not to fight against the Chinois, a soft effeminat people, (as of late) but against the Turks a most warlike nation, & wel acquainted with all maner of fights & martial stratagems, he thought it good to be wel aduised how he proceeded against them. Wherefore he presently sent for *Axalla*, with him to view the said place, and to haue his opinion, Whether it would be for his aduantage or not, there to stay: who not misliking of the choice of the place, yet aduised him also to keepe Sennas so long as he possibly could: and so sent word vnto them that were therein, vpon the approch of the enemie to set fire vpon the same, and so to withdraw themselues from thence, to the end that the enemie should not haue any desire to incampe there, but come still forward neere to those plains where *Tamerlane* desired to fight, especially
C for that he was stronger in horse than *Baiazet*. Thus the Turks still marching on, thought to haue surprised some of their enemies in Sennas; who as soon as they drew neere, retired al excepting some hundred left of purpose to fire the town: who hauing performed the same, retired of purpose in great disorder. Now the Prince of Ciarcan had diuided his forces into two parts, & giuen commandment to the first, that as soon as they perceiued the enemies to pursue the hundred horse that so disorderly of purpose fled, they should receiue them, and so retyre all together. He in the mean time with the rest of his power stood close in a valley, neere to a wood side, vnseen at all. Where hauing suffred 2000 of the enemies horse (the vantcurriers of the Turks army) to passe by him, he following them in the taile, charg'd them home, the other which before retired, now turning vpon them also: so that the Turks seeing themselues thus
D beset, & hardly laid vnto both before & behind, as men discouraged fled: in which flight most of them were slain, and the rest taken prisoners. This was the first incounter betwixt the Turks and the Parthians: all the prisoners there taken, were by the prince as a present sent to *Tamerlane*, & among the rest the Bassa of Natolia who led these troups: of whom *Tamerlane* earnestly demanded, what caused *Baiazet* so little to esteeme of him, as to shew so great contempt of his armie, which he should find strong enough to abate his pride. Whereunto the Bassa answered, That his lord was the Sun vpon earth, which could not endure any equall; and that he rather was astonied to see, how he from so far had enterprised so dangerous a journy, to hinder the fortune of his lord, in whose fauor the heauens (as he said) did bend themselues to further his greatnes, and vnto whom all the world subiected it selfe; and that he committed great fol-
E lie in going about to resist the same. Vnto which so proud a speech *Tamerlane* replied, That he was sent from heauen to punish his rashnesse, & to teach him, that the proud are hated of God, whose promise is to plucke down the mightie, and raise vp the lowly. As for thy self (said he) thou hast alreadie felt (although I pitty thy mishap) what the valour of my Parthian horse is against thy Turkish: and thy master I haue already caused to raise his siege of Constantinople, and to looke to his own things here in Asia. Furthermore, *Tamerlane* changing his speech demanded, If his master did come resolued to bid him battell? Assure your self (said he) there is nothing he more desireth; and would to God I might acknowlege your greatnesse, in giuing me leaue to assist my Lord at that battell. Good leaue haue thou, (said *Tamerlane*) go thy ways and tell thy lord that thou hast seen me, and that he shall in the battell find me on horseback,
F where he shall see a greene ensigne displayd. The Bassa thanking him, swore, that next vnto his lord he vowed vnto him his seruice. And so returning, declared vnto *Baiazet*, how that he had seene *Tamerlane*, and truly reported vnto him all that he had willed him to say; not forgetting ouer all, to publish his courtesie and bountie: who besides that he had franckely set him at libertie, had also giuen him a verie faire horse well furnished, although hee well knew hee was

The Prince of Ciarcan dealeth politickely with the forerunners of the Turkes Armie.

to ſerue againſt himſelfe. Whereunto *Baiazet* anſwered no more, but that hee would ſhortly make triall of him, & that he well hoped before the march were ended, to make him acknowledge his own folly. The next day the two armies drew neere together, and incamped within a league the one of the other: where all the night long you might haue heard ſuch noyſe of horſes, as that it ſeemed the heauens were full of voyces, the aire did ſo reſound, & euery man thought the night long, to come to the triall of his valour, and the gaining of his deſires. The Scythians (a people no leſſe greedie than needie) talked of nothing but the ſpoyle; the proud Parthians, of their honor; & the poore Chriſtians, of their deliuerance, all to be gained by the next days victorie: euery man during the night time ſpeaking according to his owne humour. All which *Tamerlane* walking this night vp & down in his campe heard, and much reioiced to ſee the hope that his ſoldiers had alreadie in general conceiued of the victorie. Who after the ſecond watch returning vnto his pauilion, & there caſting himſelf vpon a carpet, had thought to haue ſlept a while: but his cares not ſuffring him ſo to do, he then, as his manner was, called for a booke, wherein was contained the liues of his fathers and anceſtors, and of other valiant worthies, the which he vſed ordinarily to read, as he then did: not as therwith vainly to deceiue the time, but to make vſe thereof, by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, & declining of ſuch dangers as they by their raſhnes or ouerſight fel into. And afterwards hauing a little ſlumbred, he commanded *Axalla* to be ſent for, who forthwith came to him, with diuers other great lords & captaines the chiefe commanders of his army: with whom after he had a while conſulted of the order of the battell, he mounted on horſebacke himſelfe, & ſent euery one of them to their own charges, to put the ſame in readines. At which very inſtant he receiued news, that the enemy marched forward, and came to take his ground for the battell: whoſe order of march *Tamerlane* was deſirous to ſee, that ſo accordingly he might marſhal his own. And hauing cauſed 3000 horſemen to aduance forward, with charge to begin the skirmiſh, himſelfe followed after to lodge euery part of his forces in ſuch places as hee had foreſeen to be fitteſt for his aduantage. Now ſeeing the Ianizaries march in a ſquare battell in the midſt, and vpon the two fronts two great ſquadrons of horſemen, which ſeemed to be thirtie thouſand horſe; and another which aduanced and couered the battalion of the Ianizaries: he thought this their order to be very good, and hard to be broken; and thereupon turning himſelfe to *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, ſaid, I had thought this day to haue fought on foot, but I ſee that it behoooueth me now to fight on horſebacke, to giue courage vnto my ſoldiers, to open the great battalion of our enemies. And my will is, that my men come forward vnto me as ſoone as they may, for I will aduance forward with an hundred thouſand footmen, fiftie thouſand vpon each of my two wings, and in the middeſt of them fortie thouſand of my beſt horſeman. My pleaſure is, that after they haue tried the force of theſe men, that they come vnto my auauntgard, of whom I wil diſpoſe, & fifty thouſand horſe more in three bodies, whom thou ſhalt command: which I will aſſiſt with 80000 horſe, wherein ſhal be mine own perſon; hauing 100000 footmen behind me, who ſhal march in two ſquadrons: and for my arereward I appoint 40000 horſe, and fiftie thouſand footmen, who ſhall not march but to my aid. And I wil make choice of 10000 of my beſt horſe, whom I wil ſend into euery place where I ſhal thinke needfull within my Armie, for to impart my commands. Ouer the firſt fortie thouſand horſe the Prince *Ciarcan* commanded: ouer the formoſt footmen was the lord *Synopes* a Genouois, kinſman to *Axalla*, and his lieutenant ouer the footmen, a captaine of great eſtimation: the Prince *Axalla* his owne charge conſiſted of fiue ſquadrons of horſemen. *Baiazet* his armie being alſo both faire and great, came brauely ſtill on forwards towards their enemies, who ſtirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the battell: except certaine light horſemen, Scythians, Parthians, and Muſcouits, who ſent out as looſe men, hotly skirmiſhed betwixt the two armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an eſpie aduertiſed, that *Baiazet* hauing before giuen order for the diſpoſing of his armie, was on foot in the midſt of thirtie thouſand Ianizaries, his principall men of war, and greateſt ſtrength, wherein he meant that day to fight, and in whom he had repoſed his greateſt hope. His battell of horſe was very faire, amounting to the number of a hundred and fortie thouſand horſe, all old ſoldiers. The Sultan of Ægipt hauing alſo ſent vnto his aid thirtie thouſand Mamalukes, all very good horſemen, with thirtie thouſand foot. So that his armie marching all in one front, in forme of an halfe-Moone (but not ſo well knit together as was *Tamerlanes*, whoſe ſquadrons directly followed one another)

The great and mortall battell betwixt Baiazet and Tamerlane.

ſeemed almoſt as great as his: and ſo with infinite numbers of moſt horrible outeries ſtill aduanced forward; *Tamerlane* his ſouldiers all the while ſtanding faſt, with great ſilence.

There was not poſſible to be ſeen a more furious charge, than was by the Turks giuen vpon the prince of Ciarcan, who had commandment not to fight before the enemy came vnto him: neither could haue bin choſen a fairer plaine, and where the skilfull choice of the place was of leſſe aduantage for the one or the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the riuer on the left hand of his armie, ſeruing him to ſome ſmall aduantage. Now this young prince of Ciarcan with his 40000 horſe, was in this firſt encounter almoſt wholly ouerthrowne: yet hauing fought right valiantly, and entred euen into the midſt of the Ianizaries, (where the perſon of *Baiazet* was) putting them in diſorder, was himſelfe there ſlaine. About which time *Axalla* ſet vpon them with the auauntgard, but not with like danger: for hauing ouerthrowne one of the enemies wings, & cut it al to pieces, and his footmen comming to ioine with him, as they had bin commanded, he faced the battalion of the Ianizaries, who right valiantly behaued themſelues for the ſafetie of their Prince. This hard fight continued one hower, and yet you could not haue ſeene any ſcattered, but the one ſtill reſolutely fighting againſt the other. You might there haue ſeene the horſemen like mountaines ruſh together, and infinit numbers of men die, cry, lament, & threaten all at one inſtant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to ſee the euent of this ſo mortall a fight: but perceiuing his men at length to giue ground, he ſent ten thouſand of his horſe to ioyne again with the ten thouſand appointed for the arereward, and commanded them to aſſiſt him at ſuch time as he ſhould haue need of them; and at the very ſame time charged himſelfe, and made them to giue him roome; cauſing the footmen to charge alſo, ouer whome the prince of Thanais commanded, who gaue a furious onſet vpon the battalion of the Ianizaries, wherein was yet the perſon of *Baiazet*, who had ſuſtained a great burden. Now *Baiazet* had in his armie a great number of mercenary Tartars, called *Deſtenſes*, with manie thouſands of other ſouldiers taken vp in the countries of the poore exiled Mahometane princes; in whoſe iuſt quarrel, & the Greeke emperors, *Tamerlane* had chiefly vndertaken that war: theſe Tartarians and other ſouldiers, ſeeing ſome their friends, and otherſome their naturall and louing princes in the armie of *Tamerlane*; ſtricken with the terror of diſloialtie, and abhorring the crueltie of the proud tyrant, in the heat of the battell reuolted from *Baiazet* to their owne princes; which their reuolt much weakened *Baiazets* forces. Who neuertheleſſe with his owne men of warre, eſpecially the Ianizaries, and the helpe of the Chriſtian ſoldiers brought to his aid from Seruia and other places of Europe, with great courage maintained the fight: but the multitude, & not true valor, preuailed; for, as much as might be done by valiant and couragious men, was by the Ianizaries & the reſt performed, both for the preſeruation of the perſon of their prince, and the gaining of the victorie. But in the end, the horſemen with whom *Tamerlane* himſelfe was, giuing a freſh charge, and his auantgard wholly knit again vnto him, re-inforcing the charge, he with much adoo obtained the victorie. *Baiazet* himſelfe wounded, and now mounted on horſebacke, thinking to haue eſcaped by flight, fell into the hands of *Axalla*: vnto whom he yeelded himſelfe, thinking it had bin *Tamerlane*: who for a ſpace knew him not, but took him for ſome other great commander of the Turks. *Muſa* (firnamed *Zelebi*, or, the Noble) one of *Baiazet* his ſons, with diuers others of *Baiazet* his great captaines, were there taken alſo: and amongſt the reſt, *George* the Deſpot of Seruia, who notwithſtanding this misfortune, had that day gained vnto himſelfe the reputation of a great and worthie captain; inſomuch that *Tamerlane* euen in the very heat of the battel maruelling to ſee him and the Seruians, with the other Chriſtians which he had brought to the aid of *Baiazet*, ſo valiantly to fight, ſaid vnto ſome of the captaines that were neere vnto him, See how couragiſly yonder Religious fight: ſuppoſing them by their ſtrange attire to haue beene ſome of the Turkes ſuperſtitious votaries. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, he was by him courteouſly welcomed; but yet withall reproued, for that he had fought for *Baiazet* againſt him, who was come in fauor of the Chriſtian emperor, & the other poore oppreſſed Princes, ſuch as the Deſpot himſelfe was. Who thereunto boldly anſwered, That indeed it was not according to his dutie, but according to the proſperitie of *Baiazet*, vnto whome it ſeemed that all the world did bend: and that his own ſafetie had cauſed him, though againſt his wil, to take part with him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* held him excuſed; and ſo without more ado gaue him leaue at his owne pleaſure to depart.

The Prince of Ciarcan ſlaine.

The Turkes ouerthrowne.

Baiazet and his ſon Muſa taken priſoners.

Baiazet brought before Tamerlane, with his pride.

Baiazet also himselfe being afterwards brought vnto *Tamerlane* as a prisoner, and by him curteously entertained, neuer shewed any token of submission at all; but according to his proud nature, without respect of his present state, presumptuously answered him vnto whatsoeuer he demanded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* moued, told him, That it was now in his power to make him to lose his life. Whereunto he answered no more, but, Doe it for that, that losse should be his greatest happines. *Tamerlane* afterwards demanding of him, What made him so proud, as to enterprise to bring into his subiection so noble a Prince as was the Greeke Emperour? he answered, Euen the same thing that hath mooued thee to inuade me, namely the desire of glorie and sourraigntie. But wherefore then (said *Tamerlane*) do'st thou vse so great crueltie towards them thou hast ouercome, without respect of age or sex? That did I (said he) to giue the greater terror vnto my enemies. And what would'st thou haue done with me (said *Tamerlane*) had it bin my fortune to haue fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (said *Baiazet*) haue inclosed thee in a cage of yron, and so in triumph haue carried thee vp & down my kingdome. Euen so (said *Tamerlane*) shalt thou be serued. And so causing him to be taken out of his presence, turning vnto his followers, said, Behold a proud and cruell man, he deserueth to be chastised accordingly, and to be made an example vnto all the proud and cruell of the world, of the iust wrath of God against them. I acknowledge, that God hath this day deliuered into my hands a great enemie, to whom we must therefore giue thanks. Which he performed the same day: for the battell was woon at foure of the clocke, and there was yet fiue houres of day light. The next day *Tamerlane* commanded the dead to be buried, where among the rest they found the bodie of the Prince of Ciarcan, dead in the middest of the Ianizaries, where he lay inclosed with their dead bodies, in token he died not vnreuenged: whose vntimely death *Tamerlane* for all that greatly lamented, for he was his kinsman, and like enough one day to haue done great seruice. Whose dead bodie *Tamerlane* caused to be imbalmed, and with two thousand horse (and diuers of the Turks prisoners chained and tied together) to be conueyed to Samercand, vntill his comming thither. All the other dead bodies were with all honour that might be, buried at Sennas.

This great bloudie battell fought in the yere of our Lord 1397, not farre from the Mount Stella, (where somtime the great King *Mithrydates* was by *Pompey* the Great in a great battell ouerthrown) was fought from seuen a clocke in the morning, vntill foure in the afternoon: victorie all that while, as it were with doubtfull wings, houering ouer both armies, as vncertain where to light; vntill at length the fortune of *Tamerlane* preuailed. Whose wisedome, next vnto God, gaue that dayes victorie vnto his soldiers: for that the politicke tyring of the strong forces of *Baiazet*, was the safegard of his own; whereas if he had gone vnto the battell in one front, assuredly the multitude finding such strong resistance, had put it selfe into confusion: whereas this successiue manner of aiding of his men, made them all vnto him profitable. The number of them that were in this battel slaine, is of diuers diuersly reported: the Turks themselues reporting, That *Baiazet* there lost the noble *Mustapha* his son, with two hundred thousand of his men, and *Tamerlane* not many fewer: and some other speaking of a farre lesse number, as that there should be slaine of the Turks about threescore thousand, and of *Tamerlane* his armie not past twentie thousand. But leauing the certaintie of the number vnto the credit of the reporters, like enough it is, that the slaughter was exceeding great in so long a fight, betwixt two such armies as neuer before (as I suppose) met in field together.

By this one days euent is plainly to be seen the vncertaintie of worldly things, & what small assurance euen the greatest haue in them. Behold, *Baiazet* the terrour of the world, and as hee thought, superior to fortune, in an instant with his state in one battel ouerthrown into the bottom of miserie & despaire; and that at such time as he thought least, euen in the middest of his greatest strength. It was three days (as they report) before he could be pacified, but as a desperat man still seeking after death, & calling for it: neither did *Tamerlane* after he had once spoken with him, at all afterwards curteously vse him, but as of a proud man caused small account to be made of him: And to manifest that hee knew how to punish the haughtie, made him to be shackled in fetters and chaines of gold, and so to be shut vp in an iron cage made like a grate, in such sort as that he might on euery side be seen; and so carried him vp and down as he passed thorow Asia, to be of his own people scorned & derided. And to his further disgrace, vpon festiual dayes vsed him for a footstoole to tread vpon, when he mounted to horse: and at other times

Baiazet like a beast shut vp in an yron cage.

A times scornfully fed him like a dog, with crums fallen from his table. A rare example of the vncertaintie of wordly honour, that he vnto whose ambitious mind Asia and Europe, two great parts of the world, were too little, should be now carried vp and downe cooped vp in a little yron cage, like some perillous wild beast. All which *Tamerlane* did not so much for the hatred to the man, as to manifest the iust iudgement of God against the arrogant follie of the Proud. It is reported, That *Tamerlane* being requested by one of his Noblemen that might be bold to speake vnto him, to remit some part of his seueritie against the person of so great a Prince; answered, That hee did not vse that rigor against him as a King, but rather did punish him as a proud ambitious tyrant, polluted with the bloud of his owne brother.

Now this so great an ouerthrow brought such a feare vpon all the Countries possessed by B *Baiazet* in Asia, that *Axalla* sent before by *Tamerlane* with 40000 horse, and 100000 foot, without carriages, to prosecute the victorie, came without resistance to Prusa, whither all the remainder of *Baiazet* his armie was retyred, with the Bassa *Mustapha*: the countrey as he went still yeelding vnto him. Yea, the great Bassa with the rest hearing of his comming, and thinking themselues not now in any safetie in Asia, fled ouer the strait of Hellespontus to Callipolis, and so to Hadrianople; carrying with them out of the battell, *Solyman*, *Baiazet* his eldest sonne, whom they set vp in his fathers place: *Mahomet* his yonger brother presently vpon the ouerthrow being fled to Amasia; of whom, and the rest of *Baiazet* his children, more shall be said hereafter. *Axalla* comming to Prusa, had the citie without resistance yeelded vnto him, which he rifled; and there with other of *Baiazet* his wiues and concubines, tooke prisoner C the faire *Despina*, *Baiazet* his best beloued wife, to the doubling of his griefe.

Solyman set vp in his fathers stead.

Prusa taken by Axalla.

Emanuel the Greeke Emperor now hearing of *Tamerlane* his comming to Prusa, sent his embassadors (the most honorable of his court) thither before to *Axalla*: by whom they were there stayd vntil the comming of *Tamerlane*; who receiued them with all the honor that might be, shewing vnto them all his magnificence, and the order of his campe, to their great admiration: For it resembled a most populous and well gouerned citie, for the order that was therein, which brought vnto it plentie of all kind of victuals & other merchandise, as wel for pleasure as for vse. By these Embassadors the Greeke Emperor submitted all his empire, together with his person, vnto *Tamerlane* the great conqueror, as his most faithfull subiect and vassall: which he was bound (as he said) to do, for that he was by him deliuered from the most cruel tyrant of D the world: as also for that the long journy he had passed, and the discommodities he had indured, with the losse of his people, and the danger of his person, could not be recompenced but by the offer of his own life and his subiects; which he did for euer dedicate vnto his seruice, with all the fidelitie and loyaltie that so great a benefit might deserue: besides that, his so manie vertues & rare accomplishments, which made him famous thorow the world, did bind him so to do. And that therfore he would attend him in his chiefe citie, to deliuer it into his hands as his own, with all the empire of Greece. Now the Greeke Embassadors looked for no lesse than to fall into bondage to *Tamerlane*; thinking that which they offered to be so great and delicate a morsell, as that it would not be refused, especially of such a conquering prince as was *Tamerlane*; and that the acceptance thereof in kindnesse and friendship, was the best bargaine E they could make therein. But they receiued answer from this worthie Prince, farre beyond their expectation: for he with a mild countenance beholding them, answered them, That he was not come from so far a country, or vndertaken so much paines, for the inlargement of his dominions, alreadie large enough, (too base a thing for him to put himselfe into so great danger and trauell for) but rather to winne honour, and thereby to make his name famous vnto all posteritie for euer: And that therefore it should well appeare vnto the world, that he was come to aid him, being requested as his friend & allie: & that his vpright meaning therin was the greatest cause, that God from aboue had beheld his power, and thereby bruised the head of the greatest and fiercest enemie of mankind that was vnder heauen: and now to get him an immortall name, would make free so great and flourishing a Citie as was Constantinople, go-
F uerned by so noble and antient an House as the Emperors: That vnto his courage he had always faith ioyned, such as should neuer suffer him to make so great a breach in his reputation, as that it should be reported of him, That in the colour of a friend he came to inuade the Dominions of his allies: That he desired no more, but that the seruice he had done for the Greek Emperor, might for euer be ingrauen in the memorie of his posteritie, to the end they might for

for euer wish well vnto him and his succeſſours, by remembring the good he had done them; That long might the noble Emperour liue, happily to gouerne his eſtate: and that before his returne he would ſo well conſider for the eſtabliſhing of the ſame, as that he ſhould not lightly fall againe into the like jeopardie, alwayes aſſuring himſelfe of his good will and fauour towards him. Eaſie it is to iudge what ioy theſe Greeke Embaſſadors receiued, to heare this ſo kind an anſwer from the mouth of *Tamerlane* himſelfe: who rather than hee would ſeeme to breake his faith, refuſed an empire offered vnto him, with one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent cities of the world. Few princes, I ſuppoſe, would performe ſuch a part: but ſo there be likewiſe but few *Tamerlanes* in the world. Theſe Embaſſadors by the commandement of *Tamerlane*, were by *Axalla* royally feaſted, and all the honour done them that might be. One of them being ſent backe to carrie theſe vnexpected news vnto the Greeke Emperor, filled both him and all the citie of Conſtantinople with exceeding ioy and gladneſſe, which both he and his ſubiects in generall ſpared not with bonfires and all other ſignes of ioy and pleaſure to manifeſt. And the more to ſhew his thankfulneſſe, ſhortly after by the aduice of his graue Councellors, paſſed ouer the ſtrait into Aſia, to ſee *Tamerlane* at Pruſa, and in perſon himſelfe to giue him thanks: who hearing of his comming, and very glad thereof, preſently vpon the firſt days journy ſent the prince *Axalla* to meet him, and to certifie him of the ioy that he conceiued, to haue the good hap for to ſee him, as alſo to conduct him to Pruſa: where thoſe two great princes, with the greateſt magnificence that might be, met, and ſo ſpent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperor the next day taking his leaue, was by *Tamerlane* with much honor conducted out of the citie. Now had *Tamerlane* himſelfe conceiued a ſecret deſire to ſee this ſo famous a city as was Conſtantinople, from which he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conqueror, but as a priuat perſon: which by the meanes of *Axalla* was accompliſhed, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperor priuatly receiued, and with all familiarity poſſible, entertained; the Emperor ſhewing vnto him all the rare and excellent things that were therein to be ſeen: and the other Greeke Princes deuiſing all the means they could to do him pleaſure, and them which did accompanie him; who were in a manner all apparelled after the Greeke faſhion. At which time the Greeke Emperour himſelfe was curious to ſhew vnto him all the faire gardens alongſt the ſea coaſt, a league or two from Conſtantinople, and ſo priuatly conducting him, ſpent fiue or ſix days with all the mirth that might be poſſible; *Tamerlane* by the way oftentimes ſaying, That he had neuer ſeen a fairer citie: and that it was indeed the city (conſidering the faire and rich ſcituation thereof) of right, worthie to command al the world. He wondred at the coſtly buildings of the temples, the faire ingrauen pillars, the high piramides, & the making of the faire gardens; and oftentimes afterwards ſaid, That he nothing repented him of his ſo long and dangerous a voyage, if it had bin onely but to haue preſerued from fire & ſword ſo noble a citie as that was. In the Greeke Emperor he commended greatly his mild nature and curteſie; who knowing him aboue al things to take pleaſure in faire ſeruiceable horſes, gaue vnto him thirtie of the faireſt, ſtrongeſt, and readieſt, that were poſſible to be gotten, all moſt richly furniſhed; and ſent likewiſe faire Preſents vnto all the Princes and great Commanders of the armie, and bountifully cauſed to be deliuered vnto them all things which he thought to be neceſſarie for the armie. So after many great kindneſſes in ſhort time paſſed, and a ſtrait bond of friendſhip made, and by ſolemne oath confirmed betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment tooke his leaue of the Emperor, and returned againe to his armie at Pruſa. Wherewith he now at his pleaſure without reſiſtance waſted and ſpoyled al *Baiazet* his dominion in Aſia, no man daring to make head againſt him.

Tamerlane goeth to Conſtantinople.

Tamerlan much delighted with the pleaſures of conſtantinople.

The yere being now wel ſpent, and Winter drawing on, *Tamerlane* diſperſed his armie into diuers of the prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, expecting ſtill when ſome of *Baiazet* his ſonnes or other friends ſhould make ſuit or meanes vnto him for his deliuerance, but none came: ſome fearing *Tamerlane* his heauie indignation, and others no leſſe dreading the fierce nature of *Baiazet* himſelfe, who if he had beene deliuered, was like enough (as was thought) to haue taken ſharp reuenge vpon all them which forſooke him in the late battel; and therefore neuer made interceſſion for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane*, one day paſſing by him, ſaid vnto him, I maruell that none of thy ſons or friends either come to ſee thee, or to intreat for thee, it muſt needs be that thou haſt euill deſerued of them, as thou haſt of others: yet how thinkeſt thou, if I ſhould ſet thee at libertie, would they againe receiue thee as their Lord and Soueraigne, or not? To whom

whom *Baiazet* boldly anſwered; Were I at libertie, thou ſhouldeſt well ſee, how that I want neither courage nor means to reuenge all my wrongs and to make thoſe diſobedient and forgetfull, to know their duties better. Which his proud anſwere, made *Tamerlane* to keepe a ſtraighter hand ouer him.

In this great and bloudie war, wherein the *Othoman* empire had almoſt taken end, the Sultan of Ægypt had (as is aforeſaid) giuen aid vnto *Baiazet*: which *Tamerlane* tooke in ſo euill part, as that he reſolued to be therof reuenged: for as he was vnto his friends of al others moſt kind & courteous, ſo was he to his enemies no leſſe terrible and dreadful. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the leſſer Aſia, to take ſome good order with theſe his new conqueſts: and finding nothing more honorable to reſolue vpon, he reſtored vnto the poore Mahometan Princes (*Tachretin*, *Iſfendiar*, *Germian*, and the reſt before fled vnto him for refuge) al their antient inheritance, with ſomething more; as hee did alſo diuers cities and countries of Natolia vnto the Greeke Emperour, for the yearely tribute of foure hundred thouſand duckats of gold, and eight hundred thouſand franks of ſiluer, which the Emperour promiſed to pay vnto him yerely. And ſo hauing enriched his armie with the ſpoiles of the *Othoman* empire in Aſia, he turned his forces againſt the Ægyptian Sultan, and ſo paſſing thorow Caramania, entered into Syria, then part of the Sultans kingdome: where neere vnto Aleppo (beeing before yeelded vnto him) was fought betwixt them a great & mortal batel, the Sultan hauing in his army an hundred thouſand foot, and ſeuenty foure thouſand horſe: whereof there were thirty thouſand Mamelukes, accounted the beſt horſmen of the world. In which battel, *Axalla* the great captaine, with the auauntgard of *Tamerlane* his armie, was hardly diſtreſſed, and *Axalla* himſelfe taken: but forthwith againe reſcued by *Tamerlane*: who had he not by his comming on with new forces, ſpeedily reſtored the battell, cunningly protracted by *Axalla*, that day was like enough to haue made an end of his good fortune. But the victory after a long and cruell fight (wherein were foureſcore thouſand men on both ſides ſlaine) inclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* purſuing him by the ſpace of three leagues. After which victorie, *Tamerlane* diuiding his armie, ſent *Axalla* with fortie thouſand horſe and fiftie thouſand foot to purſue the Sultan alongſt the coaſt of Arabia: who oftentimes ſhewed himſelfe with ſome foure thouſand horſe to haue hindred *Axalla*, who hauing the ſmalleſt forces, followed him the neareſt. *Tamerlane* himſelfe in the mean time, with threeſcore thouſand horſe, and an hundred thouſand foot, marching alongſt the ſea coaſt, had all the cities as he went yeelded vnto him; as Magata, Aman, otherwiſe called Apamea, Tortoſa, Barruto, and Nephthalin: onely the ſtrong citie of Damaſco refuſed to receiue him, whereinto the Sultan had put the Prince *Zamadzen*, with a ſtrong garriſon, who did what he might to haue defended the ſame: But all in vaine, for *Tamerlane* hauing by batterie ouerthrowne a great part of the wall, by aſſault won the citie, only the caſtle yet remaining, as being of a wonderfull ſtrength, and almoſt impregnable; whereinto ſuch a multitude had at the taking of the citie retired themſelues, as was not poſſible therein long to liue: who in ſhort time pinched with hunger, and many of them dead, the reſt vpon ſafegard of their liues offered to yeeld: whom for all that *Tamerlane* would not receiue to mercie, to make them feele what it was to hold out againſt him: ſo that moſt of them dying of famine, the reſt yeelded without condition, and were for their obſtinacie almoſt al ſlaine. Which his ſeuerity towards them of Damaſco, cauſed, that thirty leagues off they brought the keyes of their cities vnto him, in token of their ſubmiſſion: whom he no way moleſted, more than in contributing vnto the charge of his army. From Damaſco, hee turned directly towards Ieruſalem, at which time they of the citie had driuen out the Sultans garriſon, as had almoſt all they of Iudea, ſubmitting themſelues vnto *Tamerlane*. At Chorazin the Sultan had left ſix thouſand men in garriſon for the defence of the place, who at the firſt ſeemed to ſtand vpon their guard; but afterwards diſmaied to ſee ſo great an army before it, and that *Tamerlane* hauing approched the wals, was ſet down to haue it, they ſubmitted themſelues and found mercie. In which citie *Tamerlane* left certaine of his men in garriſon, for the better repreſſing of the Mamelukes, who with often incurſions troubled his armie. So marching on, he himſelfe with certain horſemen for his guard, rode to Ieruſalem to viſit the ſepulchre ſo much reuerenced of all nations, and there to make his oblations: where hee was of the inhabitants ioyfully receiued, and hauing ſought out all the antiquities of that ancient citie, would be conducted vnto all the places thereabouts, where Ieſus Chriſt had preached, euen

A great battell fought betwixt the Sultan of Aegypt and Tamerlane.

Damaſco won by Tamerlane.

Tamerlane commeth to Ieruſalem.

euen as the pilgrimes doe : and comming to the ſepulchre, gaue thereunto, and the deuout there, many rich and precious gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to ſee him honour thoſe holy places) but of the Iewes only, who greatly blamed him for ſo doing: of whom of al others, *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accurſed of God. There had he newes that the Sultan had gathered al his forces, and being come into Ægipt, was there fortifi. ing of his cities, eſpecially the great cities of Alexandria and Caier. *Tamerlane* his armie in the mean time by his commandment came towards Ægipt to Damiata: which ſtrong city he thought not good to leaue behind him, although he was by ſome perſuaded ſo to do, for that it was thought impregnable, as well in reſpect of the caſtle, as of the ſtrong garriſon that the Sultan had put thereinto: but hee, whoſe fortune nothing could hinder, would needs goe thither: and ſo hauing commanded *Axalla* to ſet vpon it, followed himſelfe after with the reſt of his armie. Now *Axalla* hauing ſummoned the citie, and declared vnto the inhabitants (who were moſt of them Chriſtians) the mildneſſe and courteſie of *Tamerlane*, as alſo who himſelfe was, and what religion he held; cauſing many of the Greeke captains to ſpeake vnto them, and to tell them of the miſerie they indured vnder the Moores and Mamalukes: ſo farre preuailed with them, that they all determined to aduenture their liues, to put the Mamalukes out of the citie, with all them that fauoured the Sultan. And ſo in the night taking vp armes, made themſelues maſters of one quarter of the citie, and deliuered one of the gates to *Axalla*: wherby he entering, put al the Mamalukes to the ſword, or took them priſoners, and ſo gained the citie. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, beeing as yet vpon his march, was in good hope of ſo proſperous a beginning, to find an happie end alſo of his deſignes in Ægypt. For beſides the good fortune thereof, he knew that this hauen of Damiata might ſerue him with victuals out of all the parts of Greece, as the Emperor *Emanuel* had promiſed him, & wherein he nothing failed him. Into which port *Tamerlane* hauing made his entrie, left there in garriſon two thouſand of the Emperour *Emanuel* his ſouldiers, with a gouernour, of whom hee tooke an oath for their obedience. So hauing ſtayed a ſpace at Damiata, hee cauſed his vauntgard to march towards Alexandria: and, hauing paſſed ouer the riuer, euen in an inſtant turned directly vnto Caier, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Sultan, who made prouiſion for the defence of Alexandria, as the neereſt vnto danger. But vnderſtanding of theſe newes, vſed ſuch diligence, that he entered into the citie with fortie thouſand horſe, and threeſcore thouſand foot, euen as *Tamerlane* his armie approached, purpoſing in perſon himſelfe to defend it. By whoſe comming the great citie readie before to haue reuolted, was againe in his obedience confirmed, to the great hinderance of *Tamerlane* his affaires: for to remain long before it, was impoſſible, for want of victuals for ſo great an army in the enemies country. Yet notwithſtanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbeare to draw neere vnto it, and with all his army to encamp neere vnto the ſame, hauing cauſed a great trench to be made for to couer his horſemen, and thereby to lodge his armie more ſafely: during which time hee cauſed diuers onſets to be giuen, as well to trie what confidence the enemie had in himſelfe, as to ſee how the people of the citie, eſpecially the ſlaues (which in that populous citie are infinite) were affected towards him: who certainely informed him of the ſtate of the citie, and the armie; as glad to ſee the ſame by him ſhut vp, and the proud Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſt. But thus lying ſtill at the ſiege, one day hee thought it good to ſhew his armie before the citie, to trie whether the enemie had a deſire to come to a day of battell or not: as alſo to view what forces he had, and ſo indeed to ſeek occaſion to fight: in hope alſo, that if the Sultan did come forth with al his armie into the field, ſome reuolt might happen within the citie, as well by the ſlaues (vnto whom liberty was by him promiſed) as by the citizens themſelues (diſcontented with the inſolencie of the Mamalukes entered of late into the citie with the Sultan) vnto whom he had made it knowne by certaine ſlaues (for that purpoſe fled as fugitiues out of his army into the citie) how that he was not come to hurt them, but only for the deſtruction of the Mamalukes, both his and their enemies. But betimes ſtanding ſo in battell array, no man came foorth, neither was there any tumult or ſtirre raiſed in the citie, as he had expected. For the Sultan in ſo great a citie well prouided of all things, was reſolued to wearie him out with lying ſtill, and not to put all to the hazard of a battell. Which *Tamerlane* perceiuing, and ſet downe not to depart from thence, but victorious, reſolued likewiſe to force him euen in his greateſt ſtrength, in the heart of his greateſt citie; although it were not to be done, but with great aduen-

Damiata taken by Axalla.

Tamerlane marcheth towards Caier.

Caier beſieged by Tamerlane.

aduenture: ſuch confidence he had in the ſtrength & multitude of his army. Now his purpoſe was, firſt to take one of the cities (for Caire is diuided into three) & therin incamping himſelf, by little & little to aduance forward as he might, ſtil fighting with the enemy. Vpon which reſolution, he commanded an aſſault to be giuen, and hauing brought his footmen to the place where he would haue them to giue the onſet (for the citie was not walled, but only fortified with ditches & trenches) he commanded the Prince of Thanais with fifty thouſand footmen, to begin the aſſault, euen in the face of the enemie; which he moſt valiantly performed, and there began a moſt terrible and cruel fight. *Axalla* in the meantime, deeming (as the truth was) that the Sultan had drawn his greateſt forces to the place where the Prince of Thanais fought to enter, as vnto a place of greateſt danger; fet a compaſſe about, & vpon another quarter of the city, with ſmall reſiſtance paſſed the trenches; where hee preſently left thirtie thouſand men to fil vp the ditches, and to make way for the horſmen to enter: aduancing forward himſelfe, againſt twentie thouſand ſent by the Sultan to haue ſtopt his further paſſage: the Prince of Thanais being at that ſame time almoſt beaten back by the Mamelukes. But the way being made plain, by them that were for that purpoſe left by *Axalla*, and ten thouſand horſe entred, which charged vpon the backs of the Mamelukes, where the Sultan himſelfe was; and they ſeconded by ten thouſand moe ſent in by *Tamerlane*, following himſelf after, with al his power: the Sultan retired vnto a ſecond ſtrength, which he had made in the next city. The fight indured full the ſpace of ſeuen houres; wherein were ſlain of the Sultan his men aboue ſixteene thouſand; and of *Tamerlanes* betwixt ſeuen and eight thouſand. Who contented to haue diſlodged the enemy, and gained a third part of the citie, cauſed a retrait to bee founded, in hope the next day to win all the reſt, as indeed he did. For the Prince of Thanais the next day forcing the enemies trenches in one place, and *Axalla* in another, the Sultan after a great fight finding himſelfe hardly preſſed by the obſtinat enemy, and too weake long to hold out, retired; and ſo forthwith abandoned the citie, & encamped himſelfe along the ſide of the riuer Nilus, with purpoſe to paſſe the ſame, and to flie to Alexandria his ſecond ſtrength & refuge. Which *Tamerlane* ſuſpecting, followed after him with his horſemen (who onely were in order) and ſome few foot, hardly drawn from the citie, which their fellowes were in ſpoiling; ſo as hee was glad to promiſe them eſpecially, to regard and reward their good ſeruice. Againſt whom the Sultan vpon a narrow cauſey, had oppoſed twelue or fifteen thouſand men, whom he called his ſlaues (to fauor his paſſage) but were indeed his beſt ſouldiers, and ſtood faſt, he place ſeruing greatly for their aduantage: who for all that at length forced by their enemies, ſtil increaſing vpon them, (though not without great loſſe) caſt themſelues into the great riuer, and made a moſt honorable retrait: euery man hauing his weapon in the one hand, and ſwimming with the other to the further bank. The Sultan flying with ſome eighteen thouſand horſe (for the reſt were ſundry waies fled or els drowned) is reported in his flight, to haue comforted his men, by telling of them, that they were not men that had vanquiſhed them, but gods, there appeared in them ſo great wiſedome, force, and valor: diuers of the Mamelukes taken in the late fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him courteouſly vſed, were of him demanded, if they could be content to ſerue him, now that their maſter was fled and gone: which they al vtterly refuſed: whom notwithſtanding, for their fidelitie, *Tamerlane* ſet at liberty to go again to the Sultan: as no leſſe deſirous to be admired of his enemies for his bounty and courteſie, than feared for his force and valor. The wonderfull wealth of this ſo great and famous a city became a prey vnto his ſoldiers; who for the ſpace of foure and twentie houres had the ſpoile thereof, euery man being then by open proclamation commaunded to repaire to his quarter. The citizens he ſet al at liberty, not ſuffering any of them to be taken priſoners: and ſo leauing ten thouſand good ſoldiers, with a great number of others (wherof he caried a great multitude in his army, planting euery where as he paſſed as it were new colonies) & carrying away with him ſuch of the inhabitants as he thought might hurt him, and taking order for all things neceſſary for the keeping of ſuch a city, hee cauſed his army to paſſe ouer the riuer for to follow the Sultan to Alexandria, to the end not to leaue his victorie vnperfect: *Axalla* haſting before with the avauntgard, for to hinder the Sultan for ioyning his forces againe together; and the reſt of his army conducted by the Prince of Thanais; he himſelfe with an infinite number of boats & ſoldiers to attend vpon him, going by water, taking great pleaſure to behold the faire riuer, & his ſwift courſe ſomtimes, and in an inſtant to become ſo calme as if it ſcarce moued.

The

The citizens of Alexandria hearing of his comming, and fearing what might betide them, be- G
sought the Sultan to haue compassion of their estate, and to withdraw himselfe into Lybia,
whither *Tamerlane* for the barrennesse of the country could not with any great power follow
him; resolued for their parts to giue place vnto fortune, and to do as the time required, and no
more to resist so great a force, whereof they had already made sufficient triall: promising yet
The Sultan flieth from Alexandria. to remain in heart stil his, and vpon the first occasion offered, to make the same to him appeare.
Whereupon the Sultan seeing all things desperat, determined for a time to flie, in hope, that
time would bring some change: as also that *Tamerlane* his populous host would not long
remaine there. And so departing out of Alexandria with teares standing in his eyes, often-
times said, That God was angrie with him and his people, and that he must of necessitie suffer
the fatal ouerthrow of his estate; himselfe hauing done as much as in him lay, according to his H
charge, and the expectation the world had of him: and yet that he hoped at length to returne
againe, and deliuer his people from the bondage, whereunto they must now needes submit
themselues. *Tamerlane* comming to Alexandria (before ye elded to *Axalla*) there staied a great
while, sending *Axalla* to pursue the Sultan, exceedingly grieued that he could not get him
into his hands; and therefore still fearing some innouation to be by him raised, which caused
him to deale the more hardly with them, whom he suspected to fauour him. Now the bruit
of these victories hauing with *Axalla* passed beyond Alexandria into Lybia, had brought
such a feare, not onely vpon the people adioyning vnto these conquests, but also vpon all Af-
frica (they supposing that *Tamerlane* did follow) that two and twentie of the Moore kings sent
their embassadours vnto him, to offer vnto him their obedience: the Sultan as a man forsaken I
of fortune, still flying before him. Of the neerest of which Kings, *Tamerlane* tooke hostages:
as for the other further off, hee contented himselfe with their faith giuen, and with the other
outward signes of their good wils.

Tamerlane desirous to return into his countrey. Now after this long trauell and paines taken, was *Tamerlane* more desirous than he had be-
fore vsed, to see the pleasures of his owne natiue country: the rather thereunto moued by the
request of his wife, then longing for his returne; and the newes he heard of the sicknes of the
old Tartarian Emperor his father in law; besides that, age it selfe began to bring vnto him a
desire of rest: with whom also, the desires of his souldiers well agreed, as men now wearie to
haue run so many and diuers fortunes. The onely stay was, that he expected the comming of
Calibes, an old and faithfull seruant of his, whom he for his good desert had of his own accord K
appointed gouernor of al his new conquests in Ægypt and Syria: a great honour no doubt,
but not too great for him that had so wel deserued. So mindfull was he of the good deserts of
his faithful seruants, as that he needed not by others to be of them put in remembrance, were
they neuer so farre off, as was now *Calibes*, who at this time was with the third part of his ar-
mie making way for him along the great riuer Euphrates, for the conquest of Mesopotamia,
and Persia: whose comming was now with great deuotion looked for of the whole army, de-
sirous to returne. Which their expectation he long delayed not, but beeing sent for, came to
Alexandria, whither the whole armie was now by the commandement of *Tamerlane* againe
assembled. Vpon whose comming, *Tamerlane* departed from Alexandria, hauing there left L
the Prince *Zamalzan* (a man of great reputation) with six thousand horsemen and ten thou-
sand foot, as gouernour of that place, and lieutenant generall vnder *Calibes*: whom *Tamerlane*
(as I haue said) had now appointed to commaund ouer all Ægypt and Syria, together with
the countries newly conquered in Lybia and Barbarie: and now conducting him vnto
the great citie of Caire, and there taking the best order he could for the preseruation of his
new conquest, left him with fortie thousand horse and fiftie thousand foot. And so hauing
sufficiently instructed him how hee would haue those kingdomes gouerned, dismissed him,
not like a master, but as a companion, seeming very sorry to leaue him destitute of his pre-
sence. So setting forward with his armie, conducted by the Prince of Thanais, *Tamerlane*
himselfe, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aside vnto Ierusalem: Where hee re-
mained eleuen dayes, daylie visiting the sepulchre of Christ Iesus (whom he called the God M
of the Christians) and the ruins of *Salomon* his Temple: much wondering thereat, and at Ie-
rusalem, the seat of *Dauids* Kingdome, and of that great *Salomon*; but grieued that hee could
not see them fully in their former beautie. He only despised the Iewes, which had commit-
mitted so cruell a murder against him that came to saue them. And to shew his deuotion to-
wards

A wards the holy city commanded it to be free from all subsidies and garrisons of men of war;
and gaue great gifts vnto the Monasteries, and honoured them so long as hee remained there.
Departing from Ierusalem, he came to Damasco: which great citie, as well for that it was in-
fected with the opinion of *Iezides* (accounted an arch heriticke among the Mahometans) as
also euill affected to his proceedings, he caused to be rased, and the bones of *Iezides* the false
Prophet to be digged vp and burnt, and his graue before much honored, in despight to be fil-
led with dung. So marching on, & blasting the world before him as he went (for long it were
and from our purpose, to recount all his victories) he passed ouer the riuer Euphrates, and ha-
uing conquered Mesopotamia, with the great citie of Babylon, and all the kingdome of Per-
sia, laded with the spoile of the world, and eternized for euer, he returned at length to Samer-
cand, the famous place of his birth, and glorious seat of his empire.

The miserable death of Baiazet. Now had *Baiazet* (but a little before one of the greatest princes on earth, and now the scorn
of fortune, and a by word to the world) with great impatiencie laine two yeres in most misera-
ble thraldom, for most part shut vp in an yron cage, as some dangerous wild beast: and hauing
no better means to end his loathed life, did violently beat out his braines against the barres of
the yron grate wherin he was inclosed, and so died about the yeare of our Lord 1399. Yet of
his death are diuers other reports: some saying, that he died of an ague, proceeding of sorrow
and griefe: others, that he poysoned himselfe: and the Turks affirming, that he was set at liber-
tie by *Tamberlane*, being by him beforehand poysoned, whereof he dyed three daies after hee
was inlarged (a report not like to be true:) but howsoeuer it was, his end appeareth to haue bin
C right miserable. His dead bodie at the request of his son *Mahomet*, was by *Tamberlane* sent to
Asprapolis, from whence it was afterwards conueied to Prusa, and there lyeth buried in a
Chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan Temple without the citie Eastward: where also
lieth his beloued wife *Despina*, with his eldest sonne *Erthogrul*. And fast by in a little Chappell
lieth buried his brother *Iacup*, whom he in the beginning of his raigne murthered.

A comparison betwixt Baiazet and Tamberlane. These two great and mighty Princes, *Tamberlane* and *Baiazet*, (both of them whilst they li-
ued, a burthen to the world) as they took their beginning from the Scyths or Tartars, so were
they of like honorable progenitors descended: *Baiazet* being the fourth in descent from the
warlike *Othoman*, the raiser of his family; & *Tamberlan* in like degree from the great *Zingis*, the
first and most fortunat leader of the Tartars (his countrymen) vnto the pleasures of the East:
D both Princes of great power and like spirit; wise, hardy, painful, resolute, and most skilfull in
martial affaires; but ambitious aboue measure, the ground of al the former troubles by them
raised, to the astonishment of the world. Howbeit, the great vertues and other the honourable
qualities of *Baiazet*, were in him by his cholerick and waiward nature much obscured: which
made him to exceed both in cruelty & pride: being also much more handfast than were his
honorable predecessors. For which causes he was much feared and lesse beloued of his soldi-
ers and men of war in general, & of them at his most need forsaken: He vsed commonly to say,
That his treasures were his childrens meat, and not his soldiers pay: which by way of reproch
was by a common soldier cast in his teeth, when he raged to see himselfe by them forsaken in
the great battel against *Tamerlane*; telling him as he fled, that he ran not away, but went to seek
E his pay, wherewith to prouide his children bread. Whereas all the aforesaid vertues in *Tam-
berlane* were graced with diuers other of like nature, no man being to his freinds more courte-
ous or kinde, either vnto his enemies more dreadfull or terrible. The good seruice of his ser-
uants he neuer forgot, either left the same long vnrewarded: being therof so mindful, as that he
needed not by them or others in their behalf, to be put in remembrance therof, hauing always
by him a catalogue both of their names and good deserts, which he daily perused. Oftentimes
saying that day to be lost, wherein hee had not giuen them something: and yet neuer be-
stowing his preferments on such as ambitiously sought the same (as deeming them in so doing
vnworthy thereof) but vpon such as whose modesty or desert he thought worthy those his
great fauors; so tempering the seuerity of his commands with the greatnes of his bounty, as
F that it is hard to say, whither he was of his nobility & men of war, for the one more feared, or
for the other beloued: both, the great staies of princes states; feare keeping the obstinat in obe-
dience; & loue, the dutiful in deuotion. But with *Baiazet* it was not so, who deeming all done
for him but duty, & by nature chollerick & proud (after the maner of tyrants) desired aboue al
to be of his subiects feared, not much regarding how little he was of thē beloued; not the lest

cause

Baiazet in his posteritie more fortunate than Tamberlane.

cause of his great fall and miserie, and that therein hee was of his owne so smally regarded: wherein for all that he is to be accounted more fortunate than the other great conqueror his enemie, hauing euer since in the lineall descent of himselfe, had one of the greatest Monarchs of the world to succeed stil in his kingdome and empire: as he hath euen at this day, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, the third of that name, who now in great maiesty raigneth in Constantinople. Whereas the glorie of *Tamberlane* his empire, euen in his owne time growne to the height thereof, and labouring with the greatnesse of it selfe, and by him diuided amongst his sonnes, shortly after his death decaied, rent in sunder by ambition and ciuill discord; and not long after, together with his posteritie, rooted out by *Vsun-Cassanes* the Persian King, to the worlds wonder, tooke end: nothing of the huge greatnesse thereof now or since then remaining, more than the fame thereof: as doth also the miserie of the other so brought low. But leauing this mirrour of mishap (*Baiazet*) vnto his rest, and *Tamberlane* for a while to triumph in Samarcand; let vs now proceed in the course of our historie, yet not forgetting by the way to remember such Christian Princes as then liued together with these two great Monarchs.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Baiazet the first.

Emperours,	*Of the East*	*Emanuel Palæologus*	1387.	30.
	Of the West	*Wenceslaus, sonne to Charles King of Bohemia.*	1378.	22.
		Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.	1400.	10.
Kings,	*Of England*	*Richard the second.*	1377.	23.
		Henrie the fourth.	1399.	12.
	Of France	*Charles the sixt, surnamed, The Welbeloued.*	1381.	42.
	Of Scotland	*Iohn Steuart, otherwise called Robert the third.*	1390.	16.
Bishops of Rome,		*Vrban the VI.*	1380.	11.
		Boniface the IX.	1390.	14.

Phil. Lonicer. Hist. Turc. l. 1.

Vindicibus Mahomet *patrium sibi vendicat armis*
Imperium, & fractas feruidus auget opes.
Quod patri abstulerat violentia Tamberlani,
Imperio reddit Marte fauente suo.
Ille sagittiferosque Dacas, validosque Triballos
Contudit, & populos Ister amœne tuos.
Turcica sic rursus sublata potentia, stragem
Attulit imperio Romule *magne tuo.*

By force of armes stout *Mahomet* his fathers kingdome gaines,
And doth the broken state thereof repaire with restlesse paines.
What so the force of *Tamerlane* had from his father tane,
He by his fortune and his force restor'd the same again.
The Dacians he vanquished, and Seruians in field,
And forc'd the people neere to thee faire Ister, for to yeeld.
So once againe the Turkish state (by him rais'd vp on hie)
Hath to thine empire, *Romulus*, brought great calamitie.

THE

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, FIFTH KING OF THE TVRKES, AND RESTORER OF THEIR SORE SHAKEN KINGDOME.

Diuers opinions concerning the successors of Baiazet.

C HOw wonderfully the Turkish kingdome was by the violence of *Tamerlane* shaken, and the maiestie thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in that the Histories of that time, as well those of the Greeks, as of the Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the successors of *Baiazet*, their late vnfortunat King. Some writing, that he had two sons, *Orchanes* (otherwise called *Calepinus*) and *Mahomet*: and that *Calepinus* in the second yeare of his raigne was slaine, and his kingdome possessed by *Mahomet* his brother. Others reporting, that *Baiazet* had two sons namely, *Calepinus* and *Mustapha*: and that *Calepinus* succeeding his father in the Turkish kingdome, when he had raigned six yeres, died, leauing behind him two sonnes *Orchanes* and *Mahomet*: and that *Orchanes* being young, was slaine by his vncle: whom *Mahomet* in reuenge of his brothers death, afterwards slew, and possessed the kingdome himselfe. Others reckon vp seuen sons of *Baiazet*; *Iosua*, *Musulmanes*, *Moses*, *Calepinus*, *Iosua* the
D yonger, *Mustapha* and *Halil*; with an vncertaine succession amongst them also. This diuersitie of opinions, full of no lesse vncertaintie; as I mean not to follow in report of this Historie, so wil I not spend any time in refuting the same, (although much might be said in the matter) but leaue these reports, together with the historie following, to such credit as they shall hap to find with the considerat readers.

The Greeke Historiographers (best like to know the Turkish succession, as wel by reason of their neerenesse, as in that they were by them as their bad neighbors, so much troubled) make no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of *Orchanes*: In like manner, *Historia Musulmana Turcorum*, diligently gathred out of the Turks own histories by *Io. Leunclauius* (a learned Physitian, and himselfe a great traueller amongst them, & therefore deseruing the more credit) do not so
E much as name the succession of *Calepinus* or *Orchanes*, after the captiuitie of *Baiazet*, but reiecteth them both ■ counterfets. But in my opinion (without preiudice to any, that vpon better reason may deeme otherwise) the great confusion of the Turkish Kingdome, in short time wrought by the mightie *Tamerlane* and his Tartars, with the ciuill discord and war afterwards arising among the sons of *Baiazet*, striuing all as it were at once, for the restlesse room of soueraintie, which suffereth no partners; and euery one of them, according to his hap or power, laying hand vpon some one part or other thereof, and bearing himselfe therein for a time as a King, in countries so far distant; neuer leauing, vntill they had like the earth-borne bretheren, wrought one anothers destruction; might giue iust occasion of such diuersitie of reports as is before spoken of, concerning the succession of that time, in that troubled and rent kingdom:
F some reckoning one, some another; and some, such as neuer were, to haue succeeded in the gouernment, and so vntruly augmenting the number of the Turkish Kings. Wherefore leauing *Calepinus* & *Orchanes* vnto them that first found them, with that little, which without any good ground and lesse probabilitie is written of their supposed raigne; I (following the authoritie of the Turkish history) reckon this *Mahomet* one of the yongest sonnes of *Baiazet* (of whom we

are now to intreat) fifth king of the Turk: who after great and dangerous wars as well against his own brethren, as his forrein enemies, was at length solely inuested in the Turkish Kingdome, about ten yeares after the captiuitie of his father *Baiazet*, as shall hereafter be declared. G

The true posteritie of Baiazet

Baiazet after the manner of the Turkish Kings, hauing layd vp the hope of his posteritie in the common treasure house of nature, rather than in the bodie of one lawfull wife, had by diuers wiues and concubins seuen sonnes, *Ethogrul*, otherwise called *Orthobules*, *Emer-Solyman*, *Mustapha-Zelebi*, (that is to say, the noble) *Isa-Zelebi*, *Musa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*, and *Casan-Zelebi*. Of whom *Erthogrul* the eldest was lost in the wars against *Casi Burchaniden*, as is before said in the life of *Baiazet*. *Mustapha* was slaine in the great battell against *Tamerlane*, and there buried in the bed of fame. *Cusan* the yongest was a child in *Baiazet* his court, when his father was taken, and afterwards with his sister *Fatime* deliuered as hostages, by their brother *Solyman*, vnto *Emanuel* the Emperor of Constantinople, where they both happily became Christians, and so shortly after died. H

Solyman was by *Alu Bassa* President of *Baiazet* his Councel, and other great captaines, conueyed out of the battell against *Tamerlane*, into Europe, and so by them at Hadrianople saluted Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the same battell to Amasia in Capadocia, where he was in his fathers time gouernour. *Isa* hearing of his fathers captiuitie, after the departing of *Tamerlane* with his Tartars, seised vpon Prusa a citie of Bithynia, the antient seat of the Turkish Kings, with the country adioyning, and there raigned as King. *Musa-Zelebi* was taken prisoner with *Baiazet* his father, and afterwards set at libertie by *Tamerlane*. But of their fortunes more shal be sayd in this history following. I

Mahomet gouernor of Amasia.

Mahomet was but fifteene yeares old when his father *Baiazet* in the vnfortunate battell of mount Stella was taken prisoner, and was at the same time by his appointment Gouernour of Amasia, with a great part of Capadocia adioyning: which places became so troublesome after the great victory of *Tamerlane*, that the Turkes in that country were glad day and night for the safegard of themselues, their wiues, and children, to keepe continuall watch and ward: in so much that many of them wearied with those troubles, & despairing of better times, went into voluntary exile, because they would not see so great miseries: which thing much grieu'd yong *Mahomet*. Wherefore calling vnto him his most faithful councellors, to consult what course to take in the midst of so many dangers, it was by generall consent thought best (for so much as they could not without apparent danger continue neere vnto *Tamerlanes* forces) to get themselues further off into places of more strength, & from thence to expect the departure of their enemies, and in the meane time to content themselues with such aduantages as occasion and chance of war might minister; cutting them short by policy, whom they were not able to meet in the plain field, and so by little & little to weaken or wearie their mightie stragling enemies. For albeit that *Tamerlane* himselfe was not neere him, as then lying in Caria; yet did the Captains of his great and victorious army, at their pleasure spoile and forrage the countries far and neere all ouer the lesser Asia. Vpon this resolution he with all his forces departed from Amasia, to Derby in Paphlagonia: where by the way he incountred with *Cara Iahia* a nigh kinsman to the prince *Isfendiar* of Castamona, his enemie; whom he put to flight with great slaughter of his men. This was the beginning of *Mahomets* good fortune. From thence he went to Kereden, and there staying certain dayes, sent a spie into *Tamerlanes* campe, to see how all things went there: and afterwards entred again into councel with his captains, concerning his further proceedings. In which consultation some were of opinion, That it was best for him to withdraw himselfe into the mountains of the lesser Asia, as a place of good safetie, vntill the departure of *Tamerlane*, which was shortly hoped for: for that it was not to be thought, that *Tamerlaine* would with his huge armie pursue him in that mountaine country, flying from hil to hil, and as it were from strength to strength. Others better aduised, thought those mountains to be no places to trust vnto, and therfore that it were more honorable, and as free from danger, for him to return again to Amasia, and there to liue amongst his subiects, protecting them in such sort as he might, & not to leaue them for a prey to euery stragling companie of the rude Tartarians: which councel he followed, as most reasonable; & being readie to set forward, the spie before by him sent into *Tamerlanes* campe, returned, certifying him that he had seen his father *Baiazet* in good health in the Tartars Campe, but could not by any means speake with him, by reason of the straight Guard set ouer him: and that all that part of Asia was by *Tamerlane* possessed, K L M

Mahomet sendeth Spies into Tamerlane his Campe.

A possessed, who then with his army wintred in Caria and Lysia: whereupon *Mahomet* returned backe againe into Amasia; where he had not long stayed, but that newes was brought vnto him, That one of the Tartarian Princes called *Cara Dulet schach* (that is to say, the fortunate blacke King) was with an armie of twentie thousand comming to spoyle his countrey; being giuen him by *Tamerlane*. With which newes hee was exceedingly troubled: wherefore with all speed calling together his forces for the safegard of his country, he sent before a spie to discouer the enemies doings. This diligent spie returning in all hast, told *Mahomet*, That *Cara Dulet* lay at the towne of Ægiolus in Galatia, in great securitie, hauing about him but a small power; for that he fearing no danger, had at that time dispersed his armie, to seeke after pillage abroad in the couutry. *Mahomet* taking hold of this opportunitie, marched thither with B great celeritie, and suddenly setting vpon *Cara Dulet*, ouercame him. In which conflict *Cara Dulet* himselfe was shot thorow the head with an arrow and slaine, and his armie vtterly discomfited. *Mahomet* returning backe to Amasia with victorie, refreshed and rewarded his soldiers, yet no lesse carefull for the safetie of his kingdome than before. *Cara Dulet slaine.*

Shortly after, he was aduertised that *Cubad Ogli* with a great armie laid hard siege to the citie of Cæsaria in Capadocia, & was like in short time to take it, if it were not speedily relieued. By taking of which citie, that Tartar Prince was like to make a great entrance, to the hazarding of the whole country. Wherefore *Mahomet* hauing his army always in readinesse, marched day and night with such speed to Cæsaria, as that he was vpon *Cubad Ogli* before he was aware of his comming, and there slew most of his soldiers, and put him with the rest to flight. C ter that, he returned into *Cubad Ogli* his Countrey in Pontus, and grieuously spoyled and destroyed the same: at which time he also by force woon the strong castle Pelræ in the confines of Phrygia.

Immediatly after that, *Inall Ogli* another of *Tamerlanes* Captaines (which at their pleasure without let forraged all the countries of the lesser Asia, during the time that *Tamerlane* made his abode within the Turks dominions) vpon the sudden entred into Capadocia with an army of twentie thousand fighting men, killing the inhabitants, & spoyling the country before him: so that the people for feare left their dwellings, and fled into the woods and mountaines, to hide themselues from his furie. Whereof *Mahomet* hearing, was therewith exceedingly grieued, and wrote vnto him as followeth:

D

Sultan *Mahomet*, vnto the Prince *Inall Ogli*.

Mahomet his Letters to Inall Ogli the Tartar Prince.

Whereas without any iust or lawfull cause, or any war proclaimed, you haue inuaded Our Kingdome, and cease not cruelly to kill Our subiects, by God committed to Our protection; and to spoyle their wealth and labours, to the great disturbance of the Mahometan commonweale; and make no end of your malice and crueltie: you do therein quite digresse from the manners and laws of the true Mahometans, or right beleeuers. For if thou wouldest not only be accounted, but indeed be a true Musul-man, thou shouldest forthwith depart out of my kingdome with thine armie; thou shouldest not thus shed the innocent bloud, or without cause thus wrong my people: but forasmuch as thou knowest not what beseemeth thee, neither E *wilt listen vnto good councell, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpose, falsly persuading thy selfe, this my Kingdome to be destitute of a lawfull inheritor, and therefore do'st so great wrong and iniurie vnto the defenders of the true Mahometan religion; I would thou shouldest know, that I with my so often victorious armie will shortly by the power of God come against thee, and in plaine field according to thy deserts chastise thee. Therefore whilest thou yet maist, reclaime thy selfe, and proceed not too far in thine obstinacie: too late repentance did neuer man yet good. Thus much We thought good to aduertise thee, that thou shouldest not be ignorant of Our purpose, but mightest so better consider and dispose both of thy selfe and thine affaires. In the yere after the departure of the great Prophet* Mahomet 806.

Vnto which Letters *Inall Ogli* returned this answer in writing:

F

Prince *Inall Ogli*, to *Mahomet*.

Inall Ogli his answer to Mahomet.

Why do'st thou Mahomet *with such letters prouoke me? why do'st thou so vnciuilly taunt me, being thy selfe but a boy, and in truth a very child? It beseemeth thee not to haue entred into these countries, or to*

to lay hands thereon, wrongfully gracing thy selfe with the title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cause C
why thou shouldest complaine, that I should lie in wait or seeke after thy life, thy kingdome, or any thing
that thine is. I challenge vnto my selfe this kingdome, but none of thine: out of which it is reason for thee,
as a wrongfull intruder of thy selfe, to depart; whom otherwise I will forthwith thrust out, and ioyne the
same vnto the rest of my territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and cease to
oppose thy selfe against my designes; I denounce vnto thee all the calamities of war, and wish thee with
speed to prepare thy selfe to battell, for that I meane shortly to meet with thee. This yeare of our great
Prophet 806.

Inall ogli ouerthrown by Mahomet.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* according to his promise meeting with this Tartar Prince, by plaine force ouerthrew him, and had of him a notable victorie.

The like good hap he had also not long after, against *Coser Ogli* and *Kinpeck Ogli*, two other B
Tartarian captaines, at the castle of Chara chizar and the Plaine of Artuck-Oua. And hearing that one *Mostes* a Turke, had fortified himselfe in the ruins of Sebastia, and from thence spoiled the country round about, he sent *Baiazet* one of his Bassa's against him; who in short time tooke him, and brought him bound vnto him: by whom he was adiudged to die. But seeing in the man an inuincible courage, and contempt of death at such time as he should haue been executed, mooued therewith, hee gaue him his pardon; for which he euer after continued vnto him faithfull, and did him great seruice.

Mahomet hauing many times thus vanquished the stragling Tartarian Princes, which had fought the spoyle of his countrey, became thereby famous amongst the great commanders of *Tamerlane* his armie, in so much that the bruit of his name came at length to *Tamerlanes* eare, I
yet lying in the lesser Asia: who as he thought it not worth his greatnesse and labor, himself in person to goe against so great an enemie; so hee thought it not good or conuenient quite to neglect him, but by some other meanes (if he could) to ouertake him. For which purpose he began to speake many times very honourably of him, highly commending his great valor and forwardnesse in so tender yeres. And calling for *Baiazet*, told him what great commendation he had heard of his sonne *Mahomet*, and that he was therefore very desirous to see him: where at he found that true which was reported of his great vertues, hee would bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage, with many other great preferments: and therfore willed *Baiazet* to write vnto him, not to doubt to come vnto him, to the great good both of himselfe and his father. Which thing *Baiazet* at the first doubting the worst, requested *Tamerlane* not K
to be so much offended with his sonne, being yet very young, and not worthie of so great a fauor. Neuerthelesse partly perswaded by *Tamerlane* his protestations, & importuned by him that might now command him, he with an euill will went to his sonne *Mahomet* to such effect as *Tamerlane* required. With which letters, and other of like purport from himself, with many rich Presents, *Tamerlane* sent *Hacen Mahomet* one of his secret counsellors) embassador to *Mahomet*, of whom he was right honorably receiued, and like wise entertained. But hauing read the aforesaid letters, and thereby vnderstood the cause of his comming, he entred into counsell with the great Bassa's about him, whether he were best to go to *Tamerlane* or not. Where his Councellors were all of opinion, that it was not good for him to aduenture his person to the danger of such a journey, in the mercie of so mighty an enemie, of whose faith he had no assu- L
rance. And if he should say they should therewith offended, will by force seeke to haue you, we at his commyng will take the refuge of the woods and mountains, and there throwd our selues vntil he be departed againe: for that he with his huge armie cannot here long stay in this bare country, for want of necessaries. Notwithstanding *Mahomet* hoping that his journy might be both for the good of his father, and his owne aduancement, continued to the mind of all his councellors resolued to ground so hauing prepared all things needfull for the honor & safety of his journy, set forth. But as he was vpon the way in the marches of Pontus, *Caraiabin* whom he had before ouerthrowne, vnderstanding of his comming that way, thinking now to be reuenged, and hauing got vnto him some of the Prince *Isfendiars* forces, set vpon him by the way: but M
with as euill successe as before, most of his men being there by *Mahomet* slain, & himself glad
shamefully to flie. So trauelling on further, he vnderstood that *Alis beg*, a great Lord in those
countries, went about to intercept him also: which caused him in such hast to goe on, that he
was vpon *Alis* before he was aware of his comming, or well prouided for him: so that for feare
he was glad to betake himself to flight. *Mahomet* cõsidering the danger he had escaped in that
journey,

A iourney, and that the neerer he came to *Tamerlane*, the more like he was to fall into greater, although happily without *Tamerlane* his knowledge: by the aduice of his graue and faithfull counsellours, resolued to goe no further. Wherefore calling vnto him *Tamerlanes* embassador, he thus spake vnto him:

Mahomet his speech to Tamerlanes embassadour.

You see the dangers and iniuries I indure in this my iourny, and my mind forbodeth greater to ensue: for which causes I may not goe any further, but here returne. Commend me therefore I pray you vnto the most mightie Tamerlane, *with my father; and tel them what dangers haue happened vnto me vpon the way: which considered, I hope they will haue me excused. For which purpose I will also send in your companie an embassadour of mine owne.*

Mahomet at that time had with him a graue, wise, and learned man, called *Sophis Baiazet*, B sometime his schoolemaster: whom he sent embassadour to *Tamerlane* and his father, to haue him vnto them both excused: and so departed, he homewards, leauing the way he came (for feare of further danger) and they towards *Tamerlane*, who honourably receiued *Mahomets* embassadour and letters. But taking pleasure in the man sent vnto him, gaue him honourable entertainment, but would neuer after suffer him to returne againe vnto his master.

It was not long after, but that old *Baiazet* died of impatiencie (as is aforesaid:) whose dead bodie *Tamerlane* left at Apropolis with the Prince *Germean*, to bee deliuered vnto his sonne *Mahomet*; with *Musa* his elder brother (who all this while had beene kept prisoner with *Tamerlane*) if *Mahomet* should require them. And so the mightie Prince *Tamerlane*, after he had long time wasted Phrygia, Caria, Lydia, with the most part of the lesser Asia; and con- C quered all Syria, Iudea, Ægypt, and Persia, with many other great countries and prouinces; returned at last into his owne kingdome, vnto the great citie of Samercand, which he wonderfully inlarged, and beautified with the spoiles of a great part of the world, before by him wasted: where he afterwards in great peace and glorie raigned, no lesse honoured than feared of all the Princes of the East. To the terrour of whom, and for the assuring of his estate, hee kept alwaies a standing armie of fortie thousand horse, and threescore thousand foot readie at all assaies: beside other his great garrisons which he kept in Syria, Ægypt, China, and Cambalu; as also against the Muscouite, and Turks; beeing commonly in euery place threescore thousand strong, though not still in field, but as occasion required. Vntill that at length hearing of the rising againe of the Turkish kingdome, vnder the *Othoman* Princes, the sons of *Ba-* D *iazet*, with whom the oppressed Mamelukes of Ægypt, and the Greeke Emperour (as doubtfull of his estate) had now also for feare of him combined themselues; he by the perswasion of *Axalla* (then Generall of his imperiall armie) made great preparation for a second expedition to be made for the vtter rooting out of the *Othoman* familie, & the conquest of the Greeke empire. But hauing now all things in readinesse, and also giuen a good beginning vnto these his intended conquests, (one of the Turkes great Bassaes beeing by *Axalla* his lieutenant in a great battell ouerthrowne, and thirtie thousand of the Turks slaine) he in the middest of these his great hopes, as also of his greatest power, died of an ague the 27 day of Ianuary, in the yere of our Lord 1402. A little before whose death, appeared a great and terrible blasing-star, portending as it were to the world the death of so great a Prince. He was a man of the middle sta- E ture, somewhat narrow in the shoulders, otherwise wel limmed, and of a great strength. In his eies sate such a rare maiestie, as a man could hardly indure to behold them without closing of his owne: and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him became dumbe; which caused him oftentimes with a comely modestie to abstaine from looking too earnestly vpon such as spake vnto him, or discoursed with him. All the rest of his visage was amiable & wel proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne; and ware the haire of his head long and curled, contrary to the manner of the Tartars, who shaue their heads, hauing the same alwaies couered: whereas he contrariwise was for the most part bare headed, commanding his son also to be so by his tutors brought vp: his haire was of a dark colour, somwhat drawing toward a violet, right beautifull to behold: which his mother comming of the race of *Sampson* (as hee F gaue it out) willed him to nourish, in token of his descent: the cause that made him to be the more respected of his men of war; most part of them beleeuing that in those haires was some rare vertue, or rather some fatal destiny: an old practise of many great commanders of former ages, to fil the heads of their soldiers with some strange opinion conceiued of them, to be the more of them honored; as if in them had bin some one thing or other more than in other men.

The great power Tamerlane continually kept.

The death of Tamerlane.

The description of Tamerlane.

His

His liuely counterfeit, as I find it expreſſed by them that write the beſt of him, you may heere behold, with the teſtimonie of his greatneſſe following. G

TAMERLANE.

Paulus Iouius, Illuſtr. Viror. Elog. li. 2. p. 97.

Ille nouus Xerxes, *orientis victor, & ingens*
Quacunque permearet, horror gentium:
Compleuit totos Scythico qui milite campos,
Hoc ſe ferebat ore trux Tamerlanes.
Cuius in aduentum tutæ altis mœnibus vrbes,
Ipſumque terre contremiſcebat ſolum;
Ipſi adeo montes, ipſæ per deuia valles,
Vim Barbarorum non ferebant agminum.
Quare ab Caucaſeis Aſiam conuallibus omnem,
Ad vſque Nili flumina armis ſubdidit;
Euphratem, & Tigrim, & rapidũ tranauit Orontem,
Vi, vaſtitate, cæde, cuncta proterens.
Vtque olim fœda cum tempeſtate coorta
Erumpit atra nube fulmen igneum:
Obuia quæque cadens perrumpit, & alta ſonanti
Templa atque ſolidas ſtragę turres diſsicit.
Subſidit vallo tellus labefacta fragori,
Humil[illegible] mentes ſternit humanas pauor:

Hand ſecus ille viam ferro molitus, & igni,
Euertit arces, opida æquauit ſolo.
Regem Aſiæ horribili captum impete Baiazetem
Caueaque clauſum ferrea circumtulit.
Hac agitantem illum, & ſpirantem immania iuſſa.
Quæ cunctus vndique orbis expaueſceret;
Exiguo cæca domitum molimine febris
Fatalis vno ſoluit hora triduo.
Deque tot inſanis opibus, de tot modo regnis,
Reliqua vna paruo gleba texit puluere.

In Engliſh thus:

Of *Tamerlane* a *Xerxes* new, which did the Eaſt ſubdue,
And in all places where he came, the nations ouerthrew;
That fild the fields with Scythian troupes, brought from thoſe climats cold,
This was the feature and the ſhape which thou do'ſt here behold.
At whoſe approach, the ſtrongeſt townes could ſmall reſiſtance make,
The earth it ſelfe vnder his feet ſeeming for feare to quake.
The mountaines high, mating the skie, and vncouth vallies low,
Vnable were the force to beare, where he did come or goe.
All Aſia from mount Caucaſus, vnto the bankes of Nile,
With valiant hand he vanquiſhed and made his force to feele.
Euphrates, Tygris, and the ſwift Orantes gaue him way,
With force, waſte, and deſtruction great, on what he liſt to prey.
And as in tempeſts great oft times, when all things goe to wracke,
The fierie lightning flaſhing forth, out of the clouds ſo blacke,
Doth breake downe what it lights vpon, and with a dreadfull fall
Or'ethrowes the Temples, with their Towers, and ſtately buildings all:
So that the earth diſmaid therewith, doth lower downe deſcend,
And feareful wights wrapt vp in woe, are brought to their wits end:
In like ſort he with fire and ſword ſeeking all to confound,
The ſtrongeſt caſtles, towers, and townes, laid equall with the ground.
And like an whirlewind taking vp great *Baiazet* away,
Coupt vp in cage, ſo carried him, for his diſport and play.
But whileſt he rageth thus about, and plotteth in his head
Such hard commands and heauie doomes, as all the world ſhould dread:
A little feauer in three fits, oppreſſed him with woe,
And cloaſing vp his vitall ſprites, did lay his head full low.
So that for all the world of wealth and kingdomes he poſſeſt,
The ſmall remainder of himſelfe in ſimple graue doth reſt.

Mahomet goeth againſt his brother.

His great empire by himſelf diuided betwixt his ſons, was by their diſcord, and the ambition of ſome of their diſloyal ſubiects, in ſhort time after brought to great confuſion, & his poſteritie vtterly rooted out by *Vſun-Caſſanes*, the Armenian Prince, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtory may appeare. But to return again to our purpoſe; *Mahomet* deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the departure of *Tamerlane* out of thoſe countries, determined to goe to Pruſa in Bythinia, where his brother *Iſa* as then raigned: but vnderſtanding that *Iſa* had before taken the ſtraits whereby he ſhould paſſe the mount Horminius, he tooke another way about, and came to Palæo-Caſtron, where the valiant captaine *Eine-beg Sub-baſſa* then remained: who with all honour and gladneſſe receiued him, and there for certaine dayes refreſhed both him and his army. Afterwards greater forces ſtill repairing vnto him, he marched thence to Vlabad, called in antient time Lopadium. Of whoſe comming *Iſa* before vnderſtanding, and hauing aſſembled his armie, marched thither alſo, & encamped on the other ſide of the towne towards Pruſa, readie to giue him battell. But *Mahomet* ſeeing his brother ſo forward, conſulted with his captaines,

captaines what were best to be done: where *Eine Sub-bassa* a man of great experience, and of late one of *Baiazet* his great counsellors and captaines, told him, That it was not for their honours being brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others bloud; but to assaie if the quarrell might by some other good meanes be composed, and they made friends. For which purpose, *Mahomet* presently sent letters vnto his brother *Isa*, concerning the partition of their fathers kingdome in Asia betwixt them: offering vnto him the prouinces of Aidinia, Saruchania Germeania, Charasia, Charamania, with other countries to them belonging: so that hee might haue Prusa with all the other prouinces about the same. Which letters, when *Isa* had read, and saw that *Mahomet* offered him but titles for kingdomes, and such countries as were rather sometimes tributaries vnto their father *Baiazet*, than any part of his kingdom, and now of late by *Tamerlane* againe restored vnto their antient libertie and gouernors, sharing out the best and strongest part thereof vnto himselfe, he brake forth into choller and said:

The answere of Isa to Mahomets offers.

What, doth not my fathers kingdome of right belong vnto me being the elder brother? Mahomet *is yet but a youth, and scarce crept out of the shell: by what right then can he claime my fathers kingdom as his inheritance? If he can by the sword win it, let him take it, and so hold it.*

Mahomet hauing receiued his answere, prepared himselfe to the field, where his brother already as himselfe, stood expecting his comming: and hauing set his army in order of battell, gaue the first charge: which was the beginning of a most cruel and bloudy fight, wherein, as it commonly falleth out in doubtfull battels, many were on both sides slain. At last the fortune of *Mahomet* preuailing, *Isa* his armie began to retire: which he seeing, left nothing vndone for the encouraging of his fainting soldiers, which belonged to a politicke Generall, or valiant soldier to do; but pressing into the thickest of his enemies, there with his owne hand slew the antient and valiant captaine *Eine Sub-bassa*, who had many times beene Generall of the footmen in old *Baiazet* his wars. But what preuaileth courage against euil fortune? *Isa* must either flie or die. And therefore hauing done what he could in so desperat a case, being himselfe on euery side forsaken, in the end was glad himself to flie to the sea side: where finding a ship readie bound for Constantinople, he passed ouer thither in safety, and there yeelded himselfe vnto the protection of the Greeke Emperour *Emanuel*. In this chase *Mahomet* his souldiers tooke the valiant captaine *Temurtases* prisoner, another of *Baiazet* his great commanders, & brought him to *Mahomet*: who in reuenge of the death of *Eine*, commanded his head presently to bee smitten off, and his bodie to bee hanged vpon a tree by the high way side. Of this victorie, *Mahomet* certified his brother *Solyman* at Hadrianople, and in token thereof sent him *Temurtases* his head. This battell was much spoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two brethren; and also for the death of the two famous and old captaines *Eine* and *Temurtases*, who both together as louing friends, had fortunately fought many great battels vnder *Baiazet* his ensignes; and now as it were by destinie, and against their wils, without any priuate grudge, were both drawne into contrarie factions and slaine: both whilest they liued wishing a good peace betwixt the ambitious brethren. But as the Turks vse to say, *What is by God written in a mans fore head before his birth, cannot in his life be auoided.*

After this victorie, *Mahomet* thinking himselfe now in sure possession of all his fathers dominions in Asia, led his army to Prusa, where he was of the citizens ioyfully receiued as their Sultan: and for his great bountie, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to Nice, and so to Neapolis, and there in both places was likewise receiued. Thither resorted vnto him all the garrisons of Carasina, Saruchania, and Aidinia, with other the inhabitants of those countries, with all loyaltie submitting themselues vnto him, with such honor and reuerence as belonged to their King.

The bodie of Baiazet honourably buried at Prusa.

All things thus sorting according to his desire in Asia, he sent to the Prince *Germean* for the bodie of his father *Baiazet*, and for his brother *Musa*, which were there left by *Tamerlane*, as is before declared. This bodie was by the same Prince at the request of *Mahomet*, with great solemnity sent to Prusa, and there sumptuously buried, with all the Turkish obsequies and ceremonies: the Turkish Alcoran or book of their Law, being read seuen daies vpon his tomb. All which time great cheere was kept for all commers, and much giuen to the poore (vpon the Turkish deuotion) for *Baiazet* his soule: but aboue all others, exceeding bounty was extended to the posterity of their Prophet *Mahomet*; which are knowne from others amongst the Mahometans, by the colour of their apparrell, which is all green, and not lawfull to be worn of any but

but of them: so that they were by the bountie of *Mahomet*, at that time greatly enriched. Hee also endowed the abbey which his father had there lately built, with great lands and possessions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the solemnitie past, he went in progresse to all parts of his kingdome, and was in euery place ioyfully receiued; and so afterward returned to Amasia; and there in great pleasure spent that summer. Where we will for a while leaue him, to see what *Solyman* his eldest brother in the meane time doth at Hadrianople: whose liuely countenance is by the skilfull workmans hand thus expressed:

Non malus es nisi te enerues male suada voluptas,
Quæque minus bello conuenit ingluuies.
Hospitio Mirxi *fruitur iam* Musa *Valachi:*
Ille tuum vigilat pronus in exitium.

IAC. BOISARDVS.

Euill art thou not, except leaud lust doe hasten on thy fall:
Or rior, which beseemeth not a martiall man at all.
Thy brother *Musa* entertain'd by *Marke* to thine annoy,
Doth take no rest, but waiteth still how he may thee destroy.

Solyman

Solyman the eldeſt ſonne of *Baiazet* (who kept his court at Hadrianople, there peaceably G
raigning all this while ouer the countries which his father *Baiazet* ſometime poſſeſſed in Europe) hearing what his brother *Mahomet* had done, and how violently againſt all right hee had driuen *Iſa* out of Pruſa, and made him glad to flie to Conſtantinople: was with this his outragious dealing much offended, and thereupon calling vnto him his Baſſaes and faithfull counſellers, declared vnto them the vnnaturall proceedings of *Mahomet* againſt his brother *Iſa*: *Wherein* (ſaid he) *hee doth mee alſo great wrong in taking vpon him the ſouereignetie ouer thoſe great dominions and countries in Aſia, which of right belong to mee his elder brother, and not to him the youngeſt of ſix. In reuenge of which iniurie and wrong, I intend in mine owne right, to paſſe ouer into Aſia with a ſtrong armie, and by force of armes to recouer mine inheritance there, if I may not otherwiſe come by it.* Vnto which ſpeech one of his graue counſellers replied, *That in his opi-* H
Good counſell. *nion it was not the beſt courſe for himſelfe to goe in perſon into thoſe warres. For although* (ſaid hee) *your brother* Mahomet *be but young, and therefore by your greatneſſe leſſe accounted of, yet is his fortune great, and his experience aboue his yeares. None haue yet had to doe with him, but they haue had enough of him: yea it is worth the noting, how politickly he hath borne himſelfe for his owne ſaftie, and the ſafegard of the countries which he gouerned all the while that the great and mightie* Tamerlane *with his innumerable forces couered the face of the countries faſt by him: moſt part whereof,* Mahomet *hath now ſince his departure, againe recouered. Wherefore it were beſt for you to ſend for your angrie brother* Ila, *to Conſtantinople, and to make him Generall of the armie you intend to ſend into Aſia againſt* Mahomet. *In which warres, it is not vnlike, but that one of your brethren will be loſt, wherby you ſhall haue one competitor of your kingdome the leſſe. So ſhall you afterwards with leſſe trouble ſubdue him that is left, or at leaſtwiſe pleaſe him with ſome part of that which they haue ſo mightily ſtriuen* I
for. This counſell was of *Solyman* and all the reſt well liked of, and approued. So was *Iſa* preſently ſent for vnto Conſtantinople, and a great armie leuied. Who beeing come to Hadria-
Iſa with a great armie ſent by his brother Solyman into Aſia againſt Mahomet. nople, was by *Solyman* courteouſly welcommed, and made Generall of his armie: and therewith ſhipped ouer the ſtrait of Helleſpontus into Aſia. Where at his firſt comming, hee poſſeſſed the whole countrey of Caraſia or Lydia: and paſſing further, in all places where hee came, was receiued of the people with great reuerence, they all promiſing him their obedience, if it were his fortune to preuaile againſt his younger brother *Mahomet*: wherewith hee held himſelf wel contented. So cõming to the cit of Beg-Bazer, otherwiſe called Deſpotolis, he there wintered with his armie. In which time, he with many kind and louing letters ſtil K
directed to *Mahomet* as his yonger brother, ſeemed to be glad that he was ſo wel obeied & liked of by his ſubiects: and that preſuming of his loue and fauour, he was as his louing brother, and not as an enemie come into Aſia, to intreat with him of ſuch matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto *Mahomet* with like diſſimulation anſwered, That he was right glad of his commiñg; for which he needed not (as he ſayd) to make any excuſe, for that he was entered into a kingdome, in part his owne, and the reſt open before him: in token whereof he commanded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the meſſenger as a fauour, ſending alſo diuers rich preſents vnto his brother, with great prouiſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries for his ſouldiers.

But Winter paſt, and the Spring come, *Iſa* marched with his army to Pruſa, & there ſhewed L
vnto the citizens the louing letters he had at ſundrie times before receiued from *Mahomet*: and telling them that he was in good hope that they ſhould in ſhort time right well agree; requeſted to haue the caſtle deliuered vnto him, ſometime their ſoueraigne: whereinto the better ſort of the citizens had retired themſelues, & made faſt the gates againſt him: but when he ſaw that he could by no faire words or policie gaine the poſſeſſion of the caſtle, enraged with
Pruſa burnt by Iſa. that repulſe, he ſet fire vpon that goodly citie, and burnt it downe to the ground. *Mahomet* not ignorant how his brother *Iſa* roamed vp and downe his kingdome, vſing al kindnes to ſuch as yeelded vnto him; and exerciſing no leſſe crueltie vpon ſuch as refuſed his obedience: and how that he had raſed the royal citie of Pruſa: hauing gathered a ſtrong army, marched in ten dayes from Amaſia to Pruſa, and by the way meeting with his brother *Iſa*, in a great battell M
ouerthrew him with all his forces. *Iſa* himſelfe accompanied with no more but ten perſons, fled vnto Caſtamona, Prince *Iſfendiar* his citie: who hearing of his arriuall there, entertained him with al the honor he could, in recompence of the great friendſhip he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble ſuter in his father *Baiazet* his court.

A *Mahomet* comming to Pruſa, grieued exceedingly to ſee that faire city ſo deſtroyed: yet to comfort the poore citiſens, he gaue exceeding ſummes of money to be beſtowed amongſt them, and tooke order for the new building of the citie, and there continued certain days himſelfe to ſee the worke begun.

Iſa in the mean time hauing incited the Prince *Iſfendiar* in his quarrel to inuade his brother *Mahomet*, and going thither himſelfe in perſon, was by him now the third time ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neuertheleſſe he with ſome ſmall forces twice afterwards entred into *Mahomets* dominion, but finding few or none willing to follow his euil fortune, was glad at laſt to flie to the prince of Smyrna, by whom he was both honorably entertained, and comforted.

This prince of Smyrna mooued with *Iſa* his pittifull complaints in ſo manifeſt a wrong, did
B not only promiſe him what helpe he could of himſelfe, but alſo by his embaſſadors ſolicited the Princes of Aidinia, Saruchania, and Menteſia, to giue him aid in ſo iuſt a quarrell, for the reliefe of *Iſa*, againſt his vſurping brother. Theſe Princes pittying the caſe of the diſtreſſed Prince, and moued with the requeſt of the Prince of Smyrna, and fearing alſo the ambitious ſpirit of *Mahomet*; amongſt them ſent ſuch aid, that being all aſſembled together, *Iſa* had now twentie thouſand men in armes. *Mahomet* vnderſtanding of this great preparation made againſt him, and hauing raiſed a ſtrong armie, thought it not beſt to expect his brothers comming into his countrie (where perhaps many might ioyne themſelues vnto him, being ſo ſtrong in field) but entred the Prince of Smyrna his countrey, with ſuch ſpeed, that he was vpon him and the reſt of his enemies before he was looked for; where after a great and bloudie fight he obtai-
C ned of them a notable victorie *Iſa* hauing loſt the battel, and therewith his hope alſo, fled into Caramania, and there in ſuch obſcuritie ended his dayes, that no man can tell where nor how he died. This was the end of this noble Prince, always of greater courage than fortune. The Prince of Smyrna the chiefe author of this war, humbling himſelfe to *Mahomet*, obtained his fauor. The other confederat Princes which gaue aid to *Iſa*, were ſhortly after by *Mahomet* for moſt part ſpoiled of their dominions. Which done, he returned with victorie to the building of Pruſa, hoping now to liue at more quiet.

Iſa flieth into Caramania, and there he dieth in obſcuritie.

But whileſt *Mahomet* after this victorie dreading no danger, was in the midſt of his pleaſures at Pruſa, he was certainly aduertiſed, That his brother *Solyman* had raiſed a great armie in Europe, to inuade him in Aſia. Vpon which aduertiſement he furniſhed the caſtle of Pruſa
D with a ſtrong garriſon, and all things needfull for the induring of a long ſiege, and placed *Iacup-Beg* the ſonne of *Firoſes*, captaine therein; and afterwards departed himſelfe, becauſe that city (lately before burnt by *Iſa*) was not as yet to be defended, much leſſe to be accounted of as a place to retyre vnto if need ſhould ſo require. From Pruſa he came to Ancyra, & from thence directed commiſſions for the taking vp of ſoldiers in all parts of his kingdom. At which time he wrot letters alſo to *Doioran* a Tartar Prince (whom he had many times greatly pleaſured) for aid: who preſently came vnto him with certaine troups of braue horſe, promiſing him his faithfull ſeruice.

Not long after, hearing that his brother *Solyman* was with a puiſſant armie now come ouer Helleſpontus, he conſulted with his beſt leaders, what courſe firſt to take; being himſelf of o-
E pinion, without delay to meet his brother in the field, deeming it great ſhame, not to offer him preſent battel. But he was by his more expert captains aduiſed, to conſider that he was to fight againſt his eldeſt brother, of whoſe good or bad fortune he had as yet no experience: and that many ſecretly fauored his quarrel and claime, as the eldeſt ſonne and right heire of his father *Baiazet*: and therefore it were better for him to retyre further off into the ſtrength of his kingdome, and ſo temporizing, to await all good opportunities that might chance, as it doth in nothing more than in martiall affaires; rather than to commit all to the hazard of one battell, wherein if fortune failed him, all were then vtterly loſt. Vpon which reſolution he retyred from Ancyra towards Amaſia. At which time *Doioran* the falſe Tartarian, marching out at the other ſide of the Citie, fell to robbing and ſpoyling of *Mahomets* ſubiects as an enemie,
F burning the countrey villages as they went: which thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood, he with his horſemen purſued him, and ouertaking him before he was looked for, ſlew moſt part of his men, and recouered all the ſpoyle which he had before taken; all which *Mahomet* gaue to his ſoldiers: *Doioran* himſelfe hardly eſcaping by flight. And ſo *Mahomet* hauing reuenged himſelfe vpon his diſſembling friend, held on his way towards Amaſia.

The castle of Prusa besieged by Solyman.

Solyman being come into Asia, led his armie towards Prusa; where the citizens vnderstanding of his comming, went out of the citie to meet him, and hauing done vnto him such honor G
and reuerence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the citie. But *Iacup-Beg* stood vpon his guard, and would by no means deliuer vnto him the castle, which was before by *Mahamet* committed to his charge: for which cause *Solyman* laid hard siege vnto it, and gaue thereunto diuers sharpe assaults, whereby the defendants were greatly weakned, many of them being slain, & the rest for the most part wounded. Wherupon *Iacup* by letters sent by one *Eine Hozze*, certified *Mahomet* how things stood, and that the castle could not long be holden against the furious assaults of *Solyman*, except it were with speed relieued; vpon which news he in all hast made towards Prusa, returning the same messenger before him, with letters to the captain of the castle, if happily hee could find means to deliuer the same: wherein hee H
highly commended him for his faithfull seruice, and promised him speedie reliefe. This messenger with his letters chanced by *Solyman* his soldiers to be intercepted, and brought to *Alis Bassa*, *Solyman* his chiefe Councellour, a man of a sharpe conceit, who of nothing could make something, but hauing any thing to worke vpon could do wonders: he hauing straitly examined the messenger, and perused the letters, suppressed the same, and presently writ others in the name of *Mahomet*, commending the captaine for that he had already done in his seruice; but yet forasmuch as he could not possibly in time relieue him, he willed him therefore to deliuer vp the castle, and to prouide for the safeguard of himselfe and his garrison, by such conditions as he could best obtaine. These counterfeit letters *Alis Bassa* found means to be as cunningly deliuered vnto the captaine, as they were craftily indited: who hauing read the same, I
and now out of all hope of reliefe, expecting also euery houre to be assaulted by the furious enemie; vpon reasonable conditions yeelded the castle to *Solyman*. The news whereof being brought vnto *Mahomet*, now come within one days march of Prusa, exceedingly grieued him: but seeing no remedie, he returned backe againe to Amasia; whither *Solyman* (now possessed of the city and castle of Prusa, and hauing thereby got a great name in Asia) shortly after came with his armie, and hardly besieged his brother in Amasia: but seeing no hope to win the Citie, he retyred backe againe to Prusa, and there after his woonted manner spent his time in riot and excesse, whereunto he was exceedingly giuen. *Iacup-Beg* for yeelding of the castle, was afterward by *Mahomet* straitly imprisoned, and in danger to haue been put to death, had not the K
great Bassa's become earnest intercessors for him.

Mahomet lying at Amasia, was by his secret espials aduertised, That his brother *Solyman* hauing dispersed his armie, lay in great securitie at Prusa, guarded but with a small power, passing his time in all voluptuous pleasure, his common exercise. Whereupon he in all hast marched with his armie thitherwards, to haue surprised him before hee should be able to call together his dispersed forces. But when he was come to the riuer Sangarius, he was discouered by *Solyman Subbassa* a great captain, whom Sultan *Solyman* had sent for the taking vp of men in that side of the country. Who returning in all hast, gaue *Solyman* knowledge of his brothers comming: with which sudden newes he was so dismaied, being now of small strength, that for L
the auoiding of the imminent danger, he would presently haue fled into Europe, had not *Alis Bassa* otherwise perswaded him; telling him, That if he should so cowardly flie away, it would not only blemish and defame his honour, but discourage his friends also in Asia, & incourage his enemies to pursue him perhaps vnto the gates of Hadrianople: and that therefore it were better with such forces as he had to take the straights of Neapolis, and so to stay his brothers further passage into that countrey, vntill such time as he might assemble the rest of his armie. According to which good councell, hee first tooke the beforenamed straights and passages, whereby *Mahomet* was of necessitie to passe, and there strongly fortified himselfe. *Mahomet* comming thither, with great force entered those straights, but was still valiantly by *Solyman* repulsed. The like attempt he many times valiantly gaue, for that hee knew himselfe to be at that time too strong for his brother: but *Solyman* hauing the aduantage of the place, with lit- M
tle danger or losse frustrated those his brothers braue attempts, although he were then a great deale the weaker. *Alis Bassa*, whose wilie head, fraught with long experience, could (with nothing) effect great matters, in the meane time was not idle, but (making *Solyman* before acquainted with his doings) sent a secret messenger (one of his owne trustie seruants) to *Mahomet* with letters; certifying him, That most of his nobilitie and great captaines had secretly conspired

A conspired to betray him into the hands of his elder brother *Solyman*, as the vndoubted heire of his father *Baiazet*; & so with the price of his head, to make their own peace & attonement with him: and that for the performance thereof they had bound themselues first vnto *Solyman*, and afterwards one to another, by solemne oath. Which treason he discouered vnto him, with great protestation of his loue and good will, as he that had a long time eaten bread and salt (as the Turks vse to say) in his fathers court, and therefore could not but wish well vnto him, being one of his lord and masters sonnes. These letters something troubled *Mahomet*, breeding in his head many a jealous conceit: for all that, hee ceased not for six or seuen dayes space, to giue many a hot skirmish for the gaining of those strait passages, but all in vaine. In which time it chanced, one of his seruants neere about his person, to flie vnto the enemie; which caused
B him the more to suspect all that to be true, whereof *Alis Bassa* had forewarned him. Which considered, and that by lying there he preuailed nothing, but lost and wearied his men, (for it was all that while exceeding foule weather) and withall doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came, to Amasia. And *Solyman* glad also of his departure, retired to Prusa, giuing order into all parts of his kingdome, for the assembling of a great armie: but vnderstanding that the king of Caramania had made a league with his brother *Mahomet*, and that they were agreed to ioyne their forces against him, for the driuing of him out of Asia, hee forthwith drew all his forces to Ancyra, as a place of more safetie.

Whilest *Solyman* thus lay at Ancyra, it fortuned that *Musa* (which had all this while remained with his brother *Mahomet*, since he was set at libertie by *Tamerlane*, though not altogether
C well pleased with his owne estate) one day by way of talke, thus spake vnto his brother; *You see* (said he) *how our elder brother* Solyman *ceaseth not to vex and molest vs dayly, and is not vnlike in the end to preuaile against vs, to our vtter destruction: Now if it might please you to giue me leaue, I would go to* Istendiar *Prince of Castamona and Pontus, our brothers enemie, and of him procure shipping to passe ouer the Euxine sea, into Europe; where I doubt not to find opportunitie to make some great innouation in that kingdome, now in my brothers absence: by reason whereof* Solyman *shall of necessity be driuen to leaue Asia, to be againe by you solely possessed: or else be brought in danger there to lose his kingdome in Europe. Which if it shall be my good hap to gaine out of his hands by your supportation, I promise you faithfully to hold the same of you as of my Lord and Soueraigne.* This greatly pleased *Mahomet*, and thereupon not long after they concluded betwixt themselues, one to stand fast
D vnto another, and the one to helpe the other in what they could, during life; confirming the same with great solemnitie of their Turkish faith giuen and taken. Whereupon *Mahomet* furnished his brother *Musa* with great summes of money and other needfull things for the taking in hand of so great an enterprise.

Musa thus furnished, taking his leaue of his brother, set forwards towards the Prince *Isfendiar*: who hearing of his comming, met him on the way, and entertained him as a great prince. But after that *Musa* had made him acquainted with his purpose for passing into Europe, and had obtained grant of his helpe therein, he tooke his leaue of him for a time, and went to visit the King of Caramania; who also most honorably entertained him, and the rather in despight of *Solyman*. But whilest *Musa* was thus passing the time in Caramania, it fortuned that *Mark* (of
E some called *Merxes*) Prince of Valachia, hauing his countrey much spoyled by *Solyman* his garrisons; and hearing that *Musa* one of *Baiazet* his sonnes was with the Prince *Isfendiar*, he writ vnto him, promising to bestow his daughter & heire in marriage vpon *Musa*; if he would come ouer into Europe, and reuenge the wrong done vnto him by *Solyman*. Whereof *Musa* aduertised by the Prince *Isfendiar*, gladly returned out of Caramania, and was by him transported ouer the Euxine or blacke sea, into Europe: where the Prince of Valachia glad of his comming, receiued him with great honor, and according to his promise gaue him his daughter in marriage.

Musa marrieth the Prince of Valachia his daughter.

The fame of *Musa* his comming into Europe, and of his marriage, was in short time bru-
F ted thorow all *Solyman* his Kingdome in Europe, and wrought such effect in the minds of the mutable vulgar people (alwayes desirous of noueltie) that they all as it were with one consent submitted themselues vnto him, as vnto their Lord and Soueraign: in so much that comming to the royal citie of Hadrianople, in the absence of his brother *Solyman* he was there receiued as their King.

Musa in the absence of Solyman receiued at Hadrianople as King.

Solyman now lying at Ancira in Asia, vnderstanding of these proceedings of *Musa* in Europe,

and that he was poſſeſſed of a great part of his kingdome there, was therewith exceedingly troubled. Wherefore leauing his deputie in Ancyra, hee with all his army came to the ſtraît of Boſphorus, and there of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor obtained paſſage, promiſing for the ſame to reſtore vnto him certaine places before taken from him in Aſia: for *Muſa* had ſo prouided, that he could haue no helpe of the Turkiſh ſhipping, which was by his commandment all before brought ouer vnto Europe ſide. *Muſa* hearing of *Solyman* his arriuall in Europe, made towards him with a great power: but after that both their armies were come the one within view of the other, and now readie to ioyne battell, many of *Muſa* his captains forſooke him, and fled to *Solyman* the elder brother, and their vndoubted king: which *Muſa* beholding, was glad to flie, and to take the ſafegard of the woods and mountaines for his refuge. After which victorie, *Solyman* returning to Hadrianople, tooke againe poſſeſſion of his Kingdome, and there without meaſure gaue himſelfe to riot and exceſſe, according to his woonted manner.

After the departure of *Solyman* out of Aſia *Iacup-Beg* (but lately before againe receiued into *Mahomet* his fauour, and now left as *Solyman* his deputie) deliuered Ancyra, with the caſtle of Pruſa, and all the reſt that *Solyman* had gained in Aſia, to *Mahomet*; who ſhortly after led his armie thorow the countries of Caraſia, Aydinia, Saracania, Tekenſis, and Germeania, reducing them once againe vnto his obeyſance: and afterwards returned to Pruſa, where hee now the ſecond time tooke poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdome in Aſia.

Muſa goeth againſt Solyman.

Muſa ſtil aided by the Valachian Prince his father in law, gaue many great attempts againſt his brother *Solyman*, but was ſtill put to the worſe. At length hauing gathered ſome good ſtrength, and diligently attending the leaſt ſmile of better fortune, drew neere vnto the place where *Solyman* lay; who at that time was (as his manner was) banqueting with great pleaſure in his campe, and ful of wine. Inſomuch that when news was brought vnto him, that his brother *Muſa* was at hand with a great power, he in his drunkennes cauſed the meſſenger that brought the news to be beaten: and when he had with greater earneſtnes than was to his liking, affirmed that his report to be true, he commanded him to be ſlain for troubling his mirth. But Shortly after, *Muſa* was come ſo neere, that the vantcourrours of his armie did skirmiſh with ſome of *Solyman* his ſoldiers: when as *Chaſis Eurenoſes* one of his fathers old captaines, preſſing in, told him that *Muſa* was at hand, and had skirmiſhed with part of his armie. Whereof *Solyman* (now far in wine) had no regard, but ſaid, *Good Tutor do not trouble me no more; my brother* Muſa *dares not come ſo nigh me; if I do but hold vp my cap, he is gone.* With which anſwer the old Captaine going out diſcontented, ſent in *Chaſan*, Aga of the Ianizaries: who boldly comming vnto him, told him plainly of the imminent danger, and ſharply reproued him for his intemperance and ſecuritie. With whoſe free ſpeech *Solyman* moued, in great rage commanded his beard to be cut off, then no ſmall diſgrace amongſt the Turkes. *Chaſan* preſently comming forth thus diſgraced, ſaid to them that ſtood waiting without, *This is the honor wherewith Sultan* Solyman *in his exceſſe rewards his moſt faithfull ſeruants. Wherefore be it known to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cauſe) ſerue* Muſa, *a Prince of greater temperance and diſcretion: who ſo will follow me, come and welcome.* So mounting to horſe, and accompanied with a number of his Ianizaries (of whom he was greatly beloued) went ouer to *Muſa*; as did many other great captaines alſo with their companies, mooued by his example ſo to doe. But when *Solyman* vnderſtood that *Chaſan* with moſt part of the Ianizaries, and many other worthie captaines, with the greateſt ſtrength of his armie, were reuolted to *Muſa*, then faſt by, and readie to ſet vpon him; it then repented him too late of his diſſolute folly: and finding no other remedie now to eſcape, hid himſelfe vntil it was darke night; then taking horſe, accompanied only with *Caratze-Beg* and *Cara Muchil*, two of his noblemen, and one countrey Turke whom they had retained for their guide, thought to haue fled to Conſtantinople. This malicious clown hauing of purpoſe led them by vnknowne wayes all that night too and fro, as it were in a maze, (oftentimes miſnaming vnto them the places they paſſed by, as if they had been in the right way) brought them in the morning to a village not far from the place from whence they departed the euening before: and there riding a little before them of purpoſe, gaue warning to a ſturdie peaſant or two of his acquaintance, that *Solyman* was comming after; willing them to make ſtay of him. Theſe rude country churles, with ſome others of like breed, running out with bats and ſtaues, and ſuch other homely tooles as firſt came to hand, ſlew *Caratze* and *Cara Muchill*, which would

Solyman flieth.

would not yeeld vnto them, but ſtood vpon their guard, and tooke *Solyman* aliue: where, as it commonly falleth out in the vulgar peoples furie, ſome cried out to kill him, and ſo to end the warres; ſome likewiſe to burne him; and ſome to hang him; and ſome few to ſaue him: euery one as his rude affection lead him. In the heat of this countrey vprore came *Muſa*; who glad to his brother *Solyman* ſo hardly beſet, cauſed him preſently to be there ſtrangled, when he had raigned in Hadrianople ſix yeares and ten moneths.

Solyman ſtrangled by his brother Muſa.

This was the miſerable end of *Solyman*, the eldeſt ſonne that *Baiazet* left aliue. A man much giuen to exceſſe, otherwiſe indued with many great vertues, being both of great valor, and exceeding bountifull. In his time liued the learned Doctor *Achmetes*, which wrot the hiſtorie of *Alexander* the Great in Turkiſh Verſe, and publiſhed it in the name of *Solyman* himſelfe: for which he was by him bounteouſly rewarded. The dead bodie of *Solyman* himſelfe, was by the commandement of *Muſa* conueyed to Pruſa, and there lieth buried faſt by the bodie of his grandfather *Amurath*. So now of theſe *Cadmeian* brethren remained none but *Mahomet* and *Muſa*, the one raigning in Aſia, and the other in Europe, diuers parts of the world, and well bounded with the ſureſt bounds of nature: yet not ſufficient to content or containe their ambitious minds, vntill that the yonger had moſt vnnaturally deuoured the elder: whoſe liuely counterfeit, as it is by the skilfull workeman expreſſed, you may here behold:

This Solyman is that ſame whō ſome call Celebinus, and other ſome, Caleptinus, and reckon him for the fift king of the Turks.

Quid properas inſane tuum peſſundare fratrem?
Nam ſceleris tanti, præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater
Mox referet, nimis hæc in tua fata ruis?

RICH.

What haſteſt thou, mad foole, thy brother to confound?
The guerdon of ſuch villanie ſhall to thy ſelfe redound.
For looke what miſchiefe thou haſt wrought, ſhall turne to thine owne
Why do'ſt thou therefore, fooliſh man, ſo haſten on thy

Turkes would (if they were mindfull of their antient valure) haue chanced at the same time to haue made a full conquest of Asia. Perhaps her purpose was honourably conueyed from the way with much seruice following it. The Caramanian King hearing of the comming of his enimie, & fearing least that Mahomet with his power, called vs in, would haue ouerrun his countrey, whereas the Turke, long time after (suffring the Caramanian King quietly to reape of the fruit of the Ottoman King) what would he doe if he had come against him himselfe, but the first was, he feared Mahomet and his power.

Orchanes the sonne of Soyman (ouer whom hauing ruled at Constantinople euer since the death of his father, about this time departed thence, because of the league but lately made between the Emperour and his vncle Mahomet, purposing to haue gone into Valachia: but by the way as he was trauelling, the Turkish voluntarie souldiers vnderstanding that he was the son of their late King Solyman, reforted vnto him in great numbers, offering in his quarrell to spend their liues. Of which insurrection Mahomet hearing, marched thither in all haste, with a great power to suppresse the fame of whose comming the souldiers with Orchanes vnderstanding, despersed themselues & fled. As for Orchanes himselfe, he was by his vnlawful tutor Zagan betrayed vnto his vncle Mahomet: who presently caused his eyes to be put out, and so sent him to Prusa; allowing him great reuenewes to liue vpon, and euer after vsed him with great honour. The sister of this Orchanes hee gaue in marriage to one of his noblemen, with a great dowrie. This is that Orchanes, whom some Historiographers reckon vp among the Turkish Kings, as one of the successors of Baiazet; and that he was betrayed to his vncle Moses: erring as I suppose, both in succession and the name, mistaking Moses for Mahomet.

1416 Mahomet inuadeth the Caramanian King.

Now Mahomet calling to remembrance the iniury which the Caramanian king had done to him in his absence, returning to Prusa, assembled a great armie to reuenge himselfe of that wrong. At which time, he sent to the Prince Isfendiar for aid, who sent him his son Cassumes. Hee commanded also the Prince Germean Ogli, to make prouision for the victualling of his campe, as he should passe by his countrey: which was accordingly done. And so prouided of all things necessarie, he with his army entred into the Caramanian countrey: where he tooke the cities Aspropolis, Despotopolis, Hierapolis, and besieged Iconium; but by reason of the immoderat raine which at that time fel, he was glad to make peace with the Caramanian king, called also Mahomet. And so rasing his siege: departed towards Pontus; where he had not long staied, but that news was brought vnto him, That the Caramanian king renouncing his league, was againe vp in armes. Wherefore returning into Caramania, and so to Iconium, hee there ouerthrew the King in battell, and tooke both him and his sonne Mustapha prisoners: who redeemed themselues by deliuering many of their strong cities and castles into his hands: and afterward concluded a peace, they receiuing from him an ensigne (as the Turkish manner is) in token they were now become his vassals.

1417 Valachia tributarie to the Turke.

The Caramanian war thus happily ended, he went ouer into Europe, and passing ouer Danubius, foraged the country of Valachia, Transalpina, making there great spoile: for redresse whereof, the Valachian Prince by his Embassadours sent him such tribute as hee demanded, and his sonne also to serue him in his court. About which time hapned a great earthquake in Prusa, and other places of Asia, whereby many houses and townes were ouerthrowne; after which, ensued great troubles in most parts of Asia: howbeit Mahomet going thither, by his presence kept all his dominions in peace and quietnesse.

Isfendiar prince of Castamona and part of Pontus, reseruing vnto himselfe Castamona, with a little part more of his dominion, gaue the rest vnto Mahomet, vpon condition, that he should restore no part thereof againe vnto his sonne Cassumes; who hauing long time serued in Mahomet his court and warres, could not be perswaded to returne againe vnto his father; and therefore was by him thus disinherited. Which great gift, Mahomet thankefully accepted, and in lieu thereof assigned vnto Cassumes other great and large possessions within his owne kingdome.

Mahomet, after the death of his brother Musa, had sent Sebeichies Bouredin (his brothers Cadeleschier) to Nice in Asia, as vnto a place of exile, allowing him neuertheless a great pension wherein to liue. This Bedredin had in his house one Burgluzes, Mustapha his steward: these two consulted together, how to raise some tumult or rebellion to trouble the peaceable gouernement of Mahomet. For which purpose, Burgluzes (according to the plot by them laid) tooke his way

A way into Aydinia (sometime called Caria) and there pretending great zeale of reformed religion, with a wonderfull grauitie began to broach diuers new and strange opinions, far differing from the Turkish antient superstition, yet very plausible and wel fitting the humor of the vulgar people. By which means he was in short time reputed for a famous learned deuout man and had many followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin some great innouation. Bedredin glad of his mans successe, fled from Nice into the Prince Isfendiar his countrey, from whence he tooke shipping ouer the Euxine into Valachia, and there withdrawing himselfe into a great forrest, as if he had beene some deuout and religious man, allured vnto him a great number of outlaws and theeues which there liued. Whom when he had sufficiently instructed and framed to his purpose, he sent them in the habit of religious men into the country of Zagora, and other places in the frontires of Mahomet his dominions, neere vnto him, as his disciples: who with great boldnes and confidency, published Bedredin his doctrine and authority; and how that he was by God appointed to be the King of Iustice, and commander of all the world: whose doctrine and maner of gouernment was (as they said) alreadie receiued (as they gaue it out) in Asia, being set forth but by one of his scholers, Burgluzes; whose fame was now dispersed throughout all the Turks dominion: and that therefore if any were desirous of preferment, they should repaire to Bedredin, who would in short time shew himselfe to the world, and promote his followers according to their deserts. Many of the country people deluded with this phantasie and practise of these seditious seed-men, reforted to Bedredin in hope of preferment, and with them some of good calling also. At last, out of the forrest commeth this
C great Prophet with banner displaied, attended vpon with a great multitude of the seditious vulgar people, which daily reforred vnto him more and more. Mahomet for the repressing of these dangerous tumults, sent his son Amurath, and Baiazet the great Bassa, with two thousand men to apprehend Burgluzes in Aydinia: but when they came thither, they found him guarded with three thousand men well appointed, readie to aduenture their liues in defence of their foolish Prophet. Neuertheless, Amurath & Baiazet not dismaied with the multitude of those vplandish people, set vpon them: where was fought a right bloudy battell, for the number, & many slaine on both sides; yet at last the rebels fled: in which flight Burgluses himselfe was slain, and hewen al to peeces. After which victorie Baiazet from thence hasted to Magnesia, and there executed Torlac Kemal, another seditious Turkish Monke, which with two thou-
D sand, by him seduced, did much harm in the country thereabout. At the same time also, Mahomet sent another power against Bedredin: but most of his followers seeing in him no such matter, as was by his disciples and himselfe promised, and as they hoped for, were alreadie fallen from him, so that of that great multitude which before followed him, few or none were left with him, wherby he was easily apprehended by them that Mahomet had sent against him: and so being brought to Mahomet to Serras, was there in the market place before a tauerne doore, faire hanged, without any further harme.

Burgluzes slaine.

Bedredin hanged.

Mahomet in the short time of his raigne finished the great Mahometan Temple at Hadrianople, before begun by his brethren Solyman and Musa. Where hee also built a Princely Pallace, the seat of the Turkish Kings in Europe, vntil the taking of Constantinople. He also built
E another Temple, with a most sumptuous Abbey, and a publick schoole thereto adioyning; endowing the same with great reuenewes, such as had by him and those his brethren of late bin taken from the Christians. He gaue also great summes of mony, yerely to be paid at Medina and Mecha, for the releefe of poore Pilgrims trauelling from far to the sepulchre of their great Prophet Mahomet, at Medina, or his Temple at Mecha.

Shortly after Mahomet fell sick at Hadrianople, and perceiuing himselfe in danger of death, by his last will appointed his eldest sonne Amurath to succeed him in his kingdome, and sent Eluan-beg (a man in great fauor with him) in post to Amasia, to will him with all speed to repaire to the court at Hadrianople. But feeling death to approch, and that he could not possibly
F liue vntill the comming of his sonne, hee straightly charged his Bassaes with all secrecie to conceale his death, vntill his comming, for feare lest any trouble should rise vpon the bruit thereof, before his comming thither: and so hauing set all things in order, he departed out of this world vnto his Prophet Mahomet, about the yere of our sauior Christ 1422, when he had raigned seuenteen yeares: accounting in his raigne that troublesome ten yeares next after the captiuitie of Baiazet, in which time the Turks kingdome was by his ambitious sonnes rent in

Mahomet dieth at Hadrianople

sun-

The death of Mahomet cunningly concealed from the Ianizaries, by the three great Bassaes.

sunder (as is afore said) vntil it was at length again by this *Mahomet* restored to the former integrity, about 7 yeers before his death, which the Turks account for the whol time of his raign; & the other troublesome 10 yeres as a vacancy or anarchy of their kingdome, as is aforesaid. G

Mahomet being dead, the three great Bassaes, *Eiuases*, *Baiazet*, and *Ibrahim* (to rid themselues of the feare they had of the Ianizaries, & other soldiers of the court) called a Diuano or counsel for the wars, as if the King had bin aliue: wherein it was pretended, That *Mahomet* had determined to make war vpon the prince of Smirna: and that for that seruice, it was his pleasure, That the Ianizaries should forthwith passe ouer into Asia, to the castle of Baga. Whereupon presse mony was presently giuen them, & they sent ouer with letters directed to the viceroy of Anatolia, for the assembling of an armie for Baga. In the meane time, the great Bassaes of the court sat daily in counsell, placing and displacing, promoting and disgracing whom they H thought good, as if the king had so commanded: the kings physicians also, to countenance the matter, were commanded continually to go to and fro with their potions & receits, after their wonted manner, as if they had had the king still in cure: and letters were sent in post to *Eluan Beg*, for speedy dispatch of the busines for which he was sent into Asia. Yet for al this cunning dissimulation, the pentioners and other souldiers of the court, wont to be neere vnto the kings person, and some of them alwayes of the priuie chamber, began to suspect the matter: and comming to the Bassaes, said they maruelled that the king in so long time did neuer shew himselfe, as he had alwaies before done. Wherunto the Bassaes answered, That he had bin dangerously sick, & was as yet but a little recouered, & that therfore the physitians would not suffer him to looke abroad, or take the aire, for feare of casting him down againe. Then will we our I selues, said the pentioners, go and see his Maiestie; and with that were readie to force in vpon the Bassaes. *Eiuases* seeing their importunitie, desired them to hold themselues contented, and not as then to trouble the king, for that he had that day, as he said, taken physick; but tomorrow (said he) we will request his Maiestie, it he so please to shew himselfe, that you may see him: wherwith they for that time held themselues content. Now among the kings physitians there was one *Georgiron*, a Persian, a man of a quick spirit & subtill deuice, which found means to deceiue the pentioners: he deuised, that the dead body of the king being apparelled in royall large robes, should be brought betwixt two, as if he had bin led into an high open gallery; and being there set, to haue a boy so neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes, as that he vnperceiued, might moue the kings hand vp to his head, as if he should strok his face or beard, K as his manner was. The next day the dead king being accordingly brought forth by the Bassaes in his rich robes, & wrapped with clothes about his head, as if it had bin for feare of the aire, or of taking cold, & so placed in an high open gallerie, as was before deuised, suddenly the physitian came running in, fuming and raging as if he had bin halfe mad, ready to teare his cloths for anger; & in great choller casting his cap against the ground, asked the Bassaes if they meant to kill the king, by bringing him into the open aire? We (said he) haue with great pains, in long time, a little recouered him, and will you thus foolishly cast him downe againe? Pardon vs good doctor (said *Eiuases*) for these gentlemen (pointing to the pentioners) were so importunat to see his maiestie, that to satisfie their desires, he was content to be led forth of his chamber; wherof we hope shall ensue no harme. The pentioners seeing the king many times L mouing his hand to his face, and as it were stroking his beard, held themselues wel contented, supposing him to haue bin aliue, although but weake, and therefore not willing to speake vnto them. The physitians taking him vp amongst them, carried him into his lodging again, which was but fast by, making as if they had carried a extreame sicke man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and fortie daies, vntill the comming of *Amurath* his sonne.

This *Mahomet* was both wise and valiant, and withall exceeding bountifull, but ambitious aboue measure: and may of right be accounted the restorer of the Turks kingdom; for he recouered againe all those countries in Asia, which *Tamerlane* had taken away and giuen vnto other Mahometan princes, after the ouerthrow of *Baiazet*. And when as the kingdome of the M Turks was rent in pieces and almost brought to nought by ciuile wars, and the ambition of himself and his brethren; he at length got possession of the whole, & so left it to his son *Amurath* an entire kingdome, in the former greatnesse, although not so much by him augmented. His bodie lieth buried in a faire tombe made of artificiall stone, very beautifull to behold, in a chappell at the East side of Prusa, where we leaue him at his rest.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet the first.

Emperours,	Of the East	Emanuel Palæologus.	1387. 30.
	Of the West	Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.	1400. 10.
		Sigismund King of Hungarie.	1411. 28.
Kings,	Of England	Henrie the fourth.	1399. 13.
		Henrie the fifth.	1413. 9.
	Of France	Charles the sixt, surnamed, The Welbeloued.	1381. 42.
	Of Scotland	Iohn Stuart, otherwise called Robert.	1390. 16.
		Iames the first.	1424. 13.
Bishops of Rome,		Boniface the IX.	1391. 14.
		Innocent the VIII.	1405. 2.
		Gregorie the XII.	1407. 2.
		Alexander the V.	1410. 1.
		Iohn the XXIII.	1411. 5.
		Martin the V.	1417. 13.

Phil. Lonicer. Hist. Turc. li. 1.

Europam luctu & funestis cladibus implens,
Sævus Amurathes *totus in arma ruit.*
Major at Huniades *virtute & fortibus ausis,*
Cogit eum trepida vertere terga fuga.
Consilia Eugenij *bellum furialia suadent,*
Sacrorum antistes Martia ad arma ruit:
(Arma viri tractent, curet sua templa sacerdos)
Europæ exitium res tulit ista grave.

Fierce *Amurath* doth Europe fill with bloud and wofull cries:
And wholly giv'n to martiall deeds, doth whole in armes arise.
But yet *Huniades* (than he, of greater strength and might)
Enforced him right fearefully to turne his backe in flight.
Eugenius his infernall spels stirres vp a fatall jarre:
Who hauing charge of sacred Rites, runnes headlong into warre.
(Leaue martiall deeds to martiall men, and let the Priest go pray)
Such diuelish councell, worse receiu'd, wrought Europes great decay.

THE LIFE OF *AMVRATH*, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, SIXT KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT ESTABLISHER OF THEIR KINGDOME.

C AFter that the death of *Mahomet* had beene politiquely concealed one and fortie days, by the three great Bassa's *Baiazet*, *Einases*, and *Ibrahim*, *Amurath*, or *Murat* (as the Turks call him) his eldest sonne, at that time comming to Prusa, was by them placed in his fathers seat, and the death of *Mahomet* at the same time published: whereupon great troubles began on euery side to arise. *Murat is the same that we call Desiderius.*

The Princes of Smyrna and Mentesia rose vp in armes: and at Thessalonica, an obscure fellow crept as it were out of a chimneys corner, tooke vpon him the name and person of *Mustapha* the sonne of *Baiazet*, which was slaine many yeres before, in the great battell against *Tamerlane* at mount Stella, as is before declared in the life of the vnfortunate Sultan *Baiazet*. This counterfeit *Mustapha* animated by the Grecian Princes, and going from Thessalonica to Vardarium, set so good a countenance vpon the matter, with such a D grace and majestie, that not onely the countrey people (apt to beleeue any thing) but men of greater place and calling also, as *Tzanites Beg* the Prince of Smyrna his sonne, with the sons of old *Eurenoses Bassa*, persuaded that he was the very sonne of the great *Baiazet*, repaired vnto him, as vnto their naturall Prince and Soueraigne. From Vardarium he went to Serræ, and from thence to Hadrianople, (*Amurath* being as then at Prusa) where he was receiued as if it had been that noble Prince *Mustapha*, whom he feigned himselfe to be: so that in short time he was honored as a King in all parts of the Turkish Kingdome in Europe. *Mustapha* the supposed son of Baiazet wasteth rebellion against Amurath.

Amurath to represse this so great and dangerous a rebellion, sent *Baiazet Bassa* a man of great authoritie in his court, with a strong armie into Europe. This great Bassa passing ouer Hellespontus, found all the countrey reuolted vnto their new found King *Mustapha*: but marE ching towards Hadrianople, with purpose to haue giuen him battell, hee was first forsaken of the Europeian souldiers which he brought out of Asia, and afterwards of all the rest also: and being left post alone, with his brother *Hamze Beg*, was for safegard of his life glad to yeeld himselfe to *Mustapha*; of whom he was graciously entertained, and vpon promise of his loyaltie, sworne one of his priuie Councell.

Mustapha thus now possessed of the Turkish kingdome in Europe, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintain his credit, leuied a great armie to make war vpon *Amurath* in Asia. And as he was vpon his way, at a place which the Turks call Saslidere, or the place of willowes, his other councellors repining at the great honour he gaue to *Baiazet Bassa*, aduised him to beware that he trusted him not too far, of whose smal faith he had sufficient trial alreaF die, & was like enough when occasion should serue, to reuolt from him to *Amurath*, & to draw after him some great part of his armie, to the great peril both of himselfe & all them his faithful seruants & followers. Vpon which jealous conceit, this great Bassa *Baiazet* was there forthwith as a traitor apprehended, and without further triall executed: at which time his brother *Hamze* was with much ado spared. This done, *Mustapha* proceeded on his journey, and passed

ouer with his army at Callipolis into Asia. *Amurath* vnderstanding of the proceedings of *Mustapha* in Europe, and of his preparation made for his inuasion of Asia, created three new Bassa's, *Omer*, *Vruge*, and *Alu*, all three the sonnes of *Temurtases*; these he ioined with his old Bassa's *Ibrahim* and *Einases*. All these fiue he vsed as councellors for the wars; by whose aduice he sent for *Mahomet Beg*, syrnamed *Michael Ogli*, who in the time that *Musa* raigned was Viceroy in Europe, and therefore a man well knowne to most principall men in *Mustapha* his armie, but had been kept prisoner in the castle of Amasia, from the time that *Musa* was deposed and put to death by his brother *Mahomet*, vntil now that he was after eight yeares imprisonment, for this speciall purpose inlarged and receiued into fauour.

About the same time that *Mustapha* set footing in Asia, *Amurath* hauing gathered his army, set forward from Prusa to meet him; yet with such distrust in his forces, which were thought to be much inferior to the European soldiers that followed *Mustapha*, that he was glad vpon a superstitious opinion or zeale, to prostrat himselfe at the feet of an Emir (one of the false prophet *Mahomets* posteritie) to receiue at his hypocritical hands a graceles blessing for his better speed: by whom he was made to beleeue, that after two repulses, he had with much ado at the third time obtained grant of the great Prophet *Mahomet*, that he should preuaile in that war: and thereupon had his sword girt vnto him with the Emir his holy hands, with many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies. Yet for all these charmes, he marched on with his armie in feare enough, vntill he came to the riuer of Vlibad (otherwise called Rindacus:) where hauing intelligence of the approch of *Mustapha*, hee for feare caused the bridge ouer the riuer there to be broken downe, and incamped himselfe on that side the riuer. Not long after came *Mustapha*, and finding the bridge broken, incamped at the foot thereof on the other side: so that nothing parted the two armies, but the bredth of the riuer onely. Whilest they lay thus neere incamped together, that the soldiers might on both sides take the full view one of another, and also talke together; *Mahomet Beg*, syrnamed *Michael Ogli*, but lately deliuered out of his long imprisonment (as is aforesaid) came to the riuer side, and with a loud voyce called by name vpon the great captaines and old soldiers that were in *Mustapha* his armie; asking by name for many of his old friends and acquaintance: many of them being there present, reioycing to see that honorable man (whom they supposed to haue been dead in prison many yeres before) came gladly to the side of the riuer, to heare what he could say.

Then with a loud voyce he began to persuade them, that the man whom they followed was not the honourable *Mustapha*, but some base high minded fellow set vp by the Grecians, abusing the obscuritie of his birth, as the vaile vnder the couert wherof he went craftily about to intrude himselfe into the honorable discent of *Baiazet*; and so masking in the counterfeit titles of stolne honor, had mis-led them from their dutie to their natural King and Soueraign, to follow him a meere deceiuer. And further assured them, that *Mustapha*, *Baiazet* his son, was dead and buried in the bed of fame 22 yeres before; honorably ending his days in defence of his country, in the great battel of mount Stella against *Tamerlane*: wherefore they should doe well to forsake that supposed *Mustapha*, and again to yeeld their dutifull obedience vnto their vndoubted Soueraigne *Amurath*. These words deliuered vnto them by *Mahomet*, whom they generally both reuerenced and trusted, wrought such effect in their minds, that some presently aduentured to swim ouer the riuer, and ioyned themselues vnto him; and many others that stayed still, began now to doubt lest they had worshipped a wrong Saint. At the same time also, *Einases Bassa*, to terrifie *Mustapha*, sent vnto him letters as in great secret, aduertising him, that *Amurath* had the next night purposed with his armie to passe ouer the riuer aboue the broken bridge; at which time the chiefe captaines of his armie being (as he said) corrupted, had promised to deliuer *Mustapha* into his hands, and with his head to pay the ransom of them all. This he coloured with such faire glosses, that *Mustapha* partly beleeued the same. So when the dead time of the night was come, *Einases* with certain troups of horsemen passed ouer the riuer, at the verie same place he had in his letters named; and that with such a noyse and tumult, as *Amurath* with his whole armie had beene comming. *Mustapha* seeing things begin thus to worke according as *Einases Bassa* had before written; and with this, doubting also to be presently betrayd, and carrying about him a guiltie conscience (the mother of feare & distrust) tooke horse, (slenderly accompanied but with ten persons of his whole armie) and fled in hast, no man pursuing them, vntill he came to the riuer of Boga, and there with a great summe of

Mustapha flieth

of money obtained passage, by corrupting the captaine that dwelt in the castle vpon the passage of the riuer: and the third day after passing ouer the strait of Hellespontus, landed at Callipolis. The flight of *Mustapha* once knowne in his armie, they all yeelded themselues vnto *Einases Bassa*: who taking possession of *Mustapha* his tent, caused the broken bridge to be repaired; whereby *Amurath* passing with his armie, ioyned himselfe with *Einases*. The other Bassa *Ibrahim*, councelled *Amurath* to put to sword all those rebels that had followed *Mustapha*: but by the mediation of *Einases* (to whom they had yeelded themselues) they were generally pardoned.

Amurath departing from Vlibad or Lopadium, came to Boga, and there hanged vp the captaine that had giuen *Mustapha* passage. From thence he held on his way to Lampsacum, intending to pursue *Mustapha* into Europe: but being come to the sea side he could find no passage, for that *Mustapha* had caused all the shipping on that side, to be brought ouer into Europe. Yet at last *Amurath* by good fortune chanced vpon a great Genoway ship, which he hired for foure thousand duckats to transport his Armie, and so with much adoo at length landed in Europe. *Mustapha* seeing that *Amurath* was now come ouer, fled to Hadrianople, where he found such cold entertainment, that fearing to be betrayed, he was glad to speed himselfe thence, thinking all the world too little to hide himselfe in; and so came to an obscure place in the countrey of the Turks, called Kisul-Agatze-Genitze: where the soldiers sent to pursue him, ouertook him, and brought him bound to *Amurath*, then being at Hadrianople: by whose commandement he was shamefully hanged from the battlements of one of the highest towers of the citie, and there left to the worlds wonder.

Mustapha hanged.

This *Mustapha* is of some writers reported to haue been in deed the son of the great Sultan *Baiazet*, and that he was kept in prison all that long time, and thus at length set vp by the Greeks to trouble the state of the Turkish kingdome: but the Turkish Histories report as before, calling him *Dusme* or counterfeit *Mustapha*. And it is verie likely, that if hee had been one of the sons of *Baiazet*, he would haue found some means to haue made some great stirre long before that, as all the rest of the vnquiet brood of *Baiazet* did, which neuer rested vntil they had, like the earth-borne bretheen, one destroyed the other: besides that, their bloudie natures considered, it is very like, that *Mahomet* his younger brother, who raigned in Hadrianople almost eight yeres, and was in league all that time with the Emperour of Constantinople, would for his more safetie haue got him into his owne power, if hee had been in prison with the Emperour; or else haue dispatched him, if he had been in prison with himselfe. All which I am the rather perswaded to thinke, for that *Orchanes* a child, the sonne of *Solyman*, could find no safe place of abode at Constantinople in the raigne of *Mahomet*, but flying, was apprehended, and his eyes put out, as is before declared in the life of *Mahomet*: much lesse is it like, that *Mustapha*, being a warlike prince, and his elder brother, could haue been so long preserued and kept in prison from his furie.

It fortuned in these late broyles (as oftentimes it doth with others in like case) diuers of the rebels Asapi, or common soldiers (whom he for his greater countenance had apparelled & armed like Ianizaries) to fall into the hands of the true Ianizaries, *Amurath* his faithfull guard; whose liues indeed they spared, but vsing them with all the despight and indignities possible. Amongst the rest, one of the Ianizaries being an hungred, brought two of these Asapi his prisoners vnto a cookes shop, offering to sell them vnto him for a little victuall: which the cooke refused to giue him, as hauing no vse for such vnnecessarie seruants. Wherewith the proud Ianizary inraged, swore many a great oath, presently to cut off their heads, and to giue them him for nought, if he would not for a thing of nought redeeme them. And like enough hee was to haue so done, had not the cooke, moued with pittie, offered him for them both a sheepes head: which the Ianizarie tooke for them, swearing that the cooke had giuen for them more than indeed they were worth. Which disgrace so long since done vnto these Asapi, is yet oftentimes by way of reproch in great contempt, by the masterfull and insolent Ianizaries, obiected vnto the whole bodie of the Asapi, the greatest part of the Turks huge armies; of whom for all that the proud Ianizaries make small reckoning, accounting them scarcely for men, and in their rage oftentimes telling them, That two of them are not worth a sodden sheeps head.

Two Asapi sold by a Ianizarie for a Sheepes head.

Amurath hauing at length with much adoo thus pacified the dangerous rebellion raised by the counterfeit *Mustapha* both in Europe and Asia, was yet not a little grieued, to thinke how

Constantinople in vaine besieged by Amurath.

how the same had, to the great hazard of his estate, bin first plotted by the Greekes, and afterwards countenanced by the Greeke Emperor, of whom he thought now to be reuenged. And therefore sending before him *Michael Ogli*, his lieutenant generall in Europe, with his European soldiers to inuade the country about Constantinople, followed himselfe after with the Ianizaries and his Asian forces: and incamping before the Citie, filled all that necke of land which lieth before it, from sea to sea. And so incamped, began right furiously to batter the wals, in hope so to haue made a breach, & by the same to haue enred the city: but finding the wals of greater strength than he had before supposed, & the defendants still repairing whatsoeuer the furie of his artillery had beaten down or shaken, he ceased his batterie, & comming on with all his forces, desperatly attempted by assault to haue gained the citie: wherin his fortune was not answerable to his desire; for approching the city, with arrowes as shoures falling vpon the defendants, and scaling ladders in the mean time clapt vp to the walls, & the Ianizaries with other of his best soldiers valiantly mounting the same, they were by the defendants notably repulsed & beaten down, losing some their hands, some their arms, some their heads, but most their liues, no shot falling in vain from the wals. Which *Amurath* beholding, & grieued to see (though vnwilling) commanded a retrait to be sounded, and the assault giuen ouer: and shortly after seeing no hope to preuaile, in great rage raised his sieged & departed. Vnto whom for all that the Greek Emperor not long after sent his Embassadors to intreat with him for peace; whereof he would by no means heare, but proudly threatned to be ere long of all his wrongs reuenged: which caused the Greek emperor to deuise what he might for the troubling of his estate, so to keepe him otherwise busied: as he did shortly after with the Caramanian king, by countenancing another *Mustapha* (syrnamed *Cutzug* or the Little) *Amuraths* yonger brother, against him, to the raising of new stirres, and *Amurath* his no small trouble.

Mahomet the late King had fiue sons and seuen daughters, whereof *Amurath* was the eldest, and succeeded in his fathers kingdom; *Mustapha* the second, sirnamed the Little; *Achmetes* the third, who died before his father: the other two, *Iosephus* and *Machmutes*, both died of the plague, being but children, after the death of their father. Three of their sisters were married to the three sonnes of the King of Caramania, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, & *Isa*: other two were bestowed vpon the sonnes of the Prince *Isfendiar*, *Ibrahim* and *Casimes*: the sixt was giuen in mariage to *Cozza-Beg* Viceroy of Anatolia: and the seuenth, to the sonne of *Ibrahim Bassa*, who died at Mecha, whither she went vpon superstitious deuotion on pilgrimage.

At such time as *Amurath* was busied in his warres in Europe, against *Mustapha* the supposed son of *Baiazet*; the yonger son of *Mahomet* (called also *Mustapha*) being but thirteen yeres old, and *Amurath* his brother indeed was set vp to raise new troubles, by the King of Caramania and other Princes, as well Mahometans, as the Christian Princes of Grecia; who thought it good policie, by that means to impeach the greatnesse of *Amurath*. This yong prince *Mustapha* strengthned with the forces of his friends, entred into his brothers dominions in Asia, and besieged Nice, which was at length yeelded vnto him. *Amurath* aduertised of this new rebellion, by great gifts and large promises corrupted *Ilias Beg*, the young Princes tutor, to betray the Prince into his hands. Whereupon *Amurath* with great celeritie set forward with his Armie from Hadrianople, & in nine days came to Nice, where he entred the citie with smal resistance, as was to him before promised, where *Mustapha* was by his false tutor to him presented: who because he would not spill one drop of the sacred *Othoman* bloud, (as the Turkes call it) commanded the executioner presently to strangle him with a bow string; which was done accordingly, and his bodie afterwards buried by his father at Prusa.

Mustapha betrayed & strangled.

Amurath hauing suppressed these two rebellions, and now out of all feare of any competitor, thought his fiue councellors too many by three, and therefore remoued the three Bassa's, *Omure*, *Vrutzi*, and *Alis* (the sons of *Temurtases*) into honorable places, retaining of his Councell, only the two old Bassa's, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuases*. But shortly after, *Eiuases* was secretly accused to *Amurath*, that he sought by his fauorits the soldiers of the court, to aspire vnto the kingdome himselfe, and to depose the King; and that intending some such matter, he did vsually weare a priuie coat. This suspicious report troubled the jealous tyrant: wherefore on a time as he rid accompanied with *Eiuases*, he cast his arme about him, as if it had been in kindnesse: but finding him secretly armed, would needs know the cause thereof: whereunto *Eiuases* answered, That it was for feare of some enemies he had in the court: but this excuse could by no

no meanes serue his turne: wherefore he was forthwith apprehended by the commandement of *Amurath*, and both his eyes burnt out with a hot steele glasse. *Eiuases Bassa his eyes put out.*

Whilst *Amurath* was thus busied in subduing rebellions at home, *Mahomethes* the Caramanian King besieged Attalia, a great citie in Pamphilia, by the space of six moneths, which was valiantly defended by *Hamza-beg*, *Amurath* his lieutenant there: at which siege the vnfortunate King himselfe, as he was taking view of the citie, was slaine with a great shot out of the citie: whereupon *Ibrahim*, which succeeded him in the kingdome, brake vp the siege, and returned home to burie his father. *The King of Caramania slaine.* At this time also, *Dracula* Prince of Velachia, passing ouer Danubius, did the Turkes much harme about Silistria, but was afterwards enforced to submit himselfe to *Amurath*, and become his tributarie.

About this time also *Tzunites*, the Prince of Smyrna, which had before aided the rebell *Mustapha*, did by al meanes he could vex and molest *Iaxis-beg*, (*Amurath* his lieutenant in Aidinia) and hauing by chance taken his brother prisoner, put him to death. This prince of Smirna was descended of the antient Princes of Aidinia, and therefore pretended an interest in that seigniorie: which his claime the people of the country secretly fauoured, so far as they durst for feare of the Turks. *Amurath* hearing of the harmes that this Prince of Smyrna did, commanded *Hamze-beg*, viceroy of Anatolia, with all his power to make war vpon him. The viceroy without delay assembled a great armie, and inuaded the Princes countrey: and the Prince being well prouided for his comming, meeting him vpon the way, gaue him battell: wherein *Hasan* the Princes son, leading a great part of his fathers army, had put one part of the Turks army to flight: and pursuing them with too much furie, left his father at the same time so hardly beset by the viceroy, that he was glad to flie to his castle of Hipsily fast by. *Hasan* returning from the chace of the enemie, not knowing what had happened to his father, was by the Turks in his returne ouercome and taken prisoner. After which victorie the viceroy presently laid siege to the castle wherein the prince was. This siege continued a great while: at length the prince brought to extremity, was content to yeeld himselfe vnto the viceroy, vpon condition he should vse no violence against the person of himself or his son, but to send them prisoners vnto *Amurath*: which thing the viceroy by solemne oath promised, whereupon the Prince came out of the castle, and yeelded himselfe prisoner to the viceroy. *Iaxis-beg*, whose brother the Prince had before put to death, attended the going of *Hamze* the viceroy to his tent, where finding *Hasan* the princes son sitting vpon the ground, as the manner of the Turks is, took him by the choller with great fury, & drawing him along to the feet of the prince his father, there most cruelly strucke off his head: and in the same rage laying his bloudie hands vpon the aged prince, strucke off his head also; to the great dishonor of the viceroy, who had before giuen his faith for their safety. The heads of the Prince and his son were set vpon two launces, within the sight of the castle; which the defendants seeing, and now disparing of all rescue, yeelded themselues with the castle. This infortunate *Tzunites* was the last Prince of Smyrna, after whose death all his territorie was vnited to the *Othoman* kingdome. After all these troubles, *Amurath* with great triumph married the daughter of the Prince *Isfendiar*.

Amurath hauing laid vp in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the Grecian Princes had done, in giuing aid to the rebels aforesaid, thought it now high time to take reuenge of that wrong: and for that purpose gathered a great army, wherewith he ranged at his pleasure thorow Macedonia, vntill he came to Thessalonica, surprising by the way diuers cities and castles, at that time belonging to the Constantinopolitan empire. This famous citie of Thessalonica, now called Salonichi, for beautie and wealth sometime not inferiour to any of the greatest and most renowned cities of Grecia, is situate vpon the borders of Macedonia, close vnto a bay of the Archipelago or the sea Ægeum: which bay was in antient time called Thermaicus-Sinus, and now the bay of Salonichi. To the Christian congregation there dwelling, S. *Paul* wrote two Epistles, in the latter wherof, he forewarneth them of a great defection to come before the latter day. Before this Christian citie, then in the protection of the Venetians, *Amurath* encamped his great armie of misbeleeuing Turks; and laid hard siege to it with most terrible batterie: at which time he by secret means corrupted certaine of the wicked citizens, to haue betraid the citie by a secret mine, and to haue let him in, which treason was by the Venetian gouernours perceiued, and the plotters thereof for safegard of their liues glad to leape ouer the wals, and to flie into the Turks campe. *Thessalonica besieged.*

Amurath

Amurath hauing greatly increased the wals of the citie, the more to encourage his soldiers, promised to giue them all the spoile that they could by force win. The greedy desire whereof made euery common soldier prouided with double measures, put to death a number of valiant men, before any could enter, for enuie of their valour: and especially of the Janizaries, striuing, and euen fighting one with another for the entrance, and vnmercifully slaying those that resisted them. The Venetian soldiers fled to their gallies, lying at anchor in the ocean, so got to sea from the infinit miseries which the poore Christian citizens endured in the furie of that barbarous nation, no tongue is able to expresse, or pen describe: death was lesse pain than the ignominious outrages and vnspeakable villanies which many good Christians there suffered, heartily wishing to die, and could not; and yet the furious enemies sword deuoured all the people, without respect of age or sex, except such as for strength of body, or comlines of person, were reserued for painfull labor or beastly lust; which poore soules were afterwards dispersed into most miserable seruitude and slauerie, thorow all parts of the Turkish kingdom. The infinit riches of that famous city, became a spoile vnto the barbarous soldiers; the goodly houses were left desolate, void of inhabitants. Thus the beautifull citie of Thessalonica, somtime one of the most glorious ornaments of Græcia, the late pleasant dwelling place of many rich Christians, was by the tyrant giuen for an habitation to such base Turkes, as at their pleasure repaired thither to seat themselues, and so is by them at this day possessed. This calamitie happened to Thessalonica in the yeare of our Lord 1432.

Thessalonica taken by Amurath.

Thessalonica beeing thus taken, *Amurath* returned to Hadrianople himselfe, and at the same time sent *Caratze* with the greatest part of his armie into Ætolia. *Charles* prince of that countrey dying a little before the comming of *Amurath* to Thessalonica, and hauing no lawfull issue, had diuided the countrey of Acharnania amongst his three base sons, *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*, leauing all the rest of his dominion to his brothers sonne, called also *Charles*. But shortly after, such discord fell among these bretheren, that *Amurath* sending his Turks to aid one of them against the other, as he was by them requested, in fine brought all that countrey of Ætolia into subiection to himselfe, leauing nothing for the foolish brethren to striue for, more than the bare titles of imaginatiue honour. The other Grecian princes of Athens, Phocis, Boetia, and al the rest of Græcia, vnto the strait of Corinth, terrified by their neighbours harmes, were glad to submit themselues to the barbarian yoke, and to become tributaries vnto the Turkish tyrant; vnder which slauerie they of long time most miserably liued, if intollerable slauery ioyned with infidelitie may be accounted a life. Thus the Grecians lost their libertie, which their ancestors had many times before, to their immortall praise, worthily defended against the greatest Monarchs of the world, and are now so degenerate, by the meanes of the Turkish oppression, that in all Græcia is hardly to be found any small remembrance of the antient glorie thereof: insomuch that whereas they were wont to account all other nations barbarous in comparison of themselues, they are now become no lesse barbarous, than those rude nations whom they before scornd. Which misery with a thousand more, they may iustly impute to their owne ambition and discord.

At this time, among the distressed Princes of Macedonia and Græcia, one *Iohn Castriot* raigned in Epirus: who seeing how mightily the Turke preuailed against the princes his neighbors, and considering that he was not able by any meanes to withstand so puissant an enemie, to obtaine peace, he was glad to deliuer into *Amurath* his possession, his foure sons, *Stanisius*, *Reposius*, *Constantine*, and *George*, for hostages: whom *Amurath* faithfully promised, well and honorably to intreat. But assoone as he had got them within his reach, he falsified his faith, and caused them to be circumcised after the Turkish maner, and to be instructed in the Turkish superstition, to the great griefe of their Christian parents: and afterwards, when he vnderstood of the death of *Iohn Castriot* their father, he poisoned all the three elder brethren: and by *Sebaly* (one of his great captains) seised vpon Croia, his chiefe citie, and all the rest of his territories, as if they had by good right deuolued vnto him. But *George* the yongest, whom the Turks named *Scander-beg*, or lord *Alexander*, for his excellent feature, and pregnant wit, he alwaies entirely loued, and as some thought, more passionatly than he should haue loued a boy. Him he caused to be diligently instructed in all kind of actiuitie and feats of war, wherein he excelled al other his equals in *Amurath* his court; & rising by many degrees of honor, came at last (being yet but very young) to be a great Sanzack or gouernor of a prouince, and was many times appointed

A appointed by *Amurath* to be Gouernor vnder him, or whether he might be beloued and honoured more of all men, or that men feared and reuerenced his person with *Amurath* himself, it had before opportunitie by great proofe and triall, not long before, to be manifest vnto him, that his prowesse commen from the hereditarie disease of the Turkish monarke, as hath before at large appeared.

Shortly after that *Amurath* had driuen all the Princes of Græcia, he turned his forces into Seruia, against Prince *Lazarus*, who refusing to pay him a yeerly tribute, and to doe him such other seruice, as he had reasonably demaunded, *Amurath* inuaded the countrie, minding to haue wonne vnto him by force, or faire caught in marriage, and that he should not disturbe the Hungarians to passe through his countrie, when he should lead forth the same for the inuasion of the kingdome of Bosna. All which vnreasonable conditions the Prince was glad to agree vnto, and sent his faire daughter by *Saratze*, who was afterwards married to *Amurath*.

B About this time, *Isyphus* and *Machmutes*, *Amurath* his brethren, and *Orchanes* the sonne of *Solyman*, who had his eyes put out by his vncle *Mahomet*, with many other men of great account among the Turks, died of the plague at Prusa. *Plague among the Turkes.*

Whileft *Amurath* was thus busied in his wars in Europe, the king of Caramania his brother in law, inuaded his dominions in Asia: for so it was agreed between the Christian Princes of Europe, and the Mahometan princes of Asia, to whom the greatnes of the *Othoman* kingdome was now become dreadful, That whensoeuer he inuaded the Christians in Europe, the Mahometan princes should inuade his countries in Asia; and that whensoeuer he should turn his forces into Asia, the Christian princes should spoile his countries in Europ. Against this Caramanian king, *Amurath* transported his army into Asia; & as he went, seised vpon the countries of Sarucania, Mentesia, and other prouinces, which were before but tributaries vnto him, driuing out the poore princes before him; & so entred into Caramania, and inforced the King so far, that he was glad to agree to such conditions of peace as it pleased him to propound vnto him, & to send his son to wait at his court. And at the same time picking a quarrel with *Isfendiar* prince of Castamona, caused him to become his tributarie, & to send his son to his court also. By which means the name of *Amurath* became terrible to all the Mahometan princes.

When *Amurath* had thus quieted all his troubles in Asia, he returned to Hadrianople: and vnderstanding that the Hungarians passing ouer Danubius, had in his absence made diuers incursions into his dominions, he was therewith greatly offended; and in reuenge thereof first sent *Alis Bassa* the son of *Eurenoses*, with an armie to inuade Hungaria; which he performed accordingly by the space of a moneth, and returned from thence with rich bootie. Not long after, he himselfe in person made another road into Hungary, commanding the prince of Seruia his father in law, to giue his armie free passage through his country; and charging *Dracula* prince of Valachia to aid him with his forces in that expedition: which his commandement both the Christian princes (more for feare, than of good will) diligently performed. So *Amurath* hauing inriched his souldiers with the spoile taken in Hungarie, returned home and wintred at his court at Hadrianople. *Hungarie spoiled by Amurath*

D

E The secret confederation betweene the Hungarians and the Mahometan King of Caramania, was not vnsuspected of *Amurath*, which hee was the rather induced to beleeue, for that whensoeuer he inuaded the one, he was presently set vpon by the other, either in Europe or in Asia: of which plot hee doubted not but that *George* prince of Seruia (his father in law) was chiefe author, although in shew he was therein the least actor. Wherfore *Amurath* intending to spill the play, sent for the prince his father in law to come to the court at Hadrianople: but he doubting some Turkish tragedie, pretended great occasions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterwards fel out, fortified and manned all his strong cities and castles by all means he could possibly, especially his chiefe citie Semendre (otherwise called Spenderouia) and left therein his son *Gregorie* (or as some call him, *George*) as gouernor; for his other

F son *Stephan* was long before in *Amurath* his court, with the Queene his sister. The prince of Seruia himselfe went into Hungarie to procure from thence some aid, hauing there also himselfe certaine territories, which he had in exchange of *Sigismundus* (late Emperor and King of Hungarie) for the citie of Belgrade. It was not long after, but *Amurath* forgetting both the affinitie and league hee had with the Prince his father in law, entered with a great armie into Seruia,

Amurath contrary to his faith inuadeth Seruia and subdueth it.

Seruia, destroying all before him, and hardly besieged Semendre: where, after long siege the young gouernour (the Princes son) doubting to fall into his enemies hands by sudden assault, yeelded himselfe, with the citie: which thing so discouraged the rest of the Seruians, that in short time, Sophia, Nouomont, with all the rest of the cities of Seruia, were yeelded into the power of *Amurath*. After which conquest hee returned to Hadrianople, and hearing that the Prince of Seruia with the Hungarians, were making head against him, and that the two young Seruian Princes, *Gregorie* and *Stephen*, his wiues brethren, had intelligence with their father, he commanded them both to be cast in prison at Dydimoticum, & their eyes cruelly to be burnt out with a brasen bason made red hot, a common vnmercifull practise among the Turks.

About this time, *Albertus* duke of Austria, hauing before maried *Elizabeth* the only daughter of *Sigismund* the Emperour, and succeeding his father in law both in the empire and kingdome of Hungarie (vnto which type of highest honour nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of *Sigismund*) in the second yeare of his raigne, before hee was well setled in those new atchieued honors, died of the flix, as he was making great preparation against *Amurath* the Turkish King: who hauing lately driuen *George* Prince of Seruia and Rascia out of his dominions, had now extended the Turkish kingdom euen vnto the borders of Hungarie. This *Albertus* dying, left his wife great with childe. The Hungarians, in whose minds the remembrance of *Sigismund* was yet fresh, could haue bin contented to haue liued vnder the gouernment of the Queene his daughter, the widow of *Albertus* (then great with child;) but that the Turkish King was now grown so great, & come so nigh, that it was thought more than needfull by *Iohn Huniades*, and other of the Hungarian nobilitie, for the defence of that kingdome, not wholly to rest vpon the deuotion of the people toward the Queene, and the expectation of her issue, whereby they should be nothing strengthned: but to make choice of some great Prince, by whose power they might the better defend themselues and the kingdome against their dangerous enemies. Whereupon with consent of the Queene, it was resolued vpon, to make choice of *Vladislaus*, the yong King of Polonia, then a Prince of great power, but of farre greater fame and expectation: and by Embassadours to offer vnto him the marriage of the Queene, and with her, the kingdome also. This embassage being sent vnto *Vladislaus*, the matter was to and fro debated in the Polonian Court, whether it were to be accepted of or not? Some began to speake of the inequalitie of the match, considering that the King was but in the prime of his youth, and the Queen well stept into yeares; vrging farther, that nothing was offered in that match but wars; and that the Hungarians therein sought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces to defend themselues against the Turkes. Others of the contrarie opinion, said, that the vniting of those two mightie kingdomes would be to the great good of them both, and to the great honour of the king, whose very name would thereby become terrible vnto the Turkes: and that it were greater pollicie, by the forces of both the Kingdomes, to keepe the Turkish king from entring into Hungarie, than to leaue that kingdome to him land for a prey, & afterward be inforst to fight with the same enemie in the heart of Polonia: and as for inequalitie of yeres betwixt the King and the Queene, it was not so great a matter, that in regard therof so honorable & commodious alliance should be reiected; for as much as Princes do more regard the vertues of their choice, with the increase of their honor & wealth of their kingdoms than the summer fruit of youth & beauty, which of it selfin short time doth rot & perish, although it be neuer so carefully kept and preserued: and that for as much as there can be but one king in a kingdom, such choice was to be preferred of Kings had not therin the greatest hope of many children. After long deliberation, *Vladislaus* gaue answer to the embassadors, That he would accept of the offers by them made: wherupon some of them returned to make relation to the Queene, and some of them staied behind to hasten the king forward. But whilst these things were a doing, the Queen in the mean time was deliuered of a faire sonne, whom she caused to be baptized & named *Ladislaus*. After the birth of this child, the Queen moued with a motherly affection, began to repent her selfe, that she had giuen her consent for the calling in of the Polonian king, to the preiudice of her son. And being animated by some of the Hungarian nobilitie (who presuming of the good grace they were in with the Queen, hoped to grow great themselues, if they might first draw the gouernment of that kingdom to the Queen & her yong son) determined now by all means to exclude the Polonian King: but the greater part of the nobilitie better considering what was most expedient for

Vladislaus accepteth of the kingdome offered.

for the present estate, and that they could neither with honour or safetie flie from that which was before (for the common good) by the Embassadors concluded; continued firme in their former resolution for the bringing in of *Vladislaus*: so that by this meanes, some taking part with the Queene and her young sonne, and others standing fast for *Vladislaus*, the kingdome of Hungarie was diuided into two factions, and as it were rent in pieces, & so grew to ciuil wars. The Queene with such as fauored her claime, the more to gaine the minds of the common people, (which are many times no lesse carried away with shews than matter) caused her son *Ladislaus* (being then but three moneths old) solemnly to be crowned King at Alba-Regalis, the vsuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian Kings. But after that the Polonian King had entred into Hungarie with a goodly armie, and ioyned his forces with his friends, most part of them which before followed the Queene and her sonne, reuolted vnto *Vladislaus*. So that when she had done what she could, shee was glad at last to commit the tuition of her son, together with the crowne of Hungarie, vnto *Fredericke* the third, then Emperour: neuer ceasing for all that, to the vttermost of her power, to trouble the gouernment of *Vladislaus*, continually stirring vp great warres against him both at home and abroad, vntill that at the last by her death her quarrell tooke end, together with her life.

In the midst of these ciuill wars, *Amurath* thought a faire opportunitie presented vnto him, to make an entrance vnto the conquest of Hungarie, which kingdome he had in his ambitious mind alreadie deuoured. And therefore gathering a great armie, he marched along the riuer Danubius, vntil he came to the strong citie of Belgrade, called in antient time Taurunum, and of some Alba Græca, but now commonly Grecis Weisenburg. This citie is inuironed on the East side with the famous riuer Danubius, and on the South with the great riuer of Saus or Sawe, which there falleth into Danubius; and on the other two sides is defended with strong walls, with deep and large ditches; and was then accounted the gate or entrance into Hungarie. Vnto this citie *Amurath* at his first comming gaue two terrible assaults, and was in good hope so to haue woon the same, but yet was both times valiantly repulsed, with great slaughter of his men. Wherefore finding it to be a matter of more difficultie than was by him at the first supposed, he began to raise mounts against the Citie, and high towers of wood to annoy the defendants, and furiously battered the walls. At this time also he caused great numbers of gallies and small pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of Danubius and Sawe, to assault the citie on those parts where was least feared, and by that meanes also to keepe them of the citie from all succors to be sent that way out of Hungarie. Yet for all he could do or deuise, the citie was still valiantly defended by the Christian soldiers, which vnder the leading and conduct of *Ioannes Vranus* a Florentine, gouernor thereof, with often sallies and continual shot slew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this siege, *Vladislaus* King of Polonia, & lately elect King of Hungarie, was sore troubled by the Queene & her faction in Hungarie: which thing the Turkish King knew right wel, and therupon continued his siege, although famin began greatly to increase in his campe, hoping in nothing more, than that the defendants despairing of helpe from the King, would in short time yeeld vp the citie. *Vladislaus* being so intangled with ciuill wars, as is aforesaid, that he could not possibly prepare such force as might raise the siege, by sending vnto him the like embassage. Wherupon he sent *Debrogosius*, *Ostrorogenus*, and *Lucas Gorsensis*, three of the Polonian nobilitie, embassadors vnto *Amurath*; declaring vnto him, That for so much as he had offered by his embassadors, to ioyne with him in league before he came out of Polonia, the remembrance thereof had taken such deep impression in his mind, that he would not take vp armes against him, although it were in his own iust defence, before he had offered him reasonable conditions of peace: wherefore if hee would desist from inuading of Hungarie (whereof *Vladislaus* was now by God his permission, & consent of the people, chosen King) and so raise his siege, that then they should afterwards easily agree vpon the desired peace: in concluding whereof, he should not find *Vladislaus* inferior to himselfe in any manner of princely courtesie: but if hee had rather proceed in armes, and to make proofe of his strength, he would then do the best that he could, to make him know that he was of sufficient power, in so iust a quarrel to withstand his greatest forces, & to reuenge the wrongs to him done. When *Amurath* had receiued this embassage, he appointed the Embassadors

Belgrade besieged of the Turks.

Belgrade in vaine assaulted.

sadours to withdraw themselues for a while to Synderouia (a citie of Seruia, not farre off, vntill he might better consider of their demands; pretending, that he did it for their safetie: but as appeared afterward, secretly resoluing with himselfe, presently to do his vttermost deuoire, for the gaining of the city, & vpon the successe therof to shape them answer accordingly. Wherfore so soon as the embassadors were departed to Synderouia, he first by his messengers assured the minds of the citizens and soldiers with magnifical promises of large liberties, and infinit rewards and preferments, if they would yeeld vp the citie: and many arrowes with letters made fast vnto them, full of like promises, were at the same time shot into the citie. But when he saw no hope to preuaile by that means, he called together the captains and commanders of his armie, and there in the presence of them all, spake vnto them as followeth:

The notable speech of Amurath to encourage his soldiers to the assault of Belgrade.

Although I know it is in mine owne power, to grant, or not to grant, the peace whereof our enemies haue made a motion: yet it is my pleasure (worthie souldiers) to know your minds also. For so much as wee haue that warre in hand, wherein with worldly felicitie, (whereof amongst you I hold the chiefe place) is also endangered in our religion, and puritie of life; the defence and care whereof equally belongeth vnto vs all: for although we differ much one from another in the manner of our vocation, and liuing here, yet after death we all hope for one and the selfe same felicitie. And therefore I would haue you to vnderstand all that I shall say, as proceeding not of any regard of mine owne priuate, but vpon the consideration of the common good of you all. For as concerning mine owne estate, I possesse so large countries in Asia, such great dominions in Europe, that either part thereof (in good time bee it sayd) might seeme a sufficient kingdome: so that perhaps it might better stand with my estate, to take more care, for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for the gaining of more: but you are to consider with your selues, whether you haue euery man sufficient to suffice himselfe or not, and how long you thinke your selues assured of the same; and moreouer, that together with these worldly things, wee shall be driuen at length to forsake our profession and religion, if wee shall now lay downe armes. For our enemies require, that wee should first cease from warre, and then afterwards they thinke it meete to talke of peace. I will not speake of the indignitie, that men besieged, and in euill plight, should propound condition of peace to them that besiege them, and are well furnished of all things; that feeble and cowardly men should prompt peace vnto couragious and expert souldiers: I omit what labour and paines we haue taken in laying our siege, in raising of mounts, in making of shipping; all which, our enemies command vs to forsake, as if they had vs alreadie bound or couped vp in hold, as wee haue them. All Bulgaria, and the greater part of Rascia is now by vs conquered, and most part of Seruia is at our commaund: all which places are by vs either to bee kept, or else all the rest of that wee possesse in Europe, is with them to bee quite lost and forsaken. Whosoeuer shall haue in their power this Citie which wee besiege (and that our enemies know right well) shall haue not onely as it were a fortresse and bulwarke of defence for his owne, but also a Castle and entrance for the subduing of others. The Kingdome of Hungarie is now diuided in it selfe, and full of domisticall sedition: neither is it so much strengthened by the uniting of the kingdome of Polonia, as it is by ciuill dissention weakened. And in this motion of peace nothing is sought for, but to gaine time for the pacifying of their priuate quarrels, that they may afterward with their double forces set vpon vs. For if wee shall breake vp our siege before wee haue woon the citie, they will easily finde delayes so long to protract the conclusion of peace, vntill that either Vladislaus *his good fortune, or else the Hungarians beeing of themselues better aduised, shall make an end of their ciuill warres. What manner & conditions of peace wil they then require of vs, when they are at vnitie amongst themselues, and in armes against vs; seeing that now beeing in danger with mutuall discord, and almost by vs vanquished, they thinke it reasonable (as if they had woon the field) that wee should first raise our siege, and then intreat of peace? Their proud demaunds for the restitution of Bulgaria and Rascia, with other countries and cities woon by our trauell and danger, alreadie sound in mine eares: which if wee shall refuse to grant, not onely the Hungarians beeing then at vnitie among themselues, but also the Polonians, ioyned vnto them, will bring those warres home to our doores, which wee now at great aduantage make vpon them, troubled with discord and ciuill broiles. And if for desire of peace we could bee content to yeeld vnto such shamefull and miserable conditions, and restore vnto them all they should or in reason could desire: doe you thinke the Prince of Seruia would rest contented with his owne, whose haughtie minde (I am sure) beeing inflate with the combining of two such mightie kingdomes, thinketh not onely of the recouerie of that hee hath lost, but euen now gapeth at all that is ours in Europe. He will not thinke himselfe satisfied, before hee (hauing*

uing brought the Hungarian and Polonian Forces against vs) shal see the same hauocke and spoile made in our kingdome with fire and sword, which he hath before seene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune should answer his designes (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beside all the miserable and intolerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angrie Conquerour, it is accounted with them for a goaly and religious worke, to vse all cruell and vnspeakeable villanies against our nation, except we wil forsake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs by our ancestours, and follow their new and incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more easily and effectually procure the fauor of God with any kind of sacrifice or seruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our Temples, by scoffing at our most sacred and secret Rites and ceremonies, by scorning our Religion and Priests: and that you may know all the furie wherewith they rage against vs and our Religion, they account all them for holie Saints which die in fight against vs. There is no cause (valiant souldiers) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we should expect whilest the enemie doth gather and vnite his forces and armes against vs, especially such an enemie as propoundeth not spoyle and worldly honours, but immortalitie it selfe, as a reward of his victorie. We haue alreadie taken much more labour than we haue to take, we haue filled the ditches with restlesse labour, we haue cast vp bulwarkes equall with the walls, and part of the walls we haue beaten euen with the ground, so that you see the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gaining whereof, all that ours is, may be made safe and quiet; and that which our enemie possesseth, subiect to our spoyle and prey. If you will but a little enforce your selues, as men mindful of our good fortune and forwardnesse, you shall find our temples, our sacrifices, our religion, all worlaly and heauenly felicitie to be then assured vnto vs, when as you shall to morrow ouerthrow the verie foundation of the enemies wal. Then (couragious souldiers) we may crie, Victorie, not for the present, but for euer. If this war should bring vnto vs nothing else but an assured securitie of our estate, it were sufficient reward; for which we ought cherefully to aduenture our selues to all dangers, and to challenge in combat euen death it selfe. But as this victorie doth defend all our things as with a deepe trench, or sure wall, so doth it lay open and expose all our enemies dominions vnto danger and spoyle. Hitherto we haue striuen with nature her selfe in the rough and abrupt mountaines of Bulgaria and Rascia, where we were to striue with hunger, thirst, labour, and desperation: all them we haue ouercome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull Hungarie, from whence we must fetch the guerdon of our victorie, and the ground of our glorie. We are come to the gates, which being layd open, we are not to passe ouer inaccessible rockes, or vncoth desarts, but we shall goe thorow most pleasant places, decked both by Nature her selfe, and the industrie of man; where the temperatenesse of the aire, and liuely Springs, with the fruitfulnesse of the soile, doth euery where yeeld plentie of all manner of food both for man and beast, not only to serue for natures necessitie, but euen to glut our wanton desires. What thing soeuer curious endeauor hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertilitie of the soile yeeldeth plentifully of it selfe: so that it is to be thought, that nature adorned Hungary with a certain extraordinarie care, when as she would set forth a patterne of good husbandrie for other countries to imitate. Neither hath she in any place bin more bountifull in bestowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men most painfully dig vp, and that in few places, the Hungarians gather at their ease, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthie souldiers) whether you will to morrow open a way to all these good things for your selues for euer, or else leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you go vnto the breach, that all the store of happie fortune is laid open vnto you for a prey, without any other defence, without any other garrison, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wiues, children, your houses, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: ouer whom, except you win this citie, the furie and insolencie of the victorious enemie will most cruelly and shamefully insult. I, according as I shall see you fight at the breach to morrow, shall easily perceiue how you are set downe to command as Conquerors, or else as slaues to be commanded; and also what to answer to the most insolent demands of the proud Embassadors. In the meane time make much of your selues, and together with your armor haue all things in readinesse, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may assault the breach.

The Turkish captains for that time ioyfully departed, as if they had been alreadie assured of the victorie, & of all those good things which *Amurath* had so liuely set before their eys. The next morning verie early, *Amurath* commanded the assault to be giuen to a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall batterie: the soldiers with great courage assailed the breach, especially the Ianizaries, who vnder the leading of *Haly Bassa* valiantly woon the

sadours to withdraw themselues for a while to Synderouia (a citie of Seruia, not farre off, vntill he might better consider of their demands; pretending, that he did it for their safetie: but as appeared afterward, secretly resoluing with himselfe, presently to do his vttermost deuoire, for the gaining of the city, & vpon the successe therof to shape them answer accordingly. Wherfore so soon as the embassadors were departed to Synderouia, he first by his messengers assailed the minds of the citizens and soldiers with magnifical promises of large liberties, and infinit rewards and preferments, if they would yeeld vp the citie: and many arrowes with letters made fast vnto them, full of like promises, were at the same time shot into the citie. But when he saw no hope to preuaile by that means, he called together the captains and commanders of his armie, and there in the presence of them all, spake vnto them as followeth:

The notable speech of Amurath to encourage his souldiers to the assault of Belgrade.

Although I know it is in mine owne power, to grant, or not to grant, the peace whereof our enemies haue made a motion: yet it is my pleasure (worthie souldiers) to know your minds also. For so much as wee haue that warre in hand, wherein with worldly felicitie, (whereof amongst you I hold the chiefe place) is also endangered in our religion, and puritie of life; the defence and care whereof equally belongeth vnto vs all: for although we differ much one from another in the manner of our vocation, and liuing here, yet after death we all hope for one and the selfe same felicitie. And therefore I would haue you to vnderstand all that I shall say, as proceeding not of any regard of mine owne priuate, but vpon the consideration of the common good of you all. For as concerning mine owne estate, I possesse so large countries in Asia, such great dominions in Europe, that either part thereof (in good time bee it sayd) might seeme a sufficient kingdome: so that perhaps it might better stand with my estate, to take more care, for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for the gaining of more: but you are to consider with your selues, whether you haue euery man sufficient to suffice himselfe or not, and how long you thinke your selues assured of the same; and moreouer, that together with these worldly things, wee shall be driuen at length to forsake our profession and religion, if wee shall now lay downe armes. For our enemies require, that wee should first cease from warre, and then afterwards they thinke it meete to talke of peace. I will not speake of the indignitie, that men besieged, and in euill plight, should propound condition of peace to them that besiege them, and are well furnished of all things; that feeble and cowardly men should prouide peace vnto courageous and expert souldiers: I omit what labour and paines we haue taken in laying our siege, in raising of mounts, in making of shipping; all which, our enemies command vs to forsake, as if they had vs already bound or coupe vp in hold, as wee haue them. All Bulgaria, and the greater part of Rascia is now by vs conquered, and most part of Seruia is at our commaund: all which places are by vs either to bee kept, or else all the rest of that wee possesse in Europe, is with them to bee quite lost and forsaken. Whosoeuer shall haue in their power this Citie which wee besiege (and that our enemies know right well) shall haue not onely as it were a fortresse and bulwarke of defence for his owne, but also a Castle and entrance for the subduing of others. The Kingdome of Hungarie is now diuided in it selfe, and full of domisticall sedition: neither is it so much strengthened by the uniting of the kingdome of Polonia, as it is by ciuill dissention weakened. And in this motion of peace nothing is sought for, but to gaine time for the pacifying of their priuate quarrels, that they may afterward with their double forces set vpon vs. For if wee shall breake vp our siege before wee haue woon the citie, they will easily finde delayes so long to protract the conclusion of peace, vntill that either Vladislaus his good fortune, or else the Hungarians beeing of themselues better aduised, shall make an end of their ciuill warres. What manner & conditions of peace wil they then require of vs, when they are at vnitie amongst themselues, and in armes against vs; seeing that now beeing in danger with mutuall discord, and almost by vs vanquished, they thinke it reasonable (as if they had woon the field) that wee should first raise our siege, and then intreat of peace? Their proud demaunds for the restitution of Bulgaria and Rascia, with other countries and cities woon by our trauell and danger, already sound in mine eares: which if wee shall refuse to grant, not onely the Hungarians beeing then at vnitie among themselues, but also the Polonians, ioyned vnto them, will bring those warres home to our doores, which wee now at great aduantage make vpon them, troubled with discord and ciuill broiles. And if for desire of peace we could bee content to yeeld vnto such shamefull and miserable conditions, and restore vnto them all they should or in reason could desire: doe you thinke the Prince of Seruia would rest contented with his owne, whose haughtie minde (I am sure) beeing inflate with the combining of two such mightie kingdomes, thinketh not onely of the recouerie of that hee hath lost, but euen now gapeth at all that is ours in Europe. He will not thinke himselfe satisfied, before hee (hauing

uing brought the Hungarian and Polonian Forces against vs) shal see the same hauocke and spoile made in our kingdome with fire and sword, which he hath before seene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune should answer his designes (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beside all the miserable and intolerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angrie Conquerour, it is accounted with them for a goaly and religious worke, to vse all cruell and vnspeakeable villanies against our nation, except we wil forsake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs by our ancestours, and follow their new and incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more easily and effectually procure the fauor of God with any kind of sacrifice or seruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our Temples, by scoffing at our most sacred and secret Rites and ceremonies, by scorning our Religion and Priests: and that you may know all the furie wherewith they rage against vs and our Religion, they account all them for holie Saints which die in fight against vs. There is no cause (valiant souldiers) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we should expect whilest the enemie doth gather and vnite his forces and armes against vs, especially such an enemie as propoundeth not spoyle and worldly honours, but immortalitie it selfe, as a reward of his victorie. We haue alreadie taken much more labour than we haue to take, we haue filled the ditches with restlesse labour, we haue cast vp bulwarkes equall with the walls, and part of the walls we haue beaten euen with the ground, so that you see the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gaining whereof, all that ours is, may be made safe and quiet; and that which our enemie possesseth, subiect to our spoyle and prey. If you will but a little enforce your selues, as men mindful of our good fortune and forwardnesse, you shall find our temples, our sacrifices, our religion, all worldly and heauenly felicitie to be then assured vnto vs, when as you shall to morrow ouerthrow the verie foundation of the enemies wal. Then (couragious souldiers) we may crie, Victorie, not for the present, but for euer. If this war should bring vnto vs nothing else but an assured securitie of our estate, it were sufficient reward, for which we ought cherefully to aduenture our selues to all dangers, and to challenge in combat euen death it selfe. But as this victorie doth defend all our things as with a deepe trench, or sure wall, so doth it lay open and expose all our enemies dominions vnto danger and spoyle. Hitherto we haue striuen with nature her selfe in the rough and abrupt mountaines of Bulgaria and Rascia, where we were to striue with hunger, thirst, labour, and desperation: all them we haue ouercome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull Hungarie, from whence we must fetch the guerdon of our victorie, and the ground of our glorie. We are come to the gates, which being layd open, we are not to passe ouer inaccessible rockes, or vncoth desarts, but we shall goe thorow most pleasant places, decked both by Nature her selfe, and the industrie of man; where the temperatenesse of the aire, and liuely Springs, with the fruitfulnesse of the soile, doth euery where yeeld plentie of all manner of food both for man and beast, not only to serue for natures necessitie, but euen to glut our wanton desires. What thing soeuer curious endeauor hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertilitie of the soile yeeldeth plentifully of it selfe: so that it is to be thought, that nature adorned Hungary with a certain extraordinarie care, when as she would set forth a patterne of good husbandrie for other countries to imitate. Neither hath she in any place bin more bountifull in bestowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men most painfully dig vp, and that in few places, the Hungarians gather at their ease, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthie soldiers) whether you will to morrow open a way to all these good things for your selues for euer, or else leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you go vnto the breach, that all the store of happie fortune is laid open vnto you for a prey, without any other defence, without any other garrison, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wiues, children, your houses, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: ouer whom, except you win this citie, the furie and insolencie of the victorious enemie will must cruelly and shamefully insult. I, according as I shall see you fights at the breach to morrow, shall easily perceiue how you are set downe to command as Conquerors, or else as slaues to be commanded; and also what to answer ■ the most insolent demands of the proud Embassadors. In the meane time make much of your selues, and together with your armor haue all things in readinesse, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may assault the breach.

The Turkish captains for that time joyfully departed, as if they had been alreadie assured of the victorie, & of all those good things which *Amurath* had so liuely set before their eys. The next morning verie early, *Amurath* commanded the assault to be giuen to a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall batterie: the soldiers with great courage assailed the breach, especially the Ianizaries, who vnder the leading of *Haly Bassa* valiantly woon the

sadours to withdraw themselues for a while to Synderouia (a citie of Seruia, not farre off) vntill he might better consider of their demands; pretending, that he did it for their safetie: but as appeared afterward, secretly resoluing with himselfe, presently to do his vttermost deuoire, for the gaining of the city, & vpon the successe therof to shape them answer accordingly. Wherfore so soon as the embassadors were departed to Synderouia, he first by his messengers assailed the minds of the citizens and soldiers with magnifical promises of large liberties, and infinit rewards and preferments, if they would yeeld vp the citie: and many arrowes with letters made fast vnto them, full of like promises, were at the same time shot into the citie. But when he saw no hope to preuaile by that means, he called together the captains and commanders of his armie, and there in the presence of them all, spake vnto them as followeth:

The notable speech of Amurath to encourage his souldiers to the assault of Belgrade.

Although I know it is in mine owne power, to grant, or not to grant, the peace whereof our enemies haue made a motion: yet it is my pleasure (worthie souldiers) to know your minds also. For so much as wee haue that warre in hand, wherein with worldly felicitie, (whereof amongst you I hold the chiefe place) is also endangered in our religion, and puritie of life; the defence and care whereof equally belongeth vnto vs all: for although we differ much one from another in the manner of our vocation, and liuing here, yet after death we all hope for one and the selfe same felicitie. And therefore I would haue you to vnderstand all that I shall say, as proceeding not of any regard of mine owne priuate, but vpon the consideration of the common good of you all. For as concerning mine owne estate, I possesse so large countries in Asia, such great dominions in Europe, that either part thereof (in good time bee it sayd) might seeme a sufficient kingdome: so that perhaps it might better stand with my estate, to take more care, for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for the gaining of more: but you are to consider with your selues, whether you haue euery man sufficient to suffice himselfe or not, and how long you thinke your selues assured of the same; and moreouer, that together with these worldly things, wee shall be driuen at length to forsake our profession and religion, if wee shall now lay downe armes. For our enemies require, that wee should first cease from warre, and then afterwards they thinke it meete to talke of peace. I will not speake of the indignitie, that men besieged, and in euill plight, should propound conditions of peace to them that besiege them, and are well furnished of all things; that feeble and cowardly men should propose peace vnto courageous and expert souldiers: I omit what labour and paines we haue taken in laying our siege, in raising of mounts, in making of shipping; all which, our enemies command vs to forsake, as if they had vs alreadie bound or couped vp in hold, as wee haue them. All Bulgaria, and the greater part of Rascia is now by vs conquered, and most part of Seruia is at our commaund: all which places are by vs either to bee kept, or else all the rest of that wee possesse in Europe, is with them to bee quite lost and forsaken. Whosoeuer shall haue in their power this Citie which wee besiege (and that our enemies know right well) shall haue not onely as it were a fortresse and bulwarke of defence for his owne, but also a Castle and entrance for the subduing of others. The Kingdome of Hungarie is now diuided in it selfe, and full of domist call sedition: neither is it so much strengthened by the vniting of the kingdome of Polonia, as it is by ciuill dissention weakened. And in this motion of peace nothing is sought for, but to gaine time for the pacifying of their priuate quarrels, that they may afterward with their double forces set vpon vs. For if wee shall breake vp our siege before wee haue woon the citie, they will easily finde delayes so long to protract the conclusion of peace, vntill that either Vladislaus his good fortune, or else the Hungarians beeing of themselues better aduised, shall make an end of their ciuill warres. What manner & conditions of peace wil they then require of vs, when they are at vnitie amongst themselues, and in armes against vs; seeing that now beeing in danger with mutuall discord, and almost by vs vanquished, they thinke it reasonable (as if they had woon the field) that wee should first raise our siege, and then intreat of peace? Their proud demaunds for the restitution of Bulgaria and Rascia, with other countries and cities woon by our trauell and danger, alreadie sound in mine eares: which if wee shall refuse to grant, not onely the Hungarians beeing then at vnitie among themselues, but also the Polonians, ioyned vnto them, will bring those warres home to our doores, which wee now at great aduantage make vpon them, troubled with discord and ciuill broiles. And if for desire of peace we could bee content to yeeld vnto such shamefull and miserable conditions, and restore vnto them all they should or in reason could desire: doe you thinke the Prince of Seruia would rest contented with his owne, whose haughtie minde (I am sure) beeing inflate with the combining of two such mightie kingdomes, thinketh not onely of the recouerie of that hee hath lost, but euen now gapeth at all that is ours in Europe. He will not thinke himselfe satisfied, before hee (hauing

uing brought the Hungarian and Polonian Forces against vs) shal see the same hauocke and spoile made in our kingdome with fire and sword, which he hath before seene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune should answer his designes (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beside all the miserable and intolerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angrie Conquerour, it is accounted with them for a goaly and religious worke, to vse all cruell and vnspeakeable villanies against our nation, except we wil forsake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs by our ancestours, and follow their new and incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more easily and effectually procure the fauor of God with any kind of sacrifice or seruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our Temples, by scoffing at our most sacred and secret Rites and ceremonies, by scorning our Religion and Priests: and that you may know all the furie wherewith they rage against vs and our Religion, they accounts all them for holie Saints which die in fight against vs. There is no cause (valiant souldiers) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we should expect whilest the enemie doth gather and vnite his forces and armes against vs, especially such an enemie as propoundeth not spoyle and worldly honours, but immortalitie it selfe, as a reward of his victorie. We haue alreadie taken much more labour than we haue to take, we haue filled the ditches with restlesse labour, we haue cast vp bulwarkes equall with the walls, and part of the walls we haue beaten euen with the ground, so that you see the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gaining whereof, all that ours is, may be made safe and quiet; and that which our enemie possesseth, subiect to our spoyle and prey. If you will but a little enforce your selues, as men mindful of our good fortune and forwardnesse, you shall find our temples, our sacrifices, our religion, all worlaly and heauenly felicitie to be then assured vnto vs, when as you shall to morrow ouerthrow the verie foundation of the enemies wal. Then (couragious souldiers) we may crie, Victorie, not for the present, but for euer. If this war should bring vnto vs nothing else but an assured securitie of our estate, it were sufficient reward, for which we ought cherefully to aduenture our selues ■ all dangers, and to challenge in combat euen death it selfe. But as this victorie doth defend all our things as with a deepe trench, or sure wall, so doth it lay open and expose all our enemies dominions vnto danger and spoyle. Hitherto we haue striuen with nature her selfe in the rough and abrupt mountaines of Bulgaria and Rascia, where we were to striue with hunger, thirst, labour, and desperation: all them we haue ouercome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull Hungarie, from whence we must fetch the guerdon of our victorie, and the ground of our glorie. We are come to the gates, which being layd open, we are not ■ passe ouer inaccessible rockes, or vncoth desarts, but we shall goe thorow most pleasant places, decked both by Nature her selfe, and the industrie of man; where the temperatenesse of the aire, and liuely Springs, with the fruitfulnesse of the soile, doth euery where yeeld plentie of all manner of food both for man and beast, not only to serue for natures necessitie, but euen to glut our wanton desires. What thing soeuer curious endeauor hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertilitie of the soile yeeldeth plentifully of it selfe: so that it is to be thought, that nature adorned Hungary with a certain extraordinarie care, when as she would set forth a patterne of good husbandrie for other countries to imitate. Neither hath she in any place bin more bountifull in bestowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men most painfully dig vp, and that in few places, the Hungarians gather at their ease, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthie soldiers) whether you will to morrow open a way to all these good things for your selues for euer, or else leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you go vnto the breach, that all the store of happie fortune is laid open vnto you for a prey, without any other defence, without any other garrison, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wiues, children, your houses, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: ouer whom, except you win this citie, the furie and insolencie of the victorious enemie will most cruelly and shamefully insult. I, according as I shall see you fight at the breach to morrow, shall easily perceiue how you are set downe to command as Conquerors, or else as slaues to be commanded; and also what to answer to the most insolent demands of the proud Embassadors. In the meane time make much of your selues, and together with your armor haue all things in readinesse, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may assault the breach.

The Turkish captains for that time joyfully departed, as if they had been alreadie assured of the victorie, & of all those good things which *Amurath* had so liuely set before their eys. The next morning verie early, *Amurath* commanded the assault to be giuen to a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall batterie: the soldiers with great courage assailed the breach, especially the Ianizaries, who vnder the leading of *Haly Bassa* valiantly woon the

the same, and were entring the citie with assured hope of victorie. The Christians seeing all in danger to be lost, running to the breach from all parts of the citie, so forcibly charged the proud Ianizaries on euery side, that they were glad to retyre with more hast than they before entred: in which retrait many of them were slaine, and the rest flying out at the breach, were either slain, or burnt to death in the town ditch with wild fire; whereof the defendants had cast great store vpon the Turks at the breach, which hauing taken hold vpon the fagots, burdles, and other light matter, wherewith the Turks had vpon the sudden made their way ouer the town ditch, did so terribly burne, that the Ianizaries which had entred the breach, being again repulsed, were in that fierie lake consumed, or else with smoke strangled. In this assault *Amurath* is reported to haue lost 8000 of his best men, beside 7000 others ouerwhelmed or strangled in the mines, by the countermines of the Christians. The other part of the Turks, which at the same time assaulted the citie by water, out of their gallies and small ships, had as euill or rather worse successe: many of them were sunke with great shot, & some burnt by the fire cast from the walls, and so fired one another; and diuers of them in that sudden feare, for auoyding of that present danger, ran a ground vpon the shelfs in the riuer, and so split. *Amurath* wonderfully discouraged with the slaughter of his men, and shamefully beaten from the assault, returned to his campe with his Turks, much like men which had lately escaped from some great shipwracke. And thus partly by famin, and partly by the defendants force, hauing lost the greatest part of his army, he determined now after seuen months siege to return home. Yet because he would not encourage his enemies by shewing his feare, he sent for the Embassadors into the campe, and with sterne countenance answered them in this sort.

Belgrade notably defended by the Christians.

Amurath his answer to the Embassadors.

We will (said he) *then talke of peace, when* Vladislaus *shall deliuer vnto vs all that part of Rascia which he yet holdeth, and also this citie of Belgrade as a pledge of the league. And for this time I will raise my siege, to giue* Vladislaus *time to aduise himselfe: yet I would wish him rather to accept of my friendship vpon these conditions, than by denying that little which is demanded, to hazard the state of both his kingdomes. I aske but that which is myne owne by Law of Armes, before* Vladislaus *was called into Hungarie: and the Hungarians cannot transferre vnto him that right which they had not themselues. Wherefore if he will proceed rather to striue for that which is other mens, than quietly to possesse his owne, I will in good time repaire hither againe, with my God the beholder and reuenger of wrong.*

With this answer he dismissed the Embassadors, and forthwith rose with his armie, sore repenting his comming thither: yet because he would take something in his way, he left his nephew *Isa-Beg* with certaine troupes of horsemen at Scopia in Seruia, who so troubled the King of Bosna, that he was glad to require peace of *Amurath*, and to promise vnto him a yerely tribute of fiue and twentie thousand ducats.

Vladislaus newly elected King of Hungarie, seeing that part of his kingdome which is called Transyluania or Pannodacia, to be much suibect to the incursion of the Turks, (who hauing got into their possession all the countrey of Moldauia, and grown insolent by continuall victories, ceased not to inuade and spoyle the countrey of Transyluania) for remedie of that dayly mischief, created *Iohn Huniades* Vayuod, or his Vice-gerent in Trasyluania. This *Huniades* (as some write) was Earle of Bistrice, borne in Valachia: others say, that he was borne but of meane parents, and called *Huniades* of the village wherein he was borne, and grew to be great by his vertue and prowesse. Whatsoeuer his parents were, he himselfe was a politque, valiant, fortunate, and famous captaine, his victories so great, as the like was neuer before by any Christian Prince obtained against the Turks: so that his name became vnto them so dreadfull, that they vsed the same to feare their crying children withall. This worthie captain, according to the trust reposed in him, began to keepe the Turks short, by cutting them off, whensoeuer they presumed to enter into his countrey; and also by shutting vp the passages whereby they were woont to forrage the countrey of Transyluania: and when he had put his own charge into good safetie, he entred into Moldauia, and neuer rested vntill he had woon it quite out of the Turks hands. And not contented with this, passed many times ouer Danubius into the Turks dominions, making hauocke of the Turks, and carrying away with him great bootie, with many captiues.

Now

Now were two great and worthie captains met together, in places nigh one to another; *Huniades* in Transyluania and the next part of Hungarie, and *Isa* in Rascia & the vpper part of Seruia; the one lying at Temeswar, and the other at Sinderouia; both men of great spirit, and desirous of honour. Of these two, *Isa* in great fauour with *Amurath*, and by him highly preferred, to increase his credit with the Sultan his vncle, and to inlarge the bounds of the Turkish kingdome committed to his charge, continually forraged the country about Belgrade, to the intent that hauing wearied the inhabitants with the harmes he dayly did them, & brought the citie into great wants, he might so at length gaine the same, for the most part abandoned then of citizens, which *Amurath* could not by force obtaine, and so to open a way into Hungarie. Thus was the country by him spoyled, the villages rifled and burnt, and great numbers both of men and cattell dayly carried away: yea somtimes not contented to haue spoiled the open country, he assailed the verie suburbs of the citie, and was thence hardly repulsed: and finding *Huniades* the only man that hindred his further proceedings, to requite him, and prouoke him the more, brake somtimes into his country, laying in euery corner as he went, strong ambushes, so to haue circumuented that warie captain, if it had bin possible. But he grieued to see the countrey thus spoyled, and purposing thereof to be reuenged, secretly raised a strong power both of horse and foot, & with his companion *Nicholas Vilach* a right valiant captaine, passing ouer Danubius, came and incamped betwixt Belgrade and Sinderouia, being about 20 miles distant. Of whose comming *Isa-Beg* vnderstanding, forthwith set forward with a great armie against him, lest he should by longer delay seeme to stand in doubt of his enemy, whom he had by many iniuries so often prouoked. So marching on with his armie ranged in order of battell, he found *Huniades* as readie for battell as himselfe; who in both wings had placed his light horsemen, and behinde them his men at armes, with certaine companies of crossebows on horsebacke: in the midst stood his armed men, with his archers, and other soldiers more lightly armed, readie at all assayes, all strongly garded with men at armes: after whom in the rereward followed also a strong squadron of valiant footmen. The signal of battell being giuen, there began a great and cruell fight, as amongst men desirous either to ouercome, or there honourably to end their days. At the first incounter, the wings of *Huniades* his battell were by the Turks inforced to retire; but comming to the men at armes, their furie was there stayd, & a cruel battel fought, wherein many fel on both sides, but of the Turks mo, who trusting to their agilitie and nimblenes of bodie, were not able long to endure the shocke and strength of the men at armes, but were there by heapes ouerthrowne, and most miserably slain. Which *Isa-Beg* beholding, and perceiuing the Hungarians couragiously to fight, as men almost in possession of an assured victorie, to saue himselfe, turned his backe and fled to Sinderouia. The rest beholding the flight of their Generall, betook themselues to flight also: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed, especially *Huniades* himselfe, who by his example to animate the rest, left not the chase vntil he was come almost to the suburbs of Sinderouia: few of the Turks escaped, the rest being either taken or slain. *Huniades* after so great a victory, with a rich prey and a multitude of prisoners returned to Belgrade; hauing now sufficiently reuenged himselfe of the wrongs he had before receiued. After which time *Isa* the Turke was more quiet, as hauing sufficient proofe of his valor. The fame of this victorie increased not a little the fame of *Huniades*, the report whereof comming to Buda, filled the citie with joy and gladnes; but most of all King *Vladislaus*, who thereupon caused publique prayers, with thanksgiuing to be made in euery Church; and by his letters gratulatorie, with many rich Presents incouraged *Huniades* to the prosecution of the religious warre; wherein was propounded vnto him not only the increase of his wealth (a base regard in the honorable) but the immortalitie of his name, and hope of eternall blisse. 1440.

Transyluania inuaded and spoiled by Mesites Bassa.

Not long after this victorie, *Huniades* obtained a far greater in Transyluania. For *Amurath* much grieued with the losse he had first by himselfe, and after by his lieutenant *Isa*, receiued at Belgrade, and in the countrie therabout; lest he should seem to yeeld vnto the Hungarians, repaired his broken forces with new supplies, with purpose againe to renew his wars in Valachia. And so hauing put all things in a readines, sent one of his Bassa's called *Mesites* (his Vicedroy in Asia, a man of great wisdome, experience, and valor) with a puissant armie vpon the sudden by the way of Valachia Transalpina, to inuade Transyluania. This worthie captain according to his charge departing out of Seruia, and passing from Danubius, suddenly entred into

Huniades

Huniades his country, burning and spoyling whatsoeuer came in his way, and killing al that he
G sight vpon, man, woman, & child, without respect of age, sex, or condition, filling al the countrey as he went with tumult and terror. Whereof *Huniades* (but lately come into the country) vnderstanding, and hauing as then no sufficient forces to oppose against the furie of so puissant an enemie, either means to raise any in so great a confusion and feare; was wonderfully grieued thereat, and perplexed in mind, as not well knowing which way to turne himselfe. At length
Huniades flieth he tooke his flight into Alba Iula, vnto his old friend *George Lepe* Bishop of that citie, a man of great vertue and grauitie: but whilest he there stayeth with his friend, about the raising of a tumultuarie armie, the enemie was now come neere vnto him; who hauing ouerrun the greatest part of the country, had scraped together such a bootie, and taken such a multitude of pri-
H soners, that surcharged as it were with the spoyle, he was glad to march softlier; yet still burning the country before him. Which *Huniades* and the good Bishop beholding out of the city, so much grieued thereat, that albeit that they both well knew themselues, with an handful of men taken vp in hast hand ouer head, too weake to encounter with their enemies; yet thought it better, with such power as they had to go out, and so in defence of their country honorably to die, than longer to behold the most miserable destruction of the same. But whilest they vpon this resolution (carried forth with too hot a desire of reuenge) march vnaduisedly forward, without any scouts or espials sent out before them, they fell before they were aware into such ambushes both of horse & foot, as the crafty enemie had in the secret woods & vallies where-
Huniades and the Bishop of Alba Iula entrapped by the Turks. by they were to passe, laid of purpose to intercept them: which now with great force and horrible outcries breaking out vpon them on euery side, dismaied them with a great feare. *Huniades* and the Bishop seeing themselues so intrapped and beset with the multitude of their ene-
I mies, as that they must needs perish if they should longer stay, fled incontinently backe again; after whom followed all the rest of their armie, and at their heeles the eager Turks, who spared none of the flying Christians they could ouertake, but put them all to the sword: neuertheless most part of them escaped backe again to Alba Iula. The Bishop thinking to haue saued himselfe by the swiftnes of his horse, comming to a riuer, in taking the same was ouerthrown, and there by the enemie slain. With whose death the Bassa incouraged, as also with the present victorie, began now more at libertie to range abroad, and at his pleasure with fire & sword to waste that part of the country which yet remained vnspoiled: leauing in the meane time (as a man out of feare) the rich prey he had taken, together with his baggage & carriages, to be car-
K ried all together, as a notable testimonie of his victorie, vnto his great lord & master. *Huniades* in the mean time with wonderfull celeritie running about the borders of his country, and out of euery town & village taking such soldiers as he could, perswaded also the Sicilians (or people commonly called Siculi) in defence of their wiues and children to take vp arms: who al in respect of the present necessitie, cheerfully did whatsoeuer he commanded. With this tumultuarie armie he followed the Bassa (who then in great pride was returning, laded with the spoile of the whole country) with purpose to set vpon him as time or place should giue him occasion. In the meantime *Mesites* being told, that *Huniades* with a great power was comming after him, and now euen at hand; is reported to haue made no reckoning thereof, but to haue proudly answered vnto him that brought the news, *Let him come, and with the spoyle of himselfe*
L *inrich our victorie*. There was present when he thus said, one *Iohn* one of *Huniades* his espials; who discouered vnto him many of the Turks designes concerning the joyning of battel with him; but especially, that the Bassa had commanded thorow his armie, That aboue all things, they should in the beginning of the battell assaile the person of *Huniades* himselfe, for that he being once slain, the rest would easily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction: & that for the performance thereof, he had appointed certain companies of his best soldiers, giuing them certain tokens wherby they might know both him and his horse. There was then in the armie one *Simon Kemene*, a right valiant and couragious gentleman, not much vnlike to *Huniades*, with whom he changed both his horse and armor, appointing vnto him a strong troupe of his choice horsemen to attend vpon him: neither was this counterfeit *Huniades* vnwilling to
M expose himselfe vnto the danger, accounting it honour enough, if by his death he might saue the life of his friend, and preserue so worthie a defender of the commonweale. *Huniades* following fast after the Bassa marching before him, fought by light skirmishes, somtimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, and sometimes in the rereward, to stay him, and at some aduantage,

A uantage, if any such were giuen, to fight with him before he should get out of the country. At length finding such an opportunitie as he thought good to lay hold vpon, he with all his forces, as if it had been a violent tempest, came vpon the Turks so suddenly, as that they had not time to put themselues in order of battell, but were glad confusedly to fight as they might, & without order: in which disordred fight many fel on both sides, but far more of the Turks. But whilest both armies with like obstinacy incounter together, certain troups of the most valiant Turks descrying *Simon* the counterfeit *Huniades*, & by the signes before deliuered vnto them, both of his horse and armor, supposing him to haue bin *Huniades* indeed; with al their power made towards him, to haue slain him, according as they had in charge: where meeting with right valiant men, of no lesse courage than themselues, there was fought a most terrible and *A great battell betwixt the Turkes and Hungarians.*
B bloudie battell, in such sort, as if in that verie place should haue been tried the whole fortune of the day. But the Turks still bending their forces more and more thither, for the killing of him of whom they stood in more dread than of all the rest; at length by plaine force made a way vnto him, & hauing slain them that were about him, though not without their own great losse, furiously assailing him, slew him, vainly supposing it to haue bin the very Generall himself: who had he there perished (as like enough it was he should, had he not bin before warned of the Bassa's purpose) no doubt but that the whole country had bin with him, or shortly after quite lost. But *Huniades* in the mean time riding to and fro in the armie, encouraged his soldiers not to forsake the victorie they were now as it were in possession of, nor leaue vnreuenged so many slaughters and harms so lately committed by their enemies, but to remember as they were fighting, that they carried in their hands their wiues and children, and were in that one
C battell to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Somtime he with new supplies encouraged such as were ouercharged, and euen now readie to flie; otherwhile he with cheerfull words stayd, that had alreadie turned their backs; performing in euery place all the parts both of a worthie commander and valiant soldier, as the necessitie of the time and place required. In the heat of this battel (fortune yet fauoring neither part, but both fighting with all their power) the Transiluanian prisoners that in great number were kept in the camp, wishing rather to die, than to be carried away into captiuitie, and thinking it now or neuer, time for them to attempt their deliuerance; with one consent brake asunder their bonds, and with such weapons as first came to hand, set vpon their keepers, of whō they slew a great number, & so
D desperatly issuing out into the battell, incouraged their countrimen, & discouraged their enemies. Yet was the battell hardly fought, though not altogether with like courage, or for like cause: for why, the Transyluanians fought for their country, their wiues, their children, their liues, their libertie, their religion, and alters: but the Turks, for the rich prey they had before taken, & that they were by victorie in hope of. But at length the Turks by the breaking out of the prisoners (who laid about them like desperat men) out of hope of the victorie, began by little and little to retyre; and the other on the contrarie part by this vnexpected aid encouraged, and quickly finding the enemies fainting, fought more fiercely than before. *Mesites* seeing his armie thus in euery part wauering, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but presently after, beholding some of his men retyring as if they had fled, and other some flying outright,
E and no meanes to stay them, for safegard of his life turned his horse and fled also: after whom the Hungarians followed with most terrible execution, as men desirous of the bloud of them that had done them so great harme. In this chase *Mesites* himself with his son were both slain: the repoort of whose death in the pursuit, added swiftnes vnto the Hungarians, to the encreasing of the slaughter of the Turks, whom for the desire of reuenge they ceased not for certain days to pursue, vnto the top of the Alps. In this battel were slaine of the Turks 20000, and of the Hungarians about 3000. *Huniades* with this victorie recouered all the prey the Turks had taken of the spoile of the country, together with their tents and baggage: vnto whom at his return into the campe, a wonderfull number of the poore captiues came, and falling at his feet, *Great reioycing for the victorie.*
F and kissing them, gaue God thanks for their deliuerance by him; some called him the father, some the defender of his country; the soldiers, their inuincible Generall; the captiues, their deliuerer; the women, their protector; the yong men and children, their most louing father. In all which joyfull acclamations, no honorable additions was heard, which in the iudgement of all men, worthily agreed not with his deserts. He again with tears standing in his eys, courteously embraced them, rejoycing at the publique good; and himselfe giuing most heartie

thanks vnto God, commanded the like to be done in all churches of that Prouince. Somtime G
he commended the ſoldiers valor, and in generall, the peoples loyalty. The nobilitie & worthie captains he extolled by name, according as their deſerts had bin in that notable battell, not detracting any thing from any mans worthie prayſes: part of the ſpoyle of the Turkes he appointed vnto deuout vſes, and the other part he diuided amongſt the ſoldiers: and willing as it were with the firſt fruits thereof to gratifie King *Vladiſlaus* and the Deſpot of Seruia, then preſent with him, he ſent a great waggon, with 10 horſes which could ſcarce draw, laded with the Turks enſignes and the chief of their heads, where the heads of the Baſſa and his ſon ſtood formoſt, and aboue them was placed an old Turke, ſomtime wel known vnto the Deſpot: who in this order preſented vnto them, is ſayd to haue thus deliuered his meſſage, as followeth:

The ſpeech of an old Turk, in deliuering the Preſent vnto the King.

Huniades *your Maieſties moſt humble ſeruant, and the moſt honourable Deſpots ſonne, ſendeth vnto* H
you this part of the ſpoyle gained by this late victorie, leſt he ſhould ſeeme to defraud you of the honour of the battell, happily fought vnder your good fortune. Theſe heads of the Aſian Nobilitie he ſendeth you for a Preſent, that you ſhould not want the aſſured teſtimonie of ſo notable a victorie: theſe are two princes heads, the one of Meſites Baſſa *the Generall, and the other of his ſon; the reſt are the heads of the other great commanders and Sanzacks. All theſe witneſſe the greatneſſe of the late ſlaughter, and exhort you to greater atchieuements What your royal Maieſtie for the natural inſtinct of pietie and religion ingrafted into you, may hope for; and what an occaſion of immortalitie and glorie is offred vnto you,* Huniades *wiſheth you hereby to conſider: and humbly requeſteth, that generall ſupplications may be commanded, and a great armie prouided, foraſmuch as all men ſuppoſe, that the Turke will gage his whole* I
forces, and leaue nothing vnattempted, in reuenge of ſo great a ſlaughter of his people.

Hauing ended his ſpeech, he ſhewed vnto them the griſely mortified heads: which the nobilitie and others there preſent, earneſtly beheld, and wondred at, eſpecially the King & the Deſpot; who by letters further vnderſtanding the whole proceeding of the war, and fortune of the battel, highly commended the diſcreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victorie, worthie (as they ſaid) of a Roman triumph: for which, *Vladiſlaus* commanded publike ſupplications to be made in all churches thorow Hungarie, and by honorable meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deſerts, with many rich Preſents alſo, commending his faithfull and worthie ſeruice: and requeſting him, with like courage and care, to proſecute the war, ſo happily begun; promiſing him, That he ſhould neither K
want men nor mony, or any thing elſe needfull thereunto. Vpon this victorie, the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, before tributaries vnto the Turks, now reuolted again vnto the Hungarians, to the great griefe of *Amurath*: and the fame of *Huniades* was in ſhort time diſperſed thorow all Europe, and a generall hope conceiued of him, as of one moſt like to be one of the greateſt champions of the Chriſtian commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late ouerthrow, with the death of the Baſſa *Meſites*, and the loſſe of his Armie, being brought to Hadrianople, much troubled the Turkiſh Tyrant; but moſt of all, the reuolt of the two Countreys, Moldauia and Valachia. So that full of wrathfull indignation, and deſire of reuenge, he commaunded a great armie to be raiſed againſt the next Spring, with intent to haue gone therewith himſelfe: but afterward vpon better aduice changing his L
purpoſe, he committed the leading thereof vnto one *Schech Abedin Baſſa* (corruptly called *Sciabedin Baſſa*) an Eunuch, and yet neuertheleſſe a right valiant and expert captaine, and his Viceroy in Europe; with charge firſt to enter into Valachia, and there hauing done what harme he could with fire and ſword, to doe the like in Moldauia: and after that, with all his power to breake into Tranſyluania, there to reuenge vnto the full, the loſſes before receiued, and with the ſlaughter of the Hungarians to ſacrifice vnto the ghoſts of their dead friends and companions. The Baſſa according to his charge, departing out of Macedonia, and marching thorow Myſia, and ſo paſſing ouer Danubius, with an armie of feureſcore thouſand fighting men, whereof foure thouſand were of the beſt Ianizaries, entred into Valachia, filling the country with feare and tumult; the Valachians now altogether in deſpaire to be able to de- M
fend themſelues againſt the furie of the Turkes, and ſore repenting them of their reuolt from them, vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheereful words, willing them betime to retyre themſelues vnto the ſafeſt places of the Countrey, and not to expoſe themſelues with their too weake forces againſt the furie of the Barbarians; promiſing

Valachia grieuouſly ſpoyled by the Turkes.

A miſing in good time to come himſelfe to their reliefe, not doubting by the power of Ieſus Chriſt, to dare them battel in the plain field, and to haue of them a glorious victory, although they were in number far moe than they were reported to be. The Baſſa diuiding his armie into two parts, forraged the countrey far and neere, burning the countrey townes and villages before them, ſpoiling whatſoeuer came in their way, and killing whoſoeuer they light vpon, men, women, or children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. But the Valachians for the moſt part had retired themſelues, ſome into the mountains, ſome into the ſtrong townes, and ſome into places further off; ſo that few fell into the enemies hands, but ſuch as were not able to flie, or not regarding the danger, had negligently ſtaid the enemies comming, and ſo periſhed. Valachia thus ſpoiled, the Turks paſſing ouer the mountaines, deſcended into Tranſyluania, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpoſe there to haue don the like or greater harm, if poſſible it had been to haue ſo done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 choſen ſouldiers readie to encounter them. A ſmall power indeed, in compariſon of the multitude the Baſſa led: but all men of great experience & reſolution, in valor counteruailing the great number of their enemies, men reſolued rather to die than to flie. Of whoſe approch the Baſſa (vnto whom the name & fortune of the man was dreadful) by his eſpials vnderſtanding, ſtaied his intended furie, and as one well aware with whom he had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himſelfe with his armie, to ſee what power and courage the enemie had. But certainly informed by his ſcouts, for that purpoſe ſent out, That he was not in number a quarter ſo many as the Turks, but lay ſtrongly encamped with his waggons & carriages, as in a ſure fort, in ſuch order, as that he could not without great danger be aſſailed, & yet might at his pleaſure come
C forth, and ſo if need were retire again, as into a ſtrong hold: he wondered at his courage and skilfull manner of encamping; yet preſuming of his own multitude and ſtrength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battel. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither ſide vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victorie, they thought it not beſt to attempt any thing raſhly, but betooke themſelues both vnto the higheſt of their wits, as willing in ſo great a conflict, as wel to ſhew the vtmoſt of their policie and skil, as of their courage & valor. The Turk thought it beſt not to ioyn battel with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding ſo great a multitude, but to diuide his army into certain battalions, & ſo to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make al his men
D profitable: or if he could not do ſo, then with his multitude to encloſe the Chriſtians round, & ſo to ouerwhelme them. On the other ſide, *Huniades* charged his ſoldiers, aboue all things to keep their order, and in no caſe to ſuffer themſelues to be diuided by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call Vaſcape, both the armies by the breake of day began to diſlodge; at which time the Baſſa ſpent a good ſpace in the martialling of his great army, as did alſo *Huniades*, ſeeking by prouident foreſight and policie to match the multitude of his enemies. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, calling vnto him the chiefe captaines and commanders of his armie, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

The moſt chriſtian ſpeech of Huniades to encourage his ſoldiers againſt the Turkes.

No courage (beleeue me) worthie companions, and fellowes in arms, could haue induced me to encoun-
E *ter ſo great a multitude, did not neceſſity it ſelfe enforce me, your approued valour perſuade me, and the aſſured hope I haue in Chriſt Ieſus aboue all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this his ſacred battell, and by our right hands to reuenge the diſhonour of his holy name. In which his eſpeciall choice wee are to conſider how much hee hath beloued vs: and for the ſame to praiſe his infinite goodneſſe and mercie. Three ſuch commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if we will be the ſame men we haue beene in times paſt, as that the leaſt thereof were ſufficient to encourage men of worth, for the ſame to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer ſo deare. Firſt, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues, and countrey, ioyned with your whole eſtate: then, for eternall glorie and renowne in this world: and laſt of all, for immortalitie and a crowne that*
F *ſhall neuer be taken from you, in the world to come. How many miſeries and calamities we haue in former times, and of late receiued from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than ſeene the ſame with your eyes, and indured them in your ſelues. You had long ſince beene bereft of your beloued wiues and children, whome moſt miſerable ſeruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had neither houſe nor Church, wherein to dwell or to ſerue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your rare proweſſe beene at hand for preſent reſcue: your countrey, your goods, your honour, your liberty, you*

could

thanks vnto God, commanded the like to be done in all churches of that Prouince. Somtime G
he commended the ſoldiers valor, and in generall, the peoples loyalty. The nobilitie & worthie captains he extolled by name, according as their deſerts had bin in that notable battell, not detracting any thing from any mans worthie prayſes: part of the ſpoyle of the Turkes he appointed vnto deuout vſes, and the other part he diuided amongſt the ſoldiers: and willing as it were with the firſt fruits thereof to gratifie King *Vladiſlaus* and the Deſpot of Seruia, then preſent with him, he ſent a great waggon, with 10 horſes which could ſcarce draw, laded with the Turks enſignes and the chief of their heads, where the heads of the Baſſa and his ſon ſtood formoſt, and aboue them was placed an old Turke, ſomtime wel known vnto the Deſpot: who in this order preſented vnto them, is ſayd to haue thus deliuered his meſſage, as followeth:

The ſpeech of an old Turk, in deliuering the Preſent vnto the King.

Huniades *your Maieſties moſt humble ſeruant, and the moſt honourable Deſpots ſonne, ſendeth vnto* H
you this part of the ſpoyle gained by this late victorie, leſt he ſhould ſeeme to defraud you of the honour of the battell, happily fought vnder your good fortune. Theſe heads of the Aſian Nobilitie he ſendeth you for a Preſent, that you ſhould not want the aſſured teſtimonie of ſo notable a victorie: theſe are two princes heads, the one of Meſites Baſſa *the Generall, and the other of his ſon; the reſt are the heads of the other great commanders and Sanzacks. All theſe witneſſe the greatneſſe of the late ſlaughter, and exhort you to greater atchieuements. What your royal Maieſtie for the naturall inſtinct of pietie and religion ingrafted into you, may hope for; and what an occaſion of immortalitie and glorie is offred vnto you,* Huniades *wiſheth you hereby to conſider: and humbly requeſteth, that generall ſupplications may be commanded, and a great armie prouided, foraſmuch as all men ſuppoſe, that the Turke will gage his whole* I
forces, and leaue nothing vnattempted, in reuenge of ſo great a ſlaughter of his people.

Hauing ended his ſpeech, he ſhewed vnto them the griſely mortified heads: which the nobilitie and others there preſent, earneſtly beheld, and wondred at, eſpecially the King & the Deſpot; who by letters further vnderſtanding the whole proceeding of the war, and fortune of the battel, highly commended the diſcreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victorie, worthie (as they ſaid) of a Roman triumph: for which, *Vladiſlaus* commanded publike ſupplications to be made in all churches thorow Hungarie, and by honorable meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deſerts, with many rich Preſents alſo, commending his faithfull and worthie ſeruice: and requeſting him, with like courage and care, to proſecute the war, ſo happily begun; promiſing him, That he ſhould neither K
want men nor mony, or any thing elſe needfull thereunto. Vpon this victorie, the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, before tributaries vnto the Turks, now reuolted again vnto the Hungarians, to the great griefe of *Amurath*: and the fame of *Huniades* was in ſhort time diſperſed thorow all Europe, and a generall hope conceiued of him, as of one moſt like to be one of the greateſt champions of the Chriſtian commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late ouerthrow, with the death of the Baſſa *Meſites*, and the loſſe of his Armie, being brought to Hadrianople, much troubled the Turkiſh Tyrant; but moſt of all, the reuolt of the two Countreys, Moldauia and Valachia. So that full of wrathfull indignation, and deſire of reuenge, he commaunded a great armie to be raiſed againſt the next Spring, with intent to haue gone therewith himſelfe: but afterward vpon better aduice changing his L
purpoſe, he committed the leading thereof vnto one *Schech Abedin Baſſa* (corruptly called *Sciabedin Baſſa*) an Eunuch, and yet neuertheleſſe a right valiant and expert captaine, and his Viceroy in Europe; with charge firſt to enter into Valachia, and there hauing done what harme he could with fire and ſword, to doe the like in Moldauia: and after that, with all his power to breake into Tranſyluania, there to reuenge vnto the full, the loſſes before receiued, and with the ſlaughter of the Hungarians to ſacrifice vnto the ghoſts of their dead friends and companions. The Baſſa according to his charge, departing out of Macedonia, and marching thorow Myſia, and ſo paſſing ouer Danubius, with an armie of foureſcore thouſand fighting men, whereof foure thouſand were of the beſt Ianizaries, entred into Valachia, filling the country with feare and tumult; the Valachians now altogether in deſpaire to be able to de- M
fend themſelues againſt the furie of the Turkes, and ſore repenting them of their reuolt from them, vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheereful words, willing them betime to retyre themſelues vnto the ſafeſt places of the Countrey, and not to expoſe themſelues with their too weake forces againſt the furie of the Barbarians; promiſing

Valachia grieuouſly ſpoyled by the Turks.

A miſſing in good time to come himſelfe to their reliefe, not doubting by the power of Ieſus Chriſt, to dare them battel in the plain field, and to haue of them a glorious victory, although they were in number far moe than they were reported to be. The Baſſa diuiding his armie into two parts, forraged the countrey far and neere, burning the countrey townes and villages before them, ſpoiling whatſoeuer came in their way, and killing whoſoeuer they light vpon, men, women, or children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. But the Valachians for the moſt part had retired themſelues, ſome into the mountains, ſome into the ſtrong townes, and ſome into places further off; ſo that few fell into the enemies hands, but ſuch as were not able to flie, or not regarding the danger, had negligently ſtaid the enemies comming, and ſo periſhed. Valachia thus ſpoiled, the Turks paſſing ouer the mountaines, deſcended into Tranſyluania, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpoſe there to haue don the like or greater harm, if poſſible it had been to haue ſo done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 choſen ſouldiers readie to encounter them. A ſmall power indeed, in compariſon of the multitude the Baſſa led: but all men of great experience & reſolution, in valor counteruailing the great number of their enemies, men reſolued rather to die than to flie. Of whoſe approch the Baſſa (vnto whom the name & fortune of the man was dreadful) by his eſpials vnderſtanding, ſtaied his intended furie, and as one well aware with whom he had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himſelfe with his armie, to ſee what power and courage the enemie had. But certainly informed by his ſcouts, for that purpoſe ſent out, That he was not in number a quarter ſo many as the Turks, but lay ſtrongly encamped with his waggons & carriages, as in a ſure fort, in ſuch order, as that he could not without great danger be aſſailed, & yet might at his pleaſure come
C forth, and ſo if need were retire again, as into a ſtrong hold: he wondered at his courage and skilfull manner of encamping; yet preſuming of his own multitude and ſtrength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battel. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither ſide vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victorie, they thought it not beſt to attempt any thing raſhly, but betooke themſelues both vnto the higheſt of their wits, as willing in ſo great a conflict, as wel to ſhew the vtmoſt of their policie and skil, as of their courage & valor. The Turk thought it beſt not to ioyn battel with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding ſo great a multitude, but to diuide his army into certain battalions, & ſo to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make al his men
D profitable: or if he could not do ſo, then with his multitude to encloſe the Chriſtians round, & ſo to ouerwhelme them. On the other ſide, *Huniades* charged his ſoldiers, aboue all things to keep their order, and in no caſe to ſuffer themſelues to be diuided by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call Vaſcape, both the armies by the breake of day began to diſlodge; at which time the Baſſa ſpent a good ſpace in the martialling of his great army, as did alſo *Huniades*, ſeeking by prouident foreſight and policie to match the multitude of his enemies. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, calling vnto him the chiefe captaines and commanders of his armie, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

The moſt chriſtian ſpeech of Huniades to encourage his ſoldiers againſt the Turke.

E *No courage (beleeue me) worthie companions, and fellowes in arms, could haue induced me to encoun-*
ter ſo great a multitude, did not neceſſity it ſelfe enforce me, your approued valour perſuade me, and the aſſured hope I haue in Chriſt Ieſus aboue all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this
his ſacred battell, and by our right hands to reuenge the diſhonour of his holy name. In which his eſpe-
ciall choice wee are to conſider how much hee hath beloued vs: and for the ſame to praiſe his infinite
goodneſſe and mercie. Three ſuch commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if
we will be the ſame men we haue beene in times paſt, as that the leaſt thereof were ſufficient to encou-
rage men of worth, for the ſame to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer ſo deare. Firſt, you are
to fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues, and countrey, ioyned with your whole eſtate:
then, for eternall glorie and renowne in this world: and laſt of all, for immortalitie and a crowne that
ſhall neuer be taken from you, in the world to come. How many miſeries and calamities we haue in for-
mer times, and of late receiued from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report,
F *than ſeene the ſame with your eyes, and indured them in your ſelues. You had long ſince beene bereft*
of your beloued wiues and children, whome moſt miſerable ſeruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had
neither houſe nor Church, wherein to dwell or to ſerue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your
rare proweſſe beene at hand for preſent reſcue: your countrey, your goods, your honour, your liberty, you
could

could not haue kept, had not your valour confirmed by an assured confidence in the highest, preserued all C
these things vnto your selues: The horrible furie of the Turke had now brought all these things into the
power of his sword, had they not beene by your armes defended, and hee by so many bloudie ouerthrowes re-
pressed. He could not before be staied; the Grecians, the Macedonians (both sometimes the greatest com-
manders) the old Thracians, the strong Bulgarians, the valiant Epirots, & Dalmatians, could not abide
their force: The Athenians, the Thebans, the Lacedemonians, authors & maisters of the antient disciplin
of warre, willingly gaue place vnto these. Vnto vs, is the praise and great glorie of this victorie by God
assigned, who often times with a small power, yea and that sometime against all hope, haue with a notable
slaughter ouerthrowne them, vanquished them, and put them to flight. Neither is there any men in the
world whom they more feare and stand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they haue H
by their daily slaughter and losses, learned no lesse to feare, than if you were many. And now to trie the
vttermost of their power, they are come with their innumerable legions: but are not for that of you any
thing the more to bee feared than before: seeing that wee all beare armes vnder the conduct of the most
mightie God; and are by daily victorie, long experience, and approoued valour taught, what wee are to
dare: besides that the greatest part of their armie is of common soldiers, slaues, or rude countrey pesants,
or men by force by them compelled; more than the Ianizaries, are no good soldiers among them, the rest
as men enforced, serue them for feare, and against their wils, and they by their cowardise brought into
that bondage and slauerie. What Greekes, Macedonians, or Sclauonians soeuer are sent to their aid, for
asmuch as they are not yet reuolted from the Christian faith, deeme them not to stand for them, but for
vs: they long for vs the reuengers of their wrongs, and for you as victorious conquerors: in this warre
they haue giuen vnto the Turks their names, but vnto vs their hearts and power; and pray heartily for I
our victorie: wherefore you ought so much the more valiantly and courageously to fight, by how much
greater you see the victory, the honor, the prey before your eyes. We are not to fight for other mens houses
and altars, but for our owne: so our present necessity requireth, in such sort, that if we our selues deliuer
not our selues, and beare our selues vpon our wonted hope and valour, we shall this day be enforced to en-
dure the greatest misorie that men may possibly. First, the losse of our goods and substance, the captiuity
of our children, the defloured of our daughters, the rauishing of our wiues, the slaughter of our parents,
the burning of our houses and churches; and that which worse is than all this, the scorne of our Sauiour
Christ Iesus, and his Saints; whose images you shall see in despight broken, or dragged in the durt, or
moulten and conuerted into other prophane vses; all Religion trodden downe, and God himselfe (if it
were possible) with violence and despaire driuen out of our hearts, if we stand not manfully vnto it as be- K
commeth worthie champions. God is able with his little finger if he so will, forthwith, to destroy all the
Turks in the world; but seeing he hath committed vnto our right hands the defence of his name, he first
maketh proofe of our courage and valour, that finding the same faithfull and readie, he may strengthen
and defend it with his owne right hand. He neuer yet forsooke any faithfull or deuout man, neither wil
our Sauiour Christ be wanting vnto you, if you be not wanting to your selues: in the power of his name
which is aboue al names, he shal tread down his rebellious enemies, and exalt the righteous that put their
trust in him. Moreouer, the causes that they and we combat for, are diuers, and our hopes much stronger:
They fight for their Prophet, a most prophane man, author of all impietie, for spoile and prey, for the de-
struction of nations & countries, for other mens kingdoms, for the inlarging of their dominions, and ter-
ritories, for worldly praise and glorie: But wee contrariwise beare armes for the Sauior of the world, for L
our faith and religion, for the Christian common wealth, for our native countrey, for our wiues and chil-
dren, for our fortune and state; than which nothing can be more excellent, more commendable, or hono-
rable. What reward is laid vp for them in heauen which haue worthily protected or deliuered their coun-
trey, or laid downe their liues in defence of their faith and religion? Neither, hauing often proued, are
we ignorant, that God wil neuer forsake them that honor, feare, and serue him. Wherby (fellow soldiers)
you may plainly perceiue, how far your hopes are beyond theirs. Beleeue our Sauior promising vnto you
an eternal reward: and shew your fidelitie and valor vnto God and your countrey together. Wherefore,
seeing without the power of God we can do nothing, before the signal of battel be giuen, I beseech you col-
lonels, captains, and lieutenants, by your effectuall & Christian exhortations in your regiments & com-
panies, to encourage your soldiers, valiantly to fight the Lords battel; & for the present, euery man by ta- M
king a little earth in his mouth, to prepare himself according to the necessitie of the time, as it were to the
receiuing of the Lords Supper: so hauing cleansed your soules, embrace you one another, plight your mu-
tual faith with your right hand & a kisse; & make a perpetual couenant among your selues, none of you
to forsake one another in this holy battel, but for your religion & country valiantly to fight it out, euen to
the

A the last man. And a little refreshing your selues with a short repast as you stand, vpon the signall giuen,
thrice calling aloud vpon the mightie name of Christ Iesus, fight with the like valour and courage so
neere as you can, that he in the agonie of death fought for your redemption and libertie: which that you
wil willingly do, I request and charge you this for our Sauiors sake, for the loue of our country, & for the
faith you owe both to God and man. I also pray and beseech you, so to fight, as men resolued either to gaine
a most glorious victorie, (whereof I doubt not) or else if it should otherwise chance, this day to purchase
vnto your selues a blessed life in the kingdome of heauen: not to sup in hel with the Turkes, but with the
blessed wights in heauen: for Christ Iesus our Sauiour will be alwaies present with vs, who (beleeue me,
and so hope) wil this day not only deliuer vs out of the hands of the Turks, but to our immortal glory lode
vs with the rich spoiles of our enemies, and so in safetie bring al home again with much ioy & triumph.

B The Bassa on the other side likewise encouraged his soldiers, putting them in remembrance of their former victories, exhorting them not to degenerat from their worthie ancestors and themselues, by whose great valor the glory and empire of the Turks had bin so mightily increased; and vnto whom their great prophet *Mahomet*, the interpreter of the gods, had foretold the empire of the whole world to be by al the gods allotted; & had by diuine inspiration propheeied, that antient and stately nation in time to become the terror of the world, the scourge of the wicked, and commander of all nations. He farther declared vnto them, what an increase of kingdomes they had got in that short time, since which they first passed ouer into Europe: and filled them with the hope of a great spoile; promising vnto them that should in the battell valiantly behaue themselues, not onely the spoile and prey, but whole villages,
C towns, and cities, and other great preferments, according as they should deserue. As for the victorie, considering the weake power of their enemies, and the great number of themselues, he assured them thereof, if they would but a while valiantly fight it out like men. In conclusion, he told them, that hauing ouercome *Huniades* (whom only, as he confessed, he had found to be the most valiant and skilfull captaine of the Christians) nothing should afterward be able to stand in their way, or to hinder their further conquests: and that if this day they should vtterly ouerthrow him, they should gain the most honorable victorie that was euer yet got in Europe. Wherefore he willed them aboue all things, in the battell to seeke after him; promising vnto him that should kill him, a great reward, with most honourable preferments. Hauing thus
D sufficiently, as he thought, encouraged his Turks, he set forward with his armie in order of battell. His horsmen and footmen he diuided into two great wings, betwixt which marched the Ianizaries in a square battell, all men of approued valour: after whom followed the rereward: vnto the wings he had also ioyned certaine loose companies of light horsemen to begin the battell, and to flie about the enemies, and so as occasion should serue, either to charge or retire. *Huniades* likewise had placed in both wings two square battalions of men at armes, and with them certaine horsemen with crosse bowes: before these wings he had also placed certaine troupes of light horsemen, to encounter the enemies: in the midst stood two square battels of men at armes: and betwixt them a strong squadron of armed men, guarded behind with a conuenient number of pikemen and archers: both the wings hee had compassed
E about with a multitude of carts and waggons, and they also well manned. So marching forward, and both armies being come within a quarter of a mile together, the signall of battell was on both sides giuen, and the battell begun. *Huniades* seeing the multitude of his enemies, cast his first battel into the forme of a wedge, the more easily to diuide them: and they on the other side in form of a paire of sheeres, were readie to receiue him: where on both sides they encountred together with such furie and outerie, as neuer was thing more terrible to be heard or seen. The Turks trusting vnto the multitude of their nimble light horsemen, first with their light staues, and afterward with their crooked Scimaters fiercely assailed the Christians light horsemen, in which first incounter many fell on both sides. But the wedge battel of the Christians could not of the Turks be broken, as consisting all of valiant expert souldiers, and they also strongly armed; who, doe the Turks what they could, with a great slaughter cut their armie in sunder, but not without a great fight, and some losse also vnto themselues. In the wings
F also the light horsemen for a while fought couragiously and with like hope: but the Turkes with that kind of fight better acquainted than the Christians, & better appointed for that purpose, and exceeding in number also, put the Christian light horsemen to the worst, and enforced

A cruell battell betwixt Huniades and Abedin Bassa.

ced them to retire to the men at armes. Here began the fortune of the Turkes to ſtay, where both parts deſperatly aſſailing the one the other, was made a moſt terrible fight, wherein moſt G part of the Turks light horſemen were ſlain: for why, they were not able to abide the force of the men at arms, although in compariſon of them, but few; but were with their lances and armed ſwords ouerthrowne and ſlain, no otherwiſe than if they had bin naked men: ſo that in both wings the Turks began now to faint. But the battell in both the wings yet wauering, and the victory donbtful, in the maine battaile was fought a moſt cruell fight: the Ianizaries with a ſtrong power of men at arms, & certain troups of light horſmen, compaſſed about the men at armes that ſtood (as wee ſaid) in the maine battel of the Chriſtians, were the old Ianizaries with their crooked Scimitaries, with great courage cut in ſunder the legs of the horſes of the men at arms; of whom many fel down, & lying along vpon the ground, were made ſhorter by H the head: as likewiſe on the other ſide, the Ianizaries whileſt they ſeek the deſtruction of the men at arms, were themſelues ouerborn & troden vnder foot. Wherupon ſuch a ſlaughter was made, that the bloud ran like riuers, whileſt they deſperatly fight with furious rage both on the one ſide & the other. In this cruel fight moſt part of the Ianizaries were ſlain, and many of the Chriſtian men at arms alſo. The Baſſa now perceiuing the Hungarians to haue the better, both in the wings and in the main battell, & yet in hope that with long fight they would faint (although he ſaw great ſlaughter of his men in euery place) came on with the rereward, & a number of other freſh ſoldiers which he had left for the guarding of his baggage, al yet ſound men, in good hope ſo to ouerwhelme the wearied Hungarians. It was now foure houres that this cruell fight had endured, when as the Baſſa beganne it afreſh: neither was this by him I don without reaſon; for why, he was afraid leſt if his men ſhould turn their backs and flie, the whole armie ſhould follow after: and therefore to make vſe of all the men he had, he brought on his rereward, in hope that his enemies, now ſpent with long fight, would not longer endure a freſh charge. And the more to encourage his men, he commanded them to compaſſe in the Hungarians round, and to diſpatch their wearied enemies, vainly boaſting, That it would be the laſt battel that euer the Hungarians would fight. On the other ſide, *Hunaides* perceiuing the enemies purpoſe, ſuffered his men to be in part enuironed, and by and by cauſed the waggoners with the armed carts & waggons to thruſt in behind them, and ſo to compaſſe them in, diuided in part from the reſt, & afterward with freſh ſupplies renewed the battel with the enemy. The fight was great, and in euery place right terrible: and albeit that the ſlaughter of the K Turkes was in many places great, yet by reaſon of their multitude they felt it not much, but fought yet ſtill moſt deſperatly: vntil that they in the right wing ſeeing themſelues compaſſed in behind with the waggons, & ſo from them charged with ſhot, darts, & other ſuch miſſiue weapons, ſtanding in doubt which way to turn themſelues, & beſet with danger on euery ſide, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, ſhrunke from the fight. On the other ſide, the Hungarians, now in good hope of victorie, with great & cheerful outcries, as men inſpired with freſh ſpirits, more furiouſly aſſailed their fainting enemies afront, than before; encouraging them alſo that aſſailed them behind in the waggons, to approch them neerer: with which double danger the turks hardly beſet, fought diſorderly, & doubting to be all incloſed *The Turks flie.* round, firſt retired, & preſently after betooke themſelues to plain flight. But they which were L already ſhut in betwixt the waggons & them that fought before them, periſhed euery mothers ſon. They which fought in the left wing alſo, diſcouraged with the flight of their fellows, fled likewiſe: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed. The Baſſa himſelfe ſeeing both the wings of his battel put to flight, & his own battel ſore broken alſo, ſtruken with deſpaire fled, with certain companies of the Ianizaries, which he had ſtil kept about him againſt all euents, for the ſafegard of his perſon: after whom followed alſo ſo many other of the Turks as could; the reſt diſperſedly flying thorow the woods, foreſts, & mountains, either there periſhed with hunger, or falling into the hands of the Valachians, were by them ſlaine. Of ſo great an armie as the Baſſa brought into Tranſiluania, ſcarce the one halfe returned again ouer Danubius. It is reported by ſome that were in that battell, that if *Hunaides* hauing them in chace, had purſued M them to Danubius, ſcarcely one of them had eſcaped ouer the riuer. But he contented with ſo great a victory, & to haue driuen his enemies out of the field, purſued them not far: but entring into their camp, with the ſpoile therof greatly inricht both himſelf & his ſoldiers. Beſide the great multitude of the Turks here ſlain, 5000 more were taken priſoners, & 100 of their enſignes.

A ſignes. Long it were to rehearſe and reckon vp the rich ſpoile there taken, the guilt armor, and goodly furniture, both of men and horſes, beſide the rich pauilions and tents there ſtanding. In briefe, the wealth there found, was ſo great, as that there was no man in *Huniades* armie, which was not thereby for euer inriched. *Huniades* for this ſo great a victory, & for his country, deliuered from ſo great a feare, cauſed general praiers with thankſgiuing, for the ſpace of three dayes, to be made in all churches of thoſe three prouinces, vnto whom that danger was threatned; and at Vaſcape, where the battel was fought, hanged vp certaine of the Turkes enſignes, as trophies of the victorie there gotten. This was the famous battle of Vaſcape, wherein *Huniades* got the greateſt victory that euer any Chriſtian Prince before that time obtained againſt the Turkiſh Kings. The fields thereabouts lay couered with the dead bodies of the B ſlain Turks, whoſe carrion carkaſſes ſo infected the aire, that many of the better ſort of the inhabitants of the country were glad for a ſeaſon to leaue their dwellings, & to get them further off, for feare of infection. Afterwards he in great triumph came to Buda, & there preſented to King *Vladiſlaus* the enemies enſignes, with ſuch a part of the ſpoile, as might both wel declare the greatneſſe of the victorie, and beſeeme the greatneſſe of ſo great a Prince; which the king thankefully receiued, highly commending his great valour, the fame whereof had in ſhort time filled euery corner of Europe.

Amurath, a little before this great ouerthrow of his army in Tranſyltania, aſſuring himſelf of the victory, had ſent a proud embaſſage to King *Vladiſlaus* into Hungarie, offring him peace vpon condition, That he ſhould deliuer vnto him the ſtrong city of Belgrade, or elſe yeeld to C pay him a yerely tribute: to which, vpon the firſt report of the victorie, anſwer was giuen by the king, anſwerable to the proud demand, That according to the iſſue of matters in Tranſiluania, he would ſhortly in perſon himſelfe come & giue him farther anſwer. With which ſhort anſwer, the proud embaſſadours were diſmiſſed and gone, a little before the comming of *Huniades* to Buda.

How much this late ouerthrow grieued the great king *Amurath*, *Vladiſlaus* was not ignorant; either of his power and deſire of reuenge, as ſufficiently warned thereof by the worthie *Huniades*: for the withſtanding wherof, he thought it good not to be vnprouided. Wherfore calling together the ſtates of his kingdome, and with them *Iulian* the Cardinall of S. *Angel*, the Popes Legat; at ſuch time as they were all aſſembled, he propounded vnto them the great-D neſſe of the danger threatned by the angrie Turke, leauing vnto their graue conſideration, to determine how the ſame were by ſtrong hand and plaine force, or otherwiſe to be auerted. In which moſt honorably aſſemblie, *Iulian* the Cardinall, of purpoſe ſent thither by Pope *Vrban* to ſtir vp the Hungarians againſt the Turks, being requeſted by the King to deliuer his opinion firſt, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The effectuall ſpeech of Iulian the Popes Legat in the parlament to perſuade the war.

Since the time that the Turkiſh peſtilence began to rage in Europe, no newes was euer more welcome vnto the great Biſhop, vnto the Apoſtolicall Senate, and other Princes of Italie (moſt mightie King, and you other moſt worthie Princes) than when it was told them, That Vladiſlaus, *King of Polonia was by you alſo choſen King of Hungarie. For a fitter gouernour of the Hungarian ſtate, and* E *leader of their power, could not the Hungarians any where haue found: As he in whome Iuſtice, religion, wiſedome, valour, and martiall skill, doth ſo abound, that he ſeemeth rather for the good of this kingdome by God ſent from heauen, than here in earth choſen by men. By this happie & fortunat choice, the minds alſo of all the Italians, which before lay heauie and diſcouraged, were lightned and reuiued: and therefore that this choice might be vnto the Chriſtian common-weale both glorious and fortunate, they made their ſolemne vowes and praiers. At ſuch time as the moſt holy Senate vnderſtood of the ciuill diſcord of this kingdome, and the danger of the Turks faſt by, it ſent mee hither to deale with you for the appeaſing of thoſe troubles, and repreſſing of that miſchiefe (as you haue oftentimes heard mee ſay.) The kingdome is by your force and valour, by my mediation, and the death of the Queene, wel paciſied: but yet the other remaineth full of honour, full of profit, full of ſafetie, glorie, and immortalitie, beſt fitting* Vladiſlaus *conduct and fortune, and the valour of the Hungarians. The Turkiſh tyF rannie and their proud command (worthie Princes) is to bee repreſſed: yea their ſeruile yoke, hanging euen now ouer our necks, is to be ſhaken off, and to be driuen away. What you are to dare to doe, the valour and fortune of* Huniades *foretelleth you: the fortune ſaid I of* Huniades, *nay the fortune of the Chriſtian common-weale, and preſent mercie of our bleſſed Sauiour, which ſuffereth his people to be vp and downe toſſed, but not quite drowned. If ſo great an armie of the enemies was vanquiſhed and put*

to

ced them to retire to the men at armes. Here began the fortune of the Turkes to ſtay, where G
both parts deſperatly aſſailing the one the other, was made a moſt terrible fight, wherein moſt
part of the Turks light horſemen were ſlain: for why, they were not able to abide the force of
the men at arms, although in compariſon of them, but few; but were with their lances and ar-
ming ſwords ouerthrowne and ſlain, no otherwiſe than if they had bin naked men: ſo that in
both wings the Turks began now to faint. But the battell in both the wings yet wauering, and
the victory doubtful, in the maine battaile was fought a moſt cruell fight: the Ianizaries with
a ſtrong power of men at arms, & certain troups of light horſmen, compaſſed about the men at
armes that ſtood (as wee ſaid) in the maine battel of the Chriſtians, were the old Ianizaries
with their crooked Scimitaries, with great courage cut in ſunder the legs of the horſes of the
men at arms; of whom many fell down, & lying along vpon the ground, were made ſhorter by H
the head: as likewiſe on the other ſide, the Ianizaries whileſt they ſeek the deſtruction of the
men at arms, were themſelues ouerborn & troden vnder foot. Wherupon ſuch a ſlaughter was
made, that the bloud ran like riuers, whileſt they deſperatly fight with furious rage both on
the one ſide & the other. In this cruel fight moſt part of the Ianizaries were ſlain, and many of
the Chriſtian men at arms alſo. The Baſſa now perceiuing the Hungarians to haue the better,
both in the wings and in the main battell, & yet in hope that with long fight they would faint
(although he ſaw great ſlaughter of his men in euery place) came on with the rereward, & a
number of other freſh ſoldiers which he had left for the guarding of his baggage, al yet ſound
men, in good hope ſo to ouerwhelme the wearied Hungarians. It was now foure houres that
this cruell fight had endured, when as the Baſſa beganne it afreſh: neither was this by him I
don without reaſon; for why, he was afraid leſt if his men ſhould turn their backs and flie, the
whole armie ſhould follow after: and therefore to make vſe of all the men he had, he brought
on his rereward, in hope that his enemies, now ſpent with long fight, would not longer endure
a freſh charge. And the more to encourage his men, he commanded them to compaſſe in the
Hungarians round, and to diſpatch their wearied enemies, vainly boaſting, That it would be
the laſt battel that euer the Hungarians would fight. On the other ſide, *Hunaides* perceiuing
the enemies purpoſe, ſuffered his men to be in part enuironed, and by and by cauſed the wag-
goners with the armed carts & waggons to thruſt in behind them, and ſo to compaſſe them in,
diuided in part from the reſt, & afterward with freſh ſupplies renewed the battel with the ene-
my. The fight was great, and in euery place right terrible: and albeit that the ſlaughter of the K
Turkes was in many places great, yet by reaſon of their multitude they felt it not much, but
fought yet ſtill moſt deſperatly: vntil that they in the right wing ſeeing themſelues compaſ-
ſed in behind with the waggons, & ſo from them charged with ſhot, darts, & other ſuch miſ-
ſiue weapons; ſtanding in doubt which way to turn themſelues, & beſet with danger on euery
ſide, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, ſhrunke from the fight. On the other
ſide, the Hungarians, now in good hope of victorie, with great & cheerful outcries, as men in-
ſpired with freſh ſpirits, more furiouſly aſſailed their fainting enemies afront, than before; en-
couraging them alſo that aſſailed them behind in the waggons, to approch them neerer: with
which double danger the turks hardly beſet, fought diſorderly, & doubting to be all incloſed
The Turks flie. round, firſt retired, & preſently after betooke themſelues to plain flight. But they which were L
already ſhut in betwixt the waggons & them that fought before them, periſhed euery mothers
ſon. They which fought in the left wing alſo, diſcouraged with the flight of their fellows, fled
likewiſe: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed. The Baſſa himſelfe ſeeing both the
wings of his battel put to flight, & his own battel ſore broken alſo, ſtruken with deſpaire fled,
with certain companies of the Ianizaries, which he had ſtil kept about him againſt all euents,
for the ſafegard of his perſon: after whom followed alſo ſo many other of the Turks as could;
the reſt diſperſedly flying thorow the woods, foreſts, & mountains, either there periſhed with
hunger, or falling into the hands of the Valachians, were by them ſlaine. Of ſo great an armie
as the Baſſa brought into Tranſiluania, ſcarce the one halfe returned again ouer Danubius. It is
reported by ſome that were in that battell, that if *Hunaides* hauing them in chace, had purſued M
them to Danubius, ſcarcely one of them had eſcaped ouer the riuer. But he contented with ſo
great a victory, & to haue driuen his enemies out of the field, purſued them not far: but entring
into their camp, with the ſpoile therof greatly inricht both himſelf & his ſoldiers. Beſide the
great multitude of the Turks here ſlain, 5000 more were taken priſoners, & 100 of their en-
ſignes.

A ſignes. Long it were to rehearſe and reckon vp the rich ſpoile there taken, the guilt armor, and
goodly furniture, both of men and horſes, beſide the rich pauilions and tents there ſtanding.
In briefe, the wealth there found, was ſo great, as that there was no man in *Huniades* armie,
which was not thereby for euer inriched. *Huniades* for this ſo great a victory, & for his coun-
try, deliuered from ſo great a feare, cauſed general praiers with thankſgiuing, for the ſpace of
three dayes, to be made in all churches of thoſe three prouinces, vnto whom that danger was
threatned; and at Vaſcape, where the battel was fought, hanged vp certaine of the Turkes en-
ſignes, as trophies of the victorie there gotten. This was the famous battle of Vaſcape, where-
in *Huniades* got the greateſt victory that euer any Chriſtian Prince before that time obtained
againſt the Turkiſh Kings. The fields thereabours lay couered with the dead bodies of the
■ ſlain Turks, whoſe carrion carkaſſes ſo infected the aire, that many of the better ſort of the in-
habitants of the country were glad for a ſeaſon to leaue their dwellings, & to get them further
off, for feare of infection. Afterwards he in great triumph came to Buda, & there preſented to
King *Vladiſlaus* the enemies enſignes, with ſuch a part of the ſpoile, as might both wel declare
the greatneſſe of the victorie, and beſeeme the greatneſſe of ſo great a Prince; which the king
thankefully receiued, highly commending his great valour, the fame whereof had in ſhort
time filled euery corner of Europe.

Amurath, a little before this great ouerthrow of his army in Tranſyltuania, aſſuring himſelf
of the victory, had ſent a proud embaſſage to King *Vladiſlaus* into Hungarie, offring him peace
vpon condition, That he ſhould deliuer vnto him the ſtrong city of Belgrade, or elſe yeeld to
C pay him a yerely tribute: to which, vpon the firſt report of the victorie, anſwer was giuen by
the king, anſwerable to the proud demand, That according to the iſſue of matters in Tranſilua-
nia, he would ſhortly in perſon himſelfe come & giue him farther anſwer. With which ſhort
anſwer, the proud embaſſadours were diſmiſſed and gone, a little before the comming of *Hu-
niades* to Buda.

How much this late ouerthrow grieued the great king *Amurath*, *Vladiſlaus* was not ignorant;
either of his power and deſire of reuenge, as ſufficiently warned thereof by the worthie *Huni-
des*: for the withſtanding wherof, he thought it good not to be vnprouided. Wherfore, cal-
ling together the ſtates of his kingdome, and with them *Iulian* the Cardinall of S. *Angel*, the
Popes Legat; at ſuch time as they were all aſſembled, he propounded vnto them the great-
D neſſe of the danger threatned by the angrie Turke, leauing vnto their graue conſideration, to
determine how the ſame were by ſtrong hand and plaine force, or otherwiſe to be auerted. In
which moſt honorably aſſemblie, *Iulian* the Cardinall, of purpoſe ſent thither by Pope *Vrban*
to ſtir vp the Hungarians againſt the Turks, being requeſted by the King to deliuer his opini-
on firſt, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The effectuall ſpeech of Iulian the Popes Legat in the parla-ment to perſuade the war.

*Since the time that the Turkiſh peſtilence began to rage in Europe, no newes was euer more wel-
come vnto the great Biſhop, vnto the Apoſtolicall Senate, and other Princes of Italie (moſt migh-
tie King, and you other moſt worthie Princes) than when it was told them, That* Vladiſlaus, *King of
Polonia was by you alſo choſen King of Hungarie. For a fitter gouernour of the Hungarian ſtate, and
leader of their power, could not the Hungarians any where haue found: As he in whome Iuſtice, re-*
E *ligion, wiſedome, valour, and martiall skill, doth ſo abound, that he ſeemeth rather for the good of this
kingdome by God ſent from heauen, than here in earth choſen by men. By this happie & fortunat choice,
the minds alſo of all the Italians, which before lay beaute and diſcouraged, were lightned and reuiued:
and therefore that this choice might be vnto the Chriſtian common-weale both glorious and fortunate,
they made their ſolemne vowes and praiers. At ſuch time as the moſt holy Senate vnderſtood of the
ciuill diſcord of this kingdome, and the danger of the Turks faſt by, it ſent mee hither to deale with you
for the appeaſing of thoſe troubles, and repreſſing of that miſchiefe (as you haue oftentimes heard mee
ſay.) The kingdome is by your force and valour, by my mediation, and the death of the Queene, wel pa-
ciſied: but yet the other remaineth full of honour, full of profit, full of ſafetie, glorie, and immortali-
tie, beſt fitting* Vladiſlaus *conduct and fortune, and the valour of the Hungarians. The Turkiſh ty-*
F *rannie and their proud command (worthie Princes) is to bee repreſſed: yea their ſeruile yoke, hanging
euen now ouer our necks, is to be ſhaken off, and to be driuen away. What you are to dare to doe, the va-
lour and fortune of* Huniades *foretelleth you: the fortune ſaid I of* Huniades, *nay the fortune of the
Chriſtian common-weale, and preſent mercie of our bleſſed Sauiour, which ſuffereth his people to be vp
and downe toſſed, but not quite drowned. If ſo great an armie of the enemies was vanquiſhed and put*

to

to flight by the power of one of thy captaines, and that but small: what is to be hoped of thee (most mightie King) if thou shalt lead forth thine armies thy selfe in person, vnder thine owne conduct, and the protection of Christ Iesus? The eyes of all Christian Princes are cast vpon thee, vpon the Hungarian and Polonian forces; vpon thee haue they repосed all their hopes, they all expect that thou shoulast be the reuenger of the Barbarian crueltie, the defender of the faith, and protector of Europe: and that is it, for which the Pope doth with his letters daily solicite and importune you. And albeit, that the common cause and quarrell of the Christian religion require it, yet doth the necessitie of Hungarie and Polonia no lesse enforce it: of which, the one is most miserably and daily vexed with the Turks forces and furie out of Seruia and Dalmatia; and the other out of Moldauia and Valachia. Now if any there be, whom neither the zeale of religion, the necessitie of the cause, the hope of immortall fame and glorie, can moue, let their owne safetie, the present seruitude of their wiues and children, the safegard of their wealth and substance, the lawfull reuenge of the wrongs don them, stir them vp to take in hand this sacred expedition. So fit an opportunitie is now giuen vnto you, that at one and the selfesame time you may set your bodies in perpetuall safetie and happinesse; your soules in quietnesse and rest, and vnto both giue eternall glory and happinesse. You lacke not (worthy captaines) money, the sinewes of the warre, which shall be brought vnto you from all parts of the Christian common-wealth, not iustice and couragious souldiers; not power, not fortune, not the propitious heauenly powers, which haue made choice of you for the defence of the true faith and religion: you want nothing (worthie Princes) but Will. It is an expedition necessarie, religious, profitable, and honourable: wherein are propounded most ample rewards both in this life, and in the life to come. Wherefore (most mightie Prince, and your right worthy Princes all) I pray and beseech you by the faith of Christ Iesus by the loue of your children, by the health of your kingdome, and deliuerance from your present destruction, with valiant courage & one consent to take this sacred war in hand, and so thereby to enroll your names in the eternall booke of Fame. And sith that you are to goe, not so much to a worldly as a spirituall warre, against the enemies of Christ and his truth, take vp your armes with such zeale, courage, and cheerfulnesse, as the expectation and hope of men, as your valor, the present danger, and the mercies of God towards you, seeme of right to require.

The pitifull complaint of the Despot, of the crueltie of the Turks, perswading the Hungarians to take the war against them in hand.

The Legate hauing made an end, forthwith ensued the miserable supplication and teares of the Despot; perswadiug them, of the necessitie of that expedition to be taken in hand, declaring vnto them the crueltie of the Turks, their torments and strange tortures, his sonnes depriued of their sight, and spoiled of their genitories, many halfe mangled, and moe cut in sunder with sawes; some slaine quicke, and others buried aliue, with many other strange kindes of death, such as would abhorre any Christian eares to heare. And warning the Hungarians, by his example to beware how much they had need to looke to themselues, told them, That they were but by the riuer Savus diuided from the Turks; which in summer was oftentimes to be waded ouer, and in Winter hard frozen, & so to be passed: that the country beyond Danubius lay all open vpon them; and that hee, sometime the rich King of Seruia, was now driuen into exile by the power of the Turke, depriued of his kingdom, of his children, shamefully disgraced, spoiled of his wealth and fortune, glad to flie from place to place, and yet not able to finde any safe place to rest in. First he fled (as hee said) to Ragusium, where by and by he was sought after, and endangered by the Turks: then into Hungarie, which was also forthwith by them on euery side infested: and whereof the Barbarian King now asked tribute, to haue some colour for the inuasion thereof: which dreadfull enemy was not farre off from it, but still houered euen ouer it: as well witnessed Valachia and Transyluania, two of the greatest and richest prouinces of the Hungarian kingdome: which had not the valour of *Huniades*, the fortune of the common-weale, and aboue all, the mercy of God, deliuered out of the hands of this filthie Nation, the state of Hungarie had now beene vtterly forlorne. The euents of warre (hee said) were diuers, fortune vncertaine, and that God would not euery day bee tempted. Wherefore with many teares abundantly running downe his aged face, he besought King *Vladislaus* and the rest, not to let slip this faire occasion, neither by cowardise or negligence to breake off the course of their good fortune and victorie: but to make choice rather to become reuengers of other mens harmes, than of their owne, and to satisfie the good opinion the world had conceiued of them. He was (as he said) a sufficient example to al men. Besides that, he offered a great summe of money himselfe towards the defraying of the charges of the war, assuring them also of great supplies both of men and mony from diuers other Christian

Christian Princes. Which opinion of the Legat and Despots being generally liked & approued, a decree was made by a whole court of Parlament there assembled, That the king should himselfe in person, with al speed possible entertain that honorable war. So that though it were now vpon the approch of winter, yet were men taken vp in euery place, and embassadors sent vnto the Emperour and the other neighbour Princes, to pray of them aid against the common enemie. Who for the most part excused themselues by their own particular affaires, but sent no aid at all. Neuertheless many deuout Christians both out of France and Germanie, for the zeale they bare vnto Christ and the Christian religion, forsaking wife and children, and whatsoeuer they had else, came and worthily serued vpon their owne charge. The Spring being come, and supplications made in all places, for the prosperous successe of this religious war, King *Vladislaus* the first of May set forward from Buda; where passing the riuer Danubius, and marching faire and softly, & comming to the riuer Tibiscus, he there stayed three days for the comming of his armie. Departing thence, and marching on alongst the side of Danubius, vntil he came within the sight of Bulgaria, he there at a place called Cobis, ouer against Sinderouia, passed ouer Danubius with his army, which was now grown very great: and so marched directly to Sophia, scituate about six dayes march from Danubius, in the frontiers of Bulgaria, so called of a most sumptuous and magnificent temple there built by *Iustinian* the great emperor. Which citie being then old and ruinous, & but badly fortified, was easily taken; and afterward for that it was not well to be holden, was by the Kings commandement burnt, as were all the other country towns and villages thereabouts, to the terror of the rest. Marching thence, he came vnto the riuer Moraua, and there incamped: where the plain country easily riseth & falleth in manner of the sea, when it is moued with a little wind. Here 500 horsemen being sent ouer the riuer, not so much to seeke after prey, as to view the countrey, which way the armie might most safely and easily passe, hapned vpon the Turks scouts, of whom they tooke foure: and vnderstanding by them, that 2000 of the Turks were comming at hand, knowing themselues too weake to encounter them, they retyred backe again with all speed they could, vnto the riuer; where many of them for feare leapt headlong from the high and broken banks, and so perished in the deepe; the rest terrified with the misfortune of their fellowes, stood still, doubtfully expecting what should become of themselues. Beyond the riuer was another hil, vpon the top whereof the King with a great number of horsemen were hunting: whome the Turks a far off descrying, and doubtful to fall into some ambush, of purpose layd for them betwixt them & the riuer, without comming on further, retyred. Which they that before feare-fully stayd on the further side of the riuer, perceiuing, and now encouraged by the comming of the King downe to the riuer, followed a while after, so to increase their feare; and so hauing well feared one another, retired on both sides worse affraid than hurt. The next day the King passed ouer the riuer, sending out his scouts to see if all were cleere before him: by whom he was aduertised, that the Turks were at hand, hauing placed certain ambushes fast by, expecting but a fit time to set vpon him. Whereupon entring into councell with his best and most expert captains, what were best to be done, it was resolued vpon, That *Huniades* the next night with 10000 choice horsemen, should vpon the sudden set vpon the enemie, then fearing nothing lesse. Who conducted by the espials, was in the first watch of the night brought verie neere vnto them. The Moone by chance, as fauouring his great attempt, did then shine out, so that he might wil discerne how the enemie lay incamped, & which way for to charge them for his best aduantage; which was by the same way they were most like to flie, if they should be put to the worst: vnto which place he led his men, and there with a most hideous outcrie entred the campe, as then for the most part buried in sleepe and securitie: when as the Turks awaked with the sudden noyse, as it were out of a dead sleepe, and dismayed with the horror of the crie, began to betake them some to their weapons, some to their heeles. Of whom such as fled, lighting vpon the enemies troups standing in their way, ranne as fast backe again: the other scarce yet well awake, and ouercome with feare, & now scarcely themselues, had much adoo to make themselues readie to fight. *Huniades* in the mean time riding vp and downe amongst his men, cheered them vp, still crying out and calling vpon them, courageously to assaile their sleepie, naked, and fearefull enemies, and not to let slip so faire an occasion, and so notable a victorie now alreadie in their hands. At the first encounter the Turkes rather made a stirre, than fought; but after that they heard that *Huniades* was there, as men dismayed

Sophia taken.

Huniades with ten thousand horsemen assaileth the Turkes by night.

maied with his name, they turned their backs and fled, finding, which way soeuer they tooke, G
their fellows halfe dead or wounded: yea, such a confusion was raised amongst them with the
greatnesse of the sudden feare, that thrusting together, with an inconsiderate desire of flight,
they trod one another vnder foot, & thrust themselues one vpon anothers weapons: the grea-
test part of them driuen headlong into the thickets and other straits, & not able in time to get
out thence, were there by the victorious enemie, fiercely pursuing of them, slain. All that night
the fearefull Turks were with great slaughter held in chace: but as soon as it was day, the rest
that remained of them, ran also the same fortune with their fellowes. A far greater slaughter
was there made, than a man would thinke that so few men could haue made, when as but with
10000 horse, 30000 Turks were in one night slain, and 4000 taken, with a number of their en-
signes. Of *Huniades* his men were not many lost, for the greatnesse of the slaughter: most re- H
port not aboue 500, for few of them found any enemie to resist them. There was taken all the
spoile of a most rich campe, the enemie hauing carried with them nothing out of it. *Huniades*
hauing in so short time gained so notable a victorie, and inriched his army, returned to the king
in great triumph: neither was that day more joyfull vnto these victorious souldiers, than vnto
the rest of the armie, who most joyfully expected their returne. The King and the Despot hea-
ring of the approch of *Huniades* from the slaughter of the Turks, with the great applause and
joyful acclamation of the other legions, went to meet him three miles: and at such time as at
The meeting of Vladislaus and Huniades after the victorie. their first meeting *Huniades* was about to haue lighted to haue done him honour, he would in
no case suffer him so to do, but taking him by the right hand, joyed with him for the victory,
thanking God in the hearing of the whole armie, that he of his mercie had giuen him such a I
Captaine, as, without enuie, in all mens iudgments was worthie to rule the Roman empire. In
briefe, he shewed how much his country, his kingdome, yea the Christian commonweale, was
bound and indebted vnto him, gaue him his due praises, exhorting all others to imitate his
glorie: the like honour did also all the rest of the nobilitie vnto him. As for the common sol-
diers, they could not be satisfied with beholding of him, but imbracing one another, as if they
would haue died one in anothers arms, welcommed their victorious friends. So with joy joy-
ning their forces together, & sending the rich spoile of the enemy, with the prisoners chained
together in long ranks before them; the King and *Huniades* in great triumph returned into the
campe, where they caused generall prayers, with thanksgiuing vnto almighty God for so great
a victorie, to be made thorowout the armie. K

The Legat *Iulian*, Generall of the voluntarie Christians, which for deuotion sake serued of
their own charge, after so great a victorie most earnestly perswaded the King and the rest of
the great commanders of the armie, to prosecute their good fortune, and in God his so great
fauor not to loiter, but daily to march forward, and to take in the rest of Bulgaria. Now had *Hu-*
niades by his espials learned, that from Sophia it was but three days journey to Philippopolis,
a great citie of Thracia; and the like distance from thence to Hadrianople, the chiefe seat of
the Turkish tyrant; and as much more to Constantinople. The onely difficultie was, how to
passe the great and rough mountain Hemus; which running a maruellous way in length, euen
vnto the Euxine sea, and mating almost the skie, diuideth the countries of Bulgaria and Seruia,
from Macedonia and Thrace: and for the great height and roughnesse therof, is not to be pas- L
sed ouer but in two places; the one made by the great Emperor *Traian* & the Romans, where
as yet is to be seen a mightie strong gate built of great square stone, whereby the passage that
way was opened or shut at the pleasure of them that had the keeping thereof: the other neere
vnto a little riuer, which the Bulgarians now call Saltiza. By either of these ways, if he should
find them open, *Huniades*, vnto whom the King had committed both the leading and the con-
duct of the armie, purposed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they tooke all such towns
of Bulgaria as stood in their way; some by force, some by composition: wherein was no small
helpe, the conformitie of the Christian religion, the horrible crueltie of the Turks, the great
affinitie of language, the most effectuall means to win the loue of strangers: for the Polonians
and the Bulgarians both discended of the Sclauonians, and vsing the same language, the Polo- M
nian horsemen came to no town, but it presently yeelded. But being come vnto the mountain
Hemus, to haue entred into Thracia, the Winter weather being now verie cold; they learned
by their espials, that the aforesaid passages were both fast shut vp with great stones, timber, and
such other like matter, so strongly, as that they were verie hardly to be forced. Wherfore *Hu-*
niades

A *niades* leauing the straiter way made by the hand of man (which beside the former fortifica-
tion at the great gate, the Turks had in many places, with abundance of water poured downe
the steep hil in the night, and hard frozen with the coldnesse of the weather, made so slippery,
as that it was not possible either for man or beast there to stand, or to get vp that way) vpon
Christmas euen came to the other, by which the riuer Saltiza runnes, the which he found like-
wise shut. Here they met with many inconueniences: first, the difficultie of the passage, which
old *Amurath* had (not without great reason) shut vp, & there placed strong garrisons, so at ease,
and without danger of battel (so often by his Bassa's vnfortunatly proued) to defend his king-
dome in Macedonia and Thracia, from the inuasion of the Hungarians, who now of all nations
he most dreaded. Beside that, in the armie was such want of all things, as that the soldiers were
B readie to forsake their ensignes, and to rise vp in a general mutinie: for the country neere vnto
the mountain Hemus, riling high, with broken rocks, and inaccessible places, was altogether
barren; and victuals failing in the camp, they were glad to liue with a little wheat & flesh boi-
led together, and that so sparingly, as that the souldiers began now generally to grow weake
and faint. Besides that, the Winter was exceeding cold, and the frost so great, that many times
they could not go out of their tents to seeke for forrage or water. So that the armie enforced
The Hungarians inforced with the difficultie of the passage of the mountaine Hemus, retyre. with hunger and cold, and the difficultie of the passage, began to retire, and had vndoubtedly
bin dissolued, had it not bin for the often and earnest persuasions of *Huniades*: for he daily told
them, that the greatest difficulties were past, that that which remained, was with their wonted
valour and courage to be indured, whereunto nothing was high or difficult: that they should
forthwith come into the borders of Thracia, where they should find plentie of all things: that
C they were now come so far, that if they would go back again, they should in those wast coun-
tries through which they were to passe, find greater difficulties & dangers, than in going for-
ward: that these straits once opened, remained no more trauell, but cheerefully to fal to the
spoile of a most rich and pleasant country. They were not (as he said) to stay in the midst of
their fortunes, for that it was not always permanent, and for that the contempt of Gods fauors
caused them to be oftentimes taken from vs: al that was yet done (he said) was nothing, if they
proceeded not further: for that whatsoeuer they had already woon, was easily by the enemy
to be recouered, except that those which yet remained (for that most part of them, as he said,
were slain, with their houses burnt ouer their heads) were driuen out of Thracia and Macedo-
nia, and so quite out of Europe. So whilest the soldiers heard *Huniades* speake, euery man was
D wel incouraged; but when they remembred the miseries wherwith they were inuironed, they
cursed all the rash attempts of ambitious princes. In the mean time news was brought by the
scouts, that the Turks were comming after them: but then began they to rejoyce, as deeming
it much more honor, manfully to die in battell, than to starue with hunger and cold. Against
these Turks was *Huniades* sent with certain troups of horsemen: who incountring with them,
easily inforced them with losse to retire. Eight times he incountred them (as the soldiers there
present reported) & as often put them to flight. In retiring back from the impregnable moun-
tain, the king with the greatest part of the armie went before; after whom followed *Huniades*
and the Despot, a good days march: when the Turks that kept the passage vpon the mountain,
vnderstanding of their return, followed them down the hill, in good hope to be of them well
E reuenged, before they should get out of Bulgaria. *Carambey* the Bassa of Romania, & brother
to *Caly-Bassa* (a man of all others in greatest fauor with *Amurath*, and his brother in law, as ha-
uing married his sister) was General of this army, & by him appointed for the keeping of these
straits; with expresse charge, vpon no occasion whatsoeuer, although it made shew of neuer so
assured a victorie, to fight with the enemie: for he thought it victorie enough, without any
losse to haue kept his enemies out of Thracia. Which the old Kings command, *Carambey* for
all that neglected, in good hope by a notable victory easily to answer the contempt of that he
was commanded. The Christian armie descending down the broken mountains, was come to
a great mountain, which the Bulgarians call Cunobiza, and part of the mountain Hemus: at
F whose heeles followed *Carambey*, with his Turks, still houering ouer their heads, to take them
at some aduantage: whom the Christians beholding, could not by their captains be stayd, but
that they would many times by companies flie forth vpon them, and desperately fight with
them in places of great aduantage, saying, That they had rather die in fight like men, than to
starue with hunger and cold. Here *Carambey*, being himselfe a man of great courage, and desi-

rous

rous of honor, and by the rashnesse of his enemies allured to fight; and withall, beside the advantage of the ground, perceiuing himselfe to exceed his enemies both in strength & number of men, could not be stayd, but would needs giue battell, with such a desire, as if he had bin alreadie assured of the victorie. *Huniades* and the Despot had before perceiued, that the Turks, prouoked with the brauing of their men, would assuredly fall vpon them, and were therefore much troubled with the absence of the King, who (as is before said) was gone a days march before they saw they could neither shun battel, neither if they could haue so done, would their desperat souldiers be stayed, for the desire they had to fight. Yet seeing *Carambey* comming down vpon them, they put themselues (though vnwillingly) in best order they could to receiue him; persuading their soldiers not rashly in furie to run vpon their enemies, as desperate men prodigall of their liues, but to keepe their rankes, and orderly to fight, and so like valiant men to carrie away the victorie, or to leaue vnto their enemies a bloudy remembrance therof.

A great battell betwixt Huniades and the Bassa Carambey.

Now had *Carambey* sent his horsmen down the hil, and the battel was begun, where both the armies met together with great furie, and a cruel fight was made both at the foot of the hil, and amongst the hils and vallies also: in which hard incounter many were slain, as well on the one side as the other. The Polonian men at arms (whom the king but a little before had left with *Huniades* against all euents) with the Hungarian light horsemen (of whom the Despot had the leading) fought so that day, as if they had fought for nothing more, but how honourably to die; & the Turks for a space stood hard to it, so that many were there slain: yet at length finding themselues hardly layd to, as by desperat men, resolued to sel their liues deere, they began to faint & to giue ground: when as *Carambey* comming in behind them with new supplies, rated the cowardly, stayd them that were flying, and somtime with rough speeches, sometime with faire persuasion, incouraged the wauering, and restored the battell, before almost quite lost. Neither did *Huniades* and the Despot lesse bestir them, but as soon as they perceiued the enemie a little to faint, by and by cried out, Victorie; with cheerful speech incouraging their men, still calling vpon them, To keepe their ranks strong, and to vrge their present good fortune, assuring themselues, that they fought against those infidels vnder the fauor & protection of the Almighty: and forthwith sent certain companies of footmen, who climbing vp the hil among the bushes, with their halfe pikes & boare-spears panched the Turks horses as they passed by them. These loose companies did the Turks horsemen much harm, and here began their battel to decline; they which were comming down, for feare of the danger retyring back again vnto them that were left aboue for the keeping of the straits: and the bolder sort of them, which were come down into the vallies, compassed about with the men at armes, hardly recouered the rising of the hill. *Carambey* in the mean time crying out behind them, one while called back them that fled, another while relieued them that fainted, and to the vttermost of his power restoring the battell, performed all the parts both of a valiant souldier & worthy captaine, couragiously fighting himselfe in the thickest of his enemies, and by his own valor stained for a time the lost battel. At length performing his last indeauor, deceiued by the snow, he fel into a bog, where sticking fast with his horse, and not able to helpe himselfe, he was taken prisoner by a common soldier. The rest that escaped out of this bloudie battel, retired themselues vnto them that were left aboue vpon the mountain, for the defence of the passage. After whom the Christians followed, through the vntract and rough places, vntill that hindered of their further pursuit by the approch of the night, and the abruptnesse of the way, they were glad to sound a retrait, and so retyred vnto the campe. Many other great men were taken beside *Carambey*, but many moe slaine in the battell, and most of all in the flight; few escaped, but such as fled backe againe vp into the mountaines. In the retrait, *Huniades* seeing so gallant a man as was *Carambey* (though to him altogether vnknown) vnworthily bound, and led prisoner by a common soldier, asked the souldier, if he would sell his prisoner? who sayd, hee would; and asked for him ten duckats, (a poore price for so great a man:) vnto whom *Huniades* commanded to be giuen foure hundred, and so sent him vnto his tent, comforting of him vp with cheerefull words, and willing that he should be well vsed. The Despot the same night comming to *Huniades* his tent, to confer with him about the remainder of the war, and seeing so braue a man standing among the rest by the fire side, began to talke with him in the Turkish language, whereof he had some knowledge, by reason of the neerenesse of the Nation, and such matters as he had sometime to do with them; and hauing some gesse by his talke, what he

The Turks ouerthrowne, & Carambey taken prisoner.

A he was, and pitying his estate, asked *Huniades*, how he would ransome him? who said, that he cost him foure hundred duckats, but that he valued him at forty thousand; which the Despot offered to pay him. Thus by the strange change of fortune, was *Carambey*, of late so great a commander, and so neere allied vnto the great Turke, valued & prized twice in one day by his enemies, as a mirror of the vncertaintie of worldly blisse and felicitie. The Polonians report somewhat otherwise of this battell; as that *Vladislaus* should himselfe therein be present, and the chiefe that therein commanded: howbeit the Hungarian writers, whose credit herein we follow, report it as before, not to haue been fought vnder the good fortune of the King then absent, but vnder the leading of *Huniades* and the Despot.

Out of this battell (or as some others report, a little before, out of the battell of Morau) *Scanderbeg reuolteth from the Turke*

B fled the great captaine *George Castriot*, otherwise of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*, now seeking to deliuer both himselfe, and his natiue country of Epirus, out of the thraldome of the Turks, as presently after he did: whose vnwoonted flight not a little terrified the rest of the Turkes armie, and much furthered the Christians victorie, whose proceedings he alwayes secretly fauored; hauing (as it was thought) secret intelligence with the great captaine *Huniades*, who not without instructions from him (as some say) gaue that great ouerthrow vnto the Turks at Morau. But of him and his worthie acts done for the deliuerance and defence of his countrey, more shall be said hereafter.

Shortly after this great ouerthrow and discomfiture of the Turks, the two great captains, *Huniades* & the Despot, together with the King, consulted for the remouing of the Turks garrisons, left aboue for the keeping of the strait passages of the mountain, & the prosecution of

C the war. Which *Vladislaus* (considering the difficultie of the matter, and his soldiers necessitie) thought it not good further to prosecute, but forthwith to return. But *Huniades* & the Despot, the one thirsting after honour, and the other no lesse hope, by the good successe of this war, to recouer again his lost kingdome, said, That the Turks were in any case to be remoued, the passage opened, & the sparks that yet remained, for feare of raising a greater fire, extinguished: opposing against the difficultie by the king alledged, the inuincible courage of his souldiers, whereunto (they said) nothing was impossible or difficult. To which opinion the king also (lest he should seem to distrust the valor of his captains or soldiers) easily yeelded, & so commanded on Gods name to set forward. The first that mounted the hil was the kings battel, which *Vladislaus seeketh in vaine to open the passage of the mountain Hemus.*

D by the roughnesse and abruptnesse of the mountain hindered, oftentimes stayd. But *Huniades* still carried with an earnest desire to prosecute the victorie, and leauing nothing vnattempted, in searching about found a crooked turning way, whereby he with his men, more easily & readily got vp to the top of the mountain, euen with their enemies, vndescried or molested, by reason of the broken couert of the place: from whence they were in good hope easily to haue come vnto their enemies. But being come vp to the place they desired, they found such a deep and wide gaping of the rocke betwixt them and the enemie, as was neither to be passed, or filled vp: yet being come verie neere, they attempted by crossebow shot, & great stones cast out of slings, and other such engins, to haue remooued the Turkes from their places: who were therewith, and with their vnexpected approch, at the first so greatly both annoyed and discomfited, that they were almost at the point to haue forsaken the passage, had not *Alis Beg* (but the night before chosen for their General instead of *Carambey*) incouraged them and taught them how by shrouding themselues vnder the broken rocks, & parapets with tumultuary labor cast vp, to saue themselues from the shot of their enemies. In the mean time also *Huniades*, by another more high & steep way, whereby the enemie was also to be approched, had sent vp other companies of soldiers, who fighting at too much disaduantage, were by the Turks easily rejected. So at length, seeing the vain attempt giuen by himselfe vpon the top of the hil; and the desperat danger of the others in climebing the inaccessible mountain, where one might keep down an hundred, despairing to inforce the enemy, he by the Kings command caused a retrait to be sounded, and so againe retired down the mountain, to the great rejoycing of the Turks.

F The next day the winter cold raging, and wants in the armie still more and more increasing, the King with the rest of the great commanders entred into consultation for the hastning of their return out of that rough and barren countrey, into places of greater plentie, before the armie were brought into any greater extremitie. Whereunto *Huniades* (giuing place vnto neeessitie, which always suffreth not to be regarded that is seemly) now easily yeelded: only the Despot spake

ſpake againſt it, blaming them, that hauing taken the Generall, and put their enemies to flight, and victorie now as it were in their hands, they would not proſecute the ſmall remainder of the war, but cowardly turn their backs vnto their vanquiſhed enemies: promiſing that he himſelfe would find money enough for the prouiding of all things needful for the reliefe of the armie. So ſaid the Popes Legat alſo. But foraſmuch as the wants in the army were great, and the ſoldiers preſently pinched with hunger and cold, they could with no hope of any profit, were it neuer ſo great, be perſuaded to ſtay; openly crying out, that it was not their captaines and lieutenants, which wanted nothing, but them the poore ſoldiers that ſtarued for hunger: as for the Deſpot, that he in hope of recouering his kingdome, perſuaded things impoſſible, and no way to be performed; neither to be any thing mooued with the death of their men or cattel. Need (they ſaid) could not be vanquiſhed: but that when Winter was paſt, they would willingly returne again vnto the ſacred war. In the mean time, Winter raging, and hunger commanding, let vs giue ouer (ſaid they) and depart into more fruitfull places, there to refreſh our bodies, ſpent with labor, cold, and hunger. For which reaſons, the King ſending before his baggage, retyred again by the ſame way he came. Which the Turks from aboue beholding, and ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, followed after them, as after men that had fled: oftentimes aſſailing them in the rereward, and ſetting vpon them ſometimes on the one ſide, ſometimes on the other, with often skirmiſhes both did and receiued much harme. Whoſe manner of fight was, to retire when they were themſelues charged, and preſently by great troupes to charge againe their enemies, their backs once turned to them; & ſo troubled the army, that it was conſtrained oftentimes to ſtay; beſides that, loded with the rich ſpoile of the enemie, and much baggage, it could not of it ſelfe make any great haſt. Now was it by the way come into a great thicke wood, full of deep bogs and water-courſes, hard to be paſſed thorow: where the reſt of the army going before, in the rereward, at the entrance of the wood were left certaine ſtrong companies of men at arms, as a wall againſt the purſuing enemie: whom the Turks with their readie light horſemen fiercely charged; where betwixt them, in the wood was fought a great fight, and a great tumult raiſed: vnto the noiſe wherof, they which marched before haſtily returning, in skirmiſhing, many of them fell into thoſe deepe bogs and queachie places, out of which they could hardly rid themſelues againe. Beſides that, there were many crooked and troubleſome turnings and windings, with ſudden deſcents, ſo ſteepe, as that in going down the ſame, their horſes came tumbling heeles ouer head, and there lay ouerthrown together with their riders: in ſuch ſort, as that to auoyd theſe difficulties, they were oftentimes inforced to fight on foot. In which troubleſome skirmiſh about foureſcore of the men at arms were loſt; but of the Turks, beſide them which were ſlain, were taken an hundred and ſeuenty, al whom *Huniades* cauſed to be preſently ſlaine. In this wood the Chriſtians were more troubled with the difficulties of the place, than the enemies aſſaults. Wherefore wants dayly more and more increaſing in the army, which by reaſon of the multitude of their carriages, abundance of their baggage, and often aſſaults of the Turks, was able to make no way; the King for feare his Armie ſhould in ſo long & ſlow a march thorow thoſe troubleſome & barren countries, be conſumed with hunger and other wants, cauſed all the carriages & baggage to be brought into the midſt of the army, and of it, all ſuch things as ſerued rather for burthen than vſe, to be there burnt; and the arms as wel of ſuch ſoldiers as he had there loſt, as of the enemy, to be buried in the ground; and all the weake beaſts that ſerued for burthen, to be killed. So the armie well diſcharged of ſuch vnprofitable burdens, marched much more ſpeedily, neither was ſo much ſubiect vnto the aſſaults of the Turks, as before. And ſo at length by long journies, *Vladiſlaus* with his army arriued at Belgrade, where he was of his ſubiects honorably receiued. And hauing there ſtayd certain days, & well refreſhed his armie, departing thence, & paſſing the riuer Savus, came to the royal city Buda, where he was of al his ſubiects joyfully receiued alſo: the Legat and *Huniades* going on his right hand, and the Deſpot on the left: after whom followed other colonels, captains, and lieutenants, with their companies; who at the firſt meeting with the citiſens, more than a mile out of the citie, in token of their mutual joy, gaue together ſuch joyfull acclamations & outcries, as that the heauens ſeemed to reſound, and the earth to ſhake with the noyſe thereof. Before the King, at his comming vnto the Citie, went a long companie of the notable Turks Captiues; and next before him, *Carambey*, bound in chaines; vpon whom all mens eyes were fixed. With them were alſo carried the enemies enſignes, and ſuch ſpoyles

The Hungarians much troubled in paſſing a thicke wood.

Vladiſlaus honorably receiued at Buda.

A ſpoiles as had bin ſaued. Behind the King came *Huniades* in a triumphant robe, in the midſt betwixt the Legate on the right hand, and the Deſpot on the left, as he that next vnto the King had beſt deſerued the honor of the triumpth. Next vnto them followed the deuout Chriſtians, that for the zeale of religion had moſt honorably of their owne charges vnluntarie ſerued in thoſe wars: and on both ſides of them the ciuill magiſtrates and beſt of the citizens: behind them came the reſt of the legions, and about them both vpon the right hand and the left, the promiſcuous common people, doubling and redoubling the praiſes of the king, and *Huniades*. Before all theſe went the prelats and prieſts in ſolemne proceſſion, ſinging hymnes and pſalmes of thankſgiuing vnto almightie God. *Vladiſlaus* comming to the gate of the citie, acknowledging God to haue bin the author of ſo great a victorie, alighting from his horſe, on
B foot went firſt vnto the cathedral church of our Lady; & there giuing moſt heartie thanks vnto almightie God, hanged vp the enemies enſignes, & part of the ſpoile, in perpetual remembrance of ſo notable a victory: which he afterward cauſed to bee moſt liuely depainted in a faire table of moſt curious worke, & there in the ſame church to be hanged vp; as were alſo the arms of al the notable Chriſtians that ſerued in that moſt famous expedition, which there long time after remained. Which ſolemnities ended, he went to his pallace in his caſtle, and there hauing giuen to euery man, but eſpecially to *Huniades*, his due commendation, gaue them leaue to depart. Thus the Hungarians, with whom alſo the Polonians in moſt part agree, report of this notable expedition of their king *Vladiſlaus*: howbeit the Turks (notable diſſemblers of their own loſſes) confeſſing the great ouerthrow, call the Baſſa ſo ouerthrowne, not by
C the name of *Carambey*, but of *Caſſanes*; and the noble priſoner that was taken, by the name of *Mechmet Beg*, Sanzacke of Ancyra, *Amurath* his ſon in law, and brother to *Cali-Baſſa*, *Amurath* his great councellour, of ſome called *Carambey* after the name of his father.

Out of this late ſlaughter of the Turks, where *Carambey* was taken, ſcaped that valiant prince and famous warriour *George Caſtriot* (of the Turkes called *Scanderbeg*) as is before declared: whoſe noble minde had long time deſired to breake out of the golden fetters of the Turkiſh thraldom, & to be reuenged of the intollerable iniurie by *Amurath* don to his country, his parents, his brethren, & himſelf. Although he had always moſt warily diſſembled the ſame, for feare of the old tirant: being oftentimes ſolicited and animated therunto by ſecret letters and meſſengers from his friends in Epirus, knowing right wel that the leaſt fortune therof had bin vnto him preſent death. But finding no fit means for the accompliſhment thereof, wiſely diſ-
D ſembled the ſame, with al the ſhews of loue and loyaltie to *Amurath* that might be: vntill that now in this great ouerthrow of the Turks army, vnder the leading of *Carambey*, and in ſo great a confuſion, he tooke occaſion to put in practiſe what he had long before in his deepe conceit plotted, for the deliuery both of himſelf & his country from the Turkiſh bondage and ſlauery. At which time *Scanderbeg* (for ſo from henceforth we cal him) hauing a little before imparted the matter vnto ſome of his truſtie friends and countrymen, no leſſe deſirous of libertie than himſelfe, but eſpecially vnto his nephew *Ameſa*, the ſon of his brother *Repoſius*, a yong man of great courage (in great confuſion of the Turkiſh armie, when euery man was glad to ſhift for himſelfe) had euer in his flight a vigilant eye vpon the Baſſaes principal ſecretarie; whom ac-
E companied with a few Turks, he with his nephew *Ameſa*, & other of his faithful friends cloſely followed, as he fled from the ſlaughter: but when he had got the ſecretary with his few followers in place moſt conuenient for his purpoſe, he ſet vpon the Turks and ſlew them euerie one: and carrying the ſecretary away with him faſt bound, when he had brought him whither he thought good, with great threats compelled him (ſore againſt his will) to write counterfeit leters, as from the Baſſa his maſter, vnto the gouernor of Croia, commanding him in *Amuraths* name, Forthwith to deliuer vnto *Scanderbeg*, the new choſen Gouernor, the charge of the city with the garriſon there: cunningly enterlacing many other things in the ſame letters, wherby the matter might ſeem more probable. Which letters ſo extorted, he preſently ſlew the ſecretary, & as many more of the Turks as came in his way, of purpoſe that his doings might be
F the longer kept from the knowledge of *Amurath*, who not hearing what was become of him, might reaſonably coniecture that he was ſlain by the Hungarians among the reſt of the Turks.

Whileſt the fame of this great ouerthrow is going to Hadrianople, and there filleth the Turks court with ſorrow and heauineſſe, in the mean time *Scanderbeg* hauing with him three thouſand Epirot ſouldiers which followed him out of the battell, as men deſirous rather to fight

Scanderbeg wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the deliuery of himſelfe and his country

fight for the libertie of themselues and of their country, than in the quarrell of the Turk, was with incredible celeritie come into the vpper countrey of Dibra, in the borders of Epirus, about seuentie miles from Croia: into which country he was most ioyfully receiued, where he staied but one day, and chose a few of those three hundred which he brought with him, to wait vpon him when hee went to Croia, as if they had bin his domesticall seruants: the rest, with other three hundred lusty soldiers, which were then come vnto him out of Dibra, he appointed to be led by secret by-waies thorow the woods and mountaines by perfect guides, vntill they came so nigh Croia as was possible for them to come, vnperceiued; and there to stay vntil he might find opportunity to conuey them into the city to oppresse the Turkish garrison. So he with a smal company of his followers, as if they had bin his priuat retinew, took the way towards Croia. But when he began to draw neere to the citie, he sent *Ameſa* before with two Seruitors attending vpon him, as if he had bin his Secretarie, to certifie the Gouernor of his comming. This yong gentleman, as he was of a most sharpe wit, and well spoken, so had hee framed his countenance and attire, that he seemed to be a naturall Turke: who assoon as he was come into the citie, he went vnto the Gouernor, whom after he had saluted according to the Turkish manner, he deliuered his message as from *Scanderbeg* his master, with so good grace, & words so wel placed, that al he said was verily beleeued for truth. But when *Scanderbeg* himselfe came, and had deliuered the great commanders letters, the Gouernour made no further question of the matter, but presently deliuered vnto him the gouernment of the citie, and the next day departed out of Croia with all his household towards Hadrianople. *Scanderbeg* hauing by this policie got the gouernment of the chiefe citie of Epirus, the night following found means in the dead time of the night, to receiue into the city the soldiers of Dibra, who were by this time come, according as he had before appointed: most part of them he placed in most conuenient places of the city, and for the speedy suppression of the Turkish garrison, he with the rest, first set vpon the Turks which kept the watch vpon the wal, and slew them; and afterwards breaking into their priuat houses, slew many of them in their beds: the Christian citizens also taking vp arms at the same time, helped to increase the slaughter of the Turkes, so that in the space of a few houres, there was none of the Turkish garrison left aliue, except some few, which were content to forsake their Mahometan superstition, and to become Christians. Many of the Turks might so haue saued their liues, and would not, chusing rather to die, and (as it is reported) also to kill themselues, than to forsake their damnable superstition: so small is the regard of life vnto resolute minds, in what quarrell soeuer.

The citie of Croia being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recouered, wherin appeared both the greatest difficulty, & hope of his good or bad successe in so great an attempt, he presently sent *Ameſa* backe againe into Dibra, and other speedie messengers likewise into all the parts of Epirus, to disperse the news, and to stir vp the people to take vp arms for the recouerie of their lost libertie: but flying Fame, the speedie post, had preuented the messengers by him sent, and alreadie filled euery corner of Epirus with report of *Scanderbeg* his comming, and of all that was done at Croia. And the oppressed Epirots which had long wished to see that happie day, were now vp in arms in euery place, wanting nothing but leaders, whose comming although they greatly desired, yet they staied not therupon, but running together by heaps (as the manner of the common people is in all great tumults) they set vpon the Turkes garrisons which lay abroad in the countrey, and slew most part of them: whereby it came to passe, that no Turke could stirre in the country, but that he was snatched vp and slaine, so that in few dayes there was not a Turke to be found in Epirus, but such as lay in garrisons in strong townes. In this furie of the people, the gouernor of Croia, with all his retinue, was by the countrey people by the way as he went set vpon and slaine, and all his goods taken as a prey.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recouered Croia, and scoured the countrey, yet to remooue the garrisons, which *Amurath* had put in euery strong citie; was thought to be a matter of great importance, and more difficultie. For which purpose he commanded those whom he had appointed for capraines, speedily to repaire vnto Croia with all the power they could make. At which time also, diuers noble men his nigh kinsmen, resorted to him with their followers: so that within a few dayes, he had together at Croia twelue thousand souldiers well appointed. With this armie hee marched from Croia to Petrella, a strong Citie 25 miles distant from Croia, and encamped before it. This citie is strongly scituate vpon the top of a steepe rockie mountaine,

Scanderbeg commeth with his armie to Petrella.

mountaine, as all the rest of the cities of Epirus be, and was by the Turks well furnished with men, munition, and other things needfull: yet *Scanderbeg* was in good hope that the Turkish garrison there, terrified with the fortune of the garrison of Croia, and the slaughter of the Turkes in the countery round about, would be glad to hearken vnto reasonable conditions. Which to make proofe of, assoone as he was encamped, he sent one of those souldiers which had followed him out of Hungarie (a faithful and wise fellow) vnto Petrella, to offer vnto the soldiers, That if they would yeeld vp the citie, it should be at their choice, either to continue in seruice with *Scanderbeg*, with whom they should find most bountiful entertainment, or else to depart in safety with bagge and baggage at their pleasure, with an honorable reward to be diuided among them. The subtil messenger comming thither, and framing his tale according to the present occasion, and necessitie of the time, first declared vnto them, how that *Amurath* of late vanquished by the Hungarians in a great battel, & looking euery day to be set vpon by diuers other Christian princes, was so busied that he had no leisure to looke into Epirus, or to send them any reliefe: after that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg* offered them the conditions before rehearsed, setting the same forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the way, to consider the dreadfull miserie that but the other day befell to the garrison at Croia, and other their fellows abroad in the country, whose dead bodies as then lay in euery corner of Epirus for a prey to the hungrie dogs and gredie wolues: which thing was easily beleeued of them of the garrison, for that diuers of the Turks lately fled out of the country into the citie, had themselues seene the same to be true. The Gouernor hauing a little considered of the matter, was content to giue vp the city, vpon condition that he with the soldiers might in safetie depart with such things as they had: not couenanting vpon any further reward, because it should not be said that he had sould the city. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promised to perform, the Turkish Gouernor comming forth with all his garrison, yeelded vp the city: and *Scanderbeg* mindfull of his promise, gaue vnto them both meat and mony, and sent them with a sufficient conuoy of horsemen in safetie out of Epirus.

Petrella yeelded vnto Scanderbeg.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained Petrella, he placed therein a conuenient garrison, and set all things in order as he thought good; but suffered none to enter into the city, more than the appointed garrison, although it was then very cold and frostie weather. This done, he presently raised his campe, & following his good fortune, marched towards Petra-Alba in such hast, as if the citie had beene running away from him; well knowing, that though Time be euermore precious, yet neuer more than in martiall affairs, wherein the least moment is oftentimes of such power as to effect or frustrat mens greatest designes. Petra-Alba is a citie in the countrey of Æmathia, distant from Petrella three miles, strongly scituat vpon the top of a mountaine, neere vnto the riuer Æmathus. *Scanderbeg* had scarcely well encamped himselfe before this citie, but that the Gouernour thereof, terrified with the fortune of Croia, and Petrella, offered to deliuer vp the citie, on the same conditions that were granted at Petrella: which beeing agreed vpon, the citie was forthwith deliuered, and the conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully performed.

Petra-Alba yeelded.

Petra-Alba being thus taken, and all things set in order, *Scanderbeg* carried with the course of his victorie, without delay came to Stelluſa, which is also a strong citie of Æmathia, fiftie miles distant from Croia, pleasantly (as it were of purpose) built vpon the top of an high hill, standing in the midst of a pleasant & fruitfull vallie, with great plaines round about it. There *Scanderbeg* encamped a little before the going downe of the Sun, and rested that night. In the morning he sent a messenger to the citie, with like conditions as were accepted at Petrella and Petra-Alba: which most part of the garrison souldiers of the Turkes would gladly haue accepted, but that *Deſdrot* the Gouernor of the citie, with some few others earnestly withstood the rest; whereupon a great contention arose amongst the garrison souldiers. But the greater part desirous to yeeld vp the citie, when they could by no means persuade the Gouernor and those few which took his part, to yeeld to their desires, they violently set vpon him, & deliuered him with the rest to *Scanderbeg*, fast bound, and so yeelded vp the city. For which fact, fearing to returne to *Amurath*, some of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterwards became Christians: the rest were either honestly prouided for, or else wel rewarded & suffered to depart whether they would. All the other weaker places of Epirus wherein any of the Turkish garrisons lay, hearing that the strongest cities were already deliuered vnto *Scanderbeg*, in short

Stelluſa yeelded by the garriſon.

time

time yeelded themselues vpon like conditions: onely Sfetigrade (otherwise called the holy citie) remained in the possession of the Turks: which citie is placed in the vpper countrey of Dibra, in the frontiers of Epirus, vpon the top of an high and steepe hill, as if it were an Eagles nest. Vnto this citie came *Scanderbeg* with all his armie: and hauing placed his tents, he began first to assay if he could gaine it by composition, as he had done the rest: and the rather to moue them by the examples of others, he caused his embassadors to declare vnto them al that had happened at Croia, Petrella, Petra-Alba, and Stellusa, specially how he had vsed the garrison of Stellusa, which yeelded vnto him, with all bountie and courtesie; and how that on the contrary part hee had the gouernour in bands, with all his wilfull partakers, whome they should presently see executed before their faces, if they forthwith deliuered not the citie. This message troubled the minds of al the garrison, but especially of the gouernor, seeing before his eyes in the wofull example of another man, what might by and by happen vnto himselfe. Wherefore fearing to deliuer his own opinion and to giue answer vnto the embassador, for offending the inconstant multitude and vnknown minds of the people, he first entertained the embassadors honourably, and afterwards turning himselfe vnto the citizens and soldiers, said vnto them, *Worthie men and most faithfull souldiers, what is your pleasure, or what shall we answer to these our enemies demands?* Then one of the souldiers that stood by (a rough bold spirited fellow) vnwilling for his owne part to giue vp the citie, and deeming the gouernor to be of the same mind, in that hee had tearmed them worthie and faithfull, and *Scanderbeg* by the name of an enemy, drawing out his sword, & with his right hand shaking it on high, answered:

A notable speech of a common souldier to the rest of his fellowes for the holding out of their citie against Scanderbeg.

Most valiant gouernor, this fame and the like, shal make answer for vs. Nothing was to lesse purpose, than with premeditated words to seeke to terrifie valiant minds, first with the diuers fortune of Croia, and then of Stellusa: for as the faces and countenances of men are diuers, so also are their mindes and dispositions. Euery man wisely directeth his owne actions, according to his own proper humer, & by the same plaies the foole or bedlam. We prescribe no lawes to them of Petrella, nor to them of Stellusa, neither let them prescribe any vnto vs. Let neuer so base examples of cowardly slaues euer enter into the thoughts of couragious men: braue mindes disdaine to imitate other men in their honest actions, much lesse in their cowardise. And why? for euery man liueth after his own fashion. Wherfore let Scanderbeg *proceed, let him kil the gouernor of Stellusa before our faces, let him sacrifice our fellow soldiers, do you therfore think that we shal die in their bodies? shal our liuing spirits be there extinguished? shall our bloud there be spilt? But ô happie bodies, O ghosts of me euer to be reuerenced, which in worthy defence of your libertie & faith haue indifferently contemned gold, siluer, death, and torture, and whatsoeuer else miserable worldlings hold deare or dismall! Wherefore carry thou back again vnto thy master this answer from a common soldier, if he seek to impose these conditions vpon vs, let him once more bare that arme of his, which men of courage feare not so much as he thinketh. He may peraduenture inforce vs to these conditions of his, if God forsake vs: but assuredly persuade vs vnto them, shall he neuer. And yet for al that, your master* Scanderbeg *is not the man wee haue long since heard him reported to bee, of an honorable mind, easie to forgiue, & such a one as wil indifferently iudg betwixt the enemy & himself: for why then doth he hold in bonds the gouernor of Stellusa, for that he freely, iustly, and honorably stood in defence of his King, his faith and liberty? Why doth he threaten him with death, whereas he hath not deserued the same, although he hath resolutely offered himselfe thereunto. for defence of his libertie?*

All they which were present, listened with great attention to the souldiers speech, neither was hee interrupted by any, vntill he had said what he would. Then the souldiers thronging about him, and beating their swords and targets together, withall gaue a great shout, in token that they all approued his speech for answere. So the gouernour encouraged with the cheerfulnesse of his souldiers, returned the embassadour without other answere than that of the common souldiers, and presently appointed euery man to his charge, and with great carefulnesse ordered all things for the better defence of the citie. But when *Scanderbeg* had heard the answer that was sent him from the citie, deliuered by the mouth of a common souldier, hee smiled thereat, and said, *Hee is vndoubtedly a valiant souldier, if his deeds be answerable to his speeches: but if my force faile me not, I will also make him happie amongst the happie ghosts of them of Stellusa*: and by and by commanded the gouernour of Stellusa, with the other captiues, to bee brought before him, and there caused some of them which were content voluntarily to forsake

Scanderbeg his short answer to the souldiers speech.

forsake their Mahometan superstition, to be presently baptized, to the great griefe of the other Turks. *Dsedrot* the gouernor with the rest, to the terror of the defendants, were in their sight put to death: whereupon the garrison souldiers with great indignation gaue a great shout from the wall, and bitterly railed vpon the Christians.

Dsedrot gouernor of Stellusa, executed.

Scanderbeg considering the strength of the citie, with the time of the yeare, vnfit for soldiers to keep the field, for Winter was now grown on, left *Moses Golemus*, a most valiant captain, with a garrison of three thousand souldiers, to keepe in the Turks garrison at Sfetigrade, and to defend the borders of Epirus, vntill hee might at more conuenient time himselfe returne againe to the siege: and so with the rest of his armie repaired to Croia, when hee had in the space of little more than one month, to his immortall praise, recouered his kingdome, and driuen the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; excepting only Sfetigrade: which citie also not long after was by composition deliuered vnto him. During all this time, from his first comming into Epirus, he neuer slept aboue two houres in a night, but with restlesse labor prosecuted his affairs. He euer fought against the Turks with his arme bare, and that with such fiercenesse, that the bloud did oftentimes burst out of his lips. It is written, that hee with his owne hand slew three thousand Turkes in the time of his warres against them. But of his great and worthie victories obtained against the two mighty Turkish kings, *Amurath*, and *Mahomet* his sonne, more shall be said hereafter in due time and place.

After that *Scanderbeg* had thus by great force & policie wrung his inheritance out of *Amuraths* hands, and scoured the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; he proceeded further, and ouerran part of Macedonia, making sundrie incursions into the heart of that countrey, beeing then in the Turks possession; whereby he so enriched his souldiers, that they desired of him no better pay. Which was so vsuall a thing with this restlesse prince, as that it began to grow into a prouerbe in most princes courts, That the spoile of *Amurath* his dominions, was *Scanderbegs* reuenewes. Complaint hereof came daily to *Amuraths* court, which the craftie aged sire (being then troubled with the Hungarian warres) seemed at the first to make no great account of, but as of that he could easily and at his pleasure remedy; although he was therwith inwardly grieued at the heart. But when the certain report of one mischiefe as it were in the necke of another, continually sounded in his eares, and that he saw no end to be expected of these miseries, he sent *Alis Bassa*, one of his greatest men of war, with an army of fortie thousand select souldiers, at once to subdue the countrey of Epirus, and to bring it again vnder his obeisance. The setting forth of this great army, vnder the conduct of so famous a captain, replenished the minds of the Turkes with such an assured hope of victorie, that a man would haue thought *Scanderbeg* had bin already taken, & now brought to execution: yea the common soldiers before their setting forth, were oftentimes at vain contention for the diuision of the spoile they were neuer like to haue: *So readie are men to promise wonders to themselues, whilest they confer but with their own desires.* And on the other side, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled all the small country of Epirus, with great terror & feare of *Alis Bassaes* comming. The countrymen with their families fled into the strong cities, & the citizens within their walls fell to fortifying the same, and kept continual watch and ward, as if the enemy had euen then lien fast by them: the aged men & women commended themselues and al theirs first to God by praiers and then to the courage of the lustie soldiers with tears, as in case of extreme peril & danger. Only *Scanderbeg* was nothing moued either with the terrible report of the Bassaes comming, or the vain feare of his subiects, but alwaies kept the same cheerfulnes both of countenance & speech, as hee was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkish wars, and hauing (as was supposed) certain intelligence before from his secret friends in the Turks court, of all *Amuraths* designes. So that hauing set all things in order for the safety of his country, he began to leauie an army at Croia: at which time most part of his subiects of Epirus, which were able to beare armes, repaired vnto him: the confederat Christian princes also, his neighbors, and for most part his kinsmen, sent to him great supplies: beside other deuout and warlike minded Christians, which voluntarily resorted vnto him from far, in great numbers. Out of which multitude of people he chose only 8000 horsemen & seuen thousand foot, when as he might haue raised a far greater armie: and placing some few in garrisons in the frontier cities where hee thought most conuenient, al the rest hee sent home again to their dwellings. At which his confidencie, his friends, yea and his enemies also much maruelled, that when he might

Macedonia spoiled by Scanderbeg.

Alis Bassa with an army of fortie thousand sent against Scanderbeg.

might haue had so many, he would take the field with so few: with which smal army of fifteen thousand, he marched from Croia, fourscore miles to Dybra: where hearing by his espials, of the approch of his enemies, after he had with cheerfull speech encouraged his soldiers, he encamped with his army in the lower country of Dybra, neere vnto a wood side, right in the way where the Bassa must needs passe. In which wood, he placed *Gnee Musachee*, and *Ameſa* in ambush with three thousand men: commanding them to stand close, vntill they saw hee had throughly ioyned battell with the Bassa, and then with al their force to breake forth vpon his rereward. The Bassa marching forward, came and encamped neere vnto *Scanderbeg*, a little before the going downe of the Sun, and there rested that night, making great shew of mirth and ioy, with great fires in euery corner of the campe, as the Turkish manner of encamping is. Wheras in *Scanderbegs* campe, all things were silent, and no shew of any fire at all; for so *Scanderbeg* had commanded: which made the Turks the more careleſſe, deeming therby the Christians as good as already discouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his army in order of battell, placing *Tanusius* in the left wing, with fifteen hundred horsmen, and as many foote: and *Moses* in the right with like number: and leading the main battell himselfe, the rereward was committed to *Vranacontes* a man renowned in those dayes, both for his grauitie in counsel & for his valour in armes, fit to command or be commanded; but afterwards, amongst the rest most famous, for the worthie defending of Croia against *Amurath*, being then there himselfe in person. *Alis Bassa* contemning the smal number of *Scanderbegs* armie, seeing nothing therein to be feared more than the good order thereof, gaue the first charge with a small troupe of horsemen: who at the first incounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpose that the Christians hastily pursuing their vntimely hope, might disorder their battell, & so giue occasion to their owne ouerthrow. But by the commandement of *Scanderbeg*, who easily perceiued the Bassaes meaning) their dangerous forwardnes was warily waied, & all with safety kept in good order. So both armies comming on, the wings began the battel a fresh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage bringing on his maine battell in the face of the Bassa, valiantly charged him. But by that time that the battels were throughly ioyned, *Musachee* and *Ameſa* suddenly issued out of the wood, & fiercely set vpon the rereward of the Turks army, where they made great slaughter, and forced many of the Turks for feare to fly. Thus was the Bassaes great army driuen to fight both before and behind, being hardly beset and laid vnto with a small number. The Bassa had placed his best souldiers neerest vnto himselfe in the main battell, as his most assured strength and last refuge: these valiant men stood fast, and renewed the battell, before almost lost. And here *Scanderbegs* fortune was euen at a stand: vntill that the well aduised and valiant captaine *Vranacontes* hauing receiued the wearied soldiers into the rereward, and setting al things there in safety, accompanied with certain troups of fresh soldiers which he brought out of the rereward, brake through the Bassaes army with such slaughter of the Turks, that he made way for *Scanderbeg* and all the rest of his armie. The Turkes discomfited with the inuincible courage of these old soldiers, & the slaughter of their fellows, which lay by heaps wallowing in their own blood, betooke themselues to flight; whom the Christians fiercely pursued, and slew of them two and twenty thousand: at which time were also two thousand others taken prisoners, with foure and twentie of the Turkes ensignes: wheras of the Christians were slain not past an hundreth & twenty. The enemies tents with all their carriages, were at the same time taken also. After this great victory, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his seuen thousand footmen, horsmen, by giuing vnto them the horses of the slain Turks, he brake into the enemies country, & entred farre into Macedonia, where he filled the desires of his souldiers with the wealth and spoile thereof, sparing nothing that fire and sword could deuoure: and so with victorie returned to Croia, where he was of his subiects ioyfully receiued. *Alis Bassa* with the remainder of his discomfited armie, returned to Hadrianople, and there by *Amurath* was hardly charged of cowardise & want of discretion, for that he had lost so puissant an army to so weake an enemy. Whereof when he had cleared himselfe by the modest rehearsal of his former victories, and the testimonie of all the other captaines present with him in that battel, he was pardoned, and so againe receiued into fauour, and that great ouerthrow imputed to the chance of warre.

Amurath hauing receiued two so great ouerthrows, first from *Huniades* and the Hungarians, and now from *Scanderbeg*, and seeing himselfe elsewhere beset with so many mischiefs, as that hee could not tell which way to turne himselfe; tormented with despaire, and desire of reuenge,

The battell betwixt Alis Bassa & Scanderbeg.

A great slaughter of the Turks

Amurath in despaire.

A uenge, whereof he saw small possibilitie, fell into such a melancholie passion, that ouercome with the darke conceits thereof, he was about to haue become the bloudie executioner of himself, had not *Caly Bassa* by his graue aduice comforted vp his dying spirits: by whose persuasion (contrary to his naughtie nature) he yeelded by his Embassadors sent for the same purpose, to desire peace of *Vladislaus* King of Hungarie; vsing the exiled Despot of Seruia (his father in law) then present with the King, as a mean therein. Who at the first gaue small credit vnto the Embassadors, or vnto such things as they told him, vntil that at length better persuaded of the true meaning of the Turke, he so wrought the matter both with the King and the rest of the nobilitie, and especially with *Huniades*, that there was an honorable peace concluded. The capitulations whereof were, first, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his forces & garB risons, should clearely depart out of Seruia, and restore the same vnto the possession of *George* the Despot, the right lord and owner thereof; deliuering also freely vnto him his two sonnes, *Stephen* and *George*, who bereft of their sight, he had long time kept in strait prison. Also, That from thenceforth he should make no claime vnto the kingdome of Moldauia, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had in the last wars lost. And finally, That he should not inuade or molest the Hungarians, or any part of their kingdome, during the whole time of that peace: and to pay 40000 duckats for the ransome of *Carambey*. Vnto which hard conditions, when the Turkish tyrant had full sore against his will condiscended, a peace for ten yeres was forthwith on both parts concluded, and the same by solemne oath confirmed: King *Vladislaus* taking his oath vpon the holy Euangelists, and *Amurath* (by his Embassadors) vpon their Turkish Alcoran. This was the most honorable peace that euer Christian Prince had before that time made with any of the Turkish Kings, and most profitable also, had it beene with like sincertie kept, as it was with solemnitie confirmed.

Amurath hauing receiued two so great ouerthrows, first from *Huniades* and the Hungarians, and now from *Scanderbeg*, and seeing himselfe elsewhere beset with so many mischiefs, as that hee could not tell which way to turne himselfe; tormented with despaire, and desire of reuenge, whereof he saw small possibilitie, fell into such a melancholie passion, that ouercome with the darke conceits thereof, he was about to haue become the bloudie executioner of himself, had not *Caly Bassa* by his graue aduice comforted vp his dying spirits: by whose persuasion (contrary to his naughtie nature) he yeelded by his Embassadors sent for the same purpose, to desire peace of *Vladislaus* King of Hungarie; vsing the exiled Despot of Seruia (his father in law) then present with the King, as a mean therein. Who at the first gaue small credit vnto the Embassadors, or vnto such things as they told him, vntil that at length better persuaded of the true meaning of the Turke, he so wrought the matter both with the King and the rest of the nobilitie, and especially with *Huniades*, that there was an honorable peace concluded. The capitulations whereof were, first, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his forces & garB risons, should clearely depart out of Seruia, and restore the same vnto the possession of *George* the Despot, the right lord and owner thereof; deliuering also freely vnto him his two sonnes, *Stephen* and *George*, who bereft of their sight, he had long time kept in strait prison. Also, That from thenceforth he should make no claime vnto the kingdome of Moldauia, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had in the last wars lost. And finally, That he should not inuade or molest the Hungarians, or any part of their kingdome, during the whole time of that peace: and to pay 40000 duckats for the ransome of *Carambey*. Vnto which hard conditions, when the Turkish tyrant had full sore against his will condiscended, a peace for ten yeres was forthwith on both parts concluded, and the same by solemne oath confirmed: King *Vladislaus* taking his oath vpon the holy Euangelists, and *Amurath* (by his Embassadors) vpon their Turkish Alcoran. This was the most honorable peace that euer Christian Prince had before that time made with any of the Turkish Kings, and most profitable also, had it beene with like sincertie kept, as it was with solemnitie confirmed.

Amurath by the persuasiõ of Caly Bassa, seeketh for peace of king Vladislaus

The capitulations of the ten yeres peace concluded betwixt Vladislaus and Amurath.

Amurath inuadeth Caramania

Amurath with this peace deliuered of his greatest feare, conuerted all his forces against the Caramanian king, in reuenge of the iniuries by him done whilest he was occupied in the Hungarian wars. This King of Caramania knowing himselfe vnable to withstand so great an enemie, durst neither meet him in the field, nor trust himselfe to the strength of any his cities or strong castles, but fled into the mountaines, there fortifying himselfe more sure than in any other his strong holds. *Amurath* entring into Caramania, made great spoyle in the countrey as he went, and tooke great booties. At last comming to Iconium, he layd hard siege to the same. D The poore King seeing his kingdome thus spoyled, and his chiefe citie in danger to be lost, sent embassadors, and with them his wife also, which was *Amuraths* sister, to intreat for peace; offering to pay vnto him yerely the double tribute which he before payd, and for the performance thereof to giue his sonne in hostage. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* granted him peace, and so returned. In this warre, *Aladin*, *Amuraths* eldest sonne, died, to the great griefe of his aged father, being slaine with a fall from his horse as he was hunting.

Old *Amurath* thorowly wearied with continuall warres and other troubles incident vnto restlesse roomes, resolued now to retire himselfe to a more priuat and quiet kind of life: and therefore sent for his son *Mahomet*, being then but fifteene yeres old, to whom he voluntarily E resigned his kingdome, appointing *Caly Bassa* his tutour, with one *Chosroe* a learned Doctor of their law, to be his trustie councellors and chiefe directors. And so taking with him *Hamze-Beg* one of his noblemen in whom he tooke greatest pleasure, departed to Magnesia, and there as a man wearie of the world, gaue himselfe to a solitarie and monasticall kind of life, in the companie of certaine religious Turkish Monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great Kings and Princes, as well Mahometans as Christians, glad before of the Hungarian victorie, were now no lesse sorrie to heare of the late concluded peace betwixt King *Vladislaus* & the old Sultan *Amurath*: as being of opinion, that the prosecution of this war so happily begun, would haue bin the vtter ruin & destruction of the Turkish kingdom. Wherefore they sought by all possible meanes to induce the young King *Vladislaus* to breake the F league he had so lately and so solemnly made with the Turke: especially *Iohn Palæologus* the Emperor of Constantinople, did by letters importune the King to remember the confederation he had made with the other Christian princes, for the maintenance of the wars against the common enemie of Christianitie: which Princes were now prest, and readie (as he said) to assist him with their promised aid: adding moreouer, That whereas *Amurath* had diuers times sought to joyne with him in amitie and friendship, he had vtterly reiected that offer of peace,

preferring the vniuerſall profit(like to inſue to al Chriſtendome by that religious war)before his own proper ſecuritie and profit, being for his part in readineſſe to joine his forces with the Kings,if he would preſently enter into armes: which he could neuer doe in better time than now,whileſt *Amurath*,terrified with his late ouerthrow,and ſtil beſet with doubtful war, had drawn his greateſt forces out of Europe into Aſia,in ſuch diſordred haſt, as that it ſhould ſeem he rather fled for feare of his enemies in Europe, than marched to incounter his enemies in Aſia,and now being wearie of all,had betaken himſelfe to a priuat kind of life. To conclude, he requeſted the King,not to leaue him and the other Chriſtian Princes of ſmall power, as a prey to the Turk,who would aſſuredly with all hoſtilitie inuade them,ſo ſoon as he thought himſelfe ſafe from the danger of the Hungarians. At the ſame time alſo, and vpon the departure of the Turks Embaſſadors,for the performance of ſuch things as they had promiſed, letters came from *Francis* the Cardinall of Florence, Generall of the Chriſtian fleet, declaring how that *Amurath* hauing left almoſt none in Europe, was with all the power he could make, gon ouer into Aſia againſt the Caramanian King,leauing a moſt faire occaſion for the Chriſtians,eaſily to recouer whatſoeuer they had before loſt in Europe: & that he was in good time come with his fleet vnto the ſtraits of Helleſpontus,according to promiſe,and there lay ready to imbar the Turks paſſage backe again out of Aſia. Both theſe letters being read in the councell,ſo much moued the King,with all the reſt of the Nobilitie of Hungary there preſent,as that they were neuer more ſorrie or aſhamed for any thing they had done in their liues, than for the league ſo lately with *Amurath* concluded: for why, they ſaw that all the plot they had laid for their immortal glory,was now by this haſty peace that they had made with the Turk, without the good liking and knowledge of their confederats,brought to nought; & that they had thereby moſt ſhamefully deceiued the generall expectation that the Chriſtian commonweale had conceiued of them; & that they,of long time called the protectors of the Chriſtian faith,the defenders of true religion,the reuengers of Chriſts name, & deliuerers of the faithfull nations; ſhould now be accounted the breakers of the Chriſtian league,men forgetfull of their confederation both with the Latines and the Greeks,contemners of immortality,& louers of their own profit onely. In this doubtfulnes of minds whileſt they ſtood yet thus wauering, *Iulian* the Cardinal & Legat,always an enemie to the peace, and by reaſon of his place,a man in greateſt authoritie next to the King,tooke occaſion to diſſuade the ſame as followeth:

The cunning Speech wherewith Iulian the Cardinall perſuadeth K. Vladiſlaus to breake the League hee had before made with Amurath.

If any of you,right Worthie (ſaid he) *ſhall haply marueil that I ſhould ſpeake of breaking the league, and violating our faith, let him firſt vnderſtand, That I at this preſent am to perſuade you to nothing elſe but the faithfull obſeruing both of the one and the other: led with like repentance with you; repentance, I ſay, not ſorrow, when as I, as from a watch-tower foreſeeing all theſe things which were decreed againſt my will, to ſort alſo contrary to your expectation, am now for the dutie of my legation, and the zeale vnto the Chriſtian religion, inforced with you to doubt: and ſo much the rather, for that at this preſent the queſtion is of the loſſe and hazard of all our honors and credit in common: which except we by common conſent, and wonted valour, endeauour to amend, ô how much is it to be feared, leſt for ſhame neither may you go out of Hungarie, or I returne to Rome, where all things are with moſt deepe judgement cenſured. Conſider, I pray you, into what miſeries this haſtie reſolution hath caſt vs. We haue entred into league with the Turke, an Infidel, to violate our faith with the Chriſtians; and to breake the holy league before made with the great Biſhop and the other Chriſtian Princes our confederats. And that for what, for what profit I ſay? Forſooth, that ſo we might againe recouer Seruia, long before deſtroyed. Verily a ſmall and wofull profit, which may againe in ſhort time be cut off, and depriueth vs of others far greater, and of much longer continuance. For, what can be more fond and inconſiderat, than in our conſultations to haue regard to our priuat profit only, and not to the publicke, without reſpect of religion, honeſtie, or conſcience? It is not demanded of you at this preſent, (right Honourable) what you owe vnto the periured Turke; but you are by me* Iulian, *the great Biſhops and the confederat Chriſtian Princes Legat, and Agent, before the tribunall ſeat of your owne conſciences, accuſed of breach of faith, breach of league, and breach of promiſe; and thereof euen by your owne iudgement, rather than by the iudgment of God, or other men, I wil condemne you. Anſwer me, you noble Worthies: After you had happily ſix months made wars againſt the Turks in Bulgaria and the borders of Thracia; and after that triumphantly returing into Hungarie, receiued you not honorable embaſſages from almoſt all Italy, & from the great Emperor, with common rejoycing for your ſo glorious a victorie, and exhortations to continue the*

the warre? We receiued them. Did not you in my preſence, and I the authour thereof, willingly make a moſt holy league with the Italians and Greeks; That the one ſhould with their aid and power meet you out of Thracia; and the other with a great fleet ſhould come into the Helleſpontus? We made it. If you made it, why breaking this, made you another with the Turks? or by what right can you keepe the ſame, being made? Wherefore if the laſt yeare you made a league with the great Biſhop, (God his Vicar here on earth) if you be men, if you be in your wits, if you be Chriſtians, this ſecond league is to be broken, leſt you ſhould violate the firſt, and that a moſt Chriſtian league: which except you do, I feare leſt that as Iudas *betrayed Chriſt, ſo you may ſeeme to betray his Vicar; or that God, whom hitherto you haue alwayes found preſent, propitious, and fauourable, you ſhall hereafter find him angrie, and an enemie to your proceedings. And now I pray you tell me, What will you anſwer vnto the Conſtantinopolitan emperor; who according to your appointment, hath now with the firſt taken the field, and in ſo great an opportunitie expecteth but your comming? What will you anſwer the great Biſhop? What the Venetians and Genowaies, who haue their great fleet readie, as was appointed? What the Burgundians, who for their zeale vnto the Chriſtian faith and Religion, haue long ſince paſſed the Ocean, and ſo by many dangers of the ſea now flote in the Helleſpont? Deuiſe (I pray you) if you can, ſome excuſe and colour, that we may not ſeeme altogether vnlike our ſelues: if out of your hidden skill you can coyne any thing, ſhew it. You promiſed with the firſt of the Spring, that you would be in the field: and now your ſoldiers both the Spring and Summer, play; ſo great and ſo wholeſome occaſion paſſing away, thorow your woful ſloth and negligence. O the great blindneſſe of mens minds! O groſſe cowardiſe! O deteſtable League, made to the deſtruction of the Commonweale! Some man happily will blame me, and aske, why I ſuffered it with the reſt? I was preſent, I muſt confeſſe; but as much as in me was I intreated it might not be. I diſliked it; and (as many of you here preſent can teſtifie) I vtterly condemned it. I was ouercome by the wiſedome and authoritie of* Huniades, *and the compaſſion of the Deſpot, leſt (vnhappie man) he ſhould by my interceſſion ſeeme longer to want his Kingdome: and leſt any man ſhould call me a contemner or impugner of your good; I, full of ſorrow, and vnwillingly, gaue way: not ignorant, the health of the Chriſtian Commonweale to be therein weakened, the hope of your immortall glorie extinguiſhed, and vs all (by your leaue may I ſay it) accounted breakers both of diuine and humane Leagues, forſworne men, and traitors vnto all good Chriſtians. Wherefore except before the report of our perfidiouſneſſe be further bruted, we deliuer our ſelues from this infamie, nothing can be greater, or more miſerable, than our ſhame or villanie. If we will ſo doe, we may not ſo eaſily, as juſtly and religiouſly doe it: Hauing made reſtitution of Seruia and the captiues, what remaineth elſe for you to doe, (Noble Worthies) but to repaire your Armie, to prepare what ſo is needfull for warre, and to keepe your firſt League with the Chriſtian Princes? And to ſay, That King* Vladiſlaus, *after his league made with the Greek and Latine Princes, could not without the conſent of theſe his Confederates and Allies (vnder whoſe good fortune that Common warre was vndertaken) conclude any thing, eſpecially with the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion? And that therefore, if any thing were agreed vpon betwixt him and the Turke, it was fruſtrate, and the firſt league to be ſtood vpon. Who is ſo partiall an eſteemer of mens actions, that would not eaſily judge, That in caſe faith were giuen to both, it were rather to be kept with a Chriſtian, than with a Turke; with a Beleeuer, than with an Infidel? Againſt a perfideous enemie it is lawfull (as they ſay) for a man to vſe all cunning, force, and deceit, deluding craft with craft, and fraud with fraud. By craft the Turke firſt paſſed ouer into Europe, by little and little he crept into that kingdome, he neuer kept faith with any, he grew to this height rather by cunning than by ſtrength: and are you become ſo blind, as to thinke it better to keepe your promiſe with the Turke, deuoyd of all faith and humanitie, rather than with the faithfull Chriſtians, and eſpecially the moſt holy Biſhop. All great things are done by deuice and policie: the Romanes our anceſtors vprightly and religiouſly alwayes kept their leagues with their confederates, but deluded the deceitfull with their cunning.* Cæſar *was of opinion, that for ſomeraigntie the Law was ſometimes to be broken. And* Philip (*the father and maſter of him that conquered Aſia*) *oftentimes vſed cunning and deceit for the deſire of rule: yet were not theſe men called traitors. It is ſometime lawfull for the commonweale ſake, neither to ſtand to our leagues, neither to keepe our faith with them that be themſelues faithleſſe. Lawfull it is to breake vnlawfull oathes, and eſpecially ſuch as are thought to be againſt right, reaſon and equitie. Was it lawfull for* Diomedes, *vowing for to ſacrifice vnto the gods whomſoeuer he firſt met at his returne into his countrey, to kill his ſonne by that his vow and oath? Verily it was a great impietie. Wherefore a juſt and lawfull oath is in the judgement of all men to be religiouſly kept, but ſuch an oath as tendeth not onely vnto priuate, but publique deſtruction, that ought to be vaine and fruſtrate. Wherefore before our faithleſſe dealing be further*

ther spread abroad, I beseech you, worthie men, and thee especially, most glorious King, not in any point to violate your faith, for the good of the Christian commonweale, giuen vnto the most holy Father and the other Christian Princes. The league you haue made with the Grecks and the Latines, faithfully and religiously keepe; the expedition by common consent taken in hand, by the example of your confederates, prosecute; the foundation of immortall glorie by you layd, build vp. Deliuer the Christian Prouinces, oppressed with the Turkish seruitude; satisfie the hope conceiued of you; and deceiue not the expectation the world hath now conceiued of you, than which, nothing can be more dishonorable: make no conscience of the league you haue made with the Infidell, but thinke it a great impietie and wickednesse, to violate the holy league made with the great Bishop and the other Christian Princes: thinking, that if you should do otherwise, God (which he of his mercie forbid) would become of that your falsified faith a most seuere and sharpe reuenger: and that you can do nothing more acceptable vnto our Sauior Christ, or more glorious to your selues, than to deliuer the oppressed Christian countries from the cruell slauerie & bondage of the Turke. Suffer not this so fit an occasion to slip away, than which, a fitter can neuer be giuen. Europe is vnfurnished of the Turkes, busied in the Caramanian warre; their returne is imbarred by the Christians fleet, now in the sea of Hellespontus; you need but to go see, and as it were to take a view of Thracia, Macedonia, Grecia, and Epirus, there is no enemie there left to oppose himselfe against you. Wherefore for God his cause, I request you aboue al things to continue the Christian league, and with your happie and victorious forces, to march forward into Macedonia and Thracia, as is before by you with the other Christian Princes your confederates agreed.

Iulian the Cardinall absolueth king Vladislaus & the rest, from their oth before giuen to Amurath.

In conclusion, hauing much spoken of the authoritie and power of the great Bishop, he in his name disannulled the league whatsoeuer, by the King made with the Turke; and absolued him, with the rest whom it might concerne, from the oath they had giuen, and the promise they had made. Which so well contented both the King and the rest, that there was now no more question of the oath, or of the lawfulnesse of the war, but a decree made for the continuation of the league with the other Christian Princes their confederats, and for the prosecution of the wars against the Turks, as was with them before agreed: whom, they could now say, they were not to forsake, and to leaue them as a prey vnto the Turke their greedy enemy; now for nothing more in danger, than for that, at their request they had taken vp armis in their quarrell. Vnto which vnfortunat Decree, both the Despot and *Huniades* (the chiefe authors of the late peace betwixt the King and *Amurath*) easily consented: the Despot, induced with the great hope he had conceiued of the good successe of the war; and *Huniades*, with the desire of the kingdom of Bulgaria, promised vnto him by *Vladislaus*, and by faire Charter also (as some said) assured vnto him.

Of this the Kings resolution for the breach of the peace with the Turks, notice was with all speed giuen vnto the Constantinopolitan Emperour, and *Francis* the Florentine Cardinall, then lying with a fleet of seuentie gallies at the straits of Hellespontus: for feare lest they hearing of the former concluded peace, should alter also, or else quite desist from their former purposes. In the mean time, whilest these things were yet in plotting, the Turke ignorant hereof, according to his promise had withdrawne all his garrisons out of Seruia, and other places before agreed vpon in the late concluded peace, restoring the same vnto the Despot & others the lawfull owners, although it was not done at the verie prefixed day at which it should haue been done. In which time also he set at libertie great numbers of captiues, and amongst the rest, the two blind sons of the Prince of Seruia; faithfully performing whatsoeuer he had before vpon his religion promised in the league with the Christians before concluded, so desirous he was of peace with the Hungarians. Howbeit *Vladislaus*, by the councel of *Huniades*, detained to his own vse certain of the strong Holds in Seruia: for which cause, *George* the Despot euer afterwards bore a secret grudge against *Huniades*.

Now as King *Vladislaus* (hauing by the persuasion of *Iulian* the Cardinall, renounced the league betwixt him & *Amurath*) was preparing his forces, the fame of the Epirot Prince *Scanderbeg* was also (by the recouerie of his fathers kingdome of Epirus out of the Turks hands, and by the late ouerthrow of *Alis Bassa*) grown great, euery one speaking of him honour and praise. Wherewith *Vladislaus* moued, & reasonably perswaded what a furtherance it would be vnto his haughty designes (aiming at no lesse than the vtter ouerthrow of the Turks kingdome in Europe) if he might vnto his owne great preparations joyne also the strength of that so fortunate

A tunate a Prince, by the consent of his Nobilitie, with all speed dispatched away his Embassadors with letters vnto him, certifying him of his honorable purpose for the rooting out of the Turks; and in that common cause praying his aid against such a dangerous and dreadful enemie. The purport whereof here followeth:

Vladislaus King of Hungarie and Polonia, vnto the noble *Scanderbeg* Prince of Epirus, greeting.

The Letters of king Vladislaus to Scanderbeg.

It may be that some good hap hath deferred this our late congratulation vntill this present, to the intent we might at this time, together with you, rejoyce in the double successe of your prosperitie: first, for
B *the happie recouerie of your estate; and then, for that the same hath by your wisedome and valor, of late been so notably defended. Wherefore in this we rejoyce, not only in your behalfe, but in the behalfe of all good Christians, that it hath pleased God of his goodnesse, by your valour to haue giuen so great an increase and comfort vnto the Christian commonweale: for as much as amongst others our great euils, the losse of the Albanian people hath not bin to be accounted the least, at such time as* Iohn Castriot, *a worthie Prince, your father, oppressed by* Amurath, *and by the vngrateful Destinies taken out of this world, had neither the means to leaue vnto you his kingdome and scepter, (as vnto his sonne, then liuing in his enemies power) either was able yet otherwise to prouide for his affaires. And would to God this your father, most happie in such a sonne, might haue liued now: whose felicitie had in that surmounted all others, if he might haue seene you before his death. For as you seeme vnto me aboue all other Princes in the world (without offence be it said) most accomplished with all the good graces and perfections both of*
C *bodie and mind; so are you indowed also with a certaine diuine and wonderfull fortune: vnder the good conduct whereof, not onely the whole kingdome of Epirus may thinke it selfe in securitie, but all the rest of the other nations also, lately by the detestable fraud and violence of the* Othoman *Kings dismembred from the realme of Macedon, may also recouer the former beautie of their antient lawes and liberties. For (to say nothing of those things which euen from your childhood hauing continually made you enuied haue heretofore purchased vnto you an immortall fame and glorie euen amongst the Barbarians themselues) what can be more glorious than this victorie which (as we haue heard, and beleeue) you, to your singular admiration, haue obtained, by the ouerthrow and vtter discomfiture of* Alis Bassa, *with his so great and mightie a power? But now ô* Scanderbeg *(God so appointing it, who in his deepe and*
D *secret wisedome hath reserued you vnto these so dangerous times, for the Publique good, and comfort of the Christian Commonweale) there offers it selfe vnto you an object of farre greater glorie, with a faire and fit occasion for you to reuenge your selfe of all the wrongs and iniuries both new and old, by* Amurath *the Turkish Sultan done, not in priuate to the person of your selfe onely, but vnto the whole State and Kingdome of Epirus also; and not the domesticall and ciuile miseries of your owne Countrey onely, but the publique calamities also, and those opprobrious disgraces done against the Christian Faith and Religion in generall, now oppressed (I will not say extinguished:) and that is, if you with your victorius Forces will succour vs in this extreamitie of our affaires, not yet altogether desperate. Hereunto doe all the Princes of Hungarie and Polonia, and all other men of courage inuite you,* Iulian *the Cardinall of S.* Angell *intreateth you; with all those deuout and couragious Christians, which long since here with vs, and readie in armes, wish for nothing more than the presence of your victorious en-*
E *signes. Which so faire an occasion (by God himselfe now offered) if you refuse not, will in all mens iudgment be a sure meane to vanquish and ouerthrow our common enemie the Turke, and to driue him quite out of Europe, wrongfully by him of so long time possessed. I need not therefore (as I suppose) to vse any kind of persuasion vnto you in this cause and quarrel, the defence whereof doth purchase vnto vs health, light, and libertie: but being neglected, I feare and abhorre to forbode what may ensue thereof. We Christians haue been too too slacke and backward in helping one another: the flame hath now well neere consumed vs all, whilest no man thought it would haue come neere himselfe. What do we see of the Greek Empire? What of the Bulgarians and Seruians? yea, myne owne losses, and many calamities alreadie, and yet also to be endured, who is able to recount? The braue and most valiant Princes, the surest Bul-*
F *warkes and defences of the Kingdome of Hungarie, from time to time lost; and the puissant Armies with one and the same fatall chance of warre consumed and brought to nothing, who is able to reckon vp? In so much that there is no house, wife, nor Matrone, in all Hungarie, which is not in some measure partaker of this heauinesse. All this doe the Christian Princes heare of, and yet the miserable estate and condition of their allies can nothing moue any one of them, but suffer vs thus as a sacrifice*

sacrifice for the rest, to be on all parts exposed to the rage and furie of the common and mercilesse ene-
mie. Only Eugenius *the most holy Bishop of Rome, and* Philip *Duke of Burgundie, haue not refused to*
beare a part of the burthen of this our afflicted fortune: the one hath sent hither his Legat Iulian *the*
Cardinall, with notable and puissant succors; and the other with his fleet at sea, and come as far as Hel-
lespontus, so much as in him lieth, doth notably hinder the Turks passage into Europe. And one other
hope there is, not now far from vs, and that is your helpe, whereof we are so desirous: which wee require
of you, mouea thereunto partly by your valour so well knowne, and partly in regard of the imminent peril
and common danger of vs all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how euill you may be at leisure to take
such an expedition in hand, for the late troubled estate of your affaires, and your new recouered King-
dome, as yet scarcely well established: yet notwithstanding, let it not withhold you, or keepe you backe;
assuring you, that as this expedition cannot be but vnto you most honorable, euen so this your present de-
sert shall not be bestowed vpon vngratefull and thankelesse men; but that which you shall now first begin
and vndertake for our preseruation and dignitie, we will from henceforth and euer continue for your
glorie, and for the increase of your greatnesse. Fare you well. From our regall citie of Buda the fourth
of Iuly, 1444.

Of this the Kings motion *Scanderbeg* liking well, and thinking it farre better now in so fit a time, with his own forces ioined vnto the Hungarians his friends, thorowly to busie *Amurath*, than in short time after, himselfe alone to sustaine his whole power; by the general consent of the Albanian Princes his confederates and allies, yeelded vnto his request; in liberall termes promising him by his letters, in good time to be present with him with thirtie thousand good soldiers. The copie of which letters I thought it not amisse here to set downe also.

Scanderbeg Prince of the Epirots, vnto *Vladislaus* King of Hungarie and Polonia, greeting.

Scanderbeg his answere by Letters vnto King Vladislaus.

Your Letters, most inuincible King, I haue with like ioy and contentment receiued: which I in the
generall assemblie of my Chieftaines hauing caused publiquely to be read, there was not any one of them
which was not of opinion, but that so just an occasion of warre by you offered, was forthwith to be joy-
fully on our behalfe also embraced. And so euery man doth both publikely and priuatly affirme, That no-
thing could haue hapned vnto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by some notable
seruice testifie their gratefull minds, and bind vnto them so excellent a Prince; as also to giue so fit suc-
cors vnto the Christian Commonweale. In which forwardnesse of my people I my selfe tooke great con-
tentment and pleasure, both in regard of your selfe, and in the behalfe of the publike & common cause:
seeing my men of warre and al other my subiects, of what state or degree soeuer (without any persuasi-
on vsed on my part) to be so cheerefully and couragiously minded in defence of the faith, and of the Chri-
stian Religion; and so well affectioned towards your most royall Majestie. And to say the truth, Who
is he (if he be not hatefull vnto God and man) albeit there were no question of Religion, or of the Com-
mon danger, that would refuse so just and lawfull a war? for such a King, as vnto whom alone we may
and ought to attribute, That we Christians do not only raigne, but euen liue, breath, and enjoy the liber-
tie of our speech. Who would not willingly take vp armes, and aduenture himselfe into most manifest
and certaine danger for the people of Hungarie; by whom in all ages the Christian Commonweale hath
with their so many trauels, and so much of their bloud, beene so mightily supported and defended? who
euen from the verie cradle haue been continuall enemies vnto our enemies, and haue as it were euen
vowed themselues for the honour of the Christian Religion and name. Would God (most mightie
and redoubted Vladislaus) *it had beene in my power to haue brought vnto you such forces to this*
honourable warre, as were answerable vnto my courage and desire: then happily Europe should not
longer lie in this ignominious estate, oppressed by Amurath; *neither should the fields of Varna or*
Basilia so often smoke with the bloud of the Hungarians; nor euerie corner of Macedonia with the
bloud of the Epirots: both nations being as it were become the expiatorie sacrifices of others sinnes and
offences; wee all now by turnes perish, whilest euerie man thinketh himselfe borne but for himselfe
alone. But why doe I vnto my selfe poure forth these vaine complaints. Truly, it neither repenteth
mee of my Forces, neither (as I suppose, if it shall please God that our Forces may once meete and
ioyne together in so happie a warre) shall the Christian Commonweale haue any cause to sorrow or be a-
grieued with the issue and euent of our fortune. For vnto those fifteen thousand good soldiers which late-
ly

ly discomfited Alis Bassa *on the borders of Macedonia, my purpose is to ioyne as many moe vnto them:*
with all which strength as soone as conueniently they may, I wil begin to set forward, ready to follow your
ensignes in all euents whatsoeuer. And so fare you well. from Croia the third of August 1444.

These letters being dispatched away vnto the king, *Scanderbeg* forthwith began to leuy his forces. And first of all hee caused with new supplies to bee made strong, all those companies wherwith hee had ouerthrowne *Alis Bassa*, not suffering any one of them to absent himselfe from this expedition. Vnto whom being in number fifteen thousand, al men of approued valor, he ioyned other fifteen thousand moe, no lesse valiant than they: such a power as he neuer either before or after raised for the recouerie, or defence of his kingdom. And so furnished with all things necessarie for so honourable a warre, cheerfully set forward, accompanied with the vows and hope of all his most faithfull and louing subiects. But being come to the borders of Seruia, he found the strait and difficult passages of that rough country shut vp by *George* the Despot, (Lord thereof, a man adorned with all the graces of nature, but otherwise a wicked damned Atheist, and a Christian but in name onely) who but lately before restored vnto his kingdom by the helpe of King *Vladislaus*, hauing changed his mind, did now mightily cleaue vnto the Turke his son in law (by whom he had bin before himselfe exiled) and in fauour of his querrel, and despight of the Hungarians, but specialy of *Huniades*, had stopped vp the ways and passages wherby *Scanderbeg* was with his armie to passe: who by his embassador sent of purpose vnto the Despot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in minde of the periurious dealing of *Amurath* with him, notwithstanding he had maried his daughter: and of the great pleasures the Hungarians had done him; of both which he had good proofe: requesting him if it were but in regard of the common cause of Christianity to giue vnto him (as vnto his friend by whom he was neuer in any thing wronged) passage; and not to staine himselfe with the perpetuall note of infamie, That hee being a Christian Prince, and of late so mightily oppressed by the Turke, should now to the great hinderance of the Christian common weale take part with him, against his friends and deliuerers. But what auaileth praiers or requests, be they neuer so reasonable, with a man set downe to mischiefe? *Scanderbeg* out of hope by any other meanes to open his way, but by plaine force, resolued so to doe: although it much grieued him to spend those forces vpon a Christian Prince, which hee had prepared against the capitall enemie both of himselfe and all good Christians, old *Amurath* the Turkish Sultan.

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR

But whilest hee thus discontented, spendeth his time with his armie vpon the borders of Seruia, beset with many difficulties; *Vladislaus* prickt forward by the continual solicitation of *Iulian* the Cardinall, or else drawne on by his owne ineuitable destinie, hauing assembled a great armie of valiant and couragious souldiers out of Hungarie and Polonia (yet in number far inferiour to that he had in the yeare before, for that most of the voluntarie souldiers were returned home) set forward from Segedinum; and in the beginning of Nouember (a time vnfit for warres) passed ouer Danubius, and entring into Bulgaria, came to Nicopolis, the Metropoliticall Citie of that kingdome (but then in possession of the Turkes) where hee burnt the suburbs thereof, and in that fruitfull countrey thereabouts refreshed his people three or foure dayes, where hee also mustered his armie, and tooke a view thereof: At which time *Dracula* Vayuod of Valachia, a man of great experience in martiall affaires, being then present, and considering the small number of the Kings armie, began to persuade him to retire; saying, He had sufficiently learned by his owne harmes, to deeme aright of the power of the Turkish Sultan: who (as hee sayd) was wont many times to carrie more men with him into the fields into his disport of hawking and hunting, than was there in the Kings campe: wherefore hee should doe well, not to expose those his small forces vnto so manifest perill, in such vnseasonable time of the yeare, but to reserue them vnto a more fit opportunitie, when hee might with greater power encounter his puissant enemie. This his counsell most men of greatest experience, and not carried away with other priuate respects, thought wholesome: but the Cardinall, author of this fatall warre, extolling with great words the last yeares victorie obtained against the Turke, with glorious promises of great aid, as well by sea from the Pope, and the Venetians, as by land from the Emperour of Constantinople and other Christian Princes; augmenting also the great troubles in Asia, and promising an easie and happie

King Vladislaus setteth forward against the Turke.

succesſe

succeſſe vnto theſe warres in Europe: perſuaded the King that *Dracula* his ſpeech proceeded either of ignorance, vpon a ſuperficiall iudgement which hee made of the Kings power there preſent, without regard of further ſtrength from his friends; or elſe of the priuat reſpect of his owne ſecuritie, in regard of a commodious league made a little before betwixt him and the Turke. So that the poore Prince ſeeing his counſell mightily impugned by the Cardinal, and not ſo well taken, as it was meant by him, ſtood in a doubt whether to leaue him to his owne fortune, and himſelfe to his quiet peace, or caſting off the Turkiſh league, to ioyne with the King in this chance of war: but at length reſolued as a martial minded man, preferring the vncertaine glorie of the field before his owne aſſured reſt, ſaid vnto the King:

Seeing that either your princely fortune, which hath euer hitherto fauoured your high attempts; or elſe the hope of friends helpe, which I pray God faile you not at your need; or the ſecret deſignement of your deſtinie, vnable to be auoyded, doth draw your maieſtie into a different opinion from me: that your reſolution, which I cannot by reaſonable perſuaſion alter, I will as the ſuddennеſſe of time, and my ſmall abilitie will permit, moſt gladly further.

Dracula aideth Vladiſlaus with his ſonne and 4000 horſe.

And therewith preſented vnto the king, his ſon, with foure thouſand horſemen wel appointed, to ſerue him in thoſe wars; wiſhing vnto him ſuch good ſucceſſe as he himſelfe deſired. Afterward when he was about to take his leaue of the King, he preferred vnto him two luſtie yong men, perfect guides for that country, with two horſes of incredible ſwiftneſſe, and with teares ſtanding in his eyes ſaid vnto him:

His laſt farewel vnto the King.

Take this ſmall gift in good part, as a poore refuge to flie vnto, if your fortune hap to faile you, which I tremble to thinke vpon: I pray God they be giuen in vain, and ſo they ſhall if my praiers may preuaile. Yet if neceſſitie ſhall inforce you to vſe them, you ſhall find them ſeruiceable at your need.

And ſo taking his laſt farewell of the King, returned into Valachia. *Vladiſlaus* marching on from Nicopolis toward Thracia, tooke many townes and forts by the way, which the Turks for feare yeelded vnto him: at laſt he came to Sumium and Pezechium, where the Turkiſh garriſons truſting as much to the ſtrength of the places, as to their owne valour, ſtood vpon their guard: but the king layed ſiege to both the ſaid places, and took them by aſſault; where he put to ſword fiue thouſand of the Turkes.

The Turks Baſſaes terrified with thoſe vnexpected troubles, aduertiſed *Amurath* thereof, requeſting him to leaue his obſcure life, and to leuie the greateſt power he could in Aſia, for the defence of the Turkiſh kingdome in Europe, which otherwiſe was in ſhort time like to be loſt: blaming alſo his diſcretion, for committing the gouernment of ſo great a kingdom to ſo young a Prince as was *Mahomet* his ſonne, vnto whom many of the great captaines did halfe ſcorne to yeeld their due obedience. *Amurath* heerewith awaked, as it had beene out of a dead ſleepe, left his cloiſter, and with great ſpeed gathered a ſtrong armie in Aſia, and came to the ſtraits of Helleſpontus, where hee found the paſſage ſtopped by the Venetian and Popes Gallies, and was therefore at his wits end. But marching alongſt the Sea ſide vnto the ſtraits of Boſphorus, hee there found meanes to conuey ouer his whole armie: vſing therein (as ſome write) the helpe of the Genoway marchants ſhips, paying vnto the Genoways for the paſſage of euery Turke a ducat, which amounted to the ſumme of an hundred thouſand duckats: or as ſome others affirme, corrupting with great bribes them that were left for the defence of this paſſage. And being now got ouer, ioyned his Aſian armie with ſuch other forces as his Baſſaes had in readineſſe in Europe: and ſo marching on ſeuen dayes, encamped within foure miles of Varna, a citie pleaſantly ſtanding vpon the Euxine ſea ſide in Bulgaria, where the Chriſtian armie lay: for *Vladiſlaus* hearing of *Amurath* his comming with ſo great an armie, had retired thither, hauing but a little before taken the ſame Citie of Varna from the Turkes, with Calachrium, Galata, Macropolis, and others vpon the ſea coaſt.

Vpon the firſt report that *Amurath* was with ſuch a mightie armie come ouer the ſtrait of Boſphorus, *Vladiſlaus* who before was in good hope that hee could not poſſibly haue found any paſſage, entered into counſell with the commanders of his armie, what courſe was now beſt to take: where many which before had bin moſt forward in that action (preſuming that *Amurath* could by no means haue tranſported his army) was now ſo diſcoraged with the fame of his comming, that they aduiſed the king in time to retire home, & not to oppoſe ſo ſmal an army againſt ſuch a world of people as was reported to follow the Turke. But other captains of

of greateſt courage, and eſpecially *Huniades*, ſaid, It was not for the Kings honor firſt to inuade his enemies dominions, and preſently to turn his back vpon the firſt report of their comming; wiſhing him rather to remember the good fortune of his former warres, and that hee was to fight againſt the ſame enemie whom he had victoriouſly ouerthrowne the yere before: as for the multitude of his enemies, he had learned by experience (as he ſaid) not to be moued therewith, for that it was the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, more to terrifie their enemies with the ſhew of a huge armie, than with the valour of their ſouldiers, which were nothing to be accounted of, but as effeminate, in compariſon of the Hungarians. Whereupon the King reſolued to trie the fortune of the field.

Vladiſlaus vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that *Amurath* the night before encamped within foure miles, was now putting his armie in order of battell; committed the ordering of all his forces vnto the valiant captain *Huniades*: who with great care and induſtrie diſpoſed the ſame, garding the one ſide of the battell with a fen or mariſh, and the other ſide with cariages, & the rereward of his army with a ſteepe hil. Therein politickly prouiding, that the Chriſtian army being far leſſe than the Turks in number, could not be compaſſed about with the multitude of their enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks armie approching, began to skirmiſh with the Chriſtians, which manner of fight was long time with great courage maintained and that with diuers fortune, ſometime one partie preuailing, and ſometime the other; but with ſuch ſlaughter on both ſides, that the ground was couered and ſtained with the dead bodies and bloud of the ſlaine. At length the battell being more cloſely ioyned, the victorie began to incline to the Chriſtians, for *Huniades* had moſt valiantly with his Tranſiluanian and Valachian horſemen, put to flight both the wings of the Turkiſh army, and made great ſlaughter whereſoeuer he came. Inſomuch that *Amurath* diſmaied with the flight of his ſouldiers, was about to haue fled himſelfe out of the maine battell, had he not bin ſtaied by a common ſouldier, who laying hands vpon the raines of his bridle, ſtaied him by force, and ſharpely reproued him of cowardiſe. The captaines and prelates about the King (whome it had better beſeemed to haue bin at deuout praiers in their oratories, than in armes at that boudie battell) encouraged by the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Huniades*, and deſirous to be partakers of that victorie, fooliſhly left their ſafe ſtations, where they were appointed by him to ſtand faſt, and diſorderedly purſued the chaſe, leauing that ſide of the battell where they ſtood, open vnto the Turks: but they were not gone far, before they were hardly encountred by a great part of the Turks armie, for ſuch purpoſe placed in a vallie faſt by. In which fight *Leſco* one of the moſt valiant captaines of the Hungarians was ſlaine; and the Biſhop of Veradium, a better churchman than ſouldier, and the firſt man that diſordered the battell, ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight thorow the fenne, was there ſtrangled in the deepe mud, after hee had with his horſe therein ſtruggled a great while. The Biſhop of Agria, a man of greateſt authoritie with the King, was at the ſame time alſo loſt, with many other churchmen more. The Cardinall, with ſome other of the expert captains retiring toward their former ſtandings, were hardly aſſailed by the Turks, who by the comming in of the king and *Huntades*, were with great ſlaughter forced to retire, and euen ready to flie. *Amurath* ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his men, and all brought into extreme danger, beholding the picture of the crucifix in the diſplaied enſignes of the voluntarie Chriſtians, pluckt the writing out of his boſome, wherein the late league was compriſed, and holding it vp in his hand with his eyes caſt vp to heauen, ſaid:

Amurath praieth vnto Chriſt.

Behold thou crucified Chriſt, this is the league thy Chriſtians in thy name made with me: which they haue without cauſe violated. Now if thou be a God, as they ſay thou art, and as the dreame, reuenge the wrong now done vnto thy name, and mee, and ſhew thy power vpon thy periurious people, who in their deeds denie thee their God.

The King with *Huniades* furiouſly purſued the chaſed Turks, with bloudie execution a great ſpace: when as the King in his heat hardly perſuaded by *Huniades* to returne againe vnto his campe, at his comming thither found the Cardinall *Iulian*, with *Franke*, one of his chiefe captaines, and others, quercharged with the Turks, which had againe made head againſt that part of the Chriſtian armie: and there yet fought couragiouſly, by reaſon of their multitude, being alſo backt by the Ianizaries, which all this while had ſtood faſt with their old King, as his laſt and moſt aſſured refuge, but were now come in. There began a moſt cruel and fierce fight: in the ſucceſſe whereof, the Turks wel ſaw the whole ſtate of their kingdom in Europ to conſiſt,

A cruell fight.

many

The great battell of Varna, fought between king Vladiſlaus and Amurath.

many were there slain on both sides: the Turks feeling their losse lesse than indeed it was, by reason of their multitude, and the Christians, by reason of their courage. A great while the victorie stood doubtfull, insomuch, that at length the Turks began to shrinke backe, in that part of the battel where the King and *Huniades* fought. But in the left side they preuailed so vpon the Christians, that they were euen readie to haue fled. Which when *Huniades* (hauing a vigilant eye vnto euery part of the armie) perceiued, he with speed made thither, and there again with his presence restored the battell almost before lost. Which done, he returned again towards the King, who in the meane time had most valiantly repulsed a great number of the Turks, & now was come vnto the Ianizaries, *Amurath* his laſt hope. There was to be seene a thousand manners of death, whilst both the armies fought more like wild beasts in their rage and fury, than wary and politick soldiers. In this confused medly, the yong king *Vladislaus* with greater courage than care of himselfe, brake into the battell of the Ianizaries: at which time, *Amurath* himselfe was by a valiant Frenchman a Knight of the Roads, first wounded with a pike, and after assailed with his sword, and had there ended his days, but that he was speedily rescued by his guard, by whom this worthy knight after great proofe of his valour was there slain in the midst of his enemies. *Vladislaus* being got also in among them, valiantly performed all the parts of a worthie soldier, till such time as his horse being slain vnder him, he was forthwith oppressed by the multitude of his enemies and slain: his head being strucke off by *Ferizes*, one of the old Ianizaries, was by him presented vnto *Amurath*, who commanded it presently to be put vpon the point of a launce, and proclamation to be made, that it was the head of the Christian king: which was afterwards so caried thorow the principal cities of Macedonia, and Grecia, as a trophey of the Turks victorie. *Huniades* after he had in vaine giuen diuers braue attempts, to haue rescued the Kings bodie, retired with a few Valachian horsemen, and seeing no hope of better hap (for all the Christians being discouraged with the death of the king, had now taken themselues to flight) gaue place to necessitie, and reseruing himself to his future fortune, fled ouer the mountains, into the thicke woods, from whence with much difficultie he got ouer Danubius into Valachia, and was there (as some write) by *Dracula* Prince of that country taken prisoner: In reuenge wherof, after he was inlarged by the Hungarians, he so aided *Danus* against *Dracula*, that in fine, *Dracula* & his son were both slaine, and *Danus* placed in his roome. *Iulian* the Cardinall flying out of the battell, was found by that worthie man *Gregorie Sanose*, lying in the desart forrest by the way side, mortally wounded, and halfe stripped, by whom he was in few words sharply reproued, as the wicked author of that perfidious war, and there left giuing vp the ghost. Many of the Christians which fled out of that battel, fel into the enemies hands, & so were slain: but greater was the number of them which were drowned in the fens, or that by hunger and cold perished in the woods, or else after long and miserable trauell, finding no passage ouer Danubius, fell at length into the Turkish slauery. This great and mortall battel, as it was with diuers fortune fought, so was also the present report thereof most vncertaine: for the Turks that were at the first put to flight, reported in the townes there by as they fled, that the battel was lost: & they which had al the day endured the fight, not altogether assured of the victory, & not knowing whether the Hungarians had retired themselues, whilst they suspected some deceit in the Kings campe, by reason of the great silence therin, staid two daies before they durst aduenture to take the spoile therof. The number of them that were slain in this battell, as wel on the one side as the other, was great; as the mounts and little hils, raised of the bones & bodies of them that were there buried, do yet at this day declare. Howbeit, the certaine number was not knowne, some reporting moe, some fewer. Yet in this most agree, that of the Christian armie, being not great, scarce the third part escaped: and that the Turks bought this victorie with a farre greater losse, although it was of them lesse felt, by reason of their multitude; made lesse by that slaughter, as they that report least thereof affirme, by thirtie thousand. Which may well seem rather to be so, for that *Amurath* after this victorie, neither farther prosecuted the same, nor shewed any tokens of ioy at al, but became very melancholie & sad, and being of them about him demanded, Why after so great a victory, he was no merrier; answered, That he wished not at so great price, to gain many such victories. Yet in memoriall thereof he erected a great pillar, in the same place where the king was slain, with an inscription of all that was then don: which, as they say, is yet there to be seen at this day. This bloudie battel was fought neere vnto Varna (in antient time called Dionisio-

Amurath in danger.

King Vladislaus slaine.

Huniades flieth

A Dionisiopolis (a place fatall vnto many great warriours, and therefore of them euen yet abhorred) the tenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord Christ 1444.

Some maliciously impute the losse of the battel of Varna, and the death of the King, to *Huniades*, who (as they said) fled out of this battell with ten thousand horsemen: but this report agreeth not with the noble disposition of that couragious and valiant captaine, but seemeth rather to haue beene deuised, to excuse the foule dealing of the clergie; who as most histories beare witnesse, were the chiefe authors both of the warre, and of the lamentable calamitie ensuing thereof.

From the battell of Varna *Amurath* returned to Hadrianople, hauing lost the greatest part of his best souldiers, and there with great solemnitie buried the bodie of *Carazia*, vice-roy of
B Europe, slaine in that battell: and then calling together all his nobilitie, againe resigned vp his kingdome vnto his sonne *Mahomet*, retiring himselfe vnto Magnesia, where he liued a solitarie and priuate life, hauing before vowed so to doe, in the great feare he was in, in the battell against *Vladislaus*: but after he had a short time performed these his vowes in that obscure & melancholie life, he weary thereof, as some suppose, as not a little reuiued with the late victorie, or else solicited by *Cali Bassa* and other great counsellors, returned againe to Hadrianople, resuming vnto himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome, to the great discontentment of his ambitious sonne *Mahomet*.

Amurath to performe his vow, resigneth his kingdome to his son Mahomet, which he in short time after taketh again vpon him.

Scanderbeg yet sticking in the borders of Seruia, and hearing what had happened vnto king *Vladislaus* with the Hungarians, was therewith exceedingly grieued: and hauing now lost the hope whereupon hee had vndertaken that so great an expedition, resolued to returne home
C againe into Epirus. Neuertheless, to be in some part reuenged of the wicked Despot, he with his armie forcibly brake into his countrey, and there did exceeding great harme. In his returning homewards, great numbers of Hungarians and Polonians, lately escaped from the slaughter at Varna, repaired vnto him, whom he (according to the extremitie of their fortune) courteously relieued: and furnishing them with such things as they wanted, prouided them shipping to Ragusa, from whence they might in safetie returne into their owne countries. Thus by the disloyaltie and trecherie of the faithlesse Despot of Seruia, was *Scanderbeg* staid from being present at the bloudie battell of Varna, to the vnspeakable losse of the Christian common-weale: for it could not be, but that so many thousands of most resolute and expert souldiers, vnder the leading of so worthie a chiefetaine, must needs haue done much for the gai-
D ning of the victorie. And what more glorious sight could a man haue wished for, than to haue seene so puissant an armie in the field against the sworne enemy of Christendome, directed by two such valiant and renowned chiefetaines, as neuer, either before or since their time, was seene the like in one battell against the enemie of Christ and the Christian religion? They were both men of inuincible courage, of exceeding strength and agilitie of bodie, wise, prudent, and subtill; both of long time exercised in the Turks warres, the greatest terror of that nation, and most worthie champions of the Christian religion, beeing therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Huniades* was at that time accounted the better commander, and the more politicke, as a man of greater experience in martiall affaires, by reason of his greater yeares: which was wel counteruailed by *Scanderbeg* his perpetuall good fortune, still as it were attenE ding vpon him, and by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the course of his Historie well appeareth.

The comparison betwixt Huniades and Scanderbeg.

Amurath aduertised of these proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as also of the great harmes by him done in Macedonia, and that the frontiers of his dominions bordering vpon Epirus, were by his furie vtterly wasted and spoiled, and his people there for most part slaine, and that the rest had for feare forsaken their dwellings, and left the country desolate and vnpeopled: was therwith exceedingly moued. Yet for so much as he still stood in dread of the Hungarians, and was now himselfe clogged with yeares, and therefore more desirous of rest; considering also the young yeares of his eldest sonne *Mahomet*, as yet vnfit for the gouernment of so great and troublesome a kingdome; with the perpetuall good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and malice of
F *Huniades*: he thought it not best to conuert all his forces vpon him, but to proue if he could cunningly draw him into some dishonourable peace for a time, that so he might afterwards at leisure bee the better reuenged of him. For which cause he writ vnto him letters, mixt with grieuous threats, and some feigned courtesies, as follo yeth:

Amurath

Amurath Othoman, King of the Turks, and Emperour of the East, to the most ingratefull Scanderbeg, wisheth neither health nor welfare.

The sullen and craftie letters of Amurath to Scanderbeg.

I neuer wanted honourable preferments to bestow vpon thee all the while thou diddest liue in my court, of all others most vnkind Scanderbeg, *but now I want wordes wherewith to speake vnto thee, thou hast so highly offended my minde, and touched mine honour, that I know not in discretion what words to vse vnto thee, but of late one of my domesticall seruants. For neither will hard speech mollifie the naturall fiercenesse of thy proud disposition, neither art thou worthie of better, which hast farre exceeded all hostilitie. And because thou wouldest omit no occasion to prouoke mee, hast of late proceeded to that point of follie, that thou hast had thine owne affaires, and the welfare of thine owne subiects, in small regard, by confederating thy selfe in armes with the Hungarians against mee. It grieueth mee to rehearse other thy vnkindnesse, and as it were to touch those sores, if my minde would euer suffer mee to forget the same, or that thine so manifold and horrible treasons, and strange examples of a most vnthankfull mind, were to be couered with silence. Yet I thought good to aduertise thee (although perhaps too late) least that thy vnstaied heat doe vntimely ouerthrow thee, with thy vnluckie kingdom: and then thou wouldest make humble confession of thy long transgression, when thou hast lost thy selfe, and left no hope of refuge in thy desperate estate. Wee haue hitherto sufficiently suffered thy manifold iniuries: thou hast sufficiently prouoked the maiestie of the* Othoman *Empire, with wrong and contumelious despight; and I with patience haue born all these thy contempts. Thinkest thou that my armie by thee betraied vnto the Hungarians shall bee vnreuenged? Thinkest thou that so many cities and townes in Epirus, by thee rent from the bodie of my Empire, with my garrisons there slaine, shall bee forgotten? Or thinkest thou with thy late committed outrages to escape my reuenging hands? Remember the destruction of mine armie vnder* Alis Bassa; *the wasting and burning of my dominions; and lately, the Hungarian warres, by thee so farre as in thee was, countenanced; with the territories of* George, *the Despot of Seruia, my father in law by thee spoiled. At length amend thou graceless man, and expect not further, whether my indignation will breake out. Let not these trifling allurements of thy good fortune, so puffe vp thy foolish desires, and sharpen thy conceits, that thy miserable fortunes afterwards may moue euen thy greatest enemies, or my selfe to compassion. I would thou shouldest at length remember my courtesies (if any sparke of humanitie remain in thy sauage nature) and make me not longer sorrie, that I haue so euill bestowed the same. And although it is not the part of an honorable mind, to rehearse those things which we haue in bountie bestowed vpon any man; yet is it the token of a most vnthankful nature, so easily to forget all kindnes past, as to need to be put in remembrance therof: wherfore* Scanderbeg, *I cannot but bewaile thy hap, and lament thine estate: For to let passe the health of thy soule (which thou a very reprobate, esteemest as nothing) not to speake of the lawes of* Mahomet *by thee despised, and the holy Prophet by thee contemned, for the zeale thou hast vnto the Christian superstition: what hast thou (which now holdest thy poore and base kingdome in such price) euer wanted in my hands of all those things which most delight the desires of men? Diddest thou euer want armour, horses, a great traine of followers and seruants, mony, or other superfluities, the allurements of al ages? Or diddest thou want matter to exercise thy valour, for encrease of thine honour? Wast thou euer denied preferments, dignities, and honours of all sorts fit for thine age, both at home and abroad? Was any man in my court dearer vnto mee, than thy selfe? what growing wit, not of strangers only, but of them that were neerest vnto my selfe, was better welcome vnto me than thine? With what carefull instruction did I cause thee to be brought vp? When thou wast deliuered vnto mee almost a child, I daily cherished and encreased thy hoped towardlinesse, with learning and nurture: I haue at all times honoured thee with rich rewards, magnificall praises, and honours of the field (which of all worthie things is most glorious) so that in all feats of armes no souldier was to me better knowne, or captaine of mee more honoured. For all these great benefits,* Scanderbeg, *thou now shewest thy selfe such an one, that I may be thought not to haue brought vp such a man as I hoped for, but a very serpent in mine owne bosome. But the loue of thy countrey did moue thee; which if thou hadst asked of me, would I haue denied the same vnto thee? which (if thou doest well remember) I so oftentimes voluntarily profered vnto thee? But thou hadst rather to gaine the same by treacherie, than to receiue it at my hands of courtesie. So thine beit therefore on God his name, and that with my very good will. And verily, according to my accustomed clemency towards all them whom I haue once well knowne, and beene familiarly acquainted with,*

with, I now pardon thee all thou hast offended me; not for any thy present deserts, which are none, but because in this publique enmitie it pleaseth me to remember my former kindnesse in priuat towards thee, and thy faithfulnesse sometimes in my affaires; especially for that the time was much longer wherein thou seruedst me, than the time wherein thou hast offended me. Croia and thy fathers Kingdome (although thou hast gained the same by foule treacherie) I giue vnto thee, vpon condition thou willingly restore vnto me the other townes of Epirus, which by no right belong vnto thee, but are myne by Law of Armes, by my selfe honourably woon. Whatsoeuer thou hast taken from my father in law the Prince of Seruia, thou shalt forthwith restore, and make him an honorable recompence for the other harmes thou hast done vnto him; and for euer hereafter, thou shalt as well forbeare to offer violence to any our friends, as to ayd any our enemies. So shalt thou for euer auoyd the displeasure of the Turkes, and stand in my good grace and fauour, as thou hast done before: except thou haast rather (being taught by thine owne harmes) then in vaine crie for mercie, when thy furious outrage shall haue me in person an implacable reuenger. Thou knowest thy Forces, thou knowest the strength of myne Armes; thou hast before thyne eyes the fresh example of the Hungarian fortune, so that thou needest no further admonitions. Yet I would thou shouldest write at large, what thou intendest to do. Thou mayst also confer with Ayradin *our seruant, our trustie and faithfull messenger, of whom thou shalt vnderstand more than are in these letters comprised. Farewell if thou be wise. From Hadrianople.*

To these letters *Scanderbeg* gaue small credit, and lesse to the messenger, but least of all to the old Fox himselfe, whome hee well knew to haue written nothing simply of good meaning, but onely to gaine a cessation from warres, vntill he might at better leisure set vpon him with all his Forces. Wherefore calling *Ayradin* the messenger vnto him, whom he rather held for a craftie Spie, than an honourable Embassadour, after he had many times both publiquely and priuately discoursed with him, so farre forth as was possible to sound the depth of his comming, and had also further entertained him with all honourable courtesies, he shewed him all his campe, with the strength thereof; which he did, because he would not haue the craftie messenger to thinke, that hee was any thing affraid of his Masters greatnesse. And at last, greatly complaining of *Amurath* his cruell and perfideous dealing against his father, his brethren, and himselfe, he sent him away with such answere in writing, as followeth:

The Souldier of Christ Iesus, *George Castriot*, syrnamed *Scanderbeg*, Prince of Epirus, to *Amurath Otheman* King of the Turks sendeth greeting.

The resolute answer of Scanderbeg to Amurath his letters.

Thou hast in times past, as thou writest, exceeded me in many kinds of courtesies; and at this present I will exceed thee in modest and temperate speech: for I thinke there is no greater token of a base mind, than not to be able to forbeare to giue railing and opprobrious words, euen vnto our most mortall enemies. Wherefore we haue with patience receiued and seen both thy letters and messenger; and to confesse a truth, they haue ministred vnto me greater occasion of smile, than choler: whilest at the first thou shamest not to accuse me of much ingratitude and treason: and presently following a milder passion, feemst carefull of my soules health, being ignorant of thyne owne estate, as a studious defender of a most damnable errour. And at last, keeping neither law of armes, nor orderly course answering to our affaires, doest most insolently and vnaduisedly, as a valiant conqueror to his vanquished enemie, propound many conditions of peace, of such qualitie and condition, that myne eares scorne to heare the same. Truly Amurath, *although thy immoderate rayling might moone a man of greatest patience to intemperate speech; yet I impute the same partly to thy great age, and partly to the waiwardnesse of thy nature; and the rest, to thy conceined griefe, which I know thou canst hardly moderate: and the rather, for that I haue not set downe my selfe to contend with thee in foule and vnseemely language, but with armes, and the just furie of war. Yet I pray thee, wherefore dost thou so exclaime against me before God and man? as though thou hadst first suffered wrong and injurie from me, and that thou hadst not in truth first done the same. Dost thou call my necessarie departing, a perfideous treachery? my native country by my policie and valour recouered, dost thou obiect to me as a villanie? obiect the same still and spare not; charge me with such crimes for euer, I care not. The long catalogue of thy kindnesse towards me, which thou rehearsest, I could willingly remember, if it drew not with it the wofull remembrance of my greater miseries: which if*

If they were to be compared together, the greatnesse of thy good deserts would be ouerwhelmed with the multitude of thy greater tyrannies; which I had rather thou shouldest count with thy selfe, than blush whilest I repeat them. Euery man that knoweth them, may maruell how I had power to endure them, or that thou wast not wearie at last of thy crueltie and secret hatred. Thou tookest away my fathers Kingdome by force; thou diddest murther my brethren, and my selfe thou didst most wickedly vow to death; when I little feared any such cruelty: & doth it now seeme strange to thee, ô Amurath, *that an inuincible mind, desirous of libertie, should seek to break out of the bonds of so great & insolent slauerie? How long at length didst thou thinke I would endure thy proud bondage? which for all that, I many yeres endured, and refused not thy command. I exposed my selfe to publique and priuat dangers, both voluntary, and by thy designement: speeches were giuen out dayly by thy selfe, and the admonition of my friends concerning thy deepe treacherie, was rife in myne eares: Yet for all that, of long time I simply beleeued both thy words and deeds to haue been denoyd of all fraud, vntill thy cankered malice began too too apparently to shew it selfe; then began I also to glose with thee, wholly metamorphosed into thyne owne conceits, vntil I found occasion to recouer my libertie. Wherefore there is no cause thou shouldest now grieue, if thou be wel beaten with thyne owne rod. But these are but trifles,* Amurath, *in comparison of those things which I haue layd vp in hope and resolution of mind. Therefore hereafter surcease thyne angrie threats, and tel not vs of the Hungarian fortune: euery man hath his own resolution, and euery man a particular gouernor of his actions; and so will we with patience endure such fortune as it shall please God to appoynt vs. In the meane time, for direction of our affaires we will not request councell of our enemies, nor peace of thee, but victorie by the helpe of God. Farewell. From our Campe.*

When *Amurath* had read these letters, and further conferred with *Ayradin*, he was filled with wrath and indignation, wondering at the great resolution of so small a Prince, presently casting in his mind (as was thought) the difficultie of that warre. Yet because he would giue no token of feare, oftentimes stroking his white beard, as his manner was when he was thorowly angrie, with a dissembled cheerefulnesse of countenance sayd,

Amurath his passionat speech in his rage, against Scanderbeg.

Thou desirest (wicked man) thou desirest the title of some honorable death: We will giue it thee (beleeue vs) we will giue it thee; we our selues will be present at the buriall of our foster child, and in person (though vnbidden) honour the funerall pompe of the great King of Epirus, that thou shalt neuer complaine among the damned ghosts, that thou diddest die a base or obscure kind of death.

And for because at that time, by reason of many great occurrents, he could not conuert his whole power into Epirus, he sent *Ferises* one of his best Captaines, with nine thousand choice horsemen, to keepe *Scanderbeg* in doing, and to spoyle his countrey so much as he could. Which was with such speed done, as it was thought *Ferises* would haue bin in the heart of Epirus, before *Scanderbeg* could haue had knowledge of his comming. But for all his hast, he could not so preuent the flying fame, but that *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, and hauing his men alwayes in readinesse, placed fifteene hundred good footmen in ambush vpon the rough mountaines leading into the valley of Mouea, whereby the Turks must needs passe into Epirus; placing also two thousand horsemen, as he thought most fit and conuenient for his purpose. *Ferises* descending from the high mountaines full of woods and bushes, by the broken and stonie wayes leading into the valley, was in that troublesome and intricate passage fiercely set vpon by *Scanderbegs* readie footmen, suddenly arising out of ambush, where the Turkes hauing no vse of their horses, but rather by them encombered, were slaine as Deere enclosed in a toyle. In this conflict seuen hundred and sixtie Turks were taken prisoners, and a great number slaine, and *Ferises* himselfe, with the rest, enforced to flie, crying still out as he fled, *Better some saued, than all lost.* *Scanderbeg* hauing thus ouerthrowne *Ferises*, pursued him into Macedonia, and with the spoyle there taken, rewarded his soldiers, as he had also many times before done.

Amurath grieued with the ouerthrow of *Ferises*, presently sent *Mustapha* a politique and hardie captaine, with a new supplie of six thousand soldiers, to take the charge from *Ferises*; commanding him in no case, nor vpon any occasion to enter farre into Epirus: but onely to burn and spoyle the frontiers thereof, saying, That he would account it for good seruice, if he might but vnderstand, that the trees and fruits of that country had felt the force of his anger.

Mustapha

Mustapha hauing receiued his charge, when he began to draw neere the borders of Epirus, continually sent out scouts before his armie, to see if the passages were cleere, & so warily entred the vallie of Mocrea, where *Ferizes* not long before was ouerthrowne. In this fruitful vallie, being the frontiers of *Scanderbegs* dominion, *Mustapha* intrenched his armie, vpon the rising of a hill, and placed espials vpon the top of the high mountains round about, by them to discouer the comming of the enemie, and to haue notice thereof by signes into the campe: then reseruing 4000 horsemen with himselfe, to keepe his campe, he sent forth the rest of his armie, about 9000 horsemen, to forrage and spoyle the country; giuing charge before, That euerie man vpon pain of death should presently retyre to the campe, vpon signe giuen from thence, as to a place of safetie and refuge. The Turkish armie ranging ouer that rich and pleasant vallie, burnt the villages, cut down trees, spoyled the Vineyards, and made hauocke of all things that fire and sword could destroy; in that point executing *Amuraths* command to the ful. At length *Scanderbeg* drawing neere to this vallie with 4000 horsemen and 1000 foot, was aduertised of all the enemies doings, by an Epirot soldier, who grieuously wounded, had hardly escaped from the Turks: of him he vnderstood, what number of Turks were burning and destroying the country, of the campe also kept by *Mustapha*, and how espials were placed vpon the mountains. *Scanderbeg* hauing well considered *Mustapha* his warie proceedings, and seeing no policie to be vsed against so caretul an enemie, resolued to vanquish him by plaine force, by assaulting him suddenly in his trenches, before his dispersed soldiers could repaire to the campe: and hauing to this purpose with effectuall persuasions incouraged the minds of his valiant soldiers, readie of themselues to follow him thorow all dangers; when he had set all things in order for the assaulting of the enemies campe, speedily entred the vallie, and was presently discouered by the enemies espials, from the tops of the high hils, and a signe giuen to the camp, from whence also the appointed signe was giuen for the dispersed soldiers to retire: but most of them being strayd from the campe, & busied in taking the spoile of the country, heard not or saw not the signe giuen. Those which were within the hearing therof, retired to the campe, and at their heeles followed *Scanderbegs* souldiers, terrifying them with calling vpon the name of *Scanderbeg*. Many of the Turks were by the Christians slain in the entrance of the campe, with their booties in their hands, and presently the Turks trenches were now by *Scanderbegs* souldiers couragiously assaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They hauing won the trenches, preuailed stil vpon the Turks, filling all their camp with feare and slaughter. There was no vse of shot in that medly, by reason of the straitnes of the place, for they were now come to pell mell. *Mustapha* seeing his souldiers put to the worst, and that the campe was not long to be defended, tooke horse and fled by the port which was furthest from the enemie. The rest of the soldiers fled also, making such poore shift for themselues as they could. In this battel 5000 Turks were slain, and but 300 taken; for the Christians inraged with the spoyle of the country, reuenged themselues with the slaughter of the Turkes. *Scanderbeg* lost in this conflict but 20 horsemen and 50 footmen. The rest of the Turks armie dispersed in the country, hearing the tumult in the camp, misdoubting the fortune of their fellows, fled also; yet many of them were in that flight pursued and slaine.

Scanderbeg his valiant resolution for the assaulting of Mustapha in his campe.

After this ouerthrow, *Mustapha* returning to *Amurath*, the better to excuse the misfortune of himselfe and the other captains before sent, greatly commended the inuincible courage of *Scanderbeg*, and his wonderful skil in feats of arms; persuading *Amurath*, either to send a greater power against him, or else none at all: saying, That to send such small armies, was but to minister matter to the increase of his glorie, and the infamie of the Turks; and to vse policie against him, the master of policie, was but meere follie. It grieued *Amurath* to heare the prayses of his enemie, although he knew the same to be true, by the continuall fortune he had alwayes against his great captains, *Alis Bassa*, *Ferizes*, and *Mustapha*: wherefore he determined for a time not to prouoke him further, but to suffer him to liue in peace: yet commanded *Mustapha* to renew his armie for defence of the borders of his kingdom towards Epirus, against the innouation of *Scanderbeg*; but straitly commanding him, in no case to inuade any part of Epirus, neither vpon any occasion offered, or conceiued hope of victorie, to joyne battell with *Scanderbeg*, for feare of such euill successe as before.

At this time also the Grecians of Peloponesus (now called Morea) hauing before fortified the strait of Corinth from sea to sea, with a perpetuall wall which they called Hexamylum, and

if they were to be compared together, the greatnesse of thy good deserts would be ouerwhelmed with the G
multitude of thy greater tyrannies; which I had rather thou shouldest count with thy selfe, than blush
whilest I repeat them. Euery man that knoweth them, may marueil how I had power to endure them, or
that thou wast not wearie at last of thy crueltie and secret hatred. Thou tookest away my fathers King-
dome by force; thou diddest murther my brethren, and my selfe thou diddst most wickedly vow to death;
when I little feared any such cruelty: & doth it now seeme strange to thee, ô Amurath, *that an inuincible*
mind, desirous of libertie, should seek to break out of the bonds of so great & insolent slauerie? How long
at length didst thou thinke I would endure thy proud bondage? which for all that, I many yeres endu-
red, and refused not thy command. I exposed my selfe to publique and priuat dangers, both voluntary, and
by thy designement: speeches were giuen out dayly by thy selfe, and the admonition of my friends concer-
ning thy deepe treacherie, was rife in myne eares: Yet for all that, of long time I simply beleeued both thy H
words and deeds to haue been deuoyd of all fraud, vntill thy cankered malice began too too apparently to
shew it selfe; then began I also to glose with thee, wholly metamorphosed into thyne owne conceits, vntil
I found occasion to recouer my libertie. Wherefore there is no cause thou shouldest now grieue, if thou be
wel beaten with thyne owne rod. But these are but trifles, Amurath, *in comparison of those things which*
I haue layd vp in hope and resolution of mind. Therefore hereafter surcease thyne angrie threats, and tel
not vs of the Hungarian fortune: euery man hath his own resolution, and euery man a particular gouer-
nor of his actions; and so will we with patience endure such fortune as it shall please God to appoynt vs.
In the meane time, for direction of our affaires we will not request councell of our enemies, nor peace
of thee, but victorie by the helpe of God. Farewell. From our Campe.

When *Amurath* had read these letters, and further conferred with *Ayradin*, he was filled I
with wrath and indignation, wondering at the great resolution of so small a Prince, presently casting in his mind (as was thought) the difficultie of that warre. Yet because he would giue no token of feare, oftentimes stroking his white beard, as his manner was when he was thorowly angrie, with a dissembled cheerefulnesse of countenance sayd,

Amurath his passionat speech in his rage, against Scanderbeg.

Thou desirest (wicked man) thou desirest the title of some honorable death: We will giue it thee (be-
leeue vs) we will giue it thee; we our selues will be present at the burial of our foster child, and in per-
son (though vnbidden) honour the funerall pompe of the great King of Epirus, that thou shalt neuer
complaine among the damned ghosts, that thou diddest die a base or obscure kind of death.

And for because at that time, by reason of many great occurrents, he could not conuert his whole power into Epirus, he sent *Ferises* one of his best Captaines, with nine thousand choice horsemen, to keepe *Scanderbeg* in doing, and to spoyle his countrey so much as he could. Which was with such speed done, as it was thought *Ferises* would haue bin in the heart of Epirus, before *Scanderbeg* could haue had knowledge of his comming. But for all his hast, he could not so preuent the flying fame, but that *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, and hauing his men alwayes in readinesse, placed fifteene hundred good footmen in ambush vpon the rough mountaines leading into the valley of Mouea, whereby the Turks must needs passe into Epi- L
rus; placing also two thousand horsemen, as he thought most fit and conuenient for his pur-
pose. *Ferises* descending from the high mountaines full of woods and bushes, by the broken and stonie wayes leading into the valley, was in that troublesome and intricate passage fierce-
ly set vpon by *Scanderbegs* readie footmen, suddenly arising out of ambush, where the Turkes hauing no vse of their horses, but rather by them encombered, were slaine as Deere enclosed in a toyle. In this conflict seuen hundred and sixtie Turks were taken prisoners, and a great number slaine, and *Ferises* himselfe, with the rest, enforced to flie, crying still out as he fled, *Better some saued, than all lost.* *Scanderbeg* hauing thus ouerthrowne *Ferises*, pursued him into Macedonia, and with the spoyle there taken, rewarded his soldiers, as he had also many times before done.

Amurath grieued with the ouerthrow of *Ferises*, presently sent *Mustapha* a politique and M
hardie captaine, with a new supplie of six thousand soldiers, to take the charge from *Ferises*; commanding him in no case, nor vpon any occasion to enter farre into Epirus: but onely to burn and spoyle the frontiers thereof, saying, That he would account it for good seruice, if he might but vnderstand, that the trees and fruits of that country had felt the force of his anger.

Mustapha

A *Mustapha* hauing receiued his charge, when he began to draw neere the borders of Epirus, con-
tinually sent out scouts before his armie, to see if the passages were cleere, & so warily entred the vallie of Mocrea, where *Ferizes* not long before was ouerthrowne. In this fruitful vallie, being the frontiers of *Scanderbegs* dominion, *Mustapha* intrenched his armie, vpon the rising of a hill, and placed espials vpon the top of the high mountains round about, by them to discouer the comming of the enemie, and to haue notice thereof by signes into the campe: then re-
seruing 4000 horsemen with himselfe, to keepe his campe, he sent forth the rest of his armie, about 9000 horsemen, to forrage and spoyle the country; giuing charge before, That euerie man vpon pain of death should presently retyre to the campe, vpon signe giuen from thence, as to a place of safetie and refuge. The Turkish armie ranging ouer that rich and pleasant val-
B lie, burnt the villages, cut down trees, spoyled the Vineyards, and made hauocke of all things that fire and sword could destroy; in that point executing *Amuraths* command to the ful. At length *Scanderbeg* drawing neere to this vallie with 4000 horsemen and 1000 foot, was ad-
uertised of all the enemies doings, by an Epirot soldier, who grieuously wounded, had hard-
ly escaped from the Turks: of him he vnderstood, what number of Turks were burning and destroying the country, of the campe also kept by *Mustapha*, and how espials were placed vp-
on the mountains. *Scanderbeg* hauing well considered *Mustapha* his warie proceedings, and seeing no policie to be vsed against so carefull an enemie, resolued to vanquish him by plaine force, by assaulting him suddenly in his trenches, before his dispersed soldiers could repaire to the campe: and hauing to this purpose with effectuall persuasions incouraged the minds of
his valiant soldiers, readie of themselues to follow him thorow all dangers; when he had set *Scanderbeg his valiant resolution for the assaulting of Mustapha in his campe.*
C all things in order for the assaulting of the enemies campe, speedily entred the vallie, and was presently discouered by the enemies espials, from the tops of the high hils, and a signe giuen to the camp, from whence also the appointed signe was giuen for the dispersed soldiers to re-
tire: but most of them being strayd from the campe, & busied in taking the spoile of the coun-
try, heard not or saw not the signe giuen. Those which were within the hearing therof, retired to the campe, and at their heeles followed *Scanderbegs* souldiers, terrifying them with calling vpon the name of *Scanderbeg*. Many of the Turks were by the Christians slain in the entrance of the campe, with their booties in their hands, and presently the Turks trenches were now by *Scanderbegs* souldiers couragiously assaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them.
They hauing won the trenches, preuailed still vpon the Turks, filling all their camp with feare
D and slaughter. There was no vse of shot in that medly, by reason of the straitnes of the place, for they were now come to pell mell. *Mustapha* seeing his souldiers put to the worst, and that the campe was not long to be defended, tooke horse and fled by the port which was furthest from the enemie. The rest of the soldiers fled also, making such poore shift for themselues as they could. In this battel 5000 Turks were slain, and but 300 taken; for the Christians inra-
ged with the spoyle of the country, reuenged themselues with the slaughter of the Turkes. *Scanderbeg* lost in this conflict but 20 horsemen and 50 footmen. The rest of the Turks armie dispersed in the country, hearing the tumult in the camp, misdoubting the fortune of their fel-
lows, fled also; yet many of them were in that flight pursued and slaine.

After this ouerthrow, *Mustapha* returning to *Amurath*, the better to excuse the misfortune
E of himselfe and the other captains before sent, greatly commended the inuincible courage of *Scanderbeg*, and his wonderful skil in feats of arms; perswading *Amurath*, either to send a grea-
ter power against him, or else none at all: saying, That to send such small armies, was but to minister matter to the increase of his glorie, and the infamie of the Turks; and to vse policie against him, the master of policie, was but meere follie. It grieued *Amurath* to heare the prayses of his enemie, although he knew the same to be true, by the continuall fortune he had al-
ways against his great captains, *Alis Bassa*, *Ferizes*, and *Mustapha*: wherefore he determined for a time not to prouoke him further, but to suffer him to liue in peace: yet commanded *Mustapha* to renew his armie for defence of the borders of his kingdom towards Epirus, against the
F innouation of *Scanderbeg*; but straitly commanding him, in no case to inuade any part of Epi-
rus, neither vpon any occasion offered, or conceiued hope of victorie, to joyne battell with *Scanderbeg*, for feare of such euill successe as before.

At this time also the Grecians of Peloponesus (now called Morea) hauing before fortified the strait of Corinth from sea to sea, with a perpetuall wall which they called Hexamylum,

and deepe trenches about six miles in length, had also built fiue strong Castles in the same wall, of purpose to take away all passage by land into that rich countrey, and began now not only to denie the yerely tribute they were woont to pay vnto the Turkish King, but also to inuade such Princes of Achaia their neighbors, as were content to remaine still the Turks tributaries; among whom *Nerius* Prince of Athens, and *Turacan* gouernor of Thessalia for *Amurath*, ceased not by continuall complaints to incense him against them of Peloponesus. Who hauing his armie in readinesse, although it was now Winter, and he himselfe very aged, set forward from Hadrianople, and marching thorow Thessalia, came into Achaia, where most of the Grecians were before fled for feare into Peloponesus. So passing on with his armie, he came to the strait commonly called Istmus, where the famous city of Corinth somtime stood; and there incamped his armie neere vnto the strong wal and castles, lately before built, hoping that the Grecians of Peloponesus, terrified with the multitude of his army, would without resistance submit themselues: but when he perceiued them to stand vpon their guard, and to trust to their strength, he laid batterie to the wall foure dayes, and hauing made it faultable, brake thorow the same with his army. The Grecians hauing lost the wal (their chiefe strength) fled, some to one strong hold, and some to another, as their fortune led them; the Turkes at their pleasure spoyling and destroying that rich and pleasant country, sometime the nurse of worthie wits, and famous captaines: where they found wonderfull riches, and tooke prisoners without number; in so much that they were sould among the Turkes at most vile price. There *Amurath* for his pleasure cruelly sacrificed six hundred Christian captiues, to the hellish ghost of his dead father *Mahomet*: and afterwards imposing a yerely tribute vpon the Peloponesians, and other Grecian princes now yeelding againe vnto him, as an induction to their further slauerie vnder the Turkish tyrannie, he returned, taking in his way the two famous cities of Patras and Sicyone. Thus the rich country of Peloponesus, and all the rest of Grecia, sometime fountaine of all learning and ciuilitie, became tributarie to the barbarous & cruell Turks, in the yeare of our Lord 1445.

Peloponesus made tributarie vnto the Turke.

Old *Amurath* now clogged with yeares, and wearied with long wars, was content to take his rest at Hadrianople: during which time, *Bajazet* the son of *Mahomet* was borne in the yere 1446; who afterwards of long time with great glorie gouerned the Turkish empire at Constantinople, as in his place shall appeare.

Bajazet borne.

1446.

The Hungarians after the calamitie of Varna (wherein they had together with *Vladislaus* their king, lost most part of their nobilitie also) in a generall assemblie of their States, made choice of *Ladislaus* the posthumos son of *Albertus* (and then in keeping of *Frederick* the emperor) for their king. But forasmuch as he being then but a child of fiue yeres old, & chosen king more for the remembrance of the Emperor *Sigismund* his grandfather, and *Albertus* his father, and the good hope conceiued of hm, than for any other thing presently to be expected from him; it was thought more than necessary, to make choice of some notable and worthie man, vnto whom they might, during the time of the kings minoritie, commit the gouernment and protection of that so great and turbulent a kingdome. Many there were in that honorable assemblie well thought of, both of themselues and others; but such was the glorie and valor of *Huniades*, and so great the remembrance of his worthie deserts, both of the kingdom of Hungarie, & of the Christian commonweale in general, as without his seeking, procured vnto him the general fauor and suffrages of all; yea so far, that euen they which most enuied at his honor (as ouershadowing their own) were glad to hold their peace, for that without him, it was commonly thought the state of that shaken kingdom could not long stand: So by the general consent of al the States there assembled, he was with the great applause of the people chosen and proclaimed gouernor, as of all others most fit for so great & heauie a charge: wherein he quietly spent some few yeres in deciding of ciuil controuersies, in composing the quarrells of the nobilitie; not forgetting in the meane time the indifferent administration of justice to all men, ending many controuersies far from the place of judgment, and that without all suspition of corruption; vsing therein such expedition & neuerwearied patience in hearing euery mans cause, that sitting, going, standing, riding, he dispatched many great and waightie matters: alwayes shewing himselfe affable and curteous, as well vnto them of the poorer sort, as others of greater calling, that had any sutes vnto him. So that it was of him truly said, That no man was than he vnto his friends more friendly, or vnto his enemies more crosse and contrarie.

Huniades in the minoritie of the king, chosen gouernor of all the Kingdome of Hungarie.

In

In time of peace he was alwayes prouiding for war, heaping vp great treasure, and such other things, as without which the wars could not be maintained. But aboue all things, he was carefull of the good agreement of the Nobilitie, taking great paines in reconciling their displeasures conceiued one against another, and that with such dexterity, as that he was both of them and others generally both beloued and feared.

In the meane time, whilest he was thus busied in disposing of the ciuill affaires of the commonweale, & the administration of justice, he was aduertised by his espials, how that the old Sultan *Amurath* was raising great forces both in Asia & Europe, and that as the common fame went, for the inuasion of Hungarie. For the withstanding whereof, *Huniades* not vnprouided, as neuer vnmindfull of so dangerous an enemie, or of any thing more desirous, than in some sort to be reuenged of the great losse receiued at Varna; in the fourth yeare of his gouernement, and in the yeare of our Lord 1448, accompanied with most part of the Nobilitie of Hungarie, and the Vayuod of Valachia his friend and confederat, set forward against the Turk with an armie of two and twentie thousand choice soldiers. So hauing passed the riuer Tibiscus, or Teise, and trauelling thorow Valachia, a little beneath where the riuer Moraua running thorow Seruia, falleth into Danubius, he with most part of his armie passed that great riuer; the rest in the meane time taking passage ouer at a towne called Seuerin. *Huniades* with his armie being thus gotten ouer into Seruia, by his Embassadors requested the Despot, as he had oftentimes before, to put himselfe into that most Christian warre; and remembring the great benefits he had receiued from the Hungarians, not to shew himselfe therefore vngratefull, than which, nothing could be more dishonorable: and to encourage him the more, certified him both of his owne strength, and of the ayd brought vnto him by the Vayuod; & that for the good successe of the warre there wanted nothing but his presence and direction, with such troupes of light horsemen as he knew he had alwayes in readinesse: wherewith hee requested him with all speed to follow him. But he being a man of no religion, and better affected vnto the Turke than *Huniades*, the more cleanly to withdraw himselfe from this war, pretended many excuses: first, The league he had with *Amurath* his sonne in law, which he said he might not breake, for feare that if things chanced not wel, he might so fall again headlong into his old miserie: then, The vnseasonableneese of the time, Autumne being now past, which difficulties in those cold countries they had to their cost too much felt in the late war: These with many other such like he alledged in excuse that he came not: but the truth was, the malice of the man, grieued to see *Huniades* preferred before him in the gouernment of the kingdome, & disdaining to serue vnder his ensignes, being himself Despot and King of Sernia, discended of the royal race, was the cause of his backwardnes: so that blinded with enuie, he could not thereright judge of himself, or what was fit for him in this case to haue done. But *Huniades* angrie with his vnkinde answer, threatned him with his owne hands to be reuenged vpon him, and to giue away his kingdome to one more worthie thereof than he, if he should with victorie returne. So passing thorow Seruia, as thorow the enemies country, he came into Bulgaria. After whose departure, the false Despot by speedie messengers aduertised *Amurath* both of the comming of the Hungarians, and of their strength; yea he certified him of euerie dayes march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a small companie of his owne, and some weake supplies of the Vayuods, come ouer Danubius: whom if he should not presently meet, but suffer him to come on further, and so with his armie to get betwixt him and home, he might so shut him in, as that he should be hardly able to scape his hands. All which he did, partly for enuie, partly to gratifie the Turke, and the better to keepe friendship with him. So *Amurath* not contemning the Despots councell, suffered *Huniades* without resistance to enter a great way into his country, and comming two or three days march behind him, so stopped the passage, as that he could not possibly retyre, but that he must needs fight. And now they were both come vnto a great plain in Bulgaria, which the Hungarians call Rigomezu; and the Rascians, the Plaine of Cossoua: through the middest whereof the riuer Schichniza rising out of the mountaines of Illyria, running, at length falleth into Moroua, and so into Danubius. This Plain is about 20 miles in length, & in bredth fiue, enuironed on each side with pleasant mountaines in manner of a Theatre, the riuer and low valleys at the foot of the mountaines being garnished with many countrey villages and towns. Into this fatall Plaine, when as the Hungarians first, and after them the Turkes, were as into a place of combat descended;

1448. *Huniades goeth against the Turkes.*

The false Despot giueth Amurath knowledge both of Huniades his comming, and of his strength.

an old woman dwelling in one of the villages vpon the riuer side fast by, where both armies
The ominous speech of an old woman. of late passed, with a loud voice cried out, *O, how much I now feare the hard fortune of the Hungarians.* When as their passage ouer by the foord troubled the riuer but one day, and the Turks three; by the small number of their armie, diuining their ensuing ouerthrow. In the midst almost of this Plain ariseth a small hill, by the foot whereof the riuer Schichniza runneth, not far beyond which, toward the head of the Plaine, was a certain tower built like a pyramides, in memoriall of *Amurath* the first of that name, and third king of the Turks, there slain: which tower *Amurath* fearing lest *Huniades* marching before him, should take, and so become vnto him ominous, (for in such matters the Turks are verie superstitious) he made hast, of purpose to joyne battell with him before he should come to the foresaid tower. *Huniades* being come vnto the hill, easily arising in the midst of the Plaine, there incamped, expecting the comming H of *Scanderbeg*; who was said (according to appointment made betwixt him and *Huniades*) to be euery houre comming. Wherefore *Amurath* fearing lest the tower fast by should be taken, and the enemies power strengthned by the comming of the Albanois, prouoked *Huniades* to battell; who still refused the same in hope of his friends comming: which made the Turke more fierce vpon him, seeking by all means he could to draw him to battell, but especially by cutting him off from water and forrage: for why, he much presumed vpon his multitude, hauing in his armie about foure score thousand fighting men. At length *Huniades*, for want of water and other necessaries enforced to fight, vpon S. *Lukes* day, being then Thursday, commanded his soldiers to make themselues readie: and diuiding his Armie into two and thirtie battalions, in such order as he meant to giue battell, the more to encourage them, spake vnto I them as followeth:

The notable speech of Huniades: to encourage his souldiers against the Turks.

At length (valiant souldiers, and fellowes in Armes) the day is come, wherein you may reuenge that dishonour, or disgrace, you receiued in the battell of Varna; and recouer your former credit of constancie, and praise, if you will play the men. The Enemie opposeth against you but these reliques of his armies, by you so often broken and discomfited, who although they be in number more than you, yet are they in hope, quarrell and strength, farre inferiour. For what can they hope for, which fight not for their owne, but for another mans Kingdome? and in conquering, procure vnto themselues nothing but bondage in this life, and torment in the life to come, and in both, perpetuall and endlesse miserie? Whereas you on the other side, howsoeuer the matter fall out, fighting for your owne Kingdome, K your Children, your Countrey, your Houses, your Altars, may assuredly hope for in both, eterhall and vndoubted blisse. You haue also farre greater cause to fight, as they which if they do not valiantly ouercome their enemies, are in danger, with themselues, to lose also all that theirs is. The strength of both is sufficiently tried. Once we vnfortunately joyned battell at Varna, where if we might make exchange of our fortunes there found, haply the Turke would make choice of our flight; rather than of the great slaughter of his owne men: who being not able to ouertake vs, was there notably beaten, with the losse of a great part of his Armie: whose great losse there receiued, might countervaile our dishonour; although the losse, he suffered perforce, but we our flight by choice. But of that our ouerthrow, the angrie Powers from aboue (willing to reuenge our breach of Faith) were, as I verily beleeue, the cause, rather than our cowardise: for euen there, all the authours of that perfideous dealing, euen there I say, enerie L one receiued the just guerdon of their treacherie. Whereas we, against our wills drawne into that woful Warre, by the mercie of God yet liue with you, preserued for the defence of the Christian Commonweale, and especially of Hungarie, that it should not be ouer-runne with the Turkish power and rage. The number of your enemies is not of you to be feared, when as you with few, haue oftentimes learned to fight with their multitudes, and carried away from them the victorie. Hitherto we haue rather fought by the power of God than man, and in the name of Christ Iesus our Sauiour, haue easily ouerthrowne their prophane battels. Which way soeuer we haue turned our selues in his most mightie name, we haue with our victorious Armes opened our way, for that we fought vnder the leading and conduct of the Highest, whose helpe we haue alwayes felt at hand: neither shall we thereof this day faile, if we be mindfull of his forepassed loue towards vs, and of our woonted valour. God is always present with them that M in his just quarrell fight courageously. Hereunto is joyned the safe manner of our fight, by reason of our men at armes, and barbed horses, who like a strong castle cannot easily be ouerthrowne. Our battalions are such as may easily be commanded, and yet strong enough against our enemies: whereas their great multitude breedeth but confusion. We haue many notable and forcible Engines of warre, which they haue

A *haue not. Besides that, euery houre we looke for the worthie* Scanderbeg *his comming. The danger is not so great, as that we should feare it; or so little, as that we should contemne it. Backe againe without victorie we may not goe, for that our armie is hardly by the straits of these mountaines to be led: and if the may were neuer so easie, yet without doing that we came for, and glorie with victorie, we may not retire. Vnto the valiant, all difficulties are propounded. Wherefore sith this your last labour is at hand, wherein the whole strength of the Turks may be for euer cut off, I pray and beseech you (fellow souldiers) by that God vnder whose power and protection wee serue, and by the loue you beare vnto your countrey, your wiues, your children, and wealth, vpon the signall of battell giuen, so to shew your valour, as men resolued to be fully reuenged of the iniuries by that filthie and wicked nation done both to God and man: and especially of the losse receiued at Varna. Wee lost there a deuout King, who for our safetie, and*
B *for the breach of his faith, sacrificed himselfe; by which royall sacrifice, that diuine anger is appeased: vnto whose ghost I beseech you, in this battel to make an honorable sacrifice. Not forgetting withal, to reuenge the death of other worthie men in that battell slaine. This feare of the Turkes, is at once and euen this day to be cut off; and so, as that it should neuer grow againe: and the kingdome of Hungarie, so to be deliuered from the danger of most cruell slauerie, as that it may by this dayes worke gaine perpetuall rest and glorie, vnto the enioying of the pleasures both of this life, and of the life to come. Wherefore (worthie souldiers) we must fight with all our force, for that our honour so requireth, our profit so persuadeth, and necessitie enforceth. As for our selues, howsoeuer the matter fall out, all shall be with vs well: if victorie, perpetuall blisse and happinesse shall thereby be procured vnto our countrey, and immortall fame vnto our selues: but if we shall be ouercome, here we shall be most honourably*
C *buried in the bed of fame, to liue in heauen with God and his Saints for euer. Wherefore I beseech you so to fight, as men resolutely set downe to ouercome, or if it should otherwise fall out, as men resolued honourably to die.*

With this the Generals speech, all the minds of the hearers were greatly enflamed, & they all by his words, and their owne hot desires, sufficiently encouraged: neither did old *Amurath* on the other side with lesse care or diligence marshal his army, & incourage his Turks, sparing neither cheerful speech, glorious promises, or seuere command: whose armie being brought into the plain, & ranged in order of battel, filled the same from the one side to the other, euen vnto the very mountains, to the great astonishment of the Christians: and so about nine a clock in the morning set forward. *Huniades* had from the hill where hee lay, sent downe both the
D wings of his army, & had a front on both sides before them, stretched out certain long troups of light horsemen to begin the skirmish. In the midst betwixt both he had placed *Zechel*, his sisters son, with a strong square battel of men at armes: and such as he had kept aloft vpon the hill for rescues, he had compassed about with his waggons, as with trenches. The signal of the battell being giuen, the fierce and couragious souldiers on both sides, with cheerefull minds, began at first to skirmish a far off: but afterwards fortune as it were fawning vpon both sides, and their courage thereupon increasing, they began with greater force to fight foot to foot, & hand to hand. Which hot fight continued about three houres: at length the Turks battel was
E put to the worst, by *Benedict Losonicus*, who had the leading of the right wing; and so likewise in the left also by *Stephen Bamffi*, who with great slaughter had notably foyled the great Bassa of Europe, still pressing hard & desperatly vpon him. Which discomfiture of his men in both wings *Amurath* beholding, presently sent in strong supplies, & in both places renewed the battell: wherby the Hungarian and Valachian light horsemen, before wearied, were enforced to retire vnto the men at armes; who serred together, and standing as a strong wall, easily repulsed the greatest assaults of the Turks. In which maner of fight many were on both sides slain, but far more of the Turks, by reason they were neither so well horsed nor armed as were the Christians. *Huniades* in the meane time with the artillerie from the hill, did the Turkes great harme: which *Amurath* perceiuing, drew as close vnto the hill as hee could, by that meanes hauing his people (so much as was possible) out of the danger of the artillerie, mounted on high
F aboue them in such sort, as that it could little or nothing now hurt them: which *Huniades* from the hil beholding, came downe to the releefe of his men, sending new supplies to both wings; sometime encouraging them with cheerfull speech, and sometime with his own most valiant hand: vnto the wearie he sent reliefe, the fearful he encouraged, them that were flying he staied, and where he saw the enemies fastest comming on, there was he himselfe present to meet them:

The great battell of Cossoua fought betwixt Amurath and Huniades three daies together.

them, omitting nothing that was of a good General or worthy soldier to be done. The valiant G
he commended, the coward he reproued, & as a careful Generall, was himselfe in euery place
present. Whereby the battell became so fierce and terrible, that in euery place a man might
haue seen all fouly soiled with blood and the quarrey of the dead. *Amurath* in like manner stil
sent in new supplies, nothing discouraged with the great losse of his men, presuming vpon his
multitude, as fully resolued orderly to fight, & to make vse of all his forces, in hope at length
by continuall sending in of fresh supplies, to wearie his enemies, whom he saw he could not by
force ouercome. Wherin he was not deceiued, for one battalion of the Hungarians was often-
times enforced to wearie foure or fiue of the Turks before they could be relieued, they came
on so fast. That day they dined & supt in the battell refreshing themselues with such short re-
past as they could eat standing, going, or riding. The Turks armie was that day in euery place H
put to the worst, and oftentimes with great slaughter enforced by the Hungarians to retire al-
most vnto their trenches, yet was the battell still againe renewed, & so fought on both sides, as
well appeared they were resolued either to ouercome, or there to die. This cruel fight main-
tained all the day, was by the comming on of the night ended, both the armies retiring into
their owne trenches, but with purpose the next day to renew the battel, & not to giue ouer or
with their backs, til the victory were by dint of sword determined. So with little rest, was that
night spent, both armies keeping most diligent watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as
The battell be-gun againe the second day. by battel therin to trie whether they should liue or die. It was yet scarce faire day, when both
the armies in good order ready ranged began again the battel: which at the first, was not by the
Hungarians fought with such force and courage as before, for there was none of them which I
had not the day before spent their whole strength, whereas there was yet 40000 of the Turks
Huniades encourageth his souldiers. which either had not fought at all, or but lightly skirmished. Yet *Huniades* exhorted his soul-
diers, not by fainthearted cowardise to breake off the course of the victorie by them the day
before so wel begun, but couragiously to prosecute the same, beseeching them not to be now
wanting vnto themselues & their country, but to remember how they had fought the day be-
fore, how many thousands of their enemies they had slain, & not now at last to giue ouer, & so
shamefully to frustrat all the pains and dangers by them before endured: for that they (as hee
said) were to be thought worthy of honor, not which began, but which ended honorable ac-
tions. He wisht them to set before their eyes the calamities like to ensue, if they should as cow-
ards be ouercome: first, the diuers kinds of death and torture; then, the slauerie of their wiues K
and children; the rauishment of their virgins and matrons; and last of all, the vtter destruction
of their kingdom, with the horrible confusion of all things, as wel sacred as prophane: al which
were by that one daies labor (said he) to be auoided. And therfore he besought them for the
loue both of God and man, with their wonted valor, that day to set at liberty for euer, them-
selues, their country, their wiues & children, and whatsoeuer els they held deere. In like man-
ner also did *Amurath* encourage his soldiers, with great promises and threats, persuading them
rather to endure any thing, than by that days ouerthrow to be driuen out of Europe. He care-
fully viewed his army, ordered his battels, & with many great reasons persuaded them to play
the men. But after that some light skirmishes being past, both the armies were fuly ioined, the
battel was fought with no lesse force & fury than the day before. Of the Christians many then L
wounded, came now again into the battell, there either by speedy death or speedy victorie to
cure their wounds before receiued, & there did right good seruice. Great was the slaughter in
euery place, neither could the force of the Hungarians be withstood; whose furious impressi-
on, when the Turks could not by plaine force endure, they began with their fresh horsemen,
cunningly to delude their desperat fiercenes: at such time as the Hungarians began most hardly
to charge them, they by & by turned their backs, suffering them a while to follow after them,
far scattered & dispersed: who allured as it were with the hope of present victory, eagerly pur-
sued them, & in the pursuit slew diuers of them: and they again vpon a signall giuen, closing to-
gether, & turning back vpon the dispersed troups, well reuenged the death of their fellowes:
& with their often charges & retraits, wonderfully wearied the Hungarians, notably deluding M
their furious attempts with that vncertain kind of fight, al the day long. Many of the Hungari-
ans were slaine, and the Turks had that day the better, and so both armies being wearied night
and wearines ended the fight; both retiring into their trenches, there keeping most carefull
watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day, the battel was again begun, *Huniades* his
bro-

A brother, General of the Valachians, with his light horsemen setting first forward, after whom
in seemely order followed the rest of the nobilitie, with their companies. Where for certaine *The battell a-gaine began the third day.*
houres, the battell was hardly fought with like hope on both sides, & a great slaughter made,
but specially of the Hungarians; who wearied with the long fight, & most part of them woun-
ded, were now al to endure this third daies labour. *Zechel* (*Huniades* his fisters sonne) valiantly
fighting in the front of the battell, was the first of the leaders there slain in the thickest of the
Turks. *Emericus Marzalus* and *Stephen Bainffi*, both great commanders, enclosed by the Turks,
there died also. *Amurath* seeing the formost ensignes of the Christians, which stood in *Zechels*
regiment, taken, and his souldiers (discomfited with the death of their colonell) turning their
backs, presently commanded al the companies, which were many (yet left in the trenches, for
B fresh supplies) to issue forth, & at once to ouerwhelm the Christians, being (as he said) but few
and ouerwearied with three dayes continuall fight. Vpon which the Kings command, they
fiercely breaking out, presently ouerthrew both the wings of the Christians, before wauering;
and in a great battell (wherin most of the chiefe commanders were slaine, and their ensignes
taken) discomfited the rest, and with a great slaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* seeing his
brother now slaine, the ensignes taken, and the battel quite lost, betook himselfe to flight also; *Huniades flieth*
leauing behind him his tents and baggage, al which shortly after became a prey to the Turks:
who from noon vntill night furiously followed the chace, with most cruell execution; but at
length, staid by the comming on of the darknes, they returned again vnto their trenches. The
rest of the Turkes army that followed not the chace, compassing in the Hungarian campe,
were there by the wounded souldiers, the waggoners, & other drudges of the army, kept out so
C long as they had any shot left; but yet were in the end euery mothers son slain, though not alto-
gether vnreuenged, two or three of the Turks in many places lying dead by the bodie of one
Hungarian. *Amurath* to couer the greatnes of the losse he there receiued, commanded the bo-
dies of his captains there slain, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common souldi-
ers, to be for the most part cast into the riuer Schichniza: for which cause the inhabitants of
the country there by, of long time after abstained from eating of any fish taken in that riuer.
The plain by this great battell made once againe famous, lay neuertheless many yeares after
couered with dead mens bones, as if it had bin with stones: neither could be ploughed by the
countrey people, but that long time after armour and weapons were there still in many places
turned vp and found. Thus albeit that this bloudy victorie fel vnto the Turks, yet was their
D losse far greater than the Hungarians; hauing lost (as was reported by them that say lest) foure
and thirtie thousand of themselues, for eight thousand of their enemies. Howbeit they them- *The number of the Turks and Christians slain in the battell of Cossouo.*
selues report the losse to haue bin on both sides far greater; as that of the Christians were slain
seuenteen thousand, and of themselues fortie thousand: which in so long and mortal a fight, is
not vnlike to haue bin true. In this vnfortunate battell, fell most part of the Hungarian nobi-
litie: all men worthie eternall fame & memorie, whose names we for breuitie wil passe ouer.
Many in the chace taken, and the next day brought to *Amurath*, where by the commandement
of the angry tyrant slaine. Such as escaped out of the slaughter by the way of Illyria, returned
in safety: but such as thought to saue themselues by returning back again through Seruia, the
Despots countrey, found the same so troublesome as that few of them escaped, but that they
were by the way either slaine, or quite stripped of all they had.

Neither was the fortune of the noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the rest,
L who hauing on horseback all alone by vncouth and vntract waies trauelled three daies with-
out meat or drinke, and the fourth day tyred his horse and cast him off; being on foot and dis-
armed, fel into the hands of two notable theeues, who in dispoiling him of his apparel, finding
a faire crucifix of gold about his neck, fell at strife betwixt themselues for the same: whereby
he tooke occasion to lay hand vpon one of their swords, & with the same presently thrust him
through; and then suddenly assailing the other, put him to flight also. So deliuered of this dan-
ger, trauelling on, and almost spent with thirst and hunger, the next day he light vpon a shep-
heard, a sturdie rough knaue, who hearing of the ouerthrow of the Hungarians, was (in hope
F of prey) roaming abroad in that desolate country: who at the first meeting, strucken with the
maiestie of the man, stood at gaze vpon him; as also did *Huniades*, fearing in his so great weak-
nesse to haue to do with him. Thus a while hauing the one well regarded the other, they be-
gan to enter talke, the sheepheard bluntly asking him of his fortune; and he for Gods sake cra-
ing

them, omitting nothing that was of a good General or worthy soldier to be done. The valiant G
he commended, the coward he reproued, & as a carefull Generall, was himselfe in euery place
present. Whereby the battell became so fierce and terrible, that in euery place a man might
haue seen all fouly foiled with blood and the quarrey of the dead. *Amurath* in like manner stil
sent in new supplies, nothing discouraged with the great losse of his men, presuming vpon his
multitude, as fully resolued orderly to fight, & to make vse of all his forces, in hope at length
by continual sending in of fresh supplies, to wearie his enemies, whom he saw he could not by
force ouercome. Wherin he was not deceiued, for one battalion of the Hungarians was often-
times enforced to wearie foure or fiue of the Turks before they could be relieued, they came
on so fast. That day they dined & supt in the battell refreshing themselues with such short re-
past as they could eat standing, going, or riding. The Turks armie was that day in euery place H
put to the worst, and oftentimes with great slaughter enforced by the Hungarians to retire al-
most vnto their trenches, yet was the battell stil againe renewed, & so fought on both sides, as
well appeared they were resolued either to ouercome, or there to die. This cruel fight main-
tained all the day, was by the comming on of the night ended, both the armies retiring into
their owne trenches, but with purpose the next day to renew the battel, & not to giue ouer or
turn their backs, til the victory were by dint of sword determined. So with little rest, was that
night spent, both armies keeping most diligent watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as
The battell begun againe the second day. by battel therin to trie whether they should liue or die. It was yet scarce faire day, when both
the armies in good order ready ranged began again the battel: which at the first, was not by the
Hungarians fought with such force and courage as before, for there was none of them which I
had not the day before spent their whole strength; wheras there was yet 40000 of the Turks
Huniades encourageth his souldiers. which either had not fought at all, or but lightly skirmished. Yet *Huniades* exhorted his soul-
diers, not by fainthearted cowardise to breake off the course of the victorie by them the day
before so wel begun, but couragiously to prosecute the same; beseeching them not to be now
wanting vnto themselues & their country, but to remember how they had fought the day be-
fore, how many thousands of their enemies they had slain, & not now at last to giue ouer, & so
shamefully to frustrat all the pains and dangers by them before endured: for that they (as hee
said) were to be thought worthy of honor, not which began, but which ended honorable ac-
tions. He wisht them to set before their eyes the calamities like to ensue, if they should as cow-
ards be ouercome: first, the diuers kinds of death and torture; then, the slauerie of their wiues K
and children; the rauishment of their virgins and matrons; and last of all, the vtter destruction
of their kingdom, with the horrible confusion of all things, as wel sacred as prophane: al which
were by that one daies labor (said he) to be auoided. And therfore he besought them for the
loue both of God and man, with their wonted valor, that day to set at liberty for euer, them-
selues, their country, their wiues & children, and whatsoeuer els they held deere. In like man-
ner also did *Amurath* encourage his soldiers, with great promises and threats, perswading them
rather to endure any thing, than by that days ouerthrow to be driuen out of Europe. He care-
fully viewed his army, ordered his battels, & with many great reasons perswaded them to play
the men. But after that some light skirmishes being past, both the armies were fuly ioined, the
battel was fought with no lesse force & fury than the day before. Of the Christians many then L
wounded, came now again into the battell, there either by speedy death or speedy victorie to
cure their wounds before receiued, & there did right good seruice. Great was the slaughter in
euery place, neither could the force of the Hungarians be withstood; whose furious impressi-
on, when the Turks could not by plaine force endure, they began with their fresh horsemen,
cunningly to delude their desperat fiercnes: at such time as the Hungarians began most hardly
to charge them, they by & by turned their backs, suffering them a while to follow after them,
far scattered & dispersed: who allured as it were with the hope of present victory, eagerly pur-
sued them, & in the pursuit slew diuers of them: and they again vpon a signall giuen, closing to-
gether, & turning back vpon the dispersed troups, well reuenged the death of their fellowes:
& with their often charges & retraits, wonderfully wearied the Hungarians, notably deluding M
their furious attempts, with that vncertain kind of fight, al the day long. Many of the Hungari-
ans were slaine, and the Turks had that day the better, and so both armies being wearied night
and wearines ended the fight; both retiring into their trenches, there keeping most carefull
watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day, the battel was again begun. *Huniades* his bro-

A brother, General of the Valachians, with his light horsemen setting first forward, after whom
in seemely order followed the rest of the nobilitie, with their companies. Where for certaine
houres, the battell was hardly fought with like hope on both sides, & a great slaughter made, *The battell againe began the third day.*
but specially of the Hungarians; who wearied with the long fight, & most part of them woun-
ded, were now al to endure this third daies labour. *Zechel* (*Huniades* his sisters sonne) valiantly
fighting in the front of the battell, was the first of the leaders there slain in the thickest of the
Turks. *Emericus Marzalus* and *Stephen Bamffi*, both great commanders, enclosed by the Turks,
there died also. *Amurath* seeing the formost ensignes of the Christians, which stood in *Zechels*
regiment, taken, and his souldiers (discomfited with the death of their colonell) turning their
backs, presently commanded al the companies, which were many (yet left in the trenches, for
B fresh supplies) to issue forth, & at once to ouerwhelm the Christians, being (as he said) but few
and ouerwearied with three dayes continuall fight. Vpon which the Kings command, they
fiercely breaking out, presently ouerthrew both the wings of the Christians, before wauering;
and in a great battell (wherin most of the chiefe commanders were slaine, and their ensignes
taken) discomfited the rest, and with a great slaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* seeing his
brother now slaine, the ensignes taken, and the battel quite lost, betook himselfe to flight also; *Huniades flieth.*
leauing behind him his tents and baggage, al which shortly after became a prey to the Turks:
who from noon vntill night furiously followed the chace, with most cruell execution; but at
length, staid by the comming on of the darknes, they returned again vnto their trenches. The
rest of the Turkes army that followed not the chace, compassing in the Hungarian campe,
were there by the wounded soldiers, the waggoners, & other drudges of the army, kept out so
C long as they had any shot left; but yet were in the end euery mothers son slain, though not alto-
gether vnreuenged, two or three of the Turks in many places lying dead by the bodie of one
Hungarian. *Amurath* to couer the greatnes of the losse he there receiued, commanded the bo-
dies of his captains there slain, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common souldi-
ers, to be for the most part cast into the riuer Schichniza: for which cause the inhabitants of
the country there by, of long time after abstained from eating of any fish taken in that riuer.
The plain by this great battell made once againe famous, lay neuertheless many yeares after
couered with dead mens bones, as if it had bin with stones: neither could be ploughed by the
countrey people, but that long time after armour and weapons were there still in many places
turned vp and found. Thus albeit that this bloudy victorie fel vnto the Turks, yet was their
D losse far greater than the Hungarians; hauing lost (as was reported by them that say lest) foure
and thirtie thousand of themselues, for eight thousand of their enemies. Howbeit they them- *The number of the Turks and Christians slain in the battell of Cossouo.*
selues report the losse to haue bin on both sides far greater; as that of the Christians were slain
seuenteen thousand, and of themselues fortie thousand: which in so long and mortal a fight, is
not vnlike to haue bin true. In this vnfortunate battell, fell most part of the Hungarian nobi-
litie: all men worthie eternall fame & memorie, whose names we for breuitie wil passe ouer.
Many in the chace taken, and the next day brought to *Amurath*, where by the commandement
of the angry tyrant slaine. Such as escaped out of the slaughter by the way of Illyria, returned
in safety: but such as thought to saue themselues by returning back again through Seruia, the
Despots countrey, found the same so troublesome as that few of them escaped, but that they
were by the way either slaine, or quite stripped of all they had.

Neither was the fortune of the noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the rest,
E who hauing on horseback all alone by vncouth and vntract waies trauelled three daies with-
out meat or drinke, and the fourth day tyred his horse and cast him off; being on foot and dis-
armed, fel into the hands of two notable theeues, who in dispoiling him of his apparel, finding
a faire crucifix of gold about his neck, fell at strife betwixt themselues for the same: whereby
he tooke occasion to lay hand vpon one of their swords, & with the same presently thrust him
through; and then suddenly assailing the other, put him to flight also. So deliuered of this dan-
ger, trauelling on, and almost spent with thirst and hunger, the next day he light vpon a shep-
heard, a sturdie rough knaue, who hearing of the ouerthrow of the Hungarians, was (in hope
F of prey) roaming abroad in that desolate country: who at the first meeting, strucken with the
maiestie of the man, stood at gaze vpon him; as also did *Huniades*, fearing in his so great weak-
nesse to haue to do with him. Thus a while hauing the one well regarded the other, they be-
gan to enter talke, the sheepheard bluntly asking him of his fortune; and he for Gods sake cra-
uing

uing of him something to eat. When as the shepheard hearing of his hard hap, mooued with his estate, and hope of promised reward, brought him vnto a poore cottage not far off, causing to be set before him bread and water, with a few oynions. Who in the pleasant remembrance of that passed misery, would oftentimes after in his greatest banquets say, That he neuer in his life fared better, or more daintily, than when he supped with this shepheard. So well can hunger season homely cates. Thus refreshed, he was by the shepheard conducted to Sinderouia: whereof the Despot hauing intelligence (whose country was all layd for the staying of him) caused him by the Captain of the castle to be apprehended, and imprisoned. But after certain daies spent in talke about his deliuerance, it was at length agreed, that all such strong townes in Rascia and Seruia, as had by the Hungarians bin detained from the Despot, at such time as his kingdome was by king *Vladislaus* restored vnto him, should now be againe to him deliuered; and that *Matthias Huniades* his youngest sonne, should for the confirmaaion of further friendship, marrie the Despots daughter: with some other such condititions as it pleased the vngratefull Prince for his owne behoofe to set downe. For performance wherof, he required to haue *Ladislaus*, *Huniades* his eldest son, in hostage. All which *Huniades* was glad forthwith to yeeld vnto; for feare the false Despot should haue deliuered him into the hands of *Amurath* his mortall enemie. So the hostage being giuen, *Huniades* was again set at libertie. Who vpon Christmas day comming to Segedinum, was there by all the nobilitie of Hungarie, and great concourse of the people, honorably receiued. This ingratitude of the Despots no lesse grieued this worthie man, than the dishonour receiued from the Turke. Wherefore vpon the sudden raising a great armie, he inuaded the territorie, long before giuen to the Despot by the Emperor *Sigismund* in Hungarie, in exchange of the strong towne of Belgrade, destroying the country before him, and burning the villages, neuer resting, vntil he had got into his power whatsoeuer the Despot had in Hungarie, & not so contented, presently entred into Rascia, where the Despots embassadors met him, bringing with them *Ladislaus* the hostage, honorably rewarded; & humbly crauing peace at his hands; which he, at the request of the nobilitie easily granted, with forgiuenes of al former wrongs or iniuries: and so hauing with him concluded a peace, returned back again into Hungarie. But fortune neuer suffereth long the valiant man to rest, but still keepeth him busied, least he should at too much ease attaine vnto honors glorie.

Huniades taken prisoner by the Despot.

1449

The Despot inuaded by Amurath, craueth aid of Huniades

The yeare following, *Amurath* certainly informed, That *George* the Despot hauing of late *Huniades* in his power, had again set him at liberty: was therewith exceeding wroth, blaming him of great ingratitude, That for a kingdom which he had at his hands receiued, he had not deliuered to him his enemy, in ful recompence therof; whom of all others he most feared, & therfore likewise wisht to haue had him perish. In reuenge of which iniurie (as he took it) the melancholie tyrant, sent *Fritze-beg* and *Iose beg*, two of his most expert captaines, with a strong power to inuade Rascia, the Despots country: who accordingly entring therinto, strongly fortified Chrysonicum, a town before ruinated, vpon the side of the riuer Moraua, & from thence with fire and sword destroied the country both far and neere. The Despot dismaied with this sudden and vnexpected inuasion, wist not well which way to turne himselfe: the angrie Turk he well knew, was not to be appeased without yeelding vnto some great inconuenience; and to pray aid of *Huniades*, without which he was not able to withstand the Turkes, hee thought but vaine, for the wrong he had before done him. So that what to do he wist not: yet had he rather to endure any thing, than again to suffer the heauy bondage of the Turk. In this extremitie he thought best to make proofe of *Huniades*, of whom he humbly, & not without great shame, craued aid. Which the courteous gouernor, according to his honorable nature, forgetting all former iniuries, easily granted: and the rather, for that he desired nothing more, than to be of the Turks in some part reuenged of the ouerthrow from them of late receiued in the plaines of Cossoua: as also for that he wisely foresaw, That the Despots country being lost, he should haue the Turks still brauing him euen as it were in the gates of Hungarie. Wherefore hauing with great speed raised a conuenient power, he forthwith in person himselfe set forward, and at Synderouia passing ouer the riuer Danubius into Rascia, there ioined his power with the Despors, which he found there ready. And so marching forward with such expedition, that he preuented the fame of his comming; and the weather also at the same time as it were fauouring his purpose, and couering the country with a thick mist, he was the fourth day vpon the Turkes before they were aware of him. Who wonderfully dismayed with the

A the sudden comming of the Christians, and vpon the breaking vp of the mist, discouering also *Huniades* his ensignes (alwaies vnto them dreadfull) thought now no more of resistance, or of the ordering of their battel, but as men discouraged, betook themselues to speedie flight. After whom followed the Hungarian and Seruian light horsemen, with most bloudie execution hauing them in chase all that day; *Huniades* with his men at armes following stil after in good order, for feare the Turks should againe make head vpon the light horsemen that had them in chase. And had not the comming on of the night ended the slaughter, few of the Turkes had there escaped: but by the approch thereof many of them got into the woods, and so saued themselues. *Fritze-beg* the Generall, with most part of the Turkes best commanders, were in that flight taken. *Huniades* after this victory entering into Bulgaria, came to Budina, the metro-
B politicall citie of that countrey, which (as the cause oftentimes of great wars) he burnt downe to the ground. And so hauing well reuenged himselfe, and cleared the countrey of the Turks, he returned backagaine into Seruia, & there gaue to the Despot for a present all the prisoners he had taken; and contenting himselfe with the honor of the victorie, returned with triumph to Buda, there to find no lesse trouble with the Bohemians, and some of the discontented nobilitie of Hungarie, than hee had with the Turks, to the great hurt of the Christian common-weale.

All this while that *Amurath* was thus troubled with *Huniades* and the Hungarians, *Mustapha* lying still vpon the borders of Macedonia, as *Amurath* had commanded, it chanced that a great quarrell grew betwixt the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*, about the inheritance of *Lech Za-*
C *charie* (a noble man of Epirus) then shamefully murdered by his vnnaturall kinsman *Lech Duchagne*; part of whose inherirance lying in the frontiers of Epirus, the Venetians claimed, as belonging to their seigniorie: and hauing got possession of the city of Dayna, part thereof, by force held the same against *Scanderbeg*: vpon which quarrell great wars arose betwixt the Venetians and him, who had before been very great friends: insomuch that in the end they ioined in battell at the riuer of Drine, where the Venetians were by him in a great battell ouerthrowne. Of which troubles *Mustapha* daily vnderstood, and how that *Scanderbeg* so busied, had left but a small garrison vpon the borders of Epirus. Wherefore being desirous to redeem his former disgrace with some better hap; hee would faine haue taken the opportunitie now presented, but that his great masters command lay so heauie vpon him, as that hee durst not
D without his leaue attempt the same; knowing that the danger of his euil fortune, if it should so fall out, would far exceed the vncertaine glorie of his better successe. Yet ceased he not from time to time to giue *Amurath* intelligence of these troubles and warres in Epirus; earnestly requesting him not to let slip so faire an opportunitie, but to giue him leaue to enter into the country: in manner, assuring him before hand of the victorie. Yet the suspitious old King was long in resoluing what to doe, still fearing the fortune of his enemie. At length discharged of the feare of the Hungarians, and commending *Mustapha* his forwardnesse, he sent vnto him a messenger with letters of this purport, answerable to his desire.

Amurath his graue letters of aduertisement to Mustapha, concerning his going againe into Epirus.

E *The warr thou so greatly desirest, behold* Mustapha *we grant vnto thee: the glorie thereof (if those things bee true which we heare of the Venetian warre) thine owne valour, and worthy right hand shall giue thee: yet thou must warily deale with that enemie, and not rashly take vp armes, which thou maiest be enforced shamefully to cast away, when thou thinkest least. Peraduenture the counterfeit shew of war and faigned falling out among the Christians, do too much allure thee; for the common saying is, There is no quarrell sooner ended, than betwixt the father and the sonne: we in person absent, can neither aduise thee as present, nor commend a foolish forwardnesse in armes. Thou must before thou put on armes, dispose of all things, and consider of euery particular, which is to be put in execution when thou art in the field. Thou hast a great armie of fresh and lustie souldiers, thine enemies are with continuall wars wearied and spent: in that remaineth, do as thou thinkest good; for I forbid thee the doing of nothing, which*
F *thou thinkest may be for the aduancement of our honour.*

Mustapha hauing thus obtained leaue, and well appointed, with all his forces entered into Epirus, hoping in one battell to end that warre: which he (presuming vpon the strength of his armie) many times offered in the plaine field. News herof was brought to *Scanderbeg* (then lying at the siege of Dayna against the Venetians) from his garrisons lying vpon the frontiers of

of Epirus, to whom hee addressed a speedie messenger: commanding them in no wise to encounter with the enemie, but to keep themselues within the safegard of their strong holds, & to protract the time vntil his comming. Afterwards selecting out of his armie 500 horsemen, and 1500 chosen footmen, all old beaten soldiers, he with that small number marched to the place where he knew lay his garrisons intrenched, in the vpper country of Dibra: leauing *Amesa* his nephew at the siege of Dayna. *Mustapha* hauing many times in vaine sought to draw the garrison soldiers out of their trenches by offring them many faire opportunities of aduantage, & now out of hope that way to circumuent them, began to spoile and burne the country round about. But when he vnderstood by his scouts of *Scanderbeg* his comming, hee speedily called together his armie, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbegs* camp, at a place called Oronoche, in the vpper country of Dibra. *Scanderbeg* had there in his camp, of his garrison soldiers and those he brought with him, fourethousand horsemen, and two thousand foot, all old expert souldiers, where, after hee had made his trenches strong, he left there in three hundreth of them, and brought the rest into the field in order of battel. *Mustapha* on the other side likewise brought on in good order his armie also. But whileſt both armies thus stood ranged one within the view of the other, expecting nothing but the signall of battell, suddenly a man at armes, in gallant & rich furniture, issued out of the Turks armie into the midst of the plaine betwixt both armies, & from thence with a loud voice challenged to fight hand to hand with any one of the Christian armie. This Turke was called *Caraguſa*. At the first *Scanderbegs* soldiers vpon this challenge stood still, one looking vpon another; for as they were all ashamed to refuse so braue an offer, so the danger so suddenly offered, stayd euery mans forwardnesse for a while: vntill that one *Paul Manessi*, accounted the best man at armes in *Scanderbeg* his armie (vpon whom euery mans eye was now cast, as if he had bin the man by name called out by the proud challenger) not able longer to endure the Turks pride, with great courage & cheerfull countenance came to *Scanderbeg*, requesting him that he might be the man to accept that challenge. Who greatly commended him, and willed him on God his name to set forward, first to win honour to himselfe, and then to giue example of his valour for all the rest of the armie to follow. *Paul* staying a while, vntill he had for that purpose most brauely armed himselfe, mounted presently to horse, & riding forth into the plain, called aloud vnto the Turke, that he should make himselfe ready to fight. Whom *Caraguſa* required to stay a while, that he might speake vnto him a few words, indifferently concerning them both.

The speech of Caraguſa the Turke, to Manessi.

The victorie (said he) *our force and fortune shall determine: but the conditions of the victorie, we are now to appoint our selues. If the Destinies haue assigned vnto thee the honour of this day, I refuse not, but that thou mayest by law of armes, when I am ouercome, carry away with thee my rich spoiles, and at thy pleasure dispose of my dead bodie. But if thou shalt fall vnder my hand, I require that I may haue the same right, and power ouer thy captiue bodie: and that the Generalls will grant that no man shall moue out of either armie, to better the fortune of either of vs in the time of the combat, or after.*

Manessi his stout answere to Caraguſa.

Whereunto *Manessi* answered, *That he agreed to those conditions of the combate, which he vpon a needlesse feare had so required to bee kept: saying, That where the fierce soule had yeelded, there of good right all the rest out to be the conquerours; and that therefore he should fight without feare of any more enemies than himselfe: whom so soone as hee had depriued of life, he should haue free power to doe with his dead bodie what he would. Which if thou wouldest giue* (said he) *vnto the teares of my fellow souldiers, yet would not worthie* Scanderbeg *suffer the carkasse of a vanquished coward, to be brought backe again into his campe.*

Caraguſa maruelled to heare his so braue resolution, & as it was thought, repented him of his challenge. But after that both the Generals had vpon their honors confirmed the laws of the combat before rehearsed, both the champions were left alone in the middest of the plaine betweene both armies, with almens eys fixed vpon them. Now both the armies betwixt feare & hope, stood in great expectation of the euent of the combat, prefaging their owne fortunes in the fortune of their Champions. In which time they both hauing withdrawn themselues one from the other a conuenient distance, for the making of their course, & after with great violence running together, *Caraguſa* was by *Manessi*, at the first encounter struck through the head and slain. *Manessi* alighting, disarmed the dead body, & struck off his head: and so loaded with the armor and head of the proud challenger, returned with victory to the army, where he was ioyfully

joyfully receiued and brought to *Scanderbeg*, of whom he was there presently honorably both commended and rewarded. *Scanderbeg* seeing his men by this good fortune of *Manessi*, greatly encouraged, and the Turks as men dismaied with the death of their Champion, hanging their heads, like an inuincible Captaine, himselfe set first forward toward the enemie, as it were in contempt of their multitude: and had charged them as they stood, before they had set one foot forward, had not *Mustapha* to incourage his soldiers, with certain disordred troups opposed himselfe against him; which the whole armie seeing, faintly followed: but as they set forward with small courage, so were they at the first incounter easily driuen to retire. Which when *Mustapha* saw, he called earnestly vpon them to follow him, and the more to encourage them by his own example, put spurs to his horse, and fiercely charged the front of *Scanderbegs* armie, as one resolued either to gaine the victorie, or there to die: after whom followed most of the principall captains of his armie, which would not for shame forsake their General: thus by his valor the battell was for a while renewed. But *Moses* preuailing with great slaughter in one part of the Armie, the Turkes began to flie: in which flight *Mustapha* the Generall, with twelue others of the chiefe men in that armie, were taken prisoners, but of the common soldiers few were saued. There was slaine of the Turks armie ten thousand, and fifteen ensignes taken; whereas of the Christians were slaine but three hundred. The Turks tents and campe, with all the wealth thereof, became a prey to *Scanderbegs* soldiers: wherwith although he had satisfied the desires of them all, yet to keep his old custom, he entred into the confines of Macedonia, and there burnt and spoyled all that he could. And afterwards leauing a garrison of two thousand horsemen and a thousand foot for defence of his frontiers, returned againe with the rest of his armie to the siege of Dayna.

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Mustapha.

Not long after, the Venetians made peace with *Scanderbeg*; and *Amurath* desirous to redeeme his Captaines, about the same time sent great Presents vnto *Scanderbeg*, with fiue and twenty thousand duckats for the ransome of *Mustapha* and the other chieftaines; whom *Scanderbeg* so honorably vsed, as if there had neuer been any hostilitie betwixt him and them: and so with a safe conuoy sent them out of his country. The ransome of *Mustapha* and the other Turks he diuided amongst his soldiers. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made peace with the Venetians, he forthwith led his armie againe into Macedonia, with the spoyle of that country to make his soldiers better pay, as his vsuall manner was. And to do the greater harme, he diuided his armie into three parts, wherwith he ouer-running the country, wasted and destroyed all before him, putting to the sword all the Turks that came in his way. As for the Christians that there liued amongst them, he spared, but left them nothing more than their liues: the buildings of the Countrey he vtterly consumed with fire, so that in all that part of Macedonia which bordereth vpon Epirus, nothing was to be seene more than the bare ground, and the shews of the spoyle by him there made. Which vnmercifull hauocke of all things he made, to the end that the Turks should finde no reliefe in those quarters, whensoeuer they should come either to lie in garrison in that country, or to inuade Epirus. The spoyle he made was so great, that it was thought he left not in all that country, so much as might relieue the Turks armie for one day.

Mustapha ransomed.

Of all these great harms by *Scanderbeg* done in Macedonia, *Amurath* was with all speed aduertised, and therwith exceedingly vexed: howbeit he resolued with his great counsellors, no more to send any of his Bassa's or captains, but to go himselfe in person, with such a royall armie as should be sufficient not to conquer Epirus, but if need were, to fil euery corner thereof. Wherefore he commanded Commissions to be speedily directed into all parts of his Kingdomes and prouinces, for the leuying of a great armie for Hadrianople: yet whither he intended to imploy the same, was not known to any in the Turks court, more than to the Bassa's of the councel. Which caused all the bordering Christian Princes to make the best preparation they could for their own assurance, euery one fearing lest that growing tempest should break out against himself. But *Scanderbeg* of long acquainted with the Turkish policie, easily perceiued all that great preparation to be made against him: which hee was the rather induced to think, by reason of the vnaccustomed quietnes of *Amurath*, who all that while had neither sent any armie to reuenge *Mustapha's* ouerthrow, nor so much as a garrison for defence of the borders of his kingdome, but had let all things negligently passe, as if he had bin in a dead sleepe. Besides that, it was also thought that he had secret intelligence from some of his old friends & acquaintance

acquaintance in *Amuraths* court, who probably suspected the matter. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* G
setting all other things apart, gaue himself wholly to the preparing of things necessary for the
defence of his small kingdome against so mightie an enemy. First, he by letters & messengers
aduertised all the Christian Princes his neighbours & friends, of the greatnes of the danger of
that war: wherein *Amurath* (as he said) sought not only his destruction, but the vtter ruine of
them all: exhorting them therefore to consider, how far the danger of so great an armie might
extend, and therefore to stand fast vpon their guard. Then he sent *Moses* and other his expert
captains into all parts of Epirus, to take vp soldiers, and all the prouision of corne and victuals
that was possible to be had. Wherin he himself also busily trauelled day and night, not resting
vntill he had left nothing in the country, whereupon the enemie might shew his cruelty. Most H
part of the common people, with their substance, were receiued into the strong cities; the rest
took the refuge of the Venetian and other Christian Princes townes and countries farther off,
vntill this furie were ouerpast: all such as were able to beare armes, were commanded to re-
paire to Croia; where when they were all assembled, they were vnow to haue made a right
puissant armie. But out of all this multitude, *Scanderbeg* made choice only of 10000 old ex-
pert soldiers, whom he purposed to lead himselfe, to incounter with the Turks great army, as
he should see occasion, and placed 1300 in garrison in Croia. The Citizens also themselues
were thorowly furnished with all manner of weapons & other prouision meet for the defence
of their citie. Then proclamation was made, That all the aged men vnfit for wars, with the
women and children, should depart the citie, and none to be therein left, but the garrison sol-
diers, and such citizens as were willing to tarrie, and able to beare armes. This citie of Croia I
was the chiefe citie of Epirus, and of the fortune thereof seemed to depend the state of all the
other strong townes and cities, and so consequently of the whole kingdome: for which cause,
The lamentable departing of the weake citizens out of Croia. *Scanderbeg* had the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miserable sight, to see the la-
mentable departure of this weake companie out of Croia; all was ful of weeping & wailing;
no house, no street, no part of the citie was without mourning: but especially in the churches
was to be seen the very face of common sorrow and heauinesse; where all sorts of people in
great numbers flocking together, poured forth their deuout prayers, with fountains of tears,
ringing their hands; yea, and some in the impatiencie of their grief forgetting themselues, see-
med to expostulate their grief with God. But when their sorrow was with tears assuaged, and
their hearts somewhat eased, the aged mothers kissing their sons, gaue them many a fearefull K
commandment: sometime rehearsing, how louingly and tenderly they had brought them vp,
and othersome times shewing vnto them their feeble limmes & hoarie hairs, willing them to
be mindfull of them. The wiues presented their children vnto their husbands, bewailing to
leaue them as childlesse widowers, & their houses desolate. The old men mute with sorrow,
and careful of their children, durst neither incourage them, for feare of making them too for-
ward; neither dissuade them from aduenturing themselues, lest they should seem to loue them
more than their native country. In the middest of these passions commandement came from
Scanderbeg, that they must now depart, that the souldiers might take their places and charge.
Then began their sorrows afresh, with pittious shriching & tears: a man would haue thought
the city had euen then bin presently taken by the Turks. They could hardly be drawne from L
the imbracing of their friends, all now desiring to remain stil with them in the city, partakers
of their common dangers. But when they saw the officers begin to be earnest vpon them, and
to hasten their departure, then with heauy hearts they took as it were their last farewel, & de-
parted out of the citie, setting their feet many times they wist not where, for desire they had to
looke backe again vpon the city. This great multitude was conueyed also into the Venetian
cities, & other places free from danger: whither al the country people which were not before
receined into the strong cities, resorted also, with al their subiects & cattel; leauing nothing in
all the country of Epirus, but the bare ground for the Turks to prey vpon. After this multi-
tude was departed, and all wel quieted, & none left in the city but men fit for seruice, *Scander-* M
beg thorowly stored it with all things needful for the defence thereof, and for the induring of
a long siege: besides that, he gaue to euery soldier conuenient armor, with some final reward.
Then he placed *Vranacontes* (a valiant and famous captaine, honorably discended) Gouernor
of the citie. And so hauing set all things in order for the safegard thereof, after he had in few
words exhorted them couragiously to endure the siege, and not to listen to *Amuraths* flatte-
ring

A ring and deceitful charms, he departed out of the city vnto his armie, then lying within view,
and began presently to march towards Dybra. But he was not farre gon, before he met with
Moses with a gallant troupe of horsmen comming from Sfetigrade, a strong citie of Dybra, sci-
tuate in the confines of Epirus, bordering vpon Macedonia: which citie was *Scanderbeg* his se-
cond care, for that it was like to be the first that should indure the angrie tyrants fury, standing
first in his way, as it were the fortresse of that country. *Moses* had there set all things in like
order, as had *Scanderbeg* in Croia, and had there placed one *Peter Perlat* (a graue and politique
man) Gouernour, with a strong garrison of soldiers chosen out of all the country of Dybra,
which were alwayes accounted the best men of war in all Epirus, and was for so doing great-
ly commended of *Scanderbeg*. Who deliuering vnto him all the forces he had prepared for
B the defence of the other castles and cities of Epirus, sent him with diuers other of his nobili-
tie and captaines, to take order for the safetie of those places, appointing vnto euery man his
charge. As for himselfe, he with a small troupe of horsmen went to Sfetigrade, careful of that
citie aboue measure, as it were before diuining the insuing danger. Being come thither, and
all the soldiers assembled by his commandment into the market place, he there in open audi-
ence spake vnto them as followeth:

Scanderbeg commeth to Sfetigrade.

The effectuall speech of Scanderbeg vnto the soldiers and citizens of Sfetigrade, to encourage thē against the comming of Amurath.

Almightie God could not this day offer vnto you (worthie souldiers of Sfetigrade) better matter,
neither could a fairer occasion be presented vnto braue minds and soldiers desirous of honour, than that
C *which now hath caused you to take vp most just armes. Wherein you may for euer, by worthie example,*
make knowne your constant faith and worthie valour, both towards me in priuat, and the people of Epi-
rus in generall. Hitherto we haue borne armes for the honour of our kingdome, but now we must fight
for our liues, our libertie, and the walls of our countrey. You must now force your selues, that you doe not
by reproch and cowardise staine the worthie praises you haue alreadie deserued by the great victories by
you obtained vnder my conduct. The greatest part of the fortune of this war dependeth vpon you: For,
the first passage of Amurath *into Epirus (that I my selfe may be vnto you the first messenger of that*
danger) will be this way; the first furie of the Turks will assaile you, that hauing here as it were broken
downe the strongest fortresse of Epirus, he may afterwards breake into the country, more subiect to dan-
ger. The first fruits of this war is yours, you (if you beare the hearts of couragious men, mindful of your
libertie) may beat down the proud strength of the haughtie enemie, and discouer his high conceits. The
D Othoman *King shall haue the beginning both of his hope and feare, of you: if he shall find you so min-*
ded, as I now see you gallantly moued, and with joy heare your violent indignation; he will in euery
place feare a great force of danger, and thereby learne to abstaine from the other cities of Epirus. Nei-
ther will he lie here long at a vaine siege, except the wayward old man will foolishly hereupon gage all
his whole forces: for such is the situation and strength of this citie, that it may easily set at nought an
angrie enemie. Wherefore resolue with you selues (worthie soldiers and citizens) only by constancie and
faithfulnesse, without bloudshed, to gaine vnto your selues an honorable victorie. Of your valour (which
I willingly speake of) dependeth for the most part the faithfulnesse of all the rest; they will looke vpon
you, whom they may praise or accuse, and whose example they may follow in the fortune of these warres.
But to what purpose should men of worth in their actions pretend the necessitie of faith, or chance af for-
E *tune? whereas by Reason things are both best begun and accomplished. It seldome chanceth, that fortune*
faileth the second aduice, or is not obedient to vertue: and you haue all things which most politique care
could prouide for your safetie. You want not armor, you want not plentifull prouision of victuals, you
want not valiant men: the superfluous multitude of vnnecessary people, the pittifull lamentation of wo-
men, and troublesome crying of children shall not withdraw you from your publique charge, from your
seruice and defence of your countrey; I haue left you alone to your selues, for defence of your citie, your
Religion, and dwellings, that you might be encouraged only with the prouocations of honour and liberty,
with the emulation of aduenture and danger, and the verie sight one of another; and I my selfe will not
be far off with my couragious soldiers, a silent beholder and encourager of your vertue: where although
I may not auert from you all the force of the cruell enemie by rash aduenture, nor trie the whole fortune
F *of this warre in plaine field; yet will I turne a great part of your dangers vpon my selfe, and trouble the*
enemies designes with many a hot skirmish. For as much as there is no better manner of fight, nor sa-
fer kind of war for us, amongst such a multitude of men, and so many thousands of souldiers, than neuer
to offer battell vnto the enemie in plaine field, neither to aduenture all vpon the fortune of one conflict,
although a man did see apparent signes of victorie. He will of purpose at the first giue vs the opportu-

nitie of good hap; he will feed our hardineſſe with the bloud of his baſe ſoldiers, the eaſilier to intrap and G
oppreſſe our raſhneſſe, allured with the ſweet baits of good fortune: but the craftie deuices of the Otho-
man King are by great policie and conſideration to be fruſtrated: this mightie enemie is by little & lit-
tle to be cut off, as time and place ſhall giue occaſion. For truly that victorie ſhould be vnto me lamen-
table, which I ſhould buy with the bloud of my ſoldiers: and beleeue me, it would be vnto me a more ſor-
rowfull than pleaſant ſight, to ſee eight or ten thouſand of my enemies ſlaine, with the loſſe of a few of
you. I praiſe and honor my ſubiects of Epirus for valiant conquerors, if they ſhall not ſuffer themſelues
to be conquered of the Turkiſh King. The reſt I had rather you courageous ſouldiers of Dybra ſhould
conſider with your ſelues, than that I ſhould ſeeme to diſtruſt of your aſſured faith, by giuing you a care-
full and tedious admonition.

When *Scanderbeg* had with cheerefull perſuaſion thus encouraged the minds of them of H
Sfetigrade, he departed thence, and viſited diuers other cities of Epirus; where finding all things politiquely ordered by *Moſes* and the other captaines, whom he had put in truſt, he returned to his armie, then lying neere vnto Croia.

Whileſt *Scanderbeg* was with great carefulneſſe yet thus prouiding for the ſafegard of his Kingdome, in the meane time *Amurath* his armie was aſſembled at Hadrianople, to the number of a hundred and fiftie thouſand men, whereof many were pioners, and men appointed for other baſe ſeruices neceſſarie at the ſiege of townes. Of this great armie *Amurath* ſent fortie thouſand light horſemen before him to Sfetigrade; who according to his command came and incamped before the citie. The newes of their comming, with a great deale more than I
truth, was forthwith brought to *Scanderbeg*, then lying with his ſmall Armie neere Croia: whereupon he with foure thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, tooke the way toward Sfetigrade, and ſtrongly incamped his armie within ſeuen miles of the citie. Where hauing ſet all things in good order, he, accompanied with *Moſes* and *Tanuſius*, went by certaine blinde wayes thorow the mountaines and woods, vntill he came ſo neere vnto the citie, that from the place where he ſtood, he might eaſily diſcouer in what ſort the enemie lay incamped: and ſo returning backe againe to his campe, roſe with his armie in the night following, and drawing as neere vnto the Turks armie as he could, vndiſcouered, placed all his armie in the co-
A notable ſtratagem of Scanderbeg for the intrapping of his enemies. uert of the woods and ſecret vallies, vnperceiued of his enemies. After that, he ſent forth *Moſes* and *Muſachi* his nephew, with thirtie of his beſt horſemen, apparelled as if they had K
been but common ſouldiers, but paſſing well mounted, driuing before them certaine horſes laden with corne, by a by-way, as if they had ſecretly purpoſed to haue got into the citie. The day then breaking, they were diſcouerrd by the Turks ſcouts, and ſet vpon: where at the firſt *Moſes* and the reſt began of purpoſe to flie; but when he ſaw that they were purſued but with like number to themſelues, he turned backe vpon the Turks, and ſlew fiue of them, and chaſed the reſt vnto the campe. The Generall ſeeing what had happened, ſent forth foure thouſand horſemen to purſue theſe ſuppoſed victuallers: whom they quickely recouered the ſight of, for that *Moſes* of purpoſe had made ſmall haſt to flie: but when the Turks began to draw nigh, *Moſes* left the horſes laden with corne, and fled; yet ſo, that he ſtill drew on the Turkes with hope to ouertake him, vntill he had brought them where *Scanderbeg* with his armie lay L
in wait: by whom they were ſuddenly aſſailed on euerie ſide, and with great ſlaughter put to flight. In this conflict two thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine, and a thouſand of their horſes taken: of the Chriſtians were loſt but two and twentie. This was the firſt welcome of the Turks armie to Sfetigrade.

1449. About eight dayes after came *Amurath* with all his armie, in the beginning of May, *Anno*
Amurath commeth to Sfetigrade with his armie. *Dom.* 1449, and hauing made the greateſt ſhew he could with his huge army to terrifie the defendants; he incamped the baſer ſort of his footmen at the foot of the hill whereon the citie ſtood, and lay himſelf with his Ianizaries, & other his moſt valiant ſoldiers, about three quarters of a mile further off: where after he had lien ſtill one day, & well conſidered the ſtrength of the place, toward euening he ſent a meſſengers to the city, who requeſted to ſpeak with the M
Gouernour *Perlat*. Wherof he hearing came to the wall: of whom the meſſenger requeſted, That he would command the ſouldiers ſtanding by, to go further off, for as much as he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay vnto him from his maſter. Vnto whom *Perlat* merrily anſwered; It is like indeed to be ſome great ſecret, that you would haue kept not onely from the hearing

A ring of my ſoldiers, but from the verie light of the day, and therefore haue I choſen the night: but I haue not learned of myne elders, to reaue my ſelf of rage from mine enemies by night, neither at any time elſe out of the hearing of the garriſon ſoldiers, to whom *Scanderbeg* hath committed the defence of this Citie, and I the regard of my perſon. You muſt therefore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your Maiſter ſo pleaſe, I will heare your meſſage. And therewith commanded him to depart from the walls. So he returned for that time without audience as he came. It grieued *Amurath* not a little, to ſee his meſſenger ſo lightly regarded: yet for as much as he had more hope to gaine the citie by large offers, or ſome reaſonable compoſition, than by all his great force, he diſſembled his wrath, and the next day ſent the meſſenger againe, with one of his Baſſa's, a graue and well ſpoken man, himſelfe borne in Epirus. This
B Baſſa, with three ſoldiers, and two ſeruitors, was by the Gouernors commandement, by one of the ports receiued into the citie, and brought into Saint *Maries* church. Where after he had with great eloquence ſought to inſinuate himſelf into the minds of the Gouernor & the hearers, and afterwards augmented the terror of *Amuraths* power beyond all meaſure, laying before them the great victories by him obtained againſt the Hungarians and the other Chriſtian Princes: in fine, he exhorted them to yeeld the citie vnto him; in whoſe name hee promiſed firſt, That the citizens ſhould in all reſpects vnder his gouernment liue as they had before done vnder *Scanderbeg*: then, That the gouernour ſhould receiue at *Amurath* his hands moſt honorable preferments, with many rich and princely gifts: and, That it ſhould be lawfull for the garriſon ſoldiers to depart in ſafetie whither they would, & to haue three hundred thouſand Aſpers diuided amongſt them in reward. But when the Baſſa had ended his ſpeech, the
C Gouernor in this ſort replied:

If you had not deliuered this ſpeech vnto reſolute men, denoted vnto the defence of their libertie, it *The reſolute answere of Perlat the Gouernour vnto the Baſſa.*
might perhaps haue wrought ſome effect; and we (ſaid he) *might peraduenture liſten vnto your offers,*
if we were either affraid of the Othoman *King, and the vaine threats of our enemies, or elſe were wea-*
rie of the gouernment of the noble Scanderbeg. *But foraſmuch as no euill deſert of his, nor good de-*
ſert of your maſters, hath yet paſſed, for which we ſhould preferre a ſtranger before our naturall Sou-
raigne, an enemie before a friend, a Turke before a Chriſtian; let your maſter proceed firſt in his action
begun, let him proue his fortune, let him by force terrifie vs, beat downe our walls, make hauocke of our
D *men, and by ſtrong hand driue vs to humble our ſelues at his feet, and to ſue for peace. But it were a great*
diſhonour, yea a thing almoſt to be laughed at, if we ſhould cowardly accept of theſe conditions by him
offered, before any aſſault giuen, before one drop of bloud ſpilt, before any ſoldier did ſo much as once groan
for any wound receiued, before one ſtone were ſhaken in the wall, or any ſmall breach made. But your ma-
ſter ſhall do better to raiſe his ſiege, and get him backe againe to Hadrianople, there to ſpend the ſmall re-
mainder of his old yeares in quiet, and not to prouoke vs his fatall enemies, whoſe courage in defence of
our liberties, and fidelitie towards our Prince, he hath ſo oftentimes prooued to his great diſhonor, & loſſe
of his armies. The faith I haue once giuen to my Soueraigne, for the defence of this citie, I wil neuer for-
get, vntill the effuſion of the laſt drop of my bloud. It ſhall be vnto me reward and honour enough, if I
either liuing defend this citie, or with loſſe of my life ſhall leaue my guiltleſſe ſoule at libertie, & my car-
kaſſe amongſt the dead bodies of worthie ſoldiers, when I ſhall find a way into a far better place.

The General hauing giuen this reſolute anſwer vnto the Baſſa, bountifully feaſted him that
E day at dinner, and afterwards led him thorow the midſt of the citie; where he ſaw great ſtore of victuals, by the gouernor commanded of purpoſe to be ſet in ſhew, to put *Amurath* out of hope of winning the citie by long ſiege. And ſo ſent the Baſſa out by the ſame port whereby he came in, much diſcontented with the anſwer he was to returne to his Maſter.

When *Amurath* vnderſtood by the Baſſa, of the gouernors reſolution, he was therwith exceeding wrath, and thereupon with his great Ordnance battered the citie three days without intermiſſion. And hauing by the furie of his artillerie made a ſmall breach, he forthwith gaue *Sfetigrade aſſaulted.*
thereunto a moſt terrible aſſault, laboring firſt to win the ſame by the force and multitude of
F his common ſoldiers, which the Turks call Aſapi, whom he forced by great numbers to that ſeruice. Of theſe ſouldiers the Turke in his wars maketh no great reckoning, but to blunt the ſwords of his enemies, or to abate their firſt fury, therby to giue the eaſier victory to his Ianizaries and other his better ſoldiers: which the *Othoman* Kings hold for good policie. Whilſt

these forlorne soldiers, without respect of danger pressing forward, are slaine by heapes at the G
breach, the Ianizaries at the same time in another place attempted to haue scaled the walls of
the citie: but whilst they with much labor & difficultie first crawle vp the steep rock wheron
the citie was built, and afterward desperatly mount vp their scaling ladders, they were by the
defendants, with huge stones and weightie pieces of timber cast vpon them, beaten downe,
wherewith they were driuen headlong to the bottom of the rock, and so miserably slain. Ma-
nie of them together with their skaling ladders, were by the Christians thrust from the wall,
and tumbling from the rocke, violently carried with them others comming vp behind them.
Some few got to the top of the ladders, and taking hold of the battlements of the walls, lost
some their fingers, some their hands, but most their liues, being beaten downe as the other
were. Many of them which stood farther off, were then wounded also, & with shot from the H
wals slain. With this miserable slaughter, & no hope to preuaile, the Turks discouraged, began
to withdraw themselues from the assault: but the Bassa's and captains standing behind them,
forced them again forward, exhorting some, threatning others, and beating the rest forward
with their trunchions. By which means the assault was again renewed, but not with such cou-
rage as before, though with no lesse slaughter: which the defendāts seeing, gaue from the wals
great tokens of joy & triumph. *Amurath* perceiuing his discouraged soldiers readie of them-
selues to forsake the assault, presently sent *Feri-Bassa* (one of his most valiant captains) with a
new supplie of 3000 chosen soldiers to renew the fight. The Christians well aware of their
comming, ceased not with continuall shot to beat them from the walls: but such was the for-
wardnes of that fierce captain, that without regard of danger, he brought his men to the wals, I
where the defendants from aboue ouerwhelmed them with stones, timber, wild-fire, and such
other things as are vsually prepared for the defence of towns besieged. For all that, *Feri-Bassa*
gaue so great an assault, that he slew diuers of the defendants vpon the wals, and had there for-
cibly entred, had not the gouernor, perceiuing the danger, with a companie of fresh souldiers
come with speed to the defence of that place; wherby the enemie was presently repulsed, and
The Turkes repulsed, retyre. driuen again from the walls. *Amurath* seeing the great slaughter of his men, and no hope of
succesſe, caused a retrait to be sounded, and so leauing the assault, retyred again into his camp.
The great losse and dishonor at this assault receiued, much troubled his waiward minde; who
for all that yet ceased not to giue the like vaine attempts. At length, the captain of the Ianiza-
ries perceiuing that part of the citie which was fartheſt from the campe, to be commonly but K
slenderly manned, by reason that it seemed a place impregnable, both for the height & steep-
The Ianizaries desperately attempt to surprise the citie. nes of the rock; told *Amurath*, That he would assay (if it so pleased him) secretly in the night
to attempt by that place to enter the city; whereas they thought nothing was more to be fea-
red, than the height thereof, which they, supported with the wings of desire, doubted not to
mount vnto. This his deuice exceedingly pleased the King, and was the next night with great
silence put in execution. But such was the carefulnesse of the gouernor ouer euery part of his
charge, that nothing could be done against the same, but that it was forthwith by him disco-
uered. The gouernor aduertised by the Watch, of the Turks attempt; with great silence pre-
sently repaired to the place with a great companie of the garrison soldiers, and standing close,
from the top of the wall beheld the Turks, as it had bin a swarme of Emmets, climing vp the L
high rocks, and one helping vp another, by such desperat way, as was in reason to haue beene
thought no man would haue attempted. But when they were come to the top of the rock, and
now euen readie to enter, they were from aboue suddenly ouerwhelmed, as it had been with a
shoure of shot, and so violently forced down that high rocke, that most part of them which
The Ianizaries repulsed. had got vp to any height, were miserably crushed to death, either with the weight of them-
selues, or with others falling vpon them, and many of the rest slaine with shot from the top of
the rocke: whereof *Amurath* presently vnderstanding, was therewith exceedingly grieued.

During the time of this siege, *Scanderbeg* neuer lay long still in one place, but remoued con-
tinually from place to place, as best serued his purpose, breaking somtimes into one quarter of
the Turks campe, & sometime into another, & straitway so suddenly gon again, and as it were M
vanished out of sight, that *Amurath* many times wondered what was become of him. At this
time, being the latter end of Iune, he was come with his army within eight miles of *Amuraths*
campe: and from thence sent *Moses* his greatest captaine, in the attyre of a common souldier,
with two other, to take view how the enemie lay incamped. By which trustie espials he was
informed,

A enformed, That the Turks lay in great securitie, as men without feare, keeping but negligent
watch. Of which opportunitie, *Scanderbeg* reioycing, the night following suddenly assaulted
one quarter of the Turks camp. Whose comming, although it was a little before by the Turks
scouts discouered, yet his furious assault was so sudden and so forcible, that he slew two thou-
sand of the Turks, and filled euery corner of that great campe with feare and tumult, before
they could well arme themselues or make resistance. After which slaughter he safely retired,
carrying away with him two hundred and thirtie horse, with seuen of the Turks ensignes, ha-
uing in this skirmish lost of his men but two and fortie: whose dead bodies the Turkes the
next morning in reuenge of their slaine friends hewed into small pieces.

Vpon these great disgraces one following in the neck of another, *Amurath* hauing no other
B obiect but the citie to shew his furie vpon, gaue three fierce assaults vnto the same, one after
another, & was alwaies with losse both of his men & honor repulsed. But the more he lost, the
more he burnt with desire of reuenge, persuading his soldiers, That as the strongest cities and
fortresses were but by mens hands, so were they to be ouerthrowne and laied euen with the
ground by resolute and valiant men incouraging them to a fresh assault, with greater promises
of reward than euer he had done before in all his wars, from the first beginning of his raigne.
And because he would with more safety giue this his last & greatest assault, he appointed *Fe-*
ri-Bassa, with twelue thousand horsemen and six thousand foot to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, if
he should hap to come (as he thought he would) to trouble the assault, by assailing of his camp.
Feri-Bassa glad of this charge, wel hoping now to redeeme his former ouerthrow with some
great victorie, and leading forth his armie a little from the camp, as he was commanded, so lay;
C wishing for nothing more than the comming of *Scanderbeg*; vainely boasting, That he would
seek him in the field, and there trie his force and fortune with him hand to hand: which he did
shortly after to his cost. When *Amurath* had thus set in order all things requisit, as wel for the
siege, as for the safegard of his campe, the next morning he compassed the citie round about
with his army, & couered the ground with his men of war, purposing at that time to gage his
whole forces vpon the taking therof. The wals he had before in some places battered, so much
as was possible; & yet but so, as that they were not without scaling laders to be assaulted: part-
ly for the naturall strength of the place, & partly for that the defendants had with great dili-
gence continually repaired & filled vp with earth what the fury of the cannon had throwne
down. This assault *Amurath* began first with his archers and smal shot, which deliuered their
D arrows and bullets vpon the top of the wall, & into the city, as if it had bin a shower of hayle,
therby to trouble the stationary soldiers. In this heat, ladders were clapped to the wals in eue-
ry place where any could be possibly reared, and the Turks began desperatly to scale the wals;
but the Christians nothing dismaid therat, with great courage resisted them, & with shot from
their safe standings wounded and slew many of them: yet others stil pressed vp in the places of
them that were slain, so that the assault began most terrible in many places at once, but especi-
ally neere to the great gate of the citie; where the Turks had vpon the sudden with ladders,
timber, and plancks clapt together, raised close vnto that tower, as it had bin a wooden tower,
equall in height to the wall; from whence the Turks greatly distressed the Christians in that
E place, fighting with them as if it had bin vpon euen ground, still sending vp fresh souldiers in
stead of them that were slain: & thereby preuailed so far, that they had set vp certain of *Amu-*
raths ensignes vpon the wall, to the great comfort of the Turkes, & astonishment of the besie-
ged Christians. The Gouernor seeing the eminent danger, hasted to the place with a company
of fresh and valiant souldiers, by whose force the Turks were quickly repulsed from the wal,
their ensignes taken and sent into the market place: the tower of wood with many ladders and
much timber by the Turks brought to that place, was quickly consumed with wilde fire cast
vpon the same from the wals. *Perlat* hauing deliuered the citie of this feare, presently placed
fresh souldiers in stead of them which were slaine or hurt, and so worthily defended the citie.

Whilest *Amurath* was giuing this great assault to Sfetigrade, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him
F from the same, came with nine thousand soldiers to assaile the Turks campe, as *Amurath* had
before suspected, & was now come very neere the same. *Feri-Bassa* glad of his comming, op-
posed his armie against him: which *Scanderbeg* seeing, retired a litle of purpose to draw the
Bassa farther from the campe, and then forthwith began to ioyne battell with him. The Bassa
consydering the smal number of his enemies, & his own greater power, withdrew foure thou-
sand

Scanderbeg commeth to trouble the assault, and is met with by Feri-Bassa.

ſand horſmen out of his armie to fetch a compaſſe about, & to ſet vpon the rereward of *Scanderbegs* army: hoping ſo to encloſe him, that he ſhould neuer eſcape thence, but there either to be ſlaine or taken aliue, and his army vtterly defeated. But the expert captaine perceiuing his purpoſe, to meet therwith, left *Moſes* to lead the main battel, and he himſelfe with two thouſand horſmen, ſo valiantly charged thoſe foure thouſand of his enemies before they were wel departed from the reſt of the Baſſaes army, that they had now more cauſe to look to their own ſafety, than how to circumuent others. In this conflict *Feri-Baſſa* hand to hand, as he had oft times before deſired, encountring with *Scanderbeg*, was by him there ſlain. All this while that *Scanderbeg* was in fight with *Feri-Baſſa* in the right wing of the army, and *Muſachy* in the left, *Moſes* ſtood faſt, receiuing the aſſault of the enemy without mouing any thing forward, expecting the ſucceſſe of the wings. But *Scanderbeg* hauing diſcomfited the right wing, and ſlaine the General, comming now in, he ſet forward with ſuch force & courage, that the Turkes not able longer to abide his force, turned their backs and fled: of whom many were ſlaine in this chaſe, though *Scanderbeg* doubting the great power of his enemy ſo nigh at hand, durſt not follow them far; but ſounding a retrait, put his army again in good order, for feare of ſom ſudden attempt from the campe, and after appointed ſome of the meaneſt of his ſouldiers to take the ſpoile of the ſlain Turks. When *Amurath* had vnderſtood what had hapned to *Feri-Baſſa*, hee was ſo ouercome with anger and melancholy, that for a while he could not ſpeake one word: but after the heat was a little paſt, he commanded certain ſmall pieces of ordnance, which he had before vſed againſt the citie, to bee remoued into the campe, and there placed vpon that ſide which was moſt in danger to, the enemie. He alſo preſently ſent thither foure thouſand ſouldiers to ioyne with the remainder of *Feri-Baſſaes* armie, for defence of the campe, with ſtrait charge that they ſhould not iſſue out of the trenches. Neuertheleſſe he himſelfe continued the aſſault of the citie all that day: but when night drew on, & no hope appeared for him to preuaile, he cauſed a retrait to be ſounded; and leauing the aſſault, he returned again into his campe. At this aſſault *Amurath* loſt ſeuen thouſand men, beſide many that died afterwards of their wounds; but of the garriſon ſouldiers were ſlaine but ſeuentie, and ninetie moe hurt.

The terrour of the Turkiſh armie began now to grow in contempt throughout Epirus; and *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that *Amurath* after ſo many ouerthrowes and ſhameful repulſes, would at length raiſe his ſiege and be gone: yet hee ſent ſpies continually to diſcouer what was done in the Turks campe, and he himſelfe with two thouſand ſoldiers would oftentimes ſhew himſelfe vpon the ſides of the mountaines neere vnto *Amurath* his campe, of purpoſe to draw the Turkes out, that he might take them at ſome aduantage. But the old King had giuen commandement vpon paine of death, That no man ſhould goe out of the trenches without leaue, or once to ſpeake of giuing battell or aſſault: ſo that he lay certaine dayes in his camp, not like a King beſieging of a citie, but more like a man beſieged himſelfe: the which his ſtill lying, *Scanderbag* had the more in diſtruſt, fearing greatly that hee was hatching ſome miſchiefe, which ſo ſoone as it was ripe would violently breake out.

Amurath by great promiſes ſeeketh to corrupt the gariſon of Sfetigrade.

Amurath conſidering with what euill ſucceſſe he had many times aſſaulted the city, & holding it for a great diſhonour to raiſe his ſiege and depart, hauing done nothing worth the remembrance; thought good once againe to proue, if it were poſſible to ouercome the mindes of the garriſon ſoldiers with gifts, whom he was not able to ſubdue by force. For which purpoſe he ſent an embaſſador vnto the city, offering vnto the beſieged and garriſon ſoldiers eaſie conditions of peace, with ſuch large gifts & rewards as had not bin heard offered to any garriſon in former time. Al which his magnificall promiſes were lightly reiected by the common conſent of al the whole garriſon, preferring their faithful loyalty before al his golden mountains. For all that, *Amurath* was in good hope, that amongſt ſo many, ſome would be found, in-

A tratior corrupted with Amurath his large promiſes, conſpires to betray the citie.

to whoſe minds his large offers might make ſome impreſſion; wherein he was not deceiued. For one baſe minded fellow amongſt the reſt, corrupted with the Turks great promiſes, preferring his owne priuat wealth, before the welfare of his country, waiting his time had ſecret confrence with the Turks eſpials, promiſing vpon aſſurance of ſuch reward as was before by *Amurath* profered, to find means that in few daies the citie ſhould be yeelded into his power. This corrupted traitor, had laid many miſchieuous plots for the effecting of this horrible treſon: but the firſt deuice he put in practiſe, which of al others a man would haue thought to haue bin of leaſt moment, ſerued his wicked purpoſe in ſtead of all the reſt. All the garriſon ſouldiers

A diers of Sfetigrade were of the vpper country of Dibra, put into that citie, by *Moſes*, for their approued valor aboue all the other ſoldiers of Epirus. But as they were men of great courage, ſo were they exceeding ſuperſtitious both in their religion and manner of liuing, putting nice difference betwixt one kind of lawfull meat and other: accounting ſome clean, ſome vnclean; abhorring from that, which they fondly deemed vncleane, with more than a Iewiſh ſuperſtition, chuſing rather to die than to eat or drink thereof: ſuch is the ſtrong delufion of blind error, where it hath throughly poſſeſſed the minds of men. The citie of Sfetigrade (as is aforeſaid) is ſcituate vpon the top of a great high rock, as moſt of the cities of Epirus now bee, and was then watred but with one great well in the midſt of the citie, which ſunke deepe into the rock, plentifully ſerued both the publick and priuat vſe of the inhabitants. Into this common well the malicious traitor in the night time caſt the foule ſtinking carrion carkaſſe of a dead

B dod, knowing, that the conceited garriſon ſouldiers of Dibra, would rather indure the paines of death, & ſtarue, or els yeeld vp the citie, vpon any condition, than to drink of that polluted water. In the morning when that ſtinking carion was eſpied, and drawne out of the well, the report therof was quickly bruted in euery corner of the citie, & that the wel was poiſoned: ſo that al the people were in maner in an vprore about the finding out of the traitor. The citizens were exceeding ſorrie for that had hapned, but the garriſon ſoldiers deteſted that loathſom and vnclean water (as they accounted it) more than the Turkiſh ſeruitude, proteſting, that they would rather periſh with thirſt, than drink therof. Wherupon ſome of them deſired to ſet fire vpon the citie, and whileſt they had yet ſtrength, to break through the enemies camp or there manfully to die. And they which thought beſt of the matter, requeſted, that the city might be

C yeelded vp; for now, they diſcouraged with a ſuperſtitious vanitie, could be content to hearken to the former conditions of peace, yea they were ready enough of themſelues to ſue to *Amurath* for peace, though it had bin vpon harder tearmes. The Gouernour troubled with that had hapned, and aſtonied to ſee ſo great an alteration in the minds of his ſoldiers vpon ſo ſmal occaſion: could not tell whether he might thinke it to proceed of a ſuperſtitious conceit, or of ſome ſecret compact made with *Amurath*. But the better to pacifie the matter, he came into the market place, and there in the hearing of al the garriſon, with many effectuall reaſons, exhorted them to continue faithful vnto their Prince and country in that honorable ſeruice; and in a matter of ſo great conſequence to make ſmall reckoning to vſe that water, which

D would eaſily in ſhort time be brought again to the wonted puritie and cleanneſſe: and to perſuade them the rather, he went preſently to the wel himſelf, and in the ſight of them al drunk a great draught of the water, whoſe example the citizens following, drank likewiſe. But when it was offered to the captains and ſoldiers of the garriſon, they all refuſed to taſt therof, as if it had bin a moſt loathſome thing, or rather ſome deadly poiſon, & with great inſtance cried vnto the Gouernor, to giue vp the citie: for which cauſe many thought they were corrupted by *Amuraths* great promiſes. Howbeit none of the garriſon (except that one traitor) did euer afterwards reuolt to the Turkiſh king, or yet appeared any thing the richer for any gift receiued, whereby ſuch ſuſpition might be confirmed. When the Gouernor ſaw that the obſtinate minds of the garriſon were not to be mooued with any perſuaſion or reward (whereof he ſpared not to make large promiſe) nor by any other means which he could deuiſe; he called vnto him his chief captains, with the beſt ſort of the citizens, & reſolued with them ful ſore againſt his wil, to yeeld vp the city to *Amurath*, on ſuch conditions as they themſelues there agreed

E vpon: which were, That it ſhould be lawfull for all the captains and ſoldiers to depart in ſafetie with their armor and al other things; and that ſo many of the citizens as would ſtay, might there ſtil dwel in the city, in ſuch ſort, as they had done before, vnder the gouernment of *Scanderbeg*; the reſt that liſted not to remain there ſtil, might at their pleaſure with bag & baggage depart whether they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this offer was made vnto him, & granted them al that was deſired, ſauing that he would not conſent that the citizens ſhould continue in the citie, yet was he content that they ſhould liue vnder him as they had don before, quietly enioying all their poſſeſſions, but to build their houſes without the wal of the city:

F which condition ſome accepted, & ſome forſaking al, went to *Scanderbeg*. When all was thorowly agreed vpon, the keys of the gates were deliuered to *Amurath*, & the gouernor with the captains, & al the garriſon ſoldiers ſuffered quietly to paſſe through the Turkiſh camp, as the King had promiſed. Howbeit, *Mahomet* the ſon of *Amurath*, a Prince of a cruell diſpoſition, earneſtly

The carkas of a dead dog caſt by the traitor into the common well that ſerued the citie.

The Gouernor in vaine ſeeketh to perſuade the garriſon ſouldiers to drinke of the water of the well.

earnestly perswaded his father, to haue broken his faith, and to haue put them all to the sword: saying, it was one of their Prophet *Mahomets* chiefe commandements, to vse all crueltie for the destruction of the Christians. But the old king would not therin hearken vnto his son, saying, That he which was desirous to be great among men, must either be indeed faithful of his word and promise, or at least wise seeme so to be, therby to gain the minds of the people, who naturally abhor the gouernment of a faithlesse and cruel Prince. The traitor which corrupted the water, remained still in the city, and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich suits of apparell, and fiftie thousand aspers, and had giuen vnto him besides a yearely pension of two thousand duckats. But short was the ioy the traitor had of this euil gotten goods: for after he had a few daies vainely triumphed in the midst of *Amurath* his fauors, he was suddenly gone, and neuer afterwards seen or heard tell of; being secretly made away (as was supposed) by the commandement of *Amurath*: whose noble heart could not but detest the traitor, although the treason serued well his purpose. *Amurath* entring into Sfetigrade, caused the wals to be forthwith repaired, and placed one thousand two hundred Ianizaries in garrison there. And raising his campe the first of September, departed out of Epirus, hauing lost thirtie thousand of his Turks at the siege of Sfetigrade; much grieued in mind for all that, that he could not vanquish the enemie, whom he came of purpose to subdue. In his returne, the viceroy of Asia marched before him with the Asian souldiers; in the rereward followed the viceroy of Europe with his European souldiers: in the middest was *Amurath* himselfe, compassed about with his Ianizaries and other souldiers of the court. *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding of *Amurath* his departure, followed speedily with eight thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot, and taking the aduantage of the thicke woods and mountaine straits (to him well knowne) whereby that great armie was to passe, oftentimes skirmished with the Turks, charging them sometime in the vaward, and somtime in the rereward, sometime on the one side, and somtime on the other, and slew many of them: whereby he so troubled *Amurath* his passage, that he was glad to leaue the viceroy of Romania, with 30000 to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he himselfe might in the meane time with more safety march away with the rest of his army. *Scanderbeg* perceiuing the stay of the viceroy, ceased to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to be enclosed betweene those two great armies. The viceroy seeing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, after hee had staid a few dayes, followed his master to Hadrianople, and so *Scanderbeg* returned to Croia.

A traitor worthily rewarded according to his treason.

Sortly after the departure of *Amurath* out of Epirus, *Scanderbeg* left two thousand souldiers vpon the borders for defence of the country against the Turks. These souldiers so straightly kept in the Ianizaries left in garrison at Sfetigrade that they could not looke out of the citie, but that they were intercepted and slaine. And within a few daies after came himselfe with an army of eighteen thousand, and laid siege to Sfetigrade the space of a month, which was from middle of September vntill the middle of October. In which time he gaue two great assaults to haue recouered the citie, but was both times repulsed, with the losse of fiue hundred men. *Amurath* vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the siege of Sfetigrade, sent with al speed to recall his armie, but lately before dispersed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence, considering also the difficultie of the enterprise, with the approch of Winter, raised his siege, and returned to Croia: where he set all things in the same order he had done before the comming of *Amurath* to the siege of Sfetigrade, and put two thousand of his best souldiers there in garrison, vnder the charge of the famous captaine *Vranacontes*, and stored his citie with sufficient victuall for a yeares siege, wherein he had great helpe from the Venetians and other Christian Princes, for that there was then great scarcitie of all things in Epirus, by reason of the late warres. The like care he had also of all the rest of his cities, being continually aduertised from his secret friends in the Turks court, of the great preparation intended against him by the Turkish King, against the beginning of the next Spring.

1450 *Amurath assembleth againe his armie at Hadrianople.*

Amurath vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from Sfetigrade, changed his former determination for the calling backe againe of his armie, and appointed it to meet againe at Hadrianople, in the beginning of March following: whether the Bassaes, and other great commanders, at the time appointed, assembled with their companies, according as *Amurath* had before commanded. So that by the latter end of March, he had there in readinesse an army of an hundred and threescore thousand men strong. Of which great multitude, he after the manner of the Turkish wars, sent forty thousand horsemen, vnder the leading of *Sebalyas* a politick captaine,

A captaine, as his vauntcourriers into Epirus, in the beginning of Aprill, in the yeare 1450. The valiant captaine with great speed and no resistance entred into Epirus, as was giuen him in charge, and without let came to Croia: where, after he had aduisedly considered of the scituation thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he strongly encamped himselfe neere thereunto in the pleasant plaine called Tyranna: and there within his trenches kept his souldiers close, attending nothing more, but that no new supplie of men, munition, or victuals, should be conueied into the citie, more than was therein before his comming. For he was not able with his horsemen to doe any thing against the citie: and *Scanderbeg* had left nothing abroad in the countrey subiect to his fury. Besides that, he was expresly by *Amurath* forbidden, to attempt any thing against *Scanderbeg* himselfe.

B After *Sebalyas* had twentie dayes thus lyen encamped before Croia, neither doing nor taking harme; *Amurath* by reason of his great age, hauing marched oftentimes but fiue miles a day, came thither also with his whole armie, wherewith he filled al the country round about: the very sight whereof, had bin enough to haue discouraged the small garrison in Croia, had they not bin men both of great experience and resolution. Where after he had spent foure dayes in settling of his campe, he sent two messengers vnto the Gouernour (as the manner of the Turks is) offering him if he would yeeld vp the citie, that it should be lawful for him with all his souldiers in safetie with bag and baggage to depart; and the Gouernor himselfe to receiue in reward two hundred thousand aspers, with an honourable place amongst the great Bassaes of his court, if it would please him to accept thereof: and further, that the citizens should enioy all their antient liberties as in former time, without any alteration; with promise

C also of greater. These messengers comming to the gates of the citie, could not be suffered to enter, but standing without, were commanded there to deliuer their message: which when the Gouernor had heard, he scornefully reiected their offers, and returned the messengers shamefully derided by the souldiers which stood vpon the wall. *Amurath* more offended with this contempt, than the refusall of his offers; and seeing no other means to gaine the citie, conuerted all his deuices vnto the siege thereof. Wherefore he first commanded ten great pieces of artillerie to be forthwith cast, for he had brought with him none readie made, because of the difficult passage ouer the high mountaines into Epirus; whereby it seemed to be a matter of infinit trouble to haue brought his great ordnance: and therefore carried with him great store

D of mettall in masse, whereof at his pleasure to make his great artillerie as he saw cause. In fifteen daies this worke was brought to perfection, and ten pieces of huge greatnesse were ready mounted vpon carriages. Six of them hee placed against the East side of the citie, towards the plaine of Tyranna, and the other foure against the gate: in which two places onely, Croia was subiect to batterie, being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable rocks, vpon the tops whereof were built faire battlements, more for beautie than needfull defence. These two places *Amurath* battered foure dayes continually, and with the fury of his artillery had in both places beaten downe halfe the wall, & sore shaken the rest. Wherewith the Turks were exceedingly encouraged, & with great cheerfulnes made all things ready to assault these breaches, whensoeuer *Amurath* should command, striuing among themselues who shoud shew himselfe most forward in that dangerous enterprise. And *Mahomet* the yong Prince, the more to encourage the soldiers, besides the great rewards by his father proposed, promised of himselfe to giue an hundred thousand aspers vnto him that should first set vp an ensigne vpon the

Croia battered.

E wals of the citie. The garrison soldiers on the other side, considering that the whole state and welfare of Epirus was reposed in their valour; and that the eyes of most part of Christendome were as it were fixed vpon them, were nothing dismayed with the breaches made, but manfully comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of perill and danger that might possibly chance: but especially the worthie Gouernour *Vranacontes*, who going through the middest of his souldiers, and shaking some of them by the hands, with all said:

F *These, these are the fortresses of our citie, these are the inuincible bulwarkes, these are the irremoouable stones and surest sement. What honour? what praise? what triumph should we hope for? if these wals standing whole and strong, wee should lie shrouded vnder the defence of them, and not they defended by vs? So can cowards defend cities, and sheepe feare not the wolues rage, when they are safely shut vp within the wals of their sheepecoats: But that is the praise of the walls, and not of the men.*

The cheerefull speech of Vranacontes the Gouernour to encourage his souldiers.

Worthie

worthie Castriot our Prince hath commended this his city to be defended by vs, and not vs by it. Honor is attended vpon with danger, and fostered vp amongst perils: euery base mariner may be a master in faire weather: and firme things stand of themselues, and need not our vpholding. Wherefore, men of worth shun such things, which being kept or lost, yeeld like praise. Things readie to fall, need shoaring, and thither hasteth honour, and there (worthie souldiers) appeareth courage and valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend these broken breaches, and in stead of these dead wals, couragiously oppose our lustie and liuely armed bodies against the force of our enemies. If these wals stood still firme, and vnbattered, you should then fight from the top of them like women; but now that they are something shaken, you shall as men stand vpon somewhat more euen ground, and encounter your enemies hand to hand, the better to satisfie your furious desire. Where I also in the thickest, shall easily view and iudge of euery mans priuate courage in particular, and of all your valour in common. And yet if wee well consider of the matter, the place it selfe doth yet notably make for vs; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by these small breaches diminished: for, this rising of the hil (not possible to be taken from vs) although it be not so high as it is in other places, yet, doth it not serue vs sufficiently at great aduantage to charge our enemies, and hinder their assault? The steepnesse whereof, as it wil bee troublesome vnto them, so will it keepe vs most fresh in strength, and make our shot more forcible. Wherefore this had beene a thing of vs to haue beene wished for, if wee desire the slaughter of our enemies at this siege; or if we wish for perpetuall honour and glorie by this warre. For this breach of the wals will encourage these Barbarians, and allure their armed men to clime vp in greater multitude than if the wals were whole; whereof so many shall on euery side be easily slaine, as we shall but aime at: except you had rather sit still, holding your hands together in your bosomes as cowards. Their dead bodies shall fill vp the breaches againe, if you be men mindfull of your libertie. What is there (worthie captaines and souldiers) that letteth our victorie? or memorable slaughter of our enemies? by whom onely these two places of the citie can be assaulted: all the rest is out of danger, and feares no enemies force. Here onely is the pains to be taken, this onely is left for you to defend, and here shall you all be: the courage, force, and strength of you all shall in this place appeare. How will you so many worthie captains, and valiant souldiers, in so little roome bestow your selues? We are too many defendants for so small breaches. Yet let vs play the men, & doe our endeuour: let vs in one conflict weaken the tyrants strength, and burst his proud heart; he will forsake this city, and raise his siege vnfortunatly begun, so soone as he shall see his first assault to cost him the liues of so many thousands of his men.

Croia assaulted

When *Vranacontes* had with this comfortable speech thus encouraged his souldiers, against the assault which he expected the next day; and had with great care & diligence set al things in order for the same, & repaired the breaches as wel as was possible in that case, he gaue them leaue for that night to take their rest. In the morning *Amurath* commanded the assault to be giuen to both the breaches, which was forthwith by the Turks cheerfully begun, and euery man busie to perform the seruice he was appointed vnto. But by that time that the assault was well begun, a sudden alarum was raised throughout all the Turks campe: for *Scanderbeg* with fiue thousand valiant souldiers, had suddenly broken in vpon one side of the Turkes great camp, and at the first encounter had slain six hundred of the Turks, and was now spoiling their tents. The rumor wherof, troubled the whole campe, and made the Turks with lesse courage to assault the breaches, for feare of the danger behind them. *Amurath* although he had great confidence in them whom he had before left for the safegard of his tents, yet for more surety sent *Seremet* one of his greatest captains, with forue thousand soldiers back into the camp, for more surety; saying, that nothing could be too sure, against that wild beast: meaning the fury of *Scanderbeg*. *Mahomet* also the yong prince, hasted thither in great choler with his guard, much against his fathers wil. But *Moses*, *Scanderbegs* lieutenant, knowing himselfe too weak to withstand the multitude that was swarming thither (contenting himself with that which was already don) had before *Mahomets* comming, speedily retired with all his army into the safegard of the mountains, from whence he came: hauing done great harme in the Turks campe,

Scanderbeg in danger.

with the losse but of ten men. *Scanderbeg* in the heat of this skirmish, forgetting himself, had so far engaged himself among the Turks, that he was by them on euery side enclosed, & in great danger to haue bin slaine or taken: yet valiantly breaking through them, he escaped the danger, and recouered the mountains, and with much ado came at length to his camp, to the great ioy and comfort of them all, being before in great feare he had bin lost. This was accounted the

A the greatest ouersight of *Scanderbeg* in all his wars; for so much as the office of a good Generall consisteth not in aduenturing of his person to manifest danger, but in the politick gouernment of his charge. During the time that *Scanderbeg* thus assailed the Turks campe, *Amurath* but faintly assaulted the breaches, expecting the successe in the campe: but when he vnderstood that *Scanderbeg* was retyred, and all quieted, he brought all his forces to the walls, and first with the multitude of his archers and small shot laboured to driue the defendants from the wals, ouerwhelming them with arrows falling as thicke as haile. And likewise at the same time other common soldiers of baser account, brought scaling ladders and other things needfull for the scaling of the walls. After whom also followed the Ianizaries and other chosen soldiers, readie to mount the ladders so soon as they should be set to the wals. But whilst they

B climbe vp the high hills in this order, the garrison soldiers made such slaughter of them with shot from the wals and out of the citie, that they would haue presently retyred, had they not bin forced forward by their captaines, who spared neither stripes nor wounds, when words would not serue. By this tyrannicall means, the scaling ladders were with great slaughter of the common soldiers set vp against the walls, and the Turks climing vp, came to handy blows with the defendants at the breaches: nothing was to be heard but the crying of people, the clattering of armor, & the instruments of war, which was terribly redoubled with the eccho's from the mountaines round about. The Turks doing what they might to win the breaches, were by the Christians worthily repulsed, & with their ladders tumbled headlong down the mountain, with such horrible slaughter and discomfiture, especially of the common soldiers, that none of them would set one foot forward again toward the wals, although they had small

C hope to saue themselues by retyring back: for the fierce yong prince *Mahomet* euen then making shew of his cruell disposition, caused them that returned, to be slain, by the terror thereof to driue others forward. These common soldiers, whom the Turks make small reckoning of, are for the most part miserable Christians, which liue in such countries as had somtimes receiued the faith of Christ, but are now vnder the Turkish slauerie; of which sort of wretched people the Turkish tyrants draw with them great multitudes in their warres, most commonly vnarmed, because they dare not wel trust them in wars against the Christians: these carry all the baggage of the campe; these serue to fetch wood and water for other soldiers of better account; these serue in stead of pioners, to cast trenches and raise bulwarks; and when battell is

D to be giuen, if it be in plain field, these haue then weapons put into their hands, and thrust into the fore front of the battel, to blunt the enemies swords: but if a city be to be besieged, these serue as fit matter to fill vp the breaches with their dead bodies, or to make bridges for other soldiers to passe ouer vpon: and if they shrink to attempt any thing they are commanded, then are they more cruelly vsed by their commanders than by their enemies. When *Amurath* saw his soldiers so discouraged, he stood in doubt whether it were better for that time to sound a retrait, or to send a new supplie: but being inraged with the losse of his men, and desirous to be in some part reuenged, he sent diuers companies of his better souldiers, for the incouragement of them which were before discouraged, and so gaue a fresh assault: but with as euill or worse successe than before; for *Vranacontes* had withdrawn from the breaches all those soldiers which had indured the former assault, and placed other fresh & lustie men in their stead; who incouraged with the former victorie, and loth to be accounted inferior to their fellows,

E repulsed the Turks with double slaughter: vntil that the aged King, not able longer to behold the endlesse losse of his men, caused a retrait to be sounded; which al his soldiers were glad to heare, and so returned into his campe, hauing lost in those two assaults eight thousand men, without any notable harme done vnto the defendants worth the remembrance.

This shameful repulse much grieued all the captains & commanders of *Amuraths* army, but especially *Mahomet* the young Prince, whose violent nature vnacquainted with mishap, burnt impatiently with reuenge. Wherefore vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* lay intrenched vpon the mountain of Tumenist, not far from his fathers army, he drew most of the best & readiest soldiers of all the whole camp, into that quarter which was neerest vnto *Scanderbeg*: of purpose

F that if he should again assaile the campe in that place (as it was most like he would) he should be incountered with so many braue and valiant men there in readinesse, as that it should be hard for him either to do any great harme, or for himselfe to escape. Of all which, *Scanderbeg* by certaine fugitiues had intelligence, as also in what order the campe lay: whereupon hee

Mahomet thinking to deceiue Scanderbeg, is himself deceiued.

left *Moses* with fiue hundred ſoldiers in the place where he lay; taking order with him before his departure, that he at a certaine appointed houre in the night following, ſhould aſſaile the Turks campe in the quarter next vnto him where *Mahomet* lay; and hauing there raiſed ſome tumult, ſpeedily to retyre again to his aſſured ſtrength in the mountaine. *Scanderbeg* himſelfe with the whole ſtrength of his armie, in number about 8000, in the meane time tooke a compaſſe, and by certaine ſecret by-wayes through the woods and mountaines, came vnto the farther ſide of the Turks campe, to a place called Mountocle. The night following, *Moſes* at the appointed houre with his 500 ſouldiers aſſailed that part of the Turks campe next vnto him, with ſuch noyſe and tumult as if it had been ſome great armie. By occaſion whereof, all the Turks camp was in alarm, and drew in haſt to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was before by *Mahomet* commanded. When at the ſame inſtant, *Scanderbeg* with all his Armie brake into the other ſide of the Turks campe, where he was leaſt feared or looked for, and from whence the beſt ſoldiers were before drawne by *Mahomet*; and there made ſuch ſlaughter and hauocke of the reſt (not knowing which way to turne themſelues) that the loſſe a little before receiued vnder the walls of Croia, was now forgot, as a ſmall thing in compariſon of this. *Moſes* hauing raiſed a great feare, and done little harme, returned in ſafetie to his well known ſtrength; and *Scanderbeg* hauing made great ſpoyle in the campe, fearing to be oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, if he ſhould there longer ſtay, returned in good time, hauing ſcarce loſt one man.

Amurath after this great loſſe and trouble of his campe, withdrew moſt of his ſmall Ordnance which he had before bent againſt the citie, into his trenches, placing it as commodiouſly as he might, for the defence thereof againſt the ſudden attempts of *Scanderbeg*. Yet for as much as he could not in that hot ſeaſon of the yeare ſo cloſely incampe his great armie, but that ſome part thereof would ſtill be in like danger as before; he therefore appointed *Sebalias* with 16000 ſoldiers to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he ſhould no more trouble the campe. After which order taken, he battered the walls of Croia afreſh, and with his great ordnance ouerthrew what ſoeuer the citizens had repaired, making the breaches greater, and more faultable than before, intending once againe by a new aſſault to proue his fortune, and the force of his ſoldiers: which he appointed to be the next day. But when he perceiued no ſigne of courage or good hope in the heauie countenances of them diſcouraged, and that they yeelded to him their conſents, rather for feare and ſhame, than for hope of victorie; he called them cowards, diſcouraged with the leaſt frowne of fortune; and ſaid,

Amurath his comfortable ſpeech vnto his wearied ſouldiers.

Euerie weake caſtle is able to hold out one aſſault: but if you will draw theſe wilde beaſts out of their dens, you muſt arme your ſelues like reſolute men of inuincible courage, to indure what thing ſoeuer ſhal happen. Great Captains with their puiſſant armies haue growne old vnder the walls of their enemies, vpon light and ſmal diſpleaſures: and will you hauing receiued ſo many diſgraces of theſe perjured Epirots, leaue them all vnreuenged? What great victorie was euer yet by any man gained without bloud-ſhed? Remember the moſt glorious victorie of Varna. It is hard without bloudie hands to put the yoke vpon the fierce enemies necke. All honorable things are brought to paſſe with aduenture and labour; and the end of this war dependeth of the taking of Croia: if it were once woon, all this warre were at an end: which if Scanderbeg *loſe (being the ſtrength of his kingdome, he will not tarrie one day longer in Epirus. Wherfore be of good cheere, and courageouſly ſet vpon it: there is not more vncertainty in any thing, than in matters of war: Fortune is to be prooued, and oftentimes prouoked of him that wil wed her. And yet I will not denie, but that we muſt goe more warily to worke againſt this enemie, and hazard our ſelues with better aduiſement, and not without reaſon like wild beaſts to run headlong vpon our owne death. At length we ſhall weare them out, if we kill but ten of them at an aſſault: yet are they dayly to be aſſailed, that they may haue no leiſure to refreſh themſelues, and to make vp their breaches: and peraduenture if force may not preuaile, fortune may find ſome meane that we looke not for, as it fell out at the ſiege of Sfetigrade, beyond all our expectation. Treaſon is ingenious, and mens deſires great, where great rewards are propounded.*

With theſe and like ſpeeches old *Amurath* encouraged his captains & ſoldiers, and the next day early in the morning began the aſſault, which the Turks valiantly attempted; and without regard of danger came to the gates of the Citie, aſſaying, but with vaine and deſperat labour,

A bour to haue broken them open. In this aſſault wild fire was caſt into many places of the city, and the great artillerie oftentimes diſcharged into the breaches: whereby many of the Turks themſelues were ſlain with their owne great ſhot, together with the Chriſtians: for *Amurath* deſperately ſet, was content to buy the life of one Chriſtian with the loſſe of twenty of his Turks. But the Chriſtians ſtill valiantly repulſed their enemies, ſo that of them that came to the gates, none eſcaped aliue; and of them that aſſaulted the great breach, they which were moſt forward, were firſt ſlaine, and they which ſtood farther off, were ſore wounded with ſhot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* ſtill maintained the aſſault, by ſending in of new ſupplies, delighting to ſee them goe forward, but grieued at the heart to ſee them ſo ſlaine: vntill at laſt wearie with beholding the ſlaughter of his men, hee cauſed a retrait to be ſounded, and ſo ended the aſſault; perſuaded by his Baſſaes, not wilfully to caſt away his valiant ſoldiers where there was no hope to preuaile, but to reſerue them for his better ſeruice. *The Turkes retire.*

Amurath now out of hope to win the city by aſſault, thought good to proue what might be don by vndermining of the ſame: during which worke he cauſed ſmall alarums daily to be giuen vnto the citie, to the intent that the defendants buſied therewith, ſhould not perceiue the ſecret worke of the mine. About which time his prouiſion of corn began to faile in his camp; for which cauſe he ſent his purueyors for corne to Liſia, a citie of the Venetians, with whom he was at that time in league, and bought of them great ſtore of corne. But as his officers were conueying it to his campe, *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence thereof, ſlew the conuoy, & carried away with him all that prouiſion, diuiding it among his owne ſoldiers. Howbeit, not long after, *Amurath* receiued great aboundance of corne and other prouiſion out of Macedonia: beſide that, the Venetian marchants afterward furniſhed him with plentie of corne, oyle, hony, and other neceſſaries; which *Scanderbeg* might well haue hindered, but that he would not in ſo doing offend the Venetians, which were alſo his ſecret friends, conſidering that *Amurath* might haue had all the ſame prouiſion out of the further part of Macedonia, Thracia, Myſia, and ſuch other places, if he had not otherwiſe had it from the Venetians. *Amurath ſeeketh to vnderminе Croia.*

Whileſt *Amurath* thus lay expecting the ſucceſſe of his mine, foure hundred of the garriſon ſouldiers of Croia ſallying out of the citie, chaſed diuers of the Turks that were come forth backe againe vnto the campe: wherof *Amurath* was glad, hoping, that they encouraged with that good hap, would to their further loſſe giue the like attempt afterwards. But the ſtaid diſcretion of the Gouernour deceiued that his expectation; who conſidering the danger, would not ſuffer his ſoldiers any more to ſallie out of the citie. *Scanderbeg* alſo at this time hauing encreaſed his army with a new ſupply of two thouſand ſouldiers, diuided the ſame into three parts; deliuering one part to *Moſes*, another to *Tanuſie*; and reſeruing the third vnto himſelfe. With this armie of nine thouſand thus diuided, he determined by night at one inſtant to aſſaile the Turks great camp in three diuers places, apointing in which quarter euery one ſhould charge. But as *Scanderbeg* in the night appointed, was comming towards the Turks campe, hee was diſcouered by their ſcouts: whereupon a ſudden alarum was raiſed in the campe, & al mens minds turned that way, & ſoldiers appointed with al diligence to guard that ſide of the camp. But whilſt the Turks were al at gaze this way for feare of *Scanderbeg*, *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, in the dead of the night, at one time aſſailed the Turks camp in two diuers quarters, as they were appointed, where they ſlew a number of the Turks, and made great ſpoile. At which time *Scanderbeg* did alſo what he might: but by reaſon he was before diſcouered, did not much harme. Vpon the approch of the day *Scanderbeg* retired againe to the hils, & by that time it was faire daylight, ſate down vpon the ſide of a great mountain, about twenty furlongs off; in the open ſight of all the Turks camp: which he did of purpoſe, that *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, which were by night retired into the mountains, might ſee which way to hold, to meet with him again. But the Turks thinking that he ſtood there to braue their whole camp, & as it were to deface them to the great encouragement of the defendants: diuers of them earneſtly craued leaue of *Amurath*, that they might goe vp to him, & at leaſtwiſe beat him out of ſight: which he granting, 12000 of his beſt ſouldiers, whereof 7000 were horſemen, and the reſt foot, preſently ſet forward to encounter him. *Scanderbeg* ſeeing them all the way they came, vpon their approch ſoftly retired a little farther vp into the mountaines, ſtil expecting the comming of *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*. The Turkes vnacquainted hith ſuch difficult waies, marched vp the ſteepe hils after *Scanderbeg* with much labour and pain, wel wearied of themſelues: but when they were come

a great

a great way into the mountaines, they perceiued by the rising of the dust, that some greater force was comming croste those mountaines; and not long after they might plainely see the formest of their enemies. Wherefore fearing to be enclosed, they began to retyre, in which retrait *Scanderbeg* hardly pursued them, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, slew many of them but especially with his archers. *Moses* also comming afresh on another side, caused them to flie down the hill amaine, and beside the slaughter that he made, tooke diuers prisoners. After which victorie by *Scanderbeg* obtained in the fight of *Amurath* and his whole Armie, he retyred again into the mountaines.

The late spoyle of the Turks campe, with this ouerthrow of the souldiers but now sent against *Scanderbeg*, much grieued the old tyrant: but the worke of the mine, wherein he had of long layd vp his greatest hope, forting now to no good purpose, being deemed as wel an endlesse peece of worke, for the naturall hardnesse of the rocke, as also of small importance, for that it was by the defendants discouered, draue him to his wits end. His forces he had to his great losse sufficiently proued, and stil found them too weake: and policie preuailed not. Nothing now remained, but to prooue if by great gifts and glorious promises he could first corrupt the faith of the Gouernor, and afterwards the garrison: wherein he determined to spare no cost. Vpon which resolution he sent one of his Bassa's (a man of great authoritie and dexteritie of wit) vnto *Vranacontes*, with such rich gifts and presents as might haue mooued a right constant mind: commanding the Bassa (if it were possible) first to fasten the same vpon the gouernor, as presents sent from *Amurath* of meere bountie, in the honor of his valiant mind; and afterwards to deliuer his message, not sparing to promise any thing for the giuing vp of the citie, yea more than should be desired. The Bassa attended on but with two seruants, came with this rich Present neere to the gates of the citie, and there stayed vntill the gouernors pleasure were known: by whose command he was receiued into the citie, and brought to his presence. Then the Bassa with much reuerence, and many magnifical words, presented vnto *Vranacontes* the rich gifts sent from *Amurath*, and would forthwith haue deliuered them vnto him, as the rewards of his valour. But *Vranacontes* willed him first to declare his message from *Amurath*, vpon the hearing whereof he would (as he said) as he saw cause, either receiue or refuse them: before which time he would not be beholden to his enemie, by receiuing from him the least courtesie. With which answer the subtill Bassa nothing dismayed, with great constancie thus began to deliuer his message:

The craftie speech of the Bassa sent from Amurath to corrupt the Gouernour, and to perswade the souldiers to yeeld vp the citie.

Howsoeuer we agree (said he) *vpon other matters we come for, we brought not these gifts of purpose to deceiue any: for so men vse to deale with their children and seruants, and not with men of courage and valour. And albeit that enemies gifts are euer to be suspected, (as you haue right wisely said, and we our selues know) yet we durst not for shame come vnto so worthie a Gouernour (as the common saying is) emptie handed: neither ought you, if you be the man you seeme to be, and whom men report you are, to refuse our courtesie. Take these Presents in good part, which shall no way inforce or binder you to determine or dispose of your affaires otherwise than shall seeme vnto you good: neither shall we once obiect vnto you these gifts, which we so franke and freely offer in the great Sultans name, whether you reject or admit our demaunds and message; wherein there is (perhaps) no lesse regard had of your good, than of ours. For there is no greater token of a base mind, than to giue, in hope to receiue againe. We come vnto you frankely, (worthie Gouernour) I speake it from my heart: we goe not about with filed speech and rich rewards to circumuent thee, whose inuincible mind we haue so often in vaine proued with our Forces and power. That is it for which* Amurath *loueth thee; he doth wonderfully admire the vertues of his enemies, and if it were possible, desireth to haue them with himselfe. There verily with so mightie a Monarch might thy inuincible mind and pregnant finde a better way vnto the highest type of Fortunes blisse. Not that I condemne* Scanderbeg, *whom we his enemies doe highly commend, for his Countrey so well recouered, and so oftentimes worthily defended, yet chiefely by your helpe: but you are worthie of another maner of Soueraigne, and of another maner of Calling, and not to spend all the dayes of your life, and such heroicall vertues, in obscuritie, and (without offence be it sayd) in contemptible baseneſſe. Besides that,* Scanderbeg *his estate is but mementarie, the Destinies haue assigned vnto him too too mightie an Enemie; his destruction may well be deferred, but not by any means auoyded.* Amurath *hath conceiued against him an implacable displeasure, and prepared his forces accordingly: he hath sworne to spare no cost, no labour, no danger: and that he will*

wilnever whilst he liueth depart out of Epirus before he haue imposed a deadly yoke on his neck. And behold, the first of this miserie beginneth at this citie, and vpon your selues. We dayly heare his pauilions sound with these and such like speeches, That he will neuer depart out of the place before he haue taken this citie, and satisfied his angrie mind with the torture of your bodies; no, not if he should therefore lose Hadrianople, yea, and that more is, his whole kingdome. And verily he will do it, which I feare to diuine or thinke vpon: For although I with others, beare against you the mind of an enemie; yet am I a man, and moued with humane compassion: beleeue me (ye men of Croia) beleeue me, my eyes would scarcely endure to behold the horrible spectacle of your miserable fortune. I tell you againe, he will do it, except you change your purpose, and now receiue health, life, libertie, and peace, whilest it is so freely offered. For albeit that this notable strong place, these impregnable walls, and especially your own valor, do yet defend you; how long will it hold out? Verily no longer than you haue victuall, no longer than you haue meat to sustaine your bodies. Do you thinke that Amurath *will raise his siege in the middle of the heat of this war, and be gon? No, no, if force will not preuaile, if all his attempts faile, yet shall you see and feele these enemies continually to your hurt; you shall always haue these tents in your eyes, and at your gates, vntill long famin, which mastereth all things, tame your courage also. I pray you, what hope haue you left? from whence ariseth in your resolute minds such desperat contempt of danger? Can* Scanderbeg *victuall you, being so straightly besieged? which hideth himselfe (poore man) in the woods all day, and flieth ouer the tops of the mountaines, loaden with trauell and care, scarce able to relieue his owne miserie. Or will the Venetians relieue you, which dayly bring vnto vs and store vs with too too great plentie of all things necessarie for this war against you. Wherefore repent your too much hardinesse, and gather your wits together: behold, I your enemie aduise you: you haue long enough continued in your obstinacie: your countrie and libertie is not so far to be defended, as that you should therefore fight against God. But wherefore do I call this, libertie? you must giue place vnto your fortune, and learne to obey them that be too strong for you. You shal find assured libertie, rich rewards, perpetual rest with* Amurath. *Prouide for your selues, if you be wise, whilest all things are yet whole for you to determine of; whilest we your enemies exhort and request you, and had rather haue you our voluntary companions and friends, than our enforced seruants and slaues.*

This the Bassa spake with great grauitie, and no lesse vehemencie, expecting some great motions to haue risen in the minds of the souldiers. But when he perceiued that his speech had rather filled them with indignation, than with feare; and that it was but a vaine thing to go about to terrifie them with words, whom all the power of *Amurath* could not make afraid with weapons, he requested to talke alone with the gouernor in secret: which was also granted. For all men had no lesse good opinion of the worthie Gouernours fidelitie, than of his great wisedome and valour. The craftie Bassa hauing him by himselfe, began with great cunning to deliuer his more secret message: when *Vranacontes* perceiuing by a little, what the whole tale meant, interrupted him in the middle of his speech, and without more adoo commanded him to depart: straitly charging him, That neither he nor any other should after that time presume to come from his Master to the citie, to speake with him about any such dishonourable matter; for if he did, he would in detestation thereof cause their hands, their nose, their eares to be cut off, and so returne them dismembred, in stead of answer. And so the Bassa was with his Presents againe turned out of the Citie, and no man suffered to receiue any thing of him in reward, although the souldiers could haue beene well content to haue eased him and his Seruants of that carriage, if the Gouernour whould but haue winked thereat.

Vranacontes reiecteth Amuraths Presents, and threatneth the Bassa.

Great was the expectation in the Turks camp, of the Bassa's returne: but when they saw the Presents were not receiued, they easily guessed that all went not as they wished. But when *Amurath* himselfe vnderstood the gouernors resolute answer, he in great rage commanded all things to be made readie for a fresh assault: which he did rather to satisfie his anger, than vpon any hope he had to preuaile therein. The next day he caused a furious assault to be giuen to the citie, but with greater losse to himselfe than before; the Christians still valiantly defending the citie against the Turkish furie. In this assault many of the Turkes were slaine at the breach with their own great shot: for whilest *Amurath* sought therewith to driue the Christians from the defence of the breach, he slew a great number more of the forwardest of his own men, than he did of the defendants. But wearied at length to behold the endlesse slaughter of his

Croia againe in vaine assaulted

his men, he gaue ouer the assault, and returned into his camp, as if he had bin a man halfe frantick or distract of his wits; and there sate downe in his tent, all that day full of melancholie passions, sometimes violently pulling his hoarie beard and white locks, complaining of his hard and disaster fortune, that he had liued so long to see those daies of disgrace, wherein all his former glorie and triumphant victories were obscured, by one base towne of Epirus. His Bassaes and graue counsellors labouring in the meane time with long discourses to comfort him vp: sometimes recounting vnto him his many and glorious victories, and other whiles producing antient examples of like euent. But darke and heauy conceits had so ouerwhelmed the melancholie old tyrant, that nothing could content his waiward mind, or reuiue his dying spirits: so that the little remainder of naturall heat which was left in his aged bodie now oppressed & almost extinguished with melancholie conceits, & his aged body dried vp with sorrow, he became sick for griefe. Wherupon by the counsell of some of his Bassaes, he sent an embassador to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, if he would yeeld to pay to him a yeerely tribute of ten thousand duckats: thinking by that means his honor to be wel saued, if before his departure out of Epirus, he could but make *Scanderbeg* his tributarie. This embassador was by *Scanderbeg* honourable entertained in his campe, but the offered peace at the same time vtterly refused. The embassador returning to *Amurath*, declared vnto him the euill successe of his embassage, which greatly increased his melancholie sicknesse. And *Scanderbeg* to grieue him the more, vnderstanding that he was dangerously sicke, and that the great Bassaes were more carefull of the Kings health, than of the successe of the warres; diuers times assailed the Turkes campe. Which thing though the Bassaes kept from his knowledge with all carefulnesse; yet he oftentimes suspected the matter, by the often alarums and tumults in the campe, and with the griefe thereof languished. So feeling his sicknesse daily to encrease, and that he could not longer liue, lying vpon a pallet in his pauillion, grieuously complained to his Bassaes, That the destinies had so blemished all the former course of his life, with such an obscure death, that hee which had so often represt the furie of the Hungarians, and almost brought to nought the pride of the Grecians together with their name, should now bee enforced to giue vp the ghost, vnder the walls of an obscure castle (as he termed it) and that in the sight of his contemptible enemie. After that, turning himselfe to his son *Mahomet*, he earnestly commended him to the faithfulnesse of his Bassaes, and gaue him many graue aduertisements, sometimes in secret betwixt themselues, & sometimes in the hearing of others: want of strength, & abundance of teares running downe his aged face (vpon the sight of his son) oftentimes interrupting his speech. Yet sicke vnto death as he was, and drawing fast vnto his end, he forced himselfe, to warne his son of such things as now at his death grieued him most.

The last speech and admonition of Amurath to his sonne Mahomet vpon his death bed.

Let mine example (quoth he) *be a warning vnto thee my sonne, neuer to contemne thine enemie, bee he neuer so weake: of which one thing aboue all others, I haue repented my selfe of long, and shall doe after my death, if any feeling of humane things remaine in the dead. And that I was so foolish, and inconsiderate, as to foster vp as it were in my bosome this my domesticall and neglected enemie, whereby I haue purchased vnto my selfe this calamitie, and for euer blemished the honour of the* Othoman *kings: whilest I so basely end my daies vnder the wals of Croia, shall become a by-word vnto the world, and all posteritie for euer. This traitour should euen then haue beene oppressed, when hee by great treacherie, first recouered his wicked kingdome: in that newnesse of his estate, and before the mindes of the people were assured vnto him, then it had beene an easie matter, without bloudshed to haue vtterly extinguished the wretch, together with his name.* Alis Bassa, *whose euill fortune was the first beginning of his good: Nor the other Generals, who by him slaine or taken prisoners, increased his strength and credit vnto his subiects, should not haue beene sent against him: a thing which I haue oftentimes thought vpon, but could scarce haue beleeued, that euer I should haue thereby receiued such disgrace, together with the ignominious renting of my kingdome, if I had not beene taught the same by mine owne experience, to my great losse and hearts griefe. Wee entered into Epirus, and here encamped an hundred and threescore thousand men strong: now if leisure serue you, take view of them, examine the matter, you shall find a great want of that number. The fields could not containe our regiments and the multitude of our men: but now, how many tents stand emptie? how many horses want riders? You shall goe to Hadrianople with our forces much impaired. As for me, the Destinies haue vowed my spirits to this countrey of Epirus, as vnto me fatall. But wherefore do I impute vnto my selfe these impediments and chances of fortune? for then first began this seed of mischiefe in Epirus, when the Hungarians*

Hungarians with other the Christian Princes, rose vp in armes against vs: at which time we fought not with them for souerainetie, but for the whole state of our kingdome: as the bloudie battels of Varna and Cossoua still witnesse vnto the world. So whileſt I had neither leisure nor sufficient power to take order for all my important affaires at once; in the meane time this enemie grew as you see. But how, or in what order you are hereafter to wage warre against him, you may not looke for any direction from mee, which haue in all these matters so euill directed my selfe: Fortune neuer deceiued my endeuours more than in this. But happily thou Mahomet *my sonne, maiest proue a more fortunat warriour against him: and for so many honours alreadie giuen vnto me, the Destinies haue reserued the triumph of Epirus for thee Wherfore my sonne, thou shalt receiue from me this scepter, and those royall ensignes: but aboue all things, I leaue vnto thee this enemy; charging thee not to leaue my death vnreuenged. It is all I charge thee with, for so great and stately a patrimonie as thou art to receiue from me: it is the only sacrifice that my old departing ghost desireth of thee.*

Amurath his death.

Shortly after he became speechlesse, & striuing with the pangs of death halfe a day, he then breathed out his gastly ghost, to the great ioy and contentment of the poore oppressed Christians. He died about the middle of Autumne, in the yeare of our Lord 1450, when he had liued 85 yeares, as most write: and thereof raigned 28 (or as some others report 30;) about fiue moneths after the siege laid before Croia.

Amurath an example of the vanitie of worldly honor.

Thus lieth great *Amurath*, erst not inferiour vnto the greatest Monarchs of that age, dead almost in despaire: a worthie mirror of honors frailty; yeelding vnto the worldly man in the end, neither comfort nor reliefe. Who had fought greater battels? who had gained greater victories, or obtained more glorious triumphs than had *Amurath*? who by the spoiles of so many mightie Kings and Princes, and by the conquest of so many proud and warlike nations, againe restored and established the Turks kingdome, before by *Tamerlane* and the Tartars in a manner cleane defaced. He it was that burst the heart of the proud Grecians, establishing his empire at Hadrianople, euen in the center of their bowels; from whence haue proceeded so many miseries and calamities into the greatest part of Christendome, as no tongue is able to expresse. He it was that first brake downe the Hexamile or wal of seperation on the strait of Corinth, and conquered the greatest part of Peloponesus. Hee it was that subdued vnto the Turks so many great countries and prouinces in Asia; that in plaine field and set battell ouerthrew many puissant kings and princes, and brought them vnder his subiection: who hauing slain *Vladislaus* the King of Polonia and Hungarie, and more than once chased out of the field *Huniades* that famous and redoubted warriour; had in his proud and ambitious heart, promised vnto himselfe the conquest of a great part of Christendome. But ô how far was he now changed from the man he then was! how far did these his last speeches differ from the course of his fore passed life! ful of such base passionat complaints and lamentations, as beseemed not a man of his place and spirit; but some vile wretch ouertaken with despaire; and yet afraid to die. Where were now those haughtie thoughts, those loftie lookes, those thundering & commanding speeches; whereat so many great commanders, so many troupes and legions, so many thousands of armed souldiers were wont to tremble and quake? Where is that head, before adorned with so many trophies and triumphs? where is that victorious hand that swaied so many scepters? where is the maiestie of his power and strength, that commanded ouer so many nations and kingdomes? O how is the case now altered; he lieth now dead, a gastly filthie stinking carkas, a clod of clay vnregarded, his hands closed, his eyes shut, and his feete stretched out, which erst proudly traced the countries by him subdued and conquered. And now of such infinit riches, such vnmeasurable wealth, such huge treasures, such stately honors and vaine glorious praises as hee in his life time enioyed; his fraile bodie enioyeth nothing, but left all behind it. O the weake condition of mans nature! O the vaine glorie of mortall creatures! O the blind and peruerse thoughts of foolish men! Why do we so magnifie our selues? why are we so puft vp with pride? why do we so much set our minds vpon riches, authoritie, & other vanities of this life? wherof neuer man had yet one days assurance, and at our most need, and when we least think, quite forsake vs; leauing euen them that most sought after them, and most abounded in them, shrowded oft times in the sheet of dishonour and shame.

That his death is otherwise by some reported, I am not ignorant: The Turks saying, that he died maraculously forewarned of his death at Hadrianople: and some others, That hee died in

in Asia, stricken with an Aploplexie proceeding of a surfet taken of the immoderat drinking of wine. But *Marinus Barletius*, who liued in his time in Scodra fast by Epirus, whose authoritie, in report of the warres betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* wee follow, setteth it downe in such manner as is aforesaid.

Amurath buried at Prusa.

Presently after his death, *Mahomet* his sonne, for feare of some innouation to bee made at home, raised the siege and returned to Hadrianople: and afterward with great solemnitie buried his dead body at the West side of Prusa, in the suburbs of the citie, where he now lieth in a Chappell without any roofe, his graue nothing differing from the manner of the common Turks: which (they say) he commanded to bee done in his last will; that the mercie and blessing of God (as he tearmed it) might come vnto him by the shining of the Sunne and Moone, and falling of the raine and dew of heauen vpon his graue.

He whilest he liued, mightily enlarged the Turkish kingdome, and with greater wisedome and policie than his predecessors, established the same: insomuch that some attribute vnto him the first institution of the Ianizaries, and other souldiers of the court (the greatest strength of the Turkish empire) before indeed begun in the time of *Amurath* the first, his great grandfather (as is before declared) but by him greatly augmented, & the policy of that state, wherby it had euer since in his posterity flourished, euen by himselfe plotted. For the better establishing wherof in his owne house, and to cut off all occasion of feare, as also to leaue all such as might haue the heart to arise against him, naked & bare of forces to resist; but especially the other antient and noble families of the Turks, still secretly repining at the great honor of the *Othoman* Kings: he as a man of great wisedome and iudgement, to keep them vnder in the beginning of his raign, by manifold fauors began to bind vnto himself men of strange & forrain countries, his seruants, & by ordering of his most weightie affaires by their authoritie, so by little and little to cast off the seruice of his naturall Turks: they in the mean time little or nothing at all looking into this his practise. And wheras the *Othoman* kings his predecessors, had for the most part, or rather altogether raised their Ianizaries & other soldiers of the court, of such children of the Christians as were taken in the warres; he, seeing by experience how seruiceable those new kind of souldiers were, began forthwith to plot in his head, how to make himselfe an army altogether of such able persons, his owne creatures, & so to bring in a new kind of warfare, wholly depending of himself. And to that end, by his officers appointed for that purpose, took from the Christians throughout his dominions, euery fift child: the faireſt and apteſt of whom, he placed in his own Seraglio at Hadrianople, and the rest in other like places by him built for such purpose: where they were by sufficient teachers, first instructed in the principles of the Mahometan religion, & then in all maner of actiuity and feats of arms. Of these, when they were grown to mans state, he made horsemen, gaue them great pensions, and sorting them into diuers orders, appointed them also to guard his person; honouring the better sort of them with the name of *Spahi-Oglani*, that is to say, his sons the Knights; and of these he began to make his Bassaes, his generals of his armies, & the gouernors of his prouinces & cities, with all the great offices of the state. The rest, and far the greatest part of these tribute children, taken from their Christian parents, & not brought vp in the Seraglios, he caused to be disperſed into euery city and country of his dominion in Asia, there for certain yeres to be brought vp in all hardnes & painful labor, neuer tasting of ease or pleasure: out of which hard brood so enured to pains, he made choice of so many of the most lusty & able bodies fittest for seruice, as he thought good; who kept in continual exercise, & by skilful men taught to handle all manner of weapons, but especially the bow, the peece, and the scimitar, were by him as occasion serued added to the other Ianizaries, and appointed for the guarding of his person: calling them commonly by the names of his sonnes. The remainder of these tribute children, as vnfit for the warres, he put vnto other base occupations and ministeries. But vnto those martiall men of all sorts so by him ordained, he appointed a continual pay, according to their degrees and places: and by great benefits & liberties bestowed vpon them, bound them so fast vnto him, as that he might now account himselfe to haue of them so many sons, as hee had soldiers: For they together with the Christian religion, hauing forgot their parents and countrey, and knowing no other lord and master but him, & acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace only, remained euer bound and faithful vnto him; and so kept others also, as wel the natural Turkes themselues, as the other oppressed Christians within

in the bounds of obedience and loyaltie. A great policie proceeding from a deep iudgement, first to weaken the Christians by taking from them their best children, and of greatest hope; and then by them depending wholly of himself, to keep in awe and dutifull obedience his naturall subiects also: hauing them alwaies as a scourge ready to chastise the rebellious or disloyal. Now the other *Othoman* Kings and Emperours, the successors of *Amurath*, keeping this custome, and also increasing it one after another, haue thereby not only kept the empire still in their house and family, where it was first gotten: but also so maintained the maiestie of their state, as that they are of their subiects feared, obeyed, and honored, not as Kings, but as Gods. For the naturall Turks their subiects losing courage continually, & daily growing more base and dastardly, by reason they are not suffered to practise the knowledge of armes; and the soldiers in whose power all things are, knowing nothing of their owne, but holding and acknowledging all that they haue to come of their Lord, account them as Lords and Kings of all: ruling much after the manner of the *Pharaohs* the ancient Kings of Ægypt; who were absolute Lords and masters, both of the publicke and priuate wealth of their subiects, whom they kept vnder as slaues and villaines. And hereof commeth it to passe, that the better part of them whom we call Turks, (but are indeed the children of Christians, and seduced by their false instructors) desire to be called Musulmans (that is to say, right beleeuers) holding it a reprochfull and dishonorable thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly and aboue other people: For that they knowing right well, that there is not one naturall Turke among all those that beare authoritie and rule, and are had in greater honor and reputation than the rest (such as are the men of war and courtiers) but he is borne a Christian either of father, or at the least of his grandfather: auouch those onely to bee Turks which liue in Natolia, all of them either marchants, or of base and mechanicall crafts, or poore labourers with the spade and pickaxe, and such like people vnfit for the wars, the rest (as I say) holding it for a title of honor to bee descended of Christian parents. Yea the Grand Seignior himselfe, although by the fathers side he be come of progenitors such as were naturall Turks borne, yet many of them had Christian mothers, which they accounted in the greatest part of their nobilitie and honor. Thus by the wisedome of *Amurath* was the order of the Ianizaries, and other souldiers of the court greatly aduanced, though not by him begun, and the politick state of the Turks kingdome (to say the truth) quite altered; the naturall Turks (more than the Sultan himselfe) now bearing therein no sway: but onely these new souldiers, all of them descended from Christian parents and by adoption as it were become the sons of the Turkish Sultans, and vnder them commanding all: by whom they haue euer since managed their estate, and by their good seruice wonderfully, euen to the astonishment of the world, increased and extended their empire. But of them more shall be said hereafter.

A great policie.

This great King was whilest he liued, of his subiects wonderfully beloued, and no lesse of them after his death lamented. Hee was more faithfull of his word than any of the Turkish kings either before or after him: by nature melancholy & sad, and accounted rather politicke than valiant, yet was indeed both: a great dissembler, and painful in trauell, but wayward and testie aboue measure, which many imputed vnto his great age. He had issue six sonnes, *Achmetes*, *Aladin*, *Mahomet*, *Hasan* (otherwise called *Chasan*) *Vrchan*, and *Achmetes* the yonger, of some called *Calepinus*: three of whom died before; but the two youngest were by their vnnaturall brother *Mahomet*, who succeeded him in the Turkish kingdome, euen in their infancie, in the beginning of his raigne most cruelly murdered.

Amurath his disposition.

The sonnes of Amurath.

* *
*

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Amurath the second.	Emperours, Of the East	Iohn Palæologus.	1421. 24.
		Constantinus Palæologus.	1444. 8.
	Of the West	Sigismund King of Hungarie.	1411. 28.
		Albert the second King of Hungarie and Bohemia.	1438. 2.
		Frederick the third, Arch-duke of Austria.	1440. 54.
	Kings, Of England	Henrie the fifth.	1413. 9.
		Henrie the sixth.	1422. 39.
	Of France	Charles the sixt,	1381. 42.
		Charles the seuenth.	1423. 38.
	Of Scotland	Iames the first.	1424. 13.
		Iames the second	1436. 29.
	Bishops of Rome,	Martin the V.	1417. 13.
		Eugenius the IIII.	1431. 16.
		Nicholas the V.	1447. 8.

Paulus Iouius Illust. virorum Eclog. lib. 3.

Qui vici innumeros populos, tot regna, tot vrbes:
Solus & immensi qui timor orbis eram:
Me rapuit quæcunque rapit mors improba, sed sum
Virtute excelsa, ductus ad astra tamen.
Major Alexander *non me fuit,* Annibal *& non,*
Fuderit Ausonios tot licet ille duces.
Vici victores Danaos, domuiq; feroces
Caoniæ populos, Sauromataſq; truces:
Pannonius sensit, quantum surgebat in armis
Vis mea: quæ latio cognita nuper erat.
Arsacidæ sensere manus has, sensit Arabsque:
Et mea sunt Persæ cognita tela duci.
Mens fuerat bellare Rhodum, superare superbam
Italiam, sed non fata dedere modum.
Hei mihi, nam rapuit mors aspera, quæque sub alto
Pectore condideram, vertit & hora breuis.
Sic hominum fastus pereunt, sic stemata, sicque
Imperium, atque aurum, quicquid & orbis habet.

In Englifh thus.

I that ſo many nations, townes,
and kingdomes, haue brought low;
And haue alone diſmaied the world,
and fill'd the earth with woe:
Am now by death (which all deuoures)
brought downe from high degree;
Yet doth the glorie of my name
ſurmount the ſtarrie skie.
The great King *Alexanders* fame,
the world no better fil'd:
Nor worthie *Hannibal*, whoſe force
ſo many Romans kil'd.
I vanquiſht the victorious Greekes,
and tam'd with mightie hand,
The warlike people of Epire,
and fierce Tartaria land.
My force in field Hungaria felt,
my greatneſſe is there knowne:
Which of late time through Italie,
to their great ruth is blowne.
Th'Aſſyrians felt my heauie hand:
ſo did th'Arabians wild:
The Perſian King with all his force,
I driue out of the field.
I purpoſed to win the Rhodes,
and Italie t'vndoe;
If that the fatall Deſtinies
had granted leaue thereto.
But woe is me, for griſly death
hath brought all this to nought:
And in the twinckling of an eye
is periſht all I thought.
So periſheth the pride of man,
his honour, wealth, and power,
His gold, and whatſoeuer elſe,
it fadeth as a flower.

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, SECOND OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH KING AND FIRST EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS, FOR HIS MANY VICTORIES SYRNAMED THE *GREAT*.

C THE report of the death of old *Amurath* the late king, was in ſhort time blown thorow moſt part of Chriſtendome, to the great joy of many; but eſpecially of the Greeks and other poore Chriſtians which bordered vpon the tyrants kingdome; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkiſh King, to make exchange alſo of their bad eſtate and fortune: and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldeſt ſonne *Mahomet*, after the death of his father, would haue imbraced the Chriſtian Religion, being in his childhood inſtructed therein (as was ſuppoſed) by his mother the daughter of the Prince of Seruia, a Chriſtian. But vaine was this hope, and the joy thereof but ſhort, as afterward by proofe it appeared: For *Mahomet* being about the age of one and twentie yeares, ſucceeding
D his father in the kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1450, embraced in ſhew the Mahometan Religion, abhorring the Chriſtian; but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or of the other, but as a meere Atheiſt, deuoyd of all Religion, and worſhipping no other god but good Fortune, derided the ſimplicitie of all ſuch as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions: which graceleſſe reſolution ſo wrought in him, that he thought all things lawfull that agreed with his luſt, and making conſcience of nothing, kept no league, promiſe, or oath, longer than ſtood with his profit or pleaſure. 1450. *Mahomet of no Religion.*

Now in the Court men ſtood diuerſly affected towards the preſent ſtate: the mighty Baſſa's, and others of great authoritie, vnto whom the old Kings gouernment was neuer grieuous, inwardly lamented his death; doubting leſt the fierce nature of the yong King ſhould turn to the hurt of ſome of them in particular, and the ſhottning of their authoritie in generall, as indeed it ſhortly after it fell out. But the luſtie gallants of the Court weary of the old king, who in hope of preferment had long wiſhed for the gouernment of the yong Prince, were glad to
E ſee him ſet vpon his fathers ſeat. And the vulgar people (neuer conſtant but in vnconſtancie, and always fawning vpon the preſent) exceedingly rejoyced in their yong King. The Ianizaries alſo at the ſame time (according to their accuſtomed manner) took the ſpoile of the Chriſtians and Iews that dwelt amongſt them, and eaſily obtained pardon for the ſame: whereupon he was by the ſame Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the Court; with great triumph ſaluted King. Which approbation of theſe men of war, is vnto the Turkiſh Kings a greater aſſurance for the poſſeſſion of their Kingdome, than to be borne the eldeſt ſon of the King, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare: ſo great is the power of theſe maſterfull ſlaues, in promo-
F ting to the kingdome whichſoeuer of the Kings ſons they moſt fauour, without much regard whether they be the eldeſt or not.

This yong tyrant was no ſooner poſſeſſed his father's kingdome, but that he forgetting the lawes of nature, was preſently in perſon himſelf about to haue murthered with his owne hands, *Mahomet murdereth his brethren.*

hands, his youngeſt brother, then but eighteene moneths old, begotten on the daughter of *Sponderbeius*. Which vnnaturall part, *Moſes* one of his Baſſaes, and a man greatly in his fauour, perceiuing, requeſted him, not to embrue his own hands in the bloud of his brother, but rather to commit the execution thereof to ſome other: which thing *Mahomet* commanded him the author of that counſell forthwith to do. So *Moſes* taking the child from the nurſe, ſtrangled it, with pouring water downe the throat thereof. The young lady vnderſtanding of the death of her child (as a woman whom furie had made paſt feare) came, and in her rage reuiled the tirant to his face, ſhamefully vpbraiding him for his inhumane cruelty. When *Mahomet* to appeaſe her furie, requeſted her to be content, for that it ſtood with the policie of his ſtate: and willed her for her better contentment, to aske whatſoeuer ſhe pleaſed, and ſhe ſhould forthwith haue it. But ſhe deſiring nothing more than in ſome ſort to be reuenged, deſired to haue *Moſes* (the executioner of her ſonne) deliuered vnto her, bound: which when ſhe had obtained, ſhe preſently ſtruck him into the breaſt with a knife (crying in vaine vpon his vnthankful maſter for helpe:) and proceeding in her cruell execution, cut an hole in his right ſide, and by peece-meale cut out his liuer, and caſt it to the dogs to eat. At the ſame time alſo he cauſed another of his brethren, committed by his father to the keeping of *Caly Baſſa*, and now by him betraid into his hands, to be likewiſe murthered.

A cruell reuenge of an angry woman.

Mahomet reformeth the Turkiſh common-weale.

Thus beginning his tyrannous raign with the bloudy execution of them that were in bloud neereſt vnto him, & whom of all others he ought to haue defended, he preſently after began to frame a new form of a common weale, by abrogating & altering the old laws and cuſtoms, and publiſhing of new, better fitting his owne humor, and more commodious for himſelfe: impoſing alſo new taxes and ſubſidies vpon his ſubiects, neuer before heard off: thereby to increaſe his treaſures, and ſatisfie his auaritious deſire: which amongſt many other his vices, ſo much raigned in him, as that he was thought ouer-ſparing vnto himſelfe, as wel in his apparel as in his diet. And proceeding further, he called vnto ſtrait account all the great officers of his kingdome: of whom ſome hee put to death, and confiſcated their goods: others hee put to great fines, or quite remoued them from their offices. In like maner he dealt alſo with his great Baſſaes, admitting many falſe and ſurmiſed accuſations againſt them: whereby to bring them within his danger, where little mercie was to be looked for. By which meanes he became no leſſe terrible vnto his ſubiects, than he was afterwards vnto his enemies: & ſo was of them exceedingly feared, but more hated. Among other things, he much miſliked in his court the exceſſiue number of faulconers and huntſmen; which was grown ſo great by the immoderate delight which his predeceſſors tooke in the pleaſures of the field, that there were continually maintained of the Kings charge, ſeuen thouſand faulconers, and not many fewer huntſmen; ſaying, that he would not be ſo much a foole, as to maintain ſuch a multitude of men to attend vpon ſo meere a vanity. And therefore tooke order, that from thenceforth there ſhould be allowance made for 500 faulconers only, and 100 huntſmen: the reſt he appointed to ſerue as ſoldiers in his wars. At the ſame time alſo he entred into league with *Conſtantinus Palaologus* the Emperor of Conſtantinople, and the other Ptinces of Grecia: as alſo with the Deſpot of Seruia, his grand father by the mothers ſide, as ſome wil haue it; howbeit, ſome others write, that the Deſpot his daughter, *Amurath* his wife, was but his mother in law, whom he, vnder the colour of friendſhip ſent backe againe vnto her father after the death of *Amurath*, ſtill allowing her a princely dowre. But if ſhe were not his mother (as like enough it is that ſhe was not) much more happie was ſhe that ſhe neuer groned for ſo graceleſſe a ſonne.

1451

Mahomet goeth againſt the king of Caramania.

Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his ciuill affaires, *Ibrahim* King of Caramania, who long before had maried *Amuraths* ſiſter, and yet for all that, had (as his anceſtors had before him) alwaies enuied the proſperous ſucceſſe of the *Othoman* Kings, tooke occaſion in the firſt yeare of *Mahomet* his raigne, with fire and ſword to inuade his dominions in Aſia. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood, he diſplaced *Iſa* his lieutenant in Aſia, as a man not ſufficient to mannage ſo great warres, and appointed *Iſaac Baſſa* in his roome, a moſt valiant man of war, vpon whom not long before hee had vpon ſpeciall fauour beſtowed in marriage the faire daughter of *Sponderbeius*, one of his fathers wiues, of whom we haue ſpake before. This great Baſſa paſſing ouer into Aſia, raiſed a great army. After whom followed *Mahomet* in perſon himſelfe with a greater, out of Europe: and hauing all his forces together, entered with great hoſtilitie into Caramania. But the Caramanian King perceiuing himſelfe vnable to withſtand ſo

ſo puiſſant an enemie, fled into the ſtrength of the great mountaines, and by his embaſſadours offered vnto *Mahomet* ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace, as that hee was content to accept thereof. Which after they had by ſolemne oath on both parts confirmed, *Mahomet* returned with his armie to Pruſa: but when hee was come thither, the Ianizaries preſuming that they might be bold with the young King: putting themſelues in order of battell, came and with great inſolencie demanded of him a donatiue or largious, as a reward of their good ſeruice done. With which ſo great preſumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed: but for ſo much as they were his beſt ſoldiers, and alreadie in armes, he wiſely diſſembled his anger for the preſent, hauing a little before had warning thereof by *Abedin Baſſa*, and *Turechan-beg*, two of his great captains, who had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter: wherefore to content them, he cauſed ten great bags of aſpers to be ſcattered among them, and ſo pacified the matter. But within few dais after, he cauſed *Doganes* (the Aga or chiefe captain of the Ianizaries) to be brought before him, and to be ſhamefully whipt: and ſo preſently diſcharging him of his office, placed one *Muſtapha* in the ſame. The like ſeuerity he vſed againſt the reſt of the vnder-captains, cauſing them to be cruelly ſcourged and beaten like ſlaues: which in that tyrannical gouernment is an vſuall puniſhment, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the king to bee inflicted vpon any man, without reſpect of degree or calling, if he be not a natural Turke born. Preſently after he ſent *Iſaack* his lieutenant againſt *Elias* Prince of Menteſia or Caria, by whom the poore Prince was driuen out of his countrey: euer ſince which time it hath remained in ſubiection to the Turkiſh Kings, as part of their Kingdome and Empire.

Menteſia ſubdued by the Turkes.

1452

When *Mahomet* had thus ended the Caramanian war, and was determined with his army to returne to Hadrianople, he was aduertiſed, That the ſtraits of Helleſpontus were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian fleet, that he could not there poſſibly paſſe ouer but with moſt manifeſt danger: wherefore he tooke his way through that part of Bythinia which lyeth aboue Conſtantinople, and came to the caſtle which the Turkes call *Acce-Chiſar*, and the Grecians λευκὸς πύργος, or white caſtle, ſtanding vpon the narrow ſtrait of Boſphorus on Aſia ſide, and there paſſed ouer into Europe at the ſame place where his father *Amurath* had not many yeares before in like manner found paſſage. Where when he was ſafely got ouer with his armie, he by the aduice of his Baſſaes encamped faſt by the ſea ſide, and there preſently began to build a great ſtrong caſtle cloſe vnto the ſtraits of Boſphorus, neere vnto Propontis, on Europe ſide, directly ouer againſt the other caſtle in Aſia. For the ſpeedie accompliſhment of which work, he aſſembled thither all the workmen he could poſſibly get out of Europe and Aſia, apportioning vnto his captaines and ſouldiers of his armie part of the worke alſo: by whoſe induſtrie and labour, that great building was in ſhorter time brought to perfection, than was by any man at the firſt expected. This caſtle which for the greatneſſe thereof is of moſt writers reputed for a citie, was by the Turks named *Genichiſar*, and of the Grecians *Neocaſtron*, or New caſtle, and alſo *Lamocaſtron*, or caſtle vpon the ſtraits; and was there by the Turkes built, as well for the ſafetie of their owne paſſage too and fro, as for to hinder the paſſage of the Chriſtians through thoſe narrow ſtraits, they now poſſeſſing the ſtrong forts on both ſides: and therby alſo to diſtreſſe the citie of Conſtantinople, from whence this caſtle was not aboue fiue miles diſtant. When *Mahomet* in the ſecond yere of his raign had finiſht this great caſtle, with ſome other ſmall forts about the ſame, and alſo repaired the other caſtle in Aſia ouer againſt it, hee placed therein ſtrong garriſons, and furniſhed the ſame with artillerie; in ſuch ſort, that no ſhip could paſſe through the ſtrait of Boſphorus into the great Euxine, or blacke ſea, but ſhee was in danger to be ſunke: whereby the rich trade which the marchants of Venice, Genua, & Conſtantinople, had to Caffa, and other places lying vpon the Euxine, were almoſt quite cut off, to the great hinderance of thoſe eſtates. Now *Mahomet* by nature ambitious, and withall deſirous to doe ſome ſuch thing as the glorie whereof might farre paſſe the fame of his predeceſſors, thoght nothing more anſwerable to his high conceits, than to attempt the winning of Conſtantinople, and the vtter ſubuerſion of the Greeke empire: Whereupon his father *Amurath*, and his great grandfather *Baiazet*, had before in vaine ſpent their forces. Beſides that, it grieued him to ſee that goodly citie, the antient ſeat of the Chriſtian empire, to bee ſo commodiouſly ſcituated, as it were in the middeſt of his kingdome, and not to bee at his command. Hereunto the ſmall power of the Greeke Emperour himſelfe, and the other Chriſtian Princes at the ſame time at mortall diſcord amongſt themſelues, miniſtred vnto his greedie deſire

Mahomet maketh preparation for the beſieging of Conſtantinople.

desire no small hope of successe, and serued as spurs to prick him forward vnto so great an enterprise. Wherefore al the Winter he caused great preparation to be made of shipping & other warlike prouision both for sea and land: and gaue out commissions for the leuying of a mightie army, to be in readinesse against the next Spring. But whither he would imploy the same, no man could certainly tel: some ghessing one thing and some another, as the manner of men is, when such extraordinarie preparation is at hand. *Constantinus* the eight of that name, then Emperor of Constantinople, a Prince of a mild and soft spirit, fitter for the Church than for the field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkish King, and fearing least that tempest then growing, should vpon the sudden break forth vpon himselfe, first made such preparation as his owne small abilitie would extend vnto. And then sent his embassadours vnto other Christian Princes, earnestly craving their aid and assistance in that his dangerous estate. But that labour was lost, and all his suit vaine: for they beeing at variance ore with another, and hauing more care of priuate reuenge, than how to repulse the common enemie of Christianitie, could not, or would not affoord him any helpe at all. *Nicholas* the fifth of that name, then Bishop of Rome, with *Alphonsus* King of Naples, and the State of Venice, promised to haue sent him thirtie gallies, but none for all that came.

Constantinus the Emperor in vaine craueth aid of the Christian Princes.

There were by chance at Constantinople certain ships and gallies of Venice, Genua, Crete and Chios, of whom the Emperour made stay: at which time also it chanced, that *Ioannes Iustinianus*, an aduenturer of Genua, who had beene scouring those seas, came to Constantinople with two tall ships, and foure hundred souldiers: where he was entertained by the Emperour. And forasmuch as he was a man honorably descended, and supposed to be both of great courage and direction, was by the Emperour appointed Generall of all his forces next vnto himselfe. He also entertained six thousand Greekes: which, with three thousand Venetians, Genowaies and others, whom he had made stay of, ioyned vnto the citizens, was al the weak strength he had to relie vpon, for the defence of his state and empire.

1453 Against the beginning of the Spring, the Turkish king had in readinesse a great and puissant army of three hundred thousand men, of whom, the greatest part were taken out of Bulgaria, Seruia, Rascia, Thessalia, Macedonia, & Grecia, which as yet were called the Christian countries, and were themselues either indeed Christians, or else such renegates as had not long before forsaken the Christian faith: vnto these also were ioyned diuers other Christians which came out of Germanie, Bohemia, and Hungarie, to serue the Turke in his wars. This hath bin none of the least means, whereby the Turkish Kings haue growne so great, and their kingdome so mightily inlarged, by inforcing and alluring Christians to fight against Christians, to the vtter confusion of themselues. Among the great multitude of the European Christians, were mingled his effeminate souldiers of Asia, and his naturall Turks and Ianizaries, which were in number fewest, and yet commanded all the rest.

Vide Leonardi Chiensis Archiepiscopi Mitylen. hist. de captiuitate Constantinopolitana.

Mahomet encampeth before Constantinople.

With this great army, well appointed with all warlike prouision, came *Mahomet* the Turkish King from Hadrianople: and the ninth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1453, encamped before Constantinople, and with the multitude of his armie filled all the maine land before the citie, from the seaside of Bosphorus, vnto the place where the same sea compassing in the city on two parts, and running far into the land betwixt Constantinople and Pera, maketh there a goodly hauen betwixt them.

The situation of Constantinople.

This citie of Constantinople (called in antient time Bizantium) is in forme of a Triangle, scituated in Europe in the pleasant countrey of Thracia, vpon a point of the maine land shooting out towards Asia, called of *Plinie* and *Solinus*, the promontorie Chrysoceras; where the sea of Propontis ioyneth vnto that strait of sea, which diuideth Asia from Europe, called in antient time Bosphorus Thracius; sometime the straite of Pontus; and the mouth of Pontus; and of the moderne writers, the strait of Constantinople; and about two hundred yeares past, or more, S. *George* his arme. This point of the maine, whereon the citie standeth, lyeth about two Italian miles more Northward than doth the auntient citie of Calcedon, on the other side of the strait in Asia: more than thirtie miles distant from the Euxine or blacke Sea, lying from it Northward: And two hundred miles from the strait of Hellespontus or Calipolis, from thence South. Which noble Citie (of all others most fitly seated for the Empire of The World, and with great maiestie ouerlooking both Europe and Asia) is by the Cosmographers accounted to stand in the height of 43 degrees, vpon seuen little hils, of no

A no great and easie ascent: and was there first built by *Pausanias* the Lacedemonian King, and called Bizantium, and so many yeares flourished as a populous and rich citie, vntill the ciuill wars betwixt *Seuerus* the Emperor, and *Niger*: what time it indured the siege of the Romans vnder *Seuerus*, three yeres, with such obstinacie, that it yelded not vntil it was brought to such extremitie, that the citizens did eat one another; and then yeelding, had the wals ouerthrown by *Seuerus*, and the citie it selfe destroyed, and brought to the low estate of a poore countrey village, and so by him giuen to the Perinthyans. In which base estate it continued vntill the time of *Constantine* the Great, the son of *Helena* (whom some will needs haue to haue beene an English woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with buildings so stately and sumptuous, that vnto the strange beholders it seemed a dwelling place for heauenly wights, rather rather than for earthly men. And to grace it the more, translated his imperiall seat thither, and called it *Noua Roma*, or New Rome; and all that pleasant part of Thracia alongst the sea coast of Hellespontus, Propontis, and Bolphorus, by the name of Romania, of the faire Romane colonies there by him planted; which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turkes called Rumilia and Rum-Ili, that is to say, the Romane countrey. But as for the citie it selfe, the glorious name of the founder so preuailed, that the citie was and yet is of him called Constantinople, or *Constantine* his citie: and now of the barbarous Turks commonly, but corruptly, Stamboli. It is (as we said) built in the forme of a Triangle, whereof the longest side, which runneth from Northeast to Southwest, is on the South side washed with the Propontis; and towards the ending of the point, which is about the seuen towers, is somewhat indented; being commonly reputed to be eight miles long. The other side lieth East and West fiue miles

Constantinople built by Pausanias, destroyed by Seuerus, reedified by Constantine the Great, & now taken by Mahomet the Turke.

B

C in length, being washed with the hauen, which is somwhat more than eight miles long before it meet with the fresh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad: on the further side whereof standeth the citie of Pera, commonly called Galata, sometimes a colonie of the Genowaies. This hauen is very deepe, & by that reason as commodious as deep, bearing ships ful fraught close to the shoare, so that they may discharge their burthens with the least trouble that may be; and is of *Strabo* called *Cornu Bizantij*, or the Horne of Bizantium. The third side of this citie towards the Continent, lieth almost North and South fiue miles also in length: those two sides that lie vpon the sea, and the hauen, are enuironed and girt in with a single wal, built after the antique maner, with many high towers, which strongly defend and flanke the same. Without which wals (especially towards the hauen) there lieth a street between them and the shore.

D But the other side, which is the third, & regardeth the maine land (beside the ditch, which is also fenced) is defended with three wals: the first wal standing vpon the ditch being but low; and the second not far distant from the first, raised somwhat higher; but the third ouerlooketh and commandeth both the other; from whence as from an high fortresse both the other wals and al the ditch without may easily be defended. But the two vtter wals, with the whole space betwixt them, are now by the Turks but slenderly maintained, lying full of earth and other rubbish, euen as they were in the time of the Grecians: som cause why they with lesse heart & courage defended the same against their barbarous enemies. In the East part of the city, on that point which in the raigne of the Grecians was called the cape of S. *Demetrio*, distant from Asia not much more than halfe a mile, stands the Seraglio or pallace of the great Turk, containing in it selfe a great part of an hil, enclosed round with a wall, as if it were it selfe a citie, in circuit more than two miles: wherein amongst other stately buildings, neere vnto the sea standeth a

E very faire and sumptuous gallerie, built for pleasure, with a priuy gate wel fortified and planted with great ordnance, and other munition, whereby the great Turke at certaine times passeth, when he is disposed in his gally to take his pleasure vpon the sea, or to passe ouer the strait vnto his houses or gardens of delight, on the other side in Asia. In this great city are also many other most stately and sumptuous buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkish Sultans, since they became Lords therof, as before by the Greeke Emperours: amongst all which the Temple of S. *Sophia* standing on the East side of the citie, not far from the Seraglio (now reduced vnto the form of a Mahometan Moschie, & whither the great Turke goeth oftentimes to

F heare seruice, being indeed but the sanctuarie or chancel only of the great, stately, & wonderful church built by *Iustinian* the Emperor) is most beautifull and admirable. That which standeth of it now, is both round and very high, built after the fashion of the Pantheon in Rome, but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top as is that: the wals thereof being of the finest

The magnificent temple of S. Sophia.

marble, and the floore al paued with faire marble also. In the middest there is a very great and large circle, compassed in with high and huge pillars of most excellent marble of diuers sorts, and these support a mightie vault that beareth vp as many mo pillars aboue, standing after the very same order, and in a downe-right line, almest of the like greatnesse and goodnesse of the marble with the other below: vpon which, aboue the second vault in manner of a loouar, resteth the great round roofe which couereth all that space of the Church which is compassed with the aforesaid pillars: being all enameled and fillited, with the pictures of Saints, after the antient manner of some great Churches in Christendome: but that the Turks, who like not to haue any pictures in their churches, haue put out their eies only, as loth to spoile such a rare peece of work, and vtterly to deface it. In like maner the wals of the vpper vault are wrought, painted, or portraied after the same order, though in some part decaied, by reason of their long continuance and standing. About this church are eightene or twentie coores of brasse, right faire and costly, well declaring the magnificence and greatnesse thereof in more antient times, when as it had (as is reported) more than two hundred doores of like making and greatnesse: and beside the hugenesse of the frame and building it selfe, had also diuers faire monasteries and houses of religion ioined vnto it: wherunto belonged six thousand Priests, whose houses and lodgings extended almost all ouer the place where now the Turkes pallace standeth, and the other places adioining to this great church, which is now their chiefe Moschie, & called by them by the proper name of S. *Sophia*, because they hold euen as we doe, the wisdome of God to be incomprehensible & infinit. The next in magnificence vnto this, is the Moschie of *Solyman*, wherin he lieth buried, & his welbeloued wife the faire *Roxolana*: a work wel beseeming the maiesty of so mighty a Monarch. There are beside these also many other faire Moschies, Seraglioes for the Turke his wiues and concubins, Bezastanes or Burses for marchants, Obeliskes, Bathes, & other publick edifices and buildings of great maiestie and state, all well worth the beholding: wherin consisteth al the beauty of this so antient and renowned a city; far vnlike to that it was in the time of the first Greek Emperors, and before it was spoiled by the Latines. For the Turks priuat houses in this so great and imperiall a citie, so much renowned through the world, are for the most part low & base, after the Turkish fashion, built some of wood, some of stone, and some of vnburnt brick, laid with clay and dirt, which quickly decaieth again: they after their homely manner (by long custome receiued) neuer building any thing sumptuously for their own priuat vse, but contenting themselues with their simple cottages, how mean soeuer, commonly saying them to be good enough for the short time of their pilgrimage: and yet not sparing for any cost vpon the publick buildings and ornaments of the common weale, which they build with great maiesty & pomp; but specially their Moschies, wherein they excell. Neuertheless, there yet are in Constantinople some other houses also built high and comely enough; but these be few, and very old, all inhabited by the Christians and Iewes, and not by the Turks; but of this enough. And so againe to our purpose.

The fragilitie of the Turks in their priuate buildings.

The Turks fleet

Mahomet with his puissant armie thus encamped before the citie, placing his Asian soldiers on the right hand towards the Bosphorus; his European soldiers on the left hand, toward the hauen; lay himselfe with 15000 Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court, in the middle betwixt both, against the heart of the citie. On the farther side of the hauen also by Pera, he placed *Zoganus*, one of his chiefe counsellors, with another part of his army. At which time also *Pantologes* his Admirall came to the siege, with a fleet of 30 gallies: and 200 other small ships, and a number of other lesser vessels, which were rowed with three, or fiue oares a peece, ful of Turkish archers, fitter for shew than seruice. But for defence of the hauen, and so of the city on that side, the Emperor had caused the hauen to be strongly chaind ouerthwart from the citie to Pera: and within the chaine had orderly placed his strong fleet, the greatest strength wherof was seuen great ships of Genua, with three gallies, and two galliots of Venice, three of Creet, and a few others of the Island of Chios; all which were there, rather by chance vpon marchants affaires, then that they were prouided for any such seruice: yet by this means the Turks fleet was shut out of the hauen, and so the citie put in good safetie on that side.

When *Mahomet* had thus conueniently encamped his armie, and surrounded the citie both by sea & land: he first cast vp great trenches as neere as he possibly could vnto the wals of the citie, & raised mounts in diuers places as high as the wals themselues, from whence the Turks with their shot greatly annoied the defendants. After that, he placed his battery against one of the

A the gates of the city called Calegaria, and terribly battered the same, specially with one peece of ordnance of a wonderfull greatnesse, which with much difficultie was brought from Hadrianople with an hundred and fiftie yoke of oxen, and carried a bullet of an hundred pound weight, made (as his other shot was) of a kind of hard blacke stone brought from the Euxine sea: for as yet (as it seemeth) so soone after the inuention of that fatal engine, the vse of bullets of mettall was vnknowne. There with continuall batterie, hee terribly shooke the wals, which although they were very strong, yet were they not able to withstand the furie of so great a batterie. The Christians also out of the citie discharged their great artillerie vpon the Turks, but so sparingly, as if they had bin afraid to shake their owne wals, or loth for good husbandrie, to spend shot & poulder, which was to the canoniers very sparingly allowed: yet that
B which was spent, was so well bestowed, that the Turks were therewith greeuously annoyed. The breach also which they had made at the aforesaid gate, was by the defendants with great and dangerous labour againe repaired with faggots and earth, and such like matter best seruing for that purpose, and so made stronger than before. In which most dangerous worke, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by *Iustinianus* the Genoway, the Emperors lieutenant generall for defence of the citie.

Constantinople vnfortunately besieged by the Turkes.

Yet for all this dilligence of the Christians, *Mahomet* continued his batterie with no lesse furie than before: but reposing greater hope to finde a way into the citie, by the spade and mattocke, than by batterie; he employed his pioners, whereof he had great store, to digge a mine: being altogether directed by Christians skilfull in that kind of worke, whom hee had for that purpose entertained. By whose cunning direction, with the industrious labour of the
C poore pioners, the mine was brought to such perfection, that part of the wal, with one of the strong towers in the same, was quite vndermined, and stood supported, but with such vntrusty staies as the pioners had left for the bearing vp thereof til such time as it should be by the tyrants appointment blown vp. This dangerous work was neither perceiued, neither yet feared by the Constantinopolitans, as a thing not possible to haue bin done: forasmuch as *Baiazet* & *Amurath* had both with great labour before in vaine attempted the same, at such time as they hardly besieged the city. But that which those great kings had with much vaine labor by vnskilfull men made proofe of, *Mahomet* had now by men of greater deuice, brought to passe; although it took not such effect as he wished: for one *Io. Grando*, a German captaine, and a man
D of great experience, suspecting the matter, had caused a countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turks was in good time discouered, and they with fire and sword driuen out of the mine, and the same strongly filled vp againe, and so the citie for that time deliuered of a great feare and danger. *Mahomet* perceiuing that it auailed him not to continue his batterie against that place, which was againe so strongly repaired, remoued the same, and planted it against a tower called Bactatina, neere vnto the gate called Porta-Romana, or, Romane gate. Which tower shaken with continuall batterie, at length fell downe, and filled the ditch before the vtter wall, euen with the ground. But this breach was also speedily and with great courage made vp againe by the defendants, although the Turkes did what they could, with continuall shot, to haue driuen them from the same. At which time they also erected certaine high towers of timber, couered with raw hides to defend the same from fire, out of which they with their shot slew many of the Christians vpon the wals, & in making good the aforesaid breach: but *Mahomet* seeing this valiantnesse of the defendants, openly said, That it was
E neither the Grecians skill, nor courage, but the Frenchmen that defended the citie: for the Turks commonly call all the Christians of the West by the name of Frankes or Frenchmen.

Seuentie of the Turks galliots brought eight miles ouer land (by the deuice of a Christian) into the hauen of Constantinople.

The cheerefulnesse and industrie of the Christians in defending and repairing the aforesaid breach, was so great, that the Turkish King beganne almost to despaire of winning the citie; which he could no way assault but on one side. When as a bad Christian in his camp, put him againe in good hope, by shewing vnto him a deuice how to bring a great part of his fleet ouer land into the heauen, & therby to assault that part of the city by water, which the citizens lest feared: by which ingenious deuice, and by the great strength of men, *Zoganus Bassa* (to whom
F that charge was committed) brought seuentie of the lesser ships & galliots, with al their sailes abroad (to the great admiration of all that saw them) vp a great hil, and so by dry land, out of the Bosphorus behind Pera, the space of eight miles, into the hauen of Constantinople, which running in betweene the citie and Pera, runneth into the maine Land (as we haue said) about

eight

eight miles. The Christian that discouered this deuice vnto the king, is supposed to haue learned it of the Venetians, who not long before had done the like at the lake of Bennacus. Glad was *Mahomet* to see so many of his ships and gallies in the hauen, and the Christians with the sight thereof no lesse discouraged. Neuertheless, they attempted to haue burnt those vessels as they were in launching, but the Turks had so commodiously placed certain pieces of great Ordnance for their defence, that the formost of the gallies of the Christians, approching the Turks fleet, was presently sunke; wherewith the rest dismaied, returned backe from whence they came. Certaine of the Christians of the lost gallie, whom the Turks tooke vp swimming in the hauen, were the next day cruelly slain in the sight of the Christians: in reuenge whereof, certaine Turks before taken prisoners into Constantinople, were forthwith brought to the top of the wals, and there in the sight of the campe with like crueltie put to death.

A wonderfull bridge made by the Turks ouer the hauen of Constantinople.

Mahomet thus possessed of the hauen, shortly after caused a wonderfull bridge to be made quite ouer the hauen, from *Zoganus* his campe which lay by Pera, vnto the wals of Constantinople: which bridge was built with timber and plankes, borne vp with small boats and emptie caske, after a most strange manner, and was in length more than halfe a mile: by which bridge his armie came ouer the hauen, to assault the citie on that side also.

A notable fight betweene foure of the Christians ships, and the Turks fleet.

In the meane time, three tall Genoway ships laded with men and munition from the Iland of Chios, with one of the Emperours laded with corne from Sicilia, came with a faire winde for Constantinople. The Turks great fleet then lying not far off, within the sight of the camp, set vpon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turks were slaine with shot, the gallies boorded the ships: but beeing much lower, were so far from doing any good, as that the Turks could not well looke out, but they were from aboue slaine or wounded. *Mahomet* from the shore beholding the vnequal fight, and slaughter of his men, cried out aloud, swearing and blaspheming God, and in great rage rid into the sea as far as he durst; and comming backe againe rent his clothes, faring with himselfe like a mad man. The whole army of the Turkes beholding the same fight at sea, was filled with like indignation also, but could nothing remedie the matter. The great fleete ashamed in the sight of their King to be ouercome of so few ships, did what they might desperatly to enter: but all in vaine, being continually ouerwhelmed with shot and stones from aboue, and valiantly beaten downe by the Christian souldiers. At length wearie of their losse, they were glad with dishonour to fal off again, and to get them farther off. The report of the losse the Turks sustained in this fight, is almost incredible: some of the Turkes fugitiues reported, almost ten thousand Turks to haue there perished: but certaine it is, that such was the losse, as filled the whole armie with indignation and sorrow, many hauing there lost their kinsemen or friends. Three of these ships that had made this fight, arriued in safetie at Constantinople, the other was lost. *Mahomet* vpon this ouerthrow conceiued such displeasure against *Pantogles* his Admirall, who in that fight had lost one of his eyes, that he neuertheles thrust him out of his office, confiscated his goods, and was hardly by the great Bassaes intreated to spare his life.

Whilest *Mahomet* thus lay at the siege of Constantinople, and had thereunto giuen many great attempts, with more losse vnto himselfe than to the defendants, a rumor was raised in his camp, of great aid that was comming out of Italie by sea, and out of Hungarie by land, for the reliefe of the besieged. This report (although indeed it was not true) with the due consideration of the danger of the siege, filled the Turks camp with feare: so that the souldiers commonly murmured amongst themselues, saying, That to satisfie the ambitious humour of their young King, they were led to fight against impregnable wals & fortresses, yea against the bars of nature it selfe, without all reason: Whereupon *Mahomet* entered into consultation with the three great Bassaes his counsellors, Whether it were best for him to continue the siege or not. When *Caly Bassa*, sometime his tutor, a man of greatest authority among the Turks, both for his long experience and high place, and withall secretly fauouring the distressed Emperour; after hee had with long & graue discourse declared the difficulty or rather impossibilitie of the wished successe in that present war; & confirmed the same, by producing the examples of *Baiazet* his great grandfather, and of *Amurath* his father, who had both in vaine made proofe of their strength against that city: at length concluded, that in his mind it were best for him to raise his siege, & to depart before he had sustained any further losse or disgrace: but *Zoganus* the second Bassa, in great fauor also with *Mahomet*, and secretly enuying the greatnesse of *Caly Bassa*, perswaded

A suaded the K. to proceed in his honorable enterprise: assuring him of the good successe thereof, and with all the reasons he could deuise, impugned that which *Caly Bassa* had said. And of the same opinion with *Zoganus* was also the third Bassa, rather of purpose to crosse *Caly-Bassa*, and withal to fit the Kings humor, than for any great hope he had in the good successe of that he so much desired. Howbeit the speech he & *Zoganus* deliuered, so wel agreed with the kings affection, that he resolued to continue the siege: and thereupon gaue full authority to *Zoganus* to appoint a day for a great and generall assault to bee giuen, resoluing at once to gage all his forces vpon the winning of the city. Which charge *Zoganus* gladly took vpon him, & with his good liking, appointed the 29 day of May for the general assault, being then the tuesday next following. In the meane time he sent one *Ismael*, the son of *Alexander* Prince of Sinope, embassador vnto the Emperour, to offer him peace: but vpon such hard conditions, as were no lesse
B to be refused than death it selfe. Which thing he did, partly to satisfie the minds of his Turks (who are for most part of opinion, That God will not prosper them in their assaults, except they first make vnto their enemies some offer of peace, how vnreasonable soeuer it forceth not) and partly to make proofe what confidence the enemy yet had in himself, for the holding out of the siege. But that dishonorable peace so offered, together with the intolerable conditions, was by the emperor honorably refused: who no lesse feared the Turks faith (if he should haue accepted therof) than he did the hardnes of the conditions. Three daies before this fatal assault was to be giuen, the Turks (according to their maner) kept their solemne fast, eating nothing al the day vntil night; and then making the greatest cheare & ioy they could deuise, and in the winding vp of the same, took their leaue one of another, with such kissing & imbracing
C as if they should neuer haue met againe. At the same time *Mahomet* to encourage his soldiers, caused proclamation to be made thorow his camp, That he would freely giue all the spoile of the citie for three daies vnto his souldiers, if they could win it: and for confirmation thereof, solemnly swore the Turks great oath, By the immortall God, and by the foure hundred Prophets, by *Mahomet*, by his fathers soule, by his owne children, and by the sword wherewith he was girt, faithfully to performe whatsoeuer he had to them in his proclamation promised.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Caly-Bassa* disdaining that his counsel was reiected, and the opinion of his aduersaries followed; by secret letters aduertised the Emperour of the day appointed for the generall assault, together with all the preparation made against him: perswading him not to be afraid of them, who were themselues no lesse afraid of him; but carefully
D to prouide to haue al things in readinesse for the defence of his city, and valiantly to withstand the rash and last attempt of his enemies.

The citizens of Constantinople without cause murmur against the Emperour.

This wofull Emperour had already done what he could to the vttermost of his power for defence of the citie, all the time of the siege: but such was the disloyaltie of the citizens his subiects, that many times they could hardly be drawne from their priuate trades and occupations, vnto the wals to withstand the enemie; foolishly affirming, That it was to no purpose for them to fight against the Turks at the breaches, & to starue for food at home in their houses. For which cause, the Emperor commanded a view to be taken of all the corne in the citie (which then began to grow very scarce;) but vpon diligent search made, such store was found
E in many mens hands, (which was by them either altogether kept in to sel afterwards at vnreasonable prises; or els so sparingly vttered, as if they had none to spare) as that it appeared, the dearth and scarcitie which then began to increase, to proceed rather of the couetousnesse of men, than of any true want of graine: this store the Emperour caused to bee proportionably diuided vnto euery family at reasonable prises, according to their spending; and so eased the great murmuring and grudging of the common people for bread. The Grecian mercinarie souldiers also, regarding more their owne priuat profit than the publicke seruice, refused any longer to go to the wals, than they were sure of their daily pay: which the poore Emperour, otherwise vnable to giue them, was glad to conuert the church plate & jewels into money, to content them. For he had many times before with teares, in vaine requested to haue borrowed money of his couetous subiects, to haue beene employed in defence of the citie; but they
F would still sweare, that they had it not, as men growne poore for want of trade: which in few daies after, their enemies found in such abundance, that they wondered at their wealth, & derided their follie, that possessing so much, they would bestow so litle in defence of themselues and their countrey. But this had beene their vsuall manner of dealing with their Emperours,

A hard shift for money.

in

in that declining ſtate of the empire : as well appeared in the time of the Emperour *Baldwin*, G who for lack of money was glad firſt to ſell away many of the goodly ornaments of the citie, and afterwards to pawne his owne ſon vnto the Venetian marchants, for money to maintaine his ſtate, as in the former part of this Hiſtorie is declared.

But to returne againe to the courſe of our Hiſtorie. The Emperour certainly aduertiſed of the enemies purpoſe, for the generall aſſault ſhortly to be giuen, firſt commended the defence of himſelfe and the citie to the protection of the almightie, by general faſting and prayer: and afterwards appointed euery captaine and commander, to ſome certaine place of the wall for defence thereof: which was done by the direction of *Io. Iuſtinianus* his Generall, in whoſe valour the Conſtantinopolitans had repoſed their greateſt hope.

But the citie being on euery ſide now beſet with the Turks great armie, and the defendants H in number but few, for ſo great a citie (in compaſſe eight miles) the wals could but ſlenderly in many places be manned, and eſpecially on both ſides toward the ſea, where indeed leaſt danger was. The greateſt ſtrength and beſt ſouldiers, were placed for defence of the vtter wall, where the breach was, and the aſſault expected by land. *Iuſtinianus* the Generall himſelfe, with three hundered Genowayes well armed, and certaine choſen Greeks vndertook the defence of that part of the battered wal, neere vnto the Roman gate, where the fall of the tower Bactatina had filled the ditch as is aforeſaid: againſt which place *Mahomet* himſelfe lay encamped, with his Ianizaries and beſt men of war. Neere vnto *Iuſtinianus* lay the Emperor himſelf, for defence of another part of the wall: and ſo other captains orderly with their companies, all alongſt the vtter wal: and becauſe the defendants ſhould haue no hope to ſaue their liues, more I than their own valour, the Emperor cauſed all the gates of the inner wal to be faſt ſhut vp: and in this ſort they lay all the night, expecting continually when the aſſault ſhould be giuen: all which time they might heare great hurly burly and noiſe in the Turks campe, as they were putting things in readineſſe for the aſſault.

Conſtantinople aſſaulted by the Turks.

A little before day, the Turkes approched the wals, and begun the aſſault, where ſhot and ſtones were deliuered vpon them from the wals, as thicke as haile; whereof little fel in vain, by reaſon of the multitude of the Turks, who preſſing faſt vnto the wals, could not ſee in the darke how to defend themſelues, but were without number wounded or ſlain: but theſe were of the common and worſt ſoldiers, of whom the Turkiſh king made no more reckoning than to abate the firſt force of the defendants. Vpon the firſt appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gaue K the ſigne appointed for the generall aſſault, whereupon the citie was in a moment & at one inſtant on euery ſide moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks: for *Mahomet*, the more to diſtreſſe the defendants, and the better to ſee the forwardneſſe of the ſouldiers, had before appointed which part of the city euery Colonel with his regiment ſhould aſſaile. Which they valiantly performed, deliuering their arrows and ſhot vpon the defendants, ſo thicke, that the light of the day was therewith darkened: others in the mean time couragiouſly mounting the ſcaling ladders, and comming euen to handie ſtrokes with the defendants vpon the wall; where the formoſt were for moſt part violently borne forward by them which followed after. On the other ſide, the Chriſtians with no leſſe courage withſtood the Turkiſh furie, beating them down again with great ſtones and weighty peeces of timber, and ſo ouerwhelmed them with L ſhot, darts, and arrowes, and other hurtfull and deadly deuices from aboue; that the Turkes diſmaied with the terrour thereof, were readie to retire.

Mahometreuoketh the aſſault.

Mahomet ſeeing the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his men, ſent in freſh ſupplies of his Ianizaries and beſt men of war, whom he had for that purpoſe reſerued as his laſt hope and refuge: by whoſe comming on his fainting ſouldiers were againe encouraged, and the terrible aſſault begun afreſh. At which time the barbarous King ceaſed not to vſe all poſſible meanes to maintaine the aſſault: by name calling vpon this and that captaine, promiſing vnto ſome whom he ſaw forward, golden mountains; and vnto others in whom he ſaw any ſigne of cowardiſe, threatning moſt terrible death: by which means the aſſault became moſt dreadfull, death there raging in the middeſt of many thouſands. And albeit that the Turks lay dead by M heapes vpon the ground, yet other freſh men preſſed on ſtil in their places, ouer their dead bodies, and with diuers euent either ſlew, or were ſlaine by their enemies.

In this ſo terrible a conflict, it chanced *Iuſtinianus* the General to be wounded in the arme; who loſing much bloud, cowardly withdrew himſelf frō the place of his charge, not leauing any

A any to ſupplie his roome, and ſo got into the citie by the gate called Romana, which he had cauſed to be opened in the inner wal: pretending the cauſe of his departure to be for the binding vp of his wound, but being indeed a man now altogether diſcouraged.

The Chriſtians forſake the wals.

The ſoldiers there preſent, diſmaied with the departure of their Generall, and ſore charged by the Ianizaries, forſooke their ſtations, and in haſte fled to the ſame gate wherby *Iuſtinianus* was entered; with the ſight whereof, the other ſouldiers diſmaied, ran thither by heaps alſo. But whileſt they violently ſtriue, al together to get in at once, they ſo wedged one another in the entrance of the gate, that few of ſo great a multitude got in: in which ſo great a preſſe & confuſion of mindes, 800 perſons were there by them that followed, trodden vnder foot, or thruſt to death. The Emperor himſelf, for ſafegard of his life flying with the reſt, in that preſſe as a man not regarded, miſerably ended his daies, together with the Greeke empire. His dead B body was ſhortly after found by the Turks among the ſlaine, and knowne by his rich apparel; whoſe head being cut off, was forthwith preſented to the Turkiſh tyrant: by whoſe commandement it was afterward thruſt vpon the point of a lance, and in great deriſion carried about as a trophie of his victorie, firſt in the campe, and afterwards vp and downe the citie.

Conſtantinople woon by the Turke.

The Turks encouraged with the flight of the Chriſtians, preſently aduanced their enſignes vpon the top of the vttermoſt wall, crying victorie; and by the breach entered as if it had bin a great floud, which hauing once found a breach in the banke, ouerfloweth, and beareth down all before it: ſo the Turks when they had won the vtter wal, entered the city by the ſame gate that was opened for *Iuſtinianus*, and by a breach which they had before made with their great artillerie; and without mercy cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further reC ſiſtance became lords of that moſt famous & imperial city. Some few there were of the Chriſtians, who preferring death before the Turkiſh ſlauerie, with their ſwords in their hands ſold their liues deare vnto their enemies: amongſt whom, the two brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus Bochiardi* Italians, with *Theophilus Palaeologus* a Greeke, and *Ioannes Stiauus* a Dalmatian, for their great valour and courage, deſerue to be had in eternal remembrance: who after they had like lions made ſlaughter of their enemies, died in the midſt of them, embrued with their bloud, rather oppreſſed by multitude, than by true valor ouercome. In this fury of the Barbarians, periſhed many thouſands of men, women, and children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. Many for ſafegard of their liues, fled into the Temple of Sophia; where they were al without pitty ſlain, except ſome few reſerued by the barbarous victors, to purpoſes more grieuous D than death it ſelfe. The rich and beautiful ornaments and iewels of that moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Church (the ſtately building of *Iuſtinianus* the Emperor) were in the turning of a hand, pluckt down and caried away by the Turks: and the Church it ſelfe built for God to be honored in, for the preſent conuerted into a ſtable for their horſes, or a place for the execution of their abhominable and vnſpeakable filthineſſe: the Image of the crucifix was alſo by them taken downe, and a Turks cap put vpon the head thereof, and ſo ſet vp and ſhot at with their arrows, and afterwards in great deriſion carried about in their campe, as it had beene in proceſſion, with drums playing before it, railing and ſpitting at it, & calling it the God of the Chriſtians. Which I note not ſo much done in contempt of the Image, as in the deſpight of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion.

But whileſt ſome were thus ſpoiling of the Churches, others were as buſie in ranſacking of priuat houſes, where the miſerable Chriſtians were enforced to endure in their perſons whatE ſoeuer pleaſed the inſolent victors: vnto whom all things were now lawfull that ſtood with their luſt, euery common ſouldier hauing power of life and death, at his pleaſure to ſpare or ſpill. At which time riches were no better than pouertie; and beautie worſe than deformitie. What tongue were able to expreſſe the miſerie of that time? or the proud inſolencie of thoſe barbarous conquerours? where of ſo many thouſands, euery man with greedineſſe fitted his own vnreaſonable deſire: all which the poore Chriſtians were inforced to indure. But to ſpeake of the hidden treaſure, mony, plate, iewels, & other riches there found, paſſeth credit, the Turks themſelues wondered thereat, and were therwith ſo enriched, that it is a proF uerbe amongſt them at this day, if any of them grow ſuddenly rich, to ſay, *He hath beene at the ſacking of Conſtantinople*: whereof if ſome reaſonable part had in time beene beſtowed vpon defence of the citie, the Turkiſh King had not ſo eaſily taken both it and the citie. But euery man was carefull how to encreaſe his own priuat wealth, few or none regarding the publicke

ſtate;

ſtate; vntill in fine, euery man with his priuat aboundance was wrapped vp together with his needy neighbor in the ſelfe-ſame common miſerie. Yea the ſecurity of the Conſtantinopolitans was ſuch, that being alwaies enuironed with their mortall enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of ſo much as the inner wal of the citie (which for beauty and ſtrength was comparable with the wals of any citie in the world, if it had been kept well repaired) but ſuffered the officers which had the charge to ſee to the fortifying of the citie, to conuert the greateſt part of the mony into their owne purſes: as appeared by *Manuel Giagerus*, a little before a very poore man; and likewiſe by *Neophitus*, who then hauing that office to ſee vnto the fortification of the citie, had in ſhort time gathered together ſeuenty thouſand florens, which became all a worthy prey vnto the greedy Turkes

After that the barbarous common ſoldier had thus by the ſpace of three daies without controlment taken his pleaſure in the citie (as *Mahomet* had before promiſed) and throughly ranſackt euery corner thereof; they then returned into the camp, with their rich ſpoiles, driuing the poore Chriſtian captiues before them, as if they had bin droues of cattell, or flocks of ſheep: a ſpectacle no leſſe lamentable, than was the ſacking of the citie. It would haue grieued any ſtonie heart to haue ſeene the noble gentlewomen and great ladies, with their beautifull children, and many other faire perſonages, who lately flowed in all worldly wealth and pleaſure, to be now become the poore and miſerable bondſlaues of moſt baſe and contemptible raſcals; who were ſo far from ſhewing them any pitie, as that they delighted in nothing more than to heape more and more miſerie vpon them, making no more reckoning of them than of dogs. There might the parents ſee the wofull miſerie of their beloued children, and the children of the parents; the husband might ſee the ſhameful abuſe of his wife, and the wife of her husband, and generally one friend of another: and yet not able to mourne together (the leaſt part of heauie comfort) being in the thraldome of diuers cruel maſters, by whom they were kept in ſunder, like in few daies to be diſperſed into diuers farre countries, without hope that they ſhould euer find releaſe, or one ſee another againe.

Mahomet ſolemniſeth his feaſts in Conſtantinople with the bloud of the Grecian nobilitie.

The ſoldiers being all retired into the campe, *Mahomet* as a proud conquerour, with great triumph entered into the citie of Conſtantinople, then deſolate and void of al Chriſtian inhabitants; and there after the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, made a ſumptuous & royal feaſt vnto his Baſſaes and other great captains: where after he had ſurcharged himſelfe with exceſſe of meat and drinke, he cauſed diuers of the chiefe Chriſtian captiues, both men and women (of whom many were of the late Emperors line and race) to be in his preſence put to death, as he with his Turkes ſate banquetting; deeming his feaſt much more ſtately by ſuch effuſion of Chriſtian bloud. Which manner of exceeding crueltie he daily vſed, vntil ſuch time as he had deſtroied al the Grecian nobilitie that was in his power, with the chiefe of the late Conſtantinopolitan citizens. At which time alſo diuers of the Venetian Senators, with *Baiulus* their Gouernour, & many rich marchants of Genua and other places of Italie, were in like manner murthered: ſo that of ſeuen and fortie Senators of Venice which were there taken (whereof moſt part came thither by chance, bound for other places, but there vnluckily ſhut vp) ſome few found the fauour, with exceeding great ranſomes to redeeme themſelues.

Amongſt theſe noblemen thus lamentably executed, was one *Lucas Leontares*, or *Notaras* commonly called *Kyr-Lucas*, or lord *Lucas*, but of late great Chancellor of Conſtantinople, a man of greateſt account next vnto the Emperor himſelfe: whom the Turkiſh tyrant ſeemed greatly to blame, that he being a man in ſo great credit with the late Emperor, perſuaded him not in time to haue ſought for peace vpon any condition, or els to haue yelded vp the city, rather than to haue run that extreme courſe of wilful miſery. He to excuſe the matter, ſaid, That the late Emperor his maſter was encouraged to hold out the ſiege, by the Venetians & citizens of Pera, from whom he receiued ſecret aid: as alſo by ſome of the greateſt men about his own perſon: for proofe wherof, he drew out of his boſome the letters which *Caly-Baſſa* had to that purpoſe written vnto the Emperor, & deliuered them to *Mahomet*, hoping therby to haue found ſome fauour. But when he had ſaid what he could, the eldeſt of his ſons then liuing (for he had loſt two elder in the time of the ſiege) was cruelly executed before his face, & the yongeſt reſerued for the tyrants luſt: and after al this miſerie, had his own head ſtruck off with the reſt appointed for that daies ſacrifice. Out of this generall calamitie eſcaped *Io. Iuſtinianus* the General, who with al ſpeed fled at firſt to Pera, and from thence to Chios, where in few daies after

after he died, of griefe of mind (as was thought) rather than of his wound, being happie if hee had honorably before ended his daies vpon the wals of Conſtantinople. *Iſidorus* alſo the Cardinal & Legat from the Pope, diſguiſed in ſimple apparel, and being of the Turks vnknowne, redeemed himſelfe for a ſmal ranſome, as if he had bin a man of none account, and ſo eſcaped: whom if *Mahomet* had knowne, he had vndoubtedly beene made ſhorter by the head.

The glorie of this famous citie of Conſtantinople continued many hundred yeares, commanding a great part of the world, vntill that by ciuill diſcord and priuate gaine, it was by little and little ſo weakened, that the Emperours of latter times, for the maintenance of their eſtate, were glad to relie ſometime vpon one, and ſometime vpon another, yet ſtill holding the title and ſtate of an empire, by the ſpace of 1121 yeres, when as (God his iudgement ſet apart) wonderfull and ſhameful it is to conſider how it was by this Turkiſh King *Mahomet* ſo quickly taken, and the Chriſtian empire of the Eaſt there vtterly ouerthrowne: which happened on the nine and twentieth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1453. *Conſtantinus Palæologus*, the ſonne of *Helena*, and laſt Chriſtian Emperour, being then ſlaine, when he had raigned about eight yeares. Since which time it hath continued the imperiall ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors, and ſo remaineth at this day.

Pera yelded to the Turke.

The poteſtates and citizens of Pera, otherwiſe called Galata, a citie ſtanding oppoſit againſt Conſtantinople, on the other ſide of the hauen, and then vnder the gouernment of the Genowayes, doubting to run the ſame courſe of miſerie with their neighbours, ſent their Orators vnto *Mahomet* (the ſame day that Conſtantinople was taken) offering to him the keies of their gates, and ſo to become his ſubiects. Of which their offer *Mahomet* accepted, and ſent *Zogranus* with his regiment to take poſſeſſion of the city. Who comming thither, according to *Mahomet* his commandement, there eſtabliſhed the Turkiſh gouernment, confiſcated the goods of all ſuch as were fled, and vſed the reſt of the citizens which ſtaid, with ſuch inſolencie and oppreſſion, as that their miſerie was not much leſſe than theirs of Conſtantinople: and becauſe it was doubted, that the Genowayes might by ſea giue aid vnto the citizens, if they ſhould at any time ſeeke to reuolt, he cauſed all the wals and fortreſſes of the citie which were toward the land, to bee caſt downe and laid euen with the ground. Thus is the fatall period of the Greeke empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day become Lord of the two famous cities of Conſtantinople and Pera: the one taken by force, the other by compoſition. At which time the miſerie of Pera was great, but that of Conſtantinople iuſtly to be accounted amongſt the greateſt calamities that euer happened to any Chriſtian citie in the world.

Mahomet had of long time borne a ſecret grudge againſt *Caly-Baſſa*, ſometime his tutor, for that by his meanes *Amurath* his father, in the dangerous time of the Hungarian warres, had again reſumed vnto himſelfe the gouernment of the Turkiſh kingdome, which he had before reſigned vnto him, then but yong. But foraſmuch as he was the chiefe Baſſa, and had for many yeares ruled all things at his pleaſure, to the generall good liking of the people, during the raigne of old *Amurath*, and was thereby growne to be of ſuch wealth, credit, and authoritie, as no man had at any time obtained greater vnder any of the *Othoman* Kings: *Mahomet* in the beginning of his raigne, before he was eſtabliſhed in his kingdome, durſt not to take reuenge of that iniurie (as he deemed it) but yet ſtill kept it in remembrance, warily diſſembling his deep conceiued hatred, as if he had quite forgot it. Neuertheleſſe ſometime (for all his warineſſe) words fell from him, whereby the warie courtiers (which as curiouſly weigh their Princes words, as the cunning goldſmith doth his fineſt gold) eaſily perceiued the ſecret grudge that ſtuck in his ſtomack againſt the Baſſa: and thereby diuined his fall to be at hand. So it hapned one day that as *Mahomet* was walking in the court, he ſaw a fox of the Baſſa's tied in a chaine; which after he had a while earneſtly looked vpon, he ſuddenly brake into this ſpeech: *Alas poore beaſt, haſt thou no mony to giue thy maſter to ſet thee at libertie?* Out of which words, curious heads gathered much matter concerning the Kings diſpoſition towards the Baſſa. This ominous ſurmiſing of the courtiers (which oftimes proueth too true) was not vnknown vnto the Baſſa himſelfe, but troubled him much: wherfore to get himſelfe out of the way for a ſeaſon, more than for any deuotion, he took vpon him to go in pilgrimage to viſit the temple of the great Prophet (as they terme him) at Mecha, which amongſt the Turks is holden for a right religious and meritorious worke: hoping, that the young Kings diſpleaſure might in time bee mittigated, and his malice aſſwaged. But *Mahomet* perceiuing the diſtruſt of the Baſſa, and

Mahomet notably diſſembleth his hatred againſt caly Baſſa.

whereof it proceeded, ſeemed to take knowledge thereof, and with good wordes comforted him vp, willing him to be of good cheere, and not to miſdoubt any thing; neither to regard the vaine ſpeech of fooliſh people, aſſuring him of his vndoubted fauour: and the more to put him out of al ſuſpition, continually ſent him rich gifts, & heaped vpon him new honours, as if of al others he had eſteemed him moſt. Vntil that now at the taking of Conſtantinople, it was diſcouered by *Lucas Leontares*, that he had intelligence with the late Emperour of Conſtantinople, and his letters produced. For which cauſe, or as the common report went, for the old grudge that the tiant bare againſt him, as alſo for his great wealth, he was by *Mahomets* commandement apprehended and carried in bonds to Hadrianople: where after he had with exquiſite torments bin enforced to confeſſe where all his treaſures lay, he was moſt cruelly in his extreame old age executed. After whoſe death, his friends and ſeruants (which were many, for he was a man greatly beloued in court) in token of their griefe, put on mourning apparel: ſo that in the court appeared a great ſhew of common ſorrow; who with *Mahomet* being offended, cauſed proclamation to be made, That all ſuch as did weare ſuch mourning apparel, ſhould the next day appeare before him: at which time there was not one to be ſeene about the court in that heauie attire, for feare of the tyrants diſpleaſure.

Mahomet placeth his Imperiall ſeat at Conſtantinople, and is worthily accounted firſt Emperor of the Turks.

After that *Mahomet* was thus become Lord of the imperial citie of Conſtantinople, as is aforeſaid, and had fully reſolued there to place his imperiall ſeat, he firſt repaired the walls and other buildings ſpoiled in the late ſiege, and by proclamations ſent forth into all parts of his dominions, gaue great priuiledges & immunities to all ſuch as ſhould come to dwell at Conſtantinople, with free libertie to exerciſe what religion or trade they pleaſed. Whereby in ſhort time that great & deſolate citie was again well peopled, with ſuch as out of diuers countries reſorted thither: but ſpecially with the Iewiſh nation, which driuen out of other places, came thither in great numbers, and were of the Turks gladly receiued. So when he had there eſtabliſht all things according to his hearts deſire, he took vpon him the name and title of an Emperour: and is from that time not vnworthily reputed for the firſt Emperor of the Turks.

Now among many faire virgins taken priſoners by the Turks at the winning of Conſtantinople, was one *Irene* a Greeke borne, of ſuch incomparable beautie & rare perfection, both of bodie & mind, as if nature had in her, to the admiration of the world, laboured to haue ſhewn her greateſt skil, ſo prodigally ſhe had beſtowed vpon her, all the graces that might beautifie or commend that her ſo curious a worke. This paragon was by him that by chance had taken her, preſented vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelfe, as a iewell ſo fit for no mans wearing as his owne: by the beautie and ſecret vertues whereof, he found himſelfe euen vpon the firſt view not a little moued. Neuertheleſſe, hauing as then his head full of troubles, and aboue all things carefull for the aſſuring of the imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, by him but euen then won, he for the preſent committed her to the charge of his Eunuch, and ſent her away, ſo to be in ſafetie kept vntill his better leiſure. But thoſe his troubles ouerblowne, & his new conqueſts well aſſured, he then began forthwith to thinke of the faire *Irene*: and for his pleaſure ſending for her, took in her perfections ſuch delight and contentment, as that in ſhort time he had changed ſtate with her, ſhee being become the miſtreſſe & commander of him ſo great a conqueror; & he in nothing more delighted, than in doing her the greateſt honor & ſeruice he could. All the day he ſpent with her in diſcourſe, and the night in dalliance: al time ſpent in her company, ſeemed to him ſhort; & without her nothing pleaſed: his fierce nature was now by her well tamed and his wonted care of arms quite neglected: *Mars* ſlept in *Venus* lap, and now the ſoldiers might go play. Yea the very gouernment of his eſtate and empire ſeemed to be of him, in compariſon of her, little or not at all regarded; the care therof being by him careleſly committed to others, that ſo he might wholy himſelf attend vpon her, in whom more than in himſelf the people ſaid he delighted. Such is the power of diſordered affections, where reaſon ruleth not the rein. But whilſt he thus forgetfull of himſelfe, ſpends in pleaſure not ſome few daies or months, but euen one whole yere or two, to the lighting of his credit, & the great diſcontentment of his ſubiects in general: the Ianizaries & other ſoldiers of the court (men deſirous of imploiment, & grieued to ſee him ſo giuen to his affections, & to make no end therof) began at firſt in ſecret to murmur therat, & to ſpeak hardly of him; and at length (after their inſolent manner) ſpared not openly to ſay, That it were well done to depriue him of his gouernment and ſtate, as vnworthie thereof, and to ſet vp one of his ſonnes in his ſtead. Which ſpeeches

A ſpeeches were now growne ſo rife, and the diſcontentment of the men of war ſo great, that it was not without cauſe by ſome of the great Baſſaes feared, whereunto this their ſo great inſolencie would grow. But who ſhould tel the tyrant therof; whoſe frowne was in it ſelfe death? or who durſt take in hand to cure that his ſicke mind? which diſtraught with the ſweet, but poiſoned potions of loue, was not like to liſten to any good counſell; were it neuer ſo wiſely giuen: but as a man metamorphoſed, to turne his furie vpon him which ſhould preſume ſo wholeſomly (but contrary to his good liking) to aduiſe him. Vnhappy man, whoſe great eſtate & fierce nature was not without danger to be medled or tempered with, no, not by them who of all others ought in ſo great a perill to haue bin thereof moſt carefull; but were now for feare all become ſilent and dumb. Now amongſt other great men in the court, was one *Muſtapha Baſſa*, a man for his good ſeruice (for that he was of a child brought vp with him) of *Mahomet* greatly fauoured, and by him alſo highly promoted; and hee againe by him as his Soueraigne no leſſe honoured than feared: who no leſſe than the reſt, greeued to ſee ſo great a change in the great Sultan, of whome they had conceiued no ſmall hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and mooued alſo with the danger threatned vnto him, by the diſcontented Ianizaries and men of war: eſpying him at conuenient leiſure to be ſpoken vnto, and preſuming of the former credit he had with him, aduentured thus to break with him, and to giue him warning thereof.

B

C *How dangerous a thing it is for a ſubiect or vaſſale, without leaue, preſumptuouſly to enter into the ſecrets of his dread Lord and Soueraigne, the wofull examples of others (moſt mightie* Mahomet*) haue ſo ſufficiently warned me, as that were it not for the dutifull loyaltie I owe vnto your greatneſſe, farre dearer vnto me than mine owne life, I would not at this time aduenture my ſelfe vnto the hazard of your doubtfull acceptance of my faithfull ſpeech and meaning, but with others keepe ſilence, and in ſecret mourne together with my heauie thoughts: which if I ſhould in ſo great a danger both of your life and empire now doe, without warning you thereof, I were not to be accounted vnworthie onely thoſe your great fauours and honours, moſt bountifully on me beſtowed; but as a moſt vile traitor both vnto your ſtate and perſon, to be of all men deteſted and abhorred. The life you haue of late led, euer ſince the taking of Conſtantinople, as a man careleſſe of his eſtate, and wholly wedded vnto his owne pleaſure; hath giuen occaſion not vnto the vulgar people onely (alwayes readie to ſay the worſt) and ſouldiers of the Court, the guarders of your perſon, but euen vnto the greateſt commanders of your armies and empire, to*

D *murmure and grudge, I dare not ſay, to conſpire againſt you. Yet pardon me dread Soueraigne, if I ſhould ſo ſay, for that there is no man which with great diſcontentment marueileth not much to ſee ſo great an alteration in your heroicall diſpoſition and nature: whereby you are become farre vnlike that noble* Mahomet*, which hauing ouerthrowne the Grecke Empire, and taken the great citie of Conſtantinople, promiſed both vnto himſelfe and others, the conqueſt of Italie, & the ſacking of Rome, the ſtately ſeat of the antient Roman conquerors. You haue giuen your ſelfe ouer (as they ſay) for a ſpoile and prey vnto a poore ſimple woman, your ſlaue and vaſſale, who with her beautie and allurements hath ſo bewitched your vnderſtanding and reaſon, as that you can attend nothing but her ſeruice, and the ſatisfying of your moſt paſſionat and inordinat deſires; which how much the more you cheriſh them, ſo much the more they torment and vex you. Enter but a little into your ſelfe (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead with*

E *the like time heretofore by you ſpent in treading honours ſteps, and you ſhall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble* Othoman*, the firſt raiſer of your houſe and family ſo giuen himſelfe ouer vnto pleaſure, you had not now inhabited the countries of Bythinia and Galatia, with others moe alongſt the Euxine, by him conquered. Neither had his ſonne Orchanes (the liuely image of his father, and follower of his vertues) by leading this kind of life triumphed ouer Licaonia, Phrygia, and Caria, or extended the bounds of his empire ſo farre as vnto the ſtraits of Helleſpontus. What ſhould I ſpeake of* Amurath *his ſonne, and ſucceſſour in the empire? who in perſon himſelfe, firſt of the*

F Othoman *Kings, paſſed ouer into Europe, placed his imperiall ſeat at Hadrianople, conquered Thracia, Bulgaria, and Raſcia. Yea* Baiazet *your great grandfather is in his misfortune to be more than you commended, as vanquiſhed in field by the mightie* Tamerlane *with foure hundred thouſand horſemen and ſix hundred thouſand foot, and not by a fillie woman: comforting his miſhap with the honour and greatneſſe of him by whom he was ſo ouercome. Neither may I with ſilence paſſe ouer your worthie grandfather the Noble* Mahomet*, who not contented to haue reſtored the ſhaking empire, conquered alſo a great part of Macedonia, euen to the Ionian ſea, and carrying the terrour of his armes ouer into*

Asia, did great matters against the Caramanians and others. As for your father Amurath *(of worthie memorie) I cannot but to my great griefe and sorrow speake of him, who by the space of thirtie yeares made both the sea and earth to quake vnder his feete, and with strong hand more than once vanquished the Hungarians, and brought vnder his subiection the countries of Phocis, Beotia, Aitolia, with a great part of Morea; and to speake of him truely, brake euen the very heart and strength of the Grecians, and other his fierce enemies. Let all these most famous conquests of your noble progenitors, whose worthie praises (as eternall trophies of their honour) are dispersed into euery corner of the world, awake you out of this heauie Lythargie wherein you haue too long slept, yea, let the remembrance of the conquest of this imperiall Citie by you to your immortall glorie woon, stirre you vp to greater things: and let it neuer be said of you, That you were able with your sword to ouercome your greatest enemies, and not with reason to subdue your inordinate affections: Thinke that your greatest conquest, and suffer not your selfe, so great a conquerour, to be led in triumph by your slaue. What auaileth it you to haue woon Constantinople, and to haue lost your selfe? Shake off these golden festers wherein the wilie Grecke hath so fast bound you: which at the first though it seeme vnto you hard and painfull, yet shall time digest it, and make you to thinke it both good and necessarie for your state. Weane your selfe from your desires, and giue rest vnto your troubled thoughts: which if you cannot do at once, striue by little and little to doe it: pleasure groweth greater by the seldome vse thereof, and satietie bringeth loathsomnesse. Moderate your selfe therefore, and againe take vp armes. Your souldiers if they bee not employed abroad, wil to your farther trouble set themselues to worke at home: Idlenesse maketh them insolent, and want of martiall discipline corrupteth their manners. Hereof proceedeth their intemperate and disloyall speeches, That if you will not lead them forth for the honour and inlargement of the* Othoman *empire, as did all your most noble progenitors, they will set vp another that shall, euen one of your owne children. And what the common souldier foolishly saith, their great commanders malitiously purpose: which what a confusion it would bring vnto the whole state of your empire, together with the danger of your royall person, I abhorre to thinke. Wherefore it is time, it is now high time for you to shew your selfe, and with the maiestie of your presence to represse their tumultuous insolencie, before it breake farther out. Rebellions are by farre more easily preuented, than in their heat appeased. The discontented multitude is a wild beast with many heads, which once enraged, is not a little to be feared, or without danger to be tamed: yet doe you but shew your selfe master of your owne affections, and you shall easily master them also. But what is fit for you to doe, beseemeth me not for to say: yea, pardon mee I beseech you, that I haue thus much (contrary perhaps to your good liking) alreadie said; prouoked (by what diuine inspiration I know not) euen halfe against my will, so discouer vnto you the secrets of my heart, and to lay open vnto you those things, which others knowing as well as I, do yet for feare keep the same from you. And if I haue gon too far, or in any thing that I haue said, forgot my selfe, impute the same (my dread Soueraigne) vnto the zeale of my loue and loyaltie towards you, or vnto my fidelitie so often by you tried, or to our antient education (the ground of your affection towards me) or to what else shall please you, rather than to my presumption, from which, how farre I haue alwaies been, I appeale euen to your maisties owne knowledge.*

Hauing thus said, he fell down at his feet, as there to receiue his heauie doome of his so free speech, if it should be otherwise than well taken of the angrie Sultan: who all this while with great attention and many a sterne looke had hearkned vnto all that the Bassa had said: for well he knew it to be all true; and that in so saying, he had but discharged the part of a trustie and faithfull seruant, carefull of his maisters honour. But yet the beautie of the Greeke was still so fixed in his heart, and the pleasure he tooke in her, so great, as that to thinke of the leauing of her, bred him many a troubled thought. He was at war with himselfe, as in his often changed countenance well appeared; reason, calling vnto him, for his honour; and his amarous affections, still suggesting vnto him new delights. Thus tossed too and fro (as a ship with contrary winds) and withall considering the danger threated to his estate, if he should longer follow those his pleasures, so much displeasing to his men of war, he resolued vpon a strange point whereby at once to cut off all those his troubled passions, and withall to strike a terror euen into the stoutest of them that had before condemned him, as vnable to gouerne his owne so passionate affections. Whereupon with countenance well declaring his inward discontentment, he said vnto the Bassa, yet prostrate at his feet.

Although thou hast vnreuerently spoken, as a slaue presuming to enter into the greatest secrets of thy

thy Soueraigne (not without offence to be of thee once thought vpon) and therefore deseruest well to die; yet for that thou wast a child brought vp together with me, and hast euer bin vnto me faithfull, I for this time pardon thee: and before to morrow the Sunne goe downe, will make it knowne both to thee, and others of the same opinion with thee, whether I be able to bridle mine affections or not. Take order in the meane time that all the Bassaes, and the chiefe commanders of my men of warre be assembled together to morrow, there to know my farther pleasure: whereof faile you not.

So the Bassa being departed, he after his wonted manner went in vnto the Grecke, and solacing himselfe all that day and the night following with her, made more of her than euer before: and the more to please her, dined with her; commanding, that after dinner she should be attired with more sumptuous apparrell than euer she had before worne: and for the further gracing of her, to be deckt with many most precious iewels of inestimable value. Whereunto the poore soule gladly obeyed, little thinking that it was her funerall apparrell. Now in the mean while, *Mustapha* (altogether ignorant of the Sultans mind) had as hee was commanded, causfed all the nobility, and commanders of the men of war, to be assembled into the great hal: euery man much maruelling, what should be the Emperors meaning therein, who had not of long so publikly shewed himselfe. But being thus together assembled, and euery man according as their minds gaue them, talking diuersly of the matter: behold the Sultan entered into the pallace leading the faire Greeke by the hand; who beside her incomparable beautie and other the greatest graces of nature, adorned also with all that curiositie could deuise, seemed not now to the beholders a mortall wight, but some of the stately goddesses, whom Poets in their extasies describe. Thus comming together into the midst of the hal, & due reuerence to them done by all them there present; he stood still with the faire Lady in his left hand, & so furiously looking round about him, said vnto them: *I vnderstand of your great discontentment, & that you all murmur & grudge, for that I, ouercome with mine affection toward this so faire a paragon, cannot withdraw my selfe from her presence: but I would fain know which of you is so temperat, that if he had in his possession a thing so rare and precious, so lonely and so faire, would not be thrice aduised before he would forgo the same? Say what you think: in the word of a prince I giue you free liberty so to do.* But they all rapt with an incredible admiration to see so faire a thing, the like wherof they had neuer before beheld, said all with one consent, That he had with greater reason so passed the time with her, than any man had to find fault therwith: wherunto the barbarous prince answered, *Well, but now I will make you to vnderstand how far you haue bin deceiued in me, & that there is no earthly thing that can so much blind my senses, or bereaue me of reason, as not to see and vnderstand what beseemeth my high place and calling: yea I would you should all know, that the honor & conquests of the* Othoman *Kings my noble progenitors, is so fixed in my breast, with such a desire in my selfe to exceed the same, as that nothing but death is able to put it out of my remembrance.* And hauing so said, presently with one of his hands catching the faire Greeke by the haire of the head, and drawing his falchion with the other, at one blow struck off her head, to the great terror of them al: and hauing so done, said vnto them: *Now by this iudge whether your Emperor is able to bridle his affections or not.* And within a while after, meaning to discharge the rest of his choler, caused great preparation to be mrde for the conquest of Peloponesus, and the besieging of Belgrade.

At the same time that the barbarous Turkes tooke the imperiall citie of Constantinople, *Thomas* and *Demetrius Palæologi*, brethren to the late vnfortunat Emperor *Constantinus*, gouerned a great part of Peloponesus, one of the most famous prouinces of Grecia, which in forme of a leafe of a Plane tree, is almost in manner of an Iland, enuironed with the seas Ionium and Ægeum, which running farre into the land on either side therof, seperateth the same from the rest of Grecia, by two great bayes; leauing but a strait necke of land, called of the Greekes Istmos, in breadth about fiue miles, which was sometimes by the Grecians, and afterward by the Venetians, fortified by a strong wall, and fiue great castles: neere vnto which place stood the great and famous citie of Corinth. This Prouince is in length 175 miles, and almost as much in breadth; wherein are contained the countries of Achaia, Messenia, Lacedemonia, Argolica, and Archadia; with many famous cities and goodly hauens, wherein it farre exceedeth all the other prouinces of Grecia. These two Princes *Thomas* and *Demetrius*, dismaied with their brothers disaster fortune, began now so farre to despaire of their owne estate, that vpon the first bruit thereof, they were about presently to haue fled by sea into Italy. And as it commonly falleth out, That one euill happeneth not alone; so at the same time it fortuned, that

that the Albanians rise in arms against the said two Princes their Soueraignes : and vnder the leading of their rebellious captaine *Emanuel Catecuzenus*, grieuously troubled both the poore Princes. These Albanians were a rough and hardy kind of people, which liuing after the manner of the rude Scithian heardsmen, by feeding of cattel, had of long time planted themselues in Peloponesus ; differing from the naturall Greekes, both in their manner of liuing and language : which diuersitie was no small cause that they oftentimes spurned, as now, against the
1454 gouernment of the Grecian Princes. In this extremitie, the two distressed Princes (not well knowing which way to turne themselues) sought for peace at *Mahomets* hands, offering to become his tributaries. Of which their offer he willingly accepted, as an induction to the full conquest of that country, & sent *Turachan* Gouernor of Thessalia, one of his greatest men of war, with an armie into Peloponesus, to aid those princes against the Albanians : by whose instire the masterful rebels were in short time discomfited, and the country of Peloponesus quieted ; yet so, that it was now become tributarie to the Turkish King.

These two princes *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, the last of all the Christian princes that raigned in Peloponesus, hauing thus lost their libertie, liued for a few yeares as the Turks vassals, paying such yearely tribute as they had before promised. During which time many displeasures arose betwixt the two brothers, being both iealous of their estate, and desirous by all plausible meanes to win the hearts of their subiects one from another: whereby it came so to passe, that whiles they both desired to become popular, they weakned their owne credit, and had not their subiects at such command as best stood with the safetie of their estate. Neuertheles,

Thomas & Demetrius rebell against Mahomet, and are by him spoiled of part of their dominion.

as soone as they vnderstood that the Christian Princes of the West were making great preparation against the Turke; and that *Calixtus* the third of that name (then the Bishop of Rome) had already put a fleet of gallies to sea, which did great spoile vpon the borders of the Turks dominions, they vainly persuading themselues that the Turks would in short time be againe driuen out of Grecia, refused to pay any more tribute to the Turkish King, or to keepe league any longer with him. Vpon which occasion, *Mahomet* with a puissant armie came downe and first besieged Corinth, and afterwards entering into Peloponesus, tooke diuers strong townes, and destroied the country before him : and forced the two princes for safegard of their liues to flie, the one to Mantinia, and the other into the strong citie of Epidaurus, now called Ragusium. The poore princes destitute of such aid as they expected, and altogether vnable to withstand the power of the mightie tyrant, began againe to sue for peace: which he, hauing now spoiled their country, granted vpon condition, That all such places as he had alreadie taken, should be still his own; and also that the citie of Patras with the country adioyning, should be deliuered vnto him; and that for the rest, the said princes should pay vnto him a yerely tribute: which hard conditions the poore princes, now in danger to lose all, were glad to accept of; whereupon a peace was for that time againe concluded.

In his returne he tooke the citie of Athens in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Acciauoli* by composition (by meanes of *Omares* the son of *Turachan*, one of his great captaines) promising to giue him the country of Beotia with the citie of Thebes, in lieu thereof. This *Francus* was nephew to *Nerius*, sometime prince of Athens, and had of long time beene brought vp in the Turks court, as one of *Mahomet* his minions ; and was of him (as was supposed) entirely beloued. But when he had receiued the dukedom of Thebes, in exchange for his princely state of Athens, he was shortly after, as if it had beene in great friendship sent by *Mahomet* to *Zoganus*, his lieutenant in Peloponesus: by whom he was at first courteously entertained, but afterward being about to depart, he was (according as *Mahomet* had before commanded) suddenly staied, and when he least feared, cruelly murdered.

About three yeres after the peace before concluded betwixt *Mahomet* & the two brethren, *Mahomet* vnderstanding that the Christian kings and princes had combined themselues against him, with a purpose to driue him againe out of Grecia ; thought it now high time, and much for the assurance of his estate, to root out the small reliques of the Grecian empire, which yet remained in Peloponesus in the two princes of the imperiall bloud, *Thomas* and *Demetrius* : whereunto hee saw a faire occasion presented. Forasmuch as those two brethren were at that time at great variance betwixt themselues, neither paied him such tribute as they had before promised : hereupon hee with a strong army came to Corinth, where *Arsanes* a noble man of great authoritie and power in that country, whose sister *Demetrius* had maried, came to him from

Mahomet commeth againe into Peloponesus.

from the Prince his brother in law, attended vpon with many gallant gentlemen his followers, of purpose to aid him against the other Prince *Thomas*, nothing fearing any harme to haue bin by the Turke intended against himselfe or his brother in law *Demetrius*, whom they both reckoned of as of a friend. But when *Mahomet* was entred into Peloponesus, and come to Tegea, he caused the the same *Arsanes*, with all his chiefe followers, to be laid hold vpon, and cast into bonds : knowing (as it should seeme) no man for friend, which might any way hinder his ambitious designes.

Demetrius hearing what was happened vnto *Arsanes*, fled to Sparta, now called Mizithra : whither *Mahomet* in few dais after came and laid siege to the citie. But the poore prince considering, that he must needs at length fall into his hands, went out of the citie, and humbly submitted himselfe with all that he had into his power. Which so well pleased the Turkish tyrant, that he courteously receiued him, comforted him, and promised him in stead of Sparta to giue him other lands and possessions of like value elsewhere : neuertheless he committed him to safe custodie, and carried him about with him as his prisoner; vntil he had finished those wars. After he had taken Sparta, he besieged Castria, where hee lost diuers of his Ianizaries : for which cause, when he had taken the citie, he put all the souldiers therein to the sword, and cut the captaines ouerthwart in two peeces. From thence he marched to Leontarium, called in antient time Megalopolis, which he tooke ; with another citie called Cardicea, whither they of Leontarium had before conueied their wiues and children, as to a place of more safetie: There he cruelly put to death all the inhabitants of those cities, men, women, and children, in number about six thousand, of whom he left not one aliue: and yet not so satisfied, commanded the very beasts and cattell of those places to be killed. Many cities of Peloponesus terrified with the dreadfull example of their neighbours, forthwith yeelded themselues : and amongst others Saluarium, a great and strong citie of Archadia ; where he caused all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of ten thousand to be cast into bonds, looking for nothing but present death : all which afterwards he commanded to be sent captiues to Constantinople, and with them peopled the suburbs of that citie. After that, he by the counsell of *Demetrius*, sent one of his captaines called *Iosua*, with certaine companies of Greeke souldiers, vnto the strong citie of Epidaurus, to command them in the name of the Prince, to deliuer vnto him the citie, with the Prince his wife and daughter, which lay there. But the Gouernor trusting vnto the strength of the citie, refused to deliuer the same : yet suffered the Princesse with her daughter to depart out of the citie, beeing willing to goe to her husband; whom the captaine hauing receiued, returned, and presented them to *Mahomet*. By whose commandement they were presently sent into Beotia, there to attend his returne to Constantinople, and an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the yong Ladie, who had so warmed *Mahomets* affection, that he tooke her afterwards to his wife. At the same time he also subdued the most part of Achaia and Elis, by *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant : whither he came not long after himselfe, and laied siege to the citie of Salmenica, which for lacke of water was at length yeelded vnto him : but the castle was by the space of a whole yeare after valiantly defended against the Turks left to besiege it, by *Thomas* the prince of whom *Mahomet* afterwards gaue this commendation, That in the country of Peloponesus he had found many slaues, but neuer a man but him. This valiant Prince seeing the miserable ruine of his country, and the state thereof vtterly forlorne, after he had most notably endured a yeares siege in the castle of Salmenica, got to sea, and so arriued in Italie : where trauelling to Rome, hee was honorably receiued by *Pius Secundus*, then Bishop there : who during his life, allowed him a large pension for the maintenance of his state. Thus *Mahomet* hauing thrust both the Grecian Princes out of their dominions, and subdued all Peloponesus (excepting such strong townes and castles, as bordering vpon the sea coast were yet holden by the Venetians) left *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant to gouern that new conquered prouince, & with great triumph returned himselfe towards Constantinople, carrying away with him *Demetrius* the Prince, with his wife and daughter, & many other noble prisoners. But after he was come to Hadrianople, and placed in his royall seat, he remoued the Eunuch from the faire yong Lady, and tooke charge of her himselfe. As for *Demetrius* her father, hee gaue to him the citie Ænum, with the custome arising of the salt there made, as a pension for him to liue vpon. Thus this most famous and populous countrey of Peloponesus fel into the Turkish thraldome, about the yere of our Lord 1460, seuen yeres after

Demetrius submitteth himself to Mahomet.

Peloponesus subdued by the Turks.

after the taking of Constantinople. Which I haue here together set downe, as it is reported by them who liued in that time, and in the same countries: omitting of purpose other great occurrents of the same time (which shall in conuenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great empire, with the common miserie of the delicate Grecians, might appeare vnder one view; which otherwise being deliuered by peece-meale, as it did concurre with other great accidents according to the course of the time, would but breed confusion, and require the Readers great attention.

The Christian Princes, especially such as bordered vpon the dominions of the Turkish tyrant, were no lesse terrified than troubled with the subuersion of the Constantinopolitan empire: for they saw by the continuall preparation of the Turke, that his ambitious desires were rather increased than in any part satisfied with so great & late victories. Wherfore they with all carefulnes fortified their frontier townes, and prouided all things necessary for defence of themselues, & for the repulsing of so mightie an enemie. Among the rest, *George* the old Despot, or Prince of Seruia (whose dominions of al other lay most in danger of that tempest) speedily mustred his men of war, fortified his strong cities, placed his garisons, & left nothing vndon that he thought needful for the defence of the country: for he had many times before to his great losse, indured the fury of the Turkish kings, although he were ioined to them in the bonds of neerest alliance. And hauing thus politickly set all things in order at home, in p rson himselfe tooke his iourney into Hungarie, from thence to procure aid against such time as he should haue need. But the Hungarians, & especially *Huniades* (who at that time bare greatest sway in that kingdom) hauing before had sufficient trial of the vncertainty & light faith of that aged Prince, who had so often fashioned himself according to the occurrents of the time, that he was counted neither right Turke nor good Christian: refused to promise him any aid, but left him to his own fortunes: wherwith he returned discontented, & ful of indignation. But shortly after he was come home, he died of a hurt receiued in a skirmish with *Michael Zilagi*, gouernor of Belgrade: whose brother *Ladislaus* he had but a little before trecherously murdered, as he was trauelling by wagon to Belgrade with his said brother *Michael*, who at the same time hardly escaped. This was the end of the Despot of Seruia, when he had liued 90 yeres: in which time of his long life, he had plentifully tasted of both fortunes. A man assuredly of great courage, but of a maruellous vnquiet nature: by profession a Christian, yet a great friend vnto the Turks, whom he many times stood in great stead: a deep dissembler, and double in all his dealings; wherby he purchased vnto himself that credit, that he was not of any his neighbor Princes whilest he liued, either beloued or trusted; & after his death, of his subiects so detested, that the people of that country euen at this day in their country songs, stil term him, the faithlesse & graceless Despot. *Lazarus* his yongest son, after his death succeeded in his place, hauing depriued both his elder brethren *Stephen* and *George*) of the gouernment: for *Amurath* the Turkish king had long time before put out their eys, of purpose to make them vnfit for the gouernment of so great a country: yet these blind princes found means to flie away from him to *Mahomet*, carrying with them a great masse of money; and so incited him against *Lazarus* their yonger brother, that to keep friendship with the tyrant, he was glad to promise vnto him a great yerely tribute, and so to become his tributarie. But within few months after, *Lazarus* died, the last Christian prince that raigned in Seruia: after whose death, great troubles arose in Seruia for the Soueraignetie: the blind brethren stil craning aid of *Mahomet*, with whom they then liued; & the desolate widow of *Lazarus*, putting her selfe with her three sons, *Iohn*, *Peter*, and *Martin*, into the protection of the Hungarians: by which meanes she with much trouble, held her state for a season. Vntill such time as that the Seruians, seeing small assurance in that manner of gouernment, and wearie of the harmes they daily receiued of the Turks; yeelded themselues with their country, vnto the obedience of the Turkish Emperour *Mahomet*, who for euer vnited the same vnto his empire as a prouince thereof, and so it remaineth at this day.

The death of George Despot of Seruia.

Seruia yeelded to the Turke.

Now was *Mahomet* by the continual course of his victories, grown to that height of mind, that he thought no prince able to abide his force; neither any enterprise so great, which he was not of power to bring to passe: wherfore hee ceased not on euery side continally to vex and trouble the Princes, whose countries bordered vpon his. But aboue others, his heart was greatest against the Hungarians: for that by them the Turkish Kings his ancestors, had been more troubled, & their state more endangered, than by any or al other the Christian princes. Wherfore

A fore he resolued now to take them in hand; which thing he had from the beginning of his raigne greatly desired. And because the citie of Belgrade standing vpon the great riuer of Danubius, was accounted the key of that country, he determined there to begin his wars; and by taking thereof to make an entrance into the heart of Hungarie. Hereupon he leuied a great armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand of his best souldiers; in whom he reposed such an assured trust and confidence, that he accounted the citie alreadie as good as taken, and a faire way made into Hungarie: so readie are we to promise vnto our selues, the things we earnestly desire. For the better accomplishment of these his designes, he had prouided in readinesse a fleet of 200 ships and galies, which he sent vp the riuer of Danubius from Vidina to Belgrade to the intent that no reliefe or aid should be brought vnto the city out of Hungarie, by the
B great riuers of Danubius and Savus, whereupon the city of Belgrade standeth. With this fleet he kept both those riuers so straitly, that nothing could be possibly conueied into the citie by water: and not so contented, sent part of his said fleet farther vp the riuer of Danubius, and so landing his souldiers in many places, spoiled the countries all alongst the riuers side. Shortly after he came with all his forces by land, & encamped before the citie: whereunto at his first comming he gaue a most fierce assault, thinking to haue taken them vnprouided: but finding greater resistance than he had before imagined, & that the Hungarians were readie to skirmish with them without the wals, he begun to proceed more warily, & entrenched his armie: and to prouide for the saferie therof, by casting vp of deep trenches & strong rampiers against the sudden sallies of his enemies: & after, planting his batterie, began most furiously to shake the
C wals with his great artillerie. By the fury wherof, he ouerthrew a part thereof, and laid it flat with the ground: which the defendants with great industrie and labour speedily repaired, by casting vp of new fortifications & rampiers, in such sort, that it was rather stronger than before

Belgrade besieged.

In the mean time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a most worthie captain) being then Generall for the Hungarians, sent a fleet of ships and gallies, well appointed with all warlike prouision, downe the riuer of Danubius from Buda: which encountring with the Turks fleet, tooke twentie saile of them, and so discomfited the rest, that they were glad to run themselues on ground neere vnto the Kings camp. All which were by *Mahomets* commandement presently set on fire, because they should not come into the power of the Hungarians. By this meanes the Christians became masters of both the riuers of Danubius and Savus; and
D so at their pleasure, by water conueied into the citie all things needfull for the defence thereof. *Huniades* also himselfe, with fiue thousand valiant souldiers, and *Io. Capistranus* a Minorate Frier (by whose persuasion fortie thousand voluntary Christians out of Germanie, Bohemia, and Hungarie, were come to that warre) entered into the citie that way with their souldiers and followers.

The Turks fleet ouerthrowne by the Christians.

Mahomet resolutely set downe for the winning of the citie, had with continuall batterie made the same at length saultable; and so determined the next day to giue a generall assault, appointing which part of the wal euery Colonel with his regiment should assaile. But as they were with great dilligence and greater stir, preparing all things needfull for the next daies ser-
E uice, it fortuned, that *Carazias Bassa*, *Mahomets* lieutenant general in Europe, and his best man of war, was by chance slaine with a great shot out of the towne. With whose death *Mahomet* was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the euill which afterwards ensued vnto him and his whole armie. For all that, prosecuting his former determination, the next day early in the morning hee commanded the assault to be giuen: & with the dreadfull sound of trumpets, drums, cornets, & other instruments of war, brought on his Ianizaries to the breach; who as couragious souldiers fiercely assailed the same, and without any great resistance, entered both there and in diuers other places of the citie; reckoning the same to be now their owne. For *Huniades* hauing before stored euery corner of the citie with his most valiant and expert souldiers, had taken order that the defendants, vpon the first charge of the Ianizaries, should forsake their stations, and as men discouraged, retire towards the citie, of purpose to draw the fierce enemies faster on, to their farther destruction; & vpon a signe giuen to set vpon them on fresh, & to repaire to their former places of defence; which was accordingly done: so that as soon as the Ianizaries, with other of the Turks most forward souldiers, were in great numbers entred, vpon the retiring of the defendants; & the signe before appointed in the city giuen, the defendants, as men quickly changd, turning again, fiercely charged the Turks which were entred;

Carazias Bassa slaine.

Belgrade assaulted by the Turks.

The Turks notably repulst.

tred contrary to their expectation: and the valiant *Huniades*, at the same time issuing out on G
euery side with his most resolute souldiers, so oppressed the Turks, that few of them that were entred escaped with life, but were there in the citie either slaine or taken prisoners; and the rest with exceeding slaughter beaten from the wals. Presently after, *Huniades* in this confusion of the Turks, strengthened with the souldiers which came with *Capistranus* the Friar, made a sallie out of the town, and set vpon the Turks appointed for the defence of the great ordnance; which was with such resolution performed, that the Turks were glad with great slaughter to forsake their charge, and to leaue the ordnance to their enemies.

The Turkish tyrant sore troubled and throughly chafed with the losse of his great ordnance, couragiously charged the Hungarians afresh, to haue recouered the same againe: but was so valiantly repulsed by *Huniades*, and so beaten with the murthering shot out of the citie, that he H
was glad when he had got him out of the danger thereof into his trenches. *Huniades* also retiring turned the ordnance hee had lately won, vpon the Turks campe, and with the same did them no small harme.

In this hurle, a great part of the Ghristian armie (which then lay on the other side of Danubius) was speedily transported ouer the riuer; and making no stay in the citie, ioyned themselues with *Huniades*, then lying without the wals of the citie. Who notably strengthned with this new supplie, assailed the Turkes trenches, as if he would euen presently haue entred their campe: at which his presumption, the proud tyrant (neuer before so braued) disdaining, went out of his trenches, and valiantly encountering him, beat him backe againe to the great ordnance; from whence he was againe by the Christians driuen to his trenches. Which manner I
of doubtfull and dreadfull fight, was on both sides notably maintained, vntill the day was almost spent: Victorie with indifferent wings, houering now ouer the one side, now ouer the other.

Mahomet wounded, and carried away for dead.

In these hot skirmishes and conflicts, *Chasanes* captaine of the Ianizaries, with many other valiant men were slaine. And *Mahomet* himselfe performing the part as well of a couragious souldier, as of a worthie chiefetaine, was sore wounded vnder his left pap; so that he was taken vp for dead, and so carried into his pauilion, to the great discomfiture of his whole army. But comming againe vnto himselfe, and considering that he had in that siege lost his whole fleet, his great ordnance, with most part of his best souldiers, and yet in no possibilitie of the towne: secretly in the night arose with his armie, and with great silence shamefully departed, K
still looking behind him when the Hungarians should haue pursued him into Seruia, or haue troubled him vpon his way towards Constantinople. At this siege (beside many of his best captaines and chiefe commanders) were slaine fortie thousand of his best souldiers. The losse that hee there sustained was so great, and so stucke in his mind, that euer after during his life, when he had occasion to speake of that siege, he would shake his head and sigh deepely, and many times wish, That he had neuer seene that citie, whereat both he and his father had receiued so great dishonor. Many were of opinion, that if *Huniades* had there had his horsemen on that side of Danubius to haue presently pursued the fearefull enemie, that the whole army of the Turks might haue there bin ouerthrowne. This notable victorie was obtained against the Turke the sixth of Agust in the yeare of our Lord 1456.

The death of the most famous captaine Huniades.

Shortly after, this most valiant and renowned captain *Huniades*, worthie of immortal praise, L
died of a hurt taken in these wars; or as some others write, of the plague, which was then rife in Hungarie: who when hee felt himselfe in danger of death, desired to receiue the sacrament before his departure, and would in any case (sicke as hee was) be carried to the Church to receiue the same; saying, That it is not fit, that the Lord should come to the house of his seruant, but the seruant rather to goe to the house of his Lord and master. He was the first Christian captain that shewed the Turks were to be ouercome; and obtained more great victories against them than any one of the Christian Princes before him. He was vnto that barbarous people a great terror, and with the spoile of them beautified his country: and now dying, was by the Hungarians honourably buried at Alba Iulia, in *S. Stephens* Church: his death beeing M
greatly lamented of all good men of that age.

Mahomet the Turkish Emperour, no lesse desirous to extend his empire with the glorie of his name, by sea than by land; shortly after the taking of Constantinople, put a great fleet to sea, wherwith he surprised diuers Islands in the Ægeum, and hardly besieged the Citie of the Rhodes.

A Rhodes. At which time, *Calixtus* the third, then Bishop of Rome, aided by the Genowayes (for the grudge they bare against the Turks for the taking of Pera) put to sea a fleet of sixteen tall ships and gallies well appointed, vnder the conduct of *Lodouicus*, Patriarch of Aquilla; who with that fleet scoured the seas, & recouered again from the Turks the Iland of Lemnos, with diuers other smal Islands thereabout: and encountering with the Turks fleet neere vnto the Island of the Rhodes, at a place called the Burrow of S. *Paul*, discomfited them, sunke and tooke diuers of their gallies, and forced them to forsake the Rhodes. After which victorie at sea, he for the space of three yeares, with his gallies, at his pleasure spoyled the frontiers of the Turks dominions all alongst the sea coast of the lesser Asia, and wonderfully terrified the effeminate people of those countries: and so at length returned home, carrying away with
B him many prisoners and much rich spoyle.

After that *Mahomet* was thus shamefully driuen from the siege of Belgrade, and his fleet at 1461
sea discomfited (as is before declared) he began with great diligence to make new preparation against the next Spring to subdue the Illes of the Ægeum, specially those which lay neere vnto Peloponesus. But while hee was busie in those cogitations, in the meane time embassadours from *Vsun-Cassanes* the great Persian King, arriued at Constantinople, with diuers rich presents sent to him from the said King. Where among other things, they presented vnto him a paire of playing tables, wherin the men & dice were of great and rich precious stones of inestimable worth, and the workmanship nothing inferiour to the matter: which the embassadors for ostentation said, That *Vsun Cassanes* found in the treasures of the Persian King, whom he had but a little before slain and bereft of his kingdome, and had there bin left long
C before by the mightie conquerour *Tamerlane*. Together with these Presents, they deliuered their embassage, the effect whereof was, That those two mightie Princes might ioine & liue together in amitie: and that whereas *Dauid* the Emperor of Trapezond, had promised to pay vnto *Mahomet* a yerely tribute, enforced thereunto by *George* his lieutenant in Asia, he should not now looke for any such thing; forasmuch as that empire after the death of the Emperour then liuing, should of right belong vnto *Vsun-Cassanes*, in right of his wife, who was the daughter of *Calo-Ioannes*, the elder brother of *Dauid* the Emperor, then liuing: and further required him, from that time not to trouble or molest the said Emperor his friend & neere alliance, so should he find him his faithful & kind confederat: otherwise it was (as they said) in his choice
D to draw vpon himself the heauie displeasure of a most mightie enemie. *Mahomet* before enuieing at the rising of the Persian King, and now disdaining such peremptorie requests, little differing from proud commands, in great choller dismissed the embassadors, with this short answer, That he would ere long be in Asia himselfe in person, to teach *Vsun-Cassanes* what to request of a greater than himselfe. This vnkindnes was the beginning & ground of the mortall wars which afterwards ensued betwixt these two, then the greatest princes of the East, as shall be hereafter more at large declared. The embassadors being departed, and *Mahomets* fleet of an hundred and fifty saile readie to put to sea, he altered his former determination for the Islands of the Ægeum (which after the losse of Constantinople had for the most part put themselues vnder the protection of the Venetians) and commanded his Admirall with that fleet to take his course through the straits of Bosphorus into the great Euxine sea, (now called the blacke sea) and so sailing along the coast to come to anker before Sinope, the chiefe citie of Paphlagonia, & there to expect his comming thither with his army by land. This great city of Sinope
E stands pleasantly on a point of the main which runs a great way into the Euxine, sometime the metropolitical citie of that prouince: but as then, with Castamona and all the country thereabout, was vnder the gouernment of *Ismael*, a Mahometane prince: vpon whom *Mahomet* had now bent his forces, for no other cause than that he was in league with *Vsun-Cassan*, the Persian king. Now with great expedition had *Mahomet* leuied a strong army, and passing therewith ouer into Asia, was come before he was looked for, to Sinope. *Ismael* seeing himselfe so suddenly beset both by sea & land in his strongest citie, although he wanted nothing needful for his defence, hauing in the citie foure hundred peeces of great artillerie, and ten thousand soldiers: yet doubting to be able with that strength to indure the siege, offered to yeeld vp the citie to *Mahomet*, with all the rest of his dominion, vpon condition, That hee should freely giue him in lieu therof the city of Philippopolis in Thracia, with the country therto adioining. Of which his offer *Mahomet* accepted: and so taking possession of Sinope, with the strong citie of
Castamona,

Vsun cassan the Persian king sendeth embassadors with presents to Mahomet.

Mahomet inuadeth Ismael, prince of Sinop.

mona, and all the reſt of the Princes territorie, ſent him away with all his things to Philippopolis, as he had promiſed. This *Iſmael* was the laſt of the honourable houſe of the *Iſfendiars*, G
who had long time raigned at Heraclea and Caſtamona in Pontus. From Sinope he marched on forward with his army to Trapezond. This famous citie ſtandeth alſo vpon the ſide of the Euxine or blacke ſea in the countrey of Pontus, where the Emperors of Conſtantinople had alwaies their deputies, whileſt that empire flouriſhed and commanded the Eaſt part of the world, as farre as Parthia: but after it began againe to decline (as all worldy things haue but their time) one *Iſaac* (whoſe father, Emperour of Conſtantinople, the Conſtantinopolitanes had for his euill gouernment ſlaine) flying to Trapezond, tooke vpon him the gouernment of that citie, with the countries of Pontus and Capadocia, and many other great prouinces, and H
was at firſt called the King of Trapezond: but after he was well eſtabliſhed in that gouernement, both he and his ſucceſſors took vpon them the name and title of Emperors; which they maintained equally, if not better, than the late Conſtantinopolitan Emperours, and therefore are of moſt accounted for Emperors. He that then raigned, was called *Dauid Comnenus*: which moſt honourable family of the *Comneni* had long time before raigned in Conſtantinople; and out of the ſame were many other great Princes deſcended, which ruled in diuers places of
Trapezond beſieged by Mahomet. Macedonia, Epirus, and Græcia. *Mahomet* comming to Trapezond, laied hard ſiege vnto the ſame by the ſpace of thirtie daies both by ſea and land, and burnt the ſuburbes thereof, as hee had before at Sinope. The fearfull Emperour diſmaied with the preſence of ſo mightie an enemie, and the ſight of ſo puiſſant an army, offered to yeeld vnto him the city with his whole empire, vpon condition, That he ſhould take his daughter to wife, and deliuer vnto him ſome I
other prouince, which might yeeld him ſuch yearly profit as might ſuffice for the honorable maintenance of his ſtate. *Mahomet* perceiuing the weakeneſſe of his enemie by his large offers, refuſed to accept thereof, and attempted by force to haue taken the citie: which not forting to his deſire, the matter was againe brought to parle: where after long debating too and fro, it was at laſt agreed vpon, That the Emperour vpon the faith of the Turkiſh King for his ſafe returne, ſhould in perſon meet him without the citie, if happily ſo ſome good attonement might be made betwixt them. Whereupon the Emperour following the Turks faith before ſolemnly giuen for his ſafe returne, as was before agreed, went out of the citie to meet him, in hope to haue made ſome good agreement with him: but as ſoone as he was come out, *Mahomet* according to the damnable and helliſh doctrine of his falſe prophet (That faith is not to K
be kept with Chriſtians) preſently cauſed the Emperour to be caſt into bonds, and ſo to bee detained as priſoner. Which when it was bruted in the citie, the citizens vtterly diſcouraged,
Trapezond yeelded vnto the Turks. without farther reſiſtance yeelded themſelues with the citie into his power.

Mahomet now Lord of Trapezond, entring the citie, tooke priſoners the Emperors daughter, with all the reſt of his children and kindred, and all ſuch of the nobility as he found in the citie: whom hee cauſed forthwith, together with the Emperor, to be ſent by ſea as it were in triumph to Conſtantinople. Of the reſt of the citizens he choſe out ſo many as he pleaſed for his owne ſeruice, and appointed eight hundred of the Chriſtian children, in whom appeared moſt towardlineſſe, to be brought vp for Ianizaries, many alſo of the other citizens were ſent into captiuitie to Conſtantinople: the beautifull women and virgins he diuided amongſt his L
friends and men of war, certain choſen paragons of whom, he ſent as preſents to his ſons. After he had thus taken his pleaſure in the citie, and left none there but the baſeſt of the people, hee put a ſtrong gariſon of his Ianizaries into the caſtle, & a great garriſon of common ſoldiers into the citie, appointing his Admirall to gouerne the ſame. The reſt of the Emperours ſtrong townes, diſcouraged with the taking of Trapezond, and the miſeries therof, in ſhort time ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Turkiſh thraldome, wherein they haue euer ſince moſt miſerably liued. So *Mahomet* in the ſpace of few months hauing reduced that empire into the forme of a prouince, returned in great triumph to Conſtantinople; when hee had in this expedition ſubdued Paphlagonia, Pontus, and a great part of Capadocia, with ſome other prouinces neere M
vnto the Euxine ſea. When he was come to Conſtantinople, he ſent the Emperour with his children priſoners to Hadrianople. But afterwards, vnderſtanding that the Perſian Queene, the wife of *Vſun Caſſan*, ſought meanes to get ſome one of her vncles children, whom by the power of her husband ſhee might, if it were poſſibly aduance vnto her fathers empire: hee ſent for *Dauid* the wofull Emperour to Conſtantinople, and there cruelly cauſed him, with

all

A all his ſonnes and kinſmen, to be put to death; and to the vttermoſt of his power rooted out al that moſt honourable familie of the *Comneni*, excepting *George* the Emperours youngeſt ſon, who at his firſt comming to Hadrianople turned Turke: whoſe ſiſter (the Emperours daughter) *Mahomet* afterwards tooke to be one of his concubines. This Chriſtian empire was by *The ruine of the empire of Trapezond.* the Turkiſh tyrant *Mahomet* thus miſerably ſubuerted and brought to nought in the yeare of our Lord 1461.

1462

The yeare following, which was the yere 1462, *Mahomet* hauing intelligence, that *Wladus* *Mahomet ſeeketh to entrap Wladus Prince of Valachia.* *Dracula* Prince of Valachia, his tributary, was reſolued to caſt from him his obedience, and to
B ioyne himſelfe vnto the Hungarians, his mortall enemies; thought it beſt to proue if he could by policy circumuent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpoſe he ſent *Catabolinus* his principall ſecretarie vnto him to bring him vnto the court, promiſing him greater fauors and promotions from the Emperor, than he had as yet at any time inioyed. And by the ſame truſtie meſſenger, he commanded *Chamuzes Baſſa*, Gouernor of Bidina and the countrey lying ouer againſt Valachia, on the other ſide of Danubius, to do his vttermoſt deuoir for the entrapping of *Wladus*: promiſing him great rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Whereupon *Chamuzes* deuiſed with the ſecretarie, that when he had done his meſſage to the Prince, and with all his cunning perſuaded him to take that iourney vpon him, hee ſhould ſecretly before hand giue notice vnto him of the certain day of his returne back againe from the prince: at which time it was like, that *Wladus* would in courteſie of himſelf bring the ſecret arie wel on his way, being a man of ſo great account in the court, or at leſtwiſe not refuſe ſo to do, being therto requeſted by the ſecretary: at which time the Baſſa ſecretly paſſing ouer
C Danubius with certain troupes of horſemen, and lying cloſe in ambuſh vpon the way, ſhould ſuddenly ſet vpon the prince, & ſo either take him, or els kil him. The plot thus laid, and euery circumſtance agreed vpon, the ſecretarie held on his way; and comming to the prince, forced his wit to perſuade him to goe to the court: ſometime cunningly extolling the great opinion that *Mahomet* had of his fidelitie and valor; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of greater honors & princely preferments he was to receiue at the Emperors hands. But when he had ſaid what he could, he obtained no more of the wary prince, but good words againe, and that he would in courteſie conduct him on his way to the ſide of Danubius: wherof the ſecretarie by ſpeedy meſſengers gaue *Chamuzes* intelligence: who ſecretly paſſing ouer Danubius with certain troups of horſemen, and riding a good way into the country, lay in ambuſh vpon
D the way wherby the prince & the ſecretarie muſt needs paſſe: according as was before appointed, the ſecretary accompanied with the prince, put himſelf vpon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where *Chamuzes* lay in ambuſh with his horſmen: who ſuddenly ariſing, & on euery ſide aſſailing the prince, ſlew diuers of his men before they were well aware of his comming. But *Wladus* being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the Baſſa had ſuppoſed (for he went alwaies attended vpon with a ſtrong guard of valiant & ſtout men) ſo receiued *Chamuzes* & his Turkes, that he ſlew many of them, & at length after a hard conflict took him with the reſt priſoners: whoſe hands and feet he cauſed to be cut off, & their *Chamuzes Baſſa and the Turkiſh ſecretary beaded.* bodies afterwards to be thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes ſet faſt in the ground, to the terror of all that
E ſaw them: and did the Baſſa ſo much honour, as to hang him and the ſecretarie vpon a gibbet a great deale higher than the other Turks. And not ſatisfied with this reuenge, preſently gathred his forces, & paſſing ouer Danubius into the Turkes dominions, burnt all the country before him along the ſea ſide, killing man, woman, & child, without mercy: after which great ſpoile and ſlaughter made, he returned again to Valachia. The report of this news being brought to *Mahomet*, ſet him in ſuch a choler & rage, that he commanded the great Baſſa *Mahomets*, which firſt told him therof, to be cruelly whipt: which ſeruile puniſhment in that tyrannical gouernment hath vſully bin inflicted euen vpon the greateſt princes of the court, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the tyrants, eſpecially if they be not naturall Turks borne; accounting the reſt in their anger but as their baſe & contemptible ſlaues, as wel appeareth by the woful end of ma-
F ny, euen of the greateſt of them. But when he vnderſtood by moſt ſure aduertiſements that all was as the Baſſa had before reported, or rather worſe, it is not to be in words expreſſed into what a rage he fell: the ſpoile of his country grieued him much, but the ſhameful death of the ſecretary his embaſſador, and of *Chamuzes* the Baſſa, tormented his heart, and filled him with indignation & deſire of reuenge. Wherefore with all ſpeed poſſible he aſſembled his ſoldiers

and men of war, out of all parts of his dominions to Philippopolis: and had in short time raised such an armie, as the like he had not at any time imploied since the winning of Constantinople. At the same time also, he sent his Admiral with 25 gallies, and 150 saile of other small vessels by the Euxine, to enter the riuer Danubius, and there landing his men, to ioyne his forces with the Prince of Podolia: who for a grudge he bare against *Wladus*, had promised to aid the Turke against him. When all things were now in readinesse, he marched with his army from Philippopolis, and passing ouer Danubius, entered into Valachia; before which time, the Admirall had landed his men, and with the helpe of the Podolian, had burnt the Citie of Prailaba, the greatest Towne of trade in all Valachia; and was besieging Cebium, called in antient time Lycostomos: where after they had lien a while and receiued some losse, they left the siege and departed, the Podolian backe again into his country, and the Admirall to his fleet.

Mahomet himselfe in person inuadeth Valachia.

Mahomet being got ouer Danubius, burnt the villages, draue away the cattell, and made hauocke of all that came in his way. As for prisoners, he tooke but few; for the Valachies before his comming, had retired their wiues and children, and all that were vnfit for wars, either into their strong cities, or into the refuge of great and thicke woods (whereof there is in that countrey plentie) or else into the high and rough mountaines where they were in more safety than in any their strongest holds: and all such as were able to beare armes, followed the Prince, who euer kept the woods and mountaines, still following the Turkes armie so neere as he possibly could with safety; and many times cut off such as straggled any thing far abroad from the armie, into the country: yet neuer durst shew himselfe in plaine field, being indeed but a handfull, in comparison of the Turks multitude. *Mahomet* to small purpose roaming vp and downe the country at his pleasure, staid neuer long in one place; and making no reckoning of such a weake enemie as durst neuer shew himselfe, pitcht his tents still in the open plaines, and so lay with his armie in great securitie, not entrenched at all. *Wladus* by his espials vnderstanding of this the manner of *Mahomets* encamping, came in the dead time of the night, and with al his power furiously assailed that quarter of the Turks camp where the Asian souldiers lay, & slew many of them in their tents; the rest terrified with the suddennesse of the alarum, fled out of their tents for refuge vnto the European souldiers: the prince following them at the heeles, and entring into that quarter of the campe also, did there great harme, and struck such a generall terror & feare into all the Turks army, that they were euen vpon the point to haue wholly forsaken their tents and betaken themselues to flight. Yea *Mahomet* himselfe, dismaid with the terrour of the night and tumult of his campe, and fearing lest the Hungarians had ioyned their forces with the prince; not knowing which way to turn himselfe, had vndoubtedly fled, had not *Mahomet Bassa* a man of great experience in martial affaires, perswaded him otherwise, and by generall proclamation made thorow the campe, That no man should vpon paine of death, forsake the place wherein he was encamped, staid the flight; and with much adoo enforced them to make head against the prince. *Wladus* perceiuing the Turks now to begin to stand vpon their guard, and to make resistance; after great slaughter made, returning, tooke the spoile of the tents forsaken by the Asian souldiers, and vpon the approch of the day, againe retired with victorie into the woods. As soone as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly-Beg* with certain companies of select souldiers, to pursue the Valachies: who ouertaking part of the Princes army, tooke a thousand of them prisoners, and put the rest to flight: all which prisoners were by the tyrants command, presently put to the sword. From that time *Mahomet* euerie night entrenched his armie, and caused better watch and ward to bee kept in euery quarter of his campe, than before.

A most horrible spectacle.

As he marched along the country, he came to the place where the Bassa and the Secretary were hanging vpon two high gibbers, and the dismembred Turks impailed vpon stakes about them: with which sight he was grieuously offended. And passing on farther, came to a plaine containing in breadth almost a mile, & in length two miles, set ful of gallows, gibbets, wheles, stakes, and other instruments of terror, death, and torture; all hanging full of the dead carkases of men, women, and children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twentie thousand. There was to be seene the father, with his wife, children, & whole family, hanging together vpon one gallowes; and the bodies of sucking babes, sticking vpon sharpe stakes; others withal their limbs broken vpon wheeles, with many other strange & horrible kinds of death,

death: so that a man would haue thought, that all the torments the Poets feigne to be in hell had beene there put in execution. All these were such as the notable, but cruell prince, iealous of his estate, had either for iust desert, or some probable suspition, put to death; and with their goods rewarded his souldiers: whose cruell manner was, together with the offender to execute the whole familie, yea sometimes the whole kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by nature of a fierce and cruell disposition, wondred to see so strange a spectacle of extreme cruelties: yet said no more but that *Wladus* knew how to haue his subiects at command. After that, *Mahomet* sent *Iosephus*, one of his great captaines, to skirmish with the Valachies; who was by them put to the worse: but by the comming in of *Omares* the sonne of *Turachan*, they were again in a great skirmish ouerthrowne, and two thousand of their heads brought by the Turks vpon their launces into the Kings campe: for which good seruice *Omares* was by the King preferred to be Gouernour of Thessalia.

Two thousand of the Valachies slaine.

When *Mahomet* had thus traced Valachia, and hauing done what harme hee could, saw it to be to no purpose, with such a multitude of men to hunt after his flying enemie, which stil kept the thicke woods or rough mountaines: he returned againe to Constantinople, leauing behind him *Haly-beg* with part of his armie, to prosecute that warre; and with him *Dracula* the younger brother of *Wladus*, who was also called *Wladus*, as a stale to draw the Valachies into rebellion against the Prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little youth brought vp in *Mahomets* court, and for his comely feature of him most passionatly affected: which inordinat perturbation, so preuailed in the intemperat nature of the lasciuious prince, that he sought first by faire words and great gifts to corrupt the youth, and not so preuailing, attempred at last to haue forced him: wherewith the noble youth being enraged, drew his rapier, and striking at him to haue slain him, grieuously wounded him in the thigh, and thereupon fled. Neuertheless being drawne back againe to the court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the King, and so became his *Ganimede*; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloued and honoured, and now set vp for a stale (as is before said) for the Valachies his countreymen to gase vpon.

It fortuned, that after the departure of the King, diuers Valachies came to *Haly-beg* the Turkish Generall, to ransome such friends of theirs as had bin taken prisoners in those wars, and were yet by him detained: to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of discourse declaring the great power of the Turkish Emperour, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endlesse miseries of his natiue country; cunningly imputed the same vnto the disordered gouernment of his cruell brother, as the ground of all their woes: assuring them of most happie and speedie redresse, if the Valachies, forsaking his fierce brother, would cleaue vnto him as their Soueraigne, in speciall fauor with the great Emperour. Which speech he deliuered vnto them with such liuely reasons, and in such effectuall tearmes, that they there present, perswaded by him, and others by them, in short time all, as if it had been by a secret consent, forsooke *Wladus* the elder brother, and chose *Dracula* the younger brother to be their prince and soueraigne. Who ioyning vnto him the Turks forces, by the consent of *Mahomet* tooke vpon him the gouernement of that warlike countrey and people; yet holding the same as the Turkish tyrants vsuall, the readiest way to infidelitie. *Wladus* seeing himselfe thus forsaken of all his subiects, and his yonger brother possessed of his dominion, fled into Transiluania, where he was by the appointment of the Hungarian King, apprehended and laid fast in strait prison at Belgrade, for that he had without iust cause (as it was laid to his charge) most cruelly executed diuers Hungarians in Valachia: yet such was his fortune, after ten yeres hard imprisonment, to be againe enlarged, and honourably to die in battaile against his antient enemies the Turks.

The death of Wladus.

Mahomet returning out of Valachia to Constantinople, sent the same fleet which hee had vsed in his late warres, into the Ægeum, to take in such Ilands as being before vnder the Constantinopolitan empire, had vpon the losse of the citie put themselues vnder the protection of the Venetians; but especially the Isle of Mitylene, called in antient time Lesbos: pretending that *Nicholaus Catelusius* prince thereof, did harbour the pyrats of Italy, and other places; and also bought of them such prisoners, and other bootie, as they continually tooke from the Turkes at sea, or alongst the sea coast, out of many places of his dominions: pretending also the chastising of the sayd prince, for that he had by treacherie slaine his eldest brother, and so vniustly taken vpon him the gouernment. His fleet thus set forward, hee himselfe with a small

1462

small armie passed ouer into Asia, and came by land to Possidium a citie of Ionia ouer against G
Mitylene. From whence he embarked himselfe ouer the narrow strait into the Island, where
after he had once landed his armie, he in short time ouerran the whole Island, and miserably
spoiled the same, leading away all the inhabitants thereof into captiuitie; who shortly after
were sold at Constantinople like flocks of sheepe, and from thence dispersed into all parts of
his dominions. After he had thus harried the countrie, and left nothing therein vnspoiled, he
Mitylene besieged. besieged the Prince in the citie of Mitylene, whereof the Island now taketh name: and with
his great ordnance continually battered the same by the space of 27 dayes (in which time ma-
Mitylene yeelded to the Turke. ny sharpe assaults were also giuen by the Turks, whereby the defendants were greatly dimi-
nished and wasted. The Prince perceiuing himselfe notable long to hold out, offered to yeeld H
vp the citie, with all the strong holds in the Isle, vpon condition that *Mahomet* should there-
fore giue vnto him some other prouince, of like value to the Island: which his offer *Mahomet*
accepted, and by solemne oath bound himselfe for performance of that hee had promised.
Whereupon the Prince came out of the citie, and humbled himselfe before him, excusing
himselfe for the receiuing of the men of war (wherewith he was charged) as done for no other
purpose, but that they should forbeare to spoile his owne country, much subiect to their fury:
vtterly denying that hee had at any time bought, or shared, any part of such prizes as had by
those pirats by sea or land bin taken from the Turks. With which his excuse, *Mahomet* seemed
to be reasonably well contented, and with good words cheered him vp: neuertheless as soon
as the citie, with all the other strong holds in the Isle, were by the Princes meanes deliuered I
into his hands, he no longer made reckoning of his Turkish faith, but cruelly caused many of
the chiefe citizens of Mitylene to be put to death; and three hundred pirats, whom he found
in the citie, to be cut in two peeces in the middle, so to die with more paine. And when he had
placed conuenient garrisons in euery strong hold in the Isle, hee returned to Constantinople,
carrying away with him the Prince, and all the better sort of the inhabitants of Mitylene, that
were left aliue, together with all the wealth of that most rich and pleasant Island, leauing it
almost desolate, none remaining therein more than his owne garrisons, with a few of the poo-
rest and basest people. *Mahomet* after he was arriued at Constantinople, cast the Prince *Ni-*
cholaus, with *Lucius* his cosin (whose helpe he had before vsed in killing of his elder brother)
into close prison: where they seeing themselues euery houre in danger of their liues, to winne K
fauour in the tyrants sight, wickedly offered to renounce the Christian Religion, and to turn
Turke. Which *Mahomet* vnderstanding, caused them both to be richly apparelled, and with
great triumph to be circumcised, and presently set at libertie: yet still bearing in mind his old
grudge, he shortly after, when they least feared any such matter, clapt them both fast againe in
prison, and there caused them to bee most cruelly put to death. A iust reward for the blou-
die murtherers, and Apostacie, who to gaine a little longer life, were content to forsake
God.

1464 Shortly after it fortuned, that *Stephen* King of Bosna (in antient time called Mæsia Superi-
or) who supported by the Turkish Emperor, had wrongfully obtained that kingdome against
his owne brethren, refused now to pay such yearely tribute as hee had before promised: for L
which cause *Mahomet* with a strong armie entered into Bosna, and laied siege vnto the city of
Dorobiza: which when hee had with much adoe taken, he diuided the people thereof into
three parts; one part whereof he gaue as slaues vnto his men of war, another part he sent vn-
to Constantinople, and the third he left to inhabit the citie. From Dorobiza hee marched
to Iaziga, now called Iaica, the chiefe citie of that kingdome, which after foure moneths siege
was deliuered vnto him by composition: in this citie he took the Kings brother and sister pri-
soners, with most of the nobilitie of that kingdome, whom he sent as it were in triumph vnto
Constantinople. The other lesser cities of Bosna following the example of the greater, yeelded
themselues also. But *Mahomet* vnderstanding that the King of Bosna had retired himselfe into
the farthest part of his kingdom, sent *Mahometes* his chiefe Bassa with his Europeian soldiers
to pursue him: wherin the Bassa vsed such diligence, that he had on euery side so inclosed him M
before he was aware, that hee could by no meanes escape, which was before thought a thing
impossible. So the King for safegard of his life was faine to take the citie of Clyssa for his re-
fuge: where he was so hardly laid to by the Bassa, that seeing no other remedie, he offered to
yeeld himself vpon the Bassaes faithful promise by oath confirmed, that he should be honora-
bly

A bly vsed, and not to receiue in his person any harme from the Turkish Emperor. Whereupon
the Bassaes oath to the same purpose was with great solemnitie taken; and for the more assu-
rance conceiued in writing, firmed by the Bassa, and so deliuered to the king: which done, the
king came out of the citie and yeelded himselfe. The Bassa hauing thus taken the king priso-
ner, carried him about with him from place to place, & from citie to city, vntill he had taken
possession of all the kingdome of Bosna; and so returning vnto his master, presented vnto him
the captiue king: who was not a little offended with him, for that he had vnto him so far en-
gaged his Turkish faith. But when the poore King thought to haue departed, not greatly fea-
ring further harm, he was suddenly sent for by *Mahomet*: at which time, he doubting the worst,
caried with him in his hand the writing wherin the Bassaes oath for his safety was comprised:
B neuertheless, the faithlesse tyrant without any regard therof, or of his faith therin giuen, cau-
sed him presently to be most cruelly put to death, or as some write, to be slaine quicke. Thus
was the Christian kingdome of Bosna, subuerted by *Mahomet* in the yere 1464: who after he
had at his pleasure disposed thereof, & reduced it to the forme of a prouince, to bee (as it is at
this day) gouerned by one of his Bassaes; in great triumph returned to Constantinople, carri-
ing away with him many a woful Christian captiue, and the whole wealth of that kingdom.

Mahomet following the example of his father *Amurath*, had from the beginning of his raigne
by one or other of his great Bassaes or expert captains still maintained wars against *Scanderbeg*
the most valiant and fortunat King of Epirus: the greatest part wherof, although it did in the
course of time concurre with the things before declared, and might by peecemeale haue bin
C amongst the same in their due time and place inserted; yet I haue of purpose for diuers rea-
sons wholly reserued them for this place: first, for that I would not interrupt the course of
the historie before rehearsed, with the particular accidents of this war: And then, for that the
greatest heat of this hereditarie war, deliuered as it were from hand to hand, from the father
to the son, hapned not long after this time; when as *Mahomet* hauing conquered the kingdom
of Bosna, had surrounded a great part of *Scanderbegs* dominion: wherein I had respect also
vnto the Readers ease, who may with greater pleasure and content, and lesse paines also, view
the same together, than if it had bin dispersedly scattered & intermedled with the other grea-
ter occurrents of the same time. In which discourse I will but briefly touch many things wel
worthie of a larger treatise. And if forgetting my selfe, I shall in some places happen to stay
D something longer than the Readers hast would require, yet I hope, that the zeale and loue he
beares vnto the worthy memorie of most famous Christian Princes, together with the short-
nesse of the historie, in comparison of that which is therof written in iust volumes by others,
shall easily excuse a larger discourse than this: But againe to our purpose.

Mahomet in the beginning of his raigne sent embassadors to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace,
so that he would grant to pay vnto him such yearely tribute as his father *Amurath* had in his
life time demanded. Which embassage the craftie tyrant sent rather to proue what confidence
Scanderbeg had in himselfe, than for any hope he had to haue his demand granted. This dis-
honorable offered peace *Scanderbeg* scornfully reiected, and so returned the embassadors as they
came: and presently vpon their departure entered with his horsemen into that part of the
E Turks dominion which bordereth vpon Epirus: and when he had wasted the country, retur-
ned home laded with the spoile thereof. In reuenge of which despight, *Mahomet* shortly after
sent *Amesa* one of his best men of war, with 12000 horsemen into Epirus, to requite *Scander-*
beg with the like spoile of his people and country. But *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding by his espials
of the Turks comming, lay close in ambush with 6000 souldiers vpon the great mountaine
Modrissa, ouer which the Turks must of necessitie take their way: and as they were about by
night to haue passed ouer that rough and steepe mountaine, and were with much difficulty al-
most got vp to the top thereof, they were suddenly charged by *Scanderbeg* his footmen, who
hauing the aduantage of the place, made great slaughter of the Turks, & draue them down the
mountaine amaine; at which time their horses stood them in no stead at all, but were rather
F vnto them an hinderance in that vneuen and troublesome ground. Now when the Turks were
come to the foot of the mountaine, they were in that great feare and disorder againe fiercely
assailed on the one side by *Scanderbeg*, & on the other side by his nephew, called also *Amesa*,
who before the Turks comming had placed themselues with their horsmen in places of most
aduantage: so that the Turkes hardly beset and forced on euery side, were in short time ouer-
throwne

The great wars betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, are at large written by Marinus Barletius, in 13. Bookes, De vita, & gestis Scanderbegi. from whence this historie is taken: & were done betwixt the yeres 1450. and 1467

Vide Marinum Barletium. lib. de vita & gestis Scanderbegi.

throwne and put to flight. In this conflict seuen thousand of the Turks were slaine, and *Ameſa* Generall of the Turks armie with diuers other captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* sent prisoners to Croia. For ioy of this victorie at *Scanderbegs* returne, great triumph and feasting was made at Croia: during which time, *Scanderbeg* caused *Ameſa* the Turke, with the rest of the Turkish captains, to be enlarged, to be partakers of that ioy, wherof they against their wils had giuen the occasion; and afterwards vsed them with all kinde of courtesie during the time of their abode. This *Ameſa* requested of *Scanderbeg*, that he might send a messenger to Constantinople, to certifie *Mahomet* how the case stood with him and the rest, whom happily he might thinke to haue bin slaine in the battell; and to procure from him their ransom. Which his request *Scanderbeg* easily granted, and set downe their ransome at thirteen thousand duckats. The newes of this ouerthrow sore greeued the Turkish tyrant, but afterwards when he saw the remainder of his army without their Generall & leaders, hauing for most part lost their ensignes and armour, and also the messenger that was sent from *Ameſa*; he fell into such a rage, that he denied to giue any thing at all for his ransome: imputing all the losse to his treacherie, follie, or cowardise. Howbeit he was afterwards perswaded by his Bassaes and other great courtiers, *Ameſa* his friends, to thinke better of the Generall, of whose faithfulnesse and valour he had of long time had great experience, and also to send his ransome: by denying whereof, he should (as they said) discourage his other Generals and captains, who by chance of war might hap to fall into the like danger. By whose persuasion *Mahomet* sent an embassador to *Scanderbeg*, with the ransome demanded, and other great presents also. Vpon receit whereof, *Ameſa* with the other captaines were set at libertie, and sent with safe conuoy out of Epirus. All the mony sent for the Turks ransome, *Scanderbeg* diuided amongst his captaines and souldiers.

This late receiued ouerthrow filled the proud tyrant with desire of reuenge, so that he determined forthwith to send another armie into Epirus: the leading whereof, diuers of his great and most expert captaines ambitiously sought for. For *Mahomet* had promised great rewards and most honorable preferments to him whose hap it should be to vanquish *Scanderbeg*. Among the rest, one *Debreas* (a man for his forwardnesse & courage, in great fauor with his soueraigne) by great suit obtained to haue that charge: promising with exceeding confidencie vnto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better successe in his wars of Epirus, than others thither by him before sent: for the accomplishment whereof, he required to haue no greater power than was sent the yere before. But after that *Ameſa* was returned to the court, & had with long discourse set forth the vertues and valour of *Scanderbeg*, with the inuincible courage of his souldiers, *Debreas* became more temperate in his speech, and was contented to receiue a new supplie; so that he had vnder his charge fourteene thousand souldiers: with which armie he marched towards Epirus, and was come to a place called Pologus, where he lay with his army encamped in a plaine in great securitie, fearing no danger, for that he was not as yet in the enemies country, neither as he supposed, neere the enemie. Of all this preparation, and of the coming of *Debreas*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence: and being resolued not to expect the comming of the Turks into Epirus, made choice of six thousand of his best horsemen; with whom he marched with as much speed as was possible into the enemies country, and came by night vnto the plaine where the Turks lay, hoping to haue bin vpon them before they were aware, and so to haue ouerthrowne them; wherein he was much deceiued: for by the light of the Moone (which then shined all night) he was by the Turks in time descried, yet the suddennes of his approch with the strangenesse of the attempt, exceedingly dismaied the whole army of the Turks. But *Debreas* mindfull of the promise he had made vnto his Lord and master, with cheerfull words encouraged his souldiers, and presently sent out certain troops of light horsemen, to receiue the first charge of the enemie, vntill he might set his whole armie in order of battell. Betwixt these troops, and others sent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a sharpe skirmish; both the armies standing fast, as beholders, carefully expecting the euent thereof. But *Scanderbeg* doubting, that if his souldiers should in his first encounter be put to the worst, it might tend to the great discouraging of the rest of his armie; seconded his men with other fresh troops vnder the leading of *Moſes* and *Ameſa*: by whose comming in, the Turks were forthwith beaten back, and chased euen to their maine battell. In the heat of which chase, *Moſes* forgetting himselfe, had with great danger in following on too fast, bin inclosed by the Turks, had not his furie bin in good time staid by *Ameſa*: for which ouersight, he was afterward blamed by *Scanderbeg*,

Debreas sent with 14000 horsemen to inuade Epirus.

A skirmish betwixt the christians and the Turks.

derbeg, that he could not with greater moderation vse his good fortune, commending such forwardnesse in a priuat souldier, but not in so great a commander. When *Moſes* and *Ameſa* had thus put the Turks to flight, *Scanderbeg* brought on his whole armie, and fiercely assailed the Turks, yet troubled with the discomfiture of their fellowes. *Debreas* on the other side, with cheerfull speech, & his own valor, so encouraged his soldiers, that *Scanderbeg* was there notably resisted, and his fortune as it were at a stand: vntill that *Muſachius*, with certain troupes of resolute men, drawne out of the left wing of *Scanderbegs* armie, gaue such a fierce charge vpon the side of the Turks armie, that he brake their rankes, and sore disordered that part of the armie: which when *Debreas* perceiued, he withdrew himselfe out of the front of the battell wherin he had valiantly stood against *Scanderbeg*, and came to the place where *Muſachius* had disordered the battell, and with such courage cheared vp his troubled soldiers, that his onely presence and valour seemed to be the very life and heart of his whole armie. Whilest *Debreas* was thus busied against *Muſachius*, *Scanderbeg* in the mean time with might and main stil charged the front of the enemies armie: who now in the absence of the Generall began to loose their order & to giue ground, making no such resistance as before. At which time, *Moſes* forcibly breaking into the thickest of them, tooke one of their ensignes, which hee threw backe among his followers: wherwith they encouraged, so pressed vpon their enemies, without regard of danger, that the Turks being therewith discouraged, and their battell disordred, were almost ready to turne their backs and to flie. *Debreas* seeing all in danger to be lost, hasted with all speed vnto the place where he saw most perill, and did what was possible to haue restored the battell, and encouraged his soldiers: where pressing in among the formost, he was by *Scanderbeg* himselfe encountered hand to hand, and so by him slaine: with whose fall the whole armie discouraged, without further resistance fled. *Moſes* pursuing them on the one side, and *Muſachius* on the other, with furious hand slew more in that chase than were slaine in the battell. Of the Turks were slaine in this battell 4120, and some prisoners taken, but of the Christians few or none: so that for the good fortune thereof, *Scanderbeg* accounted it a victory giuen. All the spoile taken from the enemie, together with the prisoners, was by *Scanderbeg* equally diuided among the soldiers. Vnto *Moſes* he gaue *Debreas* his horse and armor: and vnto *Muſachius* a prisoner, which by his port and behauiour seemed to bee a man of some account. This Turke agreed with *Muſachius* vpon a ransome of 200 duckats, and presently vpon agreement made, drew forth the mony out of a little bag which he had kept secretly about him, and offered it to *Muſachius* for his ransom: who receiuing the mony, told the Turke, that he must prouide another ransome, forasmuch as that mony was his owne before by law of armes, as taken with his person. The Turke on the other side alledged for himselfe, the agreement alreadie made, with the paiment of the full sum agreed vpon. This controuersie was brought before *Scanderbeg*: who with great pleasure heard them both what they could say: *Muſachius* laying in hard for another ransome, and the Turke for his liberty vrging the agreement. Who when they had both said what they could for themselues, *Scanderbeg* smiling, told them, that they both contended for that which was in right his, and neither of theirs: for the prisoner with the mony were both mine (said he) at the first taking of him, since which time I haue giuen to you *Muſachius* the prisoner, which I knew, but not the mony which I knew not of: neither doth the concealing thereof make it yours (said he to the Turke) who had by law of arms lost your selfe, together with al that you had about you. After he had thus pleasantly discoursed of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded to *Muſachius* the mony he agreed for, & to the Turke his desired liberty: who glad thereof, and hauing also receiued his horse and armor of the gift of *Scanderbeg*, departed, speaking all the honor he could of so noble a conqueror. After this victorie *Scanderbeg* with great triumph returned againe to Croia.

When *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Debreas* was slaine, and his armie ouerthrowne, he became exceeding melancholie: but after he saw so many of his soldiers returned as had bin sufficient to haue restored a lost battell, he was so highly displeased with that cowardise, as that he could not endure the sight of them. The death of *Debreas* greeued none more than the King himselfe: for the captains generally either enuied at his hardinesse, or els hated his insolencie. *Ameſa* among the rest tooke no small pleasure, that his proud successour had taken part of his euill fortune, and so in part eased his former infamie. The great Bassaes and men of war seeing their soueraigne so desirous of reuenge, offered to spend their liues in that seruice: whose forwardnesse

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg & Debreas.

Debreas slaine by Scanderbeg, and his armie ouerthrow.

A pleasant contention betweene Muſachius and a Turke for his ransome.

wardneſſe he ſeemed not to refuſe: howbeit he had in his mind already plotted another manner of reuenge. Hee was not ignorant, what great matters his father *Amurath* had brought to paſſe, by ſowing diſcord among the Princes of Græcia: which foule practiſe he purpoſed now to put in practiſe himſelfe. There were at that time many famous chiefetaines in Epirus, of *Scanderbeg* both beloued and truſted; among whom, he was in hope to find ſome one who for deſire of wealth or promotion, might be allured to giue ſome deſperat attempt againſt the life or ſtate of *Scanderbeg*. Of all others, *Moſes Golemus* of Dibra (a man honorably deſcended) was moſt inward with *Scanderbeg*, and for his proweſſe and experience in martiall affaires, of all men accounted the beſt captaine in all Epirus, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himſelfe: him, the craftie tyrant moſt deſired to alienate from *Scanderbeg*, as one fitteſt to ſerue his purpoſe, and eaſieſt without ſuſpition to be dealt withall, becauſe he commonly lay with a ſtrong garriſon in Dibra, vpon the very frontiers of Epirus. Wherefore he directed his letters vnto the Gouernor of Sfetigrade, commanding him by al means he could poſſibly deuiſe to withdraw *Moſes* from *Scanderbeg*; and not to ſpare for any gold or golden promiſes whereby to allure him: promiſing alſo vnto the Gouernor himſelfe great preferments, if he could win him. Vpon receit of which letters, the Gouernor began forthwith carefully to deuiſe, how he might beſt attempt the matter he had in charge: where after many deuiſes, he at laſt thought vpon a ſhrewd-headed fellow, one of the Chriſtians which dwelt in Sfetigrade; whom for that he was a Chriſtian, hee might without ſuſpect vſe as an inſtrument in ſo dangerous and important an action. This Chriſtian the Gouernor called vnto him, and after he had with great gifts and large promiſes won him to vndertake the matter, he ſent him away, fully before armed with plenteous inſtructions, full of treaſon and deceit. When this ſubtill meſſenger was come vnto *Moſes*, and vnder pretence of great and ſecret matters of importance, had obtained to ſpeake with him in priuat; he after ſome diſcourſe had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length vnder the couert of faire glozing words, to vtter his poyſon: ſhewing vnto him (as a meſſengr from the Gouernor) the great and good opinion the Turkiſh Emperor had of long time conceiued of his valor and proweſſe: for which cauſe his heroicall nature could not but honor him, although he were his enemie; and therewith alſo maruell, that hee being a man of that worth, could be contented to be commanded by *Scanderbeg*, whoſe ſtate was by him chiefly vpholden: wheras if he would do wiſely, and changing his affection, follow *Mahomet*, an Emperor of greateſt magnificence and power, he ſhould quickly in his court find ſuch honorable entertainment, as were to be preferred before the ſtate of *Scanderbeg*: or if the ſoueraigntie of Epirus his natiue country did better pleaſe him, he might eaſily be therunto aduanced, by ioining his owne endeuor vnto *Mahomets* great power. It pleaſed *Moſes* well to heare his owne praiſes (a thing incident vnto hautie minds) and he liked well that he was ſo fauoured of the Turkiſh Emperor: but the hope of the kingdome of Epirus, began to worke in him new conceits, and moued him more than all the reſt. Such is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a man forget all things, ſaue themſelues: ſo glorious a thing it is, to ſtand in the higheſt place: for all that, *Moſes* neither in word or countenance made any ſemblant of liking, or diſliking the meſſage. Which the wily meſſenger taking for a ſecret conſent, and heartily glad that he had bin ſo well heard; not deſiring as then any further anſwer, craued leaue to depart; promiſing in ſhort time to returne to him againe. After the departure of this meſſenger, many troubled thoughts began to ariſe in the mind of *Moſes*: his mirth was changed into melancholy, & the cheerfulneſſe of his countenance was abated; his hautie thoughts were his ſolitarie companions, and the imagined kingdome the Idol he in ſecret worſhipped; ſo that in ſhort time, he ſeemed to the wiſer ſort as a man altogether metamorphoſed. Some were ſo bold, as for to aske the cauſe of the meſſengers comming: vnto whom he anſwered, That he was one, from whom he receiued intelligence of matters concerning the good of the ſtate: which his anſwer was holden for true; for who durſt once miſtruſt *Moſes?* Whilſt he thus was toſſed vp and downe with his owne thoughts, as a ſhip with the billowes of a wrought ſea, the ſame ſlie meſſenger, according to his promiſe came againe; and for his more credit, in ſecret brought with him ſuch preſents as well might ſeeme to haue bin ſent from the Great Turke; with his meſſage better framed than before. Of all which that was ſent, *Moſes* is reported to haue receiued nothing but the worſt, which was, the very treaſon it ſelfe. And ſo returned the meſſenger, with anſwer, that he could not but in good part accept of the Turkiſh Emperors great fauors; and for

The craftie proceeding of the Turks meſſenger.

Moſes entreth in.

A for the reſt of his requeſts, whatſoeuer he ſhould chance to doe therein, he ſhould not from thenceforth find him any great enemie: commanding the meſſenger at his departure, no more to repaire vnto him about that matter, for feare of ſuſpition.

After that, it chanced that *Scanderbeg* came into Dibra, to ſee how all things ſtood there, and to conſult with *Moſes* for the beſieging of Sfetigrade; which citie it grieued him to ſee in the poſſeſſion of the Turks. *Moſes* to auert *Scanderbeg* from that enterpriſe, wherein he muſt of force be driuen to ſhew himſelfe, told him, That he vnderſtood of late by a certaine meſſenger which came to him out of Sfetigrade, that the citie was ſo well ſtored by the Turks, of all things neceſſarie for the defence thereof, that it were but loſt labor to attempt any thing againſt the ſame: wherefore hee aduiſed him rather to beſiege Belgrade (not that Belgrade
B which is ſcituated vpon the riuer of Danubius, but another of the ſame name) in the confines of Epirus, then holden by the Turks, but diſtant from Sfetigrade about an hundred and fortie miles; of the taking whereof, there ſeemed to be more hope. By this perſuaſion, *Scanderbeg* reſolued with himſelfe to make prouiſion for the beſieging of Belgrade. And foraſmuch as his ſouldiers of Epirus alwaies vſed to the field, were not ſo fit for the beſieging of townes, he thought it good to pray aid out of Italy, from his old friend *Alphonſus* King of Naples, with whom he had beene of long time acquainted, and vnto him much beholden. Wherefore he ſent two of his noblemen embaſſadors vnto him, with certaine rich Preſents, and familiar letters of this purport.

Scanderbeg ſendeth to Alphonſus King of Naples.

Our ſouldiers of Epirus, know onely how to fight with men, and them to vanquiſh: with walls they
C *know not how to deale. You Italians (as I vnderſtand) haue skill in that kind of ſeruice, and take pleaſure therein: wherefore now at this preſent, I haue neede of your helpe and cunning. There be certaine townes of our enemies in Epirus, yea almoſt in the heart of our kingdome, which eye-ſore I haue of long deſired (if it pleaſed God) to take out of my ſight: but being occupied with continuall wars, had no leiſure vntill now, happily to attempt any thing againſt them. This time I haue choſen as moſt fit, to ſatisfy my deſire, both for the ſeaſonableneſſe of the time of the yeare, and for that* Mahomet *ſpareth me leiſure; whoſe furie I haue twice calmed. You vnderſtand in few words, what I haue need of: all other things are almoſt in readineſſe, and we onely looke for your helpe. Lend me ſuch ſouldiers as know how to fight a far*
D *off, I meane harquebuſiers and canoniers, for of others we haue ſtore plentie. But happie is Apulia, my* Alphonſus, *vnder thy gouernment, from whence men fit for all ſeruices may bee drawne as out of a moſt plentifull treaſurie. Whenſoeuer we haue requeſted men fit for ſeruice, either in peace or warre, you haue beautified both our court and campe. By you the kingdome of Epirus hath beene ſupported with ciuill policie, and warlike ſtrength: all ſort of people, of what condition ſoeuer: yea euery corner of Epirus ſoundeth forth thy praiſe, both at home and abroad. But for mine own part, I doe ſo louingly embrace your kindneſſe, and ſo firmly retaine the remembrance of your deſerts towards me, that ſometime I wiſh you that fortune (although in ſo doing I may ſeeme vnkind) which (as the common ſaying is) proueth, but getteth not friends: to the intent, that you might by ſome more certaine proofe know, how much I am to you deuoted.*

When *Scanderbeg* had ſent away his embaſſadours, he with all diligence began to prouide
E things neceſſarie for the ſiege of Belgrade: wherein he had purpoſed alſo to haue vſed the ſeruice of *Moſes*. But he now in heart a traitor both to his Prince and countrey, and a friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuſes to ſtay at home in Dibra; alleging firſt, that it was to be thought that ſo ſoone as the Turkiſh King ſhould heare of the ſiege of Belgrade, hee would inuade ſome part of Epirus, thereby to withdraw his enemies from the ſiege: and then, that no part of all Epirus lay neerer vnto the Turks, or more in danger than Dibra; and that therefore hee could not doe any better ſeruice, than to ſee vnto the ſaftie of that country, long before committed to his charge, and in which alſo moſt part of his liuing lay. Theſe his excuſes, proceeding indeed from deep treaſon, were yet neuertheleſſe thought reaſonable, and he for his pro-
F uident care highly commended: and authoritie giuen him with new ſupplies to augment the garriſon vnder his command, as time and occaſion ſhould require.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the intended ſiege, the embaſſadors before ſent to *Alphonſus*, were returned into Epirus, and with them ſuch aides *Scanderbeg* had before requeſted, and a great deale more: For *Alphonſus* fearing the greatneſſe of

Alphonſus ſendeth aid vnto Scanderbeg.

diminish the infamy of himselfe, in communicating the same with many, and to appeare with greater credit before the Turkish tyrant, than if he should as a contemptible fugitiue come all alone. Wherefore vpon the bad news from Belgrade, he seemed at the first very pensiue, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*, and the common miserie of the country of Epirus, with many words amplifying the same: and then on the contrary part, setting forth to the vttermost the force and power of the Turkish Emperour *Mahomet*, thereby to strike a greater terrour and distrust into the minds of them with whom he was conuersant: but vnto such as were more secret and inward with him, he discouered the great affection and fauour the great Emperor *Mahomet* had of long born him, with the large offers of his gifts and preferments, assuring them of the like also, if they would conform themselues vnto his appetite; seeking hereby so much as he could, to allure them into the participation of his most execrable treason: yet when he had said what he could, he found none but a few of the baser sort of the common souldiers, which were willing to hearken vnto him or to follow him. When *Moses* saw how much he had laboured, and how little preuailed, fearing to be discouered, he fled by night to Sfetigrade, accompanied with a few base fellowes, and easily obtained the Gouernours passe, with safe conduct to Constantinople: where he arriued a little before the returne of *Sebalias* from Belgrade, and was of *Mahomet* both ioyfully receiued and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* vnderstood that *Moses* was thus reuolted, at the first report thereof he was so troubled with the strangenes of the fact, that he stood speechlesse as a man astonied: but after he had paused a while, & vpon further enquirie had found it out to be true, he according to his heroicall disposition, said no more, but that he could easily haue *Moses* excused, for that he was carried away with the violence of such fortune as might haue alienated the mind of a right constant man. And when diuers of his friends (according to the manner of the world) with hard speeches seemed to aggraue his offence: he could not abide to heare the same, but commanded them to hold their peace, & no more to vse such speeches: wishing that all treason & euil fortune were together with *Moses* gon out of Epirus. Vpon this news *Scanderbeg* accompanied with *Amesa* his nephew, & a troup of horsmen, presently entred into the country of Dibra, & there with al care caused most diligent inquirie to be made, if any could be found partakers of the conspiracie with *Moses*. But finding none, he much reioiced in the fidelity of his subiects: & hauing set al things in good order in that prouince, returned himself to Croia.

Moses remaining in the Turks court, ceased not to solicit *Mahomet* to proceed in his warres against *Scanderbeg*, promising to do therin great matters, euen to the spending of his life in that seruice. But the craftie tyrant thinking it not good to trust him too farre before he had further triall of him, delaied him off to the next Spring, pretending that the yeare was too far spent to bigin wars. In the mean time he caused al *Moses* talke, his behauior and actions, to be diligently obserued and nored; and oftentimes himselfe discoursed with him concerning the managing of that war: all which he did especially to sound the depth of *Moses* his thoughts. And finding nothing in him but the most assured & vndoubted signes of a mind deuoted to his seruice, & altogether estranged from *Scanderbeg*: in the beginning of the Spring he committed to his charge the leading of fifteene thousand horsemen for the inuading of Epirus, such men as *Moses* himself should make choice of: for a greater number he required not for the vanquishing of *Scanderbeg*. These souldiers although they detested (so few in number) to enter that fatal country of Epirus, as men faire warned by other mens harms, yet heartened on by the opinion they had conceiued of their new Generall, and the hope they had by his meanes to find friends in that country to ioyne with them, were the willinger to go. So *Moses* furnished with a notable army, and all warlike prouision he could desire for the destruction of his country; and blinded with the imagination of a kingdome, set forward, and marching through Thracia and Macedonia, forgetting the loialtie due vnto his Soueraigne, and the loue he ought to haue borne vnto his natiue countrey, came and entered into Dibra.

Mahomet sendeth Moses with fifteene thousand select horse into Epirus.

Scanderbeg by his espials vnderstanding of the comming of *Moses*, as also what strength he was of, stood not now vpon any policie against him who had of long bin priuie to all his stratagems, but was ready euen at his first entrance with true valor to incounter him. As both the armies stood ranged in order of battell, a messenger came from the the Turks campe, to know of *Scanderbeg*, if any one of his army durst to proue his fortune hand to hand against one of the Turks, before the beginning of the generall battel. By which messenger answer was returned,

That

A That the challenge should be accepted. The name of the Turke which made this braue challenge was *Abemaze*, a man for his valour and courage of great name amongst the Turks. Vpon this proud challenge, *Zacharias Groppa*, a gentleman of no lesse reputation among the Christians, hastily stept forth before *Scanderbeg* (as it he had bin afraid to haue beene preuented by some other) and requested, that he might be the man to abate the Turks pride. *Scanderbeg* embracing him, commended his noble mind, and wishing him good fortune, gaue him leaue to carrie with him into the field the first honour of the Christian armie. As he was arming himselfe, his companions and fellowes in armes standing about him, wished vnto him not more courage or strength than he had, but onely the fortune of *Manessi*. Vpon his armor he put on many rich iewels and ornaments, the allurements or rather the rewards of the enemie, if hee could vanquish him. The Turkish champion was no sooner come into the plaine betwixt both B armies and made shew of himselfe in great brauery, as if his match had yet bin scarcely found, but he saw *Zacharias* come forth brauely mounted, and readie to charge him: to whom *Abemaze* calling aloud, said there would be time enough for him to hasten to his death, & therefore requested to talke with him before. So when he had learned of him both his name and place, he propounded such like conditions of the combat, as had bin long before derided by *Manessi*: whereof *Zacharias* in no better sort accepted. In few wordes it was agreed vpon betwixt them, That each of them should abide his owne fortune, without any helpe or ayd of others; and that the victor should haue full power ouer the bodie & spoile of the vanquished. Thus agreed, they withdrew themselues one a good distance from another, and with their C Launces charged, ran together with such force, that with the violence of the encounter they brake their Launces one vpon the other, and were both horse and man ouerthrowne. But vnhorsed, they nimbly recouered themselues, and with their scimitars fiercely assailed the one the other on foot. Fortune it should seeme had determined to beautifie that combat with varietie, standing a great while indifferent to both. After many sturdie strokes giuen, without any hurt don, by reason they were so strongly armed, it fortuned that both their swords were beaten out of their hands: then grapling together with their bare hands, as if they had bin two vnarmed wrestlers, after long strugling till they were both almost out of breath, *Zacharias* ouerthrew the Turke, and lying vpon him, with his dagger, aboue the gorget thrust him into the throat, & slew him: and so rising vp, with the sword that first came to his hands, cut off the D Turks head: at the sight wherof the Christian army gaue a great shout for ioy, to the great discomfiture of the Turks. To be short, *Zacharias* despoiling the Turke of his armor, & what els he thought good, returned loded with the spoile of his enemie, and presented vnto *Scanderbeg* the proud Turks head: for which he was of him afterwards most honorably rewarded.

A combat betwixt a Turke and a Christian.

Into this place yet reeking with the bloud of the late slaine Turke, came *Moses*, and with a loud voice challenged *Scanderbeg* hand to hand; thinking indeed that he would not haue aduentured his person: but when he saw him readie to come forth, he shamefully forsooke the place, and returned with shame enough into his armie.

Presently after, both the armies vpon signall giuen set forward, and so began to ioine battell: where at the first onset *Scanderbeg* so valiantly charged the vauward of the Turkes armie, that E they were glad to giue ground: which *Moses* perceiuing, releeued them with new supplies: and riding now here, now there, with his presence and courage restored the battel, in many places almost lost. Howbeit, the Epirots encouraged with the beginning of their good fortune, still preuailed vpon their enemies, & after great slaughter made, came to the strength of their battell: where *Moses* had placed most of his best soldiers, as his most assured and last refuge: in this place the Turks fought with exceeding courage, and *Moses* warily obseruing in what part of the battell *Scanderbeg* himselfe was, directed his most forces against him, of purpose, if possibly he might, to haue slaine him; whereof he missed but a little: for a couragious soldier of the Turks by chance encountering with *Scanderbeg*, with his horsemans staffe bare him quite backeward vpon his horse, in such forcible manner, that the Turks for ioy gaue a great shout, F thinking verily that he had bin slaine: but *Scanderbeg* recouering himselfe again, & chafed with such an vnwonted disgrace, furiously assailed the same Turke with his sword, and after a great fight slew him. A great part of the Turks armie being alreadie ouerthrown by them that had the leading of the wings of *Scanderbegs* armie, diuers of the common soldiers thrust the heads of the slaine Turks vpon the points of their speares, in token of victorie, to the great astonish-

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Moses.

ment of the Turks: and now ioining themselues with *Scanderbeg*, more fiercely charged the maine battell of the Turks than before. Neuertheles, *Moses* encouraging his soldiers, did what was possible for a man to doe, and euen with his owne valour a great while staid the course of the victorie: vntil he seeing the ground about him couered with the dead bodies of his best soldiers; & that there was no remedie but that he must either flie, or there die; turned his back and fled. In which flight, many of the hindermost of the Turks were slaine: as for *Moses* himselfe, he escaped by waies to him wel knowne, onely with foure thousand men, the poore remainder of so great an armie: the rest, to the number of about eleuen thousand, all choise men, were slaine: whereas of the Christians were not past an hundred lost, and about eightie wounded. Of all the Turks that were taken, only one was saued; who being a man of good account, had yeelded himselfe to *Zacharias*, and was afterward ransomed; the rest were all by the common souldiers, without pittie tortured to death, in reuenge of the crueltie by them shewed at Belgrade: *Scanderbeg* himselfe either not knowing thereof, or winking thereat.

Moses with the rest of his discomfited armie, lay still a while vpon the borders of Epirus, and would faine haue persuaded them, after the departure of *Scanderbeg*, to haue followed him againe into Epirus, to haue surprised the garrison left in Dibra, in number not aboue 2000; promising to bring them vpon the same garrison, before they should bee aware of their coming. But the Turks hauing him now in contempt, were about by generall consent to forsake him, and to returne home. And so *Moses* seeing no remedie, returned with them to Constantinople, with countenance as heauie as if he had bin a condemned man now carried to the place of execution: and the Turkes which had not long before had him in great admiration, expecting that he should haue ended the warres in Epirus, began now to disgrace him as fast, and to speake all the euill of him they could deuise. Yea the tyrant himselfe (although hee could blame nothing in the man, but his fortune) was so highly offended with him for the losse of his armie, that he had vndoubtedly put him to most cruell death, had not the great Bassaes, & others neere about him, perswaded him otherwise, saying, That in so doing, he should alienate the minds of al others from reuolting vnto him, or attempting any great thing for his seruice. So was he by their mediation pardoned his life; but withall, so disgraced, that he had little or nothing allowed him afterwards for his necessarie maintenance: all which despightfull contumelies he outwardly seemed patiently to beare; but was inwardly so tormented with melancholy and griefe, that he could not neither eat nor drinke: the remembrance of the foule treason committed against his prince and country, was day and night before his eies; and the disgraces of the Turks court inwardly, tormented him with intollerable griefe: the sight of the tyrant (who measured all things by the euent) filled his heart with secret indignation; and to return again to his naturall prince, of whom he had so euill deserued, he was ashamed: sometime the clemencie and princely nature of *Scanderbeg*, whom he knew of old, slow to reuenge, and easie to be intreated to forgiue, heartned him on to thinke of return; and by & by, the consideration of his foule treason ouerwhelmed him with despaire. Thus with contrarie thoughts plunged too and fro, tormented with the vnspeakable griefs of a troubled conscience, not knowing what to do, purposing now one thing, and by & by another; at last he resolued to forsake the insolent tyrant, & to submit himselfe to the mercie of *Scanderbeg*; wishing rather to die in his countrey for his due desert, than to liue with infamie, derided in the Turks court. Resting himselfe vpon this resolution, one euening he got secretly out of the gates of Constantinople, and trauelling all that night and the day following before he rested, by long and weary iournies, came at last vnto his natiue country of Dibra. The garison soldiers beholding their old Gouernor all alone, full of heauinesse, as a man eaten vp with cares, moued with compassion, and forgetting the euils he had bin the occasion of, receiued him with many tears and friendly embracings, and brought him to *Scanderbeg*, who by chance then lay not far off. *Moses* comming vnto him with his girdle about his neck, in token that he had deserued death (as the manner of that country was) found him walking before his tent, and there with heauie cheere falling downe vpon his knees at his feet, submitted himselfe vnto his mercie, and with great humilitie and signes of repentance, craued his most gracious pardon. Which his request *Scanderbeg* presently granted, and taking him vp by the hand embraced and kissed him, in token he had from his heart forgiuen him: and within a few daies after, caused all such things of his as were before confiscat, to be again restored vnto him; with all such offices & promotions

Moses contemned of the Turks.

Moses flieth from Constantinople.

tions as he had before inioyed: and by open proclamation commanded, That from thenceforth no man should either publikely or priuatly speake of that *Moses* had trespassed. *Mahomet* vnderstanding that *Moses* was returned againe into Epirus, and honoured of *Scanderbeg* as in former time, was much greeued thereat, and fumed exceedingly: first, for that he had at all trusted him; and then, that he had so let him slip out of his hands: being verily perswaded, that all that *Moses* had done, was but a fineneſse of *Scanderbeg* to deceiue him.

Shortly after that *Moses* was returned into Epirus, *Mahomet* by like practise allured vnto him *Amesa*, *Scanderbeg* his nephew; promising to make him king of Epirus in his vnckles stead. For by that meanes, the craftie tyrant thought it a more easie way to draw the mindes of the people of Epirus from *Scanderbeg* vnto him descended of the princes bloud, than to *Moses*, or to any other stranger he should set vp. *Amesa* vpon this hope of a kingdome, fled to Constantinople: and because he would cleere the mind of the tyrant of all suspition and distrust, he carried with him his wife and children, as the most sure pledges of his fidelitie. This *Amesa* was of stature low, and the feature of his bodie not so perfect as might sufficiently expresse the hidden vertues of his mind: hee was of courage hautie aboue measure, subtill, and of a pregnant wit; wonderfull painfull, and thereto courteous and bountifull (the chiefe meanes whereby aspiring minds steale away the hearts of men) whatsoeuer he got of himselfe, or had by the gift of his vnckle, he diuided it amongst his souldiers or friends: he was very affable, and could notably both couer and dissemble his affections: for which things, he was aboue all others both beloued and honored of all the people of Epirus, next to *Scanderbeg* himselfe. At his first comming to *Mahomet*, he filled not his eares with great promises and vaine praises of himselfe as had *Moses*; but onely excusing his owne reuolt, labored to perswade him, That he had for iust causes left his vnckle, with a desire now faithfully to serue him. And to that purpose spake vnto him as followeth.

Amesa his first speech vnto Mahomet.

If it should please thee (most noble Mahomet*) to call remembrance the old iniuries, and antient displeasures by vs committed against thine imperiall Maiestie: we might seeme now rather to haue come hither to receiue the iust guerdon of our euill deserts, than vpon any hope of honour or preferment. For what could haue bin done more in disgrace of the* Othoman *Empire, than that you haue seene long since done by vs, in the most dangerous time of the Hungarian warre; rather of a malicious and set purpose, than for that we were iust enemies? Whenas in the same perfidious course, I my selfe being a helper and partaker therein (for now no excuse is to be pretended for our doings, more than repentance) your fathers armie was betrayed at Morana, and the kingdome of Epirus by great treacherie wrested out of your fathers hands; the onely cause of so many calamities, and of so much bloudshed. But vaine is this feare, and our suspition needlesse, with so wise and mercifull a Prince; especially for that my yeares then greene, and youth prone vnto the harme of it selfe, and a mind not resting vpon his owne resolutions, deceiued me. I beleeued mine vnckle (for the ignorant beleeue many things) and allured with the desire of soueraigntie (the proper disease of that age) and too much credulous, I forsooke you and followed his promises, but discretion growing with yeares, I haue by little and little perceiued both the slie perfidious dealing of mine vnckle, as also that my reuolt from you was more hurtfull vnto my selfe than to any other.* Scanderbeg *recouered, and also enlarged the kingdome of Epirus; but not without my great labour and helpe. I expected long time, that he should haue giuen me, if not my fathers whole inheritance, yet at least some part thereof, as a small reward of my so great trauell and danger. Not long after he married a wife, and hath begot a young heire, a new successour in his kingdome: vnto me for shame of the world, because I should not altogether leade a priuate life, he hath assigned a base corner of Epirus; where he enioying the rest, I might lead a poore and contemptible life. In this case I had much adoe to bridle my affections, and could neuer digest that iniurie: yet the iniquitie of the time, with the insolent disposition of the man, compelled me to smother vp my thoughts, and to make faire weather, least finding some suspition, he should craftily haue intrapped me, as he did of late* George Strese *his sisters sonne; whom wrongfully charged with fained surmises, he hath almost deprined of all his possessions. I would willingly haue fled vnto the feet of your highnesse, I would gladly haue forsaken my ingratefull vnckle with the staines of his infamous kingdome; but that the remembrance of the old rebellion, and many iniuries sithence done, did make me afraid: vntill that now (God I thinke so appointing it) I came most gladly, following your most royall faith and promise. You had scarcely beckned vnto me, you had scarcely inuited me, hauing of long intentiuely waited euery occasion, but straighs*

way I came with such speed, as if I would haue flowne: I lingred not, I expected not either Scanderbeg *or his euill hap, or your more prosperous successe, as of late did* Moses; *least I might thereby iustly seeme either for feare or regard of some eminent danger, rather to haue prouided for mine owne safetie than to haue embraced your magnificence. Neither haue I left any thing for you in me to suspect, nor any cause wherefore I should desire to returne againe into Epirus: here are present most sure bonds of my loue, and faithfull pledges of my loyaltie. Behold (worthie* Mahomet) *you haue whatsoeuer is deare vnto me, yea whatsoeuer nature could giue, pleasing vnto men in the course of mans life. These haue I brought vnto thee, which should with violence haue beene taken from an enemie: such pawnes as might assure thee of the faith of a most doubtfull man. More than this, haue I brought nothing: for in so great speed and secret departure, I could not haue regard of my substance. And if I might haue had time to haue trussed vp my trash at leisure; yet I know not how, I should haue thought it a kind of basenesse, to haue brought with me any part of the poore reliques of mine old fortune: especially vnto thee, of all other the richest. Onely my fidelitie I lay downe before thee, for any thing greater I haue not: and if thou desire of me any other bond for more assurance, I refuse not whatsoeuer your highnesse shall appoint: for I came not hither to set downe couenants and agreements of my selfe, but to receiue them from you. I dare not promise to vanquish mine vnckle, and to subdue Epirus with an armie of fifteen thousand men: the misfortune of* Haly-Bassa *and other your Generals; yea and the late and rare victorie of* Sebalias, *with great bloudshed gained, may serue for examples. In me you shall neither want diligence nor faithfull seruice: as for other things concerning the euent of this warre, and for the reuenge of the iniuries by you receiued; you being a Prince of power inuincible, and of a most deepe iudgement, are not to be aduised by me your vnskilfull vassaile.*

Ameſa honorably entertained by Mahomet.

This speech of *Amesa*, seemed vnto *Mahomet* free from all dissimulation, forasmuch as he knew most part thereof to be true; and his wife and children brought vnto his presence, confirmed the rest. Wherefore commending his good affection, he appointed him honourable entertainment, referring other matters vnto a further time.

Vpon the approch of the Spring, *Mahomet* desiring nothing more than to be reuenged vpon *Scanderbeg*, entred into consultation with his great Bassaes, concerning the inuasion of Epirus: vnto which counsell *Amesa* was by *Mahomet* admitted, and his wicked deuise for the destruction of his countrey, of all others best liked. After the matter had bin long too and fro debated, it was concluded, That *Isaac* the great Bassa of Constantinople, should with an armie of fifteen thousand be sent against *Scanderbeg*, and *Amesa* with him, hauing the charge of fiue thousand horsemen: and the Bassa to proclame *Amesa* King of Epirus; thereby to perswade the Epirots, that *Mahomet* inuaded Epirus rather for the displeasure hee bare against *Scanderbeg*, and for the aduancement of *Amesa*, than for any ambitious desire he had to take vnto himselfe that kingdome.

Great was the preparation for this warre, and the expectation thereof greater. Flying fame had in short time filled euery corner of Epirus with the report of these newes; adding thereunto (as the manner is) a great deale more than was true. Whereupon *Scanderbeg* without delay, sent for his great captaines and men of war into Dibra, where that tempest was first to be expected: and when they were all assembled, he declared vnto them the greatnesse of the danger, and what he thought thereof himselfe as followeth.

A notable speech of Scanderbeg vnto his captaines, how the Turks were to be withstood at their coming to Epirus.

Amongst all other things which God hath left to vex and greeue the minds of men in so great varietie of worldly affaires, we see (right worthie souldiers) these two the greatest, Hope, and Feare. The first a more comfortable thing, and proper to courageous minds (I may not say) of light beleefe: the other a thing of more discretion and safetie, which although it vse to deferre the desires of men, yet hath it power at length excellently to cure and season the same. Hereupon is it easily to be gathered, That the great cheefetaines of former times haue gained more honour and greater victories, by fearing all that was to be feared, than others in shew more bardie, which feared nothing. Hereupon the great Carthagientian captaine vsed to call Q. Fabius *(whome the Romanes euer thought too slew and too fearefull) his great enemie: But* Terentius Varro *he called a greater enemie vnto his owne countrey and the people of Rome, than to himselfe. But wherefore do I wrongfully call that Feare, which might more truly be called Discretion, or wholesome Policy? Call it as you will, it is not much materiall: but this one thing no man can deny, That thereof hath risen the antient discipline of warre, and the old and seuere*

gouernment of martiall affaires. This aduised carefulnesse cherisheth and nourisheth Hope: it selfe, it doth nothing rashly, it hath eyes before, behind, and on both sides; it weigheth in indifferent ballance things past, present, and to come. You may now perceiue to what end my speech tendeth. I would first conferre with you, ond know your opinions, before I determine any thing of the order of this warre; that either I might yeeld vnto your opinion, or else you (as you haue alwaies hitherto done) to mine. You heare now with your eares, what preparation, what warlike prouision is daily made against vs. Loe the great Bassa of Constantinople, all the flower of Europe, and whole strength of the Othoman *Kingdome knocketh at our gates. I want not courage (neither euer did) to proone my fortune against him, not without your honour: But I thinke it better to vse policie and warie heed against so great an enemy, than our woonted force and courage. That notable ouerthrow of* Haly-Bassa, *so many great victories by vs atchieued, our minds by so many good haps confirmed, persuade me to thinke that we haue both courage and strength to encounter him in plaine battell: but the vncertaine euents of warre, and fortune neuer sufficiently knowne, maketh wise men to forget what is past, and to feare that is to come. It was neuer proper to any man, it was neuer giuen by inheritance, alwaies to ouercome; new occurrents require new correspondents: neither may you, for that you conquered yesterday, presume to assure your selfe to diuide the spoile of your enemies to day. Victorie is like a trauellour, and goeth hither and thither, not resting long in a place: and although it be for most part both gotten and kept by courage and discretion, yet oftentimes, when you haue most carefully and politiquely disposed of all things, the fortune and chance of warre haue therein a great sway. I was woont to require (I remember it well) onely valour and courage in my souldiers, contemning all externall accidents and fortunes haps; if you did promise vnto me couragious minds, I assured you of all good hap and prosperous successe: but that losse we receiued at Belgrade (the remembrance whereof my mind feareth, and alwaies abhorreth to thinke vpon) hath much changed my former cogitations, and made me to deeme farre otherwise of worldly matters, and the vncertaintie of fortune. What if that day had bin longer? or* Sebalias *of more courage? might not the state of Epirus haue that day bin vtterly ouerthrowne? We were then rather by God preserued, than by any thing that was in our selues: What remained more, but that we should like cowards haue yeelded our selues to haue bin bound of the conquerours? The night defended vs, yea euen God himselfe defended vs; who tooke from them both policie and force, and gaue vs time to breath and escape away. We were then but as a prey, expecting but the comming of the victor: Howbeit he tooke nothing from vs, he carried little or nothing away with him, being too much carefull to keepe the honour he had alreadie gained, and peraduenture in feare of them of whom he was not without cause most feared. I speake not this of purpose to terrifie any of you, but rather to admonish you, and to consult with you, how so great preparations may be frustrated and ouerthrowne, and some notable victory by vs atchieued, without the price of our bloud, or the losse of such things as we haue. The number of our enemies is great, and so great, as vntill this day we neuer saw in Epirus greater, except at such times as they came to besiege our cities, and to deuoure vs all. Now if wee shall meet them in the plaine fields in a set battell, the euent thereof will be doubtfull, many of vs must needs fall, many of vs must die (I would I might be a false Prophet) before so great an armie will either flie or be ouercome, your victorie shall be mingled with teares, and the heauinesse of the conqueror not much vnlike the sorrow of the conquered. Was it but a few that we lost at Belgrade? is that losse so to be recouered? What flower of Chiualrie, hardly to be in many yeares restored? How many worthie men were there slaine? Epirus must needs in short time be vnpeopled, if we shall so desperatly onely seeke for such glorious victories. Wherefore if we will do well, we must so fight to day, as that we may fight to morrow also. Neither are our enemies and we in like case. The losse of fortie or fiftie thousand is lesse vnto the Turkish tyrant, than the losse of an hundred of you is to me. We are in all but a few; and therefore carefully to be kept: which if we regard not for our own sakes, yet let vs doe it for our wiues and childrens, whose welfare and libertie dependeth of our liues: I know the number of you, I know your faces and countenances, and almost euery one of your names, which maketh me also more carefull of your health. And yet I would not refuse to try the whole fortune of this battell in plaine field, if we might thereby end all the warres against the Turks for euer; if I were in hope so to find an end of our labours and trauels hereafter, I would gladly aduenture my life with yours, for the perpetuall quiet and peace of our posterity: but a new enemy alwayes ariseth, and we must still looke for new warres. When this* Isaac *is gone, another* Isaac *will ere long come in his place: we shall be alwaies exercised with new warres, and inclosed with new dangers: It is the destinie of Epirus (as farre as I can see) and we our selues are borne thereto. Wherefore we must gather our wits together, we must well husband our forces, and so diuide our patrimonie, as that we may*

alwayes haue something to content our creditors, when they shall chance to come vpon vs. Yet shall G
God (no doubt) giue an end also vnto these troubles: for extremities cannot be of long continuance,
and you your selues shall at length take rest: yea the strong and puissant enemie, wearied with so
many vaine attempts, will at last haue enough thereof, and leaue off his perpetuall hatred against
vs: then shall it be to you no small pleasure to remember so many labours and dangers past. Thus
haue I declared vnto you the commodities and incommodities ensuing the victorie in plaine battell. But
what if we be vanquished? where haue we any hope of reliefe left? From whence may we expect help?
Will the bloudie enemie, inflate with victorie, expect whilest we againe recouer our strength and en-
counter him againe with new forces? No, he will pursue vs and chase vs so long as any of vs are
left: and hauing ouercome vs, will poure out the rest of his furie vpon our townes and countrey, then
subiect to his iniurie. But some of you peraduenture will say, that they are by policie to be ouertaken, H
and not to be met in open field: of which opinion I also am my selfe; yet happily differ from you in the
time of doing the same. Then I thinke it best to deceiue them, when they thinke they cannot be de-
ceiued: when as they being as it were in possession of a supposed victorie, like men ouerioyed, shall cast
no perill. Now they come euen from the gates of Constantinople, full of distrust, prying into euery cor-
ner, as men before warned by others harmes, and so many dreadfull examples of their fellowes: Be-
sides that, they haue with them my graceless nephew and domesticall foe Amesa, who will teach them
to foresee and shun such snares as in times past he with vs was woont to lay for them. Wherefore wee
must now tower vp vnto the height of some notable and strange policie, whereby both our countrey may
be from danger preserued, and also some great victorie, without our owne bloudshed (which seldome
chanceth) obtained: which to the maintenance of our antient glorie and renowne, we haue to this day I
by many most notable victories gained: But time and space, and the sight of the enemie, shall furnish
vs with this deuise. Now (that my discourse may come to the purposed end) first of all, all things subiect
either to the furie or victorie of the enemie, are to be remooued out of the way; all people, of what age,
sex, or condition soeuer, are to be brought out of the countrey into places of safetie; and then, our townes
are to be furnished with strong garrisons and all other necessarie prouision, against all the chances of
fortune. Besides, who knoweth the secret designes of the tyrant? or whether he himselfe (of long time
desirous of reuenge, and thirsting after our bloud) will follow the Bassa at the heeles, or no? Perhaps I
may beleeue and feare more than is needfull; but it is good to feare all that may be feared, that we may
indeed feare nothing. If all things shall thus be set in order, if there shall nothing be left in the fields
or in the villages, that may enrich, feed, or feare our enemies, and which may withdraw our care and K
thoughts from our enemies, vndoubtedly we shall be victors. And if you will be ruled by me, and fol-
low my direction in these wars, I will assuredly deliuer your enemies into your hands to be slaine at your
pleasure, and (by the leaue of God) will make the name and valour of the Epirots more terrible vnto the
Turke, than euer it hath beene in the time of our ancestors. I flatter not my selfe, I deceiue you not: if any
thing may be promised in worldly actions, this I assure you of, and this will I take vpon me. But these
things are better done than said. In the meane while, to spend no more time in longer talke and discourse
(than which, no greater losse can be to souldiers) let euery one of vs take a part in this charge, for the
good disposing of all things, and how to withstand the enemie. I will not command any thing to others
which I will not my selfe doe: I will refuse nothing, or reckon any thing base, which may tend to the com-
mon honour or profit of vs all. L

This speech of *Scanderbeg* was well liked and ioyfully receiued of all the hearers, so that many besought him to manifest to them how he purposed to proceed in those wars: whereunto he with cheerfull countenance answered, That it was enough for him, if they did but beleeue him, promising himselfe in person to bee in the most dangerous actions as far as any of them, wherewith they rested contented. And presently dispatching his lieutenants into diuers parts of his kingdome, as he thought most conuenient, prouided, that all things were in short time conueied out of the country into the strong townes and other places of refuge. No corne, no cattell, or other things of any worth was left in the country; but all left desolate, in like manner as was before at the comming of the great King *Amurath* to the siege of Croia. M

The Epirots remoue all their goods out of the country into strong townes at the comming of the Turke.

By this time *Isaac* the great Bassa was come into Epirus, accompanied with *Amesa*: and as he marched, still sent before him his scouts and espials, carefully to view euery corner of the countrey, for feare to be entrapped as others before him had bin; directed in his iourney for most part by *Amesa*. *Scanderbeg* had in readines such an armie as he had purposed to vse against his

A his mightie enemie, but lay with six thousand horsemen only in shew, as if he had determined with them to haue giuen them battell, but meaning indeed nothing lesse. For as soone as the Bassa was come in sight, he with those horsemen, according as he had before appointed, as if he had bin discouraged with the very sight of the Turks, turned his backe and fled. And because he would not giue them any occasion to suspect it to bee done for some policie or finesse, and so to make them more carefull, he fled not into the mountains or woods, as his wonted maner was, but directly toward Lyssa, a town of the Venetians standing vpon the sea coast, as if he had quite despaired of the keeping of Epirus, and fled thither for refuge. The Bassa seeing him flie, was glad therof, & sent certaine troupes of horsemen to pursue him, and diligently to marke which way he tooke: but encamped himselfe with his armie in the plaines of Dibra, neere vnto Oronychium, where *Scanderbeg* lay before: and there rested his armie, wearie of long trauell, expecting the returne of his horsemen, sent after *Scanderbeg*. But vpon their returne, when it was for a certaintie reported by them, That *Scanderbeg* with an handfull of men was fled out of Epirus, and not an enemie to be seene, the Turks began to reioyce, and proudly to triumph, that they had without any losse driuen the enemie out of the countrey; yet much greeued, that they could no where find any thing to satisfie their greedie desires: for why, al things were so clen gon, as if the country had bin swept against their comming, which might haue beene a sufficient cause for them to haue distruste d some great matter: but they flattering themselues, supposed all this to be done for feare of them, vpon extreme desperation: such is the fraile condition of men, to lose strength of bodie, common sense, yea, their reason & vnderstanding, when some great mischiefe is appointed for their ouerthrow or destruction. The Bassa seeing the enemie fled, and now no cause of feare, consulted with his chiefe captains, what were now best to be done? *Amesa* still persuading him not to remoue, but there to stay a time, and to expect the farther euent of matters. But the greater number, whose opinion preuailed, said it was better to go farther into the country, and to take the spoile thereof before the country people should conuey away al their substance into places of safety, as they had done there in Dibra, and leaue them nothing but the bare ground and emptie cottages. By this persuasion, the Bassa earely next morning in good order set forward: commanding by generall proclamation, That no man vpon pain of death should breake his array or straggle from the armie. Yet before hee set forward, he called *Amesa* vnto him; whom after he had highly D commended, & with great vehemencie inuayed against *Scanderbeg*, he with the great applause of the whole army in the name of *Mahomet* created him king of Epirus. That day he marched not far, by reason of the great heat: for it was then about the midst of Iuly. Yet when he had well wearied himselfe with that dayes trauell, finding neither enemie nor any thing else worthie to be accounted in any part of a victorie, he encamped at night, keeping diligent watch, and sending forth his scouts euery way, but especially towards Lyssa. The next day, which was the third day after the Bassaes comming into Epirus, he set forward againe, and came at length into Æmathia, and there encamped that night.

Amesa is by the Bassa created king of Epirus.

When *Scanderbeg* (flying for feare, as the Turks supposed) was gone a great way out of their E sight towards Lyssa, and come euen to the borders of his kingdome, he there staid all the rest of that day. And a little before the going downe of the Sun, he with a few select horsmen departed from the armie, and with painfull trauell got vp to the top of the high mountains, from whence a man might by day well discouer all the plains of Æmathia. There he appointed one *Peleus Emanuel*, a politicke and valiant gentleman, with certaine horsemen to marke diligently which way the enemie held, and by certain secret and appointed waftings and signes, to giue knowledge thereof to the armie. After such order taken, he returned himselfe, and came again to the campe after midnight. And presently rising with his armie, and fetching a compasse about, came vndiscouered, and secretly encamped himself as neere as he could vnto the mountains where his scouts lay, with eagles eis waiting for the lest mouing of the enemie. The Bassa desirous to get as far as he could into the country, before the heat of the day, began early in F the morning to set forward, and came to the plains of Pharsalia, through the world spoken of for the great battell in them long time before fought, between the two most famous chiefetaines *Cæsar* and *Pompeius*: and now once more to bee made famous, by the slaughter of the Turks. Here the enemy finding some stragling cattel, & other small things which the country people had in their hasty flight left behind them, fel to seeking after booty, &, as men without

feare

feare, ſpent that day in roaming vp and downe the country, in hope to find ſomething: and at night encamped without any great watch, but towards Lyſſum, from whence they (in great ſecuritie) looked for the comming of *Scanderbeg*; & as it were in diſgrace of him, carried *Ameſa* in triumph vp and downe the campe, as if he had bin alreadie poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Epirus. *Scanderbeg* lying on the other ſide of the mountaines, perceiued by his eſpials, which way the enemie lay: and with great ſilence vnder the couert of the mountains and woods, ſecretly bent his courſe the ſame way, vntil he came to a mountaine called Tumeniſt, at the foot wherof he encamped that night. The next morning the Baſſa holding on his way, came & encamped not far from the ſame mountain, and there ſtaid himſelfe with halfe his army, and ſent *Ameſa* with the other halfe to burne & ſpoile the countrey: who about noone returned to the campe with ſuch prey as he had got, with his ſoldiers wel-wearied with trauel, and the heat of the day. *Scanderbeg* like a carefull houſholder, who being about to entertaine and feaſt ſome honorable perſonages, truſteth not to his wife and ſeruants, but looketh to the beſtowing of his prouiſion himſelfe, carefully ordering and diſpoſing and ſetting forth all things, eſpecially if his prouiſion (for want of abilitie) be ſhort, to welcome ſo great gueſts; and ſetting al things forth to the greateſt ſhew, ſeeketh at leaſt to fil the eies of his gueſts, although he doubt to ſatisfie their appetites: ſo he carefully viewing all the mountaines and thicke woods thereabouts without reſting, ſet *Moſes* in one place, *Tanuſius* in another, & all the reſt in places moſt conuenient. He appointeth euery man what to do, and inſtructeth them, & conſidereth of euery particular circumſtance himſelfe: and ſo diuideth his forces, as might beſt ſerue his purpoſe, and make the moſt terrible ſhew to the enemie: for which purpoſe he in euery companie placed moe trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments of war, than he had before at any time vſed. When he had ſo to his moſt aduantage beſtowed ſo many of his captaines and ſoldiers as he thought good, & as the nature of the places would giue leaue, he with 4000 horſmen and the like number of foot, ſpeedily marching vp the rough mountaine of Tumeniſt, from thence plainly beheld in what order the Turks campe lay in the plaines below. The Turks, eſpecially they which were lately returned with *Ameſa* from the ſpoile of the countrey, lay ſcattered abroad in the fields, with their horſes vnbridled & vnſadled, reſting their weary bodies: ſome got vnder the ſhadows of trees were victualling themſelues; ſome hauing filled their bellies, lay faſt aſleep on the green graſſe; the reſt were paſſing the time, ſome with one kind of ſport, ſome with another, as ſoldiers do in field when they haue little or nothing to do: for it was then the hotteſt time both of the yere, & of the day, being about the midſt of Iuly, and the noone-time of the day. The like negligence was alſo in that part of the camp where the Baſſa himſelf lay; euery man taking his eaſe and pleaſure, with ſmal regard of horſe or armour; for being out of feare of *Scanderbeg*, whom they thought to haue bin a great way off at Lyſſum, they lay as men without care wrapt vp in ſecuritie, the common deſtruction of great armies and common wealths. *Ameſa* with the great captaines, were at the ſame time all together in the Baſſa's pauilion, conſulting what courſe they were beſt to take, to do ſomthing to the contentment of *Mahomet*, and their own commendation: ſome ſaid it were beſt with fire and ſword to deſtroy al they could in Epirus; and ſo hauing laid the country waſt, to returne. Others thought it better to march directly to Croia, to proue if the citizens could be perſuaded to yeeld themſelues & receiue *Ameſa* for their king; other ſome to threaten them with a continual ſiege, and vtter ruine of the country, if vpon the vaine expectation of helpe from *Scanderbeg* they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit themſelues. As for *Scanderbeg* himſelfe, who then lay houering ouer their heads, he was in all that conſultation leaſt feared: who from the top of the mountain, beholding the ſecuritie & diſorder of the Turks campe, & delighted with the ſight therof; encouraged his ſoldiers, & martialed them in ſuch order as they were to follow him, for the charging and terrifying of the enemie. But firſt of all he determined to oppreſſe the Turks ſcouts, which lay at the foot of the mountain: for which purpoſe he himſelf with a few horſmen firſt ſecretly deſcended the mountain, the reſt of his army following ſhortly after, & ſo ſuddenly came on the ſcouts, that he ſlew them all except one, who eſcaping by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, came running to the camp as one half affrighted, crying out that *Scanderbeg* was comming. The Turks ſuſpecting nothing leſſe than the comming of him that way, at the preſent inſtant hardly beleeued that he was ſo nie: when as he following him at the heels as faſt as he could, with his horſmen & his footmen after them, was in a moment as if it had bin a ſudden tempeſt, broken in amongſt

The Turks campe buried in ſecuritie.

A amongſt the vnarmed Turks, and there making great ſlaughter of them, filled all the campe with ſudden tumult and feare. *Ameſa* who at the firſt noiſe had ſpeedily got him to his charge, with his ſouldiers ſome halfe armed, ſome on foot, hauing no leiſure, to bridle their horſes, was the firſt that made head againſt *Scanderbeg*. The Baſſa alſo did what he might in that ſudden feare and ſhortneſſe of time, to arme his men, and to put them in order: but whileſt thoſe things were in doing, the ſouldiers which lay in ambuſh in the woods, came downe the mountaine with ſuch horrible ſhouts and noiſe of inſtruments of war, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue preſently gone togerher; the hils and vallies with their hollow ecchoes, encreaſing the terror of the alarum. Inſomuch, that the Turks diſmaied, and fearing that all the force of Epirus with the countries adioyning had come vpon them, began to flie on euery ſide, before that
B *Moſes* and the reſt that lay in ambuſh were come into the plaines. *Ameſa* acquainted with his vnckles ſtratagems, as much as he could encouraged the Turks, crying aloud and telling them, That ſuch vaine tumults and terrors were not to be feared, being but the bare ſhifts and deuiſes of their enemies to couer their owne weakeneſſe: and by his owne valour ſtaied many which before were about to haue fled. In this while, the Baſſa hauing put his men in beſt order he could, was comming to the aid of *Ameſa*, hardly charged by *Scanderbeg*: but in his ſetting forward, he was ſo valiantly encountered on the one ſide by *Moſes* with his horſemen, and on the other by *Tanuſius* and *Emanuel* with their footmen, that he was enforced, not without great loſſe, againe to retire vnto his trenches.

All the hope of the battell depended vpon *Ameſa*, who ſtill with great courage withſtood
C his vnckle; exhorting his ſouldiers valiantly as men to endure that firſt aſſault, which ſhould afterwards bring them moſt aſſured victorie: heartening them on with hope of ſpeedie helpe from their fellows if they would but a while endure the furie of their enemies, whoſe hearts (as he ſaid) would preſently be diſcouraged, if they preuailed not in that their firſt and deſperat attempt, hauing nothing elſe to truſt vnto. By which perſuaſion the Turkes were againe encouraged, accounting it a great diſhonour to flie and leaue their Chieftaine in the field. But when they ſaw *Scanderbeg* ſtill to preuaile vpon them, and that no helpe came as they hoped (for many were by *Scanderbegs* horſmen ſlaine as they were arming themſelues; many were by the way cut off as they were comming, & the reſt put to flight) they which before fought valiantly with *Ameſa*, turned their backs and fled alſo. *Scanderbegs* horſemen purſuing the chaſe,
D made great ſlaughter of the Turks, and in the ſame chaſe tooke *Ameſa* priſoner. *Scanderbeg*, hauing ouerthrowne that part of the Turks battell, was comming with a thouſand footmen and ſome horſemen, to haue ayded *Moſes* againſt the Baſſa: but before his comming, *Moſes* to blot out his former infamie, had with inuincible courage put the great Baſſa with all his armie to flight: and *Scanderbeg* following the chaſe, gaue him not leaue to looke behind him, vntill he was got out of Epirus. Many were in this chaſe taken priſoners, and amongſt the reſt one *Meſites* a Sanzacke, a man of great account amongſt the Turks. In this battell beſide the priſoners, were taken twentie of the Turkes faireſt enſignes. As for horſes, armor, and other ſpoiles taken in the field, and in the campe, all which fell to the ſouldiers ſhare, it is almoſt incredible to be told. The number of the ſlaine Turks is of diuers diuerſly reported; they which write of the
E moſt, reckon vp thirtie thouſand; and they which ſpeake of the leaſt, account twentie thouſand. Of the Chriſtians were loſt but ſixty. Now if any account it ſtrange, that ſo great a victorie ſhould be gained with ſo little loſſe; not to ſpeake of that is written in holy writ, let him but read the antient hiſtories of the Romans, or the Chronicles of our own Country, and he ſhall in them find victories no leſſe ſtrange. There was to be ſeene the ſudden and ſtrange alteration of theſe worldly things, no more indeed (what ſoeuer we account of them) to be reckoned of, than of things we haue not. *Scanderbeg* poſſeſſeth the rich pauillion, erſt belonging to the great Baſſa; and other of his captaines enioy tents, with much other rich furniture neuer prepared for their vſe. *Ameſa* which the ſame day as a victorious conquerour ouerran a great
F part of Æmathia with his horſemen, and was carried in triumph with the generall acclamation of many thouſands of valiant ſouldiers, and honoured as a king, and of them ſo called; is now led through the Chriſtian army to his vnckle, with his hands bound behind him as a ſlaue, ſpeechleſſe and confounded, vnable to hold vp his head for ſhame: whoſe miſerie moued moſt of the beholders to compaſſion, and forced teares out of the eyes of many.

The next day after this great victorie, *Scanderbeg* cauſed the bodies of the ſlaine Turkes to be

Scanderbeg ſuddenly aſſaileth the Turks.

A notable victorie of the Chriſtians.

be buried, together with their horses; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their G
loathsome carkases should not infect the country: and after that, returned in great triumph to
Croia. By the way as he went, the country people, which were before for feare of the Turks
fled into the woods and mountaines in great multitudes met him, as he did others also out of
the cities, whose mouthes were all full of his worthie praises. Before him went the captiue
Turkes with their hands bound behind them, excepting such as were enforced to carrie the
Turks ensignes. Next vnto them followed the great Bassaes rich paunllion, in such maner sup-
ported by the souldiers, as if it had bin in the field. Then came *Scanderbeg* himselfe with the
Turkish Sanzacke, and *Amesa* following him; for *Amesa* had with great and humble suit ob-
tained of his vnckle, that he might not as he well deserued, be carried bound among the other H
captiues. Last of all came *Scanderbeg* his victorious souldiers in goodly order, euery man lea-
ding a spare horse taken from the enemie, and loaded with spoile. So when he was come to
Croia, and there of his subiects ioyfully receiued, he brake vp his armie; and gaue euerie man
leaue at his pleasure to depart. The Sanzacke, and *Amesa*, were committed to safe keeping, vn-
till farther order was taken for them. *Amesa* afterwards was for his treason worthily condem-
ned to perpetuall prison, and by an Embassadour from *Scanderbeg* sent vnto king *Alphonsus* to
Naples, there to be kept in durance; and with him was also sent an honourable Present of part
of the spoile taken from the Turkes, in token of the victorie. What became afterward of this
Amesa, concerneth not much the course of our historie; yet to satisfie the desirous, I thinke
it not amisse with him to stray a little out of the way. I

When *Amesa* had remained a yeare in prison at Naples, *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding of the
death of *Alphonsus*, by his embassador requested of *Ferdinand* his sonne, to haue *Amesa* resto-
red to him againe. By which meanes he was brought backe againe into Epirus, and cast in pri-
son at Croia; but not in such straight manner as before: for *Scanderbeg* according to his accu-
stomed clemencie, began now to forget the iniurie to him before done; and at last ouercome
with the continuall supplication and tears of his nephew, pardoned him his life; and restoring
him to his former libertie, receiued him also into his former fauour. But *Amesa* remembring
what pledges of his loyaltie hee had left with *Mahomet* at Constantinople, and fearing what
would become of his wife and children, if he should hastily vse that his liberty, giuing his vnc-
kle most humble thanks, brake vnto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth, K

The speech of Amesa to Scanderbeg.

Whereas you of your owne gracious goodnesse onely, without any desert of mine, haue regarded my life and welfare, it behoueth me also to be carefull for the life of others: least whilest I receiue your exceeding bounty with too much desire of mine owne health and honour, I doe at this present, by this same benefit of yours, cast away them, whom I haue long sithence by mine owne treacherie vndone. Mine vnfortunate and guiltlesse Wife is with Mahomet, *my little and innocent Childaen are with him also: these yet liue, and shall liue, so long as the tyrant shall thinke, that I liue in heart his; but when he shall once perceiue by this your gracious dealing that I am fallen from him, the cruell creditor will forthwith cut and rend in peeces the pledges of my faith, and their innocent bloud shall pay the guilt of their Fathers offence. Wherefore the* Othoman *tyrant is of me by some deuice to be deceiued, that I may* L
in the meane time preserue those pledges, vntill I may by some fit occasion afterwards redeeme the same. I will by your leaue this night take my flight out of Croia, as if I had broken prison, and escaped against your will, and so flie vnto Mahomet, *making the greatest shew I can of my woonted loue and loyaltie towards him: not omitting to heare, or speake vnto that credulous King such things concerning your estate, as I was woont in my better fortune: that hauing so cleared my selfe of all suspition, which he perhaps hath conceiued by reason of my captiuitie and long stay with you, I may at length, with my Wife and Children, so escape from him: Wherein you may helpe me much, if you shall openly make shew as if you were greeued with my escape, and seeme to be highly offended with the keepers of the prison for the same. In the meane time, whilest I shall stay in the tyrants court expecting some fit time for my escape; I will stand you in stead of an intelligencer, so that your enemie shall not to my knowleage either attempt or goe about any thing against you, which shal be kept from your hearing* M
or knowledge.

Scanderbeg refused not to graunt whatsoeuer he had requested, but said vnto him:

Amesa,

Amesa, *sithence we haue granted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not* A *The answer of Scanderbeg to Amesa.*
prohibit you to vse that our gift to your most good, and to the preseruation of them who for euer may most iustly call vpon you, as debtor vnto them, for their welfare and libertie. Goe thy waies, proceed, take thy time and occasion as it seemeth vnto thee best; and at length reforme thy selfe, whilest thou yet hast sufficient time and space. We now beleeue you in all things, and well like of this your deuise: Amesa *you shall herein deceiue no man but your selfe, if you shall longer follow the faith and court of the barbarous King, whereas like danger is both of body and soule both to thee and thine. Whensoeuer thou shalt returne vnto vs thou canst not doe vs a greater pleasure: and in what regard thou hast heretofore beene with vs in the same thou shalt be with vs againe.*

The same night *Amesa* by secret order from *Scanderbeg*, escaped both out of prison and out
B of Croia: and in the morning it was all ouer the citie, that hee was gone, and the keepers
sharply rebuked for their negligence. He comming to Constantinople, easily persuaded *Ma-
homet*, that he was by chance escaped, with all things else that he told him: yet was he not for
all that, so well graced of him as before; not for any distrust he had in the man, but for the
euill successe hee had in the former warres. Now whether *Amesa* neglected his promised re-
turne, or could find no opportunity to performe the same, is vncertaine: but certaine it is, that
shortly after hee died at Constantinople, poisoned as was thought by the commandement of
Mahomet, who could no longer indure the sight of him, whom hee reckoned the author of the *The death of Amesa.*
notable ouerthrow receiued in Æmathia. This was the wofull end of this noble and valiant
C man, well worthie of remembrance, had not his haughtie thoughts soared too high with the
desire of Soueraignetie.

When *Mahomet* vnderstood in what manner *Isaac Bassa* was ouerthrowne, and his armie dis-
comfited, hee was therewith much greeued, and iustly blamed the Bassaes securitie: yet such
was his credit with his Soueraigne, that the matter was in better sort passed ouer than was sup-
posed it would haue been. Neuertheless, *Mahomet* in reuenge thereof would willingly haue
imployed all his forces vpon *Scanderbeg*, if his more vrgent affaires would haue so permitted.
For at the same time, besides that great warres began to rise betwixt him and the Venetians
(which continued for many yeres after) he was certainly informed, That the Christian Prin-
ces were making a strong confederation against him. At which time *Mahomet* disdaining o-
D penly to sue for a peace at *Scanderbegs* hands, cunningly practised by such as were sent to re-
deem the prisoners, & also by the Sanzack himself, to persuade *Scanderbeg* to require peace of
him, assuring him, that if he did but aske it, it would for a long time be easily obtained. Which
thing *Scanderbeg*, well acquainted with the Turkish policie, vtterly refused to doe. Wherefore
Mahomet for the defence of his countries bordering vpon Epirus, sent two of his most expert
captains, *Sinam* and *Hamur*, with each of them 14000 soldiers into Macedonia, expressly char-
ging them not to enter at any time or vpon any occasion, into Epirus, or by any meanes to
prouoke *Scanderbeg*: which his commandement they so well obserued, that the Epirots by
the space of almost two yeres enioyed the fruits of peace, although there was no peace at all
concluded. So that the remembrance of old iniuries wearing out with time, at length by the
E mediation of the same captains, a peace for a yere was agreed on betwixt *Mahomet* & *Scander-
beg*. In which time he passed ouer into Apulia, and there notably aided King *Ferdinand* against
the French, the proceeding wherein, as not pertinent to our historie, I of purpose passe ouer. *A peace for a yeare concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.*

After that the time of the peace before concluded was expired, all things now going well
with *Mahomet* as he desired, he resolued according to his wonted manner to trouble the quiet
estate of *Scanderbeg*: and so sending a new supplie of soldiers to *Synam-beg*, who then lay with
a strong garrison vpon the frontiers of Epirus, commanded him with all his power to make
wars vpon *Scanderbeg*. *Synam* accordingly, with an armie of 20000 men entered into Epirus,
where he was forthwith encountered by *Scanderbeg*, and his army vtterly ouerthrown, so that
but few escaped by flight with *Synam* himself. Presently after he sent *Asam beg*, another of his
F captains, into the same seruice, with an armie of thirtie thousand, whom *Scanderbeg* also in
plaine battell vanquished at Ocrida; in which battell *Asam* himselfe was sore wounded, and
finding no way to escape, was glad to yeeld himselfe prisoner to *Scanderbeg*, by whom he was
courteously vsed, and afterwards set at libertie. *Iussum-beg* following *Asam* with eighteene
thousand into Epirus, was set vpon by *Scanderbeg* also, and hauing lost part of his armie, was

glad

glad by ſpeedie flight to ſaue himſelfe with the reſt. After all this, *Caraza-beg*, an old captaine and a man of great experience (who had bin a great commander, and a companion with *Scanderbeg* in the time of old *Amurath*) requeſted of *Mahomet*, that he might proue his fortune againſt his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*, aſſuring him of better ſucceſſe than before. The long and approued experience of this old leader put *Mahomet* in ſuch hope of good ſpeed, that he gaue preſent order for the leuying of ſuch an armie as *Caraza* had requeſted, and for ten thouſand mo than he had at the firſt required. With this ſtrong armie, in number almoſt forty thouſand, *Caraza* ſet forward, hauing before filled the minds of men with the expectation of ſome greater matter to haue bin by him done. *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding certainly that *Caraza* was comming, ſtood more in doubt of the man than of his power: and therefore aſſembled greater forces than he had vſually done before: and to welcome him, ſent two thouſand of his beſt and moſt expert ſouldiers ſecretly into the enemies countrey; who lying in ambuſh amongſt the woods and mountaines, whereby *Caraza* muſt needs paſſe, ſuddenly ſet vpon foure thouſand horſemen (the forerunners of *Caraza* his armie) who marching diſorderedly, and fearing no ſuch matter, were in a trice ouerthrowne, and moſt part of them ſlaine: thoſe few that eſcaped fled backe againe to the army, as if they had come in poſt to bring tidings of ſome haſtie news to the Generall. With which ſo vnfortunat a beginning, *Caraza* was ſo diſcomfited, that if hee might for ſhame, he could haue bin content to haue returned againe and gone no farther: yet for his honours ſake holding on his way, he came into Epirus; where whileſt he was (after the manner of old men) long in reſoluing what courſe to take, he was vpon the ſudden aſſailed by *Scanderbeg*, before he could well put his men in order of battell. At which time there fell ſuch a vehement ſhower of raine, that both the armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was done. Three daies together it rained continually (for it was about the latter end of Autumne) all which time *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not in one place or other to trouble the Turks camp: ſo that the old Generall, partly diſtempered with the extremitie of the weather, which for the violence thereof he tooke to be ominous; and more diſcouraged with the reſtleſſe attempts of *Scanderbeg*, roſe with his armie, and retiring back by the ſame way he came, returned to Conſtantinople. Where he was well derided of *Mahomet*, that hauing promiſed ſo much, had performed ſo little: yet afterwards was againe by him in ſome ſort commended, for that he had with leſſe loſſe looked vpon *Scanderbeg* than other his Generals before ſent againſt him.

Mahomet perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was not to be ſubdued but with ſuch forces as he was not then at leiſure to imploy on him, thought it not amiſſe to proue if he could by faire ſpeeches & glorious ſhews of fained friendſhip get within him, and ſo bring him to confuſion: for which purpoſe he ſent vnto him an Embaſſador with rich preſents, and letters of this purport.

Sultan Mahomet, *Lord and Emperour of the Eaſt and of the Weſt,* and of all parts of the world, vnto *Scanderbeg*, Prince of Albania and Epirus, ſendeth greeting.

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I thinke friend Scanderbeg, *that no acquaintance can be greater, or friendſhip more firme, than that which hath growne of long and mutuall conuerſing and liuing together and, eſpecially if the ſame haue taken beginning from childhood and tender yeares, as you know it hath done betwixt vs two; who haue of long time, euen from our childhood, liued together in great loue and friendſhip, when as you firſt lay as hoſtage in my fathers court. Wherfore beloued* Scanderbeg, *when as I call to remembrance all theſe things, with others, wherewith our youthfull yeares were then delighted; and being mindfull alſo of all theſe things which you haue oftentimes done for the aduancement of our Empire and kingdome, and for the glorie of the* Othoman *familie, I cannot chuſe but embrace thee with ſingular zeale and affection. For I take God to witneſſe, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleaſing vnto me in my life, than to haue thee with me, and for a while to enioy thy company. Neither needeſt thou to feare any thing to come vnto me, for that my ſouldiers without my knowledge or commandement haue of late broken in and ſpoiled thy kingdome: which thing as reaſon required, was vnto me exceedingly diſpleaſing: neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy forces vanquiſhed and ouercome, and ſo receiued the iuſt reward of their euill deſerts, and that all things fell out with thee according to the equitie of thy cauſe, and as thy heart could haue deſired. But to let theſe things paſſe, the remembrance of our old loue and friendſhip perſuadeth me to come to agreement, and to ioine together with thee in a perpetuall league of*

of amitie: to the intent that our antient acquaintance and familiaritie, which by reaſon of long abſence is almoſt worne out, may againe take life, increaſe, and be confirmed. Of which peace, let theſe be the capitulations, if they ſhall ſeeme vnto you reaſonable: for I know it belongeth vnto him that requireth not the peace, to appoint the conditions of the ſame. Firſt, we require of you freely and peaceably to ſuffer our armies to paſſe through your kingdome for the beſieging of the cities and inuading of the countries ſubiect to the Venetians our enemies: Then, to deliuer vnto vs your ſonne Iohn *in hoſtage, whom we will alwaies vſe as one of our owne naturall children: And afterwards, that our Marchants and men of trade, may peaceably come and trauell into all parts of your kingdome with their marchandiſe, and there freely and ſafely vſe their negotiation: Laſt of all, that your ſelfe in perſon may at your pleaſure ſafely and without all feare repaire vnto vs, and in like manner returne againe. In which things if you will yeeld vnto vs, I promiſe in the faith of a King, to grant vnto you and your kingdome ſincere peace, with perpetuall tranquilitie; and that there ſhall not be any more deerer vnto me than your ſelfe; and will neuer to the vttermoſt of our power permit your kingdome to be infeſted or moleſted by any of our ſubiects, or others. Whatſoeuer you ſhall further receiue from vs by the mouth of our Embaſſadour* Muſtapha, *you may thereto giue full credence. Fare you well. From our imperiall palace at Conſtantinople the* 10 *of* May 1461.

Scanderbeg hauing receiued theſe Letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, returned him anſwer by the ſame meſſenger as followeth.

The ſouldier of Chriſt Ieſus, *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, vnto *Mahomet* Prince of the Turkes, greeting.

The anſwer of Scanderbeg to the former letters of Mahomet.

Your Letters (moſt magnificent) are deliuered vnto vs, wherein you write of your exceeding loue and ſingular affection towards vs, confirmed as you ſay by old acquaintance: which being growne vp betwixt vs, and by tract of time firmely rooted and as it were into nature conuerted, ſhall alwaies retaine his force and ſtrength. But foraſmuch as it ſeemeth vnto you good to awake the ſame, hauing of long time and many yeares lien as it were aſleepe; and to make a motion that we ſhould enter into a certaine new league and confederation, whereof amongſt other conditions of the league by you propounded, this is one, That your forces may freely paſſe through my kingdome, to inuade the Venetians; Vnto this your requeſt, worthie Mahomet, *it ſtandeth neither with equitie nor with mine honour to conſent, for ſo much as the Venetians are my eſpeciall good friends and confederates. As for that you deſire to haue my ſonne* Iohn *with you in hoſtage for the better aſſurance of the peace betwixt vs, I ſhould peraduenture do it (moſt noble* Mahomet*) if fatherly affection would giue me leaue: but ſith hence I haue no moe but him, and he as yet a tender child, it is not for the good either of him or vs, to haue him now taken from vs, whenas he ought of vs to be moſt tenderly cheriſhed, and carefully inſtructed. As for that you requeſted concerning your marchants, that they may freely and ſafely traffique into my kingdome at their pleaſure, I can be content to yeeld thereunto, and wiſh heartily that there might be a free entercourſe for our marchants indifferently with their commodities into both our kingdomes. Further, whereas you earneſtly perſuade me boldly and without feare to come vnto you, that by ſuch enteruiew and perſonall preſence, our great deſire, growne of long abſence, might be the better ſatisfied: in this thing moſt excellent Prince, I cannot but praiſe your moſt honourable diſpoſition, and commend your good nature; and would therefore boldly follow your perſuaſion, if my other vrgent affaires, with the gouernment of my kingdome, would ſo permit. But what ſhall I doe? My ſonne* Iohn *(as I ſaid before) but little, and as yet vnfit to gouerne; and my people (as you know) loue alwaies to haue ſomething to doe; being by nature a fierce and reſtleſſe nation, whom I my ſelfe haue much adoe to rule and gouerne: For all that I will come vnto you according to your deſire, expecting onely a more commodious time. So fare you well, and loue me ſtill. From our Campe the* 30 *of* May, 1461.

When *Mahomet* had receiued theſe Letters, and well peruſed the ſame, hee writ to him againe in manner following.

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg for the concluding of a perpetuall peace betwixt them.

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperour of all the parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg* Prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, greeting.

Your Letters we haue receiued by our embaſſador Muſtapha, *wherein you giue vs to vnderſtand, that you*

you like of none of the conditions of peace by vs propounded, but onely that concerning our marchants and
their traffique, that they might haue free and at their pleasure vse their traffique and trades with their mar-
chandize as aforetime, and vpon the same condition ones you grant vs peace. This your offer we accept of, and
as the suit of your embassador we willingly admit: wherefore I promise vnto thee, my louing Scanderbeg,
and will performe all that thou dost require, and vpon that resolution rest: and will so long as I haue ob-
serued and kept a sincere and inuiolable peace with thee for euer, except thou first giue cause of violating
the same. And for that purpose haue we with our vsuall and imperiall seale signed these our Letters,
which we by our Embassador Mustapha haue sent vnto thee, as thereby confirming vnto thee this per-
petuall peace. Wherefore you also (if you be so content) may subscribe, and with your Seale confirme
the same, that in like manner may haue also your like consent and agreement. And would farther,
that you would command knowledge thereof to be made by open proclamation through all your kingdoms,
as I will in like manner cause to be done through mine. And for the more manifestation of this my loue
towards you, I would also that you should vnderstand, That of mine owne meere motion and bountie, I
doe freely giue vnto you all those things, which you by force of armes haue taken from my father in Al-
bania and Epirus, so that you may possesse and enioy the same, as if they had alwayes beene yours and
your ancestors: Wherefore I giue, grant, and confirme vnto thee and thy heires, all the right, title, or in-
terest, which I heretofore had therein, and from henceforth will alwaies account and repute thee as prince
of Albania and Epirus, and so call thee. And as I haue promised thee in the faith of a King, will neuer
hereafter with warres molest thee or thine, except thou thy selfe giue cause thereof. Wherefore after you
haue with your seale confirmed these things, you may commend them to our faithfull Embassadour Mu-
stapha, to be by him brought vnto vs; vnto whom I would you should in all things giue full credit. So
fare you well, and render vs loue for loue. From our Imperiall Palace at Constantinople, the 22 of
Iune, 1461.

A peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

Vpon receit of these Letters, a peace was concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, and the same by publique proclamations solemnly published through both their kingdomes, to the great reioycing of many. Which peace was for a season faithfully kept on both sides, vntill that the Turks lying in garison vpon the frontiers of Epirus, began after their wonted manner againe to fetch preyes and booties out of the countrey. Of which iniuries, *Scanderbeg* by Letters complained to *Mahomet*: who answered that he was altogether ignorant thereof, and seemed in shew to be much offended with the insolencie of the doers thereof: and forthwith caused many things to be againe restored. By which meanes the peace before concluded, was still as before continued.

A little before the conclusion of the aforesaid peace, great warres began to arise betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians, who all this while being in league with the Turke, peaceably followed their traffique and trades of marchandise, little or nothing at all regarding their neighbours harmes and miseries, vntill that now the flame and fire began to take hold vpon their owne houses, and as it were to awaken them out of a dead sleepe. For *Mahomet* after he had subuerted the Empire of Constantinople, and driuen *Thomas* and *Demetrius* the Emperours brethren out of Peloponesus (now called Morea) rested not so contented, but by his lieutenants and other great captaines began to disturbe the quiet of the Venetians, who then held in their possession Methone, Corone, Neapolis, Argos, with diuers other strong townes in Peloponesus, standing vpon the sea coast. And now it chanced, that about this time, *Iosue*, *Mahomet* his Lieutenant in Peloponesus, had by the treason of a Greeke Priest, vpon the sudden surprised the citie of Argos: and *Omares* another of his great Captaines, hauing first spoyled the countrey about Naupactum (now Lepanto) entered farther into the territorie of the Venetians about Methone and Corone, making hauocke of whatsoeuer came in his way. With which iniuries plainly tending to open warre, the Venetian Senators being much troubled, sate oftentimes in counsell, deliberating with much care what course to take in a matter of so great importance. Some being of opinion, that it were best to send Embassadours to *Mahomet*, so to make proofe if the matter might by faire meanes be redressed: others on the contrary part deeming it to be to no purpose so to do; forasmuch as such great and manifest outrages, nothing differing from plain hostilitie, could not possibly be done without the tyrants knowledge and expresse command: After the Senatours had oftentimes met together, and with many great reasons debated the matter too & fro, and yet for all that concluded nothing

(as

(as in consultations of great matters with a multitude, it most commonly falleth out to be a harder matter, and to require longer time, to bring the multitude to some certaine resolution, than it is afterwards to performe the same in action.) In this so great a diuersitie of opinions concerning so weightie a cause, at length one *Victor Capella*, a noble gentleman and graue Senator, stept vp in the middest of the Senate, and there franckly deliuered this notable speech vnto the rest, concerning the matter propounded, as followeth.

The notable speech of Victor Capella to perswade the Venetians to take vp armes against Mahomet.

I haue before this at other times by long experience often noted (most noble Senatours) that in all our greatest consultations of matters most concerning our common state, some are alwaies so addicted or rather wedded vnto their owne conceits, that they can hardly with patience endure to heare the reasonable opinion of others contrarie to their owne, the chiefe cause of our slow resolutions. Wherefore I haue thought it good, briefly at this time to call vpon you for resolution: forasmuch as I see we must of necessitie take vp armes, be we neuer so loath or vnwilling: For to my vnderstanding, you doe but betray the time, in delaying the time to make present warre vpon the barbarous enemie. Yet many principall men amongst vs, aduise vs to beware, that we doe not rashly or vnaduisedly determine of matters of so great consequence; and thinke it requisite, that we should send Embassadours vnto the tyrant, to expostulate with him his vniust dealing in breaking his faith and league; and withall to request him to obserue the conditions of the peace before agreed vpon, if happily he may rather by persuasion than by armes be moued to change his purpose: and if by this meanes nothing may be obtained, then at length they thinke it necessarie to resolue to make warre vpon him. They alledge further, That if wee shall attempt warre, our cities in the continent, bordering vpon the Ionian to Peloponesus, with diuerse others of ours in the firme land, will not be able to hold out very long, but for want of necessaries must needes perish with the first of the trouble; besides that, if those places shall be wasted and spoiled, great losse (as they say) shall ensue thereby vnto most of vs in priuat: The greatest motiue (perhaps) wherefore they thinke it most conuenient to deferre the warres, and for that purpose to send our embassadors vnto him. Of which embassage, first by your leaue a few words. At such time as these our Embassadours, men of great wisedome and reach; not long since came vnto him, he had them in no regard; but dallying off the time with fraudulent, deceitfull and glosing speeches, did indeed such things to the contrarie as we least hoped: wherefore I cannot well deuise (if we should send them, or such others againe) what especiall thing of all that we then gaue them in charge, they should now propound vnto him, hauing already said what is to be said; except they should say, That whereas we are not of sufficient strength and power to wage war against him, we would be glad to decide the matter by talke, and by that simple meanes to redresse our iniuries; and vpon the matter, to shew our selues prest and ready to fall to agreement with him, according as shall stand with his good pleasure and liking. Truely this were good plaine dealing, but it will not serue our turne. Argos is alreadie taken from vs, and hee maketh open warre vpon vs: wherein he doth but proone our courage, and trie how long we will put vp these iniuries. If we will quietly digest these, he will then confidently and without feare proceed further: but if we shall as best beseemeth vs, valiantly resist him, he shall be glad of such rest as we shall giue him; and when he knoweth not well which way to turne himselfe, shall be as glad as we to lay downe armes, and to seeke for peace: whereas if we shall doe otherwise, I feare we shall repent our selues when it will be too late. It is reported, that as soone as he was come into Peloponesus, he went himselfe in person vnto Euboea, to view the citie of Chalcis: And going a second time out of Peloponesus, sounded the depth of the passage, and came within the sight of the Citie, of purpose to haue assaulted it, if he had found opportunitie: at which time he himselfe rid ouer that strait of the sea betwixt Boetia and Euboea with his horse, and curiously viewed in what place he might most conueniently passe ouer with his armie to besiege the Citie. Verily these are the most manifest signes of warre, whereby any man may sufficiently proone, that he hath long since resolued (so soone as he is readie) to make warre vpon vs. Whilest we are yet dreaming in the middest of our long consultations; he will proceed in the warres he hath begun; and cutting vs short, augment his owne dominions. Then will he blame his Lieutenants and Captaines, as authours thereof: but still be doing that best serueth his purpose. And whilest no man opposeth himselfe against him, his power dayly increasing, he will doe the best he can, suddenly to swallow vs vp, being vnprouided. For he may easily raise great forces, that by sufferance of others, maketh himself great strength there where he had before no footing. Shall we then say that we haue no warres with this enerochment tyrant? Some I know feed themselues and others also, with vaine hopes, saying, That he will neuer turne his forces vpon vs,

our reuenge our estate, although he might at ease doe it : Wherefore (say they) let vs refraine from G
warres, and vse our peace and quietnesse; yet omitting nothing in the meane time that shall be
needfull for our safetie. But foreasmuch as it plainely appeareth vnto all men, by the which is before
said, That he hath already raised proclaimed warre against vs, inuading our countries, surprising
our cities, and killing our people: Whether thinke you is more expedient or profitable for vs, to
fight and suffer our dominions to be taken from vs, or rather by open warre to make the barbarous
King know the greatnesse of our power and strength? For if we shall enter into open warre, wee
being in armes sufficiently prouided for all euents, and with carefull eye attending all his attempts,
shall easily auoide him selfe and all his deuises: who if he be suffered to runne still on forward
with his prosperous successe people will daily more and more fall vnto him, in hope to liue the better, as
his friends. For which cause, I thinke it better to preserue an honourable warre, before a doubtfull
peace. And for asmuch as hath hurt many great States, and our selues most of all: whereby we haue
as it were lost the Empire of Grecia, with the woful Emperor himself, when as this tyrant batte-
red the wals of Constantinople; for our traffique was much holpen by the Grecians, whom we then H
left to themselues. After that, we despised and reiected the pitifull complaints of the Princes of
Peloponesus, who with teares craued our aid: and now we see that famous countrey lost, and fallen
into his hands, through our sloath and negligence. Of late, when as the King of Bosna humbly re-
quested our aid, and promised fully to requite our courtesie, and whatsoeuer else we should doe in his
behalfe; we suffered his kingdome to be lost, and himselfe to be cruelly murthered of the Turks. For
all these things by vs thus neglected, we cannot escape the infamous report of all the rest of the nations
in Europe but that they will say, That we for the greedie desire of trade and filthie gaine, haue forsa- I
ken, and for our parts betraied whole Kingdomes and Nations, agreeing with vs both in manners
and Religion; and to haue stood still looking on, vntill they were subdued and brought into thral-
dome by the Turkes. Wherefore in few wordes to shut vp the matter, if we should ioyne in league with
the Hungarians, and enter into armes, we should so be able to keepe our owne: whereas if we shall
vse delayes, and hunt after peace, we shall in short time see, that he will suddenly deuoure vs, being
vnprouided, and wrest from vs all our prouinces and territories which border vpon him. And there-
fore it is (in my opinion) best to send our Embassadours into Hungarie, with a great masse of money, to
stirre vp that warlike Nation into the fellowship of this warre. And beside the Nauie we now haue in
readinesse, to put to Sea as many more ships and gallies as we are able. The great Bishop also is not to
be forgotten, but by all meanes to be drawne as a chiefe man into this warre. Besides all this, we
must doe what we can to raise vp rebellion against the Turke in Peloponesus: which will be no hard
matter to bring to passe. For if the Peloponesians rise in armes with one of their poore Princes
which reuolted from the Turkish King, and forsaking all that they had, aduentured themselues into all
manner of perils and danger: what thinke you they will doe, if they shall see so great forces comming
both by sea and land against the Turkish king? It were good also, that we should send two thousand Ita-
lian horsemen into Peloponesus, to animate the people: who when they shall see vs thus to proceede, will
vndoubtedly presently reuolt from the Turks, and yeeld themselues with their countrey vnto vs, from
whence we may most commodiously vex and molest this tyrant: For there is no where better entrance
into his kingdome, than by the way of Peloponesus. So that ioyning in league with the Hungarians, we
shall beset him on euery side: they all along the riuer of Danubius, and we out of Peloponesus. Let vs L
not therefore sit still with our hands in our bosomes, suffering our countries to be taken from vs, and our
subiects made bondslaues to the Turks: but encouraging them by our example, animate them to take
vp armes, and valiantly to resist the cruell and barbarous tyrant.

The Venetians take vp armes against the Turke.

The greater part of the Senate mooued with this graue Senatours speech, decreed without delay to make warres, and to send their Embassadours to the Pope, the king of Hungarie, and other the Christian Princes their neighbours, to pray aid of them in these warres against the Turkes. According to this decree, the Venetians for defence of their territorie sent one *Bertholdus Este*, a valiant captaine, with an armie into Peloponesus: where at his first comming, M he in short time recouered the citie of Argos, before lost. And departing thence, marched through the countrey with his armie of fifteene thousand men, vnto the strait of Corinth, called Isthmus. At which place *Aloisius Lauretanus*, Admirall for the Venetians (by appointment before made) met him: and there ioyning their forces together, with great labour in

A in the space of fifteene days fortified all that strait from the Ionian, to the sea Ægeum, with a continuall rampier and double ditch in length about fiue miles. In which work they vsed the helpe of thirtie thousand men; and in doing thereof were much furthered by the ruins of the old wall before destroyed by *Amurath*. The Venetian Commanders hauing fortified this strait, incamped before Corinth, and layd strait siege vnto it: where at the second assault, *Bartholdus* the General desirous by his owne forwardnesse to encourage his souldiers, was in that assault grieuously wounded with a stone cast downe vpon him from the wall, of which hurt he shortly after died. Neuertheless the siege was still continued by *Betinus Calcinatius*, who succeeded in *Bartholdus* his place. But whilest the Venetians lay thus at the siege of Corinth, suddenly newes was brought vnto the campe, That *Mahomet* was comming with a great army
B himselfe in person, to raise the siege, and to destroy the new fortifications at Isthmus. Whereupon the Venetians left the siege, with purpose to haue defended the late fortified strait: but after that it was certainly knowne, that *Mahomet* was euen now at hand with an armie of fourscore thousand Turks, *Betinus* distrusting with his small number to be able to defend the strait against so puissant an armie, left the place so lately before fortified, and with all his armie retired to Neapolis to keepe the sea coast.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* without any resistance at all entered with a world of men by the strait into Peloponesus; and when he had with the great slaughter of the country people roamed vp and downe about Argos, he came to Neapolis, and in most terrible manner assaulted the citie twice; both which times he was notably repulsed by the Venetians, and many of his
C men slaine. Departing thence, he destroyed and wasted the countrey about Methone (now Modon) and Corone, and assaulted the citie of Iuncum, but with no better successe than he had before Neapolis. Wherefore Winter now drawing on, he returned with his Armie to Constantinople.

After his departure the Venetians spoyled all that part of Archadia which was subiect to the Turks, requiting him with like iniuries as he had done them before. Not long after, *Laurentanus* the Venetian Admirall had the Island of Lemnos deliuered vnto him by one *Cominus* a famous pyrat, who had surprised the same, and taken it from the Turks; but distrusting how he should be able to keepe the same, deliuered it ouer vnto the Venetians. Shortly after, *Vrsatus Iustinianus*, a great Magnifico amongst the Venetians, was sent to succeed *Lauretanus* their
D Admirall: but whilest he was scouring the Ægeum with a fleet of two and thirtie great Gallies, *Andreas Dandalus* Generall of their forces at land, inconsideratly encountering with the Turks horsemen betweene Mantynia and Pytheme, was by them ouerthrowne and slaine, and with him diuers other gentlemen of great account: in which skirmish fifteene hundred of the Venetians were slaine also with their Generall. And as Fortune is neuer more constant, than in mischiefe, so at the same time *Vrsatus* Generall at sea, landing his men in the Island of Lesbos, besieged the citie of Mitylene, & gaue thereunto two great assaults, wherein he lost fiue thousand men: and vnderstanding that the Turks fleet was comming to relieue the citie, raised the siege, and sailed into Euboœa, and from thence passed ouer into Peloponesus, where he shortE ly after died for sorrow and griefe of mind. In whose place the Venetians sent another famous Captaine called *Iacobus Lauretanus*.

The Venetians enter into confederation with other Christian Princes against the Turke.

The Venetians well considering the great power of the Turkish Emperour, laboured by their Embassadours, to draw as many of the Christian Princes as they could into the fellowship of this war; but especially the great Bishop, by whose means they were in good hope to be greatly strengthned. *Pius* the second of that name was then the great Bishop; who at first answered the Venetian Embassadors, That he must take away the little Turke, before he had any thing to doe with the great: meaning thereby, *Sigismundus Maletasta* Prince of Arimi-
num, whom he deadly hated, for that he tooke part with the French, against the Aragonians. Howbeit, the warres in Italie being well appeased, *Pius* still solicited by the Venetians, made
F great preparation against the Turks; giuing it out, That he would in person himselfe go vnto those warres: and by his authoritie (then much regarded) procured great aid out of Germanie, France, Spaine, and other countries also further off. At which time also voluntarie men in great numbers resorted out of all parts of Christendome into Italie, readie to aduenture their liues in those religious warres. At the same time also the Venetians had with much adoo by the working of *Paulus Angelus* Archbishop of Dirrachium, perswaded *Scanderbeg* to renounce

nounce the league which he had before made with the Turke, and to enter into armes againe: G
which he presently did, and spoyled the borders of the Turks dominions next vnto him.
Wherewith *Mahomet* was no lesse troubled, than with all the rest of the great preparation of
the Christians against him: fearing that (as it was then reported) he should be made Generall
of the Christian armie, which *Mahomet* feared might tend to the vtter ruin of his Kingdome;
so dreadfull was the name of *Scanderbeg* amongst the Turks. Wherefore thinking it most con-
uenient for his affaires, to reconcile him if it were possible, by his Embassadour sent for that
purpose, wrot vnto him as followeth:

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperour of the East and of the West, vnto *Scanderbeg* Prince of the Albanenses and of the Epirots, Greeting. H

The Letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I haue alwayes had thy fidelitie and vpright dealing in great admiration, most noble Prince Scanderbeg: *for which cause I thought it a thing incredible, that thou being a Prince of such an heroicall and Princely perfection, shouldst so inconsiderately and without any occasion break the faith and league which thou not long since solemnly contractedst with me. For as I am aduertised, thou hast entred into the confines of our dominion with a great armie, and with fire and sword destroying all that thou couldest, hast carried away with thee a great bootie. Of which thing I know right well, that the Venetians are the only cause, by whose counsell and persuasion thou hast beene set on to doe this deed; and seduced by their allurements and subtill persuasions, hast made war vpon me, and art become the faithlesse breaker of thine owne league, and of the sacred law of Nations. Yet doe I little or nothing blame thee therefore, regarding more the cause of the ignominie, than the despight it selfe, and lay the blame vpon them who haue alwayes beene my foes and capitall enemies, rather than vpon thee. But alas, what is this vnto me* (Scanderbeg) *that thou hast done, which possesse so many and so large Dominions? Diddest thou thinke to doe so great hurt vnto our Kingdome, by spoyling a little peece of our Countrey, and by stealing our Cattell, more like a Theefe and Robber, than an open Enemie? Which thing I yet account not worth the name of an iniurie. But if thou thinke it so good, proceed in these thy doings: for I make more account of thy friendship and loue, than of whatsoeuer is to me deerest; because (as thou knowest) I haue alwayes borne vnto thee an especiall fauour, and loued thee most entirely. And therefore as often as I call to remembrance our tender yeares and old familiaritie whilest we liued together in my fathers court at Hadrianople, I cannot but thinke my selfe bound vnto thee in all courtesie. And therefore my good* Scanderbeg, *I most heartily request and entreat thee, That we renewing the former conclusions of peace, may of new confirme the same by solemne oath; wherewith if the former peace had bin established, thou wouldest not haue suffered thy selfe to haue been now of the Venetians so circumuented or seduced. It is therefore needfull, that we now againe for euer confirme a league and peace betwixt vs by solemne and sacred oath on both sides: which if thou shalt doe, (as I hope thou wilt, and in this be aduised by me) thou with thy posteritie shalt vnaoubtedly alwayes raigne in peace, and in safetie possesse whatsoeuer is yours. Whereas if thou shalt doe otherwise, beleeue me it will repent thee, and that right quickly. Thou knowest alreadie my force, which whether thou be able to withstand or not, thou wert best to be wel aduised. The poore Princes thy neighbours, the Venetians thy seducers, cannot deliuer thee from my forces and power. Dost thou not see the Grecians almost al rooted out before thy face? the Emperors of Constantinople and Trapezond by vs depriued of their Empires? the Princes of Seruia and Rascia destroyed? the King of Bosna put to death? and all the Kingdomes of Asia, with many other Kings and Princes moe, vanquished, and ouerthrowne, and made subiect vnto me? Wherefore* Scanderbeg, *I aduise thee in this to follow my counsell, keepe thy promise, and so beleeue me thou shalt not be deceiued. Concerning these matters, we haue giuen further commandement to our Embassadour and seruant* Mustapha, *which commeth vnto thee: vnto whom doubt thou not to giue credence in any thing. Farewell. From our imperiall citie of Constantinople the seuenth of May, 1463.* I K L

Scanderbeg hauing by the aforesaid messenger receiued these letters, and well considered of the same, returned answer as followeth: M

The Champion of Christ Iesus, *George Castriot*, otherwise called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albanenses and Epirots, to the most Excellent *Mahomet* King of the Turks, Greeting.

Scanderbeg his answere to the letters of Mahomet.

You maruell (most Noble Mahomet) *that my souldiers (as you say) contrarie to the League and the conditions*

A *conditions of our peace, haue entered into your confines, and from thence carried a great bootie. Of which thing (you say) the Venetians are the authours, whom you call your mortall enemies: inferring afterward, that you are little therewith offended, for that you are a most mightie Prince, and can easily digest such vnkindnesse, for the great loue you beare vnto me: and the rather, for that I did it deceiued (as it pleaseth you to say) by others. All these things you can easily forgiue and forget, so that I will by solemne oath confirme the same conditions of peace that were in our former league betwixt vs agreed vpon. And thereunto you doe greatly vrge me, you admonish and counsell me to follow your aduise, as tending to the great profit and securitie of me and my posteritie, least happily whilest I seeke to please the Venetians, I incurre your heauie displeasure. Besides this, the more to terrifie me, you reckon vp as it were in a Catalogue, the People, Nations, Kings, and Princes, by you ouercome and subdued. But what*

B *is that which is so strange (I pray you) and which you so much maruell at (most noble* Mahomet:) *Is it not for that my souldiers did that in the confines of your dominions, whereof they were (of right) sorrie; and had thereof to me complained, that your souldiers had before done the like in their goods and possessions. Wherefore if they also vpon a militarie brauerie (as is your maner of phrase) haue made themselues whole, and done one shrewd turne for another, reuenging iniurie receiued, and not inferring any of new: there is no cause that you should either thinke it strange or blame me. I would my selfe haue restrained my souldiers, although they were grieuously iniuried (I will plainely confesse vnto you a troth) I would haue appeased their angrie minds, enflamed with desire of reuenge; if you (a Prince of all others most rich and bountifull) would either haue taken order, that full restitution might haue been made vnto them of all such things as they had lost, or else would with condigne punishment haue chastised the in-*

C *solencie of your souldiers: which you would seeme to couer with the tearme of militarie wantonnesse or brauerie; an excuse scarce currant amongst children. For although offences are in all places grieuous, yet ought they most of all so to be deemed in martiall affairs. What I pray you, would you haue me to take it for a lasciuiousnesse in your men of war? especially when I had receiued so great losse, whenas you might with a word first haue restrained them from doing of it, and at your pleasure corrected them after the deed was done. Wherefore (most excellent* Mahomet) *take you also in good part these our tearmes, which you haue accustomed hitherto most gloriously to giue and sell vnto vs, whilest you alwaies couer your reach with some excuse or shew of right. As for that in excusing me, vnder colour of old acquaintance and friendship, you inuey against the Venetians, verily you doe them wrong: for why, those good, iust, and vertuous Princes are not to be slandered by you, as seducers of me or others. Beside, what need*

D *that inuincible state to enter into councell with me, or (as it pleaseth you to say) to allure me to fall at ods with you, or to prosecute you as their enemie? Who of themselues, yea (I say) of themselues alone, when occasion shall require, are able to dare you in plaine battell, and to abate your pride. Furthermore, whereas you aduise me to reiect their friendship, your labour is therein but lost; for what man is so desperat, or hated of his subiects, that would not chuse rather to erre with that most honorable Senat, than to be in the right with you? especially I, who haue of long time bin confederat with them, and am of all others vnto them most deare: which you for all that had no regard of, but (according vnto your vntrustie dealing) breaking in sunder the bonds of peace, spoiled and wasted their territorie in Peloponesus. Neither can your great threats terrifie me, which you after the Turkish maner thunder & poure out against*

E *me, except I will be ouerruled by you: for it is the part of an Albanese both to endure when need shall require, and also to do such things as beseeme a man of courage. You cannot make me afraid, being but a small Prince, with my honorable friends the Venetians. And what are you? so great an Emperor of the East and of the West, and of all parts of the World, as you vainly tearme your selfe? Truly you make me smile, and other Christian Princes laugh you to scorne, in vsurping falsly to your selfe the stately stile of the Emperour of the World. What possesse you in Asia the greater? verily nothing. Is all yours in Asia the lesser? not so. What haue you in Europe? except Thracia, Mysia, part of Grecia, and Peloponesus with the isle of Mytelene. As for Africke, you neuer set your foot therein. Is this to be Emperour of the World? But suppose, suppose (I say) worthie* Mahomet, *that all from the farthest part of the Ocean were yours, you ought not therefore so to swell, as to contemne all others. Cease to boast, and learne*

F *now (if you can) the speciall, but true examples of humaine fragilitie. Where are now the Assyrians, which sometime swayed the World? where be the Medes? Where the Persians? and to be short, where are the Romains, the great commanders of all? Verily,* Tamerlane *the Sythian King (called the terror of the world) was far greater than you: who in triumph, drew before his chariot thy great grandfather* Baiazet *in chains: who had before won so many victories, whom neuertheles he ouerthrew in the plaines of Armenia, with three hundred thousand Turkes, hauing in his armie (as is reported) twelue hundred*

thousand men, greater than Xerxes or Darius, whose armies couered the seas, and dried vp the riuers: C
before them as they went, yet for all this (noble Mahomet) they are all cast out by him that casteth out
all nations, the power of the highest hath brought them all to nought. Wherefore learne to know your
selfe to be a man also. Trust not so much to the multitude of your soldiers, and strength of your armies:
for oftentimes great and mighties armies haue beene ouerthrowne with farre lesse, as all histories beare
witnesse: wherefore (I say now) let no man but not praise the valor of the Generall, before he be brought
to the triumphe. Are not you not thinke Mahomet, that God will fauour the better cause? You know,
you well know, that all your kingdome is violently gotten, that it is wrongfully and vniustly possessed:
for which cause I am not afraid not onely to withstand you when you shall come, being so great a Prince;
but also valiantly and courageously to dare you into the field, and by the power of God, both to hope for and
haue a notable victorie ouer you. We haue souldiers also, which know how to vse their weapons, to march H
before their enemies, and how to beare themselues in the heat of the battell. Wherefore, to that you say vn-
to me: for the new confirming of the former league, you labour now but in vaine to circumuent me
such fore gloses, I haue your faith in such distrust, and your friendship in detestation: forasmuch as
cunningly and subtilly after the manner of your ancestors, whatsoeuer you do, or whatsoeuer you promise
vnto me, it tendeth all to no other end than to thrust me out of my kingdome. Yet thus long I haue by
Gods helpe well escaped all your policies, all your crafts and deceits. But I hope there will in short time be
an end of all these matters, when all your sleights and deuises shall not ease you, neither your worthy
head or Turkish pride any thing profit you. It is not I alone that so much stomacke you, there commeth
after me a great number of Christian Princes: behold, the whole chiualrie and glorie of the Christian
commonweale is in armes, and comming against thee with all their force: all the Kings and Princes of I
Christendome haue combined themselues together, with the great Bishop, against thy state, and will in
short time be present to destroy thee and thy kingdome. Wherefore (worthie Mahomet) I haue thought it
good in regard of our old friendship (although the same hath by you beene greatly empaired and viola-
ted) to forewarne you of all these things, that you might gather your wits together, and in time prouide
for the safetie of your selfe and of your kingdome. You see the force and power of so many great Princes,
from which whether you can escape or no, I know not: yet you may, if you will follow my aduise, you may, I
say, make both your name and empire of great, greater, of famous, most renowned, of fortunate, most hap-
pie and blessed; if casting off from you the grosse errours of the Mahometan superstition, you will em-
brace the faith and truth of Christ Iesus, and at length haue regard of your soules health. And you
which excel al your predecessors in highnesse of spirit, and pregnancie of wit, suffer not your self and your K
subiects as it were by inheritance to be longer blinded in your wilfull errours: but doe that (as a wise
Prince) of your owne accord, which otherwise you will shortly of necessitie be constrained to do. To say, Had
I wist, hath euer bin accounted a great disgrace from the mouth of an Emperour. At length amend and
measure your selfe. Behold, Almightie God doth offer you meanes, whereby you may quiet the whole state
of your kingdome, and all our Kings and Princes loue, honor, and reuerence you. Neither let the ambiti-
ous desire of soueraigntie or immoderat care of those things you possesse, trouble you from so doing: For
whatsoeuer you haue vniustly and vnlawfully vsurped, the Christian Princes will grant, confirme, and
establish vnto thee, as if they had bin your owne by antient inheritance. So shall you be a true Monarch
indeed, and rule and raigne lawfully, if you shall embrace this Faith, and worship God aright: which so
soone as you shall feele the sweetnesse of, you will be sorrie that you knew it no sooner, you will grieue at the L
time you haue lost, and vtterly detest and abhorre all that filthie superstition which the most filthie false
Prophet Mahomet hath left amongst you. From our Campe the 26 of May, 1463.

With these Letters *Scanderbeg* dismissed the Turks Embassador. About which time he receiued Letters from the great Bishop, that he, accompanied with the Christian Princes, would without delay come ouer into Epirus with a strong armie of valiant Christians, to ioine their forces with his, against the common enemie of the Christian religion: exhorting him in all their names to denounce war against the Turkish king. Which thing *Scanderbeg* most ioyfully vndertooke: and without delay with all his power brake into the Turks dominion, burning and destroying the countrey before him as he went: from whence he returned laden with the M spoile there gotten.

When *Mahomet* had perused *Scanderbegs* Letters, and certainly vnderstood of the great preparation made against him in Italie, as also of the great spoyle of late made by *Scanderbeg*, he became exceeding melancholie, as a man much troubled in mind, which daily more and more

A more increased: for that he saw not the wonted cheerfulnesse in his men of warre, but all full of heauinesse and despaire, as if they had bin men alreadie vanquished. Neuertheless, he speedily tooke order for the leuying of a great armie; fortifying his cities and strong holds, leauing nothing vndone that was possible, for the assurance of his state. And to represse the furie of *Scanderbeg*, sent *Seremet Bassa* with fourteene thousand souldiers to lie vpon the borders of Epirus, with charge only to attend vpon him. Who mindfull of his charge, came into Macedonia, vnto the city Ocrida, now called Alchria, in the very confines of Macedonia towards Epirus, and there lay with his armie; some part thereof lodged in the citie, and the rest in places more conuenient neere about the same.

The comming of the Bassa, as also the manner of his lying, was not vnknowne to *Scanderbeg*, who desired nothing more than to be doing with him. Wherefore he secretly in the night
B marched towards Ocrida with twelue thousand soldiers, and being come within three miles of the towne, lay close in ambush, & vpon the breaking of the day sent out 500 horsemen towards the enemy, vnder the conduct of *Peicus Emanuel*, and *Petrus Angelus*, two valiant and expert captains, to draw him if they could into the field. But *Scanderbeg* had before commanded thē, that if the enemie did come forth to fight, they should make but smal resistance, but retire backe as if they had fled, and so to traine him on to the place where the armie lay. Which was so well performed by the two skilfull captaines, that the Bassa with all his power was according as they could haue wished, drawne into the field, and brought to the very place where *Scanderbeg* lay; who suddenly rising vp with all his armie, assailed the Turkes on euery side,
C and slew them as Deere enclosed in a toyle. In this battell ten thousand of the Turkes were slaine, the Treasurer of the armie with twelue other of great marke were taken prisoners, and brought bound to *Scanderbeg*, who were presently ransomed for fortie thousand duckats. *Ten thousand Turks slaine.*

Scanderbeg hauing obtained the victorie, returned with triumph into Epirus, dayly expecting the comming of the great armie out of Italie: *But fatal Destinie, the mightie controller of mens highest designes, had not so appointed.* For when *Pius* the great Bishop had out of all parts of Christendome assembled a great armie (whereof the greatest part were voluntarie souldiers) & all things were now in such readines, that he had put himself vpon the way, & was come to Ancona, a city vpon the sea side (where *Christopherus Maurus* duke of Venice came vnto him, with ten gallies well appointed, to haue accompanied him in those warres: and all men were now in expectation of some great matter to haue bin done) suddenly he fell sicke of a feuer,
D and died in the yeare 1464. Whereupon the armie was forthwith dispersed, and all that great preparation frustrated, to the exceeding griefe of many Christian Princes; and no lesse ioy of the Turks, who now reioyced to see themselues deliuered of so great a feare.

About this same time, *Victor Capella* chiefe perswader of this war betwixt the Venetians & the Turks, was by the Senat sent Generall of their forces at sea, in stead of *Lauretanus*, whose yeare was then expired. He hauing receiued the charge from *Lauretanus*, and sailing out of Eubœa, in short time tooke from the enemie the citie of Aulis in Peloponesus ouer against Eubœa, in short time tooke from the enemie the citie of Aulis in Peloponesus ouer against Chalcis, and also the citie of Larsum in the gulfe of Thessalonica, with the Isle of Himber. Afterwards landing his men by night at Pyræus, he suddenly surprised the citie of Athens
E (now called Sethina) sometime the mother of learning, and most noble citie of Grecia; and from thence caried away with him into Eubœa al the people he there found, as his prisoners, together with the rich spoile of that citie. Whilest he lay in Eubœa, he was perswaded that the citie of Patras in Peloponesus would be deliuered vnto him by the Christians that dwelt therein, if he did but shew himselfe before it. Wherupon he departed from Eubœa, and comming into the gulfe of Patras, landed 4000 footmen vnder the leading of *Barbaricus*, and 200 horsemen, of whom one *Nicholaus Ragius* was captaine. *Barbaricus* marching toward Patras, was come within a mile of the citie; when many of the horsemen, and of the vnruly mariners, disorderly scattering abroad, neglected the intended seruice, and sought after pillage all about the countrey. The Turks garrisons taking this opportunitie, set vpon them with their horse-
F men, and so, easily ouerthrew them, being scattered and out of order. At the first encounter, *Barbaricus* himselfe was slaine; *Ragius* Captaine of the horsemen was taken, and aliue empaled vpon a sharpe stake. Of all them that were landed, scarce a thousand were left, who saued their liues by flying vnto the gallies. With this ouerthrow *Victor* the Venetian Admirall was greatly discomforted, yet hauing conceiued some hope of better successe, in few dayes *The Venetians attempting to win Patras, receiue great losse*

daies after attempted againe to haue taken Patras, but with like hap as before: for hauing loſt a thouſand of his men about the citie, and the reſt glad to take their refuge to the fleet, he was conſtrained with great diſhonor to depart thence. And ſo full of ſorrow and heauineſſe returning into Euboea, oppreſſed with melancholy, there ſuddenly died.

The Venetians deceiued of the great hope they had conceiued of the generall preparation made againſt the Turks, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their warres againſt ſo mightie an enemie; by their embaſſadours ſolicited *Mathias*, not long before choſen king of Hungarie, to ioyne in league with them, and to take vp armes againſt the common enemie, offering preſently to furniſh him with a great ſumme of money, beſide a large yearely penſion for the maintenance of thoſe warres: for which hee ſhould to his power by land defend all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique, againſt the inuaſion of the Turke.

This *Mathias* ſurnamed *Corninus*, was the younger ſonne of the moſt famous captaine *Iohn Hunniades*, whoſe elder brother *Vladiſlaus*, a gentleman of ſuch courage as might well ſhew what he was, being not able to digeſt the iniuries and diſgraces done vnto him and his by *Vlricus* [illegible] of Cilie, and vncle vnto *Ladiſlaus* the yong king of Bohemia and Hungarie, whoſe kingdomes he alwaies bare vnto their father *Hunniades*, ſlew the ſame *Vlricus* at the kings court. Which outrage the young king was glad for to pacifie, and alſo to grant him pardon, as hauing taken away the man, who [illegible] by treaſon the ſons of *Hunniades* for their fathers ſake. For [illegible] cauſed both the ſons of *Hunniades* vpon the [illegible] her was kept in priſon long time after. [illegible] the yong king [illegible] Bohemia, ſuddenly [illegible] the Hungarians for the iniuries done vnto him [illegible] his daughter: which done, he furniſhed him with all things fit for his eſtate, and ſo ſent him accompanied him into Hungarie, where he was with great ioy and triumph receiued: ouer whom he afterwards ſo iuſtly reigned for the ſpace of eight and thirtie yeares. In which time he notably enlarged the kingdome of Hungarie, and became a terror [illegible] vnto the Turkes, than [illegible] was his father *Hunniades*. And therewithall (which is to be accounted in the leaſt part of his praiſes) was alwaies a great fauourer and furtherer of good letters and ingenious deuiſes.

But to returne againe vnto our purpoſe, *Mathias* hauing well conſidered of that the Venetians had requeſted, anſwered them, that they had many times before in like caſe refuſed to giue aid vnto the Hungarian kings his predeceſſours: yea, and that more was, thought it a thing not reaſonable, that any ſuch thing ſhould be requeſted at their hands; foraſmuch as they then receiued no harme from the Turke, but were in league and amitie with him: ſo that the Hungarian kings wanting their helpe, had many times receiued greater loſſe from the Turke, than otherwiſe they ſhould haue done, if they had beene by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all ſuch vnkindnes, & to grant them what they had requeſted: promiſing the next Spring to inuade the Turks dominion, & according to their requeſt, to take into his protection all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique: which thing hee moſt

A moſt honourably performed. For with the firſt of the Spring he paſſed ouer Danubius at Belgrade with a puiſſant armie, and raſed the forts which the Turks had built thereabouts; and ſo entring into Seruia, laid all the country waſt before him: and afterwards laden with ſpoile, returned home, carrying away with him twentie thouſand captiues. Neither ſo reſted, but with great good fortune maintained great warres againſt *Mahomet* during all the time of his raigne: and afterwards againſt *Bayazet* his ſonne alſo, wherein he moſt commonly returned with victorie: ſo that it is of him as truly as briefly written, That no Chriſtian king or chieftaine, did more often or with greater fortune fight againſt the Turkiſh nation, or had of them greater victories.

Mahomet deliuered of the great feare he had before conceiued of the generall preparation
B of the Chriſtian princes againſt him, determined now to worke his will vpon ſuch as were neereſt vnto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late ouerthrow of Segenet with his armie in Epirus, ſtucke in his ſtomach: in reuenge whereof, he now ſent vnto *Balabanus Badera*, a moſt valiant captaine, with fifteene thouſand horſemen, and three thouſand foot, to inuade Epirus. This *Balabanus* was an Epirot borne, a noble ſonne of that country: and being of a boy taken captiue of the Turkes, as [illegible] was keeping of his fathers cattell, and of long time brought vp in ſeruitude amongſt them [illegible] ſo like both to their religion and manners, after long ſeruice got the credit
C [illegible] But when as at the taking of Conſtantinople, it was his fortune [illegible] that gained the top of the wals, and entred the citie, [illegible] of *Mahomet* greatly eſteemed: and being [illegible] armie into Epirus. Where [illegible] as he [illegible] without [illegible] ſome notable opportunitie [illegible] but *Scanderbeg* well [illegible] all [illegible] and [illegible] ſpare [illegible] preſuming [illegible] willing [illegible] and [illegible] conducting [illegible] purpoſe [illegible] matter. Which [illegible] *Scanderbeg* [illegible] way [illegible] power [illegible] Wherefore [illegible] *Scanderbeg* with [illegible] were lay not farre off vpon the frontiers of his kingdome, he determined ſuddenly in the night to ſet vpon him before he were aware of his comming, and ſo if it were poſſible to ouerthrow him, but *Scanderbeg* hauing knowledge thereof by his ſcouts, ſet forward in good order to meet him. When *Balabanus* perceiuing that he was diſcouered ſtaid vpon the way, [illegible] within two [illegible] of *Scanderbeg*, who had then in his armie but foure thouſand [illegible] and fiue hundred foot, but all choiſe men, and moſt expert ſouldiers, [illegible] pleaſant valley called Valchal: At the farther end whereof *Balabanus* [illegible] were vnto a rough and woodie hill which enclоſed that part of the
D valley. Where both armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well conſidering the ground that the enemie had taken, and that it was like he would offer him battell, with cheerfull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiers: ſtraitly charging them vpon paine of his diſpleaſure, That if the enemie vpon the fortune of the battell, ſhould chance to flie or to retire, they ſhould not in any caſe purſue them farther than the ſtraits of the hill whereby the enemie lay: gheſſing too truly, that he would in ſo conuenient a place leaue part of his armie in ambuſh, as a ſure refuge to truſt vnto whatſoeuer ſhould befall. When hee had thus encouraged and inſtructed his ſouldiers, he riſe with his armie, and in good order retired vnto the riſing of an hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay: of purpoſe to haue the aduantage of the ground, if the enemy ſhould follow to giue him battel. *Balabanus* ſeeing him
F retire, and the ſmall number of his armie, thought verily that he had fled for feare: and therefore to ſtay him who meant nothing leſſe than to flie ſet forward in great haſte. The Turkes thinking vpon ſo great aduantage to haue found no great reſiſtance, followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had had him in chaſe; and by that time they were come to the place where hee ſtaied, were by their haſt greatly diſordered and out of aray. *Scanderbeg* his old truſtie ſouldi-

Mahomet incenſeth *Balabanus* to inuade Epirus.

Balabanus gi[illegible] *Scanderbeg*

ers

daies after attempted againe to haue taken Patras, but with like hap as before: for hauing loſt G
a thouſand of his men about the citie, and the reſt glad to take their refuge to the fleet, he was conſtrained with great diſhonor to depart thence. And ſo full of ſorrow and heauineſſe returning into Eubœa, oppreſſed with melancholy, there ſuddenly died.

The Venetians deceiued of the great hope they had conceiued of the generall preparation made againſt the Turks, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their warres againſt ſo mightie an enemie; by their embaſſadours ſolicited *Mathias*, not long before choſen king of Hungarie, to ioyne in league with them, and to take vp armes againſt the common enemie, offering preſently to furniſh him with a great ſumme of money, beſide a large yearely penti- H
on for the maintenance of thoſe warres: for which hee ſhould to his power by land defend all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique, againſt the inuaſion of the Turke.

This *Mathias* ſurnamed *Corninus*, was the younger ſonne of the moſt famous captaine *Io. Huniades*, whoſe elder brother *Vladiſlaus*, a gentleman of ſuch courage as might well ſhew whoſe ſon he was, being not able to diſgeſt the iniuries and diſgraces done vnto him and his brother, by *Vlricus* countie of Cilie, and vnckle vnto *Ladiſlaus* the yong king of Bohemia and Hungarie; for the deſpite he alwaies bare vnto their father *Huniades*, ſlew the ſame *Vlricus* I
Alba Regalis, euen in the kings court. Which outrage the young king was glad for the preſent to winke at; and alſo to grant him pardon, as hauing taken away the man, whoſe immoderat power well ſtood not with the kings ſaferie: but indeed fearing the citizens of Alba, and the men of war, who exceedingly fauoured the ſons of *Huniades* for their fathers ſake. For all that, *Ladiſlaus* returning into Bohemia, cauſed both the ſons of *Huniades* vpon the ſudden to be apprehended, and moſt cruelly executed, *Vladiſlaus* being then about ſix and twentie yeres old. *Mathias* the yonger brother was kept in priſon, expecting nothing elſe but to be partaker of his brothers hard fortune, as vndoubtedly he had, had not *Ladiſlaus* the yong king, vpon the ſudden, as he was vpon the top of his marriage with *Magdalaine* the French kings daughter, by vntimely death bin taken away. After whoſe death the Hungarians for the loue they bare vnto the remembrance of *Huniades*, by a militarie election, choſe this *Mathias* his yongeſt ſonne, *Mathias of a priſoner, choſen king of Hungarie.* then in priſon at Prague, to be their king. Wherof *Pogebrache* (who after the death of *Ladiſlaus*, of an old gouernor had made himſelfe the yong king of Bohemia) hauing ſpeedy intelligence K
as he was ſitting at ſupper, ſent for *Mathias* his priſoner, and when he was come, commanded him to ſit downe at the vpper end of the table: whereat the young gentleman, being then but about eighteene yeares of age, and ſore abaſhed, began to craue pardon. But when the King would needs haue it ſo, & that he was ſet, the king to quiet his troubled thoughts, willed him to be of good cheere, for that he had good newes to tell him. Good newes, ſaid he, if it would pleaſe your maieſtie to grant me libertie. Yea that, ſaid the king, and more too: and then ſaluting him by the name of the king of Hungarie, brake vnto him the whole matter, how that he was by the generall conſent of the Hungarians, choſen their king. And ſo in few daies after, married to him his daughter: which done, he furniſhed him with all things fit for his eſtate, and royally accompanied him into Hungarie, where he was with great ioy and triumph recei- L
ued of the Hungarians: ouer whom he afterwards glorioufly raigned for the ſpace of eight and thirtie yeares. In which time he notably enlarged the kingdome of Hungarie, and became a farre greater terrour vnto the Turkes, than euer was his father *Huniades*. And therewithall (which is not to be accounted in the leaſt part of his praiſes) was alwaies a great fauourer and furtherer of good letters and ingenious deuiſes.

But to returne againe vnto our purpoſe, *Mathias* hauing well conſidered of that the Venetians had requeſted, anſwered them, that they had many times before in like caſe refuſed to giue aid vnto the Hungarian kings his predeceſſours: yea, and that more was, thought it a thing not reaſonable, that any ſuch thing ſhould be requeſted at their hands; foraſmuch as they then receiued no harme from the Turke, but were in league and amitie with him: ſo that the Hungarian kings wanting their helpe, had many times receiued greater loſſe from the Turke, than otherwiſe they ſhould haue done, if they had beene by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all ſuch vnkindnes, & to grant them what they had requeſted: promiſing the next Spring to inuade the Turks dominion, & according to their requeſt, to take into his protection all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique: which thing hee

moſt

A moſt honourably performed. For with the firſt of the Spring he paſſed ouer Danubius at Belgrade with a puiſſant armie, and raſed the forts which the Turks had built thereabouts; and ſo entring into Seruia, laid all the country waſt before him: and afterwards laden with ſpoile, returned home, carrying away with him twentie thouſand captiues. Neither ſo reſted, but with great good fortune maintained great warres againſt *Mahomet* during all the time of his raigne: and afterwards againſt *Baiazet* his ſonne alſo, wherein he moſt commonly returned with victorie: ſo that it is of him as truly as briefly written, That no Chriſtian king or chieftaine, did more often or with greater fortune fight againſt the Turkiſh nation, or had of them greater victories.

Mahomet deliuered of the great feare he had before conceiued of the generall preparation
B of the Chriſtian princes againſt him, determined now to worke his will vpon ſuch as were neereſt vnto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late ouerthrow of Sergemet with his armie in Epirus, ſtucke in his ſtomacke: in reuenge whereof, he now ſent vnto *Balabanus Badera*, a moſt valiant captaine, with fifteene thouſand horſemen, and three thouſand foot, to inuade Epirus. This *Balabanus* was an Epirot borne, a chorles ſonne of that country: and being of a boy taken captiue of the Turks, as hee was keeping of his fathers cattell, and of long time brought vp in ſeruitude amongſt them, framing himſelfe both to their religion and manners; after long ſeruice got the credit of a good common ſouldier. But when as at the taking of Conſtantinople, it was his fortune to be the firſt man of the Turks armie that gained the top of the wals, and entered the citie,
C he was for that peece of ſeruice euer afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly eſteemed: and beſide his other great preferments, now ſent Generall of his armie into Epirus. Who as ſoone as he was come to Alchria (a citie vpon the frontiers of that countrey) ſent many rich Preſents to *Scanderbeg*, making ſhew as if he had beene deſirous peaceably to lie vpon the borders committed to his charge, without farther purpoſe to trouble his countrey: yet indeed waiting nothing more than ſome notable opportunitie, ſuddenly to doe him the greateſt miſchiefe hee could. But *Scanderbeg* well ſeeing into the malice of the man, reiected his faigned friendſhip and gifts, and in deriſion ſent him a ſpade, a mattocke, a flaile, with other ſuch inſtruments belonging vnto husbandrie; willing him to take in hand thoſe tooles, and to follow his fathers trade of life, and to leaue the conducting of armies vnto men of greater skill and better
D place. Which diſgrace *Balabanus* tooke in exceeding euill part; purpoſing in himſelfe, if euer it lay in his power, to be thereof reuenged. Wherefore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a ſmall power lay not farre off vpon the frontiers of his kingdome, he determined ſuddenly in the night to ſet vpon him before he were aware of his comming, and ſo if it were poſſible to ouerthrow him, but *Scanderbeg* hauing knowledge thereof by his ſcouts, ſet forward in good order to haue met him. When *Balabanus* perceiuing that he was diſcouered, ſtaid vpon the way, *Balabanus goeth againſt Scanderbeg.* and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*; who had then in his armie but foure thouſand horſemen, and one thouſand and fiue hundred foot, but all choiſe men, and moſt expert ſouldiers, and then lay in a large pleaſant valley called Valchal; At the farther end whereof *Balabanus* lay alſo encamped, neere vnto a rough and woodie hill which encloſed that part of the
E valley. Whileſt both armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well conſidering the ground the enemie had taken, and that it was like he would offer him battell, with cheerfull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiers: ſtraitly charging them vpon paine of his diſpleaſure, That if the enemie vpon the fortune of the battell, ſhould chance to flie or to retire, they ſhould not in any caſe purſue them farther than the ſtraits of the hill whereby the enemie lay: gheſſing too truly, that he would in ſo conuenient a place leaue part of his armie in ambuſh, as a ſure refuge to truſt vnto whatſoeuer ſhould befall. When hee had thus encouraged and inſtructed his ſouldiers, he riſe with his armie, and in good order retired vnto the riſing of an hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay: of purpoſe to haue the aduantage of the ground, if the enemy ſhould follow to giue him battel. *Balabanus* ſeeing him
F retire, and the ſmall number of his armie, thought verily that he had fled for feare: and therefore to ſtay him who ment nothing leſſe than to flie ſet forward in great haſte. The Turkes thinking vpon ſo great aduantage to haue found no great reſiſtance, followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had had him in chaſe; and by that time they were come to the place where hee ſtaied, were by their haſt greatly diſordered and out of aray. *Scanderbeg* his old truſtie ſouldi-

ers

The battell betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

ours nothing dismaied with the hastie comming and hideous clamour of the Turks, receiued them with great courage; so that there began a fierce battell, with much slaughter on both sides, which for a great while stood doubtfull. Yet such was the inuincible courage of *Scanderbegs* resolute souldiers, that the Turks (who as then fought in great disorder) were at last put to flight, and with much slaughter chased vnto the straits of the mountain, where *Scanderbug* had before commanded his men to stay. But certaine of his best and principall captaines forgetting what he had said vnto them; and led on (whether with the heat & furie of the battell, or rather with ineuitable destinie is hard to say) vnaduisedly pursued the enemie into those straits, whereof they were by *Scanderbeg* before warned, and charged that they should not enter: where they were on euery side belet with their enemies, arising out of ambush: and after they had a long time desperatly fought as wild beasts enclosed with hunters, at last oppressed with multitude, were together taken and brought to *Balabanus*, by whom they were forthwith sent to *Mahomet* to Constantinople. Who as soone as he heard of their taking, is reported with great reioycing to haue said, Now am I sure that the strength of *Scanderbeg* is broken. The names of the principall men which were there taken, was *Moses Golemus* of Dibra, the greatest captaine of Epirus next vnto *Scanderbeg* himselfe; *Giuriza Vladerius*, *Scanderbeg* his kinsman; *Musachius*, *Scanderbeg* his nephew by his sister *Angelina*; *Ginius Musachius*; *Ioannes Perlatus*, who valiantly defended Sfetigrade against *Amurath*; *Nicholaus Berisius*, *Georgius Chucca*, and *Ginius Manesius*: whereof euery one of them was able to haue conducted a great armie, and might worthilie haue beene accounted amongst the greatest captaines of that age. The taking of these worthie men brought such a generall sorrow and heauinesse vpon Epirus, that the victorie was nothing accounted of, euery man lamenting the losse of such notable leaders. *Scanderbeg* carefull of their deliuerance; presently sent an Embassadour to *Mahomet*, requesting that hee might redeeme his prisoners, either by exchanging of others for them, or else for such ransome as it should please him to set downe. But hee knowing them to bee *Scanderbeg* his best Captaines, would neither exchange them for others, nor graunt that they should bee ransomed for any Gold: But after hee had vsed them with all the dispight hee could deuise, caused them all by little and little, to bee slaine quicke: in which miserable torment they liued fifteene daies, and so died. *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, was therewith rather encouraged than discouraged; and in reuenge thereof, with fire and sword entered into the Turkes dominion, sparing nothing that hee could either burne, or possibly by any other meanes destroy.

Moses & other worthie captaines cruelly executed by Mahomet.

Mahomet glad of the taking of these notable men (although they were bought with the liues of many of his people) commended *Balabanus* highly, as the onely man that knew how to fight against *Scanderbeg*: and in reward of his good seruice, sent him diuers rich gifts, with commandement to repaire againe his armie, and to proceed in his warres so happily begun. Which thing *Balabanus* with all diligence performed. Yet trusting more vnto his policie, than his strength, lying at Alchria, sent againe diuers rich Presents to *Scanderbeg*, as desirous to liue in peace by him; but seeking indeed to bring him into securitie, and so suddenly (if it were possible) to entrap him. Which thing *Scanderbeg* well perceiuing, reiected his faigned friendship together with his Presents, as sent from a base peisant. Wherupon *Balabanus* entred into a new deuise, and by secret meanes, with great rewards corrupted *Scanderbeg* his scouts, whereof some were *Balabanus* his kinsmen, though it were to *Scanderbeg* vnknowne. By which practise, he had vpon the sudden in the night oppressed *Scanderbeg*, lying encamped in Oronycheum, if *Scanderbeg* himselfe (who commonly spent most part of the night in carefull watch) going about the campe, had not in the silence of the night a far off perceiued the comming of the enemie by the noise of his horses: and thereupon with wonderfull celeritie putting his armie in such order as he best could, was readie to receiue him; and at last after a great fight, put him to flight: and hauing him in chase, slew most part of his armie, *Balabanus* himselfe with a small remnant hardly escaping.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Balabanus* was ouerthrowne, and his armie lost, hee was in doubt, whether to send another Generall, or else againe to proue the fortune of the old. But after hee had well considered, that *Balabanus* was a right valiant Captaine, and one that well knew the countrey of Epirus, and withall a mortall enemie to *Scanderbeg*: he resolued to staie vpon him, and not to send any other. So committing to his charge foureteene thousand

thousand horsmen and three thousand foot, sent him againe to inuade Epirus: and the more to encourage him, promised to make him king of that countrey, if he could subdue *Scanderbeg*. *Balabanus* with his armie comming to Alchria, and still in vaine plotting how hee might circumuent his warie enemie; after his wonted manner sent diuers presents to *Scanderbeg*; which he still scornefully refused. Three months he lay still at Alchria, with nothing more troubled than with his own thoughts: but finding nothing that pleased himselfe, he determined to aduenture by plaine force to subdue him. And vpon that resolution marched with all his armie into the great plaines neere vnto Sfetigrade, whither *Scanderbeg* came with his armie also, which then consisted of eight thousand horsemen and fifteen hundred foot: with which smal power he refused not to ioyne battell with *Balabanus*, being in number two to one. But after they were come to handie blowes, to haue seene *Scanderbeg* his men fight, a man would haue thought them rather to haue bin raging Lyons than men, they so furiously assailed their enemies, without regard of perill or danger, as men nothing afraid to die. *Scanderbeg* with great skill gouerned that battel, carefully prouiding for euery danger: himselfe valiantly fighting in the head of this battell, but not without care of the rest, still sending speedie releefe where most need was, and bringing in fresh supplies in sted of them that were wounded or slain, performed all the parts of a most worthy cheefetaine and valiant souldier: where most peril was, there was he straight, and at his presence danger fled, as if victory had attended vpon him. But whilest he thus fought in the midst of his enemies, his horse fortuned to be slaine vnder him, and falling downe with him, sore bruised one of his armes, whereof he complained long time after. The Turks seeing him downe, pressed on fiercely to haue slaine him: but he was quickly rescued by his owne souldiers and remounted. And forthwith encountering with one *Suliman*, a great commander in the Turks armie, slew him in fight hand to hand: whereupon such a terrour fell vpon the Turks, that they began to retire, and after a while to betake themselues to plaine flight. *Scanderbeg* pursuing them with such execution, that of that great armie few escaped with *Balabanus* to carrie newes home.

The battell of Sfetigrade betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

Balabanus now thrice vanquished by *Scanderbeg*, and in the last battell hauing lost what hee could loose, except he should haue left himselfe, returned to *Mahomet* at Constantinople, of whom he was sharply rebuked for the great ouerthrowes he had so often receiued. At which time *Balabanus* at first gaue place to the kings furie: but afterwards when the heat was ouer, he with a large discourse cunningly excused himselfe, imputing all these mishaps vnto the appointment of God, and the fortune of war: and in the end told *Mahomet* plainly, That it was but in vain to send such smal armies into Epirus. But if it would please him at once to send two valiant captaines with a puissant and strong armie, who diuiding the same betwixt them, and entering at one time into diuers parts of Epirus, might spoile the countrey before them, and enclose *Scanderbeg* betwixt them, if he should aduenture to giue either of them battell; being before resolued neither of them to offer him battel, or yet to accept of the same being by him offered, except the other were also at hand: and so by mutuall consent to vndertake him, but neuer single. By which course he promised vnto him an easie and assured victorie: for as much as it were impossible for any man so beset, and as it were on euery side coupt vp with his enemies, either to escape, or yet to make any great resistance. This perswasion of *Balabanus* so wel fitted the tyrants humor, that he appointed *Balabanus* himselfe to be the man to put his owne deuise in execution: giuing him commission to leuie such an armie as he should thinke sufficient for the performance of that seruice: and withall to associat vnto himselfe for his companion which soeuer of his captains he pleased. *Balabanus* according to his commission, tooke musters of the men of war, and made choice of fortie thousand good souldiers, and chose one *Iacup Arnauth* (otherwise called *Iames* the Epirot, because he was also borne in Epirus, a valiant captaine) to be his companion: whom he sent with sixteene thousand soldiers by the way of Thessalia and Grecia into Epirus, commanding him in no case to ioine battel with *Scanderbeg*, vntill he himselfe were also come into the country with the other part of the armie. And so setting both forward, *Balabanus* taking the neerer way through Thracia and Macedonia, came first into Epirus with twentie thousand horsemen and foure thousand foot, and encamped in the vally of Valchall. *Scanderbeg* both by his espials and letters from his secret friends in the Turks court, hauing certaine intelligence of all *Balabanus* his intent and purpose, had in readinesse against his comming a strong armie of eight thousand horsemen and foure thou-

Scanderbeg his scouts traitorously flie to Balabanus.

sand foot, all choise soldiers. And now hearing that he was come into Epirus, & incamped in Valchaal, sent out three espials to discouer in what order he lay: one of which spies was *Balabanus* his kinsman (but not so knowne to *Scanderbeg*) by whose persuasion the other two when they had taken full view of *Balabanus* his army, & should haue returned to *Scanderbeg* to haue giuen intelligence of that they had seene, like false traitors went ouer to *Balabanus*, and discouered vnto him all that they knew concerning *Scanderbeg*: hoping therefore to receiue some great reward, as their fellow had before borne them in hand. *Scanderbeg* maruelling that his espials returned not againe as they were appointed, and doubting that they had bin by the enemie intercepted, and vsing many times in matters of such importance to trust himselfe best; presently went out with fiue lustie soldiers, & rid forth to discouer the maner of the enemies lying. *Balabanus* like a craftie fox, mistrusting that *Scanderbeg* deceiued of his first spies would for like purpose send forth others, laied certain horsmen in secret ambush in diuers places, to intercept them if it were possible. These horsmen lay not so couert, but that they were in good time descried by *Scanderbeg* and his followers (who with *Argus* eies, pried into euery bush & thicket as they went) before he was altogether fallen into their danger: and yet but so that he came to handie stroks, where *Scanderbeg* & his followers oppressed with multitude, were glad to flie as fast they could into the next wood, the Turks horsmen following them at the heels. It fortuned that as they were flying, a great old tree was fallen crosse the way, which *Scanderbeg* putting spurs to his horse, leapt ouer with one of his men after him; the other foure not able to get ouer, turned back vpon the Turks, and there fighting were slaine. One of the Turks which so hardly pursued *Scanderbeg* being wel mounted, forced his horse to leape the tree, and still followed after *Scanderbeg*: who looking backe and seeing but one, turned vpon him and slew him: the other Turks hauing slaine foure of *Scanderbegs* men which could not get ouer the tree, returned. And *Scanderbeg* accompanied but with one of his followers, came backe againe to his campe; and there with all speed put his armie in readines to go against *Balabanus* before the comming of his companion, with the other part of his armie. Vpon which resolution, after he had with cheerfull persuasions encouraged his souldiers, and filled their mindes with hope of victorie, he set forward, and came with great speed into the valley of Valchaal where *Balabanus* lay: *Scanderbeg* had diuided his army into foure squadrons; whereof *Tanusius* had the leading of one, *Zacharias Groppa* of another, the third was committed to *Peieus Emanuel*, and *Scanderbeg* himselfe conducted the fourth. So setting forward, he sent before certaine companies of harquebusiers, and archers, to prouoke the enemie and to draw him forth vnto battel. *Balabanus* also shewed himself with his army in seemly order before his tents, but there stood fast & would nor stir, expecting continually the comming of his fellow. Which *Scanderbeg* perceiuing, and that he fought but to dallie out the time, and as one vnwilling to fight had again retired his armie into the safetie of his trenches; drew neerer and neerer vnto him, continually skirmishing with such as he sent out, daring him to the field, & brauing him vnto his trenches, in such sort, as if he would haue forced the same, & by strong hand haue fet him out thence: wherat the Turks fretted and chafed exceedingly, insomuch that they were ready to rise against their Generall, because he would not lead them forth to battel, but suffer them to be so disgraced. *Balabanus* mindful of that he had promised to *Mahomet* his great lord and master, did what he might to haue deferred time, but when hee saw that his fellow came not, and that he could no longer delay the matter, being so continually assailed & brued by *Scanderbegs* souldiers, that his Turks therewith prouoked, were readie oftentimes to haue issued out without his direction, and now no remedie but that he must needs fight, placed his men in good order, and so went out of his trenches to giue battell, himselfe leading the left wing thereof: where betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* was made a fierce fight, many falling on both sides. But *Scanderbeg* strengthned with the old garison of Croia, and the most expert souldiers of Dibra, preuailed vpon the Turks & forced them to giue ground, yet still keping their order. The fight was so great in this part of the battell, that in other places they stood almost still as lookers on, expecting the doubtful fortune of their Generals: which thing *Scanderbeg* perceiuing, drew certain troups out of the right wing, whereas he saw was least danger, which speedily fetching a compasse about, charged the side of the enemies armie; and againe withdrawing themselues, and with wonderfull celeritie wheeling about, set vpon the backe of them that fought in the left wing: so that the Turks there fiercely charged both before and behind, by the

of *Scanderbeg* his armie, fell in other places with a great slaughter. *Balabanus* with exceeding courage gainstood his enemies, so long as there was any hope left: but when he saw the fortune of *Scanderbeg* to preuaile, and all about him to become desperat, he made shift for himselfe, and fled out of the battell as fast as he could. The rest of the armie being in other places, before troubled and disordred, fled also, some one way, some another, euery man as his fortune led him. Some few that followed *Balabanus* escaped: the rest were for most part either slaine or taken prisoners.

Scanderbeg had scarcely well breathed himselfe after this victorie, and diuided the spoyle amongst his souldiers, but that newes was brought to him in Post from the ladie *Mamiza* his sister, then lying at Petrella, That *Iacuppe Arnauth* was by the way of Belgrade come into Epirus with an armie of sixteene thousand horsemen, burning and destroying the country before him, and then lay incamped in the plaines of Tyranna the lesse. When *Scanderbeg* to proue the minds of his souldiers, had cherefully imparted vnto them such newes, as was like to be the beginning of new labour and perill; they were therewith nothing dismayed, but readie to follow him with such cherefulnesse of countenance and mind, as if they should haue gone to some great feast or banquet; reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a discomfited armie. This cherefulnesse of his souldiers, *Scanderbeg* tooke as an assured token of his good successe; and hauing all things in readinesse, presently set forward, and in short time came to the place where the enemie lay. *Iacuppe* hearing of his comming, remooued his campe into a corner of the plaine of Tyranna, neere vnto a little hill, as a place of more safetie for his armie to lie in. *Scanderbeg* hauing taken the Plaine, incamped his Armie in the same place from whence *Iacuppe* was but a little before departed, where he rested one whole day. The next morning, to terrifie his enemies (who as yet had not heard of the ouerthrow of *Balabanus*) he caused diuers of the Turks heads which were slain in the late battel (which he had brought for that purpose) to be cast before the trenches of the enemie; and withall, diuers of them which were taken prisoners, to be shewne: which *Iacuppe* beholding, in great despaire sayd, *I see the euill hap of Mahomet.* Immediatly after, *Scanderbeg* sent forth 500 horsemen to skirmish with the Turks, commanding them, so soone as they were charged by the enemie, to retyre, if haply they might so be drawne into battell. Which fell out accordingly: for *Iacuppe* now seeing his fellow was not to be looked for, and willing also without further delay to trie his fortune, came readily into the field, and began a fierce battell: which endured not long; for *Scanderbeg* perceiuing in what part of the armie *Iacuppe* was, bent his greatest force that way, and singling him out, with his owne hand slew him. Wherewith the Turks being discouraged, forthwith betooke themselues to flight, and in flying, were for most part slaine or taken. Those which escaped the present furie of the sword, straggling thorow the country by thicke woods and blind wayes, were by the country people either slaine or taken prisoners. In these two battels were slaine of the Turks 24000, and 6000 taken. And of *Scanderbeg* his men were lost about a thousand. *Scanderbeg* and his souldiers were so wearie of the slaughter of the Turks, that when it was told him the next day, That *Balabanus* was fled but with one cornet of horsemen, and might easily be surprised if he were well pursued; he sayd, *O let some of our enemies liue to report their owne slaughter, and our victorie.* After that *Scanderbeg* had in this sort vanquished these great captaines, he presently entred into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, and roaming vp and downe at his pleasure without resistance, made hauocke of all that came in his way: and after returning to Croia with victorie, brake vp his armie, and gaue his soldiers leaue to depart, euery man to his owne dwelling.

Iacuppe slain by Scanderbeg, & his armie discomfited.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Mahomet* had with great rewards procured two Turks to vndertake to kill *Scanderbeg*. These traitors came vnto *Scanderbeg* as fugitiues, making such shew of the detestation both of *Mahomet* his tyrannicall gouernment, and vaine superstition, that they were both of *Scanderbeg* and others, reputed to be in deed the men, they desired to be accounted: and so after they had learned the principles of the Christian religion, were by their owne desire baptised. But treason against Princes whom God hath in his most mightie protection, cannot be long couered; much lesse, without his great sufferance performed. So fortuned it, that these two false dissembling traitors, expecting nothing but opportunitie to performe their diuelish deuice, vpon some occasion fell at variance betwixt themselues, and in their heat let some such words fall, as being taken vp by some there present, drew them both into

1465.

into suspicion: and thereupon being straitly examined, it was at last by them confessed, That they were sent by *Mahomet*, of purpose to haue slaine *Scanderbeg*: for which their treason they were both presently executed, as they had right well deserued. When *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Balabanus* was ouercome, *Iacup* slaine, and both their Armies almost quite destroyed, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage, and became as a man almost franticke: and afterwards calling together his great Bassa's, resolued by their aduice, not to send any more Generals against *Scanderbeg*, but to go himselfe in person, with such an armie as should at once make an end of his wars in Epirus for euer. Hereupon commissions were directed thorow all his kingdome, and an army raised of two hundred thousand men. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing certaine aduertisement, fortified all his cities and strong holds, especially the citie of Croia; vpon the fortune whereof depended the whole state of his kingdome. Into this citie he put a strong garrison of his most valiant & faithfull soldiers, & throughly furnisht the same with all things necessarie for the enduring of a long siege: and left one *Balthazar Perduci* (a graue and worthie captaine) gouernor thereof. With like care he prouided for the safetie of his other cities, and tooke order that the countrey people were either receiued into the strong townes, or else conueyed into other places of refuge, and left nothing abroad in the countrey for the Turks to prey vpon; as he had in like case done long before, at the comming of old *Amurath* to the siege of Croia, as is before in his life declared.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had set all things in order, his old friend *Balabanus* with fourescore thousand horsemen (the forerunners of *Mahomet* his armie) was entred into Epirus, and ranging ouer the country two dayes, came and sate downe before Croia: vpon whom the gouernor at his first comming made many braue sallies. In few dayes after came *Mahomet* with his huge armie, and there incamped also: who at his first comming summoned the city, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him, vpon such vnreasonable conditions as it pleased himself, (as the manner of the Turke is:) whereunto the worthie gouernor returned him no other answer, than by continuall thundring shot into his campe. Whereupon *Mahomet* caused such ordnance as he had to be planted for batterie; and commanded other new to be cast, of such mettall as he had for that purpose brought in masse: all which, he did rather to strike a terrour into the minds of the defendants, than for any great hope he had of taking the citie by force: knowing by his owne experience, that it was a place almost impregnable. Whilest *Mahomet* was thus busied, & little or nothing preuailed, *Scanderbeg* lying abroad in the woods & mountaines, with a small armie of most valiant and couragious souldiers, continually cut off the forragers of *Mahomets* armie, and such as brought in victuall or necessaries for his campe: and manie times in the night suddenly brake into one quarter or other of the Turks great camp with great slaughter, and with continuall alarmes neuer suffered them to rest in quiet. *Mahomet* seeing his armie to decrease dayly, and no hope of winning the citie but by famin, which would require a long siege: and fearing also to make that same place againe famous by some notable mischance which might happen vnto himselfe vnder the walls of Croia, as had before vnto his father *Amurath*; determined to returne himselfe to Constantinople, and to leaue *Balabanus* with a great part of his armie to continue the siege. Vpon which determination, he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the siege, to *Balabanus*, ioyning vnto him eight of his most expert captaines; yet so, as that they should be all at *Balabanus* his command. And so leauing with him three and twentie thousand of his best souldiers, and with euery one of the other eight Captaines seuen thousand moe, departed himselfe with the rest of his armie from Croia, towards Constantinople. But by the way as he went he tooke from *Scanderbeg* certaine small forts, and with faire promises corrupting the Gouernour of a place called Chidna, wherein eight thousand of *Scanderbeg* his souldiers lay, had the same deliuered into his power, vpon his faith before giuen, That all the souldiers with the rest of the people should in safetie depart thence. But after the tyrant had them in his power, without regard of faith or promise, he caused them all most cruelly to be cut in pieces, sparing neither man, woman, nor child, to the great griefe and weakning of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any time before receiued so great a losse. And after he had so raged, he in great melancholie returned vnto Constantinople.

Mahomet commeth to the siege of Croia.

Scanderbeg disdaining to haue his chiefe citie besieged by *Balabanus*, (sometime one of the basest of his fathers subiects) and yet finding himselfe vnable to relieue the same, for as much as

as the souldiers were with continual wars sore wasted, and his warie enemies lay so encamped, as that they were not but by a strong armie to be remoued, sent vnto the Venetians and other the confederat princes of Albania, Illyria, and Dalmatia, praying of them aid now at his need against that enemie, which preuailing against him, would forthwith set vpon them. All which princes promised forthwith to send their succours. At the same time also he passed ouer into Italie secretly, and disguised in simple attire, came to Rome, to craue aid of *Paulus* the second, of that name, then great Bishop: by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing of that he came for; so cold was his deuotion: onely at his departure he gaue vnto *Demetrio*, *Scanderbeg* his treasurer, a poore almes of three thousand duckats.

Scanderbeg returning into Epirus, found all such aid ready as was promised from the confederat princes, but especially from the Venetians, which was for most part drawne out of their garrisons of Scutari, Driuasto, Alyssa, and Dirrachium: so that he had in few daies in his armie thirteene thousand foure hundred choice souldiers. With this strength he marched towards Croia: but vnderstanding by the way, that *Ionima* was within a daies iourny, comming with a new supplie to his brother *Balabanus*, he drew out certaine troupes of his best horsemen, and coasting ouer the country in the night, suddenly came vpon the Turks, and put them to flight: where amongst others, *Ionima* himselfe, with his sonne *Hedar*, were taken prisoners; whom he shewed the next day in bonds to *Balabanus*. This exploit so happily performed, he with all speed returned to his armie: and so marching to Croia, by plaine force driue the Turks from the mountaine Cruina, their greatest strength, and neerest to the citie of Croia. Which thing when *Balabanus* saw, he with certaine troups of horsemen rid euen to the gates of the citie, perswading the defendants to yeeld the citie, making them in the name of his master such offers and promises as he thought might most moue them. But they nothing regarding his words, but rather incensed with his presumption, sallied out vpon him, and inforced him to retire: but he therewith enraged, and halfe mad for anger, came vpon them with a fresh charge, thinking by plaine force to haue driuen them backe into the citie. In which skirmish he was by one *Georgius Alexius*, with a bullet, shot quite thorow the throat; and feeling himselfe mortally wounded, setting spurres to his horse, ran as fast as he could to his campe, where he presently fell downe from his horse and died. The Turks discouraged with the death of their General, & the comming of *Scanderbeg*, rose the same night, & with great silence retired themselues vnto the plaine of Tirana, about eight miles from Croia. *Scanderbeg* the next morning entring the forsaken tents of the Turks, found therein great store of corne and other victuals; which he caused to be forthwith conueyed into the city, & in triumph followed after himselfe, to the great ioy and comfort of his late besieged subiects: whom hee highly commended for their fidelitie, and bountifully rewarded according to their deserts. The same day he sent certaine companies of souldiers to take the strait passages whereby the Turks must needs passe in their returne out of Epirus: which when the Turks vnderstood, they sent two messengers to *Scanderbeg* (who seemed to be men of good account in the armie) offering in the name of the rest of the captaines and commanders, to deliuer vnto him their horses and armes, so that they might in safetie depart with their liues. Which their request *Scanderbeg* propounding to his counsellors and captains, was by them diuerslie digested. In conclusion, they receiued this answer from *Scanderbeg* himselfe, That as they came into his countrey, without his commandment, so should they not by his leaue depart thence. The Turks receiuing this short answer by their messengers, & considering that they must needs in that bare country in short time perish, either with famin or with the sword; the same night departed from Tiranna, and in the dead time of the night entering the aforesaid straits, by plain force desperatly brake thorow and escaped, but not without their great losse: for whose escape the common souldiers murmured grieuously against *Scanderbeg*, and were not without much adoe appeased. In short time after, *Scanderbeg* recouered all such places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him, and put to sword the souldiers he had left for the keeping of the same: which done, he brake vp his armie, retaining only two thousand horsemen & a thousand foot for the defence of his frontiers. The Turkish tyrant hearing of the euil successe of his affaires in Epirus, as that his Generall was slaine, Croia relieued, his armie discomfited, and all that he had done, brought to nought; fretted thereat exceedingly, & was therewith so much grieued, that he could not for a season eat or drink, or take rest, his discontented thoughts so much troubled him. In the end, to reme-

Scanderbeg surpriseth Ionima the brother of Balabanus, and Hedar his sonne.

1466.

die the matter, he resolued the next Spring to go again in person himselfe with a most puissant G
armie into Epirus, and so if it were possible, to make a full conquest thereof: of which his pur-
pose *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding, prouided for his comming, as hee had in former time. The
Spring being come, *Mahomet* according to his former resolution, with a mightie armie entred
into Epirus, and there with exceeding labour & charge, first repaired or rather re-edified the
old ruines of the citie of Valmes, wherein he left a strong garrison, of purpose to trouble that
part of the country. From thence he marched to Dirrachium (now called Durazzo, but of old
time Epidamnum) a city vpon the sea coast, then in the possession of the Venetians, famous for
many things in the time of the Roman empire, but especially for the flight of the Roman Se-
nat thither, and their entertainment there in the time of the ciuil wars betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pom-*
peius. This city *Mahomet* thought to haue taken vnprouided, & so vpon the sudden to haue car- H
ried it, but was therein much deceiued, finding it strongly fortified and manned both by the
Venetians and *Scanderbeg*. Where when he had there spent some time, & to his great losse in
vain attempted the citie, he rise vpon the sudden: & retiring into Epirus, came and sat down
againe before Croia, of purpose by his sudden comming to haue terrified the citizens: and
vainly persuaded, that he had left *Scanderbeg* in Dirrachium, for that in the assailing thereof he
had discouered many of *Scanderbegs* men, and thereby supposed him to haue bin there also;
the greatest cause why he so suddenly rise and came to Croia. At his first comming he offered
great rewards and large priuiledges vnto the citizens, if they would forthwith yeeld vp their
citie; otherwise hee threatned vnto them all the calamities of warre, vowing neuer to depart I
thence before he had it: wherunto he receiued no other answer out of the citie than was sent
him by the mouth of the cannon, or brought him by many most braue sallies. *Scanderbeg* in the
mean while continually molesting his campe, & euery night falling into one quarter or ano-
ther thereof. *Mahomet* taught by experience, to what small purpose it would be for him to lie
there long, rise with his armie, and marched againe to the sea side, to a place now called the
head of Reden vpon the gulfe of Venice, not far from Dirrachium, where *Scanderbeg* had be-
gun to build a new citie called Chiurill, not yet finished: which *Mahomet* in despight of the
man, rased downe to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the Epirots were retired in-
to the mountaines, hee went to seeke them out, and was with great losse by those mountaine
people repulsed: *Scanderbeg* still following them at the heels, and awaiting all opportunities, K
daily cut off part of his armie. So that at last the tyrant despairing of any good to bee done in
that expedition, was glad to depart out of Epirus, hauing atchieued nothing worth his com-
ming, and so, full of discontentment and melancholie returned into Constantinople.

After all these great troubles, *Scanderbeg* rid ouer most part of Epirus, to view the state of
his kingdome, and so at last came to Lyssa (a citie of the Venetians, which he had alwaies spe-
cially liked) there to confer with the Venetian legat and other the confederat princes, of mat-
ters concerning their state in generall, as his manner was: but more particularly how they
might take the citie of Valmes, which *Mahomet* had the last yere built in the seignorie of *Ary-*
annites Comynat, and much troubled that part of Epirus. But whilst he lay there, he fel sicke of
a feauer, which daily so increased vpon him, that he became sicke euen vnto death: and now L
perceiuing his end to draw nigh, sent for his wife and son, with the princes & lords his confe-
derats, & the embassadors of the Venetians, into his bedchamber. Where after he had at large
with greater pain notably discoursed of his troublesome life led among them, than he had be-
fore passed the same, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to ensue, he earnestly
exhorted them to continue in vnitie & concord, and valiantly to stand in defence of their reli-
gion, country, and liberty. And afterwards turning his speech to his wife & his son, commen-
ded them both with his kingdome to the tuition of the Venetians: who by the articles of the
confederation betwixt him and them, were in honor bound to protect his son and kingdome,
during the time of his minoritie, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the same. In fine he
willed his wife after his death to passe ouer with her sonne into Apulia, where they might in
safety and quiet liue vpon such possessions as he there held by the gift of King *Ferdinand*. And M
so after hee had with most feruent prayer commended his soule into the hands of Almightie
God, departed in peace the 17 day of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1466, when he had li-
ued about 63 yeares, and thereof raigned about 24. His death was worthily lamented of all
Christian princes, but especially of the Venetians and Princes of Albania, who had now lost
their

Theodosius of Scanderbeg, sore sick.

Death of Scanderbeg.

A their most carefull watchman and inuincible champion: the sorrow of his subiects is not to
be expressed, euery man bewailing him, as the only stay of the common-weale, and as if with
him they had lost all their hope. His dead bodie was with the generall lamentation of all men
roially buried in the cathedrall church of S. *Nicholas* at Lyssa: where it rested in peace, vn- *Scanderbeg buried at Lyssa.*
till that about nine yeares after, the Turks comming to the siege of Scodra, by the way tooke
the citie of Lyssa, and there with great deuotion digged vp his bones, reckoning it in some part *The bodie of Scanderbeg digged vp by the Turkes, and of them greatly honoured.*
of their happinesse, if they might but see or touch the same: and such as could get any part
thereof, were it neuer so little, caused the same to be set, some in siluer, some in gold, to hang
about their necks, or weare vpon their bodies; persuading themselues by the wearing there-
of to be partakers of such good fortune and hap as had *Scanderbeg* himselfe whilest he liued:
B which is not vnaptly by *Gabriel Fairnus* of Cremona, thus in verse expressed.

SCANDERBEG.

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR.

Paulus Iouius Illust. virorum Eleg. lib 3.

Turcarum clades, Othomanni nominis horror,
Epiri tutela, illo iacuere sepulchro:
Quo quondam inuicti cubuerunt ossa Georgi.
Nunc & membra viri, & dissectum in frustra sepulchrum
Interijt, sparsi manes, consc. ossa vagantur
Ossa, nec in gelida nunc saltem morte quiescunt.

Namque

Namque vt is assertum toties cum laude paternum
Imperium, exacta moriens ætate reliquit:
Illicet immanes tenuerunt omnia Turcæ.
Tum clari Herois venerati nobile bustum,
Ossaque, marmoraque, inuictum condentia corpus,
Abstulerant, sibi quisque in partes secta minutas,
Tanquam ijs bellicus vis, & Martius ardor inesset:
Et genium præstare bonum, fortemque valerent:
Sic quæ alijs tumulum virtus parat, abstulit illis:
Atque eadem diro venerandum præbuit hosti.

In English thus:

The bloudie bane of faithlesse Turkes, and terrour of their name,
Epirus strong defence and guard, lay buried there with fame:
Within that tombe wherein long since, Great *Castriotus* lay;
But now those limbes and tombe defac'd, are carried quite away.
The remnants of that worthie wight out of his graue were torne;
And being dead, could find no rest, but were for Iewels worne.
For after he, farre spent with age, gaue place to fatall doome,
And left his fathers kingdome, got and kept with great renowne;
Forthwith the cruell Turks preuail'd, and all things there possest:
Who worshipping his stately tombe, and place of quiet rest,
Dig'd vp his bones, and brake the tombe wherein he did remaine:
And glad was he that could thereof some little part obtaine.
As if in them some martiall force, or vertue great had beene:
Or fortune rare, such as before in him was liuing seene.
So vertue, which to others giues a sepulture and graue,
Bereft it him, yet for'st his foe in honour it to haue.

Mathias king of Hungarie, taketh the kingdome of Bosna from the Turks.

Most part of the times of those wars betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the Venetians by sea and the Hungarians by land, kept the Turks througly busied. *Mathias Coruinus* King of Hungarie (according to his promise made vnto the Venetians) entered into the kingdome of Bosna, whereby force he ouerthrew the strong forts which the Turkes had built for the defence of their frontiers, and manfully draue them out before him vntill he came to Iaziga (of some called Iaitze) the chiefe citie of Bosna, which he at length took: & following the course of his victorie, scarcely suffered the Turkes to breath, vntill he had by force wrested all that kingdome out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieued, in great fury came with a strong armie into Bosna, and laid hard siege to Iaziga, which was by the Christians right valiantly defended, vntill *Mathias* with a puissant armie came to the relieefe therof: who so troubled the Turks campe with continuall skirmishes on the one side, and they of the town with desperat sallies on the other; that at length the proud Turke was driuen to such extremitie, that he was glad secretly to steale away by night with all his armie into Seruia; and for hast to leaue behind him both his tents & great ordnance, which (the Turks histories report) he caused to be cast into the riuer, because it should not come into the hands of the Christians. *Mathias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his enemies, and relieued his city, followed the Turks into Seruia, and took part of that country also, which together with Bosna he vnited to the kingdome of Hungarie. In these warres, *Mahomet* had such proofe of the force and power of *Mathias* and the Hungarians, that for a good while after he had no great stomacke to prouoke them farther: for why, the name of *Mathias* was now become vnto the Turks no lesse dreadfull, than was sometime the name of his father the valiant *Huniades*.

The Venetians at the same time also with their gallies scoured the seas, & landing their men sometime in one place, sometime in another, did great harme in many places of the Turks dominion neere vnto the sea coast. Amongst other their Generals at diuers times sent from that state, one *Nicholas Canalis* succeeding *Lauretanus* (whom we haue before spoken of) as soone as he had receiued his charge, came with his fleet into the bay of Salonichi, and landing his men, burnt diuers townes and villages alongst the sea side: And afterwards returning into Peloponesus,

A ponesus, he fortified the towne of Legosticium in the gulfe of Patras; which worke the Turks with their often skirmishes laboured to haue hindred, but in despite of all they could doe, it was brought to perfection, and a strong garrison therein left for the defence thereof; which done, he returned againe to Eubœa. Shortly after, he with the same fleet put to sea againe; and sailing alongst the coast of Macedonia and Thracia, surprised the citie of Ænus which standeth vpon the mouth of the riuer Meritza, called in antient time Hebrus, vpon which riuer the famous cities Andrianople, and Philippopolis are also scituate. *Canalis* after hee had taken the spoyle of the citie, returned to his gallies, carrying away with him two thousand captiues into Eubœa. At the same time also, the Venetians giuing aid vnto *Nicholas Duchaine* against his brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the principalitie of Zadrima, neere vnto the riuer of Drino in Epirus, gaue a great ouerthrow to the Turks which came in the quarrell of *Alexius*.

Mahomet not a little offended with the harmes done vnto him by the Venetians, and perceiuing that the Island of Eubœa (now called Nigroponte) was for the commodious scituation and strength therof, the chiefe place from whence they wrought him all these wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired againe, as vnto a most sure place of refuge; determined with himselfe at once to be euen with them for all, and to imploy his whole forces both by sea and land for the gaining of that place. This Island of Eubœa is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth ouer against that part of Græcia which was of old called Bæotia, from whence it is separated with a narrow strait of the sea: it aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, fruit, & wood fit for shipping. The chiefe city thereof, was in antient time called Chalcide, and of latter time 1470
C Nigroponte, by which name also the whole Island was knowne: albeit the Turks now call it Egribos; a populous, rich, and strong citie; so fortified with wals and bulwarkes, that (in most mens iudgement) it seemed a place impregnable. Vnto this strong citie, *Mahomet* resolued to lay siege, knowing well, that vpon the fortune thereof depended the state of the whole Island. Wherefore he assembled a mighty army, and made great preparation both by sea and land: and when all things were in readinesse, sent *Mahomet* (the great Bassa of the court) with a fleet of three hundred gallies, and certaine other small vessels well furnished with souldiers, mariners, and all things necessarie, by sea into Eubœa: and with a great army marched himselfe by land through Achaia, vntill he came ouer against the citie of Chalcis. The Venetian Admirall hearing of the comming of the Turks fleet, set forward to haue met them neere vnto the straits of
D Hellespontus: but after he had by his espials descried the great number of the enemies fleet, finding himselfe too weake, shaped his course to the Island of Sciros. The Bassa comming out of the straits of Hellespontus, couered the sea with his fleet, & holding on his intended course without let came to Eubœa: where at his first landing, he tooke Stora and Basilicon, two smal townes, which he rased to the ground, and from thence went directly to Chalcis. As soone as this great fleet was there ariued, *Mahomet* caused a great bridge to be made of his smaller vessels ouer the strait betwixt Achaia and Eubœa, whereby he passed all his armie, and so belaied the citie round both by sea and land. And after he had planted his batterie, began most furiously to shake the wals: wherein he had in short time made faire breaches, and the sooner, for
E that one *Thomas* of Liburnia (chiefe canonier of the citie) before corrupted by the Turks, by signes agreed vpon, gaue them certaine knowledge in what places the wals were weakest: whereby they so aptly planted their batterie, as if they had taken view on the inside of the wals. Which foule treason was at length perceiued, and the traitor therefore worthily executed. Yet little preuailed the tyrant thereby; for such was the industrie of the defendants, that whatsoeuer he had by the furie of his great ordnance beat down by day, that they with restlesse labor repaired again by night. Thus was the siege continued thirtie dayes, in which space many a sharpe assault was giuen by the Turks, to their great losse; and the citie still valiantly defended by the Christians. At length the Venetian Admirall (to the great comfort of the besieged) came with his fleet within view of the city, making semblant as if he would haue giuen
F the Turks battell. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to haue raised his siege, and haue got himselfe ouer into the maine, for feare the Venetians should with their gallies haue broken the bridge, and so haue shut him vp into that Island: which thing if it was thought the Admiral might haue done, to his great praise, if he would as a couragious captaine haue aduentured the matter, as he was earnestly requested by the captaines of euery priuate galley

Chalcis the chiefe citie of Eubœa besieged by the Turke.

Treason in the citie.

who generally grieued to see him so great a commander, to let slip so faire an opportunitie. G
But he fearing to come any neerer, came to an anchor and moued not, neither gaue any signe of
comfort or relieſe to the beſieged. Which thing the Turkiſh King quickly perceiuing, and
therewith encouraged: hauing now in diuers places beaten downe the wals, and made them
ſaultable, brought on his men to the breaches, promiſing them the ſpoile of the city, with ma-
ny other great rewards and hie preferments according to their particular deſerts, whereof he
ſaid, he would himſelfe be an eye-witnes. Hereupon the Turks gaue a moſt fierce and furious
aſſault; which the defendants with inuincible courage receiued, and made ſuch ſlaughter of
them, that the ditches were fill'd, & the breaches made vp with the bodies of the dead Turks.
But ſuch was the number of that populous armie (the greateſt ſtrength of the Turks) that the
liuing little felt the loſſe of the dead: *Mahomet* continually ſending in new ſupplies of freſh H
men, in ſtead of them that were ſlaine or wounded: ſo that one could no ſooner fall, but two
or three ſtept vp in his roome, and ſo ſucceſſiuely, as if new men had ſprung out of the bodies
of the dead. Twiſe they had euen woon the breaches, and were both times with wonderfull
Chalc it taken by the Turks. ſlaughter beaten out againe. This deadly and dreadful aſſault, was maintained a whole day and
a night without intermiſſion. At length the defendants being for the moſt part ſlaine or woun-
ded, and the reſt wearied with long fight, and vnable to defend the town now aſſaulted almoſt
round, retired from the breaches into the market place, and there like reſolute men, ſold their
liues at a deere price vnto the Turks. Amongſt the ſlaine Chriſtians, were found the dead bo-
dies of many notable women, who ſeeing the ruine of the citie, choſe rather to die with their
friends in defence thereof, than aliue to fall into the hands of their barbarous enemies.

Mahomet being now become Lord of the citie, and hauing loſt fortie thouſand of his Turks I
in that ſiege, in reuenge thereof cauſed all the men that were found in the citie aliue, to be put
to moſt cruel death, eſpecially the Italians, vpon whom he ſhewed his tyrannie with moſt ex-
quiſit and horrible torments. *Paulus Ericus* gouernor of the citie, with a few others, who with
him were fled into the caſtle, without reſiſtance deliuered the ſame vnto him, vpon his faith-
full promiſe, that they might in ſafetie depart: but after that he had got them into his power,
the perfidious tyrant without regard, commanded them all to be cruelly murthered. The Go-
uernors daughter a maiden of incomparable beautie, was amongſt the reſt taken priſoner, and
for her rare perfection, by them that tooke hir preſented to *Mahomet* as the mirror of beauty:
The barbarous tyrant greedie of ſo faire a prey, ſought firſt by flattering words and faire per- K
ſuaſion, to induce her to conſent to his deſire: but when he could not ſo preuaile, he fell into
another vaine, and began to ſhew himſelfe in his owne nature, threatning her with death, tor-
ture, and force, worſe than death it ſelfe, if ſhe would not otherwiſe yeeld vnto his appetite.
Whereunto the conſtant virgin (worthie eternall fame) anſwered ſo reſolutely, and ſo contra-
The fruitfull Iſland of Euboea taken by the Turks. ry to the tyrants expectation, that he being therewith enraged, commanded her to be preſent-
ly ſlaine. The horrible and monſtrous crueltie, with the filthie outrages by that beaſtly and
barbarous people committed, at the taking of that citie, paſſeth all credit. Chalcis thus
woon, the reſt of that fuitfull Iſland without further reſiſtance yeelded vnto the Turkiſh ſla-
uerie, vnder which it yet groaneth. This calamitie happened vnto the Venetian ſtate, or ra-
ther (to ſay truly) to the generall hurt of the Chriſtian common-weale, in the yeare of our re- L
demption, 1470.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall, who all the time of the ſiege, had in the ſight of the citie
lien at anchor as a looker on, fearing now that the citie was loſt, to be ſet vpon by the Turkes
fleet, hoiſed ſaile, and laded with diſhonour returned in haſte vnto Venice, where he was by
the commandement of the Senat committed to priſon, and afterward with all his familie exi-
led to Vtinum.

Shortly after, when *Mahomet* was departed with his army out of Euboea, and his fleet re-
1471 turned to Conſtantinople: the Venetians with their gallies, attempted to haue vpon the ſud-
den ſurpriſed the citie, a little before loſt. But *Mahomet* had therein left ſo ſtrong a garriſon, M
that when the Venetians had landed their men, they were againe enforced to retire to their
gallies, and to forſake their Iſland.

Chalcis thus loſt with all the Iſland of Euboea, the Venetians choſe *Petrus Mocenicus*, a
valiant and diſcreet gentleman, Admirall of their fleet, in ſtead of *Canalis*: and by their embaſ-
ſadours ſolicited *Sixtus* the fourth of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, and *Ferdinand* King
of

A of Naples, with *Lewis* king of Cyprus, and the grand maſter of the Rhodes, to ioyne their forces together with theirs againſt the great and common enemie: which thing all the aforeſaid Chriſtian princes promiſed them to do. And the more to intangle the Turke, they at the ſame time ſent *Caterinus Zenus* their embaſſadour with rich preſents vnto *Alymbeius Vſun Caſſanes*, the great king of Perſia, to incite him on that ſide againſt the Turke: in which negotiation *Zenus* ſo well behaued himſelfe, that the next yeare following, that great king tooke vp armes againſt *Mahomet*, and had with him mortall wars, as ſhall be in conuenient place hereafter declared. *Mahomet* not ignorant of the proceedings of the Venetians, & that they did what they might to ſtir vp as many enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were poſſible) into hatred with the whole world: and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the
B Chriſtian princes with the cruelty he had of late vſed againſt them of Chalcis, thought it not beſt as then further to prouoke them, and ſo happily to bring all at once about his eares; but for a ſeaſon to lie ſtill at Conſtantinople, as if he had beene deſirous now to liue in peace, not meaning further harme: hoping thereby, that although he concluded no peace with any of them (which indeed he was not deſirous of) yet that tract of time might mittigat the hainouſnes of the fact, and coole the heat of their diſpleaſure; whereby it came to paſſe as he wiſhed, that nothing worth the ſpeaking of was that yere attempted againſt him: and becauſe the Perſian king was the man of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt, he ſought by his embaſſadors to pacifie him, and to withdraw him from the league of the Chriſtians: requeſting him, if it were for nothing els but for the communitie of the Mahometan religion, wherin they well agreed,
C and were thereby the profeſſed enemies of the Chriſtians, to withdraw his hand, and in their cauſe to ceaſe to take vp armes: vrging now (for that it ſo ſtood with his purpoſe) the zeale of religion; whereas otherwiſe he regarded (as was thought) no religion at all. But *Zenus* the Venetian embaſſadour lying continually in the Perſian court, ſo wrought the matter with *Vſun-Caſſanes*, that he told the Turks embaſſadours plainly, That he could not nor would not longer endure the manifeſt iniurie and wrong done vnto him by the Turkiſh king: and farther, that he had made a faithfull league with the Chriſtian princes, and therefore would to the vttermoſt of his power make it knowne vnto the world, that he would effectually performe what thing ſoeuer hee had promiſed: and ſo diſmiſſed them, now no leſſe diſcontented than were before the Perſian embaſſadours at ſuch time as they returned from the Turkes court, hauing obtained nothing they then requeſted concerning the Emperour of Trapezond.

D The yeare following, *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall with his fleet arriued in the Iſle of Lesbos, where he did great harme. From thence hee paſſed the bay of Adramittium into the leſſer Aſia, and ſore ſpoiled the countrey about Pergamus. After that he landed again at Cnidus vpon the coaſt of Caria, where he tooke a great bootie: and ſo hauing done the Turkes exceeding much harme in Aſia all alongſt the ſea coaſt oppoſite to Græcia, hee returned laden with ſpoile towards Peloponeſus. In his returne about the promontorie of Malea, vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus, he met with *Richaienſis* comming vnto him with 17 gallies from King *Ferdinand*: by whom he was certified, that the great Biſhops fleet was ready to come forth alſo. After mutuall gratulation, as the maner at ſea is, the Admirals ioyning their fleets in one,
E landed at Methone, now called Modon, then a citie of the Venetians in Peloponeſus: where after they had well refreſhed their ſouldiers, and taken in freſh victuals, they put to ſea againe; and ſailing through the Iſlands, landed in Aſia, where they were at their firſt landing encountered by the countrey Turks, whom at laſt they put to flight, and by the ſpace of foure dayes tooke what pillage they could in the countrey: where the ſouldiers found great ſtore of rich bootie, eſpecially of Turkie carpets, which are there made in great abundance. From thence they ſailed to Halicarnaſus, which is part of Caria (where ſometime ſtood the ſtately tombe which Queene *Artemeſia* built for her husband *Mauſolus*, accounted amongſt the wonders of the world) where they tooke a wonderfull ſpoile. There came vnto them *Nicholas* Biſhop of Modruſſa, with twentie gallies ſent from the great Biſhop: whom the other two Generalls
F welcomed with great ioy. At the ſame time alſo came thither two gallies from the great maſter of the Rhodes. With this fleet of eighteene gallies, they ſailed to the Iſle of Samos ouer againſt Epheſus (ſometime a place of great fame, but then altogether deſolate and vnpeopled) there to conſult for their further proceedings in thoſe warres. Looſing from Samos, they took their courſe alongſt the ſea coaſt of Aſia, and landed at Attalia, the chiefe city of

1472 *The Venetians aided by King Ferdinand, the Biſhop of Rome, and the great maſter of the Rhodes, annoy the Turkes great barme all alongſt the coaſt of the leſſer Aſia.*

of Pamphilia, a place of great traffique: where they found in the ſubburbes of the citie great G
ſtore of many rich commodities, brought thither out of Ægypt and Syria; whereof they took what pleaſed them, and burnt the reſt together with the ſubburbs. Vnto the citie it ſelfe they began to lay ſiege, but perceiuing that it was not without great loſſe of their men to be taken, they departed thence: & running all alongſt the coaſt of Pamphilia, burnt and deſtroied what came in their way, and ſo returned backe againe to Rhodes: where they met an Embaſſador from *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian King, to the Biſhop and the Venetians, for great ordnance; whereof that ſo mightie a Prince was altogether vnfurniſhed. Of this Embaſſadour they vnderſtood, that *Vſun Caſſanes* was entred into league with the Chriſtian Princes, and now buſie in making preparation againſt the Turke. At which time *Mahomet* requited the Venetians with no leſſe harme in Epirus and Dalmatia, than they had done to him in Aſia: for now that *Scanderbeg* was dead, the Turks mightily preuailed vpon the weake princes of Epirus and Albania, with the countries adioyning. The Chriſtian fleet departing from the Rhodes, landed in the country of the Myndians, a part of Caria, and with great ſpoile returned to the Iſland of H
Naxos, one of the Cyclades: from whence King *Ferdinand* his gallies returned home, laded with much rich ſpoile; for now the yeare was far ſpent. Yet after the departure of the Kings gallies, *Mocenicus* with the Legat returned backe againe into Aſia, and there landing their men tooke the famous citie of Smyrna in Ionia, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire. At which time alſo they did great harme about Clazomene, not farre from Smyrna. So Winter drawing now faſt on, they returned, laded with the rich ſpoiles of Aſia; the Legat into Italie, and *Mocenicus* into Methone.

1473 I
Mahomet no leſſe troubleſom vnto the Mahometane princes than to the Chriſtians.

The inſatiable deſire of Soueraigntie, whereunto the Turkiſh king was naturally inclined, had continually armed him, not onely againſt the Chriſtian princes, but againſt others alſo euen of his owne ſuperſtition: making no great difference betwixt the one and the other, if ſo he might extend his dominion. He had long before vnder the pretence of a friendly parley craftily circumuented the King of Myſia, a countrey in Aſia, and hauing got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, & by force ſubduing his kingdome, left not one of the kings bloud aliue. After that he inuaded Cilicia, which the Turks call Caramania, where the two young brethren, *Pyramet* and *Caſſambet* raigned, and draue them both out of Cilicia: of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Vſun-Caſſanes*; *Caſſambet* the younger aſſiſted by his old friends, ſought by force of armes to recouer againe his inheritance wrongfully by the Turkes K
poſſeſſed, and was beſieging certaine townes vpon the ſea coaſt, which being taken from the Turks would eaſily draw all the reſt of the kingdome after them. *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall being now with the firſt of the Spring come vpon the coaſt of Cilicia, at the requeſt of *Caſſambet*, landed certaine companies of his men vnder the leading of *Victor Superantius*, and certaine peeces of great artillerie, wherewith he ſo battered the wals of Sichinum, that he enforced the Turks therein to yeeld vp the citie: which he deliuered to *Caſſambet*. In like manner he tooke the citie of Corycus, which he alſo reſtored to *Caſſambet*. At laſt he laied ſiege to Seleucia, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer Orontes, and was built by King *Seleucus*, one of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the Great, diſtant from the ſea about fiue miles: the Gouernor of this city diſcouraged with the ſight of the great artillerie, deliuered the city to the Venetian cap- L
taine, who by the appointment of the Admirall reſtored the ſame to *Caſſambet*. Who by this meanes brought againe into his kingdome, gaue great thanks vnto the Admirall, promiſing both for himſelfe and for his brother to be alwaies frinds vnto the Venetians. *Mocenicus* departing from Cilicia, landed his men in Lycia, and harried that countrey alongſt the ſea coaſt. And this *Mocenicus* ſailed into Cyprus, to appeaſe a great inſurrection there raiſed againſt the Queene, who was by her husband at his death left to the protection of the Venetians: which rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadanus Grittus*, was by the decree of the Senat appointed Admirall, and alreadie come into Peloponeſus, he with as much ſpeed as he could haſted thither, to giue vp his charge, and ſo to returne home againe to Venice,

About this time the great Perſian King *Vſun-Caſſanes* began to make war vpon the Turkiſh M
emperor *Mahomet*, for the better vnderſtanding wherof, it ſhal not be from our purpoſe briefly to ſhew by what means this *Vſun-Caſſanes*, of a ſmall prince aſpired to the kingdome of Perſia, and ſo in ſhort time grew to that greatneſſe, that he was iuſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt monarchs of the world then liuing; as appeareth by theſe warres betwixt him and the great Turkiſh

A Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*. This *Vſun-Caſſanes* of whom we now ſpeake, was the ſonne of that *Tachretin*, who with other poore princes was driuen into exile by the violence of *Baiazet* the firſt, great grandfather to this *Mahomet* the great, Emperor of the Turks, and was againe reſtored by great *Tamerlane*, as is before declared in the life of *Baiazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*, his ſon *Vſun-Caſſanes* (of ſome called alſo *Aſymbeius*) obtained that ſmall territorie which his father had in Armenia: nothing anſwering vnto the greatneſſe of his conceits. Wherefore not contented with ſuch poſſeſſions as was from his father diſcended vnto him, he began to ſhoulder for more roome, with ſuch weake princes his neighbors as he thought he might beſt deale withall; wringing one prouince from this prince, another from that, and thruſting ſome others quite out of all that they had: and in ſhort time ſo inlarged his dominion, that he had
■ got into his hands a great part of Armenia, and was reputed both for a mightie and fortunate prince. Inſomuch that *Calo Ioannes*, then Emperor of Trapezond (whoſe power altogether anſwered not to the greatneſſe of his ſtile, being for moſt part ſhut vp within the bounds of Pontus, and fearing the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*, whoſe name began then to grow dreadfull vnto his neighbour princes) gaue to him his onely daughter *Deſpina* in marriage, by ſuch allyance to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the Turkiſh tyrant, if need ſhould require. At which marriage it was agreed, That *Vſun-Caſſanes* ſhould in the right of his wife enioy all the kingdome of Pontus, after the death of *Calo Ioannes* her father, and of *Dauid* his brother: and that *Deſpina* ſhould ſo long as ſhe liued haue the free exerciſe of her Chriſtian Religion. By this woman, *Vſun Caſſanes* had a daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for that ſhe was the mother of *Hyſmael*, afterwards the great king of Perſia, commonly called *Hyſ-*
C *mael the Sophy*; of whom more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the life of *Selymus*. *Vſun-Caſſanes* honoured with this marriage, and ſtrengthned with this new allyance, ceaſed not, after his wonted manner, daily to incroach vpon his neighbor Princes; and proceeded ſo far, that at length he began to lay hand vpon a part of Armenia, which was then part of the Dominion of the Perſian King. *Zenzes* (whom ſome call *Tzokies*, which was indeed the name of his father) raigning then in Perſia, by his Embaſſadors admoniſhed, and in ſort commanded *Vſun-Caſſanes* to hold himſelfe content with his owne, or at leaſt, with that he had alreadie wrongfully taken from others, & not to preſume to come within the bounds of his dominion, threatning otherwiſe to take him as an enemie to his ſtate, and to turne his forces vpon him. With which em-
D baſſage *Vſun-Caſſanes* being much offended, gaue the Embaſſadors no entertainment, but commanded them with ſpeed to get them out of his Kingdome, and to tell their Maſter, That he would ſhortly himſelfe in perſon come and debate the matter with him face to face. With which proud anſwer from ſo meane a prince the Perſian king moued, leuied ſuch an armie for the inuading of him, as was thought to haue beene ſufficient to haue ſubdued a farre greater prince: and ſo appointed, ſet forward toward Armenia. *Vſun-Caſſanes* much inferiour to this great king in wealth and number of men, but not in haughtines of mind, and valiantnes of courage, ſtayd not to expect the comming of ſo puiſſant an enemie, but full of hope ſet foward to meet him, and by great journeys ſought to come vpon him before he could haue any knowledge of his comming: yet had he then in his army ſcarcely one man to ten, but al armed with
E couragious hearts, and conducted by a moſt fortunat chiefetaine which feared nothing. So hoſding on his way, at length he met with the great army of the Perſians, with whom he preſently ioyned battell, and after a long and cruell fight ouerthrew them in the plaine field, with ſuch a ſlaughter as might well haue weakned the forces of a right great kingdome. The great king more inraged than diſcouraged with his ouerthrow, raiſed a far greater army than before, the verie ſtrength of his kingdome: reſoluing now, not to ſend any more his lieutenants, but to go in perſon himſelf againſt ſo deſperat an enemie. All things being in readineſſe, he ſet forward, and at length met with the Armenian prince, whom he found as ready to giue battel as he was at the firſt. So being both deſirous to trie their fortune, they ioyned battel; wherein the Per-
Vſun-Caſſanes a great battel ouerthroweth the king of Perſia.
F ſians were againe diſcomfited and put to flight, and mo of them ſlain in that battell, than were brought into the field in the firſt armie. *Zenzes* the Perſian king was there ſlain with *Vſun-Caſſanes* his owne hand, and *Cariaſaphus* his ſon taken priſoner: whom the Armenian prince vſed with the greateſt honor could be deuiſed, giuing vnto him the honor and title due to the Perſian king, taking to himſelfe the bare name of the protector of the Perſian ſtate. Which he did only to pleaſe the Perſians, and to keepe them quiet vntill he had got ſome more aſſured poſ-

Scodra, *Mocenicus* hauing receiued such commandment from the Senat, came and joined himselfe to *Grittus* the new Admirall, who then lay with his fleet in the mouth of Boliana, a great riuer running out of the lake whereupon the citie of Scodra standeth. These two great Commanders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderfull consent did what they might for the furtherance of the Common good, a thing not common: first they put strong garrisons, with all things necessarie, into Colchinum, Lyssa, Dirrhachium, and other cities of their seigniory vpon the sea coast. After that, they went vp the riuer Boliana with certaine gallies, and came within sight of Scodra, and there by fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the defendants, as with an assured promise of reliefe: which thing grieued the Turks to behold, who therefore went about to haue shut in those same with a great chaine drawne crosse the riuer, where it was narrowest betwixt them and but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their gallies slew 500 of the Turks diuers others, and so returned againe to sea. It was afterward attempted by the mirals, if a new supply might haue bin put into the citie: but the enemy had to bel that it was not possible to be done. In the mean time, *Mathias* king of H great yerely portion of the Venetians for the defence of their countrie ring that Scodra was besieged, began to make such spoyle in the Turks vpon him, that *Mahomet* was glad to call home the great Bassa from the fend his own frontiers. So the Bassa after he had lien three months with hi siege, and lost 14000 of his men, whereof the greatest part died of ing in the rotten moorish ground neere vnto the rose with his armie and departed. ne Venetians their gallies were rou

Matthias King of Hungary inforceth the Turkes to forsake the siege of Scodra.

home, and was shortl after for his good Duke being then dead With this dishonour taken at Scodra that he appointed yearely tee vnto one to put him in mind dayly

The same yeare that this great ma *Solyman* had in vaine be sent with a great armie into Valac where he was ordinarie conduct of *Geduce Achmetes* dreadful in all places where he came in hope to but tha

A ... considering ... wearily ... ne but of his stre ... on his guard, ... armie ... uantage: which thing the Turke fearing, durst ... abroad for the spoile of the countrey, leauing so strong a garrison of ... And therefore when they had gone about foure miles into ... their course vp into the mountaines (which are part of the Alpes) ... and there grieuously spoyled the mountainie people; strangely passing through those aforup ... high mountaines with their horses, where men could hardly either goe or stand on foot without somthing to stay vpon. And so when they had done what harme they could, taking a great compasse about, returned home another way.

B *Mahomet* remembring the shamefull repulse he had about foure yeres before receiued at Scodra, and hauing the name of that citie daily sounding in his eares, determined now once againe to gage his whole forces vpon the winning thereof, and so to giue peace to his ambitious desires. And because he would not againe be dishonored with that he purposed to take in hand, he gaue out order into al parts of his dominions, both in Europe and Asia, for the assembling of his best souldiers and men of war. Now when all things were in readinesse, and such an armie assembled as he seldome or neuer had a stronger; first he sent forth *Aly-Beg* (Warden of the frontiers of his kingdome alongst the riuer Danubius) with eightie thousand of the soldiers called Achanzij, towards Scodra. These Achanzij are horsemen, which for their good seruice, according to their deserts, haue certaine lands giuen them by the king to liue vpon during their liues; for which they are of dutie bound to serue vpon their owne charge, as the forerunners of the Turke his armie, whensoeuer he goeth to besiege any place: these be they which first enter into the enemies countrey, burning and spoiling what they can, vntill they come vnto the place appointed: and haue this priuiledge, That so soone as all the armie is come vnto the place to be besieged, they may then at their pleasure either depart or stay. 1479 *Vid Marinum Barletium de expug. Scodrensi.*

C The Gouernor of Scodra vnderstanding both by common fame and certaine intelligence, of the Turks designes, with all care and diligence fortified the towne, labouring continually both night and day at the rampiers, as if the enemie had been already present; and plentifully prouided all things necessary for the enduring of a long siege. The aged and vnnecessarie people, he sent out of the city into other places of more safetie farther off: in whose stead he tooke

D in great numbers of strong and able men which dwelt in the countrey round about: amongst whom were many mariners taken out of the gallies, and other men of like qualitie, which got their liuing vpon the riuer and lake of Scodra, lustie bodies enured to hardnesse, who in the long siege following did great seruice.

Whilest this preparation was making in Scodra, behold, the mountaines a far off Northward from the city, began to shine with many great fires, and all the country was couered with thicke smoake, which euerie houre seemed to draw neerer and neerer; when within short time after, the poore country people (which as yet were not all fled) with such trash as they could well carrie, came running for life all ouer the countrey to the strong cities vpon the sea side, crying out that the Turks were come. *The poore countrey people flie for feare of the Turks.*

E The next day, which was the fourteenth of May, *Aly-Beg* with his eightie thousand Achanzij, came into the suburbs of the citie, and there encamped; so that none could goe in or out of the gates: which was not the least part of his charge. To him, by the commandement of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* Gouernor of Bosna, and *Malcotius* with seuen thousand horsemen, ioined themselues vpon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Augustus*) that the maiestie of his countenance, with the resplendant beames issuing out of his eyes (as if it had been the rayes of the Sunne) were of such piercing brightnesse, that no man was able with immoued and fixed eye long to behold the same. These horsemen (the forerunners, as I said, of *Mahomets* great armie) the Christians much troubled, with often sallies and shot, out of the towne, and slew many of them with little or no losse vnto themselues.

F When *Aly-Beg* had thus lien before the citie ten dayes, came *Taut Gaiola* the great Bassa of Constantinople with fiue and twentie thousand souldiers, and about twelue thousand camels, for most part laden with metall in masse, for to make great Ordnance of, and other necessaries for the campe. The Bassaes great and stately Teat of purple colour, was pitched vpon the

Scodra, *Mocenicus* hauing receiued such commandment from the Senat, came and joined himselfe to *Grittus* the new Admirall, who then lay with his fleet in the mouth of Boliana, a great riuer running out of the lake whereupon the citie of Scodra standeth. These two great Commanders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderfull consent did what they might for the furtherance of the Common good, a thing not common: first they put strong garrisons, with all things necessarie, into Colchinum, Lyssa, Dirrhachium, and other cities of their seigniory vpon the sea coast. After that, they went vp the riuer Boliana with certaine gallies, and came within sight of Scodra, and there by fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the defendants, as with an assured promise of reliefe: which thing it grieued the Turks to behold, who therefore went about to haue shut in those same gallies with a great chaine drawne crosse the riuer, where it was narrowest betwixt them and the sea: but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their gallies slew 500 of the Turks, and wounded diuers others, and so returned againe to sea. It was afterward attempted by the aforesaid Admirals, if a new supply might haue bin put into the citie: but the enemy had so beset the same that it was not possible to be done. In the mean time, *Mathias* king of Hungarie (receiuing a great yerely portion of the Venetians for the defence of their countries against the Turk) hearing that Scodra was besieged, began to make such spoyle in the Turks dominions bordering vpon him, that *Mahomet* was glad to call home the great Bassa from the siege of Scodra, to defend his own frontiers. So the Bassa after he had lien three months with his great armie at the siege, and lost 14000 of his men, whereof the greatest part died of sickenesse taken by long lying in the rotten mooriſh ground neere vnto the riuer; by commandement from his Master, I rose with his armie and departed. The Venetians also, which lay all that while thereabout in their gallies, were toucht with the same contagion: *Triadanus Grittus* died thereof; & *Mocenicus* the other Admiral fell therof dangerously sicke, but being somwhat recouered, returned home, and was shortly after for his good seruice chosen Duke of Venice, *Marcellus* the old Duke being then dead. With this dishonour taken at Scodra *Mahomet* was so discontented, that he appointed a yearely fee vnto one, to put him in mind dayly of the siege of Scodra.

Mathias King of Hungary inforceth the Turkes to forsake the siege of Scodra.

The same yeare that this great Bassa *Solyman* had in vain besieged Scodra, he was afterward sent with a great armie into Valachia, where he was so intangled in the woods and fennes, by *Stephanus* the Vayuod, that he lost all his armie, and with much adoo escaped himselfe, by the wonderfull swiftnesse of a mare whereon he rid.

1476. The yeare following, which was the yere 1476, *Mahomet* sent out a great fleet to sea, vnder the conduct of *Geduces Achmetes*, his chiefe counsellor and man of war, (whose verie name was dreadful in all places where he came) in hope to haue by treason surprised the Island of Crete: but that plot was in good time by the Venetians perceiued, the traitors executed, and he of his purpose disappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpose for Crete, and sent the same *Achmetes* with his fleet into the Euxine (or as the Turks call it, the blacke sea) to besiege the rich citie of Caffa. This citie was in antient time called Theodosia, scituate in the country of Taurica Chersonesus, fast by the sea side, and had of long time bin in possession of the Genowaies, and was a place of exceeding great trade, vntill that this great Emperor *Mahomet* hauing taken Constantinople, and falling out with the Venetians, had by his strong castles built L vpon the straits of Hellespontus and Bosphorus, taken away both the traffique of merchants into those seas, and all possible meanes for the Genowaies to send succour to that citie: yet it is credibly reported, that one valiant captaine vndertooke to carrie his companie (in number not aboue one hundred and fiftie men) by land from Genoa to Caffa, not much lesse than two thousand miles, and worthily performed what he had vndertaken. *Achmetes* comming thither with his fleet, enclosed the citie both by sea and land: which diuided in it selfe by reason of the diuers disposition of the Inhabitants, being of diuers Nations, some Genowaies, some Greeks, some Armenians, but most Tartars, could not long hold out, but was in short time giuen vp to the Bassa, vpon condition, That the Genoway Merchants, who were there both M in number many, and exceeding rich, might in safetie depart thence with their wealth. Which promise the Bassa performed not; but when he was possessed of the citie, sent such as he thought good, to Constantinople, and commanded the rest vpon paine of death, not to depart thence, or to conuey away from thence any part of their substance. In short time after, the whole Countrey of Taurica Chersonesus yeelded vnto the Turkish obeisance. At which time

A time also the Tartar Princes, namely the Precopenses and Destenses, terrified with the greatnesse of the Turke, cowardly yeelded themselues as tributaries vnto him; euer since which time they haue liued a most seruile and troublesome life, subiect to euery command of the *Othoman* Emperor; for whom they haue done great seruice many times in their warres, against the Persians, the Polonians, the Hungarians, Transyluanians, and Germanes, as in the processe of this Historie well appeareth; and as the aforesaid nations their neighbors, with others also further off, haue euen of late to their great losse felt.

Although the Venetians had in these late warres lost the great and fertile Island of Euboea, with the strong citie of Chalcis, the surest harbour for their gallies; yet held they still diuers strong towns and commodious hauens by the sea coast, both within Peloponesus & without; 1477.
B as Methone, Corone, Tenarus, Naupactum, & others: which standing as it were in the bosome of his Empire, *Mahomet* sore longed after. And therefore to satisfie his ambitious desire, sent *Solyman* (the great Bassa of Europe) with a strong fleet into Peloponesus. Who entering the gulfe of Corinth, at his first comming layd siege to Naupactum, now called Lepanto, a citie standing in the gulfe of Corinth, in the countrey of Ozolæ neere vnto Locris, ouer against Peloponesus. *Antonius Lauretanus* (for his late good seruice done in defending of Scodra) made Admirall for the Venetians, came with speed to Naupactum, and in despight of the enemy so furnished the citie both with men and what soeuer else was needfull, that the Bassa now out of hope to win the citie, rose vpon the sudden with his armie, and in a great furie departed, after he had lien there foure moneths. In this fret returning towards Constantinople, he put cer-
C taine companies of his men to shore in the Island of Lemnos, in hope to haue vpon the sudden surprised the citie of Coccinum: but as they were about to haue entered, they were contrarie to their expectation, manfully resisted by such Christians as by chance were next the gate: where the notable courage of *Marulla* (a maiden of that Citie) was much commended; who seeing her father slaine in the gate, tooke vp the weapons that lay by him, and like a fierce Amazon notably reuenged his death, desperatly fighting in defence of her countrey, with those few which were there at the first; and so kept the Turks out, vntill the rest of the citizens (mooued with the alarme) came to the gate, and forced them, not without some losse, to retyre againe to their gallies. Not long after, *Lauretanus* came thither with his fleet: but before his comming, the Bassa was departed thence for Constantinople, hauing in this expedition done nothing that was expected at his hands.

D *Mahomet* after the death of *Scanderbeg* ceased not from time to time by one of his great captaines or other to inuade Epirus, and the other parts of Albania; and so gaining sometime one part, and sometime another, had subdued most part thereof. And about this time his army lay at the siege of Croia: for reliefe wherof, the Venetians (in whose protection it was) sent *Franciscus Contarenus*, a noble gentleman, their lieutenant, with such forces as were sufficient for the raising of the siege. He finding the Turks in the plaine of Tyranna, gaue them battell; which a great while stood doubtfull: at length victorie inclining to the Venetians, the Turks began to flie; after whom the Venetians made no great pursuit, but contented to haue put them to flight, tooke their tents, with such forts as they had raised against the citie. Thus whilest the
E Venetians thinke themselues in sure possession of the victory, & out of feare of their enemies, they were through their owne too much securitie, by and by themselues ouerthrowne: For whilst the common soldiers hauing their minds more set vpon the spoile, than vpon the pursuit of the enemie (the battel as yet scarce ended) scatter themselues, & the captains were consulting, whether they should lodge that night (which began then to approch) in the enemies tents, or not; in the middest of their consultation, the Turks hauing perceiued their disorder, suddenly returned againe vpon them, and without great resistance ouerthrew them, and put them to flight. In which flight a thousand of them fell, amongst whom *Contarenus* the Gene-
rall, and diuers others of good place and calling, were slaine also. This ouerthrow the Venetians tooke a great deale better than that which shortly after followed in the confines of Italie, at the riuer of Sontium.

Croia besieged by the Turke.

Contarenus the Venetian Generall slaine.

F *Mahomet* hauing conquered a great part of Albania, and dayly incroaching vpon the Christians, made diuers incursions into the countries of Dalmatia, Histria, and Carniola; yea, and sometimes went so far, that he and his Turks entred into the prouince of Friuli, called in antient time Forum Iulij, a part of the Venetian seigniorie, and so carried away with them many

prisoners, with much spoile. For remedie whereof, the Venetians with exceeding charge and wonderful labour fortified alongst the riuer of Sontium, from Goritia, to the tens of Aquilea, the space of twelue miles, and there built two Forts, wherein they continually kept strong garrisons for the defence of the country. Whereby the countrey people thinking themselues now in safetie, began to fall into securitie (the dangerous sickneſſe of all commonweales) neglecting by their carefull watch to foresee a farre off the enemies comming, as they had before vsed. It fortuned at this time, that *Asa-beg* (whom some call *Marbecke*) one of the Turks great captains, vpon the sudden when no such thing was feared, came and shewed himself in an euening vpon the further side of the riuer of Sontium, with 1000 horsemen: vpon the sight of whom, an alarme was raised in both forts, and euery man put himselfe in readinesse, as if they should euen presently haue ioyned battell: but it was so nigh night, as that nothing could as then be done; yet the Venetian garrisons ioyning themselues together, watcht all that night in arms. There was at that time in both these forts, 3000 horsemen, and some few companies of footmen, all vnder the command of *Hieronimus Nowel* Countie of Verona, a famous captain of that time: who with the rest of the captaines resolued if they could, to keepe the Turkes from passing the riuer; if not, then to giue them battel. *Marbecke* Generall of the Turks armie, taking good view of the place, in the night time secretly conueyed a thousand of his best soldiers ouer the riuer, foure miles off, in such a place as the Venetians feared least, deeming it impossible for any man, there to haue passed ouer. These men he appointed to lie close in ambush behind a great hil, in sight, not far from the other side of the riuer, and vpon a signe giuen, presently to discouer themselues and charge the enemie. The next morning verie early, he sent certaine troups of his readiest horsmen ouer the riuer, which by offering to skirmish with the Venetians, might draw them into the field; and then as men in doubt whether to fight or to flie, to tole them on to the place where the ambush lay. The Venetians had diuided themselues into three battalions; whereof the Generall himselfe had the leading of the first, who seeing these disordred troups comming to skirmish with him, encountred them fiercely, and easily put them to flight (being so determined before) & in that flight earnestly pursued them; especially the Counties son, a valiant yong gentleman, who with others like himselfe, thought by that dayes good seruice to gaine vnto themselues great honour. When the Turks General saw that the Venetians following the chase, were gone a great way from the riuer, he forthwith passed ouer with the rest of his armie, and followed the Venetians at the heeles: which the Turks which before fled, now beholding, turned againe vpon their fierce enemies, and valiantly withstood them. At which very instant the other Turks vpon signe giuen arising out of ambush, came downe from the hill Licinis, with such violence and clamour, that the Venetians therewith discouraged, would haue fled if they could haue told which way: but they were on euery side so beset, that there was no way left for them to escape; but were there all slaine, except some few which yeelded themselues, and so were saued. The other two battalions of the Venetians, discouraged with the slaughter of the first, fled incontinently, and in flying were many of them slaine. In this battell the Countie himselfe, with his sonne, and many other notable gentlemen, and halfe the horsemen, were lost. The Turks incouraged with this victorie, the next day spoyled all the country of Friuli, betwixt the riuers of Sontium, (otherwise called Lisonzo) and Tiliauentum, and cruelly burnt all the country before them; so that at once 100 country vilages were to be seen on a light fire together, which stood so thick, that it seemed as if one continuall fire had wholly couered all the face of the country. The barbarous Turks laden with the spoile of that rich country, and driuing before them great numbers of miserable captiues, as if they had bin flocks of sheepe, returned to Sontium. But when they had passed the riuer, and had trauelled homeward one days journey, and all men thought they had now bin quite gone, they suddenly returned backe again, and posting thorow the country they had before spoyled, came to the riuer of Tiliauentū, which they desperatly passed, & did no lesse harme on that side the riuer, than they had before on the other: and so carrying away with them what they pleased, returned by the same way they came, hauing filled all that part of Italy with terror and feare. This ouerthrow of Sontium the Venetians account amongst the greatest losses which they receiued from the Turks in all these their long warres.

The Turks shew themselues at the riuer of Sontium.

The country of Friuli spoyled by the Turkes.

1478. The next yeare about Harueſt the Turks came againe with a farre greater power: and passing the riuer of Sontium, came before the Forts of Gradisca, where *Carolus Fortebrachius* lay

A lay with a strong garrison of the Venetians, offering him skirmish, so to haue drawne him into the field. But the wary captaine considering the great strength of the enemie, and the losse receiued the yeare before, would not be drawne out of his strength, but stood vpon his guard, expecting to take the enemie at some more aduantage: which thing the Turks fearing, durst not disperse themselues abroad for the spoile of the countrey, leauing so strong a garrison of the enemies behinde them. And therefore when they had gone about foure miles into the countrey, they turned their course vp into the mountaines (which are part of the Alpes) towards Germanie, and there grieuously spoyled the mountainie people; strangely passing through those abrupt and high mountaines with their horses, where men could hardly either goe or stand on foot without somthing to stay vpon. And so when they had done what harme they could, taking a great compasse about, returned home another way.

B *Mahomet* remembring the shamefull repulse he had about foure yeres before receiued at Scodra, and hauing the name of that citie daily sounding in his eares, determined now once againe to gage his whole forces vpon the winning thereof, and so to giue peace to his ambitious desires. And because he would not againe be dishonored with that he purposed to take in hand, he gaue out order into al parts of his dominions, both in Europe and Asia, for the assembling of his best souldiers and men of war. Now when all things were in readinesse, and such an armie assembled as he seldome or neuer had a stronger; first he sent forth *Aly-Beg* (Warden of the frontiers of his kingdome alongst the riuer Danubius) with eightie thousand of the soldiers called Achanzij, towards Scodra. These Achanzij are horsemen, which for their good seruice, according to their deserts, haue certaine lands giuen them by the king to liue vpon during their liues; for which they are of dutie bound to serue vpon their owne charge, as the forerunners of the Turke his armie, whensoeuer he goeth to besiege any place: these be they which first enter into the enemies countrey, burning and spoiling what they can, vntill they come vnto the place appointed: and haue this priuiledge, That so soone as all the armie is come vnto the place to be besieged, they may then at their pleasure either depart or stay. 1479

Vid Matinum Barletium de expug. Scodrensi.

C The Gouernor of Scodra vnderstanding both by common fame and certaine intelligence, of the Turks designes, with all care and diligence fortified the towne, labouring continually both night and day at the rampiers, as if the enemie had been already present; and plentifully prouided all things necessary for the enduring of a long siege. The aged and vnnecessarie people, he sent out of the city into other places of more safetie farther off: in whose stead he tooke

D in great numbers of strong and able men which dwelt in the countrey round about: amongst whom were many mariners taken out of the gallies, and other men of like qualitie, which got their liuing vpon the riuer and lake of Scodra, lustie bodies enured to hardnesse, who in the long siege following did great seruice.

Whilest this preparation was making in Scodra, behold, the mountaines a far off Northward from the city, began to shine with many great fires, and all the country was couered with thicke smoake, which euerie houre seemed to draw neerer and neerer; when, within short time after, the poore country people (which as yet were not all fled) with such trash as they could well carrie, came running for life all ouer the countrey to the strong cities vpon the sea side,

E crying out that the Turks were come.

The next day, which was the fourteenth of May, *Aly-Beg* with his eightie thousand Achanzij, came into the suburbs of the citie, and there encamped; so that none could goe in or out of the gates: which was not the least part of his charge. To him, by the commandement of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* Gouernor of Bosna, and *Malcotius* with seuen thousand horsemen, ioined themselues vpon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Augustus*) that the maiestie of his countenance, with the resplendant beames issuing out of his eyes (as if it had been the rayes of the Sunne) were of such piercing brightnesse, that no man was able with immoued and fixed eye long to behold the same. These horsemen (the forerunners, as I said, of *Mahomets* great armie) the Christians much troubled, with often sallies and shot, out of the towne, and slew many of them with little or no losse vnto themselues.

The poore country people flie for feare of the Turks.

F When *Aly-Beg* had thus lien before the citie ten dayes, came *Taut Gaiela* the great Bassa of Constantinople with fiue and twentie thousand souldiers, and about twelue thousand camels, for most part laden with metall in masse, for to make great Ordnance of, and other necessaries for the campe. The Bassaes great and stately Tent of purple colour, was pitched vpon the

the top of an high hil called the Baſſaes hill, becauſe in that place *Selyman Baſſa* had lien in the former ſiege about foure yeares before: the Baſſaes armie lay encamped betwixt the ſame hill and the towne. This *Tanr Gaiola* was borne in Epirus of baſe parentage, and was from thence by the Turks carried away young to Conſtantinople; where for his ſharpneſſe of wit and rare actiuitie, he grew into ſuch fauour, firſt with *Mahomet*, and afterward with *Baiazet* his ſonne, that he was by them promoted to the greateſt places of honor, next vnto themſelues: wherein he became ſo popular, and had ſo poſſeſſed the hearts of the people, that it was ſuſpected of ſome, he would haue aſpired to the Turkiſh empire himſelfe. Preſently after the comming of this great Baſſa, workmen were ſet a worke about the caſting of the great ordnance, and making readie of other things for the ſiege. The Chriſtians alſo were no leſſe buſie about their fortifications, the Gouernor appointing vnto euery man his charge, and which part of the wal to defend: yet keeping continually in the maket place certaine companies (with the enſignes of S. *Marke*, and S. *Stephen*) to ſerue as freſh ſupplies, as need or occaſion ſhould require. Whilſt the great ordnance was in caſting, the Baſſa caſued a great bridge of timber to be made ouer the riuer, that ſo he might at his pleaſure paſſe ouer his men, and command both ſides of the riuer. The Chriſtians in the meane time with vigilant eye ſo attending the Turks, that none of them could ſtirre within ſhot, but he was forthwith ſet off and ſlaine.

The thirteenth of Iune, *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of Aſia (commonly called the great Baſſa of Natolia) came alſo in great pompe to the ſiege with thirtie thouſand ſouldiers brought out of Aſia; perſonable men, but not accounted ſo good ſouldiers as they of Europe: for it is a common ſaying among the Turks, That the men of Europe, and the horſes of Aſia doe beſt ſeruice. This great Baſſa was honorably met and welcomed by the other great Baſſa of Conſtantinople, and was quartered vpon another ſide of the citie, where his rich pauillion (all of Greene) was pitcht in a vineyard about a mile from the towne. *Muſtapha* to proue the courage of his ſouldiers, propounded a reward to which ſoeuer of them, as durſt aduenture but to goe and touch the wals of the citie: vpon which occaſion, two of his ſouldiers paſſing well mounted, attempted to haue performed that enterpriſe. But making what haſt they could poſſibly, they were both ſlaine from the wall, and one of their bodies recouered by certaine valiant ſouldiers which ſallied out of the towne, and his head being cut off, was vpon a launce ſet vpon the wals for the Turks to behold.

Two of the Turks attempt to touch the wals of Scodra, are both ſlaine, and one of their heads ſet vp vpon the wal.

The fifteenth of Iune, 5600 Ianizaries came into the campe, with foure white enſignes: at whoſe comming all the ſouldiers of both the Baſſaes camps gaue a wonderfull ſhout, & welcomed them with great ioy. Theſe are the great Turks guard and beſt ſouldiers, in whom the greateſt ſtrength of his kingdome conſiſteth, and are called the ſons of the great Sultan. After whoſe comming *Mahomet* himſelfe was daily expected. Three dayes after, came two other great men, attended vpon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reuerance done vnto them by the reſt of the Turks, ſeemed to be men of great place and authoritie: theſe men deſired, that they might with ſafetie ſpeake with the Gouernour of the citie, and the reſt of the captaines, to deliuer vnto them ſuch a meſſage, as they had for their good (as they ſaid) brought vnto them from *Mahomet*. Which their requeſt being granted, the elder of them, after he had with many glorious words ſet forth the power of his maſter, and what he had done to other great cities, with their Princes; and further ſhewed into what danger they were like to fall, if they ſhould long ſtand vpon their defence: he began to perſuade them to yeeld vp the citie, aſſuring them of all kind vſage, with many rich rewards from the great Emperor; whereas otherwiſe, they were to expect nothing but extreme miſerie & moſt ſhamefull death. Whereunto anſwer was in the name of them all giuen by the mouth of *Petrus Pagnanus*, a graue and worthie citizen, That they were not afraid of the greatnes of *Mahomet*, or of any thing hee had done, or could doe: and that he ſhould find it hard to inforce them, but impoſſible to perſuade them to deliuer their citie: and therefore that he might at his pleaſure vſe his forces againſt men fully reſolued rather to yeeld vnto nature her laſt due, than to hearken to any compoſition: and in concluſion told them, that if they ſhould at any time after make any ſuch motion, they ſhould not expect any other anſwer than from the mouth of the Cannon. With which ſhort anſwer theſe great men departed, not a little diſcontented.

At this ſame time the ſtrong city of Croia (which the worthy *Scanderbeg* had liuing ſo honorably defended, and dying had left it with his kingdome, in the protection and poſſeſſion of the

the Venetians) hauing holden out a yeares ſiege, after that all the kingdome of Epirus and moſt part of Albania was loſt, for lacke of victuals was yeelded vp vnto the Turke, vpon condition, That the hungerſtarued defendants (who then ſeemed rather ghoſts than men) might at their pleaſure in ſafetie depart: which agreement the faithleſſe Turke brake and without mercie put them al to the ſword. This heauy news was deliuered to them of Scodra by certain Chriſtians in the Turks campe: wherwith they were much grieued, but nothing at all diſcouraged.

Whiles the Turks thus lay at the ſiege, the watermen, of whom a great number liued vpon the great lake of Scodra (being in circuit about one hundred miles) came many times downe the riuer by night, and did much harme in the Turks campe: for remedie whereof, they were inforced to build certaine ſmall gallies to keepe them in, who for all that, many times ſtole ſecretly vpon them, and much troubled them.

The two and twentieth of Iune, the Turks mounted two great peeces of ordance vpon the top of the hill whereon the Baſſa lay; whereof the one carried a bullet, made of an hard kind of round ſtone, of three hundred pound weight, and the other a bullet of foure hundred, wherewith they began to batter the towne foure daies: after that, they placed a third peece of artillerie at the foot of the ſame hil; which deliuered a bullet of foure hundred pound weight: and the next day they planted a fourth peece, greater than the reſt, about the middle of the ſame hill; which carried a ſhot of ſix hundred and fiftie pound weight. In this while, eight thouſand of the Turks ſoldiers, called Aſapi (which are knowne from the Ianizaries by their red caps, whereas the Ianizaries weare white) came into the campe. And ſhortly after came *Mahomet* himſelfe with all his armie to the riuer of Drimon, whither the two great Baſſaes of Aſia and Conſtantinople went with great pompe and triumph to meet him.

Mahomet in perſon himſelfe commeth vnto the ſiege of Scodra.

The order of Mahomets campe.

The ſecond of Iuly, *Mahomet* with all his armie before the riſing of the Sun came to the campe before Scodra: where after he had well viewed the ſcituation thereof, he is reported to haue ſaid, *O what a faire and ſtately place hath the Eagle choſen out for her ſelfe to build her neaſt, and to hatch her young ones in.* Diuers rich pauillions were ſet vp for *Mahomet* himſelfe, but one far greater than the reſt, diſtant from them about a flight ſhoot, which was the place wherin he held his counſell; the other were for his one priuat vſe. Round about theſe his tents, lay the Ianizaries incamped, a good diſtance off; yet ſo cloſe one to another, as if it had bin a perpetuall rampire or ſtrong trench, wherinto was but one entrance, continually guarded with a moſt ſtrong guard. Round about the Ianizaries lay all the reſt of the armie encamped: ſo that al the countrie as farre as a man could ſee was couered, and white with tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is couered ouer with a deepe ſnow: and ſtill more people reſorted to the campe daily; ſo that it was deemed by men of great experience, that *Mahomet* had then in his armie of al ſorts of people, about 350000 men, al gaping to deuoure that poore city: a ſight of it ſelfe ſufficient to haue daunted the courage of right valiant men: but what can be terrible to them that feare not to die? Againſt this terror of the enemie, the defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable perſuaſions and exhortations of one *Bartholomeus*, a preacher, (ſometimes one of the worthie *Scanderbegs* ſouldiers) who afterwards giuing himſelfe to the ſtudie of diuinitie, became a zealous preacher, and in this ſiege did notably comfort the Chriſtian defendants againſt the terror of ſo great an armie of miſcreants. All this while the batterie was ſtil maintained; and the fifth of Iuly the Turks mounted two other great peeces, whereof the one was like vnto the former before mounted, but the other placed vpon the middle of the Baſſaes mount, was of an incredible greatneſſe, diſcharging a ſhot of twelue hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes peece, in whoſe name it was with much cunning and induſtrie made: with which huge peece, the Turks euen from the beginning of the ſiege had threatned the beſieged, willing them to expect the comming of the Princes Peece. The next day they planted vpon the ſame mount a ſeuenth peece, which carried a ſhot of fiue hundred and fiftie pound weight: from which time they battered the citie with the aforeſaid ſeuen great peeces, and ceaſed not oftentimes by night out of their great mortar peeces, to caſt great bals of wild fire into the city, ſo to haue ſet it on fire: wherby diuers of the citizens were inforced to vncouer their houſes couered with ſhingle, & by men appointed for that purpoſe, to watch the fal of ſuch fireworks, & ſo to quench the ſame: which they ſo carefully looked to, as that the deuiſe of the enemy tooke no effect at all. At the ſame time alſo the Turks out of their ſhort mortar peeces, caſt huge great ſtones of incredible weight, which falling from hie, did moſt

most terribly crush in peeces whatsoeuer thing they light vpon, wherewith the defendants were wonderfully troubled. In few daies after, the enemie mounted three other great peeces, whereof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and carried a bullet of thirteen hundred weight: from which time they daily battered the citie with ten such peeces, as the like hath seldome times beene heard of: and the arrowes fell so thicke into the citie, as if it had bin continuall showers of haile, so that no man could goe or well stirre in the streets without hurt. Yet in the midst of all these dangers the Christians valiantly defended the city, and with their deadly shot from the wals and mounts exceedingly annoyed the enemie. The eleuenth of Iuly the Turks mounted another great peece like vnto the former, vpon the Bassa's mount, and the same day battered the wals with a hundred seuentie eight shot of this huge artillery.

Mahomet hauing by the furie of his great ordnance, beaten downe a great part of the wall, and that now nothing stood in his way but such simple repaires as the defendants had made of timber & planks, with earth cast in betwixt, was in good hope in short time to become master of the towne: and therefore sent certaine companies of his Ianizaries and other soldiers (which he with continuall supplies of fresh men stil relieued) to assault the breaches, so if it were possible to enter the town, or at least wise to burn such fortifications of timber as the defendants had made. But that which seemed vnto him at first so easie, he found in execution ful of difficultie & danger: for the Turks approching the breach, found there resolute men, a surer defence than any wall: whose valiant courage serued in stead of a strong bulwarke. So whilst the Turks desperatly striue in the face of the breach either to enter or to set fire vpon the new fortifications made for most part of timber, and the defendants with no lesse resolution doe what they may to the vtmost to repulse them, many were on both sides slain, but especially of the assailants. Which *Mahomet* wel perceiuing, & that by that manner of assault he gained nothing but notable losse & spoile of his best men, caused a retreat to be sounded, & his battery to be again forthwith renewed; euery day shaking the wal with 160 or 180 most terrible great shot, and one day with 194, the greatest batterie that he made in one day during that siege.

After this great batterie, the tyrant caused a fresh assault to be giuen, but with little or rather worse successe than before: for though diuers of the defendants, and among them, some of good place, as *Franciscus Patauinus*, *Franciscus Scorbaro*, two Italian captains, and some other of the better sort of the citizens were there slaine with the great shot, whereof the enemie that day discharged into the breaches 193, yet were they with greater losse enforced againe to retire, and with shame to giue ouer the assault.

Notwithstanding this repulse, *Mahomet* continuing his batterie with no lesse furie than before, still sought by force of his artillerie to open a way into the citie: and the third day after the former assault, gaue a more furious and desperate attempt vnto the citie than before, insomuch that the Turks were in the breaches come to handy strokes with the Christians, and there made a most cruell and deadly fight; wherein many fell on both sides, but of the Turks most; yet were there many of the Christians also slaine, especially with the Turks great ordnance. It was a right ruthfull sight to haue seene the rampiers at the great gate of the citie beaten downe flat to the ground, and to lie full of the rent bodies of the Christians: at which place the enemie so preuailed, that he was euen now readie to haue entered, for the Turks so furiously assailed the defendants, and the murthring shot from the Bassaes mount fell so thicke and so terribly into the breach, beside the infinit number of arrowes, that there was scarce any of the Christians which defended that place, but they were either slaine or grieuously wounded. But when all seemed now almost desperat and forlorne, and the greedie enemie euen readie to deuoure his prey, a new supplie of lustie souldiers well armed, came couragiously to the breach, and as Lyons encountering the enemie, draue him dowue againe, and so enforced him with great losse to retire. *Mahomet* grieued with this repulse, in his furie caused 173 great shot to be discharged into the citie, and afterwards sending for his great Bassaes and other his principall men of war, declared vnto them his mind, as followeth:

Mahomet purposing to giue a general assault, encourageth his captaines and souldiers thereunto.

I thinke none of you are ignorant (right worthie souldiers) that now it is the third moneth since this citie hath by vs beene most straitly besieged, and with all manner of Artillerie and engines of warre impugned, assaulted, and on euery side assailed, the wals thereof vtterly subuerted, and the bulwarkes layed flat with the ground, and (as you see) as euen as may be raised: besides that, so oft as wee haue set fire vpon

vpon their fortresses, so often we haue prouoked them of Scodra to fight, and haue also much vexed them with assaults. Last of all, as you know, we haue left nothing vnproued, nothing vnattempted, which could be deuised, the easilier to ouercome them, being wearied, worne out, and their strength spent. Wherefore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but euen to morrow before the enemie can recouer his strength or repaire his breaches, let vs enclose the citie round, and giue them a generall and terrible assault: and therefore euery one of you make your selues readie, and exhort your souldiers in the campe, that they euery one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and well appointed for the winning of the citie. Now will I proue and know them that are worthie of my pay. Thou the Bassa of Constantinople, with thy squadrons and certaine companies of the Ianizaries our faithfull guard, giue charge vnto the breach: in the meane time, let the Bassa of Asia with his power assault the other parts of the citie: let euery man make readie and bring with him what so is needfull for this generall assault; my mind giueth me, that to morrow before this time we shall winne the citie: for who is there can resist vs? The towne (as you see) is bared both of wall and of all other defence: the bulwarkes and ditches are laied euen, and an easie way for vs to come vnto it: the citizens themselues wearie with so many fights and assaults faint and want strength; whereas we are still fresh and lustie: they in number few, we almost innumerable: besides that, we farre passe them in the force of our artillerie, wherewith many of them shall perish in the defending of the breaches. Who then can gainesay, but that they of Scodra are alreadie our prisoners? Where, vpon such as remaine alme, I will at my pleasure vse the law of armes and captiuitie. On therefore courageous hearts without further delay. Is not the very name of Scodra hatefull vnto vs? For which of you doth not with great disdaine call to remembrance the death of your parents, or brethren, or friends, or companions, cruelly slaine vnder these wals? Can you digest your hatred against them of Scodra? And so many slaughters of your friends, by them made? But to forget elder times, and the harmes receiued from them long since, let vs but looke vpon our late slaughters and wounds as it were yet bleeding: it is not yet full foure yeares since that we made warre with these men of Scodra, wherein so many thousands of our people fell, that their slaughter is yet almost obiects before our eyes, and their bloud craueth reuenge. This very hill whereon we stand, and the stones yet seeme besprinckled and polluted with their bloud. Wherefore haste you as men of courage: Take vp armes, valiantly mount the hill, assault the towne, and reuenge your old iniuries. Glut your selues to the full in the effusion of the Christian bloud whereunto our lawes doe so much exhort vs, and doe what you may with force and sword, that not one of them of Scodra may bee left aliue: which you may easily bring to passe, hauing all things thereunto needfull: for there is nothing to withstand you, nothing wanting for the gaining of the victorie. All things are prepared, all things are readie: an easie matter it is for a strong man to ouercome the weake and feeble, that wanteth strength as doe they.

This speech of the barbarous tyrant, was receiued with great applause & good liking of the hearers: and now was Scodra to be with all might & maine assaulted, and not a man there left aliue. Hereupon proclamation was made throughout the campe, That euery man vpon paine of death should be readie against the appointed time: and the great captains and commanders of the armie departing from *Mahomet*, went vp to the top of the hil wheron the Bassa lay, and from thence taking view of the citie, and laying their heads together, consulted how they might best giue the assault. The defendants on the other side alwaies expecting their enemies houering ouer their heads, left nothing vndon that they could possibly deuise, for the defence of themselues & the citie. Now vpon the top of the Bassaes mount, was a royal pauillion erected, richly couered with purple, from whence the proud tyrant might plainly behold all the assault. who with the dawning of the day (being the 22 of Iuly) entering the same, the Turkes who in the couert of the night had conueied themselues, as neere vnto the wals as they could vpon the signall of battell giuen by a tire of ordnance discharged from the Bassaes mount, suddenly ran to the breaches as thicke as bees, in hope by their sudden approch to haue taken the Christians at some aduantage, wherin they were much deceiued. For they alwayes doubting such a matter, & carefully obseruing the least motion of the enemie, were alwaies in readines to meet with their attempts: so that the Turks desperatly striuing to gain the breaches, and the Christians valiantly defending the same, there was in diuers places begun a most cruell and mortall fight: but especially neere vnto the great gate, where the furie of the cannon had made the wals most faultable. There the enemie was come to fight hand to hand, and preuailing

The citie of Scodra assaulted by the Turks the fourth time.

uailing vpon the defendants, had set vp one of the Turks ensignes vpon the top of the rampiers; which *Mahomet* beholding, reioyced exceedingly, thinking the citie now as good as taken. But the Christians seeing the danger, speedily repaired thither with new supplies, and by plaine force draue the enemie out again, & beat him from the rampiers. Vpon them also that were comming vp, they cast downe peeces of timber, great stones, wildfire, pots of lime, and such other things as might most annoy them: as for shot, none fell in vaine by reason of the wonderfull multitude of the Turkes, who stood so thicke, that a man could hardly haue cast down a graine of mustard seed from the wall but it must needs haue light vpon some of them: by which means the Turks were notably repulsed, their ensigne pluckt down, and they enforced to retire from the wals. Which sudden alteration *Mahomet* perceiuing, fell into a great rage, and forthwith commanded his great ordnance, with greater fury than euer, to be discharged into the breach: and with great words commanded the two chiefe Bassaes which stood by him vpon the mount, to goe presently downe and enforce the soldiers which were alreadie retired, to returne again vnto the assault. These great commanders seeing the tyrant in such a fret, forthwith descended from the hill, and where persuasion would not serue, with their drawne swords enforced the soldiers to returne backe againe to the assault. The Turks knowing that they were now in the eye of their king, and in the presence of their greatest commanders, striue with might and maine to win the rampiers: for in that place, the wals of the citie were beaten downe to the ground, shaken before this assault with 2539 shot of the cannon or other peeces of no lesse force. The Christians likewise in defence of themselues and their citie, with inuincible courage opposed themselues against the Turks: so that a more desperat fight than there, was hardly euer to be seen; desperat men with desperat band assailing one another: and the more to increase the terror of the day, the thundering shot, with the clamor of men, and noise of the instruments of warre, was so great, as if heauen and earth should haue presently fallen together; and arrowes falling into the citie as if it had bin showers of rain, oftentimes darkened the light of the day. In this dreadfull fight, many of the defendants were slain; but of the Turks, twenty to one. Neere vnto that gate where this terrible assault was giuen, were certaine loupes hewen out of the maine rocke, which flanked the ditch all alongst that side of the citie, out of which the Christians with their murthering shot made lanes amongst their enemies, and slew them without number. For all that, the mightie Bassaes and great captains, one while by persuasion, another while by threatning, forced them still forward, and if any turned backe, presently slew him: so that the Turks seeing no lesse danger in retiring than in fighting against the enemie, like desperat men thrust forward by heapes, and were slaine without number. Yet still pressing on so long as life lasted, and others stepping forward in stead of them that were slaine, they began againe to preuaile vpon the defendants (who in that place were for most part either slaine or hurt) and againe recouered the top of the rampiers, and there aduanced the Turks ensignes. Then began the tyrant to lift vp his head, making sure account that the city was now his owne. But as the common saying is, He that reckoneth without his hoast, must reckon twise, so chanced it to *Mahomet*. For the companies, from the beginning of the siege left in the market place readie for all euents, & oftentimes wishing for some occasion wherein to shew themselues, being now in good time aduertised of the imminent danger, came with speed to the place of the assault before the Turks had taken good footing; and there valiantly encountring them, slew a great number of them, and forced the rest from the rampiers; and plucking downe their ensignes before set vp, in stead of them placed their owne. With which repulse the Turks were so dismaied, that they quite forsooke the assault, and in despight of their imperious commanders, not expecting any signe of retrait, in hast retired to their campe. *Mahomet* fallen from so great an hope, and grieued aboue measure with this shamefull repulse, returned into his pauillion fretting & fuming as a man halfe mad, where two daies he tormented himself with his own passions, not admitting any man to his presence. The Christians afterwards tooke the spoile of the dead Turks, and cutting off diuers of their heads, set them vp vpon poles round about the citie, to the terrour of their fellowes. In this assault were 12000 of the Turkes slaine, and many moe wounded. Of the Christians were lost 400: and of them that came to the breach escaped none, but he was wounded more or lesse.

A most terrible assault.

Twelue thousand Turkes slaine in the last assault.

After that *Mahomet* had two daies digested the last repulse, the shame wherof grieued him more than the losse it selfe; hee sent for both the great Bassaes of Constantinople and Asia, and

A and other two of his chiefe Counsellors, with whom he resolued to giue another assault, and thereon to gage his whole forces: for they were all of opinion with him, That the defendants were so weakned & wasted with the former assault, that they could not possibly hold out another. Whereupon straight commandment was giuen thorow the campe, that euery man without exception should be readie to go to the assault whensoeuer they were called vpon: & the more to incourage the soldiers, great rewards and preferments were promised to them which in time of the assault should performe any especiall piece of seruice. The first appearance of the new Moone (which the Turks worship with great deuotion) was the time that *Mahomet* had appointed for this generall assault: in the mean time he spared not to poure out his furie against the walls and rampiers of the town, by the mouth of the canon. The Christian defendants on the other side, first by heartie prayer commended themselues and their Citie to the protection of the Almightie, and afterwards with restlesse labour and no small perill, speedily repaired and new fortified whatsoeuer the furie of the artillerie had ouerthrowne or shaken; omitting nothing that could be done or deuised for the defence of themselues and their citie. Now as soon as the new moon began to shew her selfe, the Mahometan priests going about the armie, gaue the soldiers knowledge thereof (as their manner is) by singing of a song in manner of a procession; whereunto the whole armie answered with a short responde, but with such a terrible noise as was wonderfull to heare; and at the same time bowing themselues to the ground, salured the Moon with great superstition. All their fond ceremonies performed, they began to draw nigh the citie so thicke, and in number so many, that all the ground for the space of a mile round about Scodra, was thicke coueted with men. The Christians expecting euerie houre to be assailed, were readie vpon the walls and rampiers of the citie, to repulse the enemie: but especially at the great gate where most danger was feared, for that the Turkes with their great Ordnance had made that place of all others most faultable. Here *Iacobus Moneta* a noble captain, with his brother *Moncinus* a valiant gentleman, tooke vpon them to receiue the first assault, which is commonly of all others most terrible: for the Turks vse in their assults to giue three attempts, whereof the first is most furious and dangerous, as performed by their best soldiers: the other two are of lesse force; but if they faile in all three, they forsake the enterprise as men discouraged. Whilest both the assailants and the defendants stood thus in readines, the one as it were facing the other a great part of the night, *Mahomet* before day went vp to the top of the Bassa's mount, from whence he had before beholden the former assault: at whose comming there were presently 11 canons discharged, and 12 smaller Pieces (the signal appointed for the assault.) The Turks vpon this signe giuen, with exceeding tumult & most hideous outcrie (as their manner is) began to assaile the citie round, and with such wonderful agilitie of bodie and courage mounted the rampiers at the great gate, that they had there as it were in a trice set vp one of their ensignes, which was forthwith pluckt vp by *Moneta*, & the Turks with great slaughter driuen down, where many of them were slain with stones, timber, fire, & such other things cast down vpon them; beside a great number slain or wounded with shot, arrows, and darts, whereof none fel to the ground in vain, by reason that the Turks stood so thicke, that they violently pressed one another forward, in such sort that the formost could by no meanes shun any danger, were it neuer so great or terrible. In this sort the assault was with great slaughter of the Turks continued vntil it was day; they striuing to win the breach, and the Christians most valiantly defending the same. *Moneta* himself in this fight receiued diuers wounds, and was twice beaten down to the ground; yet still recouering himself, incouraged his soldiers, and worthily repulsed the enemie. *Mahomet* seeing his souldiers beaten from the breach, caused a tyre of his great ordnance to be discharged vpon the Christians which stood therein thicke for the defence thereof, by force whereof many of them were rent in pieces, and the rest sore dismayd: which the Turkes quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged, came on again with a fresh charge, forcing themselues to the vtmost to haue entred. But the valiant captain nothing discouraged either with the losse of them that were slaine, or the danger of himselfe, valiantly withstood the furious enemy, & maintained the place till new supplies came to relieue him, and departed not thence, nor suffered any man to depart, til the assault was ended. Many were slain on both sides; yet nothing troubled the defendants so much as the great ordnance, which being discharged from the Bassa's mount, into the breach, when as the Turks were driuen back, slew many of the Christians, leauing the breach almost cleere: so giuing

The Turks superstitiously reuerence the new Moone.

Scodra against most furiously assaulted by the Turks.

uing occasion for the Turks to haue entred, had not other couragious soldiers stept vp in stead of them that were slain, who manfully repulsed the enemy. The tyrant from the mount seeing the inuincible courage of the defendants, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but fully resolued now or neuer to haue it, commanded all his forces to be drawn from all other parts of the citie, to the great gate, there to renew the assault; straitly charging his captains, neuer to return thence vntill they had taken the citie. Hereupon the greatest part of that hugie army was forthwith in the sight of himselfe brought to the appointed place, and there gaue a sharpe and cruel assault at the breach, with such desperat fury, that in short time they had slain most of the defendants there present, and aduanced diuers of their ensignes vpon the top of the rampiers. Which *Mahomet* beholding from the Mount, rejoiced exceedingly, making sure account, that the city was now his own: but by that time he had well conceiued this hope, new supplies of fresh and couragious men (of purpose reserued for all euents) came to the place of danger, and with great resolution incountring the wearied Turks, draue them backe, cleared the breach, and ouerthrew the ensignes. Which so sudden an alteration in the breach, wrought no lesse alteration in the proud tyrants mind, his hope was turned into dispaire, and his joy into choler: insomuch that in his furie he commanded all his great artillerie to be at once discharged into the breach, whereby many of his forward and couragious souldiers were slaine togither with the defendants. At the same time, the great commanders & captains knowing themselues to be in the eye of their imperious lord and master, with their drawn swords forced the poore soldiers again forward to the breach; & the more to encourage them, aduentured themselues also among them: whereby the fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Many of the Turks were there slaine; yet such was the force and multitude of them which still stept vp in their place, and bullets and arrowes flew so thicke, that the defendants oppressed with multitude, and ouerwhelmed with shot, were hardly able longer to maintain the place, being for most part either slain or wounded. Wherupon a great crie ran apon the sudden thorow the city, that euery man without exception should forthwith repaire to the breach. Which was with such cherefulnes done, that in lesse time than was to haue bin thought, a wonderful multitude of all sorts of people was there met togither, encouraging one another against the present danger; who all as men resolued to lay down their liues in defence of their country, valiantly encountred the Turks vpon the top of the rampiers, and so hardly laid vnto them, that notwithstanding their great number, they began now again to wauer and shrinke back. Which thing the tyrant perceiuing from the mount, in great rage commanded his canoniers, as fast as they could to discharge the great ordnance into the breach, without regard of his own men, so that together with them he might also kil some of the Christians: and withall imperiously commanded his captaines, with all their force and power to maintaine the assault, threatning them with most horrible death, if they returned without victorie. Hereupon the assault was again renewed, euery man (in shew at least) set downe there to doe his last deuoire. But the great ordnance still playing vpon the breach, slew many of the Turks, as well as of the Christians. Thrise the great shot fell amongst the Turks themselues, and rent in sunder a great number of them which were formost, to the great discouragement of the rest: whereof the tyrant had small regard, so that togither with them he might also diminish the number of the defendants. Neuertheless, such was the desperat furie of the enemie, that the citie was in no small danger to haue been presently taken, had not fresh supplies come from other parts of the city which they were appointed vnto; who with great courage resisted the enemie. Yet the Turks far exceeding in number (and fresh men continually stepping vp in stead of them which lay by heapes vnder their feet, and serued them in stead of steps to get vp to the rampiers) maintained a long and terrible fight: at which time the great ordnance also sore annoyed the defendants, so that with one shot (whereby the greatnesse of the harms done at other times may be gathred) eighteen of the Christian defendants were slaine. As for arrowes, they flew as thicke as haile into the citie, so that they obscured the light of the day, and lay in most places of the street a span thicke: so that for the space of a moneth after, the inhabitants vsed no other fuell to burne, but Turkish arrowes. It was a ruthfull sight, to haue seene the bodies of the valiant Christians rent in sunder with the great shot, and peeces of them cleauing vpon euerie wall thereabout, euery street was stained with their bloud, the great ordnance continually thundred, Churches and houses came ratling downe, yea the heauie countenance of the ayre

The assault renewed againe fiercely by the Turks.

A wofull sight.

A aire it self seemed to bewaile the miserie of the poore Christians: besides, the noyse of trumpets, drums, and other instruments of warre, with the horrible crie of the hellish Turks, was so great and hideous, that it seemed as if heauen and earth should haue gone together: nothing was to be heard but the verie terror of the eare; nothing to be seene but death, and the verie instruments of death. And now in this extremitie a fearefull crie ran through the citie, That without present helpe all would be lost at the great gate: whereupon not onely they which were whole, (which were the fewest in number) but they also which lay wounded or sicke in their beds, chering vp themselues, with weapons in their hands ranne with speed to the place where the danger was; chusing rather there to die, than to be slain in their beds. Thus whilest the Christians of all sorts, and from all parts of the citie, ran desperatly to the gate, the Turkes
B were on euerie side hardly pressed, and in great number slain; yet fresh men still comming vp, as if they had sprung out of the earth, the deadly fight was by them still maintained: for the Turks on the one side, for feare of the tyrant, laboured with might and main to win the citie; and the Christians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they should be ouercome, with no lesse resolution defended the same. In this obstinacie of mindes many fell on both sides; sometimes the Turks seemed to haue the better, and were straitway by the Christians put to the worse. Which manner of mortall fight, with doubtfull euent, was continued most part of that day; vntil that at length many being on both parts slaine, and the rest for the most part sore wounded and hurt, the furie of the assault began to assuage: for the Turkes now wearie of that long and deadly fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great stomacke to mount vp the rampiers, where they saw no hope to preuaile, but all things threat-
C ning present death. *Mahomet* beholding the wonderfull slaughter of his men, and that hauing done what was possible for men to doe, they now fought as men discouraged; and in despaire of victorie himselfe, caused a retrait to be sounded, which the Turkes no sooner heard, but that they left the assault, and without order ran to their tents, as men halfe feared out of their wits.

A doubtfull fight.

Of this victorie, the Christians (as they had good cause) reioyced greatly: yet was this joy mingled with much sorrow and heauinesse, for the losse of such worthie men as were slaine in that assault, many of whose bodies they were glad to gather vp by piecemeale, some here, some there, some cleauing on this wall & some on that: which they, as the time would giue
D leaue, honorably buried with the rest of the slain. At which time also, they with all diligence and expedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in such readinesse, as if they should haue presently receiued a fresh assault.

Mahomet wonderfully grieued with the shamefull dishonour and great losse he had receiued at the last assault, repented himselfe that euer he had taken the matter in hand, wishing that he had neuer heard of the name of Scodra: and in his choler and franticke rage most horribly blasphemed against God, most wickedly saying, That it were enough for him to haue care of heauenly things, and not to crosse him in his worldly actions; in which furie he descended from the Mount, and got him into his tent, where he againe tormented himselfe with his melancholie passions by the space of two dayes; wherein he would neither be spoke withall, or
E admit any man to his presence. Vpon the third day he called a generall Councell of his commanders and best souldiers, and thereupon openly before them all sayd, That he was determined to giue the enemie a fresh assault, for that being weakened with so many assaults, he could not possibly be able to hold out another; and therefore hoped for an easie victorie. But he had no sooner so sayd, but that all they that heard him, cried out with one voyce to the contrarie; saying, That it was not by any meanes to be attempted, for as much as his best souldiers were alreadie slaine, and the greater part of them that were left, either sore wounded, or brought to that weaknesse, that they were not able to doe any more seruice; and that therefore it were better for them to kill one another, or else himselfe to kill them one by one, than to expose
F them to be so shamefully butchered by the Christians. In this diuersitie of opinions, *Achmetes Bassa* the great champion of the Turkes (a man reuerend and of great authoritie, for his birth, yeares, and rare experience in martiall affaires, and one by whom *Mahomet* had done great matters) standing vp, with pleasing speech calmed his furious mind, and with substantiall reasons, perswaded him to desist from that his intended purpose, and to take another surer course, as followeth:

A notable speech of the great Bassa Achmetes.

Your great valour and worthie praises, inuincible Emperour (sayd he) *who is able to expresse? the greatnesse whereof the mind of man cannot conceiue, and my dull spirit but wonder at; my tongue faltereth to speake of them, neither would this time serue so much as to recount them. It is of all men deemed a thing of great honour (most dread Soueraigne) when a Prince hath receiued a Kingdome from his Ancestours, to be able in safetie to keepe and defend the same: greater than this is it, honourably to increase and augment it, so left: but of a small thing, by worthie prowesse to bring it to the highest type of worldly honour, is of all other things the greatest. Which most rare excellencie, all men worthily ascribe vnto your perfection and felicitie: and I, of all others, can thereof bring the most assured testimonie, who haue oftentimes heard it of mine Ancestours (which following the* Othoman *Princes out of Asia into Europe) that your worthie predecessors at their first comming into Europe (without offence be it sayd) possessed but a corner thereof: to whom you afterward by diuine appointment succeeding, haue adioyned so many prouinces, kingdomes, and Empires, as were tedious to rehearse them. For who can worthily expresse, how you haue in Europe subdued Constantinople, the Imperiall citie of the East Empire, with all Thracia, Achaia, Grecia, Peloponesus, Bœotia, Thebes, and the noble citie of Athens the Mother and Nurse of all good learning. The Empire of Trapezond, with the Emperour thereof is by you ouerthrowne: The Kingdomes of Seruia and Bosna, with the Princes of Peloponesus, are by you gloriously vanquished. You haue at your command twelue kingdomes in Asia the lesser; Pontus, Bythinia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, Pamphilia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, Nicomedia, and Nicea, with the famous citie of Prusa. Besides these, Ionia, Doris, Smyrna, Colophon, Ephesus, Miletum, Halicarnassus, Pergamus, with the Countrey of Taurica, are vnder your subiection. The great countrey of Armenia hath felt your force: The Islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Eubœa, are parts of your Empire. What should I speake of infinite people and Nations, by you most victoriously vanquished? This may suffice for all, That you haue gained from the Christians twentie Prouinces, and two hundred great Cities. For it were too long to rehearse the Mahometane Kings and Princes by you also vanquished: In all your expeditions all things haue yet giuen place to your fortune. The antient Monuments may now cease to extoll the praises of* Cæsar, Scipio, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, *and other Chiefetaines of Rome and forraine Nations: for why, they are all inferiour to you, both for victories and countries subdued. The* Othoman *Familie is vndoubtedly fatall for soueraigntie: all the world shall in short time come vnder your gouernment, and all Nations shall serue you. As for this towne of Scodra, let it not so much grieue you: worldly things (as you know) doe oftentimes deceiue our expectation; in them Fortune beareth great sway. Yet for this matter quiet your selfe; for I dare gage my Faith vnto your Imperiall Majestie, that I will in short time find meanes, that this citie shall stand at your deuotion. Did not I of late bring into your subiection the impregnable citie of Croia, which you so long desired? But whereas you would now againe forthwith attempt to win it by assault, I therein craue your pardon, in that I cannot be of that opinion, but must needs thinke far otherwise: for to attempt war, and to be ouerthrowne, is an easie matter for euery one to do; but to vanquish the enemy, and to carry away the triumph, that right few men know. He that consulteth of such great and waightie matters, ought to be free both from furie and desire, both euill Counsellors. The Christians of Scodra are not in my opinion to be againe assaulted. for in so doing you shall but lose your labour. For if you could not subdue them, your Armie being then fresh and strong, how shall you now ouercome them with much fewer, and they wounded, weake, and feeble? I haue viewed the whole camp, and searched euery tent; and found no place, no tent, yea scarcely any cabin, without groaning, sighing, weeping, or wailing; in euery place was heauinesse, sorrow, mourning, and death it selfe: for in the last assault you lost thirtie thousand and more, of your best soldiers: many moe are grieuously wounded and maimed; none, but he carrieth about him some signe that he was there: few or none there be that dare againe mount the hill to giue a fresh assault, they are all so affraid and discouraged. Whom when I demanded, how so great a feare was come vpon them, and what was the cause they had so lost their wonted courage? they answered me, That it was the looke, euen the verie looke of them of Scodra, whose eyes did seeme vnto them, to burne and sparkle with fire: their sterne and terrible countenances (said they) haue strooke this terror into vs. Wherefore I thinke it not good to giue a fresh assault with men so dismayed; but rather to vse policie and delay, against such resolute enemies. This Citie of Scodra is the eye and head of all this Prouince, which the Venetians haue notably fortified, and planted with store of ordnance, and of all things else necessarie for defence thereof; but especially with most valiant Souldiers, of purpose chosen out of many their Garrisons, for defence of this Citie. You haue not now to doe with the weake and effeminate people of Asia, but with the*

A *the hard and rough people of Epirus. And you know (most mightie Emperour) the strength and courage of this Nation: it is now thirtie yeares that you haue made warre against this People, and haue not yet altogether subdued them; and how dangerous and chargeable this warre hath beene vnto you, who knoweth not? It is now six moneths since we came first before this Citie; we haue intrenched our selues round about it, we haue day and night layd hard siege vnto it, we haue battered it of long with eleuen Cannons: I speake not of other smaller Pieces or engines of warre, with all kinds of shot and fire-works, and whatsoeuer else we could deuise. We haue many times to our cost assaulted it; what could be done by force, strength, or multitude of valiant men, is alreadie done in the former assaults: Nothing hath bin left vnattempted, no policie, no direction hath wanted in your Leaders, neither courage in your souldiers. What should I recount the innumerable great shot, or speake of our arrowes and darts, deliuered in-*

B *to the citie as showers of haile? Did all this, or any thing else we could doe, any thing terrifie these Defendants? Were they not, nay are they not still readie with great assurance and courage at all assayes encounter vs? You take a wrong course, by force to constraine them: they haue taken vpon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be remooued, there shall you be sure still to find them either aliue or dead: and what account they make of their liues, you see, they will sell them vnto vs deere for their countrey, and preferre an honourable death before a seruile life. Wherefore against men so set down, policie is be vsed; and them whom we cannot by force subdue, let vs by delay and time ouercome. If you will winne Scodra, blocke it vp, build strong Forts in places conuenient round about it, and furnish them with good souldiers; make a bridge ouer Boliana, with a strong Castle on either side, to stop the passage: which done, besiege the other weaker Cities of the Venetians, which are as it were the*

C *limmes of Scodra; and subaue the Countrey round about, which will be no hard matter for you to doe, being master of the field: so must Scodra at length of necessitie yeeld vnto you, as of late did Croia, inforced thereunto by famine. Thus may you in safetie without slaughter of your people, come to the full of your desires.*

The wholesome counsell of the Bassa so well pleased *Mahomet* himselfe, and the rest there present, that the assault was layd aside, and present order taken for the speedie execution of that which was so well by him plotted. Whereupon the Bassa of Constantinople with his Forces was sent to Zabiache, a citie in the borders of Dalmatia, standing vpon the lake of Scutarie, not farre from Asciuium, which in few dayes was yeelded vnto him. The Bassa pos-

D sessed of the citie, thrust out all the inhabitants, and leauing therein a garrison of Turks, returned againe to the campe at Scodra. At the same time the great Bassa of Asia was also sent by *Mahomet* against Driuasto a citie also of the Venetians: which when he had besieged and sore battered by the space of sixteene dayes, the great tyrant came thither in person himselfe, and the next day after his comming tooke the citie without any great resistance. Such as he found vpon the walls, he put to the sword; of the rest he tooke three hundred away with him to the campe at Scodra, and there in the face of the citie caused them all to be cruelly slaine, of purpose so to terrifie the defendants. The next day after, he sent the great Bassa of Constantinople to Lyssa, called also Alessa, a citie of the Venetians, scituated vpon the riuer Drinus, about thirtie miles from Scodra. The Bassa comming thither, found the citie desolate, (for the ci-

Lyssa taken by the Turks, and the bones of Scanderbeg digged vp by them, & had in great reuerence.

E tisens hearing of his comming, were for feare before fled) for which cause he set the citie on fire. Here the Turks digged vp the bones of the worthie Prince *Scanderbeg*, for the superstitious opinion they had of the vertue of them; and happie was he that could get any little part thereof to set in gold or other jewell, as a thing of great price, (as is before declared.) All these things thus done, *Mahomet* committed the direction of all things concerning the siege of Scodra, vnto the discretion of *Achmetes*; by whose persuasion he leauing a great power for the continuing of the siege, departed thence himselfe with fortie thousand soldiers, for Constantinople, cursing and banning by the way all the countrey of Epirus, all the inhabitants therein, and euery part thereof, their corne, their cattell, and whatsoeuer else was fruitful; but aboue all other things, the citie of Scodra, with all that therein was, for that he had neuer re-

F ceiued greater dishonour or losse, than there.

After his departure, which was about the seuenth of September, the two great Bassa's of Constantinople and Asia, according to order before taken, built a great bridge ouer the riuer Boliana, and on either side a strong castle, to the intent that no reliefe should that way be brought into the city. Which worke when they had brought to perfection, & furnished both

castles with garrisons, ordnance, and all things necessarie, they left *Achmetes Bassa* with fortie thousand souldiers to continue the siege, and returned themselues, the one to Constantinople, the other into Asia. The warie and politique Bassa mindfull of the charge he had taken vpon him, tooke such order, that no reliefe could possibly be brought vnto the citie either by land or by water: and so lying still before it a long time, he brought it at length into such a distresse and want of all things, that the poore Christians were fain to eat all manner of vnclean and loathsome things; horses were daintie meat, yea, they were glad to eat dogs, cats, rats, and the skinnes of beasts sod: it exceedeth all credit, to tell at what exceeding great price a little mouse was sould, or puddings made of dogs guts. All these bare shifts and extremities the poore Christians were content to endure euen vnto the last gaspe, rather than to yeeld themselues into the hands of their mercilesse enemies.

Whilest Scodra thus lay in the suds, the Venetians wearie of the long and chargeable war they had to their great losse now maintained against so mightie an enemie by the space of sixteene yeares, and hauing no meanes to relieue their distressed subiects in Scodra, thought it best to proue if they could procure a peace from the tyrant. For which purpose they sent *Benedictus Trinisanus*, a great Senator, and a man of great experience, to Constantinople: who so well vsed the matter, that after long debating too and fro, at length a peace was concluded; whereof the chiefe capitulations were, That the Venetians should deliuer vnto *Mahomet* the citie of Scodra, the Island of Lemnos, and the strong castle of Tenarus in Peloponesus, and pay him yearely eight thousand duckats; that they might freely after their woonted manner traffique into the Euxine by the straits of Hellespontus and Bosphorus Thracius, and other parts of his dominions. Concerning the citizens of Scodra, it was comprised in the same peace, That it should be at their owne choice, either to liue there still vnder the gouernment of the Turkish Emperour, or else at their pleasure to depart in safetie with their goods whither they would. *Trinisanus* hauing in this manner concluded a peace, in his returne homeward, the fourth of Aprill found the Venetian Admirall riding at anker in the mouth of Boliana, from whence they both by letters certified the Gouernor and citizens of Scodra, in what manner the peace was concluded with the Turke, and what prouision was therein made for them. Vpon receit of which letters, the Gouernor calling together the citizens, declared vnto them how the case stood; and there with them entred into consultation vpon this hard question, Whether they would remaine there still in their natiue countrey vnder the Turkish tyrannie; or forsaking the same, liue amongst other Christians in perpetuall exile? But after that the matter had beene throughly debated, and many reasons on both parts alledged; at length it was by generall consent concluded, That they should all forsake the citie and the house of bondage, as dangerous both to their soules and bodies, and liue as it should please God amongst other Christians. So the Turks giuing pledges for the safe departure of the Christians in Scodra, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the citie, and were by the Venetians carefully transported into other parts of their territorie in Italie, where they liued in peace. The Turks (who had now besieged the citie a whole yeare) after the departure of the Christians entred the citie with great joy and triumph; which, with manie others thereabout, hath euer since, to the great ruth of all Christendome, remained in the possession of the faithlesse Infidels. Thus was the strong citie of Scodra lost, and the long wars ended betwixt *Mahomet* and the Venetians, which hapned in the yeare 1478.

A hard choice.

Scodra yeelded vnto the Turks.

1480. *Mahomet* now at peace with the Venetians, sent the same *Achmetes Bassa* (by whom he had but a little before taken in Scodra) with his fleet of gallies against one *Leonard* Prince of Neritus, Zacynthus, and Cephalenia, Islands neere vnto Peloponesus: where the Bassa arriuing, easily took the same Islands, the poore Prince for safegard of his life being glad to flie into Italie with his wife and treasure, to King *Ferdinand*, whose nigh kinswoman he had married.

About the same time *Alis Beg*, syrnamed *Michael Ogli*, *Isa Beg* the son of *Cassanes*, and *Balis Beg*, syrnamed *Malcozogli* (men of great account amongst the Turks, and most honourably discended) entred into Transyluania with a great army of an hundred thousand men, and brought such a generall feare vpon the countrey, that *Stephanus Batore* the Vayuod, was glad with all speed to flie vnto *Matthias* king of Hungarie, to declare vnto him the danger of his countrey, and to craue his ayd. *Matthias* at the same time lay sicke of the gout: neuertheless he tooke such order by his captains, *Stephanus Cherepetrus*, and *Paulus Kinissus* Countie of Temesware, that

that the Turks were encountred not far from Alba Iulia, and there in a great and bloudie battell ouerthrowne: wherein *Isa* one of their great Captaines was slaine, with thirtie thousand Turks mo. Neither was this victorie gained by the Christians without losse, *Bator* the Vayuod himselfe being sore wounded, and eight thousand men slaine.

Mahomet in his ambitious humor, had long time desired to haue in his subiection the Island of the Rhodes. For why, it grieued him that so smal an Island should lie so nie his great dominions in Asia, holden by a few Christians, to the great trouble of his merchants trading in the Mediteranean, beside many other harmes daily from thence receiued, and to haue no feeling of his greatnesse. But forasmuch as the winning of that place was thought to bee a matter of great difficultie, and in former times vnfortunatly attempted by some of the Mahometan princes: he purposed now with good aduise to take this enterprise in hand. Wherefore calling together his graue counsellors and most expert men of war, after he had declared vnto them the manifold iniuries receiued from them of the Rhodes; he propounded the matter, Whether it were best to attempt the winning of that Island or not? Some forward men persuaded him to reuenge those iniuries done by those Christians, and to subdue that Island, which for the neerenesse vnto Caria, might of right be accounted as part of his dominion, & not to forbeare that enterprise for feare of repulse, forasmuch as he was able to bring mo men to assaile it than were stones in the wal about it. Others better aduised, declared the strength of the Island, with the valor of the defendants; men alwaies brought vp in armes, and as it were chosen out of all parts of Christendome: so that it was (as they said) like to proue a matter of more difficultie than was by some supposed; whereof some of the Mahometan princes had to their no small dishonor, alreadie made sufficient triall: alleadging farther, that that small Island which scarcely appeared in the sea, was not of that worth, as that he should thereon gage his honor, with the liues of so many good men, and most valiant souldiers as might serue for the conquest of a kingdome. For all that, *Mahomet* prickt forward with the spurs of ambition, and continuall solicitation of *Anthonius Meligalus*, a fugitiue knight of the Rhodes, resolued to follow the counsell of them which persuaded the war. This *Meligalus* was a knight of the Order, which when he had prodigally consumed his substance, which was great, with two others, *Demetrius* and *Sophonius*, men of his own qualitie and disposition, fled vnto the Turkish Emperor; presenting vnto him a perfect plot of the citie, with all the strength both of it, and the Isle wherin it stood, and which way he might with most ease win it. In which seruice they frankly offered to spend their liues: but hoping indeed, by such foule treacherie to repaire their broken estate. All things being now in readinesse, *Mahomet* appointed *Mesithes Paleologus*, one of his chiefe Bassaes (the neere kinsman of *Constantinus Paleologus* the last Emperor of Constantinople) Generall for that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that so great an action. *Mesithes* embarking his armie, in number eightie thousand, and throughly furnished with all things necessarie for the siege, set forward from Constantinople, and with a pleasant gale of wind, sailed alongst the coast of Asia the lesse, towards the Rhodes: where by the way he called vnto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitiue knights) to learne of him the best means for the safe landing of his army. As for the arch traitor *Meligalus*, and chiefe authour of this warre, he was fallen sicke vpon the way; and in the extremitie of his sickneſſe, growing both troublesome and loathsome vnto the Turks that were with him in the same gally, was by the marriners throwne ouer boord aliue, crying out in vaine for helpe, no man vouchsafing to haue any compassion vpon him: and so swallowed vp of the sea, receiued amidst the waues, the iust guerdon of his treacherie.

Mahomet longeth after the Rhodes.

A death right worthie such a traitour.

At this time *Peter Damboyse* a Frenchman, an Auergnoies, a man of singular gouernment, was Great Master of the Rhodes; whose vigilancie was such, that commonly once in eight daies he had certain intelligence what great matters passed in the Turks court: and therewith of such deepe iudgement, that he was seldome or neuer ouertaken, or deceiued with any false aduertisements. This carefull Grand Master, was not ignorant of all these great preparations, neither of the comming of the Bassa; and therefore had before strongly fortified the city, and so stored the same with all things needfull, as might wel haue serued for many yeres siege: but especially with such shot and powder, that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an especiall meanes whereby the citie was afterward preserued. At the same time, many noble and valiant gentlemen hearing of the Turkes designes, repaired thither out of Italie, France, Spaine, Germanie,

manie, and other places of Christendome, cheerfully to aduenture their liues, in defence bo, G
of the place, and of the Christian religion, against the common enemie of Christianitie. Th
Great Master taking a generall view of all the forces he had, to oppose against so puissant an
enemie, found that he had in the citie sixteene thousand able men: in which number were rec-
koned many Iewes and other men of seruile condition; who in the siege following, did right
good seruice. The great Bassa conducted by the false traitor *Demetrius*, safely landed both his
armie and artillerie in the Island the two and twentieth day of Iune, not far from the citie. At
which time the Great Master considering that the safetie of the Citie consisted more in the
liuely valour of the defendants, than in the strength of the dead wals, or other warlike proui-
sion; thought it requisit, as a part of his dutie, by cheerfull persuasions to encourage them, va- H
liantly to withstand the force of their enemies. And therefore calling them all together, spake
vnto them as followeth.

The oration of the Great Master to the rest of the knights and souldiers, to encourage them valiantly to withstand the Turkes.

At length valiant souldiers and fellowes at armes, we see the Turkes our mortall enemies (as wee were before aduertised, as well by Letters from our friendes, as by common fame) breathing after our destruction; in readinesse to destroy our Churches, our Oratorries, our Altars, our Religion, and whatsoeuer else we account sacred or religious; seeking the ruine of this noble Citie, and the cruell death of vs all; gaping at once, to deuoure our liues, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And truly as I cannot denie but that the chance of warre is doubtfull, and the euent thereof vncertaine: So when I consider your valiant courage and cheerfulnesse of mind, I presently conceiue a most assured hope I
of victorie. They haue entered into armes against vs, not so much for any desert of ours, or vpon any other quarrell; as for the vnsatiable desire of rule, and the great despite they beare against vs and the Christian religion. But to withstand their furie, and to frustrate their designes, we want neither weapons nor artillerie, nor prouision for many yeares; we haue a most strong garrison of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germaines, Englishe, and others, the verie chiualrie of Christendome: and that which more is, Christ Iesus our Captaine and Generall, by whose power, we shall no doubt easily repulse the vaine force of our most wicked and graceleſſe enemies. The care we haue for the defence of the Christian Faith, whereunto we are by speciall profession bound, will animate and encourage vs, against them, which seeke for nothing more than to extend their wicked and grosse superstition, to the great dishonour of God, and of his sonne Christ Iesus. Besides that, we are warlike Frenchmen, Italians, Germaines, and other wor- K
thie Christians: they are of Caria, Lydia, Capadocia, and the other delicate countries of Asia; effeminat persons brought vp to pleasure. I say it not to draw you into any manifest or vneuitable danger, neither to feed you with vaine hope, or to fill your eares with windie wordes: but this I promise and assure you of, that if this siege shall continue long, hither will come such strong ayde out of France, Italie, and Spaine, as will serue not onely to raise the siege, but to reconer againe the Empires of Constantinople and Trapezond. Then shall our enemie see no good end of their councels; but all their deuises so confounded, as that they shall hardly be able by speedie flight to saue themselues. But suppose the hardest should happen, which I feare not; would not any man account his life most happily and honourably spent, in defence of a good conscience, and the quarrell of Christ Iesus? Truly my great yeares and course of life L
now almost spent in defence of the Christian religion (as I euer desired) doth call me foorth, as one so assured of that good layed vp for me in heauen by Christ Iesus (whose battell we are to fight) that I no whit feare any enemies force or future chance: which for all that, I haue as farre as I could, and to the vttermost of my power so prouided for, as that we will not (I hope) be therewith ouerwhelmed. Be you therefore of good cheere and comfort (as I know you are) and shew your selues valiant and couragious, which resteth wholly in your selues: and as for all the rest, time, and our discretion, shall right well prouide I doubt not.

The valiant men & worthie souldiers, resting vpon the assurance of their aged gouernor, departed euery man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Bassa landed his great armie, and sent *Demetrius* the traiterous knight, *Meligalus* his companion, with certain troupes of horsemen and some foot, to view the ground, where he might best encampe with his ar- M
mie. *Demetrius* in great pride riding about the citie, was knowne by *Anthonie Damboyse*, the Great Masters brother; by whose leaue, he sallied out with a troupe of gallant horsemen, and skirmished with them: but the Turks being moe in number, cast about to haue inclosed them; which *Anthonie* perceiuing, turned vpon them that were comming behind him, and that with such

A such force, that he slew or wounded most part of them. In this hot skirmish, *Demetrius* hauing his horse slaine vnder him, and himselfe ouerthrowne, was there troden to death vnder the horses feet: an end too good for so false a traitor. *Muratius* a French knight, vnaduisedly dispoiling his dead bodie, was by the Turks slaine, and his head presented vnto the Bassa in stead of *Demetrius*.

The Bassa approching the city, at the first comming tooke a great orchard, which the Great Master had strongly intrenched, and therein placed certaine companies of soldiers, with some small peeces of ordnance: which place if it could haue bin kept, might fitly haue serued the defendants to haue at their pleasure sallied out vpon the enemie. But they which were appointed to the keeping thereof, either terrified with the sight of so great an armie, or els doub-
B ting to be able to hold it against so great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the citie; leauing the great ordnance behind them for hast. In this place, the Bassa by the counsell of *George Frapaine* (a Christian fugitiue of the Rhodes, and now master of his ordnance) began to plant his batterie, and from thence to batter the tower called Nicholea, or S. *Nicholas* his tower, distant from the citie three hundred paces. But against this place, *Damboyse* had so aptly mounted two great Basiliskes, that he made him glad quickly to forsake the same: yet finding no other place more conuenient for his purpose, shortly after hee neere vnto the same place planted againe his batterie, of far greater force than before. Wherin, beside the ordnance of greatest charge, he had three hundred smaller peeces for batterie: wherewith at the first he did small harme, for that this *George Frapaine* repenting himselfe (as was thought) of his foule
C treason, bestowed the shot to small purpose; for which cause the Bassa began to haue him in distrust: which *Frapaine* perceiuing, fled by night againe vnto the Rhodes, and discouered vnto the Great Master all the secrets of the Turks campe. The Turks continuing the batterie, had sore shaken the aforesaid tower called S. *Nicholas*, and beaten downe some part thereof: which the Christians with great industrie, speedily repaired in best sort they could: for all that the Turks gaue thereunto a fierce assault, by the space of six houres, forcing themselues to the vttermost to haue taken it: but perceiuing that it preuailed them nothing, they retired, hauing *Eight hundred Turkes slaine.* loſt eight hundred of their men, with many others drowned in the sea, of whom the number was not knowne, and a thousand others sore wounded.

Mesithes disappointed of his former purpose, bent his artillerie against the wals of the city,
D and with continuall batterie had made a faire breach. But *Damboyse* foreseeing the danger, had with great labour cast vp such rampiers with a countermure before the breach, that the Bassa durst not in any case aduenture to enter the breach hee had made. For performance of this so necessarie a worke, the captaines themselues refused not to put too their helping hands: by whose example, all the rest of the people which were able to do any thing, being moued, willingly imployed their labour vntill the worke was fully finished.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Caly Bassa* the younger (a great courtier) was sent from *Mahomet* to see with what successe the siege went forward. Vpon whose arriuall, it was giuen out through all the Turks campe, That *Mahomet* was in person himselfe comming to the siege,
E with 100000 men, and 150 peeces of great ordnance. These newes (of purpose deuised to the terror of the defendants) being blowne out of the campe into the citie, strucke an exceeding great feare into the minds of some of the defendants, and so discouraged the Spaniards, with their nigh neighbours that came from Nauar, that they began openly to reason in their conuenticles, That it was not possible for the citie to be defended against such a power; and therfore after an insolent manner, desired leaue to be gone, to the great discouragement of the rest. The Great Master vnderstanding of their doings, sent for these mutinous Spaniards: and after he had sharpely reproued them both of disorder and cowardise, promised to ship them away forthwith out of the Isle, saying, That he doubted not, right well to defend the citie a-
F gainst the greatest power of the Turk, without the help of such base minded cowards. In the mean time he commanded them to surcease from their mutinous talke, threatning otherwise to make them examples to others, what it is so much to forget themselues. But these Spaniards shortly after, better considering of the matter, and what a dishonour it would be both to themselues and their nation, if they should so dishonourably bee sent away, repenting themselues of that they had done, came and craued pardon of the Great Master: and to redeeme their former fault, in all sallies & seruices during that siege, shewed themselues most valiant &

forward

forward men: for all that, the Great Master would neuer afterwards trust them in any seruice alone. The Bassa attempting much and preuailing little, thought it would much further his designes, if he could by any meanes take the Great Master out of the way, by whose careful policie he saw all his deuises still countermanded: wherefore to bring this his purpose to passe, he practised by the means of one *Ianus* a Dalmatian, to poyson him. This *Ianus* hauing conceiued this treason from the Bassa, was receiued into the citie of the Rhodes, as a Christian fugitiue fled from the Turkes: where hee acquainted himselfe with one *Pythius* an Epirot, of great familiaritie with *Marius Philelphus* (of late Secretarie vnto *Damboyse*, but as then out of fauor and in disgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutinie.) *Ianus* by the means of *Pythius*, whom he had now throughly corrupted, sought after *Philelphus*, who then as he right well knew, liued discontented, as a fit instrument wherby to worke this treason, for that he was a man well acquainted with the cookes and butlers, and other seruitors in the Great Masters house, and himselfe (yet) there very conuersant also. *Pythius* presuming of his old acquaintance and familiarity with *Philelphus*, and waiting vpon his melancholie humor, began to persuade him to reuenge the disgrace he liued in, and withal to shew him the meanes how to do it, by poysoning of the Great Master: which might (as he said) fal out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. *Philelphus* making semblant as if he had not disliked of the motion, was desirous to know of him what farther benefit might thereby arise to him, more than reuenge. To whom *Pythius* forthwith shewed the Bassaes Letters to *Ianus*, whereby hee assured him, that whatsoeuer hee should promise vnto any man for the furtherance of the practise, he would to the full performe the same. *Philelphus* hauing got full vnderstanding of the treason, presently discouered the same to *Damboyse*. By whose commandement, *Ianus* and *Pythius* were straight waies apprehended, and being examined, confessed the treason: for which *Ianus* lost his head, and *Pythius* (as he had well deserued) was shamefully hanged. *Philelphus* for his fidelitie, was pardoned his former errour, and againe receiued into the Great Masters fauour.

Treason against the great master discouered, and the traitours executed.

The Bassa vnderstanding that the treason was discouered, and the traitours executed, was much grieued therewith. Neuertheless, he ceased not with continual batterie to shake the citie, but especially the tower of *S. Nicholas*, for the assailing whereof, he made wonderfull preparation. Amongst other things, he had framed a great bridge, staied with strong ropes and cables, ouer a short fret of the sea, betwixt the place of his batterie and the same tower, whereon six men might march abreast: in which deuice he reposed great hope. But as the Turks were making fast this bridge, and had (as they thought) brought the worke to a good perfection; *Gernaise Rogers* an Englishman of great courage, and very skilful in sea matters, found meanes by night to cut and breake in sunder all the ropes and cables wherewith the bridge was staid; which now loose, was by the violence of the sea quickly carried away, and the Turkes disappointed of their purpose. For which good seruice he was by the Great Master honorably rewarded, and of him in publicke audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious batterie by the Bassa still maintained, and a new bridge framed vpon small boats and lighters, fast moored with cables and anchors; and diuers peeces of great ordnance placed in fusts and gallies. So that the the tower was at one time battered both by sea and land, the defendants assailed with smal shot and arrowes innumerable, and the tower at the same instant desperatly scaled. But *Damboyse* had so placed his great ordnance, that with the force thereof the bridge was broken in sunder, foure of their great fusts sunke, with great store both of men and ordnance: the defendants also in the tower, with shot, timber, stones, & other such like things prouided for that purpose, grieuously ouerwhelmed the Turks that were scaling the wals and beat them down with great slaughter. This hot assault was desperatly maintained by the Turkes, from three a clocke in the morning vntill ten: when the Bassa seeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the assault, hauing therein lost aboue 2500 men; whose dead bodies shortly after driuen on shore, were spoiled by the Christians. The same night two mercinarie souldiers of Crete, going about to haue fled vnto the enemie, were apprehended and put to death. And *George Frapaine*, who in the beginning of the siege fled from the Turkes, now againe vehemently suspected of treason, was executed also.

Two thousand fiue hundred Turks slaine in the assault.

Thus neither force nor treason preuailing, the Bassa because he would leaue nothing vnproued that might better his cause, sent certain messengers vnto the Great Master, offering to him in

A in the name of the Turkish Emperor, great rewards, with many honorable preferments, if he would yeeld vp the citie; which he could not (as they would haue persuaded him) long hold against so mightie an enemie: wishing him now in his declining estate not to refuse such honorable and princely offers, for feare he were afterwards constrained to accept of far worse, or els through his desperat wilfulnesse plunge himselfe and his people into such extreme peril, as should be impossible for him or them to find any way out of. Whereunto the Great Master in briefe answered, *That he would not willingly in his sure estate vse the counsell of his enemy: neither in his greatest distresse refuse cheerfully to yeeld his life vnto Almightie God, to whom he did owe it; and that with far better will than to yeeld vp the citie vpon any conditions, beare they neuer so faire a shew of honor or profit.* The messengers perceiuing his constant resolution, rather to die than to yeeld his citie, began (according to instructions before giuen them by the Bassa) to temper

The resolute answer of the great Master.

B with him another way, and to persuade him to yeeld vnto the mightie Emperour some small yerely tribute or other homage, as an acknowledgment of his greatnesse, and so to liue as his friend in peace. But the Great Master knowing by the wofull example of others, that in that small request lay included the beginning of the Turkish thraldome and slauery; vtterly refused to pay him the least tribute, or to doe him the least homage that could be deuised. With which answer the messengers returned, hauing obtained nothing of that they were sent for.

The resolute answer of the Great Master, reported by the aforesaid messengers vnto the Bassa, troubled him exceedingly; for though he had small hope by force to win the citie, yet he was alwaies in hope vntill now, at his pleasure, to forsake the siege with some such reasonable composition as might stand with his honor. But sith nothing remained now, but by plain

C force to constrain his enemies, he resolued for the safegard of his honor, in that extremetie to vse that extreme remedie: wherefore beside the great peeces of batterie he had already planted against the wals, he mounted diuers smaller peeces much higher, thereby the more to annoy the defendants, by beating downe of their churches and high built houses. His ordnance thus placed, he battered the citie day and night for the space of foure daies together without intermission: during which time, the Christians out of the city spared not, liberally to bestow their shot among their enemies also: so that the aire seemed to grow thicke, and the light of the day to be darkned with the smoke of the great ordnance; and the great shot came so thicke into the citie, that the fearfull women and children were glad to shroud themselues from the danger therof, in cellars and caues vnder ground. So long continued this great batterie, that at

D length the strength of the wall gaue place to the fury of the cannon, & a faire breach was laid open for the enemie to enter: which was no sooner made, but that with the first shew thereof the Turks gaue thereunto a desperat assault; and preuailing by reason of their multitude, had vpon the sudden recouered the top of the wals, & there set vp some of their ensignes: but the Christians speedily comming in on euery side to the defence of the breach, they were againe quickly repulsed & beaten down into the diches, out of which most of them neuer rise more. At which time the Turkes in another place with their scaling ladders had gained the top of the wals, and there aduanced their ensignes also, and were now fiue hundred of them entred the citie and come into the street called the Iew street: where they were encountered by the

A faire breach made by force of the Turkes batterie.

E Great Master and his followers, and all slaine that were already entered, and their ensignes that stood vpon the wals throwne down. The rest yet scaling the wals, and ignorant of the fortune of their fellowes, were likewise beaten from the wals, and with wonderful slaughter reiected. So that the Bassa not able longer to indure the slaughter of his men, being in both places repulsed, caused a retreat to be sounded, and left the assault; wherein he had lost of his most forward men about fiue thousand, with small losse of the Christians. In this assault, the Great Master himselfe receiued fiue wounds, whereof one vnder his right pap was thought to haue bin deadly: which yet afterward was very well cured with the rest.

After that the Bassa had by the space of three months to smal purpose spent all his forces and deuices vpon the city, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raise his siege & depart, or to tarrie & expect some better fortune, which in al his former actions had seemed almost to haue waited vpon him; to forsake the siege, was dishonorable; and to continue it without hope, presented no lesse danger. Besides that, in the former assaults he had already lost nine thousand of his best souldiers, and all the rest of his armie was filled with heauinesse and despaire, to heare the wofull sighing and groning of their fellows, of whom fifteen thousand lay

F dispersed

disperſed in the campe ſore wounded, and readie many of them to giue vp the ghoſt: and alſo but euen a little before, two great ſhips ſent from *Ferdinand* King of Naples with men and munition, were in deſpight of all the Turks gallies ſafely arriued at the Rhodes, to the great ioy and encouragement of the beſieged, and no leſſe diſcontentment of the Turkes. Whileſt the Baſſa was thus deliberating what courſe to take, a rumour was raiſed in the campe, That the Chriſtian Princes were comming with great power to relieue the towne: with which newes the whole armie was exceedingly troubled; whereupon he raiſed his ſiege. Some others ſay, that *Mahomet* hearing of the euill ſucceſſe of his armie in the Iſland of the Rhodes, with the difficultie of the ſiege, and now readie to goe in perſon himſelfe againſt the Sultan of Ægypt, ſent for the Baſſa, and that ſo the ſiege was raiſed. Howſoeuer it was, the Baſſa before his departure cauſed all the vines and trees growing in that part of the Iſland, to be cut downe and ſpoiled: and ſo after he had poured foorth his furie vpon the ſenceleſſe creatures, which hee could not according to his deſire exerciſe vpon the people, againe embarked his armie, and with ſhame departed, the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt.

The Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

At the ſame time that the Rhodes was thus beſieged, *Mahomet* ſent his old and moſt expert captaine *Achmetes Baſſa*, with a great fleet and a ſtrong army to make an entrance into Italie (for no kingdome was ſo ſtrong, which the ambitious tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not he might now command) and hauing long before conquered Conſtantinople, otherwiſe called new Rome, was ſtill dreaming (I wot not what) of the conqueſt of Old Rome alſo. The miſchieuous Baſſa according to his great maſters deſignes, embarked his armie at Vallona (otherwiſe called Aulona) a ſea towne in the borders of Macedonia; and from thence paſſing directly ouer that narrow ſea, which is in breadth about ſixty miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of Italie, called in antient time Apulia (now Puglia) neere vnto the old and famous citie of Hydruntum, at this day called Otranto: where as ſoone as this warlike Baſſa had landed his forces, he forraged all that rich country alongſt the ſea coaſt and tooke ſuch infinit ſpoile as might wel haue ſatisfied the greedie deſire both of himſelfe and of his hungarie ſoldiers; all which rich bootie he cauſed to be conueyed into his gallies. So when he had at his pleaſure ranged vp and downe the countrie by the ſpace of fourteene dayes, and ſaw that none made head againſt him, he laid ſiege to Otranto, the chiefe citie of that countrey, and as it were the key of that part of Italie: and hauing with ſuch ordnance as hee tooke out of his gallies, made a breach, eaſily entred the ſame, & ſo without any great loſſe tooke the citie. A thing not greatly to be marueled at, foraſmuch as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether liuing in ſecuritie in the midſt of their wealth and pleaſure. The Archbiſhop, with *Zurlo* the Gouernor, and the chiefe men of the city, for ſafegard of their liues fled into the great Cathedral Church, as into a Sanctuarie; where they were all together moſt miſerably ſlain. The reſt of the citizens, whoſe hard fortune it was to eſcape the ſword (as people reſerued to moe miſery) were afterward ſhipt ouer into Grecia, & there ſold for ſlaues. The landing of the Turks in Apulia, with the taking of Otranto, brought a generall feare vpon all Italy, inſomuch that *Sixtus Quartus*, then the great Biſhop of Rome, forgetting al things ſaue himſelfe, was about to haue forſaken the citie for feare. Now after the Turks had at their pleaſure ranſackt Otranto, *Achmetes* cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly fortified (as the ſure footing of the Turks in Italie) and victualled for eighteen moneths, and there leauing eight thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers in garriſon, returned himſelfe with the reſt to Vallona, and ſo by land to Conſtantinople to know his great Maſters further pleaſure: but purpoſing with himſelfe, with the firſt of the next Spring to haue returned with greater forces againe to Italie for the proſecuting of his former victorie. Which if he had done, it was greatly to haue been feared, that all that goodly countrey, ſometime miſtreſſe of the World, but then and yet alſo rent in ſunder by the diſcord and ambition of the Chriſtian princes, had in ſhort time become a prey vnto the barbarous Turke for euer.

Achmetes landeth his armie in Apulia neere to Otranto, and ſpoileth the countrie.

Otranto taken by the Turkes.

But whileſt the great Baſſa (in his life time the great ſcourge of Chriſtendome) thus proudly plotteth the ruine and deſtruction of faire Italie, God, in whoſe hands the hearts of Kings are, put an hook in the great tyrants noſe, and led him quite another way. For at the ſame time, the Caramanian king, aided by the Perſian & the Sultan of Ægypt, had in a great battel ouerthrowne *Baiazet* (*Mahomets* eldeſt ſonne then liuing) and ſlaine moſt part of his army: in reuenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raiſed a great and puiſſant armie, and taking

Achmetes

Achmetes with him as his chiefe man of war, reiecting the wars of Italie vnto a more conuenient time, paſſed ouer into Aſia: where vpon the way, about a dayes journey ſhort of Nicomedia a citie of Bithynia, at a place called Geiuiſin he fell ſicke, and there for the ſpace of three dayes grieuouſly tormented with an extreame paine in his bellie (which ſome ſuppoſed to be the collicke) died; but being indeed, as moſt men thought, poyſoned; when he had liued about 52 yeares, and thereof raigned 31, in the yeare of our Lord 1481. His bodie was afterwards magnificently buried in a chappel neere vnto the great Mahometan temple, which he himſelfe firſt built at Conſtantinople.

Mahomet dieth at Geiuiſen in Bythinia, not without ſuſpition of poiſon.

1481

The death of this mightie man (who liuing troubled a great part of the world) was not much more lamented by thoſe that were neereſt vnto him, (who euer liuing in feare of his crueltie, hated him deadly) than of his enemies, who euer in doubt of his greatneſſe, were glad to heare of his end. He was of ſtature but low, and nothing anſwerable to the height of his mind, ſquare ſet, and ſtrong limmed, not inferior in ſtrength (when he was young) vnto any in his fathers Court, but to *Scanderbeg* onely: his complexion was Tartarlike, ſallow and melancholie, as were moſt of his anceſtors the *Othoman* Kings; his looke and countenance ſterne, with his eyes piercing, hollow and a little ſunke as it were into his head, and his noſe ſo high and crooked, that it almoſt touched his vpper lip. To be briefe, his countenance was altogether ſuch, as if Nature had with moſt cunning hand therein depainted and moſt curiouſly ſet forth to view the inward diſpoſition and qualities of his mind, which were on both parts notable. He was of a verie ſharpe and apprehenſiue wit, learned, as amongſt that nation, eſpecially in Aſtronomie, and could ſpeake the Greeke, Latine, Arabicke, Chaldee, and Perſian Tongues. He delighted much in regarding of Hiſtories, and the liues of worthie men, eſpecially the liues of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Iulius Cæſar*, whom he propoſed to himſelfe as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and thereto verie fortunate; a ſeuere puniſher of injuſtice, in them eſpecially to whom he had committed the adminiſtration of juſtice. Men that excelled in any qualitie, he greatly fauoured and honourably entertained: as he did *Gentil Bellin* a Painter of Venice, whom he purpoſely cauſed to come from thence, to Conſtantinople, to draw the liuerie counterfeit of himſelfe, for which he moſt honorably rewarded him. He ſo ſeuerely puniſhed theft, as that in his time all the wayes were ſafe, and a theefe ſcarcely to be heard of. But theſe good parts were in him obſcured with moſt horrible and notorious vices: for why, he was altogether irreligeous, and of all others moſt perfideous, ambitious aboue meaſure, and in nothing more delighted, than in bloud; in ſo much that it is probably gathred, that he was in his time the death of eight hundred thouſand men: craft, couetouſneſſe, and diſſimulation, were in him accounted for tollerable faults, in compariſon of his greater vices. In his loue was no aſſurance, and his leaſt diſpleaſure was death: ſo that he liued feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had iſſue three ſonnes, *Muſtapha* (dead before him, as is before declared) *Bajazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of ſome called *Zizimus*, competitor of the Empire with his eldeſt brother; whom he exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his raigne, ſo that he could not well attend any other thing but him: which opportunitie (by God himſelfe no doubt offered for the ſafegard of Italie) *Alphonſus* Duke of Calabria (King *Ferdinand* his eldeſt ſonne) taking hold vpon, with all the power hee could make in Italie, beſieged the Turks in Otranto; with whom he had many ſharpe skirmiſhes, wherein he loſt diuers of his great Captaines and Commanders, as the Countie *Iulio de Aquaiua*, *Loys de Capua*, and the Countie *Iulio de Piſa*, with others, and was ſtill by the ſtrong garriſon of the Turks put to the worſe; vntill ſuch time as being ſtrengthened with aid out of Spaine and Portugal, (but eſpecially with certaine companies of moſt valiant ſouldiers ſent from *Matthias Coruinus* out of Hungarie, whoſe forces the Turks moſt feared) he began to cut them ſhort, and ſtraitly beſieged the citie both by ſea and land: vntill at length the beſieged Turks hearing of the death of their great Emperour, and now hardly preſſed with the dangers of a ſtrait ſiege, no longer expecting the returne of *Achmetes* their Generall, (then readie to haue come to their reſcue with fiue and twentie thouſand ſouldiers) yeelded vp the city vnto the Duke, vpon compoſition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafetie depart thence: which they did, after they had to the great terrour of all Italie holden that ſtrong citie by the ſpace of a yeare. And ſo was that rich countrey rather by the mercie of God (in taking away the great Tyrant) preſerued, than by the ſtrength or policie of the

He is buried at Conſtantinople.

The diſcription of Mahomet.

The ſonnes of Mahomet, Muſtapha, Bajazet, and Zemes.

Otranto yeelded vp to the Turks vpõ compoſitiõ.

diſperſed in the campe ſore wounded, and readie many of them to giue vp the ghoſt: and alſo but euen a little before, two great ſhips ſent from *Ferdinand* King of Naples with men and munition, were in deſpight of all the Turks gallies ſafely arriued at the Rhodes, to the great ioy and encouragement of the beſieged, and no leſſe diſcontentment of the Turkes. Whileſt the Baſſa was thus deliberating what courſe to take, a rumour was raiſed in the campe, That the Chriſtian Princes were comming with great power to relieue the towne: with which newes the whole armie was exceedingly troubled; whereupon he raiſed his ſiege. Some others ſay, that *Mahomet* hearing of the euill ſucceſſe of his armie in the Iſland of the Rhodes, with the difficultie of the ſiege, and now readie to goe in perſon himſelfe againſt the Sultan of Ægypt, ſent for the Baſſa, and that ſo the ſiege was raiſed. Howſoeuer it was, the Baſſa before his departure cauſed all the vines and trees growing in that part of the Iſland, to be cut downe and ſpoiled: and ſo after he had poured foorth his furie vpon the ſenceleſſe creatures, which hee could not according to his deſire exerciſe vpon the people, againe embarked his armie, and with ſhame departed, the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt.

The Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

At the ſame time that the Rhodes was thus beſieged, *Mahomet* ſent his old and moſt expert captaine *Achmetes Baſſa*, with a great fleet and a ſtrong army to make an entrance into Italie (for no kingdome was ſo ſtrong, which the ambitious tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not he might now command) and hauing long before conquered Conſtantinople, otherwiſe called new Rome, was ſtill dreaming (I wot not what) of the conqueſt of Old Rome alſo. The miſchieuous Baſſa according to his great maſters deſignes, embarked his armie at Vallona (otherwiſe called Aulona) a ſea towne in the borders of Macedonia; and from thence paſſing directly ouer that narrow ſea, which is in breadth about fixty miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of Italie, called in antient time Apulia (now Puglia) neere vnto the old and famous citie of Hydruntum, at this day called Otranto: where as ſoone as this warlike Baſſa had landed his forces, he forraged all that rich country alongſt the ſea coaſt and tooke ſuch infinit ſpoile as might wel haue ſatisfied the greedie deſire both of himſelfe and of his hungarie ſoldiers; all which rich bootie he cauſed to be conueyed into his gallies. So when he had at his pleaſure ranged vp and downe the countrie by the ſpace of fourteene dayes, and ſaw that none made head againſt him, he laid ſiege to Otranto, the chiefe citie of that countrey, and as it were the key of that part of Italie: and hauing with ſuch ordnance as hee tooke out of his gallies, made a breach, eaſily entred the ſame, & ſo without any great loſſe tooke the citie. A thing not greatly to be marueled at, foraſmuch as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether liuing in ſecuritie in the midſt of their wealth and pleaſure. The Archbiſhop, with *Zurlo* the Gouernor, and the chiefe men of the city, for ſafegard of their liues fled into the great Cathedral Church, as into a Sanctuarie; where they were all together moſt miſerably ſlain. The reſt of the citizens, whoſe hard fortune it was to eſcape the ſword (as people reſerued to moe miſery) were afterward ſhipt ouer into Grecia, & there ſold for ſlaues. The landing of the Turks in Apulia, with the taking of Otranto, brought a generall feare vpon all Italy, inſomuch that *Sixtus Quartus*, then the great Biſhop of Rome, forgetting al things ſaue himſelfe, was about to haue forſaken the citie for feare. Now after the Turks had at their pleaſure ranſackt Otranto, *Achmetes* cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly fortified (as the ſure footing of the Turks in Italie) and victualled for eighteen moneths, and there leauing eight thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers in garriſon, returned himſelfe with the reſt to Vallona, and ſo by land to Conſtantinople to know his great Maſters further pleaſure: but purpoſing with himſelfe, with the firſt of the next Spring to haue returned with greater forces againe to Italie for the proſecuting of his former victorie. Which if he had done, it was greatly to haue been feared, that all that goodly countrey, ſometime miſtreſſe of the World, but then and yet alſo rent in ſunder by the diſcord and ambition of the Chriſtian princes, had in ſhort time become a prey vnto the barbarous Turke for euer.

Achmetes landeth his armie in Apulia neere to Otranto, and ſpoileth the countrie.

Otranto taken by the Turkes.

But whileſt the great Baſſa (in his life time the great ſcourge of Chriſtendome) thus proudly plotteth the ruine and deſtruction of faire Italie, God, in whoſe hands the hearts of Kings are, put an hook in the great tyrants noſe, and led him quite another way. For at the ſame time, the Caramanian king, aided by the Perſian & the Sultan of Ægypt, had in a great battel ouerthrowne *Baiazet* (*Mahomets* eldeſt ſonne then liuing) and ſlaine moſt part of his army: in reuenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raiſed a great and puiſſant armie, and taking

Achmetes

Achmetes with him as his chiefe man of war, reiecting the wars of Italie vnto a more conuenient time, paſſed ouer into Aſia: where vpon the way, about a dayes journey ſhort of Nicomedia a citie of Bithynia, at a place called Geiuiſin he fell ſicke, and there for the ſpace of three dayes grieuouſly tormented with an extreame paine in his bellie (which ſome ſuppoſed to be the collicke) died; but being indeed, as moſt men thought, poyſoned; when he had liued about 52 yeares, and thereof raigned 31, in the yeare of our Lord 1481. His bodie was afterwards magnificently buried in a chappel neere vnto the great Mahometan temple, which he himſelfe firſt built at Conſtantinople.

Mahomet dieth at Geniſen in Bythinia, not without ſuſpition of poiſon.

1481

The death of this mightie man (who liuing troubled a great part of the world) was not much more lamented by thoſe that were neereſt vnto him, (who euer liuing in feare of his crueltie, hated him deadly) than of his enemies, who euer in doubt of his greatneſſe, were glad to heare of his end. He was of ſtature but low, and nothing anſwerable to the height of his mind, ſquare ſet, and ſtrong limmed, not inferior in ſtrength (when he was young) vnto any in his fathers Court, but to *Scanderbeg* onely: his complexion was Tartarlike, ſallow and melancholie, as were moſt of his anceſtors the *Othoman* Kings; his looke and countenance ſterne, with his eyes piercing, hollow and a little ſunke as it were into his head, and his noſe ſo high and crooked, that it almoſt touched his vpper lip. To be briefe, his countenance was altogether ſuch, as if Nature had with moſt cunning hand therein depainted and moſt curiouſly ſet forth to view the inward diſpoſition and qualities of his mind, which were on both parts notable. He was of a verie ſharpe and apprehenſiue wit, learned, as amongſt that nation, eſpecially in Aſtronomie, and could ſpeake the Greeke, Latine, Arabicke, Chaldee, and Perſian Tongues. He delighted much in regarding of Hiſtories, and the liues of worthie men, eſpecially the liues of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Iulius Cæſar*, whom he propoſed to himſelfe as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and thereto verie fortunate; a ſeuere puniſher of injuſtice, in them eſpecially to whom he had committed the adminiſtration of juſtice. Men that excelled in any qualitie, he greatly fauoured and honourably entertained: as he did *Gentil Bellin* a Painter of Venice, whom he purpoſely cauſed to come from thence, to Conſtantinople, to draw the liuerie counterfeit of himſelfe, for which he moſt honorably rewarded him. He ſo ſeuerely puniſhed theft, as that in his time all the wayes were ſafe, and a theefe ſcarcely to be heard of. But theſe good parts were in him obſcured with moſt horrible and notorious vices: for why, he was altogether irreligeous, and of all others moſt perfideous, ambitious aboue meaſure, and in nothing more delighted, than in bloud; in ſo much that it is probably gathred, that he was in his time the death of eight hundred thouſand men: craft, couetouſneſſe, and diſſimulation, were in him accounted for tollerable faults, in compariſon of his greater vices. In his loue was no aſſurance, and his leaſt diſpleaſure was death: ſo that he liued feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had iſſue three ſonnes, *Muſtapha* (dead before him, as is before declared) *Bajazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of ſome called *Ziximus*, competitor of the Empire with his eldeſt brother; whom he exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his raigne, ſo that he could not well attend any other thing but him: which opportunitie (by God himſelfe no doubt offered for the ſafegard of Italie) *Alphonſus* Duke of Calabria (King *Ferdinand* his eldeſt ſonne) taking hold vpon, with all the power hee could make in Italie, beſieged the Turks in Otranto; with whom he had many ſharpe skirmiſhes, wherein he loſt diuers of his great Captaines and Commanders, as the Countie *Iulio de Aquaiua*, *Loys de Capua*, and the Countie *Iulio de Piſa*, with others, and was ſtill by the ſtrong garriſon of the Turks put to the worſe; vntill ſuch time as being ſtrengthened with aid out of Spaine and Portugal, (but eſpecially with certaine companies of moſt valiant ſouldiers ſent from *Matthias Coruinus* out of Hungarie, whoſe forces the Turks moſt feared) he began to cut them ſhort, and ſtraitly beſieged the citie both by ſea and land: vntill at length the beſieged Turks hearing of the death of their great Emperour, and now hardly preſſed with the dangers of a ſtrait ſiege, no longer expecting the returne of *Achmetes* their Generall, (then readie to haue come to their reſcue with fiue and twentie thouſand ſouldiers) yeelded vp the city vnto the Duke, vpon compoſition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafetie depart thence: which they did, after they had to the great terrour of all Italie holden that ſtrong citie by the ſpace of a yeare. And ſo was that rich countrey rather by the mercie of God (in taking away the great Tyrant) preſerued, than by the ſtrength or policie of the

The ſonnes of Mahomet, Muſtapha, Bajazet and Zemes.

Otranto yeelded vp to the Turks vpõ compoſitiõ.

Inhabitants, which was then in great danger to haue for euer giuen place vnto the power of the great tyrant, had he longer liued; yea and after his death, to the power of *Bajazet* his son, had he not by domesticall troubles beene enforced to turne himselfe another way; and as it were to neglect in time to relieue his distressed garrison in Otranto, as shall hereafter be declared. G

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet the Great.	*Emperours,*	*Of the East,*	*Constantinus Palaologus, last Christian Emperor of Constantinople,*	1444. 8.
		Of the West,	*Fredericke the third, Arch-duke of Austria,*	1440. 54.
	Kings,	*Of England,*	*Henrie the sixth,*	1422. 39.
			Edward the fourth,	1460. 22.
		Of France,	*Charles the seuenth,*	1423. 38.
			Lewis the eleuenth,	1461. 22.
		Of Scotland,	*Iames the second,*	1437. 24.
			Iames the third,	1460. 29.
	Bishops of Rome,		*Nicholas the V,*	1437. 8.
			Calixtus the III,	1455. 3.
			Pius the II,	1458. 6.
			Paulus the II,	1464 7.
			Xystus the IV,	1471. 13.

tie and the reuerence of his father, resigned vnto him the imperiall gouernment, which he pre- G
sently tooke vpon him with the generall good liking of the people, and made *Corcutus* Gouer-
nor of Lycia, Caria, and Ionia, with the pleasant and rich countries thereabouts; allowing him
a great yerely pension for the better maintenance of his estate, with promise also of the empire
after his decease: and so sent him away to his charge, where he most pleasantly liued during
the raigne of his father *Baiazet*, giuing himselfe wholly to the studie of Philosophie, which
made that he was afterwards lesse fauoured of the Ianizaries and other men of war.

Zemes riseth against his brother Baiazet.

Zemes thus preuented by his elder brother, and vnderstanding by his friends how all things
stood at Constantinople, and that *Baiazet* was alreadie possessed of the empire; returning with
great speed, raised a puissant armie in the countries which were vnder his command, and mar-
ching through the heart of Asia the lesse, by the way as he went, tooke into his possession such
cities and strong places as he thought best; and so entring into Bithynia, tooke the great citie H
of Prusa, the antient seat of the *Otheman* Kings. Purposing in himselfe, that as *Baiazet* had shut
him out of Europe, so he would also in requitall thereof exclude him out of that part of the
Turkish empire which is beyond Hellespontus in Asia, & to make himself lord therof. Where-
in fortune at the first seemed vnto him most fauourable, all the people whersoeuer hee came
yeelding vnto him obedience as vnto their Prince and Soueraign: so that in short time he see-
med both vnto himselfe and to others, in strong possession of that part of the Empire.

Baiazet goeth against Zemes.

Of these his proceedings *Baiazet* hauing intelligence, and perceiuing the greater part of his
empire now in danger to be lost, and doubting further, that *Zemes* his ambitious minde would
hardly rest therewith long contented; for remedie of so great a mischiefe leuied a strong and I
puissant armie, wherewith he passed ouer into Asia, and came to Neapolis a Citie of Anatolia,
neere whereunto *Zemes* lay with his armie strongly incamped. As *Baiazet* was vpon the way
against his brother, *Achmetes* the great Bassa (in the confession of all men the best man of war
and most expert Captaine amongst the Turks, and of all others most entirely beloued of the
Ianizaries) came, and vnarmed presented himselfe vpon his knees before *Baiazet*, his sword
hanging at his saddle bow: to the admiration of many, who could not but wonder to see so
worthie a Chiefetaine of so great place in time of seruice, without any apparent cause, in such
humble manner to appeare before his Soueraigne, as if he had had nothing to do with armes.
It chanced many yeares before, in the mortal warres betwixt *Mahomet* the late and great Em-
perour of the Turks, and *Assymbeius Vsun-Cassanes* the King of Persia, that *Baiazet* hauing the K
leading of the right wing of his fathers Armie, had not martialled it in so good order as was
to *Mahomet* his good liking: for which cause he commanded this *Achmetes* to goe and set
that part of the battell in better order. Which his Soueraignes command whiles hee most
skilfully performed, *Baiazet* taking it in euill part, as tending to his owne disgrace, in great
choler threatened the Bassa, to finde a time when he would be reuenged vpon him. But hee
being a man of great spirit, and one that durst both doe and say much, perceiuing his meaning,
bid him doe what pleased him; and laying his hand vpon his sword, solemnly vowed, That
whensoeuer he came to command as Emperour, he would neuer weare sword in field: the re-
membrance whereof was the cause that he then came in manner aforesaid, readie to serue if
he were thereto commanded, or otherwise to endure what so his Princes pleasure was. *Ba-* L
iazet perceiuing that the vnkindens so long before conceiued, was not yet disgested, in token
of grace stretched out to him his scepter, and taking him vp, commanded him to girt his
sword vnto his side, and not to remember that which hee had long before both forgiuen and
forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a most valiant and expert captaine, made him
General of his armie, to the great contentment of the Ianizaries and the rest of the army; who
so soone as they saw him, gaue out diuers great shouts for joy, as if victorie had most assured-
ly attended vpon him. *Achmetes* taking vpon him the charge, came and incamped so neere as
he could to *Zemes*, and so lay by the space of ten dayes: during which time, many sharpe
skirmishes were made with diuers fortune; sometime the one side preuailing, and sometime
the other. At length the matter was brought to a generall battell; wherein after a long and M
cruell fight, and great slaughter on both sides, the fortune of *Baiazet*, conducted by the poli-
cie of *Achmetes*, preuailed against *Zemes*. Who seeing his Armie ouerthrowne, betooke him-
selfe to flight, and came to Iconium: in which flight many of *Zemes* his followers were
taken prisoners; whom *Baiazet* would haue pardoned and enlarged, but that by the persua-
sion

Achmetes made Generall of all Baiazets armie.

A sion of *Achmetes* he changed his mind, and to the terrour of others suffered them all to be put to the sword.

Zemes flieth into Syria.

Zemes doubting after this ouerthrow to fall into his brothers hands, and finding no means to make head againe: when he had staied three daies at Iconium, caused his treasure, plate, iewels, and other things of great value and light carriage to be trussed vp, and taking with him his mother and his two yong children, a sonne and a daughter, accompanied with a small retinue, fled into Syria; then part of the dominion of *Caytbeius*, commonly called the great Sultan of Ægypt and Syria. It was not long after the departure of *Zemes* from Iconium, but that *Baiazet* came thither with his armie, to haue surprised him: but vnderstanding of his flight, hee took order for the peaceable gouernment of that part of his empire. And so hauing suppressed
B that dangerous rebellion, and again reduced that troubled part of his empire to his obeisance, returned with victorie to Constantinople.

1482. The distressed prince *Zemes* trauelling through Syria, came at length to Ierusalem: where he stayed a good space, deuoutly visiting the monuments of that most antient and famous citie. From thence he trauelled into Ægypt; where at his first entrance into the countrey, hee was met by diuers of the greatest nobilitie of that kingdome, sent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to Caire, and there presented to *Caytbeius*, of whom he was graciously welcommed: vnto whom after due reuerence done, he declared the cause of his comming, as followeth:

Zemes his speech to Caytbeius, Sultan of Egypt.

C *If it were not to me certainely knowne (most victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, or from whence descended, or with what iniurie enforced, after long and painfull trauell I am here arrived; it would much concerne me to vse another manner of beginning of my speech, and with greater protestation of words to seeke your gracious fauour. But forasmuch as all these things are vnto your most royall Maiestie sufficiently knowne, as I doe well perceiue in this, that your infinite clemencie hath entertained me with farre greater kindnesse than I in such my aduerse fortune durst wish for, much lesse request: Now nothing remaineth for me to say, more than iustly to complaine vnto your inuincible Maiestie, of the wrong and iniurie done vnto me by* Baiazet, *whom I may more iustly tearme my cruell enemie, than kind brother. For he not contented to haue taken vnto himselfe my fathers Empire by great tumult and slaughter, hath with all hostilitie and force of armes persecuted me his brother,*
D *excluded out of the Imperiall Citie, and then liuing in Bythinia, troublesome neither to him, nor any of his people, and neuer rested vntill he had chased me out of the bounds of my fathers Empire. Neither hath the iealous desire of Soueraigntie (whereof my father whilest he liued, had him alwaies in distrust) so much moued him vnto this so cruell fact, as a certaine vnnaturall crueltie towards all his kindred in generall, and mortall hatred against me his brother in particular: for he which is alreadie possessed of the Empire, and doth with all hostilitie persecute a priuate person, subiect and exposed to his iniurie, that man thirsteth not after Soueraigntie, but after bloud; neither desireth he to conquer, but to kill. And whereas after my fathers death great troubles arose in Constantinople, and many bloodie skirmishes were fought betwixt the fauourites of both of vs, it cannot with any truth be laied to my charge, as done by mine aduise or counsell, I being at the same time so farre from thence. Neither am*
E *I iustly to be blamed, if that after my fathers departure I put my selfe vpon the way towards Constantinople, especially being sent for thither by many my good friends, men of great marke and qualitie: but his fortune preuailing, I gaue place, and lest my comming to the imperiall Citie might haue been the occasion of new troubles, I returned aside into Bythinia, and so to Prusa, with purpose there to haue rested in quiet, if my brother would haue giuen me leaue. But so far was he from that, to suffer mee there to rest, as that I was by him most cruelly assayled as an open enemie: and had I not by speedie flight withdrawn my selfe from the imminent danger, and departed quite out of my fathers kingdome,*
F *I must haue yeelded my selfe, my blood, and life, as a sacrifice into his cruell hands. Neither is he to me so mortall an enemie, or thirsteth after my life so much for feare, as for very hatred and malice: for what is there in me to feare? Verily nothing: Constantinople is his, the fauour of the great Chiefetaines and men of warre is his, the treasure and regall riches are all his; wherefore he hateth his brother, but feareth him not. He will sway all things alone, he will haue all that belongeth to the* Othoman *familie alone, and he, yea none but he, must liue alone.* Xerxes *was a mightie King, and yet in that great and large Kingdome he not onely preserued his brethren in safetie, but had them also in great honour and estimation. What did* Alexander *the Great? Who not*

onely

onely tooke pleasure in his brother, but had him also as a companion of his most glorious expedition: and many other famous Kings of forreine Nations, and of our owne familie, haue ruled both more safely, and better strengthened, with the counsell and aid of their most louing brethren, rather than with others. But Baiazet *is of a farre other minde, reputing violence and haughtinesse of heart to be his greatest and surest defence: herein his fierce nature delighteth, more than in the lawfull course of nature, iustice, and equitie; he had rather haue his brother his enemie than his friend, and to driue him into exile, than to make him partaker of his counsels. But I beseech thee most puissant Monarch, the faithfull keeper and maintainer of our Law and Religion, by the sacred reliques of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *which thou hast at Hierusalem and Mecha, suffer me not, a Kings sonne, to liue in banishment and exile, poore and miserable, a scorne of his brothers crueltie, farre from home farre from his countrie and kingdome; but regarding the Law of the great Prophet, lift vp the afflicted and oppressed, and by the great authoritie which you haue, bridle domesticall wrong; or if that will not take place, reuenge it with thy sword, and suffer not our Empire, with so great trauell founded, by the crueltie or follie of one wilfull man to be ouerthrowne: which should be no more grieuous and lamentable to vs, than dangerous to your most high estate, and all other Kings and Princes of our Religion. For you of your selfe vnderstand right well, what deadly enemies the Christian Princes are vnto the Turks: and doe you thinke, that if any great warre (which I wish not) should arise of this our discord, that they would long rest in quiet, and as idle beholders stand looking on vntill it were of it selfe appeased? Or rather hauing such an opportunitie presented, would not with might and maine suddenly inuade our kingdome, before shaken with ciuile warres, and seeke the vtter ruine and destruction of the same? Which their desire, if that hatefull people could bring to passe (which thing* Mahomet *turne vpon themselues) my mind abhorreth to, thinke how far that mischefe would runne: For the* Othoman *familie once rooted out, there is none of our Religion, (your Maiestie onely excepted) which is able withstand their power: wherefore you must thinke of Asiana for your selfe and all the rest, you alone must withstand the force of the Christians, you must maintaine that warre with much losse, and greater charge, and most vncertaine successe. Wherefore inuincible Monarch, I most humbly beseech thee, that pitying our estate, whiles the matter is yet whole, and remedie is yet to be had, to deale with* Baiazet *by your Embassadours, That though he will not receiue me his brother as partner of the Empire, yet at least to admit me into some small part of my fathers kingdome: Let him raigne and rule, let all things be his command; let it be lawfull for mee poore man but to liue in rest and quiet somewhere, possessing but so much as may suffice mee honestly to lead a priuate life. Which thing if he shall refuse to grant, although he neither feare the Lawes of God or man, yet as I haue at Hierusalem, so will I also shortly at Mecha (if by your leaue I may) complaine vnto the great Prophet, of the iniuries done vnto mee by my cruell and vnnaturall brother; and afterwards make proofe of your compassion towards mee, all which I hope shall much auaile. But if (which I would not) I shall prooue al these things in vain, sith desparation enforceth men to all extreamities, I will goe with fire, sword, and slaughter, by secret and open force, by right and wrong; and hated, will vex my hateful brother by all manner of mischiefe, by all manner of reuenge. Neither will I make an end of confounding of all, vntill I bee either receiued into part of the Empire, or else together with my life leaue those desperate and lost things for him alone to enioy. For I deeme it much better, quickly to die, than with disgrace and infamie to protract a lingring loathed life.*

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the distressed prince, willing him to be of good cheere, and patiently to beare his present hap: forasmuch as it became a man borne in so high fortune, not to be discouraged with any mischance, or dismaid if things fell out otherwise than he looked for: commending him withall, for that he saw in him no lesse courage than might well haue becommed his better estate; & willing him to liue still in hope, promised to doe what in him lay, to reconcile him to his brother, & to perswade him that he might be receiued into some part of the kingdom: and to that purpose shortly after dispatched away an honorable embassage to *Baiazet*. *Zemes* in the meane while, by the same Sultans leaue, vpon a superstitious deuotion trauelled into Arabia, to visit the Temple of *Mahomet* at Mecha, and his sepulchre at Medina. Vpon his returne to Caire, the embassadours before sent, returned also, but not hauing obtained any thing they desired: for *Baiazet* would not giue eare to any agreement, but seemed altogether to contemne and despise his brother. Wherfore *Zemes* more vpon stomacke & desire of reuenge, than for any hope he had of the empire, determined with himselfe

Caytheius the Egyptian Sultan sendeth embassadors to Baiazet.

himselfe to make open war vpon him; reposing some good hope in his secret friends, and in the reuolt of some of the great captaines, who discontented with the gouernment of *Baiazet*, secretly wished for his returne.

Whilest he was thus plotting these weightie matters, a messenger with letters came fitly from the King of Caramania, offering with all the power he could make, to joyne with him, if he would take vp armes against his brother. This poore titular King then liued in Armenia, and being able by his friends to make some good force, was in hope by joyning with *Zemes*, to recouer some part of the Caramanian kingdome, from whence his father was not many yeres before driuen by the force of the late Turkish Emperour *Mahomet* the Great, *Baiazet* his father. It is hard to say, whither of these distressed and exiled Princes gaue the greater encouragement to the other, to take this desperat war in hand, being both together far vnable by all the friends they could make, to encounter with the great power of *Baiazet*. But what is so dangerous or desperat, which aspiring minds will not attempt in hope of a kingdome? whose brightnesse so dazeleth their eyes, that they can see nothing but it. 1483.

The king of Caramania soliciteth Zemes to take vp armes against Baiazet

Hereupon *Zemes* hauing receiued great gifts of the Ægyptian Sultan, with promise of aid, departed from Caire (the Sultan earnestly perswading him to the contrarie) and as it was before appointed, met with the Caramanian King vpon the borders of Asia the lesser: where they concluded to joine together such Forces as they had, and to inuade *Baiazet*. Which they accordingly did: for raising all the power they could, they entred into Cilicia, (now called Caramania) and joyning their armies together, incamped betweene Iconium and Larenda. Neither did *Baiazet* in time of so great a danger sit still; not so much fearing his brothers power, as the reuolting of his captaines and souldiers, whom he knew either to loue, or at least not to hate the young Prince his brother. Wherefore he raised a great armie, and sent *Achmetes* (the great man of war) before with the one part thereof, himselfe following after with a far greater strength: for at that time he had vnder his ensignes two hundred thousand men.

As he was marching with this great armie, a rumor was raised in the campe, That some of his chiefe captaines had conspired to betray him into the hands of his brother, and that many of the souldiers secretly fauouring *Zemes*, would vpon the joyning of the battell forsake him, and take part with his brother. Which report so troubled *Baiazet*, that he stood in doubt what to doe, or whom to trust: but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common soldier more, than the Generals bountie, he forthwith caused a wonderfull masse of mony to be diuided amongst the captains and soldiers, loding their minds with ample promises of far greater rewards, for their fidelitie and valour to be shewed in that present seruice. Hauing thus assured himselfe of the wauering minds of his souldiers, he began to draw neere to Iconium, where his enemies lay incamped: and by glosing letters and flattering messengers made shew openly, as if he had been verie desirous to come to some good agreement with them, but secretly went about to stop all the straits and passages, in such manner as that it should not be possible for them againe to retyre backe into Syria: for he doubted nothing more, but lest they being few in number, & in strength far vnequall vnto him, would not vpon so great disaduantage hazard the fortune of a battell, but retyre themselues into Syria, and so to his exceeding trouble and infinite charge protract the warre.

Zemes perceiuing his brothers subtill drift, and seeing no such reuolt as he had hoped for, and as had before by letters to him bin promised; and weighing with reason his owne weake forces, retyred in good time vnto the straits of the mountain Amanus, which diuideth Cilicia from Syria. Here, despairing of all good successe in the enterprise he had taken in hand, he perswaded the Caramanian king his confederate to giue place vnto the time, and to reserue himselfe vnto his better fortune: and so breaking vp his armie, with a few of his followers came down to the sea coast of Cilicia; where he hired a tall ship to attend in readinesse, that if any sudden danger should arise, he might go aboord, and so saue himselfe by sea. In the mean time he sent a messenger vnto *Damboys* Great Master of the Rhodes, certifying him, That for as much as he had no place of safetie left amongst his owne people, wherein he might shroud himself from the fury of his brother, still seeking after his life, he would vpon his safe conduct come to him into his Island of the Rhodes. Which his request the Great Master easily granted, deeming the flight of so great a Prince from the Turke, to be a thing much profitable to the Christian Commonweale: and thereupon he presently sent forth certaine gallies to fetch

Zemes flyeth to sea.

him

him from the troublesome coast of Cicilia. But before these gallies were come, *Zemes* was in- G
forced by the sudden accesse of his enemies, for the auoiding of present danger, to go aboord
on that ship which he had prouidently before prepared to be in readinesse for such purpose.
And hauing put a little from the shoare, shot backe againe an arrow with letters made fast vnto
it, directed vnto his brother *Baiazet*, containing as followeth:

Zemes his letters to his brother Baiazet.

Thou knowest (most vnkind and cruell brother) that I flie not vnto the Christians, the mortall enemies of the Othoman *Familie, for hatred of my religion or nation; but enforced thereunto by thy iniurious dealing, and dangerous practises which thou incessantly attemptest against me, yea euen in my extreame miserie. But this assured hope I carrie with me, that the time will come when as thou the authour of so great wrong, or thy children shall receiue the iust guerdon of this thy present tyranny against thy brother.*

It is reported, that when *Baiazet* had read these letters, he was so troubled in mind, that for H
certaine daies he gaue himselfe wholly to mourning and heauinesse, and would in no wise bee
comforted: insomuch, that he was brought into the campe by the Bassaes, as a man halfe di-
straught of his wits, shunning for a season all mens speech and companie.

Zemes flieth to the Rhodes.

Zemes sailing to the Rhodes, was there honorably receiued of the Great Master, and all the
rest of the Knights of the Order: to whom in their publicke assemblie three daies after, hee
openly declared the causes of the discord betwixt his brother and him: alledging for the co-
lor of his rebellion, That although *Baiazet* were his elder brother, yet that he was born whilst
his father yet liued in priuat estate, vnder subiection and command, long before he possessed
the kingdome, and so no kings sonne: whereas he himselfe was the first borne of his father, I
beeing an Emperour, and so not heire of his fathers priuat fortune (as was *Baiazet*) but of his
greatest honour and empire; and yet not of such an hautie mind, but that he could haue beene
content to haue giuen place vnto his brother, so that he could haue bin contented likewise to
haue granted him some small portion of the empire, wherein he might safely haue liued a
poore Prince, and his brother: but that such was his pride, as that he would not vouchsafe to
suffer him to liue so much as a poore priuat life in any corner of so large an empire, and was
therefore by his vnnaturall and tyranous dealing, enforced to craue aid of the Christian prin-
ces. Of whom (forsomuch as he had alwaies heard much honour) he was in good hope to find
succour and reliefe in that his distressed estate: protesting vnto God and the world, that if
euer it should be his good fortune by their means and helpe to obtaine the empire, he would K
neuer be vnmindfull of so great a benefit; but to make with them a perpetuall and inuiolable
peace, and so to rest their fast friend for euer. The Great Master on the other side comforting
him with cheerfull speeches, promised to keepe him in safetie from the furie of his brother;
and farther to commend his cause to the other great Kings and Princes of Christendome.

The description of Zemes.

This exiled Prince *Zemes*, was about the age of eight and twentie yeares when he came to
the Rhodes; of stature tall, somewhat corpulent and well limb'd, gray eyed, but looking some-
thing asquint, hooke nosed, and in the middle rising, in such maner as the Persians commend
in their kings: of colour browne, spare of speech, and by nature cholericke: a great feeder, so
that he seemed rather to deuoure his meat, than to eat it; much delighted in swimming, and to
lie abroad in the night; pensiue and melancholie, which men imputed to his great cares, neuer L
merrie but in the companie of the grand Master, a religious obseruer of the superstition, from
which he could neuer be drawne during the long time he liued in exile; learned as among the
Turks, so that he wrot the historie of his fathers life. But leauing him in safe keeping with the
grand Master of the Rhodes, let vs againe returne to the course of our historie.

Baiazet hauing now the second time chased away his brother, after he had wel quieted that
part of his troubled kingdome in Asia, returned againe to Constantinople, carefully attending
when some new motion should be made by his brother, to his farther disquiet. But after he vn-
derstood that he was with the Great Master of the Rhodes, hee sent certaine of his Bassaes
(amongst whom *Achmetes* the great souldier is reported to haue bin one) vnto the Great Ma- M
ster, requesting him to deliuer vp *Zemes*, offering for him a wonderfull sum of mony. Which
dishonorable request, when it could by no meanes be obtained, the same Embassadors in the
name of their master, concluded a peace very commodious for the Rhodians: wherein among
other things it was agreed, That the Great Master should keepe *Zemes* in safe custodie, so that
hee should no more trouble the Turkish Empire: in consideration whereof, and for his ho-
nourable

A notable vsage, *Baiazet* should yearely pay vnto the Great Master thirtie thousand duckats the
first of August, which was afterward accordingly paied.

It fortuned that whilest *Achmetes* the great Bassa (emploied in matters abroad) was absent 1484
from the court, *Baiazet* discoursing with the other Bassaes his graue counsellors, vpon his late
expedition into Asia against his brother, seemed to be highly offended with the vntrustinesse
& doubtfull faith of some of his greatest captains & soldiers; yet vpon whom he might iust-
ly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it seemed by his talke, he should somewhat di-
strust the great capraine *Achmetes*. Hereupon *Isaac* the most antient Bassa of the court, and of
greatest authoritie next vnto *Baiazet* himselfe (whose daughter, a ladie of exceeding beautie,
Achmetes had long before married, but doubting that she had yeelded her honour to the wan-
B ton lust of *Mustapha* the eldest sonne of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, had put her from him, and
would by no meanes be reconciled; for which cause there was a secret hatred euer after be-
twixt those two great Bassaes) perceiuing the Emperors discontented and suspitious humour,
and desiring nothing more than the destruction of *Achmetes*, tooke hold vpon his opportunity,
and by all meanes he could deuise, encreased the suspition of the treason, which had already
too much possessed the iealous Emperor: sometimes craftily imagining, intelligence to haue
passed betwixt *Zemes* and *Achmetes*; and forthwith amplifying his power and authoritie,
which (as he said) was so great with the Ianizaries and souldiers of the court, that they by rea-
son of his often imployments, were wholly at his deuotion; so that he might at his pleasure
do more in *Zemes* his quarrell, than should stand with the safetie of *Baiazet*; a matter well to *Achmetes his death contriued.*
C be considered of, and also carefully preuented. For remedie of which dangers, it was thought
necessarie, that *Achmetes* at his returne to court, should be taken away and slaine.

Achmetes fearing nothing lesse than that which was contriued against him, came after his
wonted maner to the court; and was with the other great Bassaes inuited to a solemne supper
which *Baiazet* had commanded to be prepared, to solace himselfe after his trauels (as it was
giuen out) with his chiefe Bassaes. To this royall supper came *Achmetes* with the rest of the
bidden guests, mistrusting nothing, and was there sumptuously feasted by *Baiazet*: who to
make his guests the merrier, dranke wine plentifully himselfe, causing them also to drinke in
like manner; so that they were full of wine: a thing vtterly forbidden by their law, yet day-
ly more and more vsed, especially by their great men in their feasts. Supper now ended, and
D the night far spent, *Baiazet* in token that they were welcome, and stood in his good grace, cau-
sed certaine rich robes of pleasing colours to be brought forth, & to be cast vpon euery of
his guests one, giuing beside vnto euery one of them a faire guilt boule full of gold. But vpon
Achmetes was cast a gowne of blacke veluet, which among the Turks may well be called the
mantle of death, being so sure a token of the Emperours heauie indignation, as that it is death
for any man once to open his mouth, or to intreat for him vpon whom it is by the Emperors
commandement so cast. *Achmetes* seeing himselfe now vnder the shadow of death, and know-
ing it but vaine to intreat for mercie, as he was a man of great spirit, brake forth and said, *Oh
cachpogly* (which is as much as to say, thou sonne of a whore) sith thou entendedst so much cru-
eltie against me, why didst thou not put it in execution before thou hadst inforced me to drink
E this impure and forbidden wine? and so casting his eies vpon the ground sat still. The other
Bassaes hauing leaue to depart, giuing thanks to the Emperor, and crauing pardon for their ex-
cesse, kissed the ground at his feet and so departed: with whom *Achmetes* offered to haue gon
out also, but was forthwith commanded to sit still, for that the Emperor had to talke with
him in secret. The Bassa's were no sooner departed, but the terrible executioners of *Baiazet* his
wrath stept in, and laid hands vpon *Achmetes* to haue slaine him; when one of the Eunuchs in
greatest fauor with the tyrant, standing by, aduised him not to be too hastie in executing of so
great a man, so entirely beloued of his best souldiers and men of war, but rather to stay his ex-
ecution for a while, to see how the matter would be disgested; and in the meane time by tor-
ture to wrest it out from him what might be got, to make it in some sort appeare, that he died
F for his due desert. Hereupon *Baiazet* deferred his execution to a farther time, and caused him
there presently to be stript, and carried away to be tortured.

Achmetes his son stirreth vp the Ianizaries to help his father.

Amongst other gallants of the court which attended the comming out of the great Bassaes
whom they followed, was one of *Achmetes* his sons, a gentleman of great hope; who missing
his father among the rest, began presently to mistrust that all went not wel, & speedily running
from

from one of the Bassaes to another, with much ado learned the hard estate of his father: wherof he was also at the same instant aduertised by a secret friend neere about *Baiazet*. Hereupon this yong gentleman began forthwith piteously to lament his fathers mishap, and to exclaim against the crueltie of *Baiazet*; called on the Ianizaries for aid, putting them in remembrance of his fathers great and manifold deserts towards them, together with his imminent danger: and so running vp and down the citie in the dead time of the night, had in short space raised vp all the Ianizaries in armes: who vnderstanding of the danger of their antient commander, who they generally loued and honored as their father, came running by heaps from all parts of the citie vnto the court gate, there with terrible exclamation doubling and redoubling their *Bre, Bre*, (which barbarous word they commonly vse in expressing their greatest discontentment and fury) & did indeed so furiously beat at the court gate, that *Baiazet* fearing least they should breake in by violence, caused the outer gate to be set open, and shewing himselfe from aboue out at an yron window, demanded of them the cause of that tumult and vprore. To whome they insolently answered, That they would by and by teach him as a drunkard, a beast, and a rascall, to vse his great place and calling with more sobrietie and discretion: and among other opprobrious words wherewith they shamefully loded him, they called him oftentimes by the name of *Bengi*, *Bengi* (that is to say, Batchelor or Scholler) which amongst those martial men, contemners of all learning, is accounted a word of no small reproch and disgrace. And after they had in most despitefull manner thus reuiled him, they proudly commanded him forthwith to deliuer *Achmetes* vnto them, or else to take that should ensue thereof. *Baiazet* terrified with this insolencie of the Ianizaries, & fearing some sudden violence to be offred, commanded *Achmetes* to be without delay deliuered vnto them: which was done in such hast, that he was brought forth vnto them almost naked, bare legged, & bare headed, bearing in his body the manifest markes of his hard vsage. The Ianizaries receiuing him with great reioycing, supplied his want of apparell with such habiliments, as they for that purpose vpon the sudden tooke from *Baiazets* minions: and so taking him vpon their shoulders, with great ioy carried him out of the court, still crying vnto him, How he did, and how he felt himselfe? And so guarded him home, ready no doubt to haue slain *Baiazet* and rifled the court, if he would haue but said the word. But he yet loyall, laboured with good words to appease that tumult, and to pacifie their furie: excusing that which *Baiazet* had done against him, to haue bin done onely to correct him, for that happily he had forgotten some part of obedience and dutie. Neuertheless, hereupon remained no small heartburning betwixt *Baiazet* and the Ianizaries for a long time after: yet *Baiazet* for feare of them reconciled himselfe to *Achmetes*, and in open shew had him in greater honour than before, promoting him euen vnto the highest degrees of honor, howbeit he inwardly hated him to death. And the more by the contiuuall instigation of the old Bassa *Isaac*: by whose persuasion, when it was thought that all had bin forgotten, hee was by *Baiazets* commandement as he sat at supper in the court, thrust through the bodie and slaine. This was the miserable end of *Achmetes*, the great champion of the Turks, and one of the greatest enemies of Christendome that euer liued in the Turkish court: for by him, *Mahomet* subuerted the empire of Trapezond, tooke the great citie of Caffa (called in antient time Theodosia) with all the countrey of Taurica Chersoenesus, the impregnable citie of Croia, with all the kingdome of Epirus, the strong citie of Scodra, and a great part of Dalmatia, and last of all Otranto, to the terror of all Italy: by him also, *Baiazet* vanquished and put to flight his brother *Zemes*, as is before declared. In reward of which good seruices, he was, by the tyrant (vpon a meere suspition) thus cruelly and shamefully murthered. About this time also, *Caigubus* (*Zemes* his son, then but a childe) was by the commandement of *Baiazet* his vncle, strangled, in the new tower of Constantinople.

Baiazet for feare deliuereth Achmetes to the Ianizaries.

Achmetes slaine.

Baiazet now grieuously offended with the pride and late insolencie of the Ianizaries, caused secret inquirie to be made, of them which were the authors of those late stirs; & finding them to be the officers of their companies, and specially those which had before slain *Mahomet Bassa* the great polititian, immediatly after the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, at which time they had also raised great tumults, and done much harme in the citie; he vnder color of preferment, sent away those authours of sedition into diuers parts of his Empire, appointing vnto them (as vnto old souldiers and men of good desert) certaine lands & reuenues for their maintenance and preferment. But as soone as they were departed, he by secret letters commanded the

A the gouernors and magistrats of those places whereunto they were sent, suddenly to apprehend them, and as traitors to put them to death; which was accordingly done. The Ianizaries of the court and about Constantinople, hearing what had hapned vnto their fellowes, became wonderfull discontented, and began to mutine in diuers places of the citie, vttering speeches against the Emperor full of despight and reuenge. Which thing when *Baiazet* vnderstood, and had wel considered the late danger he was in, together with the intollerable pride and insolencie of those his masterful slaues; he secretly purposed in himselfe for curing of so dangerous a disease, to vse a most desperat remedie: which was, suddenly to kill and destroy all the Ianizaries, especially those which were belonging to the court, or about Constantinople. This his purpose he imparted to diuers of his greatest Bassa's, charging them vpon paine of his heauie displeasure not to disclose it: and for the execution thereof, had sent for great numbers of
B those soldiers which are called Acanzij, who are amongst the Turks reputed for the best sort of common soldiers. Most of all the Bassa's to whom he had imparted this his cruell deuise, much disliked thereof, as too full of perill and danger: yet seeing him fully resolued for the performance thereof, would not, or durst not say any thing to the contrarie. Only *Alis* & *Isphender Bassa* (both discended of the honorable family of *Michael Ogli*) dissuaded him from attempting any such thing: alledging first, That the Ianizaries were in number many, soldiers of great courage and experience, resolute men, and such as would sel their liues deere: Then, admitting that he should kill all them about the court and in Constantinople; yet for as much as all his strong townes and castles, especially in the frontiers and chiefe places of his dominions, were
C possessed and holden by strong garrisons of other Ianizaries, fellows and friends of these (who would vndoubtedly take vp arms in defence of themselues, and reuenge of their dead friends) it were a thing very like to endanger himselfe, together with the whole state of his empire, beside the great dishonour which would grow vnto himselfe thereby for euer.

This so dangerous an exployt, wherein the hands of so many were to be vsed, was not kept so secret, but that the vigilant and wilie Ianizaries had got an inckling thereof; and thereupon began daily more & more to suspect the matter, both by the often & secret repare of the great men to the court, more than they had before seen, & also by the vnwonted multitude of those Acanzij, which were daily brought vnto the imperial citie by great troups. Wherfore fearing to be suddenly surprised, they banded themselues together, and openly stood vpon their gard: and by chance lighting vpon *Alis Beg* as he came from the court, (who was indeed their best
D friend) after their barbarous manner, with many opprobrious & contumelious words, demanded of him, if he were not one of them who had conspired their destruction: and without more ado had presently slain him, had he not (as a well spoken man) with great protestations and oathes persuaded them, that he neuer consented to any such thing, or that they needed to feare any such thing from him: and so with much adoe rid himselfe out of their hands.

Baiazet seeing his purpose discouered, and that he could not without great bloudshed, and danger both to his estate and person, worke his will vpon the Ianizaries; by the counsell and aduice of them that saw further into the matter, to colour his former intention, commanded by open proclamation, That the Ianizaries and other his men of war (of whom he had a great
E power now assembled at Constantinople) to be in readinesse against a certain prefixed day, to go with him into Moldauia: as if he had raised that power for that purpose only. But when the time was come that he should set forward, the Ianizaries put themselues in order of battell by themselues, and would in no wise joyne themselues with the rest of the armie, or receiue the Emperor into the midst of their ranks, as they had alwayes before accustomed; but furiously shaking their weapons at him, told him plainly, that he had sought their destruction; and bid him therefore if he thought it so good, to set his executioners to worke vpon them, whom he should find both readie and able to defend themselues. To pacifie their furie, *Baiazet* was glad to giue them good words, and to vse all the means he could (by his great Bassa's and other captains which were able to do any thing with them) to persuade them to be quiet; swearing vn-
F to them by the holy soule of his father (a solemne oath amongst the Turks) that he would not harme or wrong the meanest of them. So with much adoo they were at length appeased, and receiued *Baiazet* into the midst of them, as their woonted manner was.

1487.

Baiazet purposeth to destroy the Ianizaries.

This dangerous tumult so quieted, *Baiazet* set forward, and passing ouer Danubius, entered into Moldauia, where he first layd siege to a strong towne standing vpon the Euxine sea, called

Baiazet inuadeth Moldauia.

of the Turks Kele, but in antient time Achilleia, which was at length deliuered vnto him by G
composition. From thence he went to Ac-girmen, otherwise called Asprocastron, which af-
ter a moneths siege was also deliuered vp by composition: which two strong places so woon,
he returned againe to Constantinople.

Many great Princes sue to the Master of the Rhodes for Zemes.

Many great princes desirous of *Zemes*, labored by their Embassadors to haue obtained him
of the Great Master of the Rhodes: first *Baiazet* his brother, fearing least he should at one time
or other againe breake forth vpon him, or else set vp by the Christian Princes, trouble his
estate, offered great sums of mony to haue had him deliuered into his hands: and *Charles* the
French king purposing the conquest of Naples, (which he in few yeares after performed) and
after that to haue inuaded Grecia, thought *Zemes* a most fit instrument for the furtherance of
those his high designes, and was therefore wonderful desirous to haue had him. *Matthias* also H
King of Hungarie (a fortunat Warriour against the Turke) perswaded that the hauing of him
might be vnto him a great furtherance in the course of his victories, sought by all the meanes
he could to haue obtained him. At which time also *Innocentius* the eight of that name, Bishop
of Rome, no lesse desirous than the rest, to haue in his keeping so great a pledge of peace and
war (the bridle of the Turks furie, together with the large pension he was sure to receiue year-
ly from *Baiazet* for the safe custodie of him) so wrought the matter by *Lyonel* Bishop of Cor-
cordia, his cunning Legat, that the Great Master, fearing on the one side to be constrained by
the great power of *Baiazet*, to grant that he had so often refused, and now so earnestly solici-
ted on the other side by the Bishop, caused *Zemes* to be deliuered to him at Rome in the yere
1488: for which doing he was by the Bishop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardi- I
nall. So *Zemes* to the great profit of the Bishop (who receiued from *Baiazet* a yerely pension
of fortie thousand duckats) remained in safe custodie at Rome all the time of *Innocentius*, and
also of *Alexander* the sixt his successour: vntill that the French King *Charles* the eight, passing
thorow the heart of Italie with a strong armie against *Alphonsus* King of Naples, in the yeare
1495, and making his way thorow the citie of Rome, so terrified the great Bishop (who alto-
gether fauoured and furthered the title of *Alphonsus*) that he was glad to yeeld to such articles
and conditions as pleased the King: and amongst the rest, to giue in hostage vnto the King his
graceless sonne *Cæsar Borgia Valentinus*, and also to deliuer vnto him *Zemes* his honorable pri-
soner, as shall be afterwards in place conuenient at large declared.

In the beginning of *Baiazet* his raigne, whilest he was busied against his brother *Zemes* in K
Asia, *Iohn Castriot* the son of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the Venetians, after he had fortunatly ouer-
throwne the Turke in a battell neere vnto Croia, recouered a great part of Epirus out of their
possession. At which time also *Iohn Chernouich*, a Christian Prince of Albania, casting off the
Turkish yoke imposed vpon him by the late Emperor *Mahomet*, suddenly tooke vp armes, and
by the helpe of the Venetians valiantly repulsed the enemies out of that part of Albania; and
so troubled *Baiazet*, that he was glad to suffer him peaceably to enioy all that he had by force
recouered, and further to content himselfe with a small tribute for the rest.

1486. *Baiazet* highly offended with *Abraham* (whom some call *Pyramet*) the King of Carama-
Baiazet inuadeth Caramania. nia, for aiding his brother *Zemes* against him; in reuenge thereof raised a great armie both in L
Europe and Asia, and marching alongst Asia the lesse, through the countries of Phrygia, My-
sia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphilia, entered at length into Caramania. But the King of Carama-
nia hearing before of his comming, and knowing himself too weake to meet him in field, for-
tified the strong cities and places of his kingdome, and retyred with his armie into the straits
of the mountain Taurus, where it parteth Cilicia from Syria; wherein he was in more safetie
than in any of his strongest holds. *Baiazet* finding no way to come to him, spent most part of
the Summer in spoyling of the open countrey: but perceiuing his enemies could not so be
drawne into the field, he laid siege vnto the famous citie of Tarsus, being the chiefe Citie of
the champaine part of Cilicia (the natiue place of Saint *Paul* the Apostle) and in short time so
battered the walls of his citie with his great ordnance, that he had made them faultable. The M
Citisens considering the danger they were in, offered to deliuer vp their Citie, their libertie,
Tarsus in Cilicia yeeldeth to Baiazet. liues, and goods reserued. Of which their offer *Baiazet* accepted, and most honourably per-
formed his promise for their safetie; not permitting any of his soulders to enter the Citie,
more than such as must needs for the guard of his person, and safe keeping of the citie. And
for as much as Winter began now to grow fast on, he dispersed his souldiers into the Coun-
trey

A trey villages round about, not suffering the countrey people to till or sow their land, or to doe
any thing els which might turne to their profit or good; wherby they were inforced to yeeld
themselues wholly to his deuotion. The Caramanian King seeing his people daily fall from
him, & fearing to be at length forsaken of his soldiers also, in this his distres obtain'd aid both
of men and mony from *Caytbeius* the great Sultan of Ægipt, and so with all the power he could
make, tooke the field with the first of the next Spring, fully resolued to trie the fortune of a
battel, although in strength and power he knew himself much inferior to his puissant enemy.

Baiazet glad to see his enemie so forward, speedily assembled his armie, and without delay
offered him battell: which the Caramanian king refused not. So betwixt them was begun a *A long and ter-*
fierce and terrible fight; which by the skilfull conduct of the leaders, and exceeding courage *rible battell be-*
B of the soldiers, was maintained the whole day with doubtfull victorie and great slaughter on *twixt Baiazet*
both sides, new supplies still comming on in stead of them which were slaine. The day decli- *and the king of*
ning, the Caramanian king (whose fatall destinie had now appointed him vnto his last worke) *Caramania.*
seeing his wearied soldiers rather ouerlaid with multitude, than vanquished by force, to begin
to giue ground vnto their enemies; couragiously thrust forward with his guard and other va-
liant soldiers about him, with such furie, that he brake into the midst of his enemies battaile:
where being known, he was forthwith enuironed by the Turks, and so hardly charged on eue-
rie side, that hauing his horse slaine vnder him, he was enforced to fight on foot; where after
he had with his owne hand slaine diuers of his enemies, he fell downe dead in the middest of
them. His souldiers discouraged with his death, turned their backes and fled, and in flying
C were for the most part either slaine or taken prisoners. After this victorie, *Baiazet* speedily
ouerran all that large countrey, and without resistance in short time brought vnder his obey-
sance all the countrey of Cilicia.

There was at that time in that part of Cilicia which is called Trachea, and lieth toward the
sea side, an antient Mahometan Prince who had vnder his command most part of that country,
with the famous and populous city of Scandeloro, the chiefe place of his resiance. This prince
had of long time liued betwixt the Christian Kings and the Kings of Caramania, as neuter, stil
fearing the greater, but indeed louing neither: and had vntil then chiefly maintained his state
by the allyance he and his ancestors continually held with the Kings of Cyprus and the grand
Masters of the Rhodes. Against this poore Prince, the only one now left in Asia the lesse, not
D subiect vnto the Turkish Kings, began *Baiazet* now to turne his forces; purposing before he
proceeded any further, to make a ful conquest of the lesser Asia, and so to make all sure behind
him. Of which his purpose the Prince hauing knowledge, and wisely weighing his own small
power to withstand so puissant an enemy; offered by his Embassadors to deliuer vnto *Baiazet*
his chiefe citie of Scandeloro, with all the rest of his territorie in Cilicia, vpon condition, that
Baiazet should giue vnto him other possessions for it, in some other part of Asia the lesser, to
the like value. Which his offer *Baiazet* accepted, and so became lord of all the sea coast, from
the straits of Bosphorus, vnto the confines of Syria.

After he had thus conquered Cilicia, with a great part of the mountaine Taurus, he descen-
ded into Armenia the lesse, and in short time brought vnder his subiect on so much of that
E countrey, as also of Cappadocia, as was sometime belonging to the Caramanian Kings. When
Baiazet had thus slaine the Caramanian King, and subdued that most antient kingdome of the
Turks, which had long and many times mightily contended with the glorie and power of the
Othoman Kings, he left *Mustapha*, one of his great Bassa's, at Iconium, with his Asian armie, to
keepe in obedience those new woon countries: and as a triumphant conqueror returned him-
selfe to Constantinople, where he was of his subiects joyfully receiued.

After that *Baiazet* had thus inlarged his Empire with the kingdome of Caramania, and was 1487.
now become an vnwelcome neighbour vnto the great Sultan of Ægypt and Syria; he began
to swell in disdaine against that mightie Prince, for that he had giuen aid against him, first vnto
his brother *Zemes*, and after that to the Caramanian King in these late wars: of which wrong
F purposing to be reuenged, he shortly after appointed one *Caragosa Bassa* his lieutenant in Asia,
with *Ishender* another of his great Captaines, with a strong armie to inuade Syria, then part of
the great Sultans Kingdome. These two great Commanders well appointed for the purpose,
when they were come to the vttermost parts of Cilicia, the new bounds of *Baiazets* Empire,
were then to passe by the confines of *Aladeules* his kingdome, before they could passe the
great

great mountaine Taurus to come into Syria. This *Aladeules* commanded as King ouer the G
rude and fierce people which dwelt alongst that great and rough mountaine, and was then in
league with the Sultan. He hearing of the approch of the Turks armie, with a great number of
his mountaine people lay in ambush in the straits whereby the Turks must needs passe, of pur-
pose to intercept them. *Ishender* marching in the vauntgard with a great number of the volun-
tarie souldiers called Acanzij, as the manner of the Turks is, and fearing nothing lesse, than to
be set vpon by the mountaine King, before he was aware was come into the midst of his ene-
mies, and was by them so fiercely charged on euerie side for their places of aduantage, that he
there lost most part of his men, and forsaken of the rest, which fought by flight to saue them-
selues, he with his two sonnes and others were taken prisoners: *Michael-beg* the eldest of the
two being fast bound, was slaine by one of *Aladeules* his followers, whose brother he had slain H
in that skirmish: his head being cut off, was by the commandement of *Aladeules* carried to
his father *Ishender*, the more to grieue him: who disdainfully willed the messenger not to shew
it vnto him, but to bid his master eat it if he would. With which answer *Aladeules* was exceed-
dingly mooued; neuertheless pitying the old mans miserie, he shortly after set *Iaxis-bey* he
yonger brother at libertie: but *Ishender* himselfe he sent prisoner vnto *Caitbeius* the great Sul-
tan at Caire, where he remained in prison fiue yeares after. *Caragoses* the Bassa discouraged
with the losse of so great a man, retyred with his armie backe againe into Cilicia, and from
thence aduertised *Baiazet* what had hapned, by whom he was commanded to returne to Con-
stantinople, as a man vnfit for so great an enterprise.

1488 The next Spring following, *Baiazet* constant in his former resolution for the inuasion of I
Achmetes being discomfited, is taken prisoner & sent to Caire. Siria, sent *Achmetes* another of his Bassa's, with a far greater army than had *Caragoses*, against the
Sultan: who was no sooner come to the further part of Cilicia, but he was there at a place cal-
led of the Turks, Tzucur Oua, encountred by the Ægyptians & Arabians, and there in a great
battell ouerthrowne; wherein he himselfe fighting most valiantly, lost two of his fingers, and
being taken prisoner was sent to Caire.

1489 *Baiazet* with this ouerthrow rather incensed than discouraged, made great preparation the
next yeare against the Sultan both by sea and land, such as he had not before at any time made.
And when all things were now in readines, sent *Alis Bassa* (of some called *Calibeus*) and *Cherse-*
ogles his sonne in law, two notable captains, with a great and puissant armie by land, against the
Ægyptian Sultan: at which time he requested of the Venetians, with whom he was then in K
league, That he might by their good leaue, as occasion required, refresh his fleet (then readie
to put to sea for the inuasion of Syria, as he said) in their Island of Cyprus. Which his request
was by the generall consent of the Senat denied, as a thing tending to the great danger of their
State: yet wisely doubting lest *Baiazet* taking that deniall in euill part, should seeke to haue
that by force, which he could not obtaine by request, they presently sent *Francisco Priuli* o
their Admirall, to sea with thirtie gallies for the defence of that Island. He hearing that one
fleet of the Turks gallies, lately come out of Hellespontus, lay houering at the Island of Sci-
ros, expecting a far greater from the coast of Ionia; and carefully considering how secret and
sudden the Turkish designements were, although it was giuen out, that al this great prepara-
tion was made against the Sultan: yet to prouide that they should not suddenly surprise the Isle, L
he speedily sent sundrie companies of souldiers, especially archers, out of Creta into Cyprus,
for the better defence thereof; but stayed himselfe with his fleet at the Island of Naxos, that
so at hand he might be the readier to withstand whatsoeuer the Turks intended. But when he
vnderstood that all their fleet was met, and now set forward, he hoysed saile, & held his course
directly for Cyprus. In the meane time the Turkish fleet sailing alongst the coast of Lycia,
Pamphilia, and Cilicia, kept on their course vntill they came vpon the coast of Syria: by
which time *Calibeus* and *Cherscogles* were come with a mightie armie into Cilicia, neere vnto
the mountaine Taurus.

Caitbeius the Egyptian Sultan hauing before had certaine intelligence of the great prepara-
tion that *Baiazet* had made against him, had before sent *Vsbeg* a most valiant and politicke cap- M
taine, with a strong armie of his Mamalukes and other his most expert souldiers into Syria, to
be readie at all times to withstand the Turkes. This worthie chieftaine vnderstanding of the
comming of the Turks armie, thought it greater policie, to carry the calamities which always
wait vpon great armies, into the enemies countrey, than to receiue it into his own bosom. And
there-

A therefore although he knew himselfe to be for number far inferior vnto his enemies, yet sup-
plying that want with the valour, courage, and assured confidence he had reposed in the appro-
ued and inuincible force of his Mamalukes, he expected not the comming of the enemie into
Syria, but passing ouer the mountaine Amanus, and so descending into Cilicia, met him not far
from Tarsus, in the same place (as it was thought) where *Alexander* the Great had long before
in a great battell vanquished *Darius*.

These two puissant armies come from far out of diuers parts of the world, the one to finde *A long and terrible battell betwixt the Turks and the Mamalukes.*
the other, were no sooner come together, but that with like cherefulnesse they joyned battell;
and that with such violence and furie, that the earth seemed to tremble vnder their feet, and a
most present destruction threatned vnto them all: which terrible and cruel fight was maintai-
ned all that day with doubtfull victorie, and exceeding slaughter on both sides; the politique
Generals with new supplies of fresh souldiers continually relieuing the most distressed parts
of their battels; and they likewise as men prodigall of their liues, resolutely offering them-
selues to all dangers. When this most dreadfull fight had in this sort endured the whole day,
and many thousands of valiant men of late aliue, lay now dead vpon the ground, the approc-
hing night brake off the battell, and both the armies sore wearied and weakned (but especially
the Turks) retyred to their camps, where they rested that night.

But the Ægyptians comming to their campe, found all their carriages with their prouision
of victuals and other necessaries quite taken away and gone. Which thing (as some write) the
bordering people of the country (for most part liuing vpon robbery) had done in time of the
C battel, to please the Turks: or as some others report, they which had the charge thereof, terrifi-
ed with the greatnesse of the Turks armie, and doubtfulnesse of the battell, fled away; and ta-
king their way along the sea side, fel into the hands of the Turks which were put on shore out
of the gallies, and so were of them spoyled. Howsoeuer it was, (for in so great vncertaintie I
dare not affirme) certain it is, that the Egyptians were sore troubled with the losse of their pro-
uision, fearing that if they should now stay longer in the countrey, they should forthwith be
driuen to great extremities for want of necessaries. Wherefore when they had euill rested that
night, the next day early in the morning they presented themselues in order of battell before
their enemies, brauing them into the field, and daring them to battel. The Turks disdaining to
see any prouder in field than themselues, after they had in goodly order ranged their battels,
D set forward with ensignes displayd against their proud enemies. There began a most terrible
and bloudie battell, fought with such desperat resolution, as if they had solemnly vowed, ei-
ther to ouercome or die in the place where they stood. A man would haue said, that the former
days furie had bin but a play in comparison of this: many valiant souldiers couered with their
dead bodies the same ground whereon they liuing stood, when they receiued the first incoun-
ter of their enemies. Of both those great armies none was seen to giue ground, or once looke
backe: the Turks Ianizaries, and the Ægyptians Mamalukes (the vndoubted strength of the
greatest Mahometan Monarchs, souldiers for their valour much feared, and through the world
renowned) there buckled together, and standing foot to foot spent the vttermost of their for-
E ces one vpon another; as if they would in that battell haue made it knowne vnto the world,
which of them were to be accounted the better souldiers. Whilest victorie stood thus doubt-
full, and the day was now far spent, *Vsbeg* the Ægyptian Generall, with fifteene thousand vali-
ant horsmen (whom he had receiued for that purpose) gaue a fresh assault vpon the Turks squa-
drons, with such force, that they had much adoo to keepe their order, and began now to giue
ground; which was by and by made good again by other fresh men speedily brought on by
the Bassa's. Then became the battell more fierce than before, euery man striuing to the vtter-
most of his power, to sell his life vnto his enemies as deere as he could. In which manner of
fight all the rest of the day was spent, vntill that after the going down of the Sun, the darknesse
of the night comming fast on, they were glad for lacke of light to breake off the battel, and to
F retyre themselues into their camps, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

The Turks Bassa's taking view of the armie, and finding that of an hundred thousand fight-
ing men which they brought into the field, there was scarce a third part left, and most of them
also maimed or hurt; & doubting to be set vpon againe the next morning by their resolute ene-
mies, fled away secretly the same night, leauing behind them for haste their tents well stored *The Turkes flie away by night.*
with victuals and all other things needfull. The Ægyptians also hauing lost one half of their

armie (which was at the first seuentie thousand) and wanting their necessarie prouision, were retyred also the same night into the mountaine Taurus, not knowing any thing of the flight of the Turks. And some of the souldiers passing quite ouer the mountaine without stay, into Syria, raised a report all ouer the countrey as they went, That the Sultans armie was ouerthrown, and that the Turks had got the victorie: so vncertaine was the true knowledge of the euent of that battel, euen vnto them that were present therein. The Ægyptian lying that night vpon the side of the mountaine, had speedie intelligence from *Aladeules*, of the flight of the Turks: which being also confirmed by his espials to be true, he presently came downe from the mountaine, and entred into the Turks campe, where he found plentie of victuals and of all other things needfull for the refreshing of his armie.

Aladeules the mountaine King, with the people called Varsacide, by whose confines the Turkes must needs in their returne passe, robbed and slew many of them in their disordered flight; and had so stopped the passages, that they were in flying ouertaken by the Mamalukes, and slaine with so great a slaughter, that of all that great armie of the Turks few remained aliue to carrie newes home. *Calibeius* and *Cherseogles* the Bassa's, were in that flight both taken prisoners, and afterwards presented to *Caytbeius* the Sultan, at Caire, with eighteene ensignes of the Turkes Sanzackes, which are great men amongst them, hauing euery one of them the regiment and commaund of some one prouince or other, and are in degree next vnto the Bassa's.

Neither was the fortune of *Baiazet* his nauie at sea, better than that of his armie at land: for as it lay at rode vpon the coast of Syria at the mouth of the riuer Orontes, which runneth by the famous citie of Antioch, his gallies were by tempest and rage of the sea put from their anchors, and in the sight of their enemies swallowed vp of the sea, or else driuen vpon the main, and there with the surges of the sea beaten in pieces. *Baiazet* not a little troubled with these losses both by sea and land, at length with much ado, by his Embassadors concluded a peace with the Sultan, vnto whom he restored all such places as he had before taken from him: for which the Sultan deliuered vnto him *Calibeius*, *Cherseogles*, *Achmetes*, and *Ishender*, with all the rest of the Turks prisoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

1492 *A peace concluded betwixt Baiazet and Caytbeius.*

Shortly after this peace was concluded betwixt these two great and mightie Princes, *Caytbeius* the Sultan died: who of a Circassian slaue, by many degrees of honour, and by the fauor of the Mamalukes his fellowes, obtained the rich Kingdome of Ægypt, which he right worthily gouerned to his immortall praise by the space of two and twentie yeares; commanding at one time the great and rich countrey of Ægypt, with all Affricke, as farre as Cyrene, Westward; and Iudea, with a great part of Arabia, and all Syria, vnto the great and famous riuer Euphrates, Eastward. In the latter end of his raigne he (ouercome with the importunitie of his wife *Daltibe*, an Arabian borne, a woman of an haughtie spirit) joyned his sonne *Mahomethes*, a yong man of about foure and twentie yeres old, with him in the fellowship of his kingdome; that so possessed of it his father yet liuing, he might the better enioy it after his death. Contrarie to the custom of the Mamalukes, who of long time had not vsed to haue their king by succession, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choise, immediatly after the death of *Caytbeius* slew *Mahomethes* his son; and in a few moneths after, foure moe, who one after another without their good liking had aspired vnto the kingdome: neither could they be contented, vntill such time as that they had according to their wonted custome set vp a Sultan of their own choice.

About the same time that the aforesaid peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometane Princes *Baiazet* and *Caytbeius*, *Charles* the French King was making great preparation against *Alphonsus* king of Naples; giuing it out, That after he had recouered that kingdom, he would forthwith from thence inuade the Turks dominions in Grecia. Which great attempt the haughtie King was induced to take in hand, by the persuasion of diuers of his Nobilitie, but especially the solicitation of *Lodouicus Sfortia* Duke of Millan: whereby the whole state of Italie was in short time after sore shaken, and *Sfortia* himselfe, authour of those troubles, at last carried away by the French, miserably ended his dayes as a prisoner in France. *Alphonsus* the Neapolitan King doubting the greatnesse of the French King his enemie, entered into a confederation with certaine of the States of Italie, against the French, but especially with *Alexander* the sixt then Bishop of Rome: for the better assurance whereof, he gaue his

his base daughter in marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Bishops son, and made him prince of Carinula: his other son *Frances* he entertained also in great pay to serue him in his wars. And by his embassadour *Pandonius Camillus*, lately returned out of France, gaue *Baiazet* to vnderstand, what the French king had purposed against them both, requesting him to aid him with six thousand horsmen & as many foot against their common enemie, promising to giue them honorable entertainment during those wars. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great Bishop sent *George Bucciarde*, a Ligurian, skilfull in the Turkish language, embassador to *Baiazet*, to declare vnto him with what great preparation, both by sea and land, the yong French king (desirous of honor and the enlargement of his kingdome) was about to inuade Naples; and then, with what great power (after he had dispatched his wars in Italie) he purposed to passe ouer into Græcia, and that he had to that end earnestly trauelled with him to haue *Zemes* his brother deliuered into his hands, whom he desired to vse as a most fit instrument for the troubling of his state and empire, by reason of his many friends: yet that his Holinesse (hauing the French in distrust as a proud and ambitious people, as also care full for the danger of the citie of Rome, and of the state of Italie in generall) had entered into a confederation with *Alphonsus* king of Naples, with their vnited forces to withstand that proud nation, both by sea and land; wanting nothing more for the accomplishment therof, than mony: by which means only, *Baiazet* might (as he said) prouide for the safetie of his kingdome in Grecia, if he would put to his helping hand, to furnish them with money for the entertainment of souldiers: forasmuch as the citie of Rome, and the kingdome of Naples, were the surest wals of that side of the *Othoman* empire; if he not altogether refusing the charge, would not spare for a little cost to maintaine the war rather in that forreine countrey, than to receiue it, brought home to his owne doore, concluding, That it were much more commodious and easie with his treasures to represse his enemie in a strange country a far off, than by dint of sword and plaine battell in his owne. A thing by experience well knowne, That they which haue neglected and set at nought remote dangers, for sparing of charge, haue afterwards bin inforced with greater danger to receiue the same into their owne bosomes, when as they were become desperat & past remedie. *Baiazet*, who both by his espials and often letters and embassadors from *Alphonsus*, knew all this to be true, gaue great thanks to the Bishop by his embassador, for that he sitting in so high place, did so friendly and in so good time admonish him, both a stranger & of a contrarie religion, of things of so great consequence: yet for answer, he willed him to returne again vnto his master with one *Dautius* his embassador, who should carrie with him both mony and other his secret resolutions concerning those matters. Among other things giuen him in charge, was an Epistle written in Greek, wherin the barbarous king with great cunning persuaded the Bishop to poison *Zemes* his brother, as a man of a religion altogether contrarie to his: for indeed of him alone for his great vertues *Baiazet* stood in feare and doubt, least hee should by some chance escape out of prison to the troubling of his state. For the performance of this his request, he promised faithfully to pay vnto the Bishop, two hundred thousand ducats, and neuer after so long as he liued, to take vp armes against the Christians. Otherwise than had his father *Mahomet*, and his grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly enemies vnto the name of Christians, neuer ceased by continuall warres to worke their woe.

Alphonsus king of Naples, and Alexander Bishop of Rome craue aid of Baiazet against Charles the French king.

Baiazet sendeth Dautius his embassadour to Alexander Bishop of Rome.

But *George* the Bishops embassador, and *Dautius*, trauelling towards Italie, and hauing now happily passed the Adriatike, as they were about to haue landed at Ancona were borded by *Io. Roueres*, brother to *Iulianus* the Cardinall (a man of great account in those quarters) and cleane quit of their treasure and whatsoeuer else they had aboord. *Roueres* pretending for the defence of the fact, That the Bishop did owe him a great sum of mony, due vnto him for his good seruice don in the time of *Innocentius* his predecessor, for which he now paied himselfe. Neither could the Bishop, much troubled with that iniurie, euer after recouer one part therof, although he threatned vengeance with fire and sword, and also sought for recompence of the Venetians, whom it concerned to saue the Turks harmlesse in those seas: for why, *Roueres* bearing himself vpon the French, which were now vpon comming, whose faction he followed, kept the mony, and set at nought the Bishops thundering curses and vain threats. *Dautius* himselfe, *Baiazets* embassadour beeing set on shore, was glad to goe on foot to Ancona; and so from thence passing vp the riuer Padus, came to *Franciscus Gonzaga*, duke of Mantua, of whom for (the antient friendship betwixt him and *Baiazet*) hee was courteously entertained and

Io. Roueres robbeth the Turks embassadour.

armie (which was at the first seuentie thousand) and wanting their necessarie prouision, were retyred also the same night into the mountaine Taurus, not knowing any thing of the flight of the Turks. And some of the souldiers passing quite ouer the mountaine without stay, into Syria, raised a report all ouer the countrey as they went, That the Sultans armie was ouerthrown, and that the Turks had got the victorie: so vncertaine was the true knowledge of the euent of that battel, euen vnto them that were present therein. The Ægyptian lying that night vpon the side of the mountaine, had speedie intelligence from *Aladeules*, of the flight of the Turks: which being also confirmed by his espials to be true, he presently came downe from the mountaine, and entred into the Turks campe, where he found plentie of victuals and of all other things needfull for the refreshing of his armie.

Aladeules the mountaine King, with the people called Varsacide, by whose confines the Turkes must needs in their returne passe, robbed and slew many of them in their disordered flight; and had so stopped the passages, that they were in flying ouertaken by the Mamalukes, and slaine with so great a slaughter, that of all that great armie of the Turks few remained aliue to carrie newes home. *Calibeius* and *Cherseogles* the Bassa's, were in that flight both taken prisoners, and afterwards presented to *Caytbeius* the Sultan, at Caire, with eighteene ensignes of the Turkes Sanzackes, which are great men amongst them, hauing euery one of them the regiment and commaund of some one prouince or other, and are in degree next vnto the Bassa's.

Neither was the fortune of *Baiazet* his nauie at sea, better than that of his armie at land: for as it lay at rode vpon the coast of Syria at the mouth of the riuer Orontes, which runneth by the famous citie of Antioch, his gallies were by tempest and rage of the sea put from their anchors, and in the sight of their enemies swallowed vp of the sea, or else driuen vpon the main, and there with the surges of the sea beaten in pieces. *Baiazet* not a little troubled with these losses both by sea and land, at length with much ado, by his Embassadors concluded a peace with the Sultan, vnto whom he restored all such places as he had before taken from him: for which the Sultan deliuered vnto him *Calibeius*, *Cherseogles*, *Achmetes*, and *Ishender*, with all the rest of the Turks prisoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

1492 *A peace concluded betwixt Baiazet and Caytbeius.*

Shortly after this peace was concluded betwixt these two great and mightie Princes, *Caytbeius* the Sultan died: who of a Circassian slaue, by many degrees of honour, and by the fauor of the Mamalukes his fellowes, obtained the rich Kingdome of Ægypt, which he right worthily gouerned to his immortall praise by the space of two and twentie yeares; commanding at one time the great and rich countrey of Ægypt, with all Affricke, as farre as Cyrene, Westward; and Iudea, with a great part of Arabia, and all Syria, vnto the great and famous riuer Euphrates, Eastward. In the latter end of his raigne he (ouercome with the importunitie of his wife *Dultibe*, an Arabian borne, a woman of an haughtie spirit) joyned his sonne *Mahomethes*, a yong man of about foure and twentie yeres old, with him in the fellowship of his kingdome; that so possessed of it his father yet liuing, he might the better enioy it after his death. Contrarie to the custom of the Mamalukes, who of long time had not vsed to haue their king by succession, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choise, immediatly after the death of *Caytbeius* slew *Mahomethes* his son; and in a few moneths after, foure moe, who one after another without their good liking had aspired vnto the kingdome: neither could they be contented, vntill such time as that they had according to their wonted custome set vp a Sultan of their own choice.

About the same time that the aforesaid peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometane Princes *Baiazet* and *Caytbeius*, *Charles* the French King was making great preparation against *Alphonsus* king of Naples; giuing it out, That after he had recouered that kingdom, he would forthwith from thence inuade the Turks dominions in Grecia. Which great attempt the haughtie King was induced to take in hand, by the persuasion of diuers of his Nobilitie, but especially the solicitation of *Lodouicus Sfortia* Duke of Millan: whereby the whole state of Italie was in short time after sore shaken, and *Sfortia* himselfe, authour of those troubles, at last carried away by the French, miserably ended his dayes as a prisoner in France. *Alphonsus* the Neapolitan King doubting the greatnesse of the French King his enemie, entered into a confederation with certaine of the States of Italie, against the French, but especially with *Alexander* the sixt then Bishop of Rome: for the better assurance whereof, he gaue his

his base daughter in marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Bishops son, and made him prince of Carinula: his other son *Frances* he entertained also in great pay to serue him in his wars. And by his embassadour *Pandonius Camillus*, lately returned out of France, gaue *Baiazet* to vnderstand, what the French king had purposed against them both, requesting him to aid him with six thousand horsmen & as many foot against their common enemie, promising to giue them honorable entertainment during those wars. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great Bishop sent *George Bucciarde*, a Ligurian, skilfull in the Turkish language, embassador to *Baiazet*, to declare vnto him with what great preparation, both by sea and land, the yong French king (desirous of honor and the enlargement of his kingdome) was about to inuade Naples; and then, with what great power (after he had dispatched his wars in Italie) he purposed to passe ouer into Græcia; and that he had to that end earnestly trauelled with him to haue *Zemes* his brother deliuered into his hands, whom he desired to vse as a most fit instrument for the troubling of his state and empire, by reason of his many friends: yet that his Holinesse (hauing the French in distrust as a proud and ambitious people, as also care full for the danger of the citie of Rome, and of the state of Italie in generall) had entered into a confederation with *Alphonsus* king of Naples, with their vnited forces to withstand that proud nation, both by sea and land; wanting nothing more for the accomplishment therof, than mony: by which means only, *Baiazet* might (as he said) prouide for the safetie of his kingdome in Grecia, if he would put to his helping hand, to furnish them with money for the entertainment of souldiers: forasmuch as the citie of Rome, and the kingdome of Naples, were the surest wals of that side of the *Othoman* empire; if he not altogether refusing the charge, would not spare for a little cost to maintaine the war rather in that forreine countrey, than to receiue it, brought home to his owne doore, concluding, That it were much more commodious and easie with his treasures to represse his enemie in a strange country a far off, than by dint of sword and plaine battell in his owne. A thing by experience well knowne, That they which haue neglected and set at nought remote dangers, for sparing of charge, haue afterwards bin inforced with greater danger to receiue the same into their owne bosomes, when as they were become desperat & past remedie. *Baiazet*, who both by his espials and often letters and embassadors from *Alphonsus*, knew all this to be true, gaue great thanks to the Bishop by his embassador, for that he sitting in so high place, did so friendly and in so good time admonish him, both a stranger & of a contrarie religion, of things of so great consequence: yet for answer, he willed him to returne again vnto his master with one *Dautius* his embassador, who should carrie with him both mony and other his secret resolutions concerning those matters. Among other things giuen him in charge, was an Epistle written in Greek, wherin the barbarous king with great cunning perswaded the Bishop to poison *Zemes* his brother, as a man of a religion altogether contrarie to his: for indeed of him alone for his great vertues *Baiazet* stood in feare and doubt, least hee should by some chance escape out of prison to the troubling of his state. For the performance of this his request, he promised faithfully to pay vnto the Bishop, two hundred thousand ducats, and neuer after so long as he liued, to take vp armes against the Christians. Otherwise than had his father *Mahomet*, and his grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly enemies vnto the name of Christians, neuer ceased by continuall warres to worke their woe.

Alphonsus king of Naples, and Alexander Bishop of Rome craue aid of Baiazet against Charles the French king.

Baiazet sendeth Dautius his embassadour to Alexander Bishop of Rome.

But *George* the Bishops embassador, and *Dautius*, trauelling towards Italie, and hauing now happily passed the Adriatike, as they were about to haue landed at Ancona were borded by *Io. Rouereus*, brother to *Iulianus* the Cardinall (a man of great account in those quarters) and cleane quit of their treasure and whatsoeuer else they had aboord. *Rouereus* pretending for the defence of the fact, That the Bishop did owe him a great sum of mony, due vnto him for his good seruice don in the time of *Innocentius* his predecessor, for which he now paied himselfe. Neither could the Bishop, much troubled with that iniurie, euer after recouer one part therof, although he threatned vengeance with fire and sword, and also sought for recompence of the Venetians, whom it concerned to saue the Turks harmlesse in those seas: for why, *Rouereus* bearing himself vp on the French, which were now vpon comming, whose faction he followed, kept the mony, and set at nought the Bishops thundering curses and vain threats. *Dautius* himselfe, *Baiazets* embassadour beeing set on shore, was glad to goe on foot to Ancona; and so from thence passing vp the riuer Padus, came to *Franciscus Gonzaga*, duke of Mantua, of whom for (the antient friendship betwixt him and *Baiazet*) hee was courteously entertained and

Io. Rouereus robbeth the Turks embassadour.

and furnished both with money and apparell, and so spoiled returned into Grecia, to carrie newes vnto his master how he had sped.

When *Baiazet* vnderstood by *Dautius*, the euill successe he had in his late iourny, he forthwith sent *Mustapha* one of the Bassaes of the court, vnto the great Bishop *Alexander*, with like instructions as he had before giuen to *Dautius*: who with better hap arriued in Italy, and came to Rome in safetie; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great Master. But amongst many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he most sought for at the Bishops hands.

1495. At the same time, which was in the yeare 1495, the French king *Charles* the eight of that name, passing through the heart of Italie with a strong armie against *Alphonsus* king of Naples: and taking his way without leaue through the city of Rome, so terrified *Alexander* the Bishop who (as we haue before said) altogether fauoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cause of *Alphonsus*; that he was glad to yeeld to all such articles and conditions as it pleased him then to demand: not purposing in himselfe at all the performance of any of those things, which for feare he had with great solemnity promised, as the sequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongst other things, he was inforced to giue vnto the king his graceless son *Cæsar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hostage, for the performance of the other of his promises. Which disgrace the craftie old Bishop sought to couer, by gracing his son with the title of his Legat: and with him he was also enforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Baiazets* brother, his honorable prisoner; who to the great profit of the Bishop and his predecessor, had remained in safe custodie at Rome about the space of seuen yeares. But *Zemes* with three daies after he was deliuered to the French, died at Caieta, being before his deliuerance poisoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderfull whitenesse and pleasant tast; whose power was not presently to kil, but by little and little dispersing the force thereof, did in short time bring most assured death: which pleasant poison, *Alexander* the Bishop, skilfull in that practise (corrupted by *Baiazets* gold, and enuying so great a good vnto the French) had caused to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* vsed to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead bodie was not long after sent to *Baiazet*, by *Mustapha* his embassador, who to the great contentment of his master, had thus contriued his death with the Bishop. Not long after, this dead body so far brought, was by the appointment of *Baiazet*, honorably interred among his ancestors at Prusa. *Cæsar Borgia* also the Bishops son, a little before giuen in hostage vnto the French king, deceiuing his keepers at Velitras, returned againe to Rome before the French king was come to Naples. This wicked impe come of an euil strain, not worth the remembrance but by way of detestation (the very monster of nature, if a man should well consider the course of his whole life) shortly after his escape, enuying at the honor of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the Bishop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one time merrily supped with his said brother, with their mother *Vannotia*, traiterously caused him to be vnawares murdred in the streets as he was going home, & his dead body to be cast into the riuer of Tiber. Then casting off his priestly habit with his Cardinals robes, he took vpon him the leading of his fathers army in his brothers stead, & gaue himselfe wholly to martiall affaires; a vocation best fitting his fierce and bloudy disposition: and with exceeding prodigalitie, wherwith he exhausted his fathers coffers and the treasures of the church, bound fast vnto him desperat ruffians and soldiers (especially Spaniards, his fathers countrey men) such as he knew fittest to serue for the execution of his most horrible deuises. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were such as all good men detested, yet did the old hypocrit his father winke therat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdered of the viper, himselfe, when it should serue for his purpose. Now when he had thus strengthned himself, & that he was become a terror to all the nobilitie of Rome and the seigniories thereabout, he by the deuise and help of his father (who desired nothing more than to make him great) first draue the most honourable family of the *Columnij* out of the city, and afterwards out of Latium: and by most execrable trecherie, poisoned or killed the honorable personages of the great houses of the *Vrsini* & *Caetani*, taking to himselfe their lands & possessions. With like cruelty he strangled at one time four noblemen of the *Camertes*: & draue *Guido Feltrius* out of Vrbin. He took the city of Pisarum from *Io. Sforția*, who with much difficulty escaped his bloudy hands: & draue the *Malatestaes* out of Ariminum. The great lady *Catherine*

Zemes dieth, poisoned by Alexander Bishop of Rome.

The euill life of Cæsar Borgia.

rine Sforția he thrust out of Forum Liuij and Forum Cornelij, & shamefully led her in triumph through Rome. And neuer satisfied with bloud, which he without measure shed, he tooke the citie of Fauentia from *Astor Manfredus*, a yong gentleman of rare perfection: whom after the beastly tyrant had most horribly abused against nature, he caused to be cruelly strangled, and his dead bodie to be cast into Tiber. Hauing thus filled the measure of his iniquitie, and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile most part of the Roman nobility, and purposing by the supportation of his father, to make himselfe lord and soueraigne both of the citie, and of all Latium, in the pride of his thoughts hee was by the hand of the most Highest attached and cast downe, and that by such meanes as he least feared: for being with his father at a solemne supper in the Vaticane, of purpose prepared for the destruction of certain rich Cardinals and some other honorable citizens, they were both poisoned by the fatall error of one of the waiters, who mistaking of a flaggon, gaue the poisoned wine to the accursed Bishop and his son, which was prepared for the guests; wherof the old Bishop in few daies after died. But his son who had drunke the same more delaid with water, although he died not of long time after, yet presently fel into such an extreme sickenesse, that he was not able to help himselfe, or to command his desperat followers, whereof he had great store: but lying sicke, in short time saw himselfe of them forsaken, and two of his enemies, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the second, one after another sitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enioyed that pontificall dignitie but sixteene daies: and *Iulius* succeeding him, caused this *Cæsar Borgia* (who of right had deserued a thousand deaths) to be shut vp in the castle called Moles Adriani, from whence he set him at libertie vpon the deliuerie of certaine strong holds which were yet holden by his garrisons. After he had thus rid himselfe out of *Iulius* the Bishops hands, he fled to Ostia, and so by sea to Naples: where he was by the commandement of *Ferdinand* king of Spaine, apprehended by *Gonsaluus* the Great, and transported into Spaine, for feare least hee, being of a most troublesome nature, and much resorted vnto by his old fauourits, should raise some new stirs in Italie. He was no sooner arriued in Spaine, but he was cast into prison in the castle of Medina, where after he had lien three yeres he deceiued his keepers, and with a rope which he had gotten, let himselfe downe from an high tower of the castle: and so escaping, fled to the king of Nauar, whom he afterwards serued in his wars, and was in an hot skirmish against the kings enemies (wherein he had obtained the victorie) slaine with a small shot. Vnworthie after so many horrible villanies, to haue ended his days so honorably. His dead bodie was found stript, and so brought vnto the king vpon a bad beast, as if it had bin a dead calfe all naked; which was by his commandement honourably buried at Pamphilona.

The death of Cæsar Borgia.

But to return again from whence we haue something too long with this troublesome body gone astray. The French King hauing thus lost both his great hostages, *Zemes* the Turke by death, & the Cardinal *Borgia* by escape, held on his iourny towards Naples; & with wonderful successe preuailed as he went, all places yeelding vnto him without any great resistance. *Alphonsus* seeing himselfe destitute of such aid as he had in vaine requested both of the Turkish Emperour and of the Venetians, and now almost beset with his mightie enemie, to whom so many strong places had in shorter time bin deliuered than any man had before imagined; and withall considering with himselfe, how that he had lost the hearts of his subiects (the strongest defence of princes) for that most of the nobilitie, and especially the Neapolitanes, hated him for his too much seueritie in punishing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein the princes of Same and Salerne were chiefe; and the common people were no lesse offended with the grieuous and heauie exactions, required of them for the maintenance of these wars, insomuch that their murmuring speeches came oftentimes to his owne hearing; as oftentimes it falleth out, That the hatred of the subiects against their Princes, which hath for feare of long time bin dissembled during their prosperitie, more franckly & fiercely breaketh out in their declining estate; for these causes, *Alphonsus* fearing to be forsaken of his people, as a man in despaire, with abundance of tears openly in the sight of al the Neapolitans, resigned his kingdom of Naples to his son *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet scarcely raigned one whole yeare after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies passed ouer to Mazerea, a city of Cicilia. His son *Ferdinand* a prince of rare perfection and singularly graced with all the vertus of true nobilitie, and thereto dearly beloued of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment of the Neapolitans with great ioy & acclam[illegible] as saluted king; and so hauing performed

The French king inuadeth Naples.

and furnished both with money and apparell, and so spoiled returned into Grecia, to carrie G
newes vnto his master how he had sped.

When *Baiazet* vnderstood by *Dautius*, the euill successe he had in his late iourny, he forthwith sent *Mustapha* one of the Bassaes of the court, vnto the great Bishop *Alexander*, with like instructions as he had before giuen to *Dautius*: who with better hap arriued in Italy, and came to Rome in safetie; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great Master. But amongst many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he most sought for at the Bishops hands.

1495. At the same time, which was in the yeare 1495, the French king *Charles* the eight of that name, passing through the heart of Italie with a strong armie against *Alphonsus* king of Naples: and taking his way without leaue through the city of Rome, so terrified *Alexander* the Bishop H
who (as we haue before said) altogether fauoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cause of *Alphonsus*; that he was glad to yeeld to all such articles and conditions as it pleased him then to demand: not purposing in himselfe at all the performance of any of those things, which for feare he had with great solemnity promised, as the sequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongst other things, he was inforced to giue vnto the king his graceless son *Cæsar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hostage, for the performance of the other of his promises. Which disgrace the craftie old Bishop sought to couer, by gracing his son with the title of his Legat: and with him he was also enforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Baiazets* brother, his honorable prisoner; who to the great profit of the Bishop and his predecessor, had remained in safe custodie at Rome about the space of seuen yeares. But *Zemes* within I
three daies after he was deliuered to the French, died at Caieta, being before his deliuerance poisoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderfull whitenesse and pleasant tast; whose power was not presently to kil, but by little and little dispersing the force thereof, did in short time bring most assured death: which pleasant poison, *Alexander* the Bishop, skilfull in that practise (corrupted by *Baiazets* gold, and enuying so great a good vnto the French) had caused to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* vsed to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead bodie was not long after sent to *Baiazet*, by *Mustapha* his embassador, who to the great contentment of his master, had thus contriued his death with the Bishop. Not long after, this dead body so far brought, was by the appointment of *Baiazet*, honorably interred among his ancestors at Prusa. *Cæsar Borgia* also the Bishops son, a little before K
giuen in hostage vnto the French king, deceiuing his keepers at Velitras, returned againe to Rome before the French king was come to Naples. This wicked impe come of an euil strain, not worth the remembrance but by way of detestation (the very monster of nature, if a man should well consider the course of his whole life) shortly after his escape, enuying at the honor of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the Bishop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one time merrily supped with his said brother, with their mother *Vannotia*, traiterously caused him to be vnawares murdred in the streets as he was going home, & his dead body to be cast into the riuer of Tiber. Then casting off his priestly habit with his Cardinals robes, he took vpon him the leading of his fathers army in his brothers stead, & gaue himselfe wholly to martiall affaires; a vocation best fitting his fierce and bloudy L
disposition: and with exceeding prodigalitie, wherwith he exhausted his fathers coffers and the treasures of the church, bound fast vnto him desperat ruffians and soldiers (especially Spaniards, his fathers countrey men) such as he knew fittest to serue for the execution of his most horrible deuises. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were such as all good men detested, yet did the old hypocrit his father winke therat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdered of the viper, himselfe, when it should serue for his purpose. Now when he had thus strengthned himself, & that he was become a terror to all the nobilitie of Rome and the seigniories thereabout, he by the deuise and help of his father (who desired nothing more than to make him great) first draue the most honourable family of the *Columnij* out of the city, and M
afterwards out of Latium: and by most execrable trecherie, poisoned or killed the honorable personages of the great houses of the *Vrsini* & *Caetani*, taking to himselfe their lands & possessions. With like cruelty he strangled at one time four noblemen of the *Camertes*: & draue *Guido Feltrius* out of Vrbin. He took the city of Pisarum from *Io. Sforția*, who with much difficulty escaped his bloudy hands: & draue the *Malatestaes* out of Ariminum. The great lady *Catherine*

Zemes dieth, poisoned by Alexander Bishop of Rome.

The euill life of Cæsar Borgia.

A *rine Sforția* he thrust out of Forum Liuij and Forum Cornelij, & shamefully led her in triumph through Rome. And neuer satisfied with bloud, which he without measure shed, he tooke the citie of Fauentia from *Astor Manfredus*, a yong gentleman of rare perfection: whom after the beastly tyrant had most horribly abused against nature, he caused to be cruelly strangled, and his dead bodie to be cast into Tiber. Hauing thus filled the measure of his iniquitie, and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile most part of the Roman nobility, and purposing by the supportation of his father, to make himselfe lord and soueraigne both of the citie, and of all Latium, in the pride of his thoughts hee was by the hand of the most Highest attached and cast downe, and that by such means as he least feared: for being with his father at a solemne supper in the Vaticane, of purpose prepared for the destruction of certain
B rich Cardinals and some other honorable citizens, they were both poisoned by the fatall error of one of the waiters, who mistaking of a flaggon, gaue the poisoned wine to the accursed Bishop and his son, which was prepared for the guests; wherof the old Bishop in few daies after died. But his son who had drunke the same more delaid with water, although he died not of long time after, yet presently fel into such an extreme sickenesse, that he was not able to help himselfe, or to command his desperat followers, whereof he had great store: but lying sicke, in short time saw himselfe of them forsaken, and two of his enemies, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the second, one after another sitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enioyed that pontificall dignitie but sixteene daies: and *Iulius* succeeding him, caused this *Cæsar Borgia* (who of
C right had deserued a thousand deaths) to be shut vp in the castle called Moles Adriani, from whence he set him at libertie vpon the deliuerie of certaine strong holds which were yet holden by his garrisons. After he had thus rid himselfe out of *Iulius* the Bishops hands, he fled to Ostia, and so by sea to Naples: where he was by the commandement of *Ferdinand* king of Spaine, apprehended by *Gonsaluus* the Great, and transported into Spaine, for feare least hee, being of a most troublesome nature, and much resorted vnto by his old fauourits, should raise some new stirs in Italie. He was no sooner arriued in Spaine, but he was cast into prison in the castle of Medina, where after he had lien three yeres he deceiued his keepers, and with a rope which he had gotten, let himselfe downe from an high tower of the castle: and so escaping, fled to the king of Nauar, whom he afterwards serued in his wars, and was in an hot skirmish against the kings enemies (wherein he had obtained the victorie) slaine with a small shot. Vn- *The death of Cæsar Borgia.*
D worthie after so many horrible villanies, to haue ended his days so honorably. His dead bodie was found stript, and so brought vnto the king vpon a bad beast, as if it had bin a dead calfe all naked; which was by his commandement honourably buried at Pamphilona.

But to return again from whence we haue something too long with this troublesome body gone astray. The French King hauing thus lost both his great hostages, *Zemes* the Turke by death, & the Cardinal *Borgia* by escape, held on his iourny towards Naples; & with wonderful succesſe preuailed as he went, all places yeelding vnto him without any great resistance. *Alphonsus* seeing himselfe destitute of such aid as he had in vaine requested both of the Turkish Emperour and of the Venetians, and now almost beset with his mightie enemie, to whom so many strong places had in shorter time bin deliuered than any man had before imagined; and withall considering with himselfe, how that he had lost the hearts of his subiects (the strongest defence of princes) for that most of the nobilitie, and especially the Neapolitanes, hated
E him for his too much seueritie in punishing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein the princes of Same and Salerne were chiefe; and the common people were no lesse offended with the grieuous and heauie exactions, required of them for the maintenance of these wars, insomuch that their murmuring speeches came oftentimes to his owne hearing; as oftentimes it falleth out, That the hatred of the subiects against their Princes, which hath for feare of long time bin dissembled during their prosperitie, more franckly & fiercely breaketh out in their declining estate; for these causes, *Alphonsus* fearing to be forsaken of his people, as a man in despaire, with abundance of tears openly in the sight of al the Neapolitans, resigned his king- *The French king inuadeth Naples.*
F dom of Naples to his son *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet scarcely raigned one whole yeare after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies passed ouer to Mazerea, a city of Cicilia. His son *Ferdinand* a prince of rare perfection and singularly graced with all the vertus of true nobilitie, and thereto dearly beloued of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment of the Neapolitans with great ioy & acclam[illegible] as saluted king; and so hauing performed

and furnished both with money and apparell, and so spoiled returned into Grecia, to carrie newes vnto his master how he had sped.

When *Baiazet* vnderstood by *Dautius*, the euill successe he had in his late iourny, he forthwith sent *Mustapha* one of the Bassaes of the court, vnto the great Bishop *Alexander*, with like instructions as he had before giuen to *Dautius*: who with better hap arriued in Italy, and came to Rome in safetie; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great Master. But amongst many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he most sought for at the Bishops hands.

1495. At the same time, which was in the yeare 1495, the French king *Charles* the eight of that name, passing through the heart of Italie with a strong armie against *Alphonsus* king of Naples: and taking his way without leaue through the city of Rome, so terrified *Alexander* the Bishop who (as we haue before said) altogether fauoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cause of *Alphonsus*; that he was glad to yeeld to all such articles and conditions as it pleased him then to demand: not purposing in himselfe at all the performance of any of those things, which for feare he had with great solemnity promised, as the sequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongst other things, he was inforced to giue vnto the king his graceless son *Cæsar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hostage, for the performance of the other of his promises. Which disgrace the craftie old Bishop sought to couer, by gracing his son with the title of his Legat: and with him he was also enforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Baiazets* brother, his honorable prisoner; who to the great profit of the Bishop and his predecessor, had remained in safe custodie at Rome about the space of seuen yeares. But *Zemes* within three daies after he was deliuered to the French, died at Caieta, being before his deliuerance poisoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderfull whitenesse and pleasant tast; whose power was not presently to kil, but by little and little dispersing the force thereof, did in short time bring most assured death: which pleasant poison, *Alexander* the Bishop, skilfull in that practise (corrupted by *Baiazets* gold, and enuying so great a good vnto the French) had caused to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* vsed to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead bodie was not long after sent to *Baiazet*, by *Mustapha* his embassador, who to the great contentment of his master, had thus contriued his death with the Bishop. Not long after, this dead body so far brought, was by the appointment of *Baiazet*, honorably interred among his ancestors at Prusa. *Cæsar Borgia* also the Bishops son, a little before giuen in hostage vnto the French king, deceiuing his keepers at Velitras, returned againe to Rome before the French king was come to Naples. This wicked impe come of an euil strain, nor worth the remembrance but by way of detestation (the very monster of nature, if a man should well consider the course of his whole life) shortly after his escape, enuying at the honor of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the Bishop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one time merrily supped with his said brother, with their mother *Vannotia*, traiterously caused him to be vnawares murdred in the streets as he was going home, & his dead body to be cast into the riuer of Tiber. Then casting off his priestly habit with his Cardinals robes, he took vpon him the leading of his fathers armie in his brothers stead, & gaue himselfe wholly to martiall affaires; a vocation best fitting his fierce and bloudy disposition: and with exceeding prodigalitie, wherwith he exhausted his fathers coffers and the treasures of the church, bound fast vnto him desperat ruffians and soldiers (especially Spaniards, his fathers countrey men) such as he knew fittest to serue for the execution of his most horrible deuises. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were such as all good men detested, yet did the old hypocrit his father winke therat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdered of the viper, himselfe, when it should serue for his purpose. Now when he had thus strengthned himself, & that he was become a terror to all the nobilitie of Rome and the seigniories thereabout, he by the deuise and help of his father (who desired nothing more than to make him great) first draue the most honourable family of the *Columnij* out of the city, and afterwards out of Latium: and by most execrable trecherie, poisoned or killed the honorable personages of the great houses of the *Vrsini & Caetani*, taking to himselfe their lands & possessions. With like cruelty he strangled at one time four noblemen of the *Camertes*: & draue *Guido Feltrius* out of Vrbin. He took the city of Pisarum from *Io. Sforcia*, who with much difficulty escaped his bloudy hands: & draue the *Malatestaes* out of Ariminum. The great lady *Catherine*

Zemes dieth, poisoned by Alexander Bishop of Rome.

The euill life of Cæsar Borgia.

rine Sforcia he thrust out of Forum Liuij and Forum Cornelij, & shamefully led her in triumph through Rome. And neuer satisfied with bloud, which he without measure shed, he tooke the citie of Fauentia from *Astor Manfredus*, a yong gentleman of rare perfection: whom after the beastly tyrant had most horribly abused against nature, he caused to be cruelly strangled, and his dead bodie to be cast into Tiber. Hauing thus filled the measure of his iniquitie, and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile most part of the Roman nobility, and purposing by the supportation of his father, to make himselfe lord and soueraigne both of the citie, and of all Latium, in the pride of his thoughts hee was by the hand of the most Highest attached and cast downe, and that by such means as he least feared: for being with his father at a solemne supper in the Vaticane, of purpose prepared for the destruction of certain rich Cardinals and some other honorable citizens, they were both poisoned by the fatall error of one of the waiters, who mistaking of a flaggon, gaue the poisoned wine to the accursed Bishop and his son, which was prepared for the guests; wherof the old Bishop in few daies after died. But his son who had drunke the same more delaid with water, although he died not of long time after, yet presently fel into such an extreme sickenesse, that he was not able to help himselfe, or to command his desperat followers, whereof he had great store: but lying sicke, in short time saw himselfe of them forsaken, and two of his enemies, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the second, one after another sitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enioyed that pontificall dignitie but sixteene daies: and *Iulius* succeeding him, caused this *Cæsar Borgia* (who of right had deserued a thousand deaths) to be shut vp in the castle called Moles Adriani, from whence he set him at libertie vpon the deliuerie of certaine strong holds which were yet holden by his garrisons. After he had thus rid himselfe out of *Iulius* the Bishops hands, he fled to Ostia, and so by sea to Naples: where he was by the commandement of *Ferdinand* king of Spaine, apprehended by *Gonsaluus* the Great, and transported into Spaine, for feare least hee, being of a most troublesome nature, and much resorted vnto by his old fauourits, should raise some new stirs in Italie. He was no sooner arriued in Spaine, but he was cast into prison in the castle of Medina, where after he had lien three yeres he deceiued his keepers, and with a rope which he had gotten, let himselfe downe from an high tower of the castle: and so escaping, fled to the king of Nauar, whom he afterwards serued in his wars, and was in an hot skirmish against the kings enemies (wherein he had obtained the victorie) slaine with a small shot. Vnworthie after so many horrible villanies, to haue ended his days so honorably. His dead bodie was found stript, and so brought vnto the king vpon a bad beast, as if it had bin a dead calfe all naked; which was by his commandement honourably buried at Pamphilona.

The death of Cæsar Borgia.

But to return again from whence we haue something too long with this troublesome body gone astray. The French King hauing thus lost both his great hostages, *Zemes* the Turke by death, & the Cardinal *Borgia* by escape, held on his iourny towards Naples; & with wonderful successe preuailed as he went, all places yeelding vnto him without any great resistance. *Alphonsus* seeing himselfe destitute of such aid as he had in vaine requested both of the Turkish Emperour and of the Venetians, and now almost beset with his mightie enemie, to whom so many strong places had in shorter time bin deliuered than any man had before imagined; and withall considering with himselfe, how that he had lost the hearts of his subiects (the strongest defence of princes) for that most of the nobilitie, and especially the Neapolitanes, hated him for his too much seueritie in punishing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein the princes of Same and Salerne were chiefe; and the common people were no lesse offended with the grieuous and heauie exactions, required of them for the maintenance of these wars, insomuch that their murmuring speeches came oftentimes to his owne hearing; as oftentimes it falleth out, That the hatred of the subiects against their Princes, which hath for feare of long time bin dissembled during their prosperitie, more franckly & fiercely breaketh out in their declining estate; for these causes, *Alphonsus* fearing to be forsaken of his people, as a man in despaire, with abundance of tears openly in the sight of al the Neapolitans, resigned his kingdom of Naples to his son *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet scarcely raigned one whole yeare after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies passed ouer to Mazerea, a city of Cicilia. His son *Ferdinand* a prince of rare perfection and singularly graced with all the vertus of true nobilitie, and thereto dearly beloued of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment of the Neapolitans with great ioy & acclamations saluted king; and so hauing performed

The French king inuadeth Naples.

formed all the ceremonies belonging to his coronation, returned presently to his armie. By G
this time the French King with all his forces was entred far into the kingdome of Naples; and
hauing taken by assault certaine cities which trusted too much to their owne strength, strucke
such a generall terrour into the mindes of the Neapolitanes, that they thought no place now
strong enough to abide his batteries, or power sufficient to incounter his forces. *Ferdinand* the
yong king with his armie had taken the straits of the forrest of S. *Germane*, thereby to impeach
the further passage of the French king. But whilst he was there busied, he was suddenly aduer-
tised, that *Fabritius Columna* with a great power of Frenchmen had by the Appenines broken
into Campania, and so was marching towards him: wherefore doubting to be shut vp betwixt
two strong armies of the enemies, he retired speedily to Capua, a strong citie scituat vpon the H
riuer Vulturnus; purposing there by meanes of that deepe riuer, to stay the French from pas-
sing farther. But whilest he lay there, newes was brought vnto him, That all the citie of Na-
ples was in an vprore, and that the citizens were all vp in armes, as men in doubt which way to
turne themselues. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with these bad news, commended the charge
Ferdinand departeth from Capua to pacifie an vprore at Naples. of his armie and the defence of the citie of Capua to his chiefe captaines, and rid himselfe in
post backe againe to Naples.

It is a strange thing to tell, what a sudden alteration ensued vpon his arriuall there: for sud-
denly all the tumult was appeased, euery man laid downe his armes, and welcomed him with
a generall gratulation: for he was a man of a great and inuincible courage, and of so comely a
personage, as might easily win the hearts of his subiects; insomuch, that when he earnestly re- I
quested them, that they would not traiterously betray him to his barbarous & cruell enemies,
being their naturall king, or rather their brother borne and brought vp amongst them: they
all with one consent answered, That they would spend their liues and goods in his quarrel, so
long as he should keepe his armie whole, & defend the city of Capua: but if it should so chance
that the Aragonians should be ouerthrowne, or els for feare abandon that city, and the French
King, as victor, to approch the citie of Naples, he should do both against reason and equitie, if
by exacting fidelitie and allegeance of his subiects, apprehended with so iust a feare, he should
so expose that noble citie with the fruitfull countrey thereabout, to be spoiled and destroied
by a mercilesse and cruell enemie. Whilest *Ferdinand* was thus busied in appeasing and confir-
ming his wauering subiects at Naples, the French king had taken diuers cities, and was come
before Capua. The citizens of Capua although they were alwaies well affected to the Ara- K
gonian Kings, yet seeing the French King as a most violent tempest to beare downe all before
him, began now to consult amongst themselues of yeelding vp the city; whereunto they were
the more prickt forward, by the sudden reuolt of the great captain *Triualtius* with his follow-
ers; as also by the departure of *Verginius* and *Petilianus*, two great and famous commanders,
who seeing themselues forsaken of *Triualtius*, fled with their companies vnto the citie of No-
la. In this discomfiture of King *Ferdinands* armie, the Frenchmen had entered into the suburbs
of the citie: which thing *Gothfredus* and *Gaspar* (two valiant German captaines) beholding, sal-
lied with their companies out of the citie, of purpose to abate the pride of the French, and to
confirme the doubtfull citizens. These worthie captaines, when they had with exceeding va- L
lour repulsed the French, and thought to haue againe returned into the citie, could not be suf-
fered to enter, but were by the citizens shut out of the gate, in danger to haue had their throats
cut by the enemy. In which perplexity they were glad vpon their knees to intreat the coward-
ly citizens standing vpon the wals, not in such traiterous manner to betray their friends ready
in their defence to bestow their liues: and with much intreating, at length obtained of those
heartlesse men, that they might by ten and ten in a companie be recieued in at one gate of the
citie, and so put out at another, farthest from the danger of the enemie: in which sort when
they had passed through the citie, they tooke the way towards Naples: and vpon the way met
with the king at Auersa, vnto whom they declared all that had happened in his absence at Ca-
pua: who although he saw his armie dispersed, and all things now desperat, yet went he on for-
ward, and came to the very gates of Capua, and there called vpon diuers of the chiefe men of M
the citie, requiring to be let in. But when he saw there was none to giue him answer, & an en-
signe of the French king displayed vpon the wall, in token that the citie was become French,
he returned to Naples: where he found the gates now shut against him, and all the citizens
vp againe in armes, and not willing to receiue any of the souldiers which came from Capua,
more

A more than the king himselfe; for flying fame preuenting his return, had filled euery corner of
the citie with report, That all the chiefe captains of his army were either gone ouer to the e-
nemie, or els for safegard of their liues fled; That the whole army was broken vp, and Capua
yeelded to the French. Wherefore the Neapolitans framing their fancies according to the
condition of the time, began now also to fawne vpon the good fortune of the French, and to
haue king *Ferdinand* in contempt: which he well perceiuing, and fetching a compasse farther
off from the citie, came vnto the castle, whereinto he was receiued with his followers by his
faithfull captains therein before left. But prouidently foreseeing that he could not there long
stay, but that he should be besieged by his enemies both by sea and land, he commended the
keeping of that peece vnto *Alphonsus D'analus*, a most valiant captain, and departed himselfe
B with 20 gallies well appointed vnto Ænaria, an Iland not far from Naples, hauing in it a com-
modious harbor and a strong castle: where fortune, neuer firme but in miserie, seemed againe
to deride the poore remainder of his honor: for comming thither, the captain of the castle, vn-
worthily named *Iustus*, forgetting his duty towards his soueraigne, of whom he had before
receiued many extraordinarie fauours, most traiterously now in his so hard distresse shut the
gates of the castle against him at his landing, and vnkindly refused to receiue him. With
which vnexpected ingratitude, the poore king was wonderfully perplexed & almost abashed:
yet with earnest intreatie & ample commemoration of the benefits and preferments which
both his father and himselfe had in times past bestowed vpon him, he preuailed so much with
this vnthankful man, that he was content to receiue him into the castle, so that he would come
C but himselfe alone: of which his offer, when no more could be got, the king seemed to accept.
So the captain hauing opned a port to receiue him in, was in the very entrance therof sudden-
ly stabd to the heart with a dagger by king *Ferdinand* and slain in the midst of his armed sol-
diers: which was done with such a countenance & maiesty, that the warders with their wea-
pons in their hands, dismaid with his look, forthwith at his commandement opened the gate,
and recived him in with all his followers. Whereby it appeareth, That in the countenance of
princes resteth a certaine diuine maiestie, in all fortunes aboue the common course of nature:
which is of power to daunt the hearts of most disloial traitors in the performance of their vn-
natural treasons. The next day after the departure of king *Ferdinand* from the castle of Naples,
Charles the French king was receiued into the citie, with such pompe, triumph, and acclama-
D tion of the Neapolitans, as if they had euen then by the benefit of that forraine king, bin resto-
red to perfect liberty, & deliuered out of some long & hard bondage. Shortly after, the castle
of Naples, with all the strong places thereabout were yeelded vnto the French, and embassa-
dors sent from all the princes & people of that kingdome, yeelding themselues into the pow-
er of the French king. Then *Ferdinand* seeing all lost and gone, departed from Ænaria, where
he lay expecting the euent of his hard fortune, and sailed into Cicilia. Thus the house of Ara-
gon in lesse than fiue moneths, lost the kingdome of Naples, about 63 yeares after that it was
first taken from the French by *Alphonsus* the elder, this *Ferdinand* his great grandfather.

A most resolued act of king Ferdinand

Charles the French king receiued into Naples.

The report of the great preparation made by the French for this war, had long before fil-
led the eares of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks dominions in Europe; but when
E they saw the French ensignes displayed vpon the wals of the castles, and strong townes along
the coast of Calabria and Salerne, such a sudden feare fell vpon the Turkes garrisons alongst
the coast of Epirus and Macedonia on the other side of the Adriatike, ouer against that part of
Italie, that many of them forsooke their charge: the Christians in those places, as also in Gre-
cia and Peloponesus, beginning then to lift vp their heads in hope of their deliuerance, and to
make the best preparation they could to ioine with the French against the Turks: but especi-
ally the rough and wild people inhabiting the high mountaines called Acrocherauni in the
borders of Epirus, who presently tooke vp armes, refusing to be any longer tributarie vnto
the Turkish Emperour.

F This prosperous and speedie successe of the French King in the conquest of Naples, filled
the minds of most of the Christian princes, as also of the Turkish Emperor, with a doubtfull
expectation, whither his greatnesse would grow: many being of opinion, that he couertly affe-
cted the empire of Rome, and to make himselfe the sole monarch of Italie. Which conceit no
little troubled both the great Bishop *Alexander*, and *Maximilian* then Emperour. *Baiazet* al-
so feared much, least hee should vpon the sudden turne his forces into Epirus or Grecia, to
his

his no small disquiet. And *Ferdinand*, the aduised King of Spaine, was no lesse carefull for the safetie of Silicia. *Lodouicus Sfortia* also (shortly after created Duke of Millan, the chiefe occasion of the French Kings comming into Italie, and a great aider of him in those warres) began now to consider better of the matter, and to stand in doubt of the King, whom he well perceiued to make small reckoning of his word or promise, so that he might thereby enlarge his dominions. And the Venetians, who in all these wars had stood looking on as neuters (in hope that when the Arogonians and French had with long wars, which they vainly imagined, well weakened one another, that they might then at their pleasure share out something for themselues) were now in doubt with the rest of the States of Italie to lose some part of their owne territorie: for now there was no Prince or state in Italie able to oppose themselues against the French, but stood all as it were at his deuotion.

A great league made by diuers Christian princes against the French king.

Wherefore the aforesaid Princes, namely *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinand* King of Spaine, *Alexander* Bishop of Rome, the state of Venice, and *Lodouicus Sfortia*, Duke of Millan, for the more assurance of their estates, by their embassadors speedily sent from one to another, concluded a strong league among themselues; whereof the chiefe capitulation was, That if any of these confederates should vpon their owne accord make war vpon any other Prince, they should doe it vpon their owne charges: but if any of them should chance to be inuaded by any other, that then euery one of these confederats should of their owne charge send foure thousand horse and ten thousand foot in aid of their confederat so inuaded, vntill the warres were ended: which league was to indure for twentie yeres. The fame of this league was welcome to many other Princes, but especially to *Baiazet*, who now feared nothing more, than the forces of the French, and had therefore offered vnto the Venetians, to aid them both by sea and land against the French, if their affaires should so require. This league so much pleased not other Princes, but it troubled the French king more, as of purpose made against him; although it was by the confederats pretended to be made onely for their owne safetie. Wherfore he with all expedition placed his best captaines with strong garrisons in all the cities and strong holds of the kingdome of Naples, and left *Mompenser* his viceroy in the city of Naples, and with the rest of his armie returned into France; purposing by the way as he went to terrifie the dissembling Bishop, so if it were possible to draw him from the league; and afterwards to deale with *Sfortia* and the rest as he might. But when he was come neere vnto Rome, the Bishop for feare fled out of the citie to Perusium, intending from thence to haue fled to Venice, if the French king should haue further pursued him. *Charles* deceiued of his purpose, in peaceable manner entered the citie, and there stayed three dayes, and so departed; vsing violence against none, but against such as were well known to be of the Aragonian faction. From Rome he marched to Pisa; and so with much paine passing the Appenines, was at the riuer of Tarrus, not far from Parma, set vpon by *Franciscus Gonzago* Duke of Mantua, Generall of a great army which the Venetians and *Sfortia* had raised vpon the sudden to haue stopped his passage: in which battell he was in great danger to haue been taken or slaine, and there lost his tents, with all the rich spoile gotten in the rich kingdome of Naples: yet hauing at length with great slaughter valiantly repulsed his enemies, he afterwards returned in safetie home.

Ferdinand recouereth his kingdome of Naples from the French, and dieth.

About the same time that this battell was fought at Tarrus, the yong king *Ferdinand*, lately driuen out of his kingdome by the French King, returned againe out of Cicilia to Naples: where he was ioyfully receiued of the Neapolitans, and by the help of his friends (but especially of the great *Gonsaluus*, sent in his aid by *Ferdinand* king of Spaine) in lesse than a yeares space recouered the kingdome of Naples againe from the French: and then dying without issue, left the same vnto his vncle *Fredericus*. Wherin the vncertaintie of worldly honors, the chiefe felicitie of ambitious minds, is wel to be noted; wher as in that one kingdom the chiefe gouernment was six times changed in lesse than the space of three yeares: for first, *Ferdinand* the elder dying, left that kingdome vnto his sonne *Alphonsus*, at such time as the French King was making preparation for those wars: *Alphonsus* despairing of his owne forces, resigned the kingdome to his son *Ferdinand*, when he had scarcely raigned fully a yeare: *Ferdinand* in lesse than three moneths was driuen quite out of Italie by *Charles* the French king: *Charles* possessed of the kingdome, in short time after was againe dispossessed by the same *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand* hauing with much trouble thrust out the French, died within lesse than a yeare: After whom succeeded *Fredericus* his vncle, no lesse vnfortunat than the rest: and *Charles* the French King

A king himselfe liued not long after, but died suddenly as he came from playing at Tennise, being then but seuen and twentie yeares old, leauing the flourishing kingdome of France, with the troublesome title pretended to the kingdome of Naples, vnto *Lewis* his successor, who liued with great trouble to conquer the same, and with greater griefe to lose it againe.

The death of Charles the French king. 1496

But to returne againe to the course of our Historie, from whence the great occurrents of that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpose) haue a little too far led vs. *Baiazet* deliuered of two great feares, first by the death of his brother *Zemes*, and after by the casting out of the French out of Naples; began now to turne his forces vpon the Christians, and by his lieutenant *Bali-beg* Sauzacke of Silistra, inuaded the countries of Podolia and Rassia, being part of the Polonian kingdome, where the Turks did great harme, and carried away many prisoners. But comming again the second time, and making such like spoile as before, they stayed so long, that the cold of Winter (which in those countries is verie extream) was now come on: and in their returne as they were about to haue passed through Moldauia, they were by *Stephanus* Prince of that Countrey, denied both passage and victuals, and forced to take the [illegible] long st the sea coast: where many of them straggling from their Armie, were by the way cut off and slaine by the Moldauians; and the rest, what by the extreamitie of the cold, what for want of food, and foulenesse of the way, perished: so that of that great Armie verie few returned home. The Turks histories report, That in this expedition were lost fortie thousand Turks. 1497

The Turkes inuade Podolia & Rassia, and in their return are for most part lost.

He sent also *Cadames* one of his Bassa's into Illyria; who spoyling that country, with a part of Croatia, was encountred by nine thousand Croatians and Hungarians neere vnto the riuer Moraua, vnder the leading of Countie *Bernard Francopaine*; where after a cruell and bloudie fight, the Christians were put to the worse, and aboue seuen thousand of them slaine; the rest saued themselues by flight through the mountaines and woods. Of the Christians that were lost, many were drowned in Moraua, chusing rather so to end their dayes, than to fall into the hands of their cruell enemies. This ouerthrow was imputed to the Generall, who would needs giue the Turks battell in plaine field, although he was earnestly entreated by Countie *Io. Torquatus* to haue kept the straits of that country, whereby he might haue had great aduantage of the enemie. *Torquatus* himselfe hauing lost all his horsemen in that battell, and his horse killed vnder him, fought valiantly on foot, vntil he was by the multitude of his enemies oppressed and slaine. The Bassa to giue *Baiazet* a sure testimonie of the victorie, caused all the noses of the slaine Christians to be cut off and put vpon strings, and so by waggon sent them as a barbarous Present to Constantinople. After the death of *Charles* the French King, *Lewis* the twelfth of that name hauing obtained that kingdome, wrot himselfe also Duke of Millan, as discended of one of the daughters of *Io. Galeatius* first Duke of Millan: in which his supposed right hee was fully resolued to make warre vpon *Sfortia* then Duke of Millan. And for his better successe in those wars, sought by all meanes he could, to draw some other of the Princes and States of Italie into the fellowship of that intended war; but aboue all others the Venetians, as most commodious for his purpose: with whom he made a firme league, and for the ayd they were to giue him, couenanted that they should haue for their share the citie of Cremona, with all the pleasant countrey about Abdua, then part of *Sfortia* his dominion; which was afterwards accordingly performed.

Sfortia vnderstanding of this compact made against him, and knowing himselfe farre too weake of himselfe to stand against so puissant enemies; attempted first to set *Maximilian* the Emperor, with the States of Germanie, vpon the French King. But that not sorting to his desire, he sought to agree with the King, by offering to hold his dukedome of him, by paying him a yearely tribute. After he had thus in vain proued all the means he could deuise, to haue appeased the French King, and prouided for his owne safetie; he by his Embassadors sent of purpose, certified *Baiazet* of the confederation betwixt the French King and the Venetians, and that their purpose was after they had oppressed him, and some other of the States of Italie, then with their vnited forces to inuade his dominions: and that therefore it were good for him in time to looke vnto it, and to giue ayd against those which would in short time become his most dangerous enemies. By this means the Duke was in good hope, so to busie the Venetians by bringing the Turke vpon them, as that they should stand the French in small stead. At which time also the Embassadors of Florence did what they could to pricke forward the Turke

Turke to make wars vpon the Venetians, for the malice they bare against them for protecting them of Pisa against the oppression of the Florentines.

Baiazet perswaded by the Embassadours, and calling to remembrance the iniuries before done him by the Venetians; first by giuing ayd to *Iohn Castriot* the son of *Scanderbeg*, and *Iohn Chernouich* another Prince of Epirus, (whereby he lost a great part of that countrey, and was also further enforced to yeeld to such conditions as altogether stood not with his honor) and againe, by denying to giue his fleet leaue to put into their harbours of Cyprus, in the time of his wars against the Sultan of Ægypt: all which he was glad then to endure, for feare lest that his brother *Zemes* (then liuing) should by their means be set vp against him; promised now to doe what the Embassadors had requested: glad in his minde that the discord of the Christian Princes had presented vnto him so fit an opportunitie of reuenge.

1499 *Friuli part of the Venetian territory spoiled by the Turks.*

Hereupon he made great preparation both by sea and land against the Venetians, and vpon the sudden caused *Scander Bassa* his lieutenant in Illyria, with twelue thousand horse to breake into the countrey of Friuli, part of the Venetian territorie vpon the frontiers of Italie. The Bassa as he had in charge, passing ouer diuers great riuers, at length entred the countrey, burning and destroying all before him as far as Liquentia, carrying away with him all the poore countrey people prisoners. But when he was come to the banks of Tiliauentum, and vnderstood that he came too late to pleasure the Duke of Millan (for why, the French with the Venetians had before without resistance driuen him quite out of Italie and Germanie) he there, with more than barbarous crueltie put foure thousand poore prisoners to the swoord; and so hauing filled the countrey with mourning and with bloud, returned from whence he came, loaded with the spoyle of that rich countrey.

At the same time also, *Baiazet* put to sea such a fleet as none of his predecessours had before set forth; and with a great armie in person himselfe marched alongst the sea coast of Morea, in such sort, as that his armie by land, and his fleet at sea, as neere as they could, kept euen pace the one within sight of the other. Neither were the Venetians vnmindfull of themselues, but set forth a strong fleet vnder the charge of *Anthonie Grimani* their Admirall; in number far inferior to the Turks, but for equipage, strength, skilfull mariners, and all other manner of warlike prouision, much superior. For which cause the Turks, although defied and braued by the Venetians, yet durst not at the first joyn with them in battell, but stil kept alongst the coast of Morea, not daring to put further off into the sea. In this their course the Venetians troubled them exceedingly, somtimes making shew as if they would haue constrained them to fight, & otherwhiles giuing them chase, neuer departing far from them, wisely accounting it right good seruice, if they could but keepe that hugie fleet from landing in Italy, or other place of the Venetian territorie. Most men were in good hope, that if those great fleets should haue joyned in battel, the Venetians should haue had a notable victorie; for that the enemie as afraid kept so dangerous a course, and so neere the maine. The longer they thus sailed, the more was the State of Venice offended with their Admiral, that he contrarie to all expectation, delayed to fight, and stil suffered the dangerous enemie to approch neerer and neerer their territories: and there were none which had not rather he should haue set all vpon the hazard of one battell, than to protract by delay a long and doubtfull war. Whilest all mens minds were thus in expectation of some great exployt to be done vpon the enemie, newes came to the citie, that the Turks fleet had put into the hauen Sapientia in the Island Sphraga, to water, and was there embaied by the Venetians. This report was of most men joyfully receiued, as if the victorie had bin alreadie assured: and so much the more, for that it was vainly supposed, that it would be gained without any great losse. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter far otherwise, saying, That the place wherein the enemie lay was such, as that he might safely at his pleasure depart thence. Yet forsomuch as the Turks fleet was more subiect vnto danger in putting out of the harbor, than in the wide sea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the Venetian Admirall would set vpon them as they should come forth againe. Whilest men were thus diuining too and fro, and the Venetians attending the comming forth of the enemis fleet, it fortuned that *Andreas Lauredanus*, and *Albanus Armerius* (two valiant gentlemen) but a little before come from Corcyra, of purpose to be present at the battell, were the first that began the fight; and with their two nimble Ships (after they had changed a few bullets) boorded a tall Ship of the Turks, being of such beautie and burthen, that she seemed rather a Ca-

Fight at sea betwixt the Turks and the Venetians.

stle

A stle than a ship, wherof one *Baruch* of Smyrna (a notable pirat) was captain: who after a long & cruell fight, perceiuing that he must either yeeld, or by force be taken, desperatly set fire on his own ship, by the rage whereof both she and the Venetian ships fast grapled vnto her, were all three together burnt downe to the water. Many of the men (to shun the violence of the fire) leapt ouer boord into the sea, where some of them were taken vp by other ships, and some perished. Some few other of the Venetian fleet couragiously assailed the Turks at their comming out, and doing great harme, put the Turks whole fleet in no small feare. But the most part of the Venetian gallies lay looking on a far off, vnto whom the other before in fight with the Turks, after they had done what they could, retyred also. But by that they had done, it appeared plainly, that the Venetian Admirall that day let slip out of his hands a most notable victorie, if he as a resolute man had with his whole fleet charged the enemie.

After this fight the Turks held on their course, still keeping Morea on the right hand, whom the Venetians still followed: at length the Turks fleet was come to the entrance of the gulfe of Patras, where the Venetians againe faintly setting vpon them, suffered them to recouer the gulfe; with no lesse dishonour than they had before let them escape at the port Sapientia: for the Venetians hauing the aduantage of the place, and better appointed for fight at sea, might easily (as it was supposed) haue gained the victorie, if the commanders (but especially the Admirall) had been so forward in the seruice as became men of their place. But many of them afraid to fight lay aloofe, so that *Dauthes* the Turks Admirall (who perceiuing himselfe too weake, had purposed to run his gallies on shoare, and so to haue fled to the armie at land, if he had felt himselfe ouercharged by the Venetian Fleet) had now contrarie to his expectation recouered the gulfe he desired, though not without losse of some of his gallies. Within this gulfe standeth the antient city of Naupactum (now called Lepanto) then subiect to the Venetians, whither *Baiazet* was then come by land with his armie; and now by the comming of his fleet into the gulfe, layd hard siege vnto the citie both by sea and land. They of the citie seeing themselues on euery side beset with their enemies, without any great resistance fell to composition with *Baiazet*, & so yeelded vnto him the citie, which the Turks hold at this day.

Lepanto yeelded to the Turk.

Grimanus the Venetian Admirall returning to Venice, was for all his euil seruice (or rather for that he, according to his milde nature, had not vsed seueritie against such captaines as refused to fight) cast into prison: and although he was a man mightily befriended, yet was hee by a publique Decree banished into one of the Absytides, Islands vpon the coast of Liburnia. From the first foundation of the city of Venice was neuer man impugned with more spight, or defended by greater friends: but common hatred preuailing, he was neuertheless exiled. Thus *Baiazet* hauing made a roade into the Venetian territory by *Scander-Bassa*, and taken from them the citie of Naupactam, with the country therabout, returned with victorie to Constantinople.

The next yeare following, which was the yeare 1500, *Baiazet* put to sea a greater and stronger fleet than he had the yeare before; and himselfe in person with a puissant armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men entred by the strait of Corinth into Peloponesus, and marching through the country, came and incamped before the strong citie of Methone (now called Modon) then vnder the gouernment of the Venetians: at which time his great fleet met him there also by sea, as he had before appointed. When he had thus beset the citie both by sea & land, & with long and continuall batterie made three great and faire breaches in the walls, he gaue vnto the same two terrible assaults, and that with such desperat furie, that many of them which went first vnto the breach, ouerthrowne by the presse of them which followed, were trodden to death. Yet neuertheless the citie was both times valiantly defended by the citisens & garrison soldiers: so that when he had done what he could, he was glad to retyre from the wals, hauing filled the towne ditches with the bodies of his slain Turks. The Venetian Admirall *Triuisanus* lying at the Isle of Zacynthus (but far too weake to fight with the enemie) in the beginning of the siege sent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptista Polanus*, with two gallies full of men and munition in relief of the besieged; and now doubting their further wants, sent *Io. Maripetrus*, *Alex. Cothius* of Corcyra, & *Cachuris* of Hydruntum, with three other great gallies, with men, munition, and such other things as he thought needful for the defence of the citie. These three resolute captaines comming with a full winde, and packing on all their sailes, brake thorow the Turks fleet lying in their way, and ranne themselues aground vnder the walls of the towne:

1500. *Methone besieged both by sea and land by Baiazet.*

towne: for they of the town had so barred the hauen for feare of the enemie, that they could not that way possibly get in. The Citizens and souldiers joyfull of the comming of this fresh supplie, and withall fearing lest the Gallies should be set off againe from them by the enemie, came running by heapes from all parts of the citie, towards the sea, to receiue this new come ayd: which was done with such a confused disorder, that diuers places of the citie towards the land were left without defendants, as if there had beene no enemie neere. Which the Ianizaries quickly perceiuing, presently entred by those forsaken places with little or no resistance. Then the Citizens all too late began to make head: for the Ianizaries alreadie entred made way for the rest of the armie, which swarming into the citie, slew without pittie all that came in the way, as well Grecians as Venetians, with all the souldiers but euen then newly landed out of the three gallies. In this slaughter, *Anthonius Fabrius* and *Bardella* (gouernors of the towne) with *Andreas Falco* Bishop of Methone, in his Pontificalibus and his Mytre on his head, were slaine: none escaped their furie, but such as were for their strength reserued for seruile labour, or for their beautie, to the Victors lust: and of these a thousand bound fast together in long ropes, were brought to *Baiazets* Pauilion, and there in his sight by his commandement cruelly murthered. The Cities of Corone and Pylus (now called Nauarrinum) sometime the dwelling place of old *Nestor*, terrified with the taking of Methone, yeelded themselues by composition to *Baiazet*. This citie of Chrisseum, now knowne by the name of *Caput S. Galli*, was taken also by *Cherseogles*, *Baiazet* his sonne in law. All these were Cities belonging to the Venetians. Nauplium was also besieged by *Haly Bassa*, but yet still defended by the Venetians. *Baiazet* hauing new fortified the citie of Methone, and stored it with new Inhabitants, left in it a strong garrison, and so with victorie returned to Constantinople.

Methone taken by the Turks.

Corone, Pilus, and Chrisseum yeelded to the Turks.

1501. At this time *Triuisanus* the Venetian Admirall died, of griefe of mind as some supposed; in whose place the Senat sent *Benedictus Pisaurius*, a noble and valiant gentleman, who with the Venetian fleet followed the enemie, then departing from the siege of Nauplium, pursuing them euen vnto the straits of Hellespontus, still cutting off such as stragled or tarried behinde the rest of the fleet: by which meanes he tooke aboue twentie of their gallies, and in his returne tooke from the Turks the Island of Ægina, and landing in diuers places of the Turks dominions, left vnto them the wofull remembrance of his being there. Afterwards meeting with *Gonsaluus*, surnamed the Great (sent by *Ferdinand* King of Spaine, to ayd him against the Turks) at Zacynthus, he inuaded Cephalenia (which *Triuisanus* his predecessour had in vaine attempted the yeare before) and layd hard siege to the citie; which was for a space valiantly defended by the Turks, yet at length by the good conduct of *Gonsaluus* it was by force taken, when as *Gisdare* the gouernor thereof, with his garrison of Turks had before fought it out euen to the last man. The citie being taken, all the whole Island yeelded forthwith to the Venetians.

Cephalenia taken by the Venetians.

Pisaurius hauing taken Cephalenia, repaired the citie, and leauing a strong garrison for defence of the Isle, departed to Corcyra; where he was aduertised, that the Turks were rigging forth a great fleet against the next Spring, whereof some part lay in the Bay of Ambracia, not far from Corcyra; some at Eante, and the rest within the straits of Hellespontus. Wherefore purposing to do some exployt vpon those gallies which lay in the bay of Ambracia, to auert the mind of the enemie from perceiuing of that he had secretly with himselfe intended, he sent the greatest part of his fleet vnto the Island of Neritos, who suddenly landing should put the Inhabitants in feare. The captaines sent about the businesse, cherefully put in execution what the Admirall had commanded, and by their sudden landing raised such a tumult, that all the countries thereabout were filled with the expectation of that which should ensue thereof. The Bay of Ambracia is so straitned on either side with the mountains of Epirus, that the entrance thereof is but halfe a mile ouer: but by and by opening it selfe into a great wideness, and running vp into the land, maketh a most pleasant and safe harbour for ships and gallies to ride in. *Pisaurius* with a faire wind comming thither with eight gallies wel appointed, when the Turkes thought him to haue beene at Neritos, and entring the strait, rowing farther into the Bay, burnt one of the Turkes great Gallies, to the terrour of all them that dwelt round about the Bay, and carried away with him eleuen more, laded with munition and victuall, through the strait; the Turks in vaine fretting thereat, and doing what they could with their

their great ordnance from shore to haue sunke him in going out of the Bay. But hauing done what he came for, he returned with his prey againe to Corcyra. Not long after he also recouered the castle of Pylos in Morea: which as it was suddenly gotten, so was it as suddenly lost; for *Camalia*, a notable Pirat of the Turks, who had bin abroad seeking after purchase, putting into that harbor by chance, took three gallies there left by the admiral for defence of the place, and so terrified the faint-hearted captaine, that he fel to composition with the Pyrat, to yeeld him the castle, so that he and his soldiers might in safetie depart: which the Pyrat granting, had the castle deliuered vnto him, which he could not with far greater strength haue possibly woon. So was Pylos for feare twice in one yeare yeelded vp vnto the Turkes, and was both times the death of the cowardly captains which gaue it vp, being both beheaded by the commandement of the Admirall. About the same time, *Pisaurius* attempted to haue burnt other of the Turks gallies lying in the riuer Eante, vpon the coast of Macedonia: but not with so good successe as before; for the Turks, made more carefull by the losse they had but a little before receiued at Ambracia, did now more vigilantly looke vnto their gallies: so that when *Pisaurius* had in certain small vessels, made of purpose for that seruice, embarked two hundred resolute soldiers to haue gone vp the riuer to haue fired the gallies, they were by the way after they had entred a good way into the riuer, encountred by the Turks, and enforced to returne. But before they could get out of the riuer, the wind rose so contrarie, with such a stiffe gale ful in the mouth of the riuer, that the mariners ouermastered with the violence of the weather, when they had done what they could, and spent all their strength, were driuen ashore, some on the one side of the riuer, and some on the other, and so fell into the hands of their enemies, of whom it booted not to craue mercie.

Pylos taken 2d the Turkes, and againe yeelded vnto them.

About this time *Baiazet* tooke also the antient and famous city of Dyrrachium, now called Durazo, from the Venetians; before ruinous, and almost quite abandoned by the inhabitants, as a place of danger, and not to be kept now that the Turk had got all the country round about it. The Venetians sore prest with these wars so long maintained against the Turke, had many times prayed ayd of other Christian Princes, and were well holpen by the Spaniard in the taking of Cephalenia: and now *Lewis* the French King, vpon a good deuotion to that war, sent the Lord *Rauestein* with seuen tall ships and fifteene gallies well appointed out of Prouince and Genoa, to aid the Venetians his friends. This fleet departing from Naples, where they had by the way put in, and passing about Italie, and so through the Ionian sea, came to Melos one of the Cyclades; at which Island *Pisaurius* with his fleet in short time arriued also: from whence they by mutual consent departed together to inuade the Island of Lesbos; and being there safely arriued, landed their Forces, and laid siege vnto the strong Citie of Mytilene, where by the furie of their artillerie they in short time had made a faire breach in the wall. In the time of this batterie, whilest the breach was in making, *Pisaurius* with part of his fleet sailed to Tenedos; for it was reported, that certain of the Turks gallies were then comming for that place out of Hellespontus. Which report, as some write, was of purpose giuen out by the French, thereby to draw the Venetian Admirall from the siege, that so in the meane time they being in good hope to take the towne in his absence, might themselues carrie away the honour thereof, together with the rich spoyle. Others fauouring the French, blame the Venetian Admirall, as if he had of purpose departed, enuying at the honor of the French. Which is hardly to be beleeued in so honorable a personage, and in an action so much concerning the good of his Commonweale. Howsoeuer it was, the breach being made, in his absence was by the French presently assaulted: although that *Paulus Palatesius* the Venetian Vice-Admiral, earnestly requested the French Admirall to deferre the assault for a while, and to expect the returne of *Pisaurius*. Which his counsell the French Admirall gaue him the hearing of, but yet went forward with the assault. The French men after their manner furiously assailing the breach, were valiantly repulsed by the Turks; so that in the breach was made a deadly and most terrible fight, many falling on both sides. Yet for all that, the Citie was manfully defended by the Turks, and the French men were enforced to retyre. The French Admirall hauing taken this repulse, commanded all things to be carried aboord, purposing to haue forsaken the siege, and so to haue departed: when in the meane time the Venetian Admirall returned, and with much adoo persuaded the French to stay. Whereupon the batterie was againe begun with greater furie than before, and now the Leaders were consulting of a fresh

Dyrrachium taken by the Turke.

Mytilene besieged.

assault to be giuen, when suddenly newes was brought, That the Turks fleet was comming to G
relieue the citie: and thereupon the assault was for a time deferred, and the batterie continued. But those Turks which came, being in number but few, were for most part by them in the gallies taken and cast ouer boord; some few that got to land, saued themselues in the woods and desart places of the Ile. By this time the citie was againe made saultable, and the Venetians with great courage assailed the breach, and had twice gained the top of the rampiers, from whence they were againe both times beaten down by the Turks, the French all the while looking on. Many valiant men were there slaine and hurt, and in the end the Venetians were glad with losse to retire, as had the French done before. Whilest this was in doing, a pinnace came to the fleet with newes, That the Great Master of the Rhodes was comming with his gallies to the siege: whereupon the Admirals determined to maintaine the siege vntil his comming. H

The siege of Mytelene broken vp.

But the next day after, the French Admirall changing his purpose, shipped his men, and hoysing saile departed to Chios: and sailing thence towards Italie, was ouertaken with a most terrible tempest, wherein the Admirall Gallie with two others were lost, with eight hundred good souldiers; the Admirall himselfe with aboue fortie others were by chance contrarie to all hope saued, and with much danger with his weather-beaten fleet recouered the hauen of Tarentum. The Venetian Admirall thus forsaken of the French, and seeing the time past wherein he expected the comming of the Great Master of the Rhodes, brake vp the siege and departed from Lesbos to Chios, and from thence to Paros, where he found the Master of the Rhodes with his Gallies; vnto whom he complained greatly of the inconstancie of the French, imputing it vnto them, that the citie of Mytilene was not woon. Neither were they I

1502. behinde with him, but in euery place where they came, layd the fault as much or more vpon him. From Paros the Venetian Admirall tooke his course to the Island of Melos, where he found one *Rhichius* an arch Pyrat of the Turks, who by force of tempest was driuen on shore, and by the sudden comming downe of the Island people taken: him (for that he had exercised exceeding crueltie vpon certain Christians that he had taken) *Pisaurius* caused to be fast bound to a spit, and with a small fire to be rosted to death. From Melos he returned to Corcyra, and there wintered.

The next Spring, *Pisaurius* with certaine gallies which *Alexander* Bishop of Rome had sent vnto him, vnder the command of *Iacobus P. saurius* bishop of Papnia, sailed to Neritos, now called S. Maura, which is an Island parted from the firme land with a little fret of the sea, long time before that way let in by the Corinthians. Here *Pisaurius* suddenly landing his men, surprised the Island, and with wonderfulll celeritie and industrie cast vp two great trenches, in such sort, and to so good purpose, that three thousand of the Turks horsemen comming at a low water ouer that narrow strait which parteth the Island from the Maine, were with losse repulsed and forced to retyre. Whereupon S. Maura the chiefe citie was forthwith deliuered vnto *Pisaurius*, with the rest of the Island.

Neritos taken by the Venetians.

The Venetians wearie of this long and chargeable war against so mightie an enemie, sent *Lodouicus Manetius* their Embassador to *Baiazet*, to treat with him for peace: but *Baiazet* stood vpon such hard points, that nothing could at that time be concluded. Yet *Manetius* so discreetly vsed the matter, that *Baiazet* sent with him at his returne to Venice, his Embassador, to L
propound vnto the Senat such conditions as it pleased him to grant them peace vpon. This Embassador had audience in the Senat twice, where he in the name of his Master propouuded such proud and vnreasonable conditions, that they were by the Senat rejected, and so he himselfe dismissed and sent backe againe.

1503. The yere following, the Venetians sent an Embassador to *Baiazet*, who moued with the pitifull complaints of his owne subjects, for the daily harms they receiued from the Venetians alongst the sea coast, as also for want of trade, and fearing also some troubles like to arise in his kingdom in Asia (as indeed there did, not long after) yeelded himselfe more willingly to heare of peace, than before. This Embassador called *Zacharias Phrisius*, was well heard of *Baiazet*, and after long suit had brought the matter he came for into some good tearmes; and being M
honourably rewarded by the Turkish Emperour, returned home, carrying with him vnto the Senat farre more reasonable conditions of peace than had at any time before beene by *Baiazet* propounded. Hereupon the Venetians shortly after sent *Andreas Gritti* (an honourable Senatour) a man well knowne to *Baiazet* both for his famous traffique in former time at Constantinople,

A stantinople, and also for that in these late warres he was taken prisoner at the winning of Methone, and his life spared at the intercession of *Cherseogles* (*Baiazet* his son in law) and afterward ransomed: he in the name of the state from whence he came, concluded a peace with *Baiazet*. The capitulations whereof were, first, That the Venetians should deliuer vp the Islands of Neritos and Leucadia, reseruing vnto themselues the Island of Cephalenia onely: Then, That *Baiazet* should restore all such goods as had been taken from the Venetian Merchants, in these late warres: And that it should be lawfull for them (as they were wont) safely to trafique into the Euxine sea, and to Constantinople; and there to haue their Consull or Gouernour as they had had in former time: And last of all, That the Venetian territorie should bee certainely knowne, and separated from the Turkes by certaine bounds and limits. These conditions were

A peace concluded betwixt Baiazet and the Venetians.

B solemnly agreed vpon, and confirmed both by *Baiazet* and the state of Venice: and so a firme peace concluded in the yeare 1503, after the warres had continued betwixt them about the space of fiue yeares.

The same yeare *Baiazet* assembled a great and puissant army of his best and most approued souldiers, as well in Asia as Europe, which met together at Sophia, purposing (as it was thought) to haue inuaded Hungarie: but worthily doubting the successe of that war against so warlike a nation, he changed his purpose, and leauing *Achmetes Bassa* with his Asian souldiers at Sophia, turned himselfe with the rest of his armie into Albania (to reduce those rebellious people againe to his obeysance) and had before sent a fleet of gallies to stop the passages of that countrey alongst the sea coast. But the country people vnderstanding of his comming, fled into the

C high and rough rocks and mountains, from whence they did the Turks great harme: who neuertheless with incredible labour and aduenture, mounted those difficult places; and killing an exceeding number of those mountaine and sauage people, carried all the women and children they could light vpon, away with them prisoners: and with fire and sword made all the countrey desolate. After which spoile done, *Baiazet* returned with his armie to Manastirum; and departing thence, vpon the way met with a Deruissar (which is a phantasticall and beggarly kind of Turkish monks, vsing no other apparell but two sheep-skins, the one hanging before and the other behind) a lustie strong fat fellow, attired after the manner of his order, with a great ring in each eare: who drawing neere vnto *Baiazet*, as if he would of him haue receiued an alms, desperatly assailed him with a short Scimitar which he had closely conueyed vnder his hypocritall habit. But *Baiazet* by the starting of the horse whereon he rid (being afraid

Baiazet in danger to haue slain by a Deruissar or Turkish monke.

D at the sudden approch of the hobgoblin) partly auoided the deadly blow by the traitour entended, yet not altogether vnwounded: neither had he so escaped the danger, had not *Isbender Bassa* with his horsemans mase presently struck downe the desperat villain as he was about to haue doubled his stroke; but being now strucke downe, he was foorthwith rent in peeces by the souldiers. This treacherous and desperat fact so much moued *Baiazet*, that he proscribed all them of that superstitious order, and banished them out of his empire.

After so many troubles, *Baiazet* gaue himselfe vnto a quiet course of life, spending most part of his time in studie of phylosophie, and conference with learned men: vnto which peaceable kind of life, he was of his owne naturall disposition more enclined than to wars; al-

Baiazet by nature peaceable.

E beit that the regard of his state, and the earnest desire of his men of war, drew him oftentimes euen against his wil into the field. As for the ciuile gouernment of his kingdome, he referred it wholly vnto his three principal Bassaes, *Alis*, *Achmetes*, and *Iachia*, who at their pleasure disposed of all things. After he had in this quiet and pleasing kinde of life to his great contentment passed ouer fiue yeares, of a little neglected sparke suddenly arose such a fire in Asia, as was hardly after with much bloud of his people and danger of that part of his Empire quenched: the reliques wherof yet troubleth those superstitious people at this day. Which thing was brought to passe by the craftie deuise of *Chasan Chelife*, and *Schach Culi* his boy (whome some call *Teckel Scachoculis*, and others *Techellis*) two hypocriticall Persians: who flying into those countries, and with the counterfeit shew of feigned holinesse hauing procured to themselues a great name amongst those rude people, with a number of windie headed followes (filled with the noueltie of their new doctrine) raised first such a diuersitie of opinions about the

F true successors of their vntrue Prophet, and afterwards such a rebellion amongst the people, as that the one yet remaineth, and the other was not in a good while after with great bloudshed appeased.

But

Hyſmael his behauiour in the time of his exile

Hyſmael alſo liuing in exile, moſt earneſtly embraced that new ſuperſtition which *Haider* his father had before taught in Perſia, but with far better fortune and ſucceſſe. For as ſoone as he was grown to mans eſtate, he following his fathers maner of life, and being by nature wonderfull eloquent, comely of perſon, exceeding wiſe, and of an inuincible courage, was of the rude vulgar people accounted of more like a god than a man: ſo that hee grew to be of great fame and power amongſt thoſe barbarous people with whom he liued. And not the baſe and vulgar ſort only, but diuers noblemen alſo, and others of good reputation, once allured with the noueltie of his doctrine, the more to manifeſt their good will towards the author of their ſect, after they had forſaken their old ſuperſtition, ceaſed not (as the manner of men is) to commend him in the higheſt degree of vertue and honor. And he himſelfe as yet but a youth, altogether bending his wit to the ſetting forth of himſelfe, making ſemblant of more than was indeed in him, obtained, as if it had bin againſt his will, riches, honor, fame, and authoritie; of all which things, he as a notable diſſembler ſeemed to make no account or reckning: neither were there ſome wanting which would ſweare, that *Haider* his father (as he was an excellent Aſtronomer) calculating his natiuitie, ſhould ſay, That he ſhould prooue a great propher, and the author of true religion, who ſubduing the greateſt part of the Eaſt, ſhould become as glorious both in matters of religion and martiall affaires, as was *Mahomet* the Great Prophet himſelfe. Which report being bruted abroad amongſt the vulgar people, greatly increaſed his authoritie, and gaue them occaſion to talke of wonders. Not long after, *Hyſmael* was firſt by the admiration or rather aſſentation of his friends and followers, and afterwards as if it had bin by a generall conſent, ſyrnamed *Sophos*; which amongſt thoſe people ſignifieth a Wiſe man, or the Interpreter of the gods. Theſe proſperous beginnings, with the troubled ſtate of the Perſian kingdome, encouraged him to take in hand great matters: for his vncle *Iacup* the Perſian king was long before dead, beeing together with his ſon poyſoned by his adulterous wife: which thing he preſently perceiuing, enforced her to drinke of the ſame cup; and becauſe he would be ſure that ſhe ſhould not eſcape, with his owne hand ſtrucke off her head, and immediatly after died, with his ſonne. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe about the ſucceſſion: and diuers great men one after another aſpired to the kingdome, which they enioyed not long. And amongſt the reſt *Eluan-Beg* (whom *Iouius* calleth *Aluantes*) at that time ſtood in no ſure poſſeſſion of the kingdome, being mightily impugned by his brother *Moratchamus*.

Hyſmael returneth into Armenia, and recouereth his inheritance.

Hyſmael taking hold of this opportunitie, armed diuers of the moſt able men of his followers, and receiuing ſome ſmall aid from his poore old friend *Pyrchales*, entered into Armenia, and there partly by the fame that ran of him, and partly by the good will of the people, rather than by any force, recouered his fathers inheritance, whereunto the remembrance of his dead father did not a little further him. He encouraged with this good beginning, daily grew ſtronger and ſtronger, by the continuall repairing vnto him of ſuch as hauing once receiued the doctrine of *Haider*, were glad of long (for feare of perſecution) to diſſemble the ſame: but now hauing got an head and chiefetaine to cleaue vnto, began openly to ſhew themſelues againe, and in great number to reſort vnto him, in hope of the good ſucceſſe of their religion, not ſo happily begun by his father.

Sumachia taken by *Hyſmael*.

His power thus daily increaſing beyond his expectation, he laied ſiege vnto Sumachia, a citie in the confines of Media, which he tooke by force and ſacked: and with the ſpoile therof both inriched and armed his ſouldiers, which before were for moſt part naked men. The taking of this citie wonderfully increaſed both his fame and courage, as oftentimes it falleth out, That hautie minds, couragiouſly attempting high exploits, by the good euent of their firſt attempts make way vnto the full of their ſtately deſires. So after this, *Hyſmaels* thoughts were not ſo low, as to thinke of the taking of this or that little citie; but how he might now compaſſe the great citie of Tauris, the very ſeat of the Perſian kings, and afterwards the kingdome it ſelfe. Whereupon repoſing no leſſe confidence in his own good fortune, than the valour of his ſouldiers, he marched with his armie directly to the city of Tauris, & that with ſuch expedition, that he was come before it before any ſuch thing was feared, much leſſe prouided for. *Eluan* the Perſian king was then at Tauris, and had but a little before fought a great battell with his brother *Moratchamus* for the kingdome: and hauing vanquiſhed him, draue him out of Armenia and Perſia; and afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding vp of ciuile warres, had cauſed diuers of the chiefe citizens of Tauris, which had taken part with his bro-

Hyſmael commeth to Tauris.

A brother againſt him, to be ſeuerely executed, filling the eies of their friends with the horrible ſpectacle of their diſmembred bodies, and the hearts of moſt men with ſorrow and heauines: whereby he had ſo alienated the minds of the citizens from him, that now vpon the approch of *Hyſmael*, they were all readie to forſake him: of which their diſpoſition *Hyſmael* was beforehand informed, and vpon the good hope thereof had haſted his comming. *Eluan* the Perſian king thus ouertaken on the ſudden, had not time to raiſe ſuch forces as might ſuffice either to encounter his enemie, or defend the citie; wherefore deſpairing of his owne ſtrength, and iuſtly fearing the reuolt and furie of the diſcontented citizens, as a man diſmaid, ſuddenly fled out of the citie. After whoſe departure the gates were preſently ſet open to *Hyſmael*. For the citizens which in thoſe troubleſome times (wherin the two brethren contended for the kingB dome) had ſuffered great calamitie, choſe rather in that preſent danger to receiue a conqueror of ſo great fame as was then *Hyſmael*, than to their vtter deſtruction to oppoſe themſelues againſt him in the quarrell of their cruell king: and the rather, for that they ſaw a generall ſecurity and open way to preferment, propoſed vnto all ſuch as ſhould receiue the reformed religion of this new conquerour.

Hyſmael entering the citie, ſlew certaine of the kings guard which were not yet departed, and then vtterly raſed the ſtately tombe wherein his vncle *Iacup* was after the manner of the Perſian kings royally buried. And to mittigat the ſorrow he had ſo long conceiued of his fathers death, and with reuenge to appeaſe his angrie ghoſt, he cauſed the tyrants bones to bee digged vp and ſcattered abroad, and the memoriall of his name to bee quite raſed out of all C places of the citie.

Hyſmael taketh the city of Tauris, and defaceth the tombe of his vncle Iacup.

Although *Hyſmael* was thus poſſeſſed of the regall citie of Tauris, and had thereby made a way for the obtaining of the whole kingdome, yet he knew that ſo long as *Eluan* liued, his conqueſt was not vnto him aſſured: and therefore to the vttermoſt of his power he augmented his armie with new ſupplies taken vp in that populous citie, whom he furniſhed with armour and weapons taken out of the kings armourie. In the mean time newes was brought vnto him, that the Perſian king before fled into the fartheſt part of his kingdome, was now comming from Scyras with a great armie againſt him; and that *Moratchamus* his brother, forgetting in this common danger all former quarrels, had raiſed a great armie about Babylon in Aſſyria, in ſhort time to ioyne with his brother.

D *Hyſmael* neuertheleſſe nothing terrified with the report of the great preparation of the two brethren againſt him, to the intent he might ſeeme to vndertake this war by the appointment of God, and vpon a greater aſſurance than vpon his own ſtrength, reſolued to go againſt them. And ſo after he had muſtered his armie, & in beſt manner he could prouided all things neceſſarie, he ſet forward from Tauris; vſing no other perſuaſion to encourage his ſoldiers, but that they ſhould all as became reſolute men, make haſt & follow him whom God had giuen them for a chiefetain and leader, vnto a moſt aſſured victory. The Perſian king was at the ſame time ten daies journey from Tauris, when *Hyſmael* with incredible celeritie preuenting the fame of his comming, was come to the mountaine Niphates, which parteth Armenia from Aſſyria: which mountaine, *Eluan* purpoſing ſhortly to paſſe ouer with his populous armie, had ſent beE fore his ſcouts to diſcouer the ſtraight paſſages, and a multitude of pioners to make the wayes more commodious for his great armie to paſſe. Which thing *Hyſmael* vnderſtanding, and politickly conſidering that it ſhould be much for his aduantage, if he ſhould firſt himſelfe paſſe ouer thoſe great mountaines, and ſo vpon the ſudden ſet vpon his enemies then lying in ſecuritie, and fearing nothing leſſe than ſuch a deſperat attempt: vpon that reſolution aduanced his enſignes vpon the mountains; and hauing with ſmall reſiſtance diſcomfited them which kept the paſſages, came downe the ſame mountaines like a tempeſt, and furiouſly aſſailed the king, then lying in his campe on the other ſide at the foot of the mountaine: vpon the approch of whom ſuch a hurly burly was raiſed in the kings camp, that what for the confuſed tumult of the ſoldiers, & fearfull outcries of the multitude of baſe people which followed the camp, the F king could ſcarcely giue order vnto his captains what he would haue don, or yet incourage his ſouldiers, or put them in order of battell. So that *Hyſmael* giuing a fierce onſet with his Armenian ſouldiers, there was ſuddenly begun a moſt terrible and bloodie battell. Neither did that day the fortune of *Hyſmael* faile him, whoſe courage and proweſſe neuer failed: for aſſailing the Kings battell of footmen, with three ſquadrons at once, hee had ouercome them and put them

Hyſmael goeth againſt the Perſian king.

them to flight before that the horſmen could arme themſelues and mount their horſes, which were for moſt part vnſadled and vnbridled at his comming. The king, who had nothing either feared or foreſeen this ſo ſudden a miſchiefe, but had vainly perſuaded himſelfe, That the very fame of his comming with ſo huge an army, would ſo terrifie his enemies, as that he ſhould find none either at Tauris, or in all Armenia, that durſt make reſiſtance; was glad now to run to and fro to encourage his ſouldiers, to ſtay his diſcomfited battels, yea and to come to handie blowes himſelfe. But when neither his captains nor ſouldiers could put in execution his ſudden directions which he was inforced to giue in that imminent danger, being at once ouercome with ſhame and deſperation, he reſolutely thruſt himſelfe into the head of his battell, and there valiantly fighting was ſlain. Whereupon the Perſian horſemen, the greateſt ſtrength of the Kings armie, hauing now no king for whom they ſhould fight, betooke themſelues to flight, after whom followed the archers, and all the reſt of the kings armie.

Ruan the Perſian king ſlain.

When as *Hyſmael* had with leſſe loſſe than a man would haue thought ſo great a victorie could haue bin atchieued, poſſeſſed the enemies tents, he made no great purſuit after them, for that he thought it more requiſit to refreſh his ſouldiers throughly wearied and almoſt ſpent with long trauell and late fight: wherefore for certaine dayes he repoſed himſelfe with his armie in thoſe his enemies forſaken tents. Afterwards, when he had receiued Embaſſadours from diuers places, yeelding their cities and towns, and that the fauor of the people generally inclined to him, together with the victorie; he marched with his armie to Scyras; where hee was of the citizens who had before heard of the victorie ioyfully receiued, & his army relieued with all things he could deſire. *Hyſmael* there entertained with the greateſt honours that the fearfull citizens could poſſibly attribute to him, did oftentimes preach vnto them of the truth and excellencie of his fathers doctrine, and withall gaue out ſtrait proclamations, That he would account all them for his enemies, which did not within the ſpace of thirtie daies renounce their old ſuperſtition, and receiue this new found veritie (as he would haue it.) Wherfore, foraſmuch as on the one ſide were propoſed moſt certain rewards, by the happy courſe of his victories, & on the other, was threatned exile and torture to ſuch as ſhould obſtinatly perſiſt in their opinion; in ſhort time he drew all the vulgar people to embrace his new doctrine. And afterwards hauing paied his ſouldiers with the riches of that great citie, he gallantly furniſhed both his old and new ſouldiers that wanted armor, with moſt excellent armor and furniture: for in that citie, one of the greateſt and moſt famous of the Eaſt, were many ſhops full of all kind of armor, which the armourers with wonderfull cunning vſed to make of yron and ſteele & in the juice of certain hearbs, of much more notable temper & beautie than are theſe which are made with vs in Europe; not only head-peeces, curiaſſes, and complete armors, but whole capariſons for horſes, curiouſly made of thin plates of yron and ſteele. Departing from Scyras, he tooke alſo the great citie of Sapha ſuppoſed to haue beene the citie in antient time called Suſa, and Sultania, which for the wonderfull ruines of the huge buildings, is deemed to haue bin the antient and famous citie Tigranocerta. Theſe great matters quickely diſpatched, and hauing in euery citie placed Gouernours of his owne ſect, he paſſed ouer the riuer Tygris into Meſopotamia, of purpoſe to expulſe *Moratchamus* the late kings brother, out of Babylon, who was yet in armes, and had intended (as is before ſaid) to haue paſſed into Armenia, to haue ioyned his forces with the king his brother: but now terrified with his brothers calamitie (who together with a moſt puiſſant armie, and the ſtrength of the Perſian kingdom, was in one day fallen from the height of ſo great a fortune) thought it not beſt to trie his fortune in the field againſt ſo fortunat an enemie, but forthwith to withdraw himſelfe into the remoteſt places of that large kingdome, and from thence to expect ſome better fortune. For he wel knew that he was not able to withſtand his victorious enemie, now leading after him a moſt puiſſant army, who not long before had with a ſmal power vanquiſhed & ſlain his brother in a great battel. *Hyſmael* now by the greatnes of his fame and forces, & as it were by the fauor of God himſelf, become a terror to all the princes of the Eaſt, entred into Meſopotamia after the flight of *Moratchamus*, & receiued all that great pronince into his ſubiection, euery man as it were ſtriuing who ſhould firſt by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion purchaſe the fauour of the victorious conqueror. To be briefe, *Moratchamus* already terrified, & repoſing no great hope in himſelf, or his own power, neither deeming it for his ſafetie to ſhut vp himſelf within the wals of any ſtrong city, truſt vp his things of greateſt price, & with his wiues & children fled into Arabia.

Hyſmael goeth againſt Moratchamus.

This

A This *Moratchamus* is he whom ſome Hiſtoriographers called *Mara Beg*, and is in the Turks Hiſtories called *Imirſa Beg*, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the daughter of *Baiazet*, and recouering part of the Perſian kingdome, was ſuddenly murthered by ſome of his Nobilitie, whom he purpoſed ſecretly to haue put to death, if they had not preuented the ſame by murthering of him firſt. *Hyſmael* hauing victoriouſly ſubdued a great part of the Perſian kingdome, & filled all the Eaſt part of the world with the glorie of his name, returned out of Aſſyria into Media, & tooke in ſuch cities and ſtrong holds as were yet holden by the garriſons of the late Perſian king. And afterwards returning into Armenia, made wars vpon the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, which dwell vpon the borders of the Caſpian: for that thoſe nations, in antient times tributaries vnto the Perſian Kings, taking the benefit of the long ciuile
B wars wherewith the kingdome of Perſia, and all the Eaſt countries with the ruin of the kings houſe, had been of late turmoyled; had neither payed any tribute for the ſpace of foure yeres, nor ſent any honourable embaſſage, as they were woont, and as was expected, eſpecially in ſo great a victorie and alteration of the State.

Hyſmael hauing thus obtained the Perſian kingdome, in ſhort time became famous through the world, and was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Monarchs of that age. But nothing made him more to be ſpoken of, than the innouation he had made in the Mahometane ſuperſtition: for by his deuice and commandement a new forme of prayer was brought into their Mahometane Temples, far differing from that which had been of long time before vſed. By reaſon whereof, *Ebubekir*, *Homer*, and *Oſman*, the ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*,
C before had in great regard and reuerence, began now to be contemned, and their writings nothing regarded; and the honour of *Hali* exalted, as the true and onely ſucceſſor of their great Prophet. And becauſe he would haue his ſubjects and the followers of his doctrine knowne from the Turks and other Mahometans, he commanded that they ſhould all weare ſome red hatband, lace, or riband vpon their heads; which they religiouſly obſerue in Perſia vntil this day: whereof they are of the Turks called *Cuſelba's*, or *Red heads*. And in ſhort time he had ſo vſed the matter, that he was wonderfully both beloued and reuerenced of his ſubjects; inſomuch that his ſayings were accounted for diuine Oracles, and his commandements for Laws: ſo that when they would confirme any thing by ſolemne oath, they would ſweare by the head of *Hyſmael* the King: and when they wiſhed well to any man, they vſually ſayd, *Hyſmael* grant
D thee thy deſire. Vpon his coyne which he made both of ſiluer and gold, on the one ſide was written theſe words, *La illahe illalahu* Muhame *dunreſul allahe*: which is to ſay, *There are no gods but one, and* Mahomet *is his Meſſenger*. And on the other ſide, *Iſmaill halife lullahe*; which is to ſay, *Hyſmael the Vicar of God*.

Hyſmael exceedingly beloued and honored of his ſubiects.

Whileſt *Hyſmael* was thus wreſtling for the Perſian Kingdome, *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis* (whom we haue a little before declared to haue bin brought out of the mountains and deſarts, into the countrey villages, and afterwards into the cities; and to haue filled the countries of Armenia and a great part of the leſſer Aſia with the noueltie of their new doctrine and opinions, firſt phantaſied by one *Giunet Siech*, and afterward reuiued by *Haider Erdebil*, *Hyſmael* his father) hauing gathred a great armie of ſuch as had receiued their doctrine, inuaded the Turks
E dominion. For after that *Techellis* (this cold Prophet) had with wonderful felicitie in the preſence of many prognoſticated of things to come; and *Hyſmael* the Sophi (of late a poore exiled and baniſhed man) was thought to haue grown vnto the higheſt type of worldly honors, not by mans helpe, but by vprightneſſe of life, and the fortunat paſſage of an vndoubted religion: ſuch a deſire of receiuing that new ſuperſtition poſſeſſed the minds of the people in generall, that the cities and townes thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profeſſion had taken vpon them the wearing of the red hat, the knowne Cogniſance of the *Cuſelba's*. Firſt they met together at the citie of Taſcia, at the foot of the mountaine Antitaurus, or as the Turkiſh hiſtorie reports, at the citie of Attalia, to the number of 10000, vpon a great Faire day; where they layd hands vpon the chiefe Magiſtrate of the citie, and execu-
F ted him, ſetting his quarters vpon foure of the higheſt towers of the citie: and further perſuaded by theſe new maſters of this new ſuperſtition, to take vp armes in defence of themſelues and of their ſincere religion (as they termed it) in caſe that any violence ſhould be offered them by the irreligious Turks; they all ſwore, neuer to forſake their Captaines for any diſtreſſe, or yet refuſe any labour or aduenture for the honor of their moſt holy religion (as they

Chaſan Chelife & Techellis inuade the Turks dominions.

1508

would haue it) in defence whereof they had alreadie vowed their soules and bodies. These ringleaders of rebellion, seeing the minds of their frantick followers so wel prepared for their purpose, and reposing a great confidence in their valour and resolution; and withall considering that the mony which was bountifully brought in vnto them by the country people, partly for deuotion, partly for feare, was not sufficient to maintain so great a multitude, gaue leaue by publike proclamation to their vnruly followers, to forrage the country round about them, & to liue vpon the spoile of them which would not receiue their new found doctrine. Whereupon they diuiding themselues into diuers companies, and ranging vp and down the country, brought into the campe abundance of cattell, and other such things as the countrey yeelded: and forthwith (their multitude still increasing) they entred into Lycaonia, a populous & fruitfull countrey, where they refreshed themselues many days, roaming vp and down to the great grieuance and terrour of the people; and brought such a feare vpon the whole countrey, that they which dwelt in open dorps and villages, were glad to flie with their wiues, children, and goods, into the strong citie of Iconium: for proclamations were in many places set vp in the names of *Chasan Chelife* and *Techellis*, wherein many both spiritual and temporal blessings were in most ample manner proposed to al such as should forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new doctrine alreadie established in Persia: but vnto such as should obstinatly perseuer in their old superstition, after they had once drawn their sword, was threatned vtter destruction without hope of pardon of life. So that all the inhabitants therabouts, terrified with the terrour of this proclamation, some for feare of death, some vpon inconstancie, some for safegard of their goods and possessions (dearer vnto them than any religion) some other indebted, infamous, in danger of law, beside many fugitiue seruants, dayly resorted to these new masters. Not long after, whilst the Turks were making preparation for the suppressing of this dangerous rebellion, certaine troupes of horsemen sent from *Hysmael*, came in good time to these new prophets: for *Hysmael* in fauour and furtherance of that new superstition, had a little before by fit messengers exhorted them to proceed couragiously in their so religious an enterprise, and to joine martiall force vnto the religion they professed: promising further, not to be wanting vnto them at their need, but to send them skilfull Leaders, and from time to time to furnish them with coyne for the maintenance of that war. All this *Hysmael* did openly in despight of *Baiazet*, of small beginnings to sow the seed of greater war. For he bearing an old grudge against *Baiazet* for the former wars betwixt the Turks & the Persians, as also for their disagreement in matters concerning their superstition, and prickt forward with the heat of youth, desired nothing more in the greatnesse of his power, and prosperous successe of his affaires, than to haue occasion to make war with the Turkish king: for which purpose he sent his Embassadors vnto the State of Venice, to joine with them in league and amitie, in such forme and sort as they had long time before, by *Catarinus Zemes*, *Barbarus*, and *Contarenus* their Embassadors, concluded with *Vsun-Cassanes* the great Persian king his grandfather. The chiefe things that he requested of the Venetians, was, That they would send him out of Italie by the way of Syria, men skilfull in the casting of great ordnance, and with their fleet to trouble *Baiazet* by sea: promising in the meane time himselfe to fill Asia the lesse with his army by land, and so to giue a faire occasion vnto them, to recouer by sea all such places as they had before in the late wars lost vnto the Turks vpon the coast of Peloponesus and Grecia.

Hysmael sendeth embassadors vnto the Venetians, to ioyne in league with thē against Baiazet

The Venetians hauing with all courtesie entertained the Embassadours, gaue them answer, That they would neuer be forgetfull of the antient league and amitie they had made with the Persian king; the remembrance whereof was vnto their State a thing most pleasant: and that they were wonderfull glad, that the new king was an enemie vnto the Turke, and had them in such regard, as to participat to them the causes of that war: and further to promise vnto them those things, which if his grandfather *Vsun-Cassanes*, or his vncle *Iacup* would haue performed, he should not now haue had need to make wars with the Turkish Emperor. But such was the alteration of things & times, that as the Persian kings then liuing at home in peace, thought it not good to stir whilest *Baiazet* was busie in Europe; so now their State standing in far worse condition and fortune, could not performe that which they heartily wished, and most of all desired; for that they thought it not good to break the league which they had not long before made with *Baiazet* the Turkish emperor: especially then, when sundrie warlike nations of Europe conspiring together, and diuers mightie kings prouoked with no iniurie, but only enuying

ing at their happie estate, made wars vpon them; yet neuertheless were in good hope, that God would stand in their iust defence, and still preserue their state, which no enemies power had for the space of 700 yeares and more been able to ouercome. Wherefore they should shew vnto their King, that they would as occasion should serue, and as it should stand with the good of their State, do their vttermost deuoire to make him vnderstand, that nothing was deerer vnto them than the friendship of so great a King: nor any thing more honorable, than by mutuall counsell and combined forces to assaile the Turke their common enemie.

Shortly after, the Embassadors (hauing obtained nothing more than the hope of a league to be in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their gallies to Cyprus, and so from thence to Syria, where they had secret conference with *Petrus Zenus* (the son of *Caterinus Zenus*, a man famous for his embassage vnto *Vsun-Cassanes* into Persia) gouernour of the Venetian Merchants at Damasco. Which thing *Baiazet* hauing intelligence of, and of the passage of the Persian Embassadors that way, complained grieuously both by his Embassadors and letters vnto *Campson Gaurus* Sultan of Ægypt, That he dealt not as a friend and confederat with him, in suffering these Embassadors so to passe throughout the middest of Syria, vrge the Christians their common enemies, to stirre them vp to war. Whereupon all the Venetian Merchants which were at Tripolis, Aleppo, Damasco, Berytus, and Alexandria, and especially *Zenus* himselfe, were forthwith apprehended by the commandement of the great Sultan, and carried in bonds to Caire, where they were many times inforced in chaines to answer vnto such things as were layd to their charge, and after they had by the space of a yeare endured the manifold despights of the proud Mamalukes, hardly obtained to escape with life and libertie.

The two seditious Prophets, *Chasan* and *Techellis*, well strengthned with the ayd of the Persians, were now come vnto Iconium the most famous citie of Lycaonia; and wasting all the countrey before them, drew a great multitude of people to receiue their new doctrine. For the repressing of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahomethes*, two of *Baiazet* his nephews (who in stead of their fathers *Alem Schach* and *Tzian Schach*, the sons of *Baiazet* before dead, gouerned those countries) gathered togither their forces, and disdaining to suffer such disgrace by such a rabble of rascal people, in the sight of so famous a city, came into the field to giue them battell. But they in their youthfull heat making too much hast, and joyning battell in a place of disaduantage, were by the rebels ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neither would these ringleaders in that victorie haue forborne to haue assailed Iconium, but that they wanted Artillerie and engines of war requisit for the besieging of cities.

Orchanes and Mahometes nephewes vnto Baiazet I. ouerthrowen by Techellis.

Corcutus also, one of the sonnes of *Baiazet*, hauing at the same time leuied a conuenient Armie about Thiatyra, Sypilus, Magnesia and Phocea, durst not further stir or set forward against the rebels, although they lay dispersed about the countrey fast by him. These new prophets with ensignes displaied, marching from countrey to countrey through the heart of the lesser Asia, entered at length into Bythinia, where neere vnto the riuer Sangarius they met with *Caragoses Bassa* the Viceroy of Asia, comming against them with a great armie well appointed, which he had a little before raised vpon the bruit of the comming of these rebels; and had also commanded *Achometes* (whome the Turks call *Achmetes*) the eldest son of *Baiazet* then liuing, gouernor of the great countries of Capadocia and Pontus, to raise his power, and to follow at the backe of the rebels: who if they should hap to be put to the worse, would neither be able to retyre, neither to keepe the field, being so shut vp betwixt two so great armies. But *Techellis* by his speedie comming frustrated these designes of the Viceroy; for marching with all speed, he was vpon *Caragoses* before he was well aware of his comming, neere vnto the mountaine Hormynus, as he was then taking vp of more soldiers, and daily expected the comming of others, as if he had been going against some puissant enemie. The Viceroy seeing the Rebels approch, although he had before not purposed to haue encountered them before he had raised far greater forces; thought it not now to stand with his honor, to refuse to giue them battell, although his armie for most part consisted of the rude countrey peisants, taken vp vpon the sudden out of Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, and Bythinia, raw souldiers, and for most part vnarmed: as commonly they are which in those countries are pressed against their wils out of the townes and villages, and are of the Turks called Asapi, who of the Ianizaries are scarcely accounted for men. But his greatest confidence he reposed in the approoued valour

of his antient horsemen, by whose means he doubted not, in safetie to retyre out of the battel, and to saue himselfe if any thing should fall out otherwise than wel; making no great account of the common souldiers, more than by them if he could, to weaken the force of the rebels: who on the other side (their greatest force consisting of footmen) had no hope to saue themselues by flight, but only by plain valour and dint of sword. Which *Techellis* wel considering, exhorted his soldiers to remember into what countrey they were come, and that there was no cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to flie vnto, if they should not that day play the men: Wherefore let vs couragiously (said he) set forward against our enemies, and by victorie defend our liues, together with the truth of our religion, for which we haue vowed both our soules and bodies. He had scarcely sayd thus much, but that his whole Armie, in token of cherefulnes, gaue a most terrible shout, and without further stay set vpon their enemies. The Viceroy had placed his footmen in the maine battell in the middle, and his horsemen in the wings, thereby to haue compassed in his enemies: but *Techellis* had set all his footmen in one great square battell, and his Persian horsemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his fresh-water souldiers could scarcely abide the sight of *Techellis* his armie; for in the front of the battell stood souldiers throughly armed, and all the rest of his armie with red hats vpon their heads, as if they had bin imbrued with bloud, which wonderfully terrified the Bassa's cowardly and vnskilfull souldiers: so that hauing endured the fight scarcely halfe an houre, they all turned their backs and fled. The Turkish horsemen which had valiantly assailed the rebels armie on both sides, although they had slaine many with their arrowes and lances, and somewhat disordred the battell, for that the footmen were inforced to leaue their places, and to presse still on forward against them; yet when *Techellis* his soldiers (hauing ouercome the footmen, and diuiding themselues into diuers squadrons) began with their long pikes to kill their horses, and to lay hardly vnto them, they likewise betooke themselues to flight also. Then the Persian horsemen (which all this while had stood still as lookers on) left their standings, and following the chase slew many of the Turks in their disordred flight: and following fast on, inclosed the Viceroy as he was staying of his horsmen, and could not for the thicknesse of the dust well discerne his enemies; so that he had bin there taken, if he had not been speedily rescued by his guard, and so deliuered from that danger. The rest of the Turks horsmen saued themselues by flight. In this battel seuen thousand of the Turks footmen were slain, and all their ensignes taken, with great store of prouision.

The battell betweene caragoses & Techellis.

After which victorie, *Chasan* and *Techellis* resting their armie one day, marched to the citie of Cutaie, neere vnto the mountain Horminius: this citie is scituated as it were in the midst of Asia the lesse, and is the seat of the Turkish Emperors Viceroy in Asia; as Sophia in Mœsia is for his other Viceroy in Europe: for it was reported, that the country people had for feare of the present war conueyed thither the greatest part of their wealth; and the rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himselfe with his chiefe horsemen were fled thither also: neither doubted they, but that all the army might be greatly inriched by the wealth of that citie, if they should without delay imploy their whole forces for the gaining thereof, their enemies now altogether discouraged with their late ouerthrow. *Techellis* also deeming that enterprise of so much worth as whereon to gage his whole forces, comming before the city, placed such field pieces as he had before taken in the battel, & his archers in such fit places as might most anoy the defendants: afterward he caused scaling ladders to be set vp, and proclamation made thorow all his camp, That the whole spoile of the citie should be the soldiers if they could take it; with promise of greater rewards to them that should first recouer the top of the wals. Filled with this hope, the rebellious multitude approched the wall, fearing neither enemies force, multitude of shot, or danger of death; striuing who should first mount the ladders, & some climbing one in the necke of another, so to get vp by the ruins of the wal. The defendants in the meane time from aboue casting down vpon them great stones, timber, fire, scalding water, lime, sand, and such like without measure: wherewith although many were ouerthrowne and crusht to death or spoiled, yet others presently stept vp in their place; neither was any of them seen, for feare of the present danger to shrinke back or be discouraged: for the Viceroy on the one side, and *Techellis* on the other, were both eye-witnesses of euery mans valour in that hot seruice: the one prickt forward with doubtfull hope, for feare to be enforced to giue ouer the assault so begun; and the other with the due regard of his honor, life, and state, all subiect to that danger,

Techellis besiegeth Caragoses the Viceroy, in the citie of Cutaie.

A ger, and therefore in person himselfe performed all the parts of a worthie chiefetain and couragious souldier. But at length the defendants wearied with the fierce assault of the enemie, and for most part wounded, *Techellis* continually sending in fresh men, and withdrawing such as were hurt, by plaine force brake into the citie in two places ouer the heapes of the dead bodies: and hauing repulsed the defendants, burst open one of the gates, and thereby brought in his whole armie. Then began a miserable slaughter of the soldiers and poore citisens in euery house and corner of the citie. At which instant the Palace (whither the Viceroy had retyred himselfe with his familie) was also taken: the Viceroy himselfe with his wiues and children were there also taken prisoners, and the stately Palace built with marble, in a trice consumed with fire.

Caragoses the viceroy, with his wiues and children taken by Techellis in the citie of Cutaie.

B The rich citie of Cutaie, the seat of the great commander of the Turkish Empire in Asia, thus taken by *Techellis*, and his whole army both beautified and inriched with the spoile thereof; he persuaded himselfe, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the citie of Prusa also, the antient seat of the Turkish Kings in Bythinia, and so to endanger the whole state of the Turks Empire in Asia, if he should now without delay carrie the terrour of himselfe thither, before the Turks could in that countrey make head against him, or the citisens be able in so sudden a feare to make any sufficient prouision for the defence of themselues and their citie; and so in the course of his good fortune to vse the courage and cherefulnesse of his souldiers. Wherefore appointing a day when he would set forward, he commanded all things necessary to be made readie for the taking of that rich citie, being neither strongly walled, neither furnished with any good garrison for the defence thereof.

C But whilest he was making this preparation, a new armie, lately shipt ouer the Hellespont from Callipolis into Asia, inforced him to change his former determination. For *Baiazet* awaked at the name of *Techellis*, & the fame af the new superstition now generally receiued in Persia, had long before giuen commandement to his sonnes, nephewes, and the Viceroy of Asia, That they should with all carefulnes prouide, that that part of his kingdome took no harme thereby. But after he saw *Techellis* of a poore hermit become a great captaine, and [illegible]kt also with the Persian King, and al his dominions in Asia in danger of some great alteration; he sent *Alis Bassa* with his Europeian armie. This *Alis* an Eunuch, borne in Macedonia (yet for his courage comparable with the greatest captaines) had for his many and worthie deserts, in the

Baiazet sendeth Alis Bassa out of Europe, against Techellis.

D time of the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Baiazet* his father, got vnto himselfe both the honour and name of a most famous Chieftaine. He hauing made choice of the principall horsemen of Epirus, Macedonia, Seruia, Illyria, and Thracia, and joyning vnto them seuen thousand Ianizaries (the most assured hope of the Turks in all their expeditions) passed ouer from Callipolis into Phrygia, and vpon the way directed his letters vnto *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, *Baiazet* his sonnes, and to all the other Sanzacks and Gouernors of the Turks prouinces in Asia, That they should with as much speed as they could, raise their forces and meet him in Galatia. But *Techellis* aduertised of his comming, thought it best for him to depart out of Pontus, and to retire to some place of more safetie, lest by longer staying he should be inclosed by his enemies, re-

E pairing thitherwards on euery side; or else vpon some great disaduantage to joyne battell: for he saw, that if he stayed neuer so little, he should finde no safe passage or place of refuge to retyre vnto, hauing left such large and spacious Countries, so many enemies Cities, so many great riuers, so many discontented people behind him; all which the first fauor of the vulgar sort, and speedie course of his victorie, had a little before layd open vnto him. Wherefore calling together his Captaines and most expert men of war to consult vpon the matter, it was generally thought to be a point of meere madnesse, or else of extreame necessitie, with so small a power of vnskilfull souldiers, without any sufficient strength of horsemen, to joyne battell with such an enemie as better knew the countrey than he, and far exceeded him both for number and expertnesse of his souldiers. Wherefore *Techellis* trussing vp his rich prey he

F had before gotten, began now with speed to retyre backe againe with his followers through Galatia. But the Bassa hauing intelligence almost euery houre by letters and espials, both of the retyring of *Techellis*, and the way he held, passed ouer the riuer Sangarius, and coasting the countrey, came and incamped betwixt the cities of Cutaie and Ancyra, which way it was supposed the enemie would passe. Where when he had there a while rested his wearied souldiers, and was certainly aduertised that the rebels had taken another way, he set forward againe,

and after fiue dayes march in the plaines of Galatia, ouertooke the straglers of the enemies, G
who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the armie: all whome the Bassa
commanded to be cruelly put to the sword. And *Techellis* to terrifie the great Bassa, or at least-
wise with a most horrible spectacle to stay his pursuit, caused *Caragoses* the viceroy, whom he
had carried along with him in chains, to be cruelly impaled by the highway side, vpon a sharp
stake set fast in the ground, and so left him sticking for the Turks to wonder at. But *Alis Bassa*
nothing dismaied with the horrible death of so great a personage, held on his way with more
hast than good speed, exhorting his soldiers patiently to endure the painfulnesse of the long
march, and to straine themselues to take reuenge of those rebellious theeues and robbers, who
destroying the countrey before them, spared not so much as the Turks children, and the tem-
ples of their religion; and so the day following came into the plaines of Ancyra. The same H
day also *Achomates* came vnto the Bassa with ten thousand souldiers. *Alis Bassa* perceiuing that
he could not possibly with his whole armie ouertake his enemies, marching with greater
speed before him, and grieued at the heart to see them escape out of his hand, resolued to
proue if he could with his horsemen ouertake them: whereupon leauing his footmen with
Achomates, he himselfe with eight thousand horse following the enemie vpon the spur, ouer-
tooke the rereward of their armie at the mountain Olyga, a little from the citie of Ancyra, vn-
to whom he gaue an hot skirmish.

The battell betwixt Alis Bassa and Techellis.

Techellis which a little before had taken a fit place for his campe, vpon the rising of the hil,
although he saw his men faint with long trauell and the scortching heat of the Sun, yet quick-
ly perceiuing that he should haue to do only with horsemen, and that in a place of aduantage; I
turning his army, and orderly placing his soldiers, as the ground and the shortnesse of the time
would giue leaue, valiantly receiued the impression of the Turks, and with their long pikes and
arrowes at the first repulsed them: so that it seemed they would neither haue giuen ground vn-
to the bragging horsemen, neither haue done any thing not beseeming their former victories,
had not *Alis Bassa* sent 1000 Carbines, who in troupes orderly following one another, deliue-
red their shot as thicke as haile vpon the enemy: with which storme many of them being slain,
and moe wounded, their ranks began to be somewhat disordred: whereupon the other horse-

Chasan Chelise slaine.

men breaking in, with great slaughter ouerthrew the vauntgard of *Techellis* battell; in which
conflict *Chasan Chelise* himselfe was slain. *Techellis* always at hand where most need was, euen
in the midst of the slaughter of his men set in order a new battell of his most readie and best K
armed soldiers, the only remedie in so great a distresse; and bringing them on into the front of
the battell, opposed them against the horsemen, now (as they thought) in possession of the vi-
ctorie; commanding them by little and little to retyre vnto the mountaine, to the intent that
they might seeme to do that by commandment of the Generall, which they were like enough
to haue done of themselues for feare: hoping that it would so come to passe, That the Turkes
finding the disaduantage of the place, would leaue so hardly to assaile them. But the Bassa en-
couraged with the first successe of the battell, exhorted his soldiers to vrge the victorie, now
almost as good as gotten, & not to giue the enemie space to recouer the strength of the moun-
tain, but valiantly to charge them, and with a little short pains that day to end all that warre, to
the honor of *Baiazet* their soueraigne, and worthie commendation of themselues in generall.
In this sort encouraging them, he with a troupe of his best horsmen (to animate the rest, and to L
shew his own valour) brake through the enemies battel: which thing he in the same heat, with

Alis Bassa slain.

more courage than discretion, attempting to perform the second time, was inclosed by his ene-
mies and slaine: vpon whose fall the fortune of the battell was in a moment changed; for the
Turks, which erst fought couragiously, hauing beaten backe and almost ouerthrown their ene-
mies, now dismaied with their Generals death, began to fight but faintly, & by little and little
to giue ground, and at last turning their horses about, fled. On the other side *Techellis* his sol-
diers, who but a little before had reposed greater hope in the strength of the place and the
mountain, than in their weapons and valour, now incouraged with new hope, and taking heart
in the faint charge of their enemies, began to thrust forward, and with a most terrible noyse M
crying victorie, put to flight the Turks horsemen, before wearied with long trauell, when as
they had by the Generals rashnesse lost a notable victorie almost alreadie gained. *Techellis* al-
though he knew that the enemie could neither refresh his horses, nor yet with any assurance
keepe the field, if he should haue pursued him; yet hauing lost many of his best soldiers, & the
rest

A rest of his armie sore weakened with trauell, fasting, and fighting, determined to refresh his
wearied followers vpon the mountain Olyga. From whence after a few daies he marched ouer
the riuer Halys vnto the citie of Tascia, his old dwelling place, and so to the citie of Celenis,
which the riuer Marsya (much spoken of by the Poets) runneth thorow, and is now called by
the name of Maras, but as then the regall seat of the mountaine king *Aladeules*. The Turkes
horsemen hauing thus in some small sort rather reuenged the iniuries done by the rebels, than
obtained any victorie, returned to *Achomates*, who was then comming on with the footmen.
Not long after, *Baiazet* vnderstanding of the death of *Alis Bassa* his Generall, sent *Ionuses Bas-*
sa, a warlike captaine, and of great experience (borne in Epirus) in his stead. Who as soone as
he had receiued the charge of the armie from *Achomates*, marching forthwith into Cappado-
cia, and keeping the way on the right hand towards the mountaine Antitaurus, came in few
daies vnto the citie of Tascia, the place of *Techellis* his abode: where burning and destroying
the countrey all about, he came and encamped with his armie at the foot of the mountaine.
The Bassa had in his armie about fortie thousand horse and foot, well appointed, with many
field pieces, and plentie of victuals which he brought with him, for feare of want in that bare
countrey. *Techellis* terrified with his comming, hauing of late receiued no aid from *Hysmael* the
Persian king, and wanting also great artillerie, and besides that seeing his soldiers greatly both
diminished and discouraged with the late battell at Olyga; determined not vpon so great dis-
aduantage to meet his enemie in the plain field, but to keepe the rough mountains and thicke
woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keepe those strong places, he should either
C receiue some aid from *Hysmael*, or by the heat of the Turks leaders take them at some notable
aduantage. In the meane time many notable skirmishes passed betwixt the souldiers on both
sides: for the Turks fetching a compasse oftentimes about the mountains, and seeking for the
best passages, by the easie rising of the hils, came to skirmish with their enemies: and *Techel-*
lis his souldiers on the other side, sallying many times out of the woods and abrupt places of
the mountains, valiantly assailed the Turks. After they had a long time in this sort, as if it had
bin in disport, rather proued their forces one vpon another, than done any great matter; the
Turkes prying into euery corner, at length perceiued two waies whereby their whole armie
with ensignes displayed might without any great difficultie bee brought vnto the top of the
mountaine, and so into their enemies strength. The Bassa hauing well viewed and considered
D the places, caused the Ianizaries at one instant to march vp to the mountaine by one of the
aforesaid waies, and the rest of his armie by the other: who with soft pace climing vp the
steepe mountaines, with their targuets defended themselues as well as they could against their
enemies darts and shot. For *Techellis* his souldiers hauing before taken the high mountaines
and places of aduantage, cast downe vpon the Turks great stones and shot without number, as
if it had beene out of some strong forts. But the Turks bending certaine small field peeces a-
gainst the places which most anoied them, easily draue them from their standings; the harque-
busiers still following their ensignes, shrouded close vnder the targueters, and deliuered their
deadly shot as showers of raine vpon their enemies. Whose desperat approch *Techellis* perceiu-
ing, caused a retreat to be sounded, and with all his armie retired farther off into the higher
E mountaines and rougher woods. The night following, perceiuing that by the euill successe of
the former skirmish he had lost a great part of his credit and strength, he with great silence
forsooke the woods, and passing quite ouer the mountains fled into Armenia, then part of the
Persian kingdome. Neither did the Turks perceiue their departure vntill it was light day, and
that their scouts entring the thick woods, and finding the enemies baggage, with some woun-
ded souldiers not able to flie, brought newes vnto the Bassa of the enemies departure, and of
his speedie flight into Armenia. Which thing, when he by them that were taken, vnderstood
to be certainely true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that he had not presently vpon the
enemies retreat beset the wood round, he sent his horsemen forthwith to pursue them: but
all in vaine, for *Techellis* was by direct and knowne waies gone into Armenia. Some few strag-
lers not able to make so much hast as the rest, were ouertaken by the Turkes horsemen, and
F brought backe to the Bassa.

Ionuses Bassa sent by Baiazet, Generall of his armie against Techellis.

Techellis thus put to flight, *Ionuses* caused strait inquisition to be made through all the cities
of the lesser Asia, for all such as had professed the Persian religion: and them whom he found
to haue borne armes in the late rebellion, he caused to be put to death with most exquisit tor-
ments,

ments, and the reſt to be burnt in their foreheads with an hoat yron, thereby for euer to bee G
knowne; whom together with the kinsfolkes and friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellis*, he caused to be transported into Europe, and to be diſperſed through Macedonia, Epirus, and Peloponeſus: for feare leſt if *Techellis* now fled into the Perſian Kingdome, ſhould from thence returne with new forces, they ſhould alſo againe repaire vnto him, and raiſe a new rebellion. This was the beginning, courſe, and ending, of one of the moſt dangerous rebellions that euer troubled the Turkiſh empire: wherin all, or at leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of their dominions in Aſia, might haue beene eaſily ſurpriſed by the Perſian King, if hee would thorowly haue proſecuted the occaſion and oportunitie then offered.

The remainder of *Techellis* his followers, flying into Perſia, by the way lighting vpon a
Carauan of merchants laden with ſilkes and other rich merchandiſe, tooke the ſpoile thereof: H
for which outrage comming to Tauris, the captaines were all by the commandement of *Hyſmael* executed, and *Techellis* himſelfe to the terrour of others burnt aliue.

Techellis burnt at Tauris.

The next yeare (which was the yeare 1509, the fourteenth day of September) chanced a
great and terrible earthquake in the citie of Conſtantinople and the countries thereabout,
1509. by the violence wherof, a great part of the wals of that imperiall citie, with many ſtately buil-
A great earthquake at Conſtantinople. dings both publike and priuat, were quite ouerthrowne, and thirteene thouſand people ouerwhelmed and ſlaine. The terrour whereof was ſo great, that the people generally forſooke their houſes and lay abroad in the fields: yea *Baiazet* himſelfe, then very aged and ſore troubled with the gout, for feare thereof remoued from Conſtantinople to Hadrianople; but finding himſelfe in no more ſafetie than before, he left the citie and lay abroad in the fields in his I
tent. This earthquake indured by the ſpace of eighteene daies, or (as the Turkes Hiſtories report) of a moneth, with very little intermiſſion; which was then accounted ominous, as portending the miſerable calamities which ſhortly after happened in the *Othoman* family. After this earthquake enſued a great plague, wherewith the citie was grieuouſly viſited, and for the moſt part vnpeopled. But after that the earthquake was ceaſed, and the mortalitie aſſuaged, *Baiazet* cauſed the imperial citie to be with all ſpeed repaired, and to that purpoſe gaue out commiſſions into all parts of his dominions for the taking vp of workemen: ſo that there were
once in worke eightie thouſand workmen, who in moſt beautifull manner in the ſpace of foure moneths againe repaired the ruines of that great citie.

The children of Baiazet.

Baiazet had by his many wiues, eight ſonnes and ſix daughters, which liued to be men and K
women growne: and the ſons all Gouernors in diuers prouinces of his large empire: whom the Turkiſh Hiſtories reckon vp in this order, *Abdullah Zelebi*, *Alem Scach*, *Tzihan Scach*, *Achmet*, *Machmut*, *Corcut*, *Selim*, and *Muhamet*. Yet *Antonius Vrſius* a Genoway, who long time liued in *Baiazet* his court, and (as he of himſelfe writeth) waited in his chamber at the time of his death, reckoning vp the ſonnes of *Baiazet*, maketh mention but of theſe ſix, *Sciemſcia*, *Alemſcia*, *Achomates*, *Mahometes*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*: naming the forenamed by names ſomething differing from the other. *Sciemſcia* the eldeſt, Gouernor of Caramania, for his towardlineſſe moſt deerely beloued of his father, died of a naturall death before him, and was of him and his ſubiects greatly lamented. *Alemſcia* died in like manner, of whoſe death as ſoone as he was aduertiſed, by mourning letters written in blake paper with white characters (as their manner of writing is, in certifying of heauie news) he caſt from him his Scepter with all other tokens of honor, and cauſed general mourning to be made for him in the court, & through all the citie of Conſtantinople, by the ſpace of three daies; during which time all ſhops were ſhut vp, all trading forbidden, and no ſigne of mirth to be ſeene: and for a certaine ſpace, after the manner of their ſuperſtition, cauſed ſolemne ſacrifices to be made for the health of his ſoule, and 7000 aſpers to bee giuen weekely vnto the poore. His dead bodie was afterward with all princely pompe conueyed to Pruſa, and there with great ſolemnitie buried. *Tzihan* Gouernour of Caria, and *Mahomet* Gouernor of Capha, vpon their fathers heauie diſpleaſure, were by his commandement both ſtrangled,

Of his other foure ſons, *Achmet*, otherwiſe called *Achomates*, *Machmut*, or *Mahometes*, *Cor-* M
cut, or *Corcutus*, and *Selymus*: the ſecond (namely *Mahometes*) was of greateſt hope and expectation, not giuen to ſenſualitie or voluptuous pleaſure, as *Achomates* his eldeſt brother, neither altogether booki ſh as was *Corcutus*, nor yet of ſo fierce and cruell a diſpoſition as *Selymus*: but of ſuch a liuely ſpirit, ſharp wit, bountifull diſpoſition, and princely carriage of himſelfe,

A ſelfe, that in the iudgement of moſt men, he ſeemed already worthie of a kingdome. Which immoderat fauor of the people, cauſed his elder brother *Achomates*, yea and *Baiazet* alſo himſelfe, to haue him in no ſmall iealouſie, as if he had affected the empire; and was in ſhort time the cauſe of his vntimely death: which thing he nothing doubting, haſtned (as fatal things are) by ſuch meanes as he leaſt feared might haue procured any ſuch mortall diſtruſt or danger.

Moſt of *Baiazet* his children were by diuers women, yet *Achomates* and this *Mahometes* were by one and the ſame mother: for which cauſe, *Mahometes* tooke greater pleaſure in him than in any his other brethren, although it were anſwered with like loue againe. *Achomates* was Lord and Gouernor of Amaſia; and this *Mahometes*, of Magneſia; who deſirous to ſee the manner of his brothers life and gouernment, diſguiſed himſelfe with two of his familiar and faithfull friends, as if they had bin religious men, of that Order which the Turks call *Imalier*.
B [Theſe men are for moſt part comely perſonages, born of good houſes, who in cleanly attire made after an homely faſhion, do at their pleaſure wander vp and down from towne to town, and countrey to country, noting the diſpoſition and manners of the people; wherof as fitteth beſt their purpoſe, they make large diſcourſes afterwards to others: they commonly carrie
out with them ſiluer cymbals, wheron they play moſt cunningly, and thereunto ſing pleaſant and wanton ditties: for which idle delight, they receiue mony of the people, as an alms giuen them of deuotion. Theſe are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens beds; men altogether giuen to eaſe and pleaſure, and are of the Turks called, The religious brethren of Loue: but might of right, better be tearmed, *Epicurus* his hogs, than profeſſors of
C any religion at all.] *Mahometes* and his two conſorts, as men of this profeſſion, trauelled vp and downe the countries of Pontus and Capadocia (where *Achomates* commanded) and ſo to the citie of Amaſia; receiuing for their merrie glee by the way as they went, the almes and deuotion of the fooliſh countrey people. And being at the length come to Amaſia vpon a ſolemne holiday, they awaited the comming of *Achomates* to the church: who paſſing by, ſtaid a while liſtening attentiuely vnto their pleaſant and alluring harmonie; which was for that purpoſe moſt curiouſly and skilfully before deuiſed, and by them both with their inſtruments and voices performed. When they had ended their muſicke, and according to the manner of their idle profeſſion expected his deuotion; *Achomates* being a man of a ſpare hand, commanded fiue aſpers to be giuen them in reward [which is about ſix pence of our mony.] *Mahome-*
D *tes* diſdaining his brothers baſe reward, as a ſigne of his miſerable diſpoſition, would in no wiſe diſcouer himſelfe, as he had before determined; but taking horſe, returned with ſpeed to Magneſia: from whence he wrot taunting letters vnto his brother *Achomates*, ſcoffing at his good husbandrie (no praiſe to a prince) and in contempt ſent him backe againe his fiue aſpers; which thing *Achomates* tooke in ſo euil part, as that he was neuer afterwards freinds with him. The report of this fact was in ſhort time diſperſed throughout all parts of the Turkiſh empire, diuers men diuerſly deeming of his purpoſe therein.

Not long after *Mahometes* had in this ſort plaid with his brother *Achomates*, he attired him- *Mahometes diſguiſed as a ſeafaring man, commeth to Conſtantinople, and ſo to the court.*
ſelfe with certaine of his truſtie followers as if they had been ſeafaring men, and with a ſmall barke came to Conſtantinople, and there landing as aduenturers from ſea, tooke diligent view
E both of the imperiall citie, and of the citie of Pera ſtanding oppoſit againſt it, curiouſly noting how all things were by his fathers appointment ordered and gouerned. It hapned whileſt he was thus ſtaying at Conſtantinople, that *Baiazet* had appointed a ſolemne aſſembly of all his chiefe Baſſaes at the court; which *Mahometes* was deſirous to haue the ſight of, as alſo of the faſhion of his fathers court: but as he with his companions preſſed to haue entred in at the court gate, they were by their baſe apparel taken of the porters to haue bin rude mariners, and ſo by them kept out. Wherefore conſulting what to do in that caſe, he went and preſently bought a moſt beautiful Chriſtian captiue boy, and the next day comming again to the court with two of his companions (as if they had been aduenturers at ſea) requeſted to be let in, for that they had brought a preſent for the Emperour. So finding meanes to be admitted to the preſence of
F *Baiazet*, one of his conſorts (as if he had bin a ſea captain) boldly ſtept forth, & with due reuerence offered the preſent vnto the Emperor; which he thankfully tooke, and in token thereof gaue him his hand to kiſſe, and commanded a rich garment wrought with gold to be giuen vnto him, with two others of leſſe value vnto *Mahometes* and his fellow, ſuppoſed to be the ſaid captaines followers: who all th[illegible]ile ſtood a farre off, as if it had been for reuerence of the

Empe-

Emperour, but indeed for feare to be discouered. As these counterfeit guests were returning G
from the court in their garments of fauour, they hapned to meet with three courtiers which
knew *Mahometes*; who dismounting from their horses, had done him honour and due reue-
rence, as to the sonne of the great Emperor, had he not by secret signes forbidden them, as one
vnwilling to be knowne. When he had thus seene his father, the court, and the imperial city, he
went againe aboord, and so with speed returned to Magnesia.

The report of this his doing, had in short time filled both the citie and the court, and was at
last brought to *Baiazets* eares: which raised in his suspitious head many a troublesom thought,
greatly fearing, that in these slie practises lay hidden some secret and desperate conspiracie,
dangerous to himselfe and his other children. Wherefore after long discourse had with the
three great Bassaes then of his secret counsell, concerning the matter, to rid himselfe of all H
feare, hee resolued in any case to take him away. And therefore caused them in his name to
write vnto *Asmehemedi*, a gallant courtier, and alwaies neere vnto *Mahometes*, to poyson him
with a secret poison, for that purpose inclosed in those letters sent vnto him: with promise of
great rewards and preferments for that his seruice, to be afterwards receiued from the Empe-
ror: charging him withall, that if he could not effect the matter, he should so conceale it, as that
Mahometes should haue no distrust thereof, the least suspition whereof, would tend to his vtter
destruction. This *Asmehemedi* for somvnkindnes bare a secret grudge against *Mahometes*, which
Baiazet knowing of, made choise of him the rather: and he on the other side, partly to perform
the old tyrants command, and partly to reuenge his owne priuat wrong, vigilantly awaited all
Mahometes poi-soned by Asme-hemedi. oportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuned, that *Mahometes* ha- I
uing disported himselfe in his gardens of pleasure, and being thirstie after his exercise, called
for drinke: *Asmehemedi* alwaies at hand, in a gilt boule fetcht him such drinke as he desired,
whereinto he had secretly conueied the deadly poison sent from *Baiazet*. *Mahometes* hauing
drunke thereof, in short time began to feele himselfe euill at ease, and presently sent for his
physitians: who thinking that he had but something distempered himselfe with drinking too
much cold drink in his heat, perceiued not that he was poisoned, vntil that within six daies af-
ter, he died. Of whose death *Baiazet* aduertised, could not abstain from mourning, although he
himselfe had bin the onely author thereof: and the more to manifest his heauinesse, comman-
ded all the court to mourne with him, and praiers to be made in their temples after their su-
perstitious maner, and almes to be giuen to the poore for the health of his soule. His dead bo- K
Asmehemedi iustly rewarded for his trea-cherie. die was afterwards carried to Prusa, and there honourably buried with his ancestors. *Asmehe-*
medi the traitour in reward of his vnfaithfulnesse towards his master, was by the commande-
ment of *Baiazet* cast into prison, and neuer afterwards seene, being there (as it was thought) se-
cretly made away.

Now had *Baiazet* but three sonnes left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*. *Achomates* Gouer-
nour of Amasia, was a man both politick and valiant: but much giuen to pleasure and delight:
him *Baiazet* and most part of the great men of the court fauoured aboue the rest of his bre-
thren; except such as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Corcutus* for his milde and quiet na-
ture, was of most men beloued, but not thought so fit for the gouernment of so great an empire;
especially by the Ianizaries and souldiers of the court, for that he was (as they thought) alto- L
gether drowned in the studie of Phylosophie, a thing nothing agreeing with their humor. Yet
might *Baiazet* seeme to do him wrong, if he should not according to his promise again restore
him vnto the possession of the empire, which he had almost thirtie yeares before receiued ■
his hands; as is before in the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more hau-
tie disposition than to brook the life of a subiect vnder the command of either of his brethren,
and altogether giuen to martiall affaires, sought by infinit bountie, feigned courtesie, subtil po-
licie, and by all other means good and bad, to aspire vnto the empire. Him therefore the Iani-
zaries with all the great souldiers of the court, yea and some of the chiefe Bassaes also (cor-
rupted with gifts) wished aboue the rest, for their lord and soueraigne: desiring rather to liue M
vnder him which was like to set all the world on a hurly burly (whereby they might increase
their honor and wealth, the certain rewards of their aduentures than to lead an idle and vnpro-
fitable life (as they tearmed it) vnder a quiet and peaceable Prince.

Whilest men stood thus diuersly affected towards these princes of so great hope, *Baiazet*
now far worne with yeares, and so grieuously tormented with the gout that hee was not able
to

A to helpe himselfe: for the quietnesse of his subiects and preuenting of such troubles as might
arise by the aspiring of his children after his death, determined whilest he yet liued (for the
auoiding of these and other such like mischiefes) to establish the succession in some one of his
sonnes; who wholly possessed of the kingdome, might easily represse the pride of the other.
And although he had set downe with himselfe, that *Achomates* should be the man, as wel in re-
spect of his birth-right, as of the especiall affection he bare vnto him; yet to discouer the dis-
position of his subiects, and how they stood affected, it was giuen out in generall termes, That
he meant before his death to make it knowne to the World, who should succeed in the em-
pire, without naming any one of his sonnes; leauing that for euery man to diuine of, accor-
B ding as they were affected: which was not the least cause, that euery one of his sonnes with
like ambition began now to make small account of their former preferments, as thinking one-
ly vpon the Empire it selfe.

First of all *Selymus*, whom *Baiazet* had made Gouernor of the kingdom of Trapezond, rig- 1511.
ging vp all the ships he could in Pontus, sayled from Trapezond ouer the Euxine (now called *Selymus aided by Mahometes his father in law, riseth a-gainst his father.*
the blacke sea) to the citie of Capha, called in antient time Theodosia, and from thence by
land came to *Mahometes* king of the Tartars called Præcoponses, a mightie prince, whose
daughter he had without the good liking of his father before married: and discouering vnto
him his intended purpose, besought him by the sacred bonds of the affinitie betwixt them, not
to shrinke from him his louing son in law in so fit an opportunitie for his aduancement: And
withall shewed vnto him, what great hope of obtaining the Empire was proposed vnto him
C by his most faithfull friends and the souldiers of the court, if he would but come neerer vnto
his father (then about to transfer the empire to some one of his sons) & either by faire means
to procure his fauor, or by entering with his armie into Thracia, to terrifie him from appoin-
ting either of his other brethren for the successor. The Tartar king commending his high de-
uise, as a kind father in law with wonderfull celerity caused great store of shipping to be made
readie in the Pontick sea, and Mœotis, but especially at the Ports of Copa and Tana, vpon
the great riuer of Tanais, which boundeth Europe from Asia; and arming fifteene thousand
Tartarian horsemen, deliuered them all to *Selymus*, promising forthwith to send him greater
aid if he should haue occasion to vse the same. These things being quickly dispatched, *Selymus*
passing ouer the riuer Borrysthenes, and so through Valachia, came at length to Danubius, and
D with his horsemen passed that famous riuer at the citie of Chelia: his fleet he commanded to
meet him at the port of the citie of Varna, called in antient time Dionysiopolis, in the confines
of Bulgaria and Thracia: he himselfe still leuying moe men by the way as he went, pretending
in shew quite another thing than he had indeed intended: which the better to couer, he gaue it
out as if he had purposed to haue inuaded Hungarie.

But *Baiazet* a good while before aduertised, that *Selimus* was departed from Trapezond,
and come ouer into Europe, maruelling that he had left his charge in Asia (the rebellion of
Techellis and the Persian war yet scarce quieted) and that vpon his own head he had entertai-
ned forreine aid to make war against the most warlike nation of the Hungarians; and farther,
that with his armie by land, he had seized vpon the places neerest vnto Thracia, and with a
E strong nauie kept the Euxine sea; he began to suspect, as the truth was, That all this preparati-
on was made and entended against himselfe: for the craftie old fire had good proofe of the
vnquiet and troublesome nature of his son, especially in that without his knowledge he durst
presume to take a wife from amongst the Tartars, and afterwards with no lesse presumption
of himselfe raise an armie both by sea and land: whereby he easily perceiued, that he would
neuer hold himselfe contented with a small kingdome, so long as he was in hope by desperat
aduenture to gain a greater. Yet thinking it better with like dissimulation to appease his vio- *Baiazet sendeth h embassadors to Selymus.*
lent & fierce nature, than by sharpe reproofe to moue him to farther choller, he sent vnto him
embassadors to declare to him with what danger the Turkish kings had in former times taken
vpon them those Hungarian wars: for example wherof he needed not to goe no further than
F to his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding losse had made
proofe of the Hungarian forces: wherefore he should do wel to expect some fit opportunitie,
when as he might with better aduise, greater power, & more sure hope of victorie, take those
wars in hand. Wherunto *Selymus* answered, That he had left Asia, inforced thereunto by the in-
iuries of his brother *Achomates*, and was therefore come ouer into Europe, by dint of sword

and

and the helpe of his friends, to win from the enemies of the Mahometan religion a larger and better prouince for that little barren and peaceable one which his father had giuen him, bordering vpon Hiberia and Cholchos, bare and needie people, liuing as connies amongst the rocks and mountaines. As for the Hungarians, whom they thought to be a peo ple inuincible, and therfore not to be dealt withall, he was not of that base mind to be daunted with any danger, were it neuer so great: and yet that in his opinion the war was neither so difficult or dangerous, as was by them pretended; forasmuch as the antient prowesse of that warlike nation was now much changed, together with the change of their kings; and their discipline of war not onely much decayed, but almost quite lost, after that *Vladislaus*, farre vnlike in policie and prowesse, had succeeded the renowned *Mathias* in that kingdome. Neither had he (as he said) from his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chances of war, as knowing that neither God nor man would be wanting to him, who with an honourable resolution did aduenture vpon vertuous and worthie attempts: and that therefore hee was fully resolued for his owne honor (which his father had in some sort blemished by the immoderat aduancement of his brethren) either to die honourably in the field in battell against the enemies of the Mahometan religion, or else gloriously to extend the bounds of the Turkish empire: and that he would not (though one of the yongest in the *Othoman* familie) be accounted inferiour to any of his brethren in vertue and prowesse. Thus was the Hungarian war neuer by *Selymus* entended, notably by him pretended; and with no lesse dissimulation by *Baiazet* dissuaded. The Embassadours, although *Selymus* in all his speeches shewed no token of peace: yet in his fathers name presented vnto him diuers gifts, thereby if it might be to appeale his fierce and cruell mind. Vnto his old gouernment they adioyned Samandria, which the Hungarians call Schenderouia, a strong citie of Seruia vpon the borders of Hungarie, with many other strong towns in the same countrey: they gaue him also threescore thousand duckats, beside a thousand garments of cloth and silke: with good store of prouision wherewith to relieue and content the souldiers by him entertained; least that they drawne farre from home in hope of spoile, should take it in euil part if they should be sent away emptie handed. *Selymus* in a happie time hauing receiued these gifts, returned the embassadours vnto his father, with more doubtfull answer and vncertaine hope than before: yet changing nothing in himselfe of his former resolution, secret messengers and letters from his friends in the court stil whetting him forward (too much alreadie inflamed with desire of soueraignetie) persuading him to make hast and to repose his greatest hope in his quicke speed; for that they vnderstood, that about the time of his setting forward, his brother *Achomates* was comming with a great power, being sent for out of Capadocia by his father.

Presents giuen to Selymus by his fathers embassadours.

Baiazet would appoint his successour whilest he yet liued.

In the mean time *Baiazet*, moued the rather with the feare of *Selymus*, resolued vpon that, whereof hee had long before in his mind deeply considered, and now said openly, That hee would appoint his successor, who in stead of himselfe, spent with yeares and sickenesse, should bring with him the flower of youth and strength of bodie, fit to gouerne so great an empire. But when those things were propounded vnto the souldiers of the court by the foure great Bassaes (who in all things both of peace and wars had next place vnto the Emperor himselfe) it was forthwith gainesaied by those martiall men, crying aloud with one voyce, That they would know no other Emperor but *Baiazet*, vnder whose conduct and good fortune they had now serued aboue 30 yeres: and therfore would not suffer him to liue a priuat life in obscuritie, who with so many victories and strong cities taken, had brought the *Othoman* empire vnto that height of renowne and glory. They said moreouer, that there was in him yet strength enough, if he would but with the reuerend honor of his age retain the maiestie of his place, & the glorie he had gotten with his long and happie raigne, and most famous victories: and that of his children, such a one should vndoubtedly in his due time succeede in the empire, as of right ought: only they wisht, that the old Emperor might in the meantime liue in health with a long and happie raign: neither needed he (as they said) to feare that after his death any controuersie should arise among his sons about the succession; for that the *Othoman* progenie vsed to attain the imperiall seat, according to the old custome of their ancestors the *Othoman* kings, by right and order only, and not by corruption or faction. But if he would needs vpon his own priuat good liking, or as it were by new adoption, proceed to make choice of such a one as the people & the men of war (his most loiall & faithfull subiects) could not so wel like of, it would be

be an occasion of much more trouble, and happely the means to bring in that confusion of the State, which he thought thereby to eschew. For then, beside the dislike of the people, the other brethren would neuer endure so notable an iniurie, or euer be at quiet, vntil they had (as men wrongfully cast off and disinherited) by strong hand and endangering of all, recouered their honour lost by the headstrong will of their aged father.

The souldiers thus before instructed by the friends and fauourites of *Selymus*, (who with mony and large promises had corrupted their captains and chiefe officers) spake these things frankly, to haue deterred the old Emperor from his purpose. But he thinking that they had (as he himselfe did) especially affected *Achomates* his eldest son, (for that they had generally protested, That they would against all iniuries defend his honour, vnto whom the empire should of right appertaine) said he would make choice of *Achomates*, if it should stand with their good liking. But the chiefe of the soldiers (who corrupted by *Selymus*, had together sould both their faith and themselues) cunningly commended *Achomates*, and seemed wonderfully to like of him; yet to accept of him for their Soueraigne, *Baiazet* yet liuing, they said was not agreeing with the antient custome of the *Othoman* kings, neither for the behoofe of the men of war, neither yet good for the state of the Empire; forasmuch as neither his brethren *Corcutus* and *Selymus*, neither the soldiers of the Court, could patiently endure the least touch of the suspicion of infidelitie; which they must needs do, if he as a suspicious father should doubt either of the loue or loyaltie of his most dutifull sonnes, or of the faith or constancie of his most faithfull seruants, whereof he had made so many trials. Besides that, it seemed vnto them all vnreasonable, that by the odious preiudice of that fact, the souldiers should be left defrauded of the rewards vsually granted vnto them during the time of the vacancie of the Empire, arising of the spoile taken from them which are of religion different from the Turks. For it is a custome, that immediatly vpon the death of the Turkish Emperor, all the Iewes and Christians which dwell at Constantinople, Pera, Hadrianople, Thessalonica, and Prusa, especially merchants, exposed vnto the iniuries of the Turks, are by the Ianizaries and other souldiers of the court, spoiled of all their wares and goods, and become vnto them a prey: neither wil they giue their oath of allegeance vnto the new Emperor, vntill he haue granted vnto them all that prey, as a bountie, and haue solemnly sworne by his own head (the greatest assurance that can by oath be giuen amongst the Turks) freely to pardon all the offenders, and for euer to forget all the outrages before committed. When *Baiazet* saw his men of war thus generally to oppose themselues against the translation of the empire to *Achomates*, he of purpose to corrupt the minds of them which were before alreadie corrupted, promised to giue them fiue hundred thousand duckats if they would stand fauourable to *Achomates*, and accept him for their Soueraigne: which masse of money his customers and receiuers vndertooke to leuie of the same merchants strangers and Iews, and to pay it as *Baiazet* had promised. Yet the ouerthwart frowardnesse of these men of war ouercame the good fortune of *Achomates*, although the reward promised were great: for why, they had in their martial minds conceiued far greater rewards and preferments, if in stead of a peaceable and quiet Prince, a monstrous tyrant of restlesse nature (as was *Selymus*) might by their help and means aspire to the Empire. Thus *Baiazet* driuen from his hope, thought it best for the present to dissemble the matter; and concealing his griefe, with patience to put vp that dishonour, vntil a fitter opportunitie were offered for the effecting of that he so much desired.

Baiazet seeketh to prefer Achomates vnto the Empire.

Selymus aduertised from his friends, with what affection and fastnesse the souldiers of the court had in the secret fauour of him openly withstood the earnest desire of *Baiazet*, for the preferment of *Achomates*; because he would no longer frustrat the expectation of his fauourits by lingring and delay, or seem to distrust the readie good wils of the men of war towards him, left the borders of Hungarie, & with his armie marching through Thracia, incamped at length vpon the rising of a hill not farre from Hadrianople, from whence the neighing of his horses might easily be heard, and his tents from the high places of the city discouered. From thence he sent a messenger to his father then lying in the citie, to certifie him, That for as much as he had not of many yeares before seene him, he was now therefore desirous to come vnto his presence to visit him, before he crossed the seas backe againe by his appointment to Trapezond: and the rather, because it might chance that he should neuer see him againe, being now become both aged and diseased: besides that, it much concerned (as he would haue had

Selymus marcheth with his armie toward Hadrianople.

Selymus his dissembling embassage vnto his father.

him to beleeue)the quietnes of his kingdom in Asia,and the vnitie of his children, if the controuersies betwixt him & his brother *Achomates*, which could not safely be committed to messengers, might by themselues be discouered him to their father, as an indifferent hearer and decider thereof. Wherefore he humbly besought him to appoint him a time and place to giue him audience in,and not to denie him leaue to come and kisse his hands; which thing his ancestours neuer refused to grant to their poore friends, much lesse to their children. *Baiazet* who a few days before vnderstanding of the comming of *Selymus*,& throughly seeing into his deuices,had called vnto him certain of his Sanzacks or chiefe captains,with their select companies out of the neerest parts of Grecia,and had also set strong watch and ward through the city: fearing lest vnder the colour of parle,his souldiers attending about his person, corrupted by *Selymus* and his friends (who euen then loded with gifts and promises, were secretly vpon the point of reuolt) should be quite drawn away from him,and so he himselfe at length be either by open force oppressed,or secret treacherie circumuented,thought it best to cut him off at once from al hope of conference or accesse vnto his presence. Wherefore seriously blaming him,that he had vpon his own head brought his armie into another mans prouince, that he in armes required audience, and last of all, so insolently abused his fathers lenitie and patience; he by the same messenger sent him farther word, That he should not presume to approch any neerer vnto him,or expect any thing appertaining to peace: who guarded with forrein power had without his fathers leaue entred into armes,and spoiled the countries of his friends: and that therefore he should do wel,with all speed to retyre out of Thracia,yea and out of Europe also, and disbanding his forces,againe to retyre himselfe vnto his owne charge in Pontus; in which doing he should find greater fauor & kindnesse with him his father,than euer he had before: but if he would needs proceed in the course by him begun,that then he would no more take him for his sonne,but for his enemie,and before it were long, sharply chastise him for his malapett insolencie,little differing from vnnatural treacherie. The messenger with his answer dismissed,it was not long after, but that *Baiazet* was by his espials aduertised, that *Selymus* the night following was risen with his armie,and marched directly towards Constantinople; whither he was sent for by his friends,in hope that vpon his approch with his army,some sudden tumult and vprore would to his auaile arise in that so great and populous a citie. Whereupon *Baiazet* fearing lest in staying at Hadrianople,he might lose the Imperial citie of Constantinople,early in the morning by breake of the day departed from Hadrianople towards Constantinople. Vpon his departure *Selymus* peaceably entered the citie of Hadrianople,the Citizens fearing,that if they should haue made any resistance,their vnseasonable faithfulnesse towards *Baiazet* might haue turned to their vtter destruction. *Selymus* after he had a while refreshed his armie with the plentie of that citie, according to his former determination set forward again,of purpose by long & speedie marches to haue preuented his fathers comming to Constantinople. *Baiazet* was yet scarcely come to Chiurlus, or rather Tzurulum,an antient ruinous citie almost vpon the mid way betwixt Hadrianople and Constantinople,when warning was giuen him of them that followed his armie, that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand, cutting off the straglers of his armie,and with hot skirmishing stayed and troubled his reereward. The aged Emperor more mooued than terrified with the strangenes of the matter,because his marching should not seeme as if it were a flight or chase, commanded his standard to be set vp,and al his armie to make a stand,of purpose that if *Selymus* should come on to giue him battell,he might finde him in readinesse. The great captaines and noblemen then present with *Baiazet*,whether it were for old acquaintance,or vpon some new inclination of their affection,or else vpon hope of new allyance and preferment,wishing well vnto *Selymus*,and therefore indirectly and cunningly fauouring him, seemed not to like of *Baiazet* his resolution, to bee so farre mooued (as they said) with the youthfull heate and lightnesse of his sonne, as to seeke reuenge by battell, whereas the victorie it selfe could yeeld him nothing but sorrow; but the ouerthrow threatened destruction both to himselfe and all them that were with him: the imminent euent thereof seemed to be so much the more dangerous and feareful, by how much he was at that time inferiour vnto his sonne both in warrelike prouision and number of men. Wherefore it were good for him (they said) to moderate his anger,and not now in the winding vp of his life to make too much haste by a miserable death in a wofull battell to staine the whole glorie of his former life. There was (as they would haue persuaded

Selymus ouertaketh his father.

The chiefe men about Baiazet, secretly fauour Selymus,& dissuade him from giuing him battell.

A suaded him)but one only course to be taken, full of wholsome policie and safetie; & that was, That he should with such speed as he had begun, march on forward to Constantinople, that so *Selymus* excluded out of the citie, (his chiefest hope) and then not knowing which way to turne himselfe,should either of his own accord,or for feare of his fathers greater forces,think of return; and so with his rascal followers more honestly perish by the hands of them whose countries he had spoyled,and vpon whom he must of necessitie liue in his returne, than by the sword of his father. The author of this counsel was *Mustapha*, the most antient Bassa of those which being in greatest authoritie about the Emperor,are only of his priuie Councel,& sway all matters of importance concerning either peace or warre: he then vpon an vnthankfull and malicious mind loathing *Baiazet*,as one that had too long raigned,hated him also for certaine priuat displeasures conceiued of the emulation of the other yonger Bassa's by him promoted; and secretly bare great affection to *Selymus*,both in condition and fauor resembling his grandfather the Great *Mahomet*,by whom he was brought vp himselfe,and him of all the sonnes of *Baiazet* he thought most worthy of the Empire. This *Mustapha* was borne in the town of Seres neere vnto Amphipolis) the son of a Greeke Priest,a man of a slie, craftie, and subtill wit, alwayes subiect to corruption: which diseases of mind were in him wel to haue bin discouered by his froward looke and squint eyes,the certaine notes of a nature to be suspected. Next vnto this *Mustapha* was *Bostanges Bassa*,born of the honorable house of the *Ducagina* in Ætholia,and thereof called *Ducaginoli*; a man for his couetousnesse,ambition,and treacherie, infamous; as the foule and miserable end of his life afterwards declared. Vnto this man,*Selymus* had by secret promise betrothed one of his daughters, now marriageable, as a reward of his corrupt faith. By which sleight he had also allured *Aiax* (Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries, and great Master of the houshold) to promise his aid for the obtaining of the Empire; whereunto hee said he was by destinie called: and by his means drew other inferior captains secretly to fauor his quarrell; vnto whom he spared not to promise whatsoeuer might please their humours. Yea the captaines almost generally either corrupted with reward, or for feare following the inclination of the greater commanders,of themselues leaned that way. Of all the rest, onely *Cherseogles Bassa* (whom the Turks histories call also *Achmet Hertezec-Ogli*) a faithful,constant, and vpright man,free from all double dealing and deceit,a fast and assured friend vnto *Baiazet* his father in law,was of opinion,That the immoderat pride and insolency of *Selymus*,was euen there by force of armes and strong hand forthwith to be oppressed, before he should approch any neerer vnto the Imperiall Citie, for feare of raising some further trouble or tumult there, than were well to be appeased; which was the thing that *Selymus* his friends most of all desired. Neither was it to be thought (as *Cherseogles* said) that the naked Tartarian horsemen, although they were in number moe, would euer be able to abide the first charge of *Baiazet* his well armed Pensioners. As for the Ianizaries, of whose approoued faith and valour tried in many dangers,he had before had good experience; there was no doubt but that they would now to the vttermost of their power defend the person and honour of their aged and victorious Emperor,who had of long time so well of them deserued; and also to reuenge his quarrel vpon disobedient *Selymus* who neither fearing God the iust reuenger of such vngracious dealing,neither the infamie of men,had most vnnaturally lift vp his sword against his father,wickedly to depriue him of life,of whom he had receiued life. Wherefore he persuaded him,in his owne iust quarrell to goe forth vnto his souldiers with cheerefull countenance, and putting them in remembrance of the benefits they had from time to time most bountifully receiued at his hands, as also of their allegeance and dutie; to make them to vnderstand, that reposing his trust in their fidelitie and valour, he had resolutely set downe with himselfe, in that place before he went any further, by their fairhfull hands to chastise the presumptuous insolencie of his vnnaturall sonne, together with his rebellious Followers.

Cherseogles Bassa the only great man faithful to Baiazet,persuadeth him to giue battell to Selymus.

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherseogles*, it shall not be amisse, both for the honor of the man,and the great loue he alwaies bare vnto the Christians,to step a little out of the way,to see the cause why he being a Christian borne,turned Turke. For he was not (as almost all the rest of the great men about *Baiazet* were) of a child taken from his Christian parents,and so brought vp in the Mahometan religion; but being now a man grown, turned Turke: yet so,as that he neuer in heart forgot either the Christian religion or loue toward the Christians; a thing not common among such renegates. He being the sonne of one

Cherſeogles, a ſmall Prince of Illyria neere vnto the blacke mountain; and going to be married vnto a ladie whom he moſt entirely loued, and vnto whom he was alreadie betrothed, honorably diſcended of the houſe of the Deſpot of Seruia; his intemperat father with luſtfull eye beholding the young ladie of rare feature and incomparable beautie, deſired to haue her for himſelfe: and regarding more the ſatisfying of his own inordinat deſire, than his own honor, or the fatherly loue of his ſonne, tooke her in marriage himſelfe; all his friends labouring in vaine to diſſuade him, and with open mouth crying ſhame of ſo foule a fact. Wherefore the young man, mooued with the indignitie of ſo great an iniurie, and driuen headlong with diſpaire, fled firſt to the Turks garriſons which lay not far off, and from thence to Conſtantinople; where the fortune of the man was to be wondred at: For being brought before *Baiazet*, who with cheerefull countenance entertained him, for that he was honorably diſcended, and well liked both of the man, and of the cauſe of his reuolt; ſmiling vpon him, ſaid, *Be of good cheere Noble Youth, for thy great courage is worthie of farre greater fortune than thy fathers Houſe can affoord thee; now in ſtead of thy Loue wrongfully taken from thee by thy father, (the Kinſewoman of a poore exiled Prince) thou ſhalt haue giuen thee in marriage the daughter of a great Emperour, of rare and ſingular perfection.* And not long after abjuring his religion, and changing his name of *Stephen*, to *Achomates* and *Cherſeogles*, he married one of *Baiazet* his daughters, a Princeſſe of great beautie; and deſerued to haue a place amongſt the Baſſa's of greateſt honour in the Court. Yet ſtill retaining the remembrance of his former profeſſion, with a deſire to returne thereto againe: inſomuch that he kept in his ſecret cloſet the image of the Crucifix, which he ſhewed to *Io. Laſcaris*, as to his truſtie friend, as he himſelfe reported. This man at ſuch time as the citie of Modon was taken by the Turkes, and a multitude of poore Chriſtian captiues cruelly put to death in the ſight of *Baiazet*, by earneſt entreatie ſaued the Venetian Senatours there taken: and afterward by earneſt ſute deliuered *Andreas Gritti*, being priſoner at Conſtantinople, and condemned to die; who not many yeares after was choſen Duke of Venice. He was the chiefe means wherby the Venetians to their great good obtained peace of *Baiazet*. He alſo by his great authoritie, and of his own charge redeemed innumerable Chriſtians from the ſeruitude of the Turks, and ſet them at libertie. Neither is his kindneſſe towards the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten: for at ſuch time as the foreſaid *Io. Laſcaris* the notable & learned Grecian, by the appointment of *Leo* the tenth, ſought antient works of famous writers, he procured the Turkiſh Emperors letters patents, that he might freely at his pleaſure ſearch all the Libraries in Grecia, to the great benefit of good letters. Now *Baiazet* encouraged by this mans perſuaſion (as is aforeſaid) and hearing as he lay in his pauilion, the alarme of the enemie, with the tumult and clamour of his owne ſouldiers as if they had been men afraid; and ſundrie meſſengers alſo at the ſame time comming vnto him with newes, That *Selymus* with his Tartarian horſemen had almoſt incloſed the rereward of his armie, and already taken ſome of his baggage: grinding his teeth for verie madneſſe and griefe of minde, with teares trickling downe his hoarie cheekes, got him out of his pauilion in his horſelitter, (for he was at the ſame time ſo troubled with the gout, that he was not able to ſit on horſebacke) and turning himſelfe vnto the Penſioners and Ianizaries ſtanding about him, as their manner is, ſaid vnto them,

Baiazets ſpeech to the ſouldiers and Ianizaries of the court.

Will you, Foſter children, valiant Souldiours, and faithfull keepers of my perſon, who with great fortune haue ſerued me in field aboue the ſpace of thirtie yeares; and for your faithfull and good ſeruice haue both in time of peace and warre, of me receiued ſuch rewards, as by your owne confeſſion and thankeſgiuing farre exceeded your owne expectation, and the meaſure of our Treaſures: Will you, I ſay, ſuffer the innocent Father to be butchered by his graceleſſe Sonne? And your old Emperour, tormented with age and diſeaſes, to be cruelly murthered by a companie of wilde Tartars, little better than arrant Rogues and Theeues? Shall I be now forſaken in this my heauie old age and laſt act of life? And ſhall I be deliuered vnto myne enemies, by them, by them, I ſay, who many yeares agoe with great faithfulneſſe and inuincible courage defended myne honour and right againſt my brother Zemes? and haue many times ſince, not onely valiantly defended this Empire againſt moſt warrelike Nations, but alſo moſt victoriouſly augmented the ſame? But I will not ſo lightly beleeue that which to my no ſmall griefe is brought vnto myne eares, concerning the reuolting of myne Armie: neither if I did beleeue it, am I ſo fearefull as to be therewith diſcouraged, or to ſeeke to make ſhift for my ſelf.

For

For to what purpoſe ſhould I thinke of flight? as though I could in any other place find more faithfulnes or ſurer defence than with you? And concerning your ſelues, what ſhould be your hope by this ſo infamous treacherie? If any of you (for I cannot beleeue that you are all ſo mad) without regard of faith, of worldly ſhame, or the feare of God, haue pollnted your minds with the pernitious conceit of ſo foule a treaſon; doe you thinke to gaine greater rewards and preferments by your treacherie and villanie, than by your fidelitie and conſtancie? There be many which carefull of my perſon, perſuade me to reſerue this my ſicke and feeble bodie vnto my better fortune, and to commit my ſelfe to flight, ſo rather to ſaue my life with ſhame and infamie, than to end my dayes with honour and glorie: Which is ſo far from my thoughts for the apprehenſion of any feare to doe, that I will to the contrarie forthwith giue the fierce enemie battell; and in this my laſt danger make proofe of all your fidelitie and valour, and of euery one of your good wils in particular: and ſo by conduct of the Higheſt, either defeat the power and breake the ſtrength of this graceleſſe man, or elſe hauing raigned aboue thirtie yeares an Emperour, end my dayes together with them which ſhall vnto the end continue with me in their faithfulneſſe and loyaltie, although I ſhould be moſt ſhamefully and diſhonourably betrayed and forſaken of ſome of myne owne Guard: which thing though lying fame would make me beleeue, yet will I not feare it vntill I ſee the proofe thereof.

The common fort of the Ianizaries, vnto whom the great Commanders and captaines corrupted by *Selymus*, had not for their leuitie and multitude communicated their purpoſe of transferring the Empire to *Selymus*, began to crie out as if it had beene with generall conſent, That he ſhould not doubt to joyne battell with his enemies, and ſo to make proofe of their conſtant fidelitie and woonted valour. Which was done with ſuch a cheerefulneſſe and deſire expreſſed by great ſhouts, clapping of hands, & clattering of armor, that it ſeemed they would play the parts of reſolute ſouldiers, and that as guiltleſſe men they tooke it grieuouſly to be once ſuſpected of treaſon or infidelitie. Others alſo who ſecretly and in heart were well affected to *Selymus*, for faſhion ſake followed them with like crie: but eſpecially the great commanders both of the armie and of the Emperours Court, now changed their affection, whether it were for ſhame of the fact, or for feare of diſcouering themſelues out of ſeaſon, is vncertaine. Wherefore according to the manner of ſuch men, which through their mutabilitie and miſchieuous diſpoſition, fearing to be conuinced and diſcouered, adde vnto the preſent a ſecond and new treaſon or treacherie, to couer the former: ſo *Muſtapha* and *Boſtanges* (not daring now to ſhew themſelues for *Selymus*) to make a great ſhew of their feigned loyaltie towards *Baiazet*, departed themſelues out of his pauilion, to encourage the ſouldiers, and to martiall the battell.

The commō ſort of the Ianizaries faithfull to Baiazet, deſire battell.

The battell betwixt Baiazet and Selymus.

Baiazet ſicke in his chariot, by the aduice of *Cherſeogles* the faithfull Baſſa, placed his battel in this order: The Sanzacks (which are the gouernours of prouinces) with their horſemen, in number about 6000 he ſet in the front of the battell: the Spachi-oglans & Siliphtars, which are the chiefe horſemen of the court, and as it were the Emperors Penſioners, were placed as two wings on each ſide of the great ſquadron of the Ianizaries; in the midſt whereof was old *Baiazet* himſelfe. Other 4000 horſemen (ſeruants to the great men of the court) were left in the rereward, and to guard the baggage. Theſe ſlaues (for ſo indeed they are) for their apparell and furniture, yea and valor alſo, are little inferior to their maſters, by whom they are ſo ſumptuouſly maintained both for ſtrength and oſtentation. The battell thus ordered, *Baiazet* commanded the trumpets to ſound, and a red enſigne in token of battell to be diſplaied. On the other ſide, *Selymus* placing his Tartarian horſemen in both wings, and his Turks in the midſt, in manner of a halfe moone, for that he in number of horſemen far exceeded his father, did almoſt on euery ſide incloſe him, and ſo charge him. The Tartars when they were come within 100 paces of their enemies, caſting themſelues (after the manner of their fight) into great rings, emptie within in manner of a crowne, and ſo running round, that they might both backward and forward deliuer their arrowes, caſt vpon their enemies whole ſhowers of ſhot, as if it had bin haile, to the great annoyance of the Turks: when as in the meane time the other Tartarian archers further off, ſhooting their arrows not right forth, but more vpright towards heauen, which falling directly downe, ſore gauled the Turks horſes alſo. But the old ſoldiers (taught by the example of their captaines) ſerred cloſe together, and caſting their targets ouer their heads, as if it had been one whole roofe or penthouſe, receiued their arrowes with leſſe harm, and haſted with as much ſpeed as they could to come to handie blows. The penſioners alſo

also at the same instant brauely charged the middle of *Selymus* his battell, where his Turkish horsemen stood: and *Aiax* captaine of the Ianizaries, drawing out 700 readie harquebusiers out of the squadron of the Ianizaries, with them assailed the hindmost of one of the wings of the Tartars: and the foure thousand seruants left in the rereward, as desirous as the rest to shew their forwardnesse, with great slaughter repulsed the other wing of the Tartars, which came to haue spoyled the Turks carriages. This fierce battell betwixt the father and the son, with doubtfull euent endured from noone vntill the going down of the Sun: *Selymus* in many places still restoring his declining battel, and fighting himselfe, as for an empire. But after that the Tartars, hardly charged by the harquebusiers, were not able to abide the shot, especially their horses, being with the vnwoonted noise thereof wonderfully terrified, and so carrying backe their riders whether they would or no, began to flie; the rest of the horsemen could neither by commandement, threatning, or wounds, be inforced to stay, but turned their backs and fled. The footmen also whom *Selymus* had attyred and armed after the manner of the Ianizaries, being forsaken of their owne horsemen, were now by *Baiazet* his horsemen compassed about and almost all slaine.

Selimus his army discomfited.

Selymus his armie thus ouerthrown, and himselfe hardly beset, was by certain troups of his Turkish horsemen which yet stayed with him, deliuered from the present danger; and being wounded, was mounted vpon a fresh horse, & so with all the speed he could fled after the Tartars. But doubting to be pursued and ouertaken by his fathers speedie horsemen, he changed his horse, and tooke another of a wonderfull swiftnesse: and so reseruing himselfe to his future fortune, with a few of his followers fled to Varna, and from thence by sea to Capha.

The estimation Selymus had of his horse wherby he escaped from his father.

The horse whereon *Selymus* fled was all cole blacke, called *Carabulo* (that is to say, *a blacke cloud*) whom *Selymus* as a good seruitour euer after exempted from all seruice; and had him in such estimation, that couered with cloth of gold, he was as a spare horse without a rider led after him in all his great expeditions, first into Persia, and afterwards into Ægypt, where he died at Caire, and there to the imitation of *Bucephalus*, Great *Alexanders* horse, had a monument erected for him: wherein *Selymus* shewed himselfe more kind than to his owne brethren, whom he cruelly murthered, and hardly affoorded to some of them so honourable a Sepulture.

In this battell, of fortie thousand which *Selymus* brought into the field, escaped not aboue 8000, but they were either slain or taken prisoners. Of *Baiazet* his armie were lost about 700, and 3000 hurt with Tartarian arrowes: which losse he presently reuenged, with extream crueltie, causing all such as were taken prisoners to be without mercie put to the sword in his sight; whose heads were layd together by heapes, and their dead bodies, as if they had beene towers. Of this notable battell betwixt the father and the son in the yeare 1511, Chiurlus, called in antient time Tzurulum, before an obscure old ruinous citie, (or as *Ionius* calleth it, a village) became famous: but much more afterwards by the fatal destinie of *Selymus*; who not many yeares after, strucken with a most loathsome and incurable disease, ended his dayes in the same place with an vntimely and tormenting death; God (as it is to be thought) with reuenging hand in the same place taking iust punishment for his former disloyaltie towards his father, as shall hereafter in due time and place be declared.

Three dayes *Baiazet* lay still in the same place where he had obtained the victorie, till such time as all his soldiers were againe returned from the chase of the enemie: after that, he held on his way to Constantinople, and there bountifully rewarded his soldiers. In the mean time *Achomates* hearing of all the trouble which had happened betwixt his father and his brother *Selymus*, with the euent thereof, came with an armie of twentie thousand from Amasia, thorow the Countreis of Galiatia and Bythinia, vnto the citie of Scutari, called in antient time Chrisopolis (though some suppose it to haue beene the famous citie of Chalcedon) which citie is scituated vpon the strait of Bosphorus, directly against the Citie of Constantinople. In this place *Achomates* encamped his armie, neere vnto the sea side, expecting what course his father would take after so great a victorie. For beside the prerogatiue of his age, and the especiall loue of his father towards him, the generall affection of the vulgar people, with the good opinion he had of himselfe, had alreadie filled his mind with the hope of the Empire. Wherefore he ceased not night and day to send Messengers ouer that narrow strait, to Constantinople; and most earnestly to solicite *Baiazet* his father, in so fit an occasion to make haste

haste to dispatch what he had so long before determined, concerning the resignation of the empire. He also importuned his friends and familiars in best maner he could to commend him to his father, and in most ample sort to extoll his graue purpose for translation of the empire; and to doe the vttermost of their deuoire, that seeing God and good fortune had iustly ouerthrowne the rash attempt and force of his brother *Selymus*, he by their good means might the sooner obtaine the empire, whereof he was the vndoubted heire.

Baiazet willing to prefer Achomates to the empire.

Baiazet, who of himselfe and according to his old good liking was altogether desirous of the preferment of *Achomates*, was by their persuasions easily intreated to hasten the performance of that he had before determined for the transferring of the empire. And making no great secret of the matter, commanded certaine gallies to be made ready for the transporting of *Achomates* from Scutario to Constantinople. But the great Bassaes with the soldiers of the court (the secret fauorits of *Selymus*) vnderstanding the matter, began againe openly to resist and impugne his purposed determination, and to alledge the same reasons they had before at Hadrianople alleaged; in fine they said plainely, That they would by no meanes suffer him so far to disable himselfe as an insufficient man to resigne the empire, who of late had with so valiant and couragious an heart fought for the honour of his crowne and dignitie; and that therefore so long as he liued, they would acknowledge no other soueraigne but *Baiazet*: yet for all that as they meant not thereby to cut off *Achomates* his hope, so neither ought he to distrust the good will of the men of war; but that he being a man of most approued and known valour, might in due time with their generall good liking enioy his right, which should then without all question be due vnto him as the eldest sonne of their Emperor. They said moreouer, that they had in the late battel against *Selymus* sufficiently declared what minds they were of, both towards their Emperour and *Achomates*, and what confidence they were to repose in the fidelitie of their souldiers, who to manifest their faithfulnesse and loyaltie, had not refused to offer themselues vnto the hazard of a most vnequall battell, yea their liues vnto death it selfe. O foule dissimulation, the couert maske of all mischiefe, vnder which, meere treacherie is here pretended for great loyaltie, the aged Emperour too too much flattered, *Achomates* shamefully deluded, and (the man that might not as then without some addition of disgrace be named) *Selymus*, euen bloudie *Selymus*, secretly sought for aboue all men to be preferred!

Baiazet by this offwardnesse and insolencie of the souldiers againe disappointed of his purpose, or else (as some thought) delighted with the sweetnesse of soueraignetie: for that after the late victorie he seemed (as one growne young againe) neither to feele himselfe old or vnable still to gouerne so great an empire; sent word to *Achomates*, how the matter stood, and that he should forthwith depart from Scutari to his old charge at Amasia, from whence he would againe call him at such time as he had with new bountie won the minds of the souldiers, and procured the good liking of other the great men in court, whereby so great a matter and not vsuall, might the better and with more securitie be effected.

Achomates thus deceiued of his hope and expectation, grieuously complaining that he was so mocked of his father, and contemned of the soldiers of the court, began to mix his new request with words of heat and discontentment, and to inueigh against his father, for making him a by-word (as he termed it) and a laughing stocke vnto the world, after he had taken the paines to come so far, and that by his speciall appointment. But if he proceeded so to doat, and to make so great reckoning of the souldiers of the court, that in respect thereof he neither regarded his promise, nor that was right and iust; he would himselfe by force of arms take vpon him the defence of his own honor and right, so lightly esteemed by his father, and reuenge the disgrace offered vnto him by others.

Whereunto *Baiazet* answered by the Cadelescher (which is a man of greatest place and authoritie amongst the Turks in matters concerning their superstition, and therfore of them honored aboue others, as the sacred interpreter of their law) that he did neither well nor wisely without iust cause to falinto so great rage and choller, as by his speech and force to thinke to extort that good which was only by loue and loialtie to be gained: whereas all things should be surely kept for him, and the empire vndoubtedly descend vnto him, if by vntimely hast he did not marre that hope which he ought by sufferance and patient expectation to cherish: he might (as the Cadelescher told him) learn by that late example & fortune of his brother *Selymus*, what might be for his own good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger,

despe-

desperatly to thrust himselfe headlong into such an action as he could not possibly see the end of, than moderating by reason his hot passions, to expect with patience the opportunitie of time, and fitnesse of occasion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good. G

Achomates inflamed with anger and griefe of the repulse, all the while the Cadeleschet was deliuering his fathers message, gaue him many sharpe taunts, and had much adoe to staie himselfe from offering of him violence, oftentimes threatning him, that in short time both his father should deerely buy the changing of his purpose, and the souldiers of the court their treacherous dealing: and so sending him away with this short answer, he presently rose with his army, and passing through Bythinia, cruelly spoiled the country in his return to Amasia. There daily more and more enflamed with the griefe and the indignitie of the repulse before receiued, he determined to inuade the lesser Asia: that if it should so fall out, that he must needs by force of armes trie his right against either of his brethren, he might therein vse the wealth of that rich prouince. Whereby if it should chance that he should by the practise of any, faile of the whole empire, yet he should at the least wise be possessed of the one halfe thereof, and see the readier for all euents, hauing all these great and rich prouinces in his power. Wherfore calling vnto him his two sonnes, *Amurathes* and *Aladin*, yong princes of great hope, after he had grieuously complained of the vnkindnesse of his father *Baiazet*, and of the iniuries done against him by his enemies in the court, he declared vnto them, that there was now no hope left for him to obtaine the empire, except they would forthwith enter into armes with him, and so together with him defend both his and their owne right and honor, against the malice and iniuries of their enemies: which he said, would be an easie matter to do by surprising the lesser Asia, if they would couragiously aduenture vpon it; forasmuch as all Pisidia, Lycaonia, Pamphilia, with the sea coast of Ionia, were not as then kept with any armie or nauie. And as for his brother *Corcutus*, there was no great doubt to be made of him, who according to his quiet disposition would be content either to sit stil, or else in regard of his iust quarrell take part with him; or if he would needs intermeddle his quiet estate with the troubled, and so enter into armes, might easily be thrust out of what soeuer he possessed: as for the Gouernors of the rest of the prouinces, he doubted not, but that they would also yeeld either to his command, or fortune. Wherefore he willed them to plucke vp their hearts as men of courage, and to go into the countries thereabouts to take vp men, and what soeuer els were needfull for the wars. These gallants, of their owne youthfull disposition readie enough for such a matter, and now encouraged with their fathers persuasion, did what they were by him commanded, and had in short time raised a notable armie of voluntarie souldiers, of whom the greatest part were of seruile condition. But *Achomates* himselfe, besides his old armie which he had in former time lead against the Persian rebels, leuied new forces also, and called foorth into the field all the able men that were to be found in the cities round about: and so running through the prouinces proclaimed himselfe king of Asia, and such as would not forthwith yeeld vnto him, those he and his two sonnes in diuers places prosecuted with all hostilitie: by which means many cities, especially such as were but weakely fortified, partly for feare, partly by constraint, were deliuered ouer vnto him. H K

Achomates inciteth his two sons Amurathes and Aladin to take part with him against their grandfather Baiazet.

After that, he entered with his armie into Lycaonia, and the borders of Cilicia, where by embassadors and often letters hee requested *Mahometes* his brothers son (who then gouerned those countries) to aid him in his iust quarrell against them, who by craftie and sinister persuasions had to his dishonour and disgrace withdrawne his fathers good will from him, and so far seduced him, as that he was determined to appoint another successour in the empire, than him his eldest and first begotten sonne: which their malice he would (as he said) preuent, and by force of armes recouer his right, which his father knowing to be due vnto him, was about to haue put him in possession of whilst he yet liued, had he not by the sinister practise of others beene hindered: for the recouery whereof, if *Mahometes* would out of his prouince aid him with men and victuall, and so further his iust cause, he promised that he should find a far better vncle than he had found a father; and that his present friendship should in time be most amply and bountifully requited. L M

Wherunto *Mahometes* answered, that he could not do what his vncle had required, except he were so commanded by his grandfather *Baiazet*, whom alone he acknowledged for his dread soueraigne: and that it was not for him to iudge, whether he did right or otherwise, That he would

A would not in his life time resigne the empire to his son. But this (he said) he was not ignorant of, that he was not to yeeld his obedience to any other, so long as he liued possessed of the empire: to whom both his father *Tzihan Scach* whilest hee liued, and himselfe also had giuen their oath of obedience and loyaltie. Wherfore it were good for him to pacifie himselfe, lest in seeking vntimely reuenge of his enemies, he should to the offence of all men wrong his father: and by too much heat and hast ouerthrow both his hope and honour; which of right should be most great, if he could but in the meane time haue patience, and stay himselfe a while. *Achomates*, who expected nothing lesse than such an answer, but thought that *Mahometes* would either for loue or feare haue presently come vnto him, and now finding his requests to be with greater grauitie and consideration denied by his nephew, than they were by reason
B of him demanded, entered with his armie into the borders of his prouince, and with fire and sword began to destroy the country before him. Which *Mahometes* with such power as he had thinking to remedie, was by the way encountered by his vncle not farre from Larenda, and there ouerthrowne: and taking that city for refuge, was there certain daies besieged by *Achomates*; and at last together with his brother (then but a child) deliuer into his hands, at such time as the citie was by the fearefull citizens by composition yeelded vnto him. *Achomates* hauing taken the citie with his two nephewes, caused *Mahometes* his counsellors, with his foster brother, by whose persuasion it was supposed that he had so answered his vncle and endangered himselfe, to be put to death.

1512. *Baiazet sendeth embassadors to Achomates.*

C These proceedings of *Achomates* filled *Baiazet* with griefe and indignation, that he should in so great yeres be set vpon by two of his owne sons, one after the other. Yet to proue if those troubles might without more bloudshed be pacified, he sent his embassadors vnto him to reproue him for his disloyaltie; and to command him foorthwith to set at libertie his two nephewes, *Mahometes* and his brother, and so without more stirre to get him againe to Amasia: which if he should refuse to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. But he, which by how much the more he had after his repulse ambitiously affected the empire, had resolued with himselfe to deale so much the more cruelly in his proceedings: hauing receiued this message from his father, caused the chiefe embassadour (for that he had in franke speech deliuered his message and denounced vnto him wars) to be in his own presence put to death; and threatned the rest with the like, if before the going downe of the Sun they auoyded not his campe.

Achomates killeth his father embassadour.

D This outrage highly offended *Baiazet*, and alienated the minds of many before wel affected to *Achomates*; for that without any reuerence of his father and contrary to the law of nations, he had violated the embassadors sent to him for peace. Vpon the first bruit hereof, the soldiers which then waited at the court gate, in the hearing of *Baiazet* exclaimed, that the insolencie of *Achomates* was not longer to be suffered, but forthwith by force to be represt; that by sufferance and delay he would grow from euill to worse; and that if *Baiazet* should prolong the time, and in fatherly sort seeke by faire meanes to reclaime him, he should afterwards in vain craue the aid of his best souldiers against his rebellous son strengthned by his owne long sufferance. *Mustapha* also the chiefe Bassa, with *Rostanges* and others of great place (who secretly fauored *Selymus*, and had cunningly caused these things by fit men to be dispersed amongst
E the souldiers) began at the first to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the strangenesse and hainousnes of the fact, in such slie sort, as if they had condemned the deed done, but not the doer. But afterward, when they saw that *Baiazet* was throughly heated, both by his own angry disposition and the speech of the soldiers, and vpon the confidence of his former victory against *Selymus*, now ready to seeke reuenge; they began then to heape fresh coles vpon the fire, and bitterly to inuey against *Achomates*, as a traitour to his aged father and the state; and withall highly commended the fidelitie and courage of the Ianizaries and soldiers of the court, who for the fatetie and honour of their aged Emperor, were most prest and readie to expose themselues, their liues, and what soeuer else they had, vnto new dangers.

Achomates proclaimed traitor.

So was *Achomates* by the craft and subtiltie of these great men, by the anger of his father,
F and the iudgement of the souldiers, proclaimed traitor; and order taken, that the souldiers of the court with the European horsmen, should with all possible speed be sent against him into Asia. But when choice was to be made of some valiant and worthie Generall that might take vpon him so great a charge, which seemed especially to appertain vnto some one of the great Bassaes: it was strange to see, how they all began to straine courtesie at the preferment, & euerie

rie one to refuse the place and disable himselfe, saying, That it were a great indignitie, that the Emperours armie should be led against his son by any of his seruants: and the souldiers (hauing their lesson before hand) said plainly, That they durst not, nor would not draw their swords or lift vp their hands against the son of the Emperor, and heire apparant of the empire, except they were conducted and commanded by some of the *Othoman* bloud in person present with them: for so had his brother, long before when he rebelled in Cilicia, and now of late, *Selymus* his rebellious son, bin both ouerthrown and vanquished, euen by the conduct of *Baiazet* himselfe, and not by any of his seruants. These things all tended to this purpose, that *Selymus* might by indirect means be reconciled to his father (whom they secretly fauored, although for feare of displeasure they durst not so much as name him but by way of disgrace) and by this very meanes to make way for his returne to Constantinople, and so consequently giue him power to seise vpon the empire. For it was probably supposed, that neither *Baiazet* himselfe, being very aged & diseased; neither *Corcutus*, altogether buried in his study, would vndertake the managing of those wars: so that of the *Othoman* familie only *Selymus* was left, to whom that charge might be committed, all the nephews of *Baiazet* by reason of their tender yeares, as yet vnfit for the same. At these speeches of the Bassaes and the soldiers, *Baiazet* as a man perplexed and in a chafe, flung away into his pallace, excusing himselfe by his great yeares and diseased bodie: but complaining deeply, that *Corcutus* in following the vain title of learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the mean time neglected other studies and honorable qualities, better beseeming his princely birth and calling. As he was thus reasoning with himselfe, and deuising what course to take, *Mustapha* the old Bassa, who all the time of his raigne had vsed to disburden him of his cares, hauing by way of talke drawn him into a full discourse concerning the proceeding to the intended war, set vpon him with this craftie and premeditated speech, framed of purpose for his destruction.

The crafty oration of the great Ta Mustapha to Baiazet, for the bringing home of Seeymus

Your Maiestie may not (most dread Soueraigne) although by yeares and strength of bodie you were neuer so well able, you may not I say, either transport your armie, or your selfe passe ouer in person in Asia; lest whilest you are there, from place to place chasing Achomates, *you leaue a farre more dangerous enemie behind you in Europe, who may in your absence seise vpon Thracia, Gracia, yea and the imperiall Citie it selfe, destitute of sufficient defendants. Doe we not heare, that* Selymus *is raising of new forces aboue Varna? to expect a new supplie of horsemen from the Tartar King his father in law? And alreadie as it were houering ouer our heads? Is he not of greater spirit and courage, than to bee daunted or dismayed with the misfortune of one battell? or if you shall send ouer your old beaten souldiers into Asia, and call* Corcutus *into Europe with the forces he leauied the last yeare, who in time of your sickneesse may withstand the attempts of* Selymus: *will he feare these fresh water souldiers of Asia, or their phylosophycall Generall, which feared not the souldiers of your court, the picked and chosen men of the world, and your selfe a most worthie and victorious Emperour? You are deceiued, and (if I may be so bold so to say) you throughly see not into the doubtfull euent of things, if you thinke not, that you must at one time wage warre against two dangerous enemies, euen in the remotest parts of your Empire, in Asia and Europe: For whilest you shal goe about to expulse* Achomates *out of Capadocia,* Selymus *neerer at hand, and awaiting all opportunities, will by and by at your backe, raise a most dangerous warre in the very heart and chiefe strength of your Empire. But if you, mooued with the greatnesse and due consideration of the danger, shall goe about to defend Thracia, and for that purpose retaine with you the most approoued and faithfull souldiers of the court, you shall see all Asia on a fire before your face: neither will* Achomates *make an end of wast and warre, vntill such time as he hath drawne the Empire of Asia vnto himselfe. Wherefore if it be not to be imputed to your fault but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your selfe, should by your selfe and the consent of all men be iudged traitours vnto your crowne and dignitie; whereof the one through rashnesse, the other vpon pride and vaine discontentment, hath risen vp in armes against you: Why doe you not in so doubtfull and perplexed a matter, preferre safe and sound aduise before that, which masketh vnder the shew of maiestie and honour? and whom you cannot both at one time correct and be reuenged vpon, to set vpon them as occasion shall serue when they are together by the eares betwixt themselues? This is the onely hope of your safetie, this is the onely way, if you shall resolue (as the common prouerbe saith) to driue out one nayle with another, and so to ouercome your enemies. Moderate a while your hot desire of reuenge, and for the present dissemble your griefe:*

griefe; grant vnto one of them pardon, and in shew take him into your grace and fauour, imploy him against the other: so shall you without danger, howsoeuer it shall fall out; persecute the one whom you loue not, with the hazard of the other whom you trust not: and at your pleasure oppresse him to whome you shall commit your ensignes and armie; the hands of your faithfull and trustie souldiers being euer at your appointment ready to take reuenge. So shall you with securitie make an end of this warre, exposing vnto the danger him whom you had rather to ouercome (as your enemie) by him whom you wish also to perish.

Mustapha had scarce made an end of speaking, but the other Bassaes (as they had before agreed amongst themselues) began where he left, & with all their cunning labored to persuade *Baiazet* to call home his son *Selymus*, and to make him Generall of his armie against his brother: saying, That he had already indured sufficient punishment for his former disloyalty, and that therefore it was like that he as a well corrected child would from thence forth containe himselfe within the compasse of his most dutifull obedience: whereas *Achomates* proud of his birth-right, hauing of late violated his fathers embassadors, and filled all Asia with rebellion, was not like to be brought to any reasonable conformitie, vntill he were by force of armes pluckt downe, and so made to know himselfe, in like maner as was his brother *Selymus* of late. *Baiazet* seeing that in resoluing of a matter of so great consequence, *Cherseogles Bassa* (his son in law, and the onely faithfull counsellor then about him) sat all silent, hanging the head, as a man not of the same opinion with the rest, stood a great while in doubt what to resolue vpon: he could not so easily forget the late iniuries don against him by *Selymus*, it was yet fresh in memorie, how that he had out of Asia inuaded Europe, surprised Hadrianople, giuen him battell, indangered his person with his Tartarian horsemen, and that onely by the goodnesse of God he had obtained the victorie: on the other side, his Maiestie contemned, his nephews imprisoned, his embassadors violated, the cities of Asia ransacked, and all those goodly countries presently smoking with the fire of rebellion, so filled his old heart with anger and indignation, as that he desired nothing more than to be reuenged. Whilest hee was thus strugling with his owne thoughts, and doubtfull what to do, the vnfaithfull Bassaes by deepe deceit and trecherie (*Cherseogles* most instantly persuading the contrary) ouercame him so far, as with his own hand to write letters to *Selymus*, promising him, that forgetting al iniuries past, he would vpon the hope of his loyaltie, receiue him into his former grace and fauor, and make him Generall of his armie, if he would without delay repaire to Constantinople, and so passe ouer into Asia against his rebellious brother *Achomates*.

Whilest these things are in doing at Constantinople, *Corcutus* aduertised by letters from his friends of the weake estate of his aged father, and by what persuasions he had bin induced (after *Achomates* was proclaimed traitour) to call vnto him *Selymus*, and to make him Generall of his army, came downe out of Magnesia to Phocis, and there imbarking himselfe in his gallies, sailed to Constantinople: where being arriued, he went presently to the court, attended vpon with a great number of his friends and fauourits; and entring into the prime chamber, humbled himselfe before his father, and kissed his hand: and after much talke had betwixt them of diuers weightie matters, is reported to haue spoken vnto him as followeth.

Corcutus commeth to Constantinople.

Corcutus his oration to his father Baiazet.

It is now aboue thirtie yeares past (most reuerend father, and dread Soueraigne) since that I (being chosen and proclaimed Emperour by the prerogatiue of the souldiers of the court, by generall consent of the citizens of this imperiall citie, and by the graue iudgement of the wise and graue Bassaes of the Court) haue cheerefully and willingly, and as I may truely say, with mine owne hand deliuered from my selfe vnto your Maiestie the possession of this most glorious Kingdome and Empire: Which thing what worldy wight would haue done? but either a mad man, or else a most kind and louing sonne? Vnto which so rare an example of a religious and louing heart, I was not by any feare or constraint enforced, but onely by regard and contemplation of your owne sacred person, and the due consideration of my dutie. Neither did it in the course of so many yeares, euer repent me of that my singular kindnesse and dutie done, when as I contenting my selfe with such things as you had vnto me assigned, and with the generall commendation of my well doing, as well as with a kingdome, thought this your great estate and highest type of worldly honour, not to be compared with the quiet contentment of my pleasing studies; when as I accounted it a vaine thing, and not beseeming the re-

solution

solution of a setled and quiet mind, to long after these worldly things, which being had and enioyed to the C
full, worke no full contentment in the insatiable desire of man: and that surmounting vertue, and the
sweet, ô most sweet meditation of heauenly things promised vnto my contemplatiue and rauished mind,
things of far more worth and maiestie than all the kingdomes and monarchies of the world. But whilest
I was tracing this path, little regarding wordly honour, or the glorie of an empire, and was for pure de-
uotion and desire of knowledge trauelling into the furthest part of Arabia, vnto the Altar of our most
sacred Prophet Mahomet, *and so to the Indians, as to men of a more exact knowledge and sincere pro-*
fession; you in the middest of my trauell drew me out of Ægypt by the long hands of the Ægyptian
Sultan, backe againe into Phrygia; commanding me, that eschewing the manifold dangers (which in
my long trauell I must needs haue fallen into) I should from thenceforth haue more regard of my life
and health, and to expect the fruit both of my loyalty towards you, and of your fatherly loue towards me: H
as if you had been then of opinion, that the time would come, when for the euill disposition of some, an
innocent man, denoted vnto the studie of wisedome and learning, might be a stay both vnto your selfe
and the whole Othoman *familie. Since which time I haue euer both dutifully obeyed your command,*
and with as much care and integritie as I possibly could, discharged my charge: and in the late warre,
raised and brought into the field mine armie, wherewith I defended the frontiers of my prouince
from the incursions of the Barbarians. But after that they were vanquished, and by your forces driuen
out of the lesser Asia, and that my vnnaturall and graceless brethren, the one of them in Europe, as a
most desperate recreant, had in plaine battell assailed the person of your most sacred Maiestie (his I
reuerend father, farre spent with age, and then grieuously tormented with the gout) of purpose to haue
at once depriued you both of your life and empire: And the other in Asia seeking by like disloyaltie and
most horrible treason there to possesse himselfe of a Kingdome, had besieged and taken prisoners his bro-
thers sonnes your nephewes, young Princes of great expectation, your faithfull and louing subiects, and
proceeding further, had set al that part of your empire on a broile: I thought my self in duty bound to re-
paire hither vnto your imperiall Maiestie, for that I saw it came to passe, not without the prouidence
of the most Mightie, that I might at such time especially request the iust reward of my due desert of
you, my most reuerend and louing father, the most religious obseruer of Equitie and Iustice: when as you
hauing had too great proofe of the iniustice of my vnnaturall brethren, might most fitly and most com-
modiously performe that which you vpon great reason might now grant vnto me your dutifull and obe-
dient sonne, although my former deserts had merited no such thing. Wherefore most gracious, I humb- E
ly pray and beseech you by all your fatherly loue and affection towards me, and my knowne loyaltie to-
wards you, to vouchsafe before the comming of Selymus, *to haue regard of mine honour, with the*
state of your Empire: for when he shall once in armes breake in, he will at a trice cut off all hope of pa-
cification; and supported by the men of warre, confound all things at his pleasure: for I heare, that the
very guarders of your person, and chiefe commanders of your armies, altered in disposition towards
you, doe but expect the good offer of time, when they may willingly salute for their Emperour and So-
ueraigne, him, whome your good fortune of late full sore against their wills, ouerthrew in open field.
Wherefore that Empire whereof I was sometime possessed, and for the rare desert of mine antient loyal-
tie towards you, is of good right due vnto mee, restore to mee againe whilest you may, and whilest
it is yet in your power, in this sudden and momentarie occasion now presented. For your Maie- L
stie shall in vaine fauour my most iust and vpright claime, after that you (hauing at once receiued in-
to the imperiall Citie a most desperat and ambitious man) haue for euer lost your libertie, together with
your selfe.

Baiazet comforteth Corcutus, and promiseth to resign to him the empire, after that Selymus was passed ouer into Asia.

Corcutus with tears standing in his eies hauing ended his speech, the aged Emperor moued with a fatherly affection and the reasonable perswasion of him, his onely loyall and most kind son, comforted him vp with good words, and willed him to be of good cheere; and withall discouered to him the very ground of his resolution, in calling home of *Selymus*: telling him farther That he could be well content to resigne to him againe the Empire, but that it was not in his power so presently to do, for feare of the Janizaries of the court, who had (as he said) of late withstood him in the like motion, and would gaine-say it, if he should but giue the least occasion. M
laied, Selymus should enter the ... by the plot now
souldiers of the court into ... Europe together with the
transfer ... vnto his present desire for
at

A at his pleasure: which he promised presently to resigne vnto him, so soone as they were once passed ouer into Asia. Which thing once done, although it were not altogether to their liking, yet feared he not, that either the captains or soldiers, who had of late so honorably and faithfully defended him against *Selymus*, should now for his sake dislike of *Corcutus*, or attempt any thing not beseeming the glorie of their late desert: but rather hoped, that if his two vnnatural and rebellious sons, *Achomates* and *Selymus*, should once joyne battel (as it was most like they should) that either the one or both should by the just judgement of God perish for their so great disobedience, murdred by the hands one of another. *Corcutus* not much disliking of his fathers purpose, and resting himselfe wholly vpon his fauor, thought it not good further to argue the matter his father had so well considered of; but taking his leaue, returned to his lod-
B ging, not without hope of obtaining the Empire, and so remained many dayes after at Constantinople: during which time he sought neither by gifts nor golden promises to procure the loue and good liking of the great Bassa's or soldiers of the court; for that he as a plain vpright man, thought it not good by suit and corruption (the great promoters of the vnworthie) to seeke for that at their hands, which was of right due vnto him by his fathers fauer & promise.

In the mean time *Selymus* his fast friends aduertising him of the comming of *Corcutus* to the court, aduised him to make haste, and with all speed possible to [illegible] that it was to be feared, lest *Baiazet* being verie aged, and michal ... to ... by the persuasion of *Corcutus* be induced to alter, yea and perhaps ... before well for [illegible] his most readie preferment. Vpon which ...
C vpon nothing more than to haue accesse vnto his ... first comming thither ... to spare for any cost in corrupting the ... selfe himselfe of the Empire, made now no stay ... mand no the lesse to follow after, ... with the great Bassa's and Peeres ... him ... welcommed with ... men women ...

D ... he ... with terrour and feare, as well as ... he ... the more sure of this Iew, ... threatned him with most cruel death, if he did not both ... worke ... feat, commanding him so soone as he had done it, to returne ... to Constantinople

E ... moued both with the feare of death and hope of reward (two great mo- ... after to *Baiazet*, and finding him very weake, seeming to be very care- ... That he would prepare for him a potion, which should both restore ... also strengthen his weake bodie, if it would please him to take it the next ... ed. *Baiazet* nothing distrusting his old physition whom he had so ... long trusted, said he would gladly take it. Early the next morning commeth the ... the deadly poyson in a cup of gold, *Baiazet* yet sleeping, which he set downe in the ... so stood waiting vntill the aged Prince should of himselfe awake. But ... sleeping soundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men sleepe their last) and withall ... that longer ... stood with the Iewes purpose, he presuming of his woonted practise, ... told him, That the time to take the potion was almost past, and asked him if ... to take it. *Baiazet* doubting no treason, willed him to bring it: wher- ... taken the fey, (hauing before himselfe taken a preseruatiue against that ... to *Baiazet* to drinke, who cheerefully dranke it vp: the physition com- *Baiazet poysoned by the Iew.*
F ... ired in his bed-chamber, and attended on his person, to keepe him well ... clothes, and not to giue him any thing to drinke vntill he had wel swear.

This

This curſed Iew hauing thus poyſoned the aged Prince, to auoid the danger of the fact, and to carrie the firſt newes thereof to *Selymus*, ſecretly conueyed himſelfe away, and fled in haſte to Conſtantinople. But *Baiazet* attainted with the force of the poyſon, began firſt to feele moſt grieuous gripings in his ſtomacke, the ſtrong paine whereof appeared by his miſerable complaining and heauie groaning; in the middeſt of which torments he gaue vp the ghoſt, in the yeare 1512, when he had raigned thirtie yeares. The Turks report that he died a natural death: but *Antonius Vrius* a Genoway, who at that time ſerued in *Baiazet* his chamber, & was preſent at his death, reporteth, That vpon his dead bodie the euident tokens of poyſon were to be ſeene. His dead bodie with all his treaſures were preſently brought backe again to Conſtantinople, and deliuered to *Selymus*, who cauſed the bodie of his father to be with the greateſt ſolemnitie that might be, buried in a moſt ſumptuous tombe, in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan Temple which he had before built for himſelfe at Conſtantinople: which Monument there remaineth at this day to be ſeene. His ſeruants were all by *Selymus* reſtored to their places which they before held in the Court in the time of their old Maſter, except fiue of the Pages of his chamber, who lamenting the death of their Maſter aboue the reſt attyred themſelues all in mourning apparell: for which cauſe they were by the commandement of *Selymus* caſt in priſon, where two of them were put to death; the other three at the ſuit of *Solyman*, *Selymus* his ſonne, and of other two Baſſa's, were ſaued: but being ſtript of their rich apparell, and whatſoeuer elſe they had gotten vnder *Baiazet*, they were inrolled for common ſouldiers vnder *Sulluſtares Baſſa*. Of theſe three, *Antonius Vrius* (the Genoway before ſpoken of) was one, who after ten yeares miſerable captiuitie amongſt the Turks, at laſt eſcaped at ſuch time as *Selymus* was by the Perſian diſcomfited: and with much adoo returning againe into Italie, wrot the hiſtorie of all ſuch things as he himſelfe had there ſeene, with the calamities of *Baiazet*, his houſe, and a great part of the tyrannous raigne of *Selymus*.

The death of Baiazet.

Selymus cauſeth two of his Father's Pages to be put to death for mourning for their Maſter.

Hamon the Iew luſtly rewarded for his treachery.

Hamon the falſe Iew (as the ſame author reporteth) comming to Conſtantinople, and expecting ſome great reward for his foule treaſon, by the commandement of *Selymus* had his head preſently ſtrucke off: with this exprobation of his treachery, That opportunity ſeruing, he would not ſticke for reward to do the like againſt *Selymus* himſelfe. Of this *Baiazet*, *Ianus Vitalis* writeth this Elogium:

Paulus Iouius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib. 4.

Dum rerum exquiris cauſas, & dum procul Hunnes
Carmannos, Cilices, Sauromataſque domas:
Baizethe, *domi proles tua te petit armis,*
Et te per fraudes amouet imperio.
Adijcit inde novum ſceleri ſcelus, & tibi miſcet
Pocula lethiferis illita graminibus.
Intempeſtiuos crudelis vipera fœtus,
Per ſua ſic tandem funera, rupta, parit.
Quid tutum eſt, cui ſint ingentia regna tyranno,
Si timeat natos, progeniemque ſuam?

In Engliſh thus:

Whil'ſt that thou *Bajazethes* ſeekes of things the hidden cauſe,
And faine would'ſt bring the Hunne and Ruſſe vnder thy Turkiſh lawes:
Thy ſonne at home ſteppes vp in armes againſt thy royall Crowne,
And by falſe treaſon and deceit findes meanes to plucke thee downe.
Whereto he addeth miſchiefe more, and ſtraight without delay,
By poyſon ſtrong in glittering boule doth take thy life away:
The cruell viper ſo brings forth her foule vntimely brood,
What eat and gnaw her bellie out, their firſt and poyſoned food.
Which things may Princes hold for ſafe, that do great kingdomes ſway,
If of their children they muſt ſtand in dread and feare alway?

FINIS.

R. K.

Christian Princes of the same time with Baiazet the second.	*Emperours of Germany*	*Fredericke the third, Archduke of Austria,*	1440. 54.
		Maximilian the third,	1494. [illegible]
	Kings, — *Of England,*	*Edward the fourth,*	1460. 22.
		Edward the fifth,	1483. 0.
		Richard the third,	1483. 3.
		Henrie the seuenth,	1485. 24.
		Henrie the eighth,	1509. 38.
	Kings, — *Of France,*	*Lewis the eleuenth,*	1461. 22.
		Charles the eighth,	1483. 14.
		Lewis the twelfth,	1567. 17.
	Kings, — *Of Scotland,*	*Iames the third,*	1460. 29.
		Iames the fourth,	1489. 25.
	Bishops of Rome,	*Xyſtus the IV,*	1471. 13.
		Innocentius the VIII,	1484. 8.
		Alexander the VI,	1492. 11.
		Pius the III,	1503. 26 days.
		Iulius the II,	1503. 9.

Phil. Lonicer. Turc. Hist. Li.

En Selymus, *scelere ante alios immanior omnes :*
In patris, & fratrum, dirigit arma necem.
In Persas mouet inde ferox : Memphitica regna
Destruit : & Syros, Æthiopasque domat.
Hinc in Christicolas irarum effundere fluctum,
Ipsorumque imo vertere regna parat.
Cum diro victus prosternitur vlcere : Christus
Scilicet est populi, portus & aura sui.

Lo *Selymus*, in crueltie exceeding others farre,
His father, and his brethren both, destroyes with mortall warre.
The Persian fiercely he assailes : and conquers Ægypts Land :
The Syrian, and the Moore likewise, he tam'd with mightie hand.
But purposing in his mad mood, the Christians to confound,
And the memoriall of their name to root from off the ground,
A loathsome Canker eat him vp, and brought him to his end :
Christ is to his the safest Port, when he will them defend.

THE LIFE OF *SELYMVS*, FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE THIRD AND MOST WARLIKE EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

C THis *Selymus*, by fauor of the great Bassaes and men of warre whom he had before corrupted, hauing depriued his father *Baiazet* first of the empire, and shortly after of his life also, and now fully pos- 1512
sessed of the empire himselfe ; first tooke view of the treasures which the Turkish Kings and Emperors his ancestors had before of long time heaped vp in great aboundance : out of which hee gaue vnto the souldiers of the court two millions of duckats ; and for a perpetuall remembrance of his thankfulnesse towards them augmented their daily wages, allowing vnto euery horseman foure aspers a day, and to euery footman two, aboue their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bountie, he greatly assured vnto himselfe the minds of the men of warre.

Selymus going into Asia against his brother Achomates.

D Shortly after he passed ouer with a great armie into Asia, leauing the gouernment of the imperiall citie of Constantinople vnto his only sonne *Solyman* : and marching into Galatia came to the citie of Ancyra, in hope there to haue oppressed his elder brother *Achomates*. But he vnderstanding before of his comming, withal wisely considering how vnable he was to withstand his forces, fled before into the mountaines of Capadocia vpon the confines of Armenia, taking vp men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all sorts of people, yea euen of such as were but of small abilitie themselues, and vnto him meere strangers ; that so he might in best manner he could, prouide such strength as might serue him to make head against his brother, and for the recouerie of Asia.

Selymus hauing spent that sommer without doing any thing worth the speaking of, and consi-
E dering that he could not well winter in that cold countrey neere vnto the great mountaine Taurus, by reason of the deepe snowes and extreame cold there vsually falling ; and that to go farther was to no purpose, forasmuch as *Achomates* flying from place to place, and mountain to mountaine was not to be surprised, he retired backe againe into Bythinia, and sending his Europeian horsemen downe to the sea coast, and the Ianizaries to Constantinople ; resolued to winter with the rest of his armie at Prusa. At which time being wholly bent against *Achomates* his competitor of the empire, he for certaine yeares continued the league which his father *Baiazet* had before concluded with *Vladislaus* king of Hungarie, *Sigismundus* king of Polonia, and the Venetians. And thinking no care (no not of Children) superflous which might concerne the establishing of his empire, he called vnto him fiue of his brothers sons, *Orchanes* the

Selymus murthereth fiue of his brothers sonnes.

F sonnes of his brother *Mahometes* ; all young Princes of great hope, of yeares betwixt sixteene and twentie, excepting *Musa* who was not past seuen yeares old : Of all these, *Mahometes* (whom his vncle *Achomates* had a little before taken prisoner at Larenda, as is before declared, and vpon the death of *Baiazet* had againe set him at libertie) beeing about twentie yeares old, was for rare feature and princely courage accounted the paragon and beautie of

the

the *Othoman* family: which great perfection, as it woon vnto him the loue and fauour of the men of warre, and also of all the people in generall: so did it hasten his speedie death; onely *Selymus* his cruell vncle enuying at his life. After he had got these poore innocents into his hands, he sent for diuers of his great doctors and lawyers, demaunding of them, Whether it were not better that some fiue, eight, or ten persons should be taken away, than that the state of the whole empire should with great effusion of bloud be rent in sunder, & so by ciuile wars be brought in danger of vtter ruine & destruction? Who although they wel perceiued whereunto that bloudy question tended, yet for feare of displeasure they al answered, That it were better such a small number should perish, than that the whole state of the empire should by ciuile warre & discord be brought to confusion; in which general calamitie, those few must also of necessitie perish with the rest. Vpon colour of this answer, and the necessitie pretended, he commanded these his nephewes before named, to be led by fiue of his great captaines into the castle of Prusa, where they were all the night following most cruelly strangled. It is reported, that *Mahometes* with a penknife slew one of the bloudie executioners sent into his chamber to kill him; and so wounded the other, as that he fell downe for dead: and that *Selymus*, being in a chamber fast by, and almost an eye-witnesse of that was done, presently sent in others, who first bound the poore Prince, and afterward strangled him with the rest: whose dead bodies were buried at Prusa amongst their ancestors. The crueltie of this fact wonderfully offended the minds of most men, insomuch that many euen of his martial men filled with secret indignation, for certain daies absented themselues from his presence, shunning his sight as if he had beene some fierce or raging lyon.

1513. *Selymus seeketh after the liues of Amurat and Aladin, the sons of Achomates, his brother.*

Of all the nephewes of old *Baiazet*, only *Amurat* and *Aladin* (the sons of *Achomates*) yet remained, whom he purposed to surprise vpon the sudden, and so to rid himselfe of all feare of his brothers children; hauing then left none of the *Othoman* family, but them and his two brethren vpon whom to exercise his further crueltie. These two yong Princes had a little before recouered the citie of Amasia, from whence they were the Sommer before expulsed by their vncle *Selymus*, at such time as *Achomates* their father was glad to flie into the mountaines of Capadocia. *Selymus* fully resolued vpon their destruction, sent *Vsegi* one of his Bassaes with fiue thousand horsemen, who by great iournies trauelling to Amasia, might vpon the sudden come vpon these two yong Princes, and take them altogether vnprouided, and as then fearing no such danger: which was thought no great matter for the Bassa to do, forasmuch as he might with his light horsemen easily preuent the fame of his comming; and the citie of Amasia where they lay, was neither well walled, nor as then furnished with any sufficient garrison for defence therof: beside that, *Achomates* himselfe was at that time absent, busied in taking vp of soldiers vpon the frontiers of Caramania. But *Mustapha* the old Bassa, by whose special means *Selymus* had obtained the empire (as is afore declared in the life of *Baiazet*) being priuie vnto his wicked purpose, and now in mind altogether alienated from him, detesting his most execrable tyranny, both for the vnworthy death of *Baiazet*, his father, & the guiltlesse bloud of so many yong princes his nephews by him shed without all pittie; and hauing compassion of the imminent danger whereinto these two brethren were now like also to fall, by secret and speedie messengers gaue them warning of the comming of the Bassa, and of all that was entended against them. Who vpon such knowledge giuen, presently aduertised *Achomates* their father thereof, and laid secret ambush themselues for the intercepting of their enemies. So that within few daies after, the Bassa comming with his horsemen towards Amasia, fell before hee was aware into the middest of his enemies: at which time also, *Achomates* following him at the heeles, so shut him in with his armie on euery side, that most of his men being slaine, he himselfe with diuers other captaines were taken prisoners and brought to *Achomates*, and by his commandement committed to safe custodie.

Vsegi Bassa taken prisoner.

Now it fortuned, that some of *Achomates* soldiers scoffing at the prisoners whom they had taken, told them how they had bin deceiued, and how all the matter had bin carried (so hard a thing it is to haue euen the greatest counsels in court kept secret) boasting, that they wanted not their friends, euen of such as were most inward with *Selymus*, who secretly fauoured the better cause, & would not long suffer the cruel beast to rage further: all which things *Selymus* his soldiers reported again after they were ransomed and returned home. But *Vsegi* the Bassa lying stil in prison, and getting certain knowledge of the whole matter, by secret letters gaue

elymus

A *Selymus* to vnderstand, that *Mustapha* the great Bassa whom he most of all trusted, had secret intelligence with *Achomates*, and had been the only cause of the losse of his armie.

Selymus of late enuying at the great honour and authoritie of *Mustapha*, and wishing him dead, (whose desert he was not able, or at leastwise vnwilling to requite) caused him vpon this accusation without further triall to be secretly strangled in his sight, and his dead bodie (as it were in scorne of his former felicitie) to be cast out into the street for euery man to gaze vpon. This was the shamefull end of this traiterous Bassa, who had of long time at his pleasure commanded all things in the Turkish Empire, and was for riches, power, and authoritie, next vnto the Emperours themselues: but now lieth as a dead dog in the street, no man daring for feare to cast earth vpon him. A rare spectacle of the vncertaintie of worldly felicitie, and a worthie example of disloyaltie. But *Achomates* hearing what had happened to *Mustapha*, in

Mustapha Bassa shamefully murthered.

B reuenge thereof in like manner executed *Vsegi Bassa* his prisoner; and according to his courteous nature set all the rest of the prisoners at libertie.

Vsegi Bassa put to death.

Selymus thirsting after nothing more than the guiltlesse bloud of his brethren and nephews, vpon whom he had against all right vsurped the kingdom, wherof he neuer thought himselfe sufficiently assured so long as any of them breathed; began with the first of the Spring to deuise with himselfe, how he might first take away his brother *Corcutus*, who then liued at Magnesia, and hauing cast off all hope of the Empire, gaue himselfe wholly to the studie of Phylosophie, which he (seduced with ambition) had in euil time a little before forsaken; but now retyring himselfe thereto againe, as to his greatest contentment, spent his time in quiet con-

C templation, not attempting any thing against his cruell brother vsurping the Empire. *Selymus* resolued vpon the destruction of this harmlesse Prince, suddenly commanded his captaines to make choice of 10000 horsemen to be in readinesse within three dayes, giuing it out that he would make an inroad vpon the sudden into Cappadocia. In the number of these horsemen, *Antonius Mœnauinus* a Genoway, author of this historie (as he of himselfe reporteth) was one.

All things being in readines against the appointed time, *Selymus* in person himselfe set forward with his armie from Prusa, still keeping the way on the right hand; so that the soldiers, who thought they should haue marched directly into Cappadocia, and so to Amasia, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceiue by the contrarie course they held, that they were to go for Lydia and Ionia. When a valiant souldier among the rest, who had some-

D time serued one of the Bassa's in *Corcutus* his court, by diuers circumstances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, secretly conueyed himselfe out of the armie, and being excellently well mounted, taking the neerest way, came to Magnesia, & gaue *Corcutus* warning of the comming of his brother. *Corcutus* considering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the messenger, and leauing his house in such order as it was woont to be, fled with two of his seruants to the sea side, in hope to haue found passage either into Creet or else Rhodes.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the morning came *Selymus* to the castle of Magnesia before the rising of the Sun, in hope to haue found *Corcutus* yet in his bed: but being deceiued of his expectation, he fel into a great rage, and with cruel torments examined all

E his brothers seruants and Eunuchs, What was become of him, and where he had hid himself? and with much ado got it out of them, That he had warning of his commiug by a fugitiue soldier, and was thereupon fled, but whither they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* stayed there fifteen dayes, during which time he caused diligent search to be made all ouer the countrey, and along the sea coast, for to haue apprehended him. But when after much search he could heare no tydings of him, he caused all his brothers treasure & rich furniture to be trussed vp, and to be sent by sea to Constantinople. So leauing one of his captains with a thousand horsemen in garrison at Magnesia, he returned againe to Prusa with as much speed as he came from thence: verily supposing, that his brother was for safegard of his life, by sea fled into Italie. All this while *Bostanges*, *Selymus* his sonne in law, lying with a fleet of gallies vpon the coast of Ionia,

Selymus taketh the spoyle of his brother Corcutus.

F had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of escaping by sea: so that he was faine to hide himselfe in a caue neere vnto the sea side, not far from Smyrna; liuing in hope, that after a few days the fleet would depart, and so he should finde some opportunitie to escape.

After he had thus a great while in feare most miserably liued with countrie crabs and other like wild fruit (a poore diet for a man of state) and was with extream necessitie inforced to send his man for reliefe to a poore shepheards cottage thereby, he was by a country pesant discouered

Corcutus taken red to *Cassumes*, who with too much diligence sought after his life: and being by him appre- G
hended, was carried towards the tyrant his brother at Prusa.

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking: who as soone as he vnderstood that he was within a daies journey of Prusa, sent one *Kirengen-Ogli* (who of his squint looke was called *Chior Zeinal*) to strangle him vpon the way, and to bring his dead bodie to Prusa.

This captaine comming to *Corcutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his sleepe, told him his heauie message; how that he was sent from his brother *Selymus* to see him executed, which must as he said presently be done. *Corcutus* exceedingly troubled with these heauie news, and fetching a deepe sigh, desired the captaine so long to spare his life, vntill hee might write a few short lines vnto his brother *Selymus*. Which poore request being granted, he called for pen and paper, and readily in Turkish verse (for he had spent all his time H
in studie) reproued his brother of most horrible cruelty; vpbraiding him, that he had not only most disloially thrust his father out of his empire, but also most vnnaturally depriued him of life, of whom he had before receiued the same: and not so content, had most tyrannously slaine his brothers children; and now like an vnmerciful wretch thirsted after the guiltlesse bloud of himselfe, and *Achomates* his brethren. At last concluding his letters with many a bitter curse, he besought God to take of him iust reuenge for so much innocent bloud by him most vnnaturally spilt. And when he had thus much written, he requested the captaine, that it might together with his dead body be deliuered vnto *Selymus*. So without any further delay hee was
The lamentable death of Corcutus. according to the tyrants command presently strangled. The next day after, when the dead bo- I
dy was presented vnto *Selymus*, he vncouered the face therof, to be sure that it was he, and seeing a paper in his hand, tooke it from him: but when he had read it (for all his cruel nature and stony heart) he burst out into tears; protesting, that he was neuer so much grieued or troubled with any mans death as with his: for which cause, he commanded general mourning to be made for him in the court, & with princely solemnitie buried his bodie. Three daies after, he caused fifteen of those diligent searchers who first found *Corcutus*, to haue their heads struck off, and their bodies to be flung into the sea, saying, That if he were by any extremitie driuen to flie & hide his head, they would not stick to serue him in like maner as they had don his brother.

Now of al the posterity of *Baiazet* remained none aliue to trouble the cruel tirants thoughts but only *Achomates* and his two sons: who vpon the approch of the Spring, set forward with his army from Amasia, excited by the often letters of his friends, who assured him, that *Selymus* K
might vpon the sudden be easily oppressed, if he would with al expedition come to Prusa; forasmuch as the Ianizaries & Europeian horsmen, the vndoubted strength of his army, were ■ that time absent, and he himselfe as one hated both of God & man, could not in so sudden and vnexpected danger tel what he were best to do, or which way to turn himselfe: wherfore they willed him without delay to hasten his comming, and not to expect the milder weather of the Spring, lest in the mean time *Selymus* should call together his dispersed forces: God (they said) did oftentimes offer vnto men, both the opportunitie and meanes to do great matters if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therefore he should do well now by celeritie and courage to seeke to better his euil fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his fathers L
kingdom; for if Summer were once come on, he must either gain the victorie by plain battell, which would be a hard matter, or els get him packing out of Capadocia and all Asia the lesse.

Achomates, who before had promised vnto himselfe better successe, as well for the great strength he had of his own, as for the new supplie of horsemen he had procured from *Hysmael* the Persian king, but especially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late crueltie, should in the time of the battell be forsaken of his owne souldiers; yeelded to the persuasion of his friends, who with many pleasing words set before his eies glorious things, easie to be spoken, but hard to bee effected. Wherefore, when hee was come into Galatia with somewhat more than 15000 horsmen, hauing for hast left his footmen by easie marches to come after him: *Selymus* aduertised of his comming, by speedie messengers sent for his horsemen to Prusa. In the mean time whiles he is leuying other common souldiers, & expe- M
cting the rest of his forces; fortune which alwaies fauored his attempts, did then also auert the danger prepared for him by the vnfaithfulnes of his followers, & shewed to him the open way to victorie. For *Achomates* secret friends which were in *Selymus* his campe, continuing firm in their good wil toward him, did earnestly by letters persuade him (being already set forward,

A ward, and now come as far as Paphlagonia) to make hast, and to come before *Selymus* his forces were come together: for that he had sent for the Ianizaries and Europeian horsemen, and did with all speed and diligence make all the preparation he could possibly; which for all that would all come too late, if he should vpon the sudden come vpon him before he were pro- *Treason against Selymus discouered.*
uided. Which letters being by chance intercepted, gaue *Selymus* certain knowledge both of his brothers purpose and comming, together with the treason intended against him by his owne seruants: wherefore executing them who had writ those letters, he in their names caused others to the same effect to be written to *Achomates*, persuading him with all speed possible to come still on, and not to stay for his footmen, for that *Selymus* might easily be oppressed with a few troups of horsmen, if *Achomates* would with speed but come and shew himselfe
B vnto his friends and fauorites: who vpon the first signall of battell would raise a tumult in the armie, and vpon the sudden kil *Selymus*, vnaduisedly going too and fro in the battell. Which letters so written, *Selymus* caused to be signed with the seales of them whom hee had before executed, and found means to haue them cunningly deliuered to *Achomates*, as if they had bin sent from his friends: who giuing credit to the same, and presuming much vpon his owne strength, doubted not to leaue his footmen, who followed easily after him, vnder the conduct of *Amurath* his son; and came and encamped with his horsemen neere vnto the mountaine Horminius, vpon the banke of the riuer Parthemius. *Selymus* also departed from Prusa, and hauing receiued into his army ten thousand Ianizaries (but a little before come ouer the strait) sent before *Sinan Bassa*, Generall of his Asian horsmen, to know & make proofe of the strength
C of his enemies. The Bassa not knowing as yet where *Achomates* lay, neither of what force he *Sinan Bassa discomfited by Achomates.*
was, being deceiued by the darknesse of the morning, fell into a place of disaduantage, where he was set vpon by *Achomates*, and hauing lost seuen thousand of his men, was glad with other eight thousand which were left, to flie backe vnto *Selymus*.

For all this losse, was not *Selymus* discomforted, or doubtfull of the victorie, but forthwith marched on forward to the riuer Elata, which runneth directly out of the mountaine Horminius into Pontus, watering most large fields vpon the right hand, which at this day are called the plaines of the new land. So did *Achomates* also, who although he knew his brother to bee euery way too strong for him, yet being incouraged with the late victorie, and in hope that his friends in *Selymus* his army (whom he vainly supposed to haue bin yet liuing) would in the ve-
D ry battell doe some notable matter for him, and that victorie would follow his iust quarrell; resolued neither to retire backe, neither to expect the comming of the rest of his army. The riuer was betwixt the two campes, and the number of both armies certainly discouered: yet could not *Achomates* (to whom the open fields offered a safe retreat vnto the rest of his army) possessed with a faral madnesse, be persuaded (considering the greatnesse of the danger) in time to prouide for the safetie of himselfe and his army, carried headlong (as it seemed) by inuitable destinie to his fatall destruction, which presently after ensued.

Selymus a little before the going downe of the Sun, with his army passed ouer the riuer Ela- *Selymus with his army passeth ouer the riuer.*
ta, and gaue generall commandement through all his campe, that euery man against the next day should be ready for battell: and in a wood not far off placed a thousand horsemen in am-
E bush, vnder the leading of *Canoglis*, his wiues brother, a valiant yong gentleman, whom his father had a little before sent from Taurica vnto his son in law with a chosen companie of Tartarian horsmen: vnto him *Selymus* gaue in charge, that when the battell was ioyned, he should shew himselfe with his horsemen vpon the backe of his enemies, and there to charge them.

As soone as it was day, *Selymus* in a great open field put his armie in order of battell, placing his horsemen in two wings, so that all his spearmen were in the right wing, & the archers and carbines in the left: in the maine battell stood the Ianizaries with the rest of the footmen. On the other side *Achomates* hauing no footmen, diuided his horsemen into two wings also.

Whilest both armies stood thus raunged, expecting but the signall of battell, a messenger came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*, offering in his masters name, to trie the equitie of their qua-
F rel in plain combat hand to hand: which if he should refuse, he then tooke both God and the world to witnes, that *Selymus* was the only cause of al the guiltles bloud to be shed in the battel, & not he: whereunto *Selymus* answered, that he was not to trie his quarel at the appointment of *Achomates*: & though he could be content so to doe, yet would not his souldiers suffer him so to aduenture his person & their own safety: & so with that answer returned the messen-

ger

ger backe againe to his maſter, giuing him for his reward a thouſand aſpers.

Achomates hauing receiued this anſwer, without further delay charged the right wing of his brothers armie, who valiantly receiued the firſt charge: but when they were come to the ſword, and that the matter was to be tried by handie blowes, they were not able longer to endure the force of the Perſian horſemen; who being well armed both horſe and man, had before requeſted to be placed in the formoſt ranks, by whoſe valor the right wing of *Selymus* his armie was diſordered, and not without great loſſe enforced to retire back vpon their fellows. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all means to encourage them againe; and preſently brought on the left wing with their arrowes and piſtols, in ſtead of them that were fled: and at the ſame time came on with the Ianizaries alſo, who with their ſhot enforced *Achomates* his horſemen to retire. *Achomates* himſelfe carefully attending euery danger, with greater courage than fortune came in with freſh troups of horſemen, by whoſe valor the battell before declining was againe renewed, and the victorie made doubtfull: but in the fury of this battell whileſt he was bearing all downe before him, and now in great hope of the victorie, *Canoglis* with his Tartarian horſemen riſing out of ambuſh, came behind him, & with great outcries cauſed their enemies (then in the greateſt heat of their fight) to turne vpon them: at which time alſo the footmen ſtanding cloſe together aſſailed them afront, and the horſemen whom the Perſians had at firſt put to flight, now moued with ſhame, were againe returned into the battell; ſo that *Achomates* his ſmall army was beſet, & hardly aſſailed on euery ſide. In fine his enſignes being ouerthrown, and many of his men ſlain, the reſt were faine to betake themſelues to flight. Where *Achomates* hauing loſt the field, & now too late ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight, fell with his horſe into a ditch, which the rain falling the day before, had filled with water and myre: and being there knowne and taken by his enemies, could not obtain ſo much fauour at their hands as to be preſently ſlaine, but was reſerued to the farther pleaſure of his cruell brother. *Selymus* vnderſtanding of his taking, ſent *Kirengen* (the ſame ſquint-eyed captaine which had before ſtrangled *Corcutus*) who with a bow ſtring ſtrangled him alſo. His dead bodie was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterwards by his commandement in royall manner buried with his anceſtors in Pruſa.

Achomates ſtrangled.

Amurat and Aladin the ſons of Achomates, flie the one into Perſia, and the other to Ægypt.

Now *Amurat*, *Achomates* his ſonne, vnderſtanding vpon the way by the Perſian horſemen (who ſerred together, had againe made themſelues way through the Turks armie) of the loſſe of the field and the taking of his father, returned backe againe to Amaſia: and there after good deliberation, reſolued with his brother to betake themſelues both to flight; he with the Perſian horſmen paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates, fled vnto *Hyſmael* the Perſian king: but *Aladin* the yonger brother paſſing ouer the mountain Amanus in Cilicia, fled into Syria, and ſo to *Campſon Gaurus* the great Sultan of Ægypt.

After this victorie, *Selymus* hauing in ſhort time and with little trouble brought all the leſſer Aſia vnder his obeiſance, and there at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, determined to haue returned to Conſtantinople: but vnderſtanding that the plague was hot there, hee changed his purpoſe, and paſſing ouer at Callipolis and ſo trauelling through Grecia, came to Hadrianople, where he ſpent al the reſt of the Summer, and all the Winter following: and afterward when the mortality was ceaſed, returned to Conſtantinople; where it was found, that an hundred and threeſcore thouſand had there died of the late plague.

Hyſmael the Perſian king, whoſe fame had then filled the world, hearing of the arriuall of *Amurat*, ſent for him, and demanded of him the cauſe of his comming. The diſtreſſed young prince, who but of late had loſt his father, together with the hope of ſo great an empire, and now glad for ſafegard of his life to flie into ſtrange countries; oppreſſed with ſorrow, by his heauie countenance and abundance of teares, more than by words, expreſſed the cauſe of his comming: yet in ſhort ſtrained ſpeech, declared vnto him, how that his father, his vncle, with the reſt of his couſins, all princes of great honour, had of late been cruelly murdred by the vnmercifull tyrant *Selymus*: who with like fury ſought alſo after the life of himſelfe & his brother, the poore remainders of the *Othoman* familie, who to ſaue their liues, were both glad to flie, his brother into Ægypt, and himſelfe to the feet of his imperiall Maieſtie.

Hyſmael moued with compaſſion, and deeming it a thing well beſeeming the greatneſſe of his fame, to take the poore exiled prince into his protection and to giue him reliefe, willed him to be of good comfort, & promiſed him aid. And the more to aſſure him thereof, ſhortly after gaue

A gaue him one of his owne daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* (for his tyrannie become odious to the world) ſhould by any meanes miſcarrie (as with tyrants commonly falleth out) that then in the *Othoman* Familie, ſore ſhaken with his vnnaturall crueltie, none was to be preferred before this poore Prince *Amurat*: beſides that, it was ſuppoſed, that if he ſhould inuade him with an armie out of Perſia, that vpon the firſt ſtir, all the leſſer Aſia mourning for the vnworthie death of *Achomates*, would at once reuolt from him, who for his crueltie and ſhameful murthers had worthily deſerued to be hated together both of God and man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hyſmael* furniſhed *Amurat* his new ſonne in Law with ten thouſand horſemen, willing him to paſſe ouer the riuer of Euphrates at Arſenga, and to enter into Cappadocia, as well to make proofe how the people of that Countrey
B were affected towards him, as of the ſtrength of the enemie: after whom he ſent *Vſta-Ogli*, the moſt famous Chiefetaine amongſt the Perſians, with twentie thouſand horſemen moe, with charge, That he ſhould ſtill follow *Amurat* within one dayes journey: and he himſelfe with a farre greater power ſtayed behinde in Armenia, doubting to want victuall, if he ſhould haue led ſo great an army through thoſe vaſt, barren, and deſolate places, whereby he muſt of neceſſitie paſſe.

Amurat marching through the leſſer Armenia, and entering into the borders of Cappado- 1514.
cia, had diuers townes yeelded vnto him by his friends; ſome others he tooke by force, *Amurat ſpoileth Capadocia.*
C which he either ſacked or elſe quite raſed; and brought ſuch a generall feare vpon the inhabitants of that prouince, that the people ſubmitting themſelues vnto him all the way as he went, it was thought he would haue gon directly to Amaſia, had not *Chendemus* (an old warlike captaine whom *Selymus* had left for his lieutenant in Aſia) with a great armie come to meet him at Sebaſtia, which at this day is called Siuas. This *Chendemus* had alſo long before aduertiſed *Selymus* both of the preparation and comming of the Perſians, as ſoone as he had learned by his eſpials, That they were paſſed the riuer Euphrates. Vpon which news *Selymus* came preſently ouer into Aſia, and commanding all his forces to meet together at Pruſa, had with wonderfull celeritie leuied thereabout fortie thouſand common ſoldiers. Which ſo ſoon as *Amurat* vnderſtood, as wel by ſuch priſoners as he had taken, as by aduertiſement from his friends; although he was verie deſirous to haue fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus*
D ſhould with his wonted celeritie come againſt him, he ſhould be intangled in the ſtraits of the mountaine Antitaurus, he retyred backe againe to *Vſta-Ogli*. But *Selymus*, who all that yeare had in his haughtie thoughts beene plotting ſome ſuch notable exployt as were worthie his greatneſſe, ſtanding in doubt whether he ſhould by ſea and land inuade Hungarie, the Rhodes, or Italy, at that time ſore ſhaken with ciuile wars; hauing now ſo fit an occaſion giuen him by the Perſian, to the great joy of all Chriſtendome, conuerted himſelf wholly vnto the Eaſt, and *Selymus reſolueth to inuade the Perſian.*
in thirtie dayes march came to Arſenga. Where joyning his armie with *Chendemus*, when he vnderſtood that his enemies hauing harried the countrey, were againe retyred; prickt forward with the griefe of the iniurie, and deſire of reuenge, with hope of victorie he reſolued
E to follow after them footby foot, and forthwith to enter into Armenia the greater, the principall prouince of the Perſian Kingdome.

But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in Councell propounded by them which had beſt knowledge of thoſe countries, were great and many; all which by his owne good hap and inuincible courage, he himſelfe afterwards ouercame: for the ſouldiers which had in ſhort time alreadie marched by land out of Illiria, Epirus, and Macedonia, into Cappadocia, muſt of neceſſitie in this long expedition take vpon them new labours: they were to endure the ſharpe and pinching cold of the huge mountaine Taurus, and by and by after the moſt vehement and ſcorching heat in the plaines of Armenia the leſſer, with extreame thirſt, hunger, and moſt deſperat want of all things: and well the more, for that the Perſians in
F their retreat ſpoyling the country as they went, had vtterly deſtroyed all that might ſerue for the vſe of man, of purpoſe to leaue nothing to their enemies but want of all things, if they ſhould purſue them: beſides that, his moſt expert Captaines ſtood in no ſmall doubt of the pettie Princes of Armenia the leſſe, and the mountaine King *Aladeules*, whom they were to leaue behinde them at their backes, without any great aſſurance of their friendſhip, who they well knew would leaue them, if [illegible]thing ſhould happen otherwiſe than well to *Selymus*,

either in the battell, or for want of victuals, or in the strait passages. For they were to be relieued with victuals from the Armenians: and *Aladeules* forces then in readinesse, were neither for number nor power to be contemned; who also with castles commodiously placed, and strong garrisons, at his pleasure commanded all the straits, passages, and entrances which led out of Capadocia into Armenia and the Persian kingdome: for all the mountaine countreys were vnder his command, and his kingdome stretched from the mountaines called Scodrisei neere vnto Pontus, all alongst the great mountaine Taurus vnto Amanus, which diuideth Cilicia from Syria.

Amongst the rest, old *Chendemus* Viceroy of Natolia, a man of great experience, and of all others in greatest credit, fauour, and authoritie with *Selymus*, perswaded him to stay a while in Capadocia, and there to refresh his European souldiers alreadie wearie of their long trauell, and so to expect the comming of his enemies. And to perswade him from the dangerous expedition into Persia, spake vnto him as followeth:

Chendemus Bassa dissuades Selymus from going any further against the Persians.

It is not to be thought (most mightie and inuincible Emperour, that the Persians are fled for feare, because they retyred before they set eye vpon vs their enemies: it is a fineneſſe, and they plainly go about to entrap vs, whiles they by flight make a false semblant of feare. Know we not what cunning heads, what able bodies Persia breedeth? Will they feare the naked Turkish light horseman or archer, which with their couragious barbed horses and themselues strongly armed, feared not the Scythian shot? or (if that be too little) which by their valour haue vanquished so many nations, and gained vnto their King so great and large an Empire? Thinke you, that you haue either greater or better forces than had long agoe Cassumes *your vncle, or Great* Mahomet *your Grandfather; who diuers times prouing their Forces against this enemie, where more than once put to the worst, I my selfe then seruing in their camps neere vnto Trapezond and the mountaines of Nicopolis. I will not denie, but that the great ordnance which you carrie with you may stand you in great stead, so that fit place may be found to bestow so many field pieces in: but this scortched ground, the frozen and abrupt mountains, with the vast and solitarie plaines beyond them, terrifie me, whom all the armed Forces of our enemies in places of great aduantage could not dismay. You must fight not onely with your valiant enemies, but with the difficulties of nature also. Neither may your Maiestie giue any credit to the Armenians or* Aladeules, *Princes of most doubtfull faith: although at your first setting forward they shew a faire face, and seeme neuer so friendly: for they will but expect and await some fit occasion to take you at an aduantage, and so to set vpon you when you least feare them. But admit you were assured of victorie, O with how much warme blond of your best souldiers shall you buy the same? with what other souldiers, with what other Forces will you defend Grecia, if the Christian Kings hearing that you for enlarging your Empire, or desire of fame being gone into the furthest part of Armenia, shall in the meane time inuade you? Wherefore if it be better and more wisedome, with safetie to defend your owne, than with danger to seeke for that is other mens; if Princes of greatest policie haue reposed the glorie of their victorie, not in the greatnesse of the slaughter of their enemies, but in the safetie and preseruation of their owne souldiours: spare to obiect your selfe and your armie to most manifest danger, and vnaduisedly to commit all at once to the hazard of good fortune: which being a most tickle and vnconstant mistresse, if she shall but once dallie with your dangerous attempts, you shall through your rashnesse in farre shorter space tumble down head long from the type of so great maiestie, than you haue thereunto a while agoe by your rare vertues worthily aspired.*

Selymus as he was of a rough and fierce nature, so would he haue all things done according to his own deuice and direction: and though he were not a little moued with this speech of so graue a counsellor and most expert commander, and saw many of his captains troubled with the imagination of the future danger; yet in a fume refuting some little of that which *Chendemus* had sayd, he dismissed the Councell, protesting openly, that he would proceed in his intended purpose, hap what hap should, from friend or foe: although that old fellow were (as he said) so careful of his life, that he feared to die an noble death. Which *Selymus* had no sooner said, but presently others about him, accustomed to serue his humor, which enuied at the glorie and wealth of old *Chendemus*, tooke hold vpon these words, and beginning with the greatnesse of his forces, the valour of his soldiers, the store of his artillerie, with his own inuincible fortune, made easie matters of all the former difficulties, and with great words labored to extennat

A tenuat all that the graue Bassa had before said concerning the prowesse and power of the enemie. After that, they began to discredit *Chendemus*, saying, That he (being a martiall man, and of knowne resolution in all his most warlike actions) had not said as before, for want of courage, of any distrust he had or the victory, but of purpose to hinder that most honorable expedition, and to cut off all hope of victorie, which was (as they said) as good as alreadie gotten; being before loded with *Amurat* his great promises, and the gold of Persia. Wherefore they wished him to beware of the slie old Fox his wyles and treason, and to proceed on in his expedition so much the more boldly: and not to thinke that his soldiers would refuse any danger or labour, so long as they saw courage in himselfe, but would be readie (as they said) to vndertake the most desperat difficulties of war, and desired nothing more, than to be conducted
B into those far Countries, where by their martiall prowesse and valiant acts they might make their Emperor *Selymus* equall with the great *Alexander*, and themselues comparable to his Macedonians. And to worke the vtter destruction of this most faithful counsellor without all recure, these false flatterers suborned bold faced accusers, who falsly and shamefully affirmed, that he had receiued great sums of mony from *Amurat*, and did not therfore in time go against the Persian robbers, whereby all the former calamities hapned (as they said) to that prouince. For which pretended causes, *Selymus* commanded *Chendemus* without further hearing to be slaine: but indeed to terrifie others from like libertie of speech; and withall to teach them, to deeme those deuices and counsels as most excellent, which their Soueraigne should as it were by diuine inspiration finde out himselfe, and so to accept of them without contradiction. The
C sudden death of this most faithfull counsellor *Chendemus*, strucke an exceeding feare into the minds of all men, for that so honorable a personage, of late in so great credit and fauour with his Soueraigne, was without hearing executed; whom they had known as a man of great account, both for his prowesse and policie, to haue stood fast on *Selymus* side, first in his warres against his father, and of late against his brother: not doubting but that *Selymus*, by nature cruell and suspicious euen of trifles, would with like tyrannie not spare men of meaner calling, which spared not his deerest and most antient friends.

Chendemus Bassa by the commandement of Selymus slaine.

Selymus marching from Arsenga, came to the confines of the lesser Armenian kings, and of *Aladeules*; where by his Embassadors he requested the kings of those nations (who were then in armes) that they would joyne their Forces with his against the Persian, and to go with him
D into Armenia the great: promising that when the wars were happily ended, he would giue vnto them all such territorie as should chance in those wars to be taken from the enemie, as a reward of their aid. But these poore Kings, which hated both *Hysmael* and *Selymus* for their manifold iniuries they dayly receiued in the frontiers of their dominions, lying in the midst betweene them, (as commonly it falleth out, that the weakest goe to the walls) craftily expecting the euent of this war, would not openly shew themselues, but answered, that they had taken vp armes for no other purpose, but for the defence of themselues and their kingdomes. Not meaning in that doubtfull war to beare themselues as enemies vnto either of those great Princes their friends and neighbours, of whose just grieuances they were not able or worthie to determine: yet if he would without hostilitie in peaceable manner passe through their Do-
E minions, they promised to giue free passage vnto him and his armie; and after he was entered into Armenia the greater, to relieue him with such prouision of victuall as their bare Countries could affoord.

Selymus thus deceiued of this his first hope, (for why, he thought those poore kings would at the first either for loue or feare haue bin readie to haue done him all the seruice they could) dissembled his griefe for the present, as wholly bent against *Hysmael*: fearing that if he should by word or deed offend those neuter Princes, he should haue them at his backe his most assured & vndoubted enemies. Wherfore passing the mountains called Scodrisci, he came in eight days vnto the great mountaine called Moschij, which the famous riuer Euphrates, with his mighty streame and hugie broken bankes, separateth from the great mountain Antitaurus, and
F with perpetuall steepe ridges runneth into Iberia & Colchis, and on the East discouereth Armenia the greater. Here *Selymus* with ensignes displaied marching alongst the banke of the riuer, departed not from the same, for feare to lacke water in that hot and drie country, and so held on his way directly Eastward, leauing the countrey of Armenia the lesse vpon his left hand, and the frontiers of the kingdome of *Aladeules* on the right, vntill he came vnto the moun-

mountaine Periardo. This great mountaine, famous by the rising of two great and notable Ri- G
uers out of it, is for the wonderfull fertilitie of all things, of the barbarous people called Le-
prus, which is to say, fruitfull: for Euphrates and Araxis there running out of two diuers and
contrarie marshes, with many armes, water and enrich that champain and dry countrey. *Selymus*
hauing made so great a journy, and yet not able so much as by report, to vnderstand what was
become of *Hysmael* his so great and populous army, which he knew was but a little before de-
parted out of Capadocia; as a man in doubt and halfe afraid, stayed and incamped his armie
at the head of the riuer Euphrates, and from thence sent out his scouts euery way, if happily
they could intercept some which might giue him knowledge of his enemies. But the Arme-
nians, whether it were for feare of the comming of the Turks, or that *Hysmael* their king had
so commanded, were all before fled out of that part of the countrey whereby *Selymus* was to H
passe with his army; and hauing forsaken their houses, had carried away with them, or else by
fire destroyed whatsoeuer might serue for the vse of man.

Selymus sendeth out his Scouts, who do returne with bad news.

The Turkish scouts after they had by the space of two dayes scoured vp and downe the
countrie, returned back again to *Selymus*, not hauing taken so much any as one man; shewing vn-
to him, That all things were destroyed before him, and nothing left but wilde fields and a
most desolate country, without any appearance of man or beast: and that they were of opini-
on, that either the Armenian guides were deceiued in the way, or else had of purpose brought
them into such desart places, whereas wanting pasture for their horses, and food for men, they
must needs together perish with hunger. Which their present feare was greatly increased by
the weake kings whom they had left behind them at their backs; but especially *Aladeules*, who I
either for shame or feare had a few dayes at the first holpen the Turks with victuals, but after
they were farther entred into Armenia, performed nothing of that he had before most faith-
fully promised: seeking therein the fauor of *Hysmael*, who he thought would with the same
good fortune vanquish the Turks, that he had not long before the greatest part of the East, *Se-*
lymus perplexed in mind, began now to suspect treason, to feare famin, to dread the desarts and
forsaken places, and with griefe of minde to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemus* his
faithfull counsellour had before most truly told him: for all that, he shewed himselfe vnto his
soldiers with cheerefull countenance, as a man nothing dismaied: which his firme constancie
seemed to promise vnto their discouraged minds good successe, with speedie victorie. Wher-
fore calling vnto him his guides, and such as best knew the countrey; and vnderstanding by K
them, that on the right hand beyond the mountaine Periardo lay the most fruitfull countrey
of all Armenia, he rose with his army, and compassing the hil toward the North, turned down

Selymus passeth ouer Araxes.

toward the riuer Araxes, and aboue the citie of Coy passed his armie ouer the riuer, his foot-
men by little bridges, and his horsemen by foords: for Araxes, vntill it haue receiued such ri-
uers as fall into it out of the marshes of Periardo, runneth but with a small streame, and is in
some place easie to be passed ouer.

Selymus had scarcely well got ouer the riuer, and incamped his great armie, when *Vsta-Ogli*
(who hauing joined his forces with *Amurat*, lying incamped not far off, and fearing lest the ci-
tie of Coy and the vnprouided citisens should by the sudden comming of the enemie be op-
pressed) quickely rose with his armie, and set forwards to meet the Turkes: for that citie of all
others in that country, for fresh fountains and riuers, most pleasant (wherein the Persian Kings
for the great plentie of all manner of fruit, and wholsomenesse of the aire, leauing Tauris, were
woont to spend most part of the Summer) had then in it many rich citisens & sumptuous buil-
dings; which *Vasta Ogli* thought good betimes to rescue, and not with dishonour to lose that
rich citie, looking as it were vpon it, and leauing it vnto the enemie, to suffer him there to re-
fresh his hunger-starued soldiers with plentie of all things. *Cassius* an Armenian borne, and
present in those wars, did by many probabilities (as *Iouius* writeth) shew vnto him, That this
citie of Coy was in antient time that most famous citie which was called Artaxata, which *De-*
mitius Corbulo destroyed. Neither did *Hysmael* himselfe (although he had but a little before M
sent the greatest part of his forces against the Coraxeni, who were then risen vp against him in
rebellion; as he that made no great reckoning of the Turks, or euer thought that they durst
haue come so far into Armenia) make any delay, but forthwith as soone as he had heard of
the comming of *Selymus*, came also in person himselfe vnto his armie.

By chance *Vsta-Ogli* (who contrary to all mens expectation had vntill then shunned to fight, or

A or come in sight of his enemies, of purpose with lesse danger and losse of men to ouerthrow
them afterwards, being sore weakned and almost spent with long trauell and want of victuals)
lay then incamped neere the citie, when as the Turkes scouts, vpon the comming of *Hysmael*,
perceiued by the great rising of the dust, and by the neighing of the Persian horses, that some
greater power was at hand. Which so soone as it was noysed in the Turkish campe, they be-
gan to reioyce exceedingly, and to conceiue the first hope both of their safetie and victorie;
glad, that now meeting with their enemies, they should either by victorie turne their labour,
toyle, famine, and extremities wherewith they had of long time striuen, into ease and plentie
of all things, or else by honorable death end all their miseries at once: for many of the horse-
men, especially of them that came out of Europe, whose horses were starued for want of for-
B rage, and the common footmen spent with long trauell, and grieuously troubled with the flix,
(who trauelling in the extreame heat of the Sun, had for most part liued vpon crabs and other
wild fruits, with a bad supping made of meale and vinegre, and almost despairing to get the
sight of their enemies) began now to die in euery corner.

Hysmael sends an herauld to Selymus.

Hysmael as soone as he was come within sight of his enemies, reposing great confidence as
well in the valor of his soldiers, as in his own rare fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought
it good forthwith to giue them battell: whereupon he sent an herauld vnto *Selymus*, accompa-
nied with certain skilfull soldiers, which should in best sort they could take view of the num-
ber and force of their enemies, of their artillerie, and in what sort they lay incamped: and to
tell him, That forasmuch as he had no title vnto Armenia, nor that the Turks had at any time
C claimed any interest therein, he could not but maruell, why he had against all right entred with
his armie into his dominion: but if he happely vpon a vaine presumption, to the imitation of
Alexander of Macedon, should thinke so much of the world his own, as he could by the sword
and his own good fortune win, he should then make himselfe readie against the next day to
make proofe of his fortune, and the forces of others not inferior to his owne.

Selymus his answer vnto Hysmael.

Whereunto *Selymus* answered, That the fresh remembrance of the manifold iniuries done
to the Turks by the Persians, was such, as might giue him just cause to take vp armes: for as
much as long ago both his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his vncle *Cassumes*, and euen of
late his father *Baiazet*, and he himselfe also in his wars against his brother *Achomates*, had re-
ceiued great wrong and dishonor from the Persians. All which things, although they were of
D themselues important, yet he esteemed not of them as sufficient causes of warre, but onely
sought after his enemy *Amurat*, his brothers son, who had of late spoyled Capadocia: whom
if he would quietly and friendly deliuer vnto him, as the mutuall lawes of amitie and friend-
ship amongst Princes for the maintenance and preseruation of their estates and kingdomes re-
quired, then he would withdraw his forces, and peaceably returne into his kingdome: other-
wise, he threatned with fire and sword to destroy, not the frontiers of Armenia, but euen the
heart of Persia. And so dismissing the herauld, both the armies for that day lay still in their
trenches, expecting the dreadfull euent of battell.

The order of Selymus his battell.

The next day *Selymus* by persuasion of his captaines brought his armie into the open field,
and in order of battel set forward against his enemies, which lay about two miles off, thinking
E that *Hysmael*, a prince of so great name, would without delay accept of battel: yet what strength
the Persian king was of, what number of men he had, what manner of horsemen, how armed,
and with what weapons, he could not certainly learne: for beside that the Persians are by na-
ture ingenious and subtill, the soldiers generally so reuerenced and loued *Hysmael* their king,
that no one was found to haue gone from him to the Turke: whereas many reuolted from *Se-*
lymus to him, as it was afterwards learned of the Persian captaines.

Selymus, who had at that time 80000 horsemen vnder his ensignes, placed *Chasan Bassa* his
lieutenant generall of Europe, with his European horsemen in the right wing; and *Sinan Bassa*
with his Asian horsemen in the left: and before them both the Acanzij, which are voluntary
horsemen the forerunners of the Turks armie, who in hope of spoile follow the Turks wars
F out of all countries: in the middle battel he placed the Asapi or common soldiers, which base
and half-naked people, as men of little worth or estimation, are commonly thrust into the
front of the Turks battels, to receiue the first furie of the enemie, and to blunt their swords,
more than for any other good seruice: directly behind them he [illegible] his gr[illegible]erie,
guarded with 4000 horsemen: last of all followed himselfe with [illegible] and
[illegible]ries,

mountaine Periardo. This great mountaine, famous by the rising of two great and notable Ri- G
uers out of it, is for the wonderfull fertilitie of all things, of the barbarous people called Le-
prus, which is to say, fruitfull: for Euphrates and Araxis there running out of two diuers and
contrarie marshes, with many armes, water and enrich that champain and dry country. *Selymus*
hauing made so great a journy, and yet not able so much as by report, to vnderstand what was
become of *Hysmael* his so great and populous army, which he knew was but a little before de-
parted out of Capadocia; as a man in doubt and halfe afraid, stayed and incamped his armie
at the head of the riuer Euphrates, and from thence sent out his scouts euery way, if happily
they could intercept some which might giue him knowledge of his enemies. But the Arme-
nians, whether it were for feare of the comming of the Turks, or that *Hysmael* their king had
so commanded, were all before fled out of that part of the countrey whereby *Selymus* was to H
passe with his army; and hauing forsaken their houses, had carried away with them, or else by
fire destroyed whatsoeuer might serue for the vse of man.

Selymus sendeth out his Scouts, who do returne with bad news.

The Turkish scouts after they had by the space of two dayes scoured vp and downe the
countrie, returned back again to *Selymus*, not hauing taken so much any as one man; shewing vn-
to him, That all things were destroyed before him, and nothing left but wilde fields and a
most desolate country, without any appearance of man or beast: and that they were of opini-
on, that either the Armenian guides were deceiued in the way, or else had of purpose brought
them into such desart places, whereas wanting pasture for their horses, and food for men, they
must needs together perish with hunger. Which their present feare was greatly increased by
the weake kings whom they had left behind them at their backs; but especially *Aladeules*, who I
either for shame or feare had a few dayes at the first holpen the Turks with victuals, but after
they were farther entred into Armenia, performed nothing of that he had before most faith-
fully promised: seeking therein the fauor of *Hysmael*, who he thought would with the same
good fortune vanquish the Turks, that he had not long before the greatest part of the East, *Se-*
lymus perplexed in mind, began now to suspect treason, to feare famin, to dread the desarts and
forsaken places, and with griefe of minde to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemus* his
faithfull counsellour had before most truly told him: for all that, he shewed himselfe vnto his
soldiers with cheerefull countenance, as a man nothing dismaied: which his firme constancie
seemed to promise vnto their discouraged minds good successe, with speedie victorie. Wher-
fore calling vnto him his guides, and such as best knew the countrey; and vnderstanding by K
them, that on the right hand beyond the mountaine Periardo lay the most fruitfull countrey
of all Armenia, he rose with his army, and compassing the hil toward the North, turned down
toward the riuer Araxes, and aboue the citie of Coy passed his armie ouer the riuer, his foot-
Selymus passeth ouer Araxes. men by little bridges, and his horsemen by foords: for Araxes, vntill it haue receiued such ri-
uers as fall into it out of the marshes of Periardo, runneth but with a small streame, and is in
some place easie to be passed ouer.

Selymus had scarcely well got ouer the riuer, and incamped his great armie, when *Vsta-Ogli*
(who hauing joined his forces with *Amurat*, lying incamped not far off, and fearing lest the ci-
tie of Coy and the vnprouided citizens should by the sudden comming of the enemie be op-
pressed) quickely rose with his armie, and set forwards to meet the Turkes: for that citie of all
others in that country, for fresh fountains and riuers, most pleasant (wherein the Persian Kings
for the great plentie of all manner of fruit, and wholsomenesse of the aire, leauing Tauris, were
woont to spend most part of the Summer) had then in it many rich citizens & sumptuous buil-
dings; which *Vasta Ogli* thought good betimes to rescue, and not with dishonour to lose that
rich citie, looking as it were vpon it; and leauing it vnto the enemie, to suffer him there to re-
fresh his hunger-starued soldiers with plentie of all things. *Casinus* an Armenian borne, and
present in those wars, did by many probabilities (as *Iouius* writeth) shew vnto him, That this
citie of Coy was in antient time that most famous citie which was called Artaxata, which *De-*
mitius Corbulo destroyed. Neither did *Hysmael* himselfe (although he had but a little before
sent the greatest part of his forces against the Coraxeni, who were then risen vp against him in
rebellion; as he that made no great reckoning of the Turks, or euer thought that they durst
haue come so far into Armenia) make any delay, but forthwith as soone as he had heard of
the comming of *Selymus*, came also in person himselfe vnto his armie.

By chance *Vsta-Ogli* (who contrary to all mens expectation had vntill then shunned to fight, or

A or come in sight of his enemies, of purpose with lesse danger and losse of men to ouerthrow
them afterwards, being sore weaked and almost spent with long trauell and want of victuals)
lay then incamped neere the citie, when as the Turkes scouts, vpon the comming of *Hysmael*,
perceiued by the great rising of the dust, and by the neighing of the Persian horses, that some
greater power was at hand. Which so soone as it was noysed in the Turkish campe, they be-
gan to reioyce exceedingly, and to conceiue the first hope both of their safetie and victorie;
glad, that now meeting with their enemies, they should either by victorie turne their labour,
toyle, famine, and extremities wherewith they had of long time striuen, into ease and plentie
of all things, or else by honorable death end all their miseries at once: for many of the horse-
men, especially of them that came out of Europe, whose horses were starued for want of for-
B rage, and the common footmen spent with long trauell, and grieuously troubled with the flix,
(who trauelling in the extreame heat of the Sun, had for most part liued vpon crabs and other
wild fruits, with a bad supping made of meale and vinegre, and almost despairing to get the
sight of their enemies) began now to die in euery corner.

Hysmael sends an herauld to Selymus.

Hysmael as soone as he was come within sight of his enemies, reposing great confidence as
well in the valor of his soldiers, as in his own rare fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought
it good forthwith to giue them battell: whereupon he sent an herauld vnto *Selymus*, accompa-
nied with certain skilfull soldiers, which should in best sort they could take view of the num-
ber and force of their enemies, of their artillerie, and in what sort they lay incamped: and to
tell him, That forasmuch as he had no title vnto Armenia, nor that the Turks had at any time
C claimed any interest therein, he could not but maruell, why he had against all right entred with
his armie into his dominion: but if he happely vpon a vaine presumption, to the imitation of
Alexander of Macedon, should thinke so much of the world his own, as he could by the sword
and his own good fortune win, he should then make himselfe readie against the next day to
make proofe of his fortune, and the forces of others not inferior to his owne.

Selymus his answer vnto Hysmael.

Whereunto *Selymus* answered, That the fresh remembrance of the manifold iniuries done
to the Turks by the Persians, was such, as might giue him just cause to take vp armes: for as
much as long ago both his grandfather *Mahomes* the Great, and his vncle *Cassumes*, and euen of
late his father *Baiazet*, and he himselfe also in his wars against his brother *Achomates*, had re-
ceiued great wrong and dishonor from the Persians. All which things, although they were of
D themselues important, yet he esteemed not of them as sufficient causes of warre, but onely
sought after his enemy *Amurat*, his brothers son, who had of late spoyled Capadocia: whom
if he would quietly and friendly deliuer vnto him, as the mutuall lawes of amitie and friend-
ship amongst Princes for the maintenance and preseruation of their estates and kingdomes re-
quired, then he would withdraw his forces, and peaceably returne into his kingdome: other-
wise, he threatned with fire and sword to destroy, not the frontiers of Armenia, but euen the
heart of Persia. And so dismissing the herauld, both the armies for that day lay still in their
trenches, expecting the dreadfull euent of battell.

The order of Selymus his battell.

The next day *Selymus* by persuasion of his captaines brought his armie into the open field,
and in order of battel set forward against his enemies, which lay about two miles off, thinking
E that *Hysmael*, a prince of so great name, would without delay accept of battel: yet what strength
the Persian king was of, what number of men he had, what manner of horsemen, how armed,
and with what weapons, he could not certainly learne: for beside that the Persians are by na-
ture ingenious and subtill, the soldiers generally so reuerenced and loued *Hysmael* their king,
that no one was found to haue gone from him to the Turke: whereas many reuolted from *Se-*
lymus to him, as it was afterwards learned of the Persian captaines.

Selymus, who had at that time 80000 horsemen vnder his ensignes, placed *Chasan Bassa* his
lieutenant general of Europe, with his European horsemen in the right wing; and *Sinan Bassa*
with his Asian horsemen in the left: and before them both the Acanzij, which are voluntary
horsemen the forerunners of the Turks armie, who in hope of spoile follow the Turks wars
F out of all countries: in the middle battel he placed the Asapi or common soldiers, which base
and halfe naked people, as men of little worth or estimation, are commonly thrust into the
front of the Turks battels, to receiue the first furie of the enemie, and to blunt their swords,
more than for any other good seruice: directly behind them he bestowed his great artillerie,
guarded with 4000 horsemen: last of all followed himselfe with his choisen pentioners and

Ianizaries,

Ianizaries compaſſed about with ſmal field-pieces,and his carriages;as with a double trench: G
for he had (as their manner is) ſo inuironed himſelfe round with his ſadled camels made faſt
one to another with long chains, that they ſtood him in ſtead of a ſtrong trench,from whence
he might ſpeedily relieue any part of his diſtreſſed armie ; and in caſe of extremitie being in
the midſt of his ſtrength,might as out of a ſure fort repreſſe the furious aſſault of his enemies.
He alſo commanded his footmen in the vauward of his battell, that vpon the approch of the
enemies horſe,they ſhould ſpeedily withdraw themſelues aſide into two parts, leauing ſpace
for the great ordnance which was placed behind them to play in the middle between them.
On the contrarie part *Hyſmael*, who by the Turks fugitiues vnderſtood all the deuices of his
enemies,calling vnto him the chiefe commanders of his armie,ſhewed vnto them, That there H
was no doubt of the victorie,ſo that they could ſhun the furie of the great artillerie : which
he aſſured them would eaſily be done, if when they ſaw the Turkiſh footmen diuide them-
ſelues,they would alſo in like manner withdraw themſelues into two parts,and giue place to
the furie of the great ordnance : for which purpoſe he cauſed two great enſignes to be diſplai-
ed,whereunto they ſhould at the time appointed retyre,the one for himſelfe and thoſe whom
he conducted,the other for *Vſta Ogli* and the reſt of his armie.

Hyſmael with thirty thouſand Perſians giueth battell to Selymus with three hundred thouſand Turks.

Hyſmael (as *Iouius* reporteth) had in his army about thirtie thouſand horſmen, without any
footmen,amongſt whom were ten thouſand men at armes,reſolute gentlemen of great expe-
rience,all gallantly mounted vpon couragious barbed horſes,and themſelues brauely armed, I
both for the ſhew and the terrour of the enemy ; their weapons were a good lance,a ſure ſci-
mitar,and a horſemans mace ; the reſt were armed with ſtrong cuiraſſes and head-pieces, and
were either archers on horſebacke,or elſe vſed light horſemens ſtaues,made of aſh after the
Spaniſh faſhion,wherewith they ſerued at the halfe ſtaffe. As for guns they had none,in which
thing only and number of men,they were inferior to the Turks. But ſuch was the inuincible
courage and noble mindes of the Perſians, that contemning the huge multitude of their ene-
mies (who were in number about three hundred thouſand) and making no great reckoning of
their great artillerie,they doubted not with ſo few to giue them battell.

Hyſmael hauing giuen the ſignall of battell, came on with his armie, exhorting his ſoldiers
then to remember the honour they had long before gotten in many battels,and couragiouſly
to follow him their Soueraigne,whom they by their worthie ſeruice and many victories had K
made the greateſt Monarch of the Eaſt ; telling them, that they ſhould haue now to doe but
with naked men, whoſe weapons were but weake ſtaues and light targuets, and their horſes
little poore jades almoſt dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the firſt charge of his valiant
men at armes.

On the other ſide,*Selymus* perceiuing the comming of his enemies by the riſing of the duſt,
cauſed knowledge to be giuen through his armie by his captaines and officers, that the time
of battel which they had ſo long wiſhed for, was now come ; wherein if they would worthi-
ly acquite themſelues againſt thoſe their proud enemies,they ſhould to their immortall fame
extend the Turkiſh Empire from the Perſian ſea to the mountain Caucaſus : but if they cow-
ardly forgetting their antient proweſſe, ſhould faint in time of battell, they were not then to
thinke by any meanes to eſcape by flight backe againe through thoſe great plaines and deſo-
late countries ; where they ſhould by the way either ſhamefully periſh,or elſe to their perpe-
tuall infamie be taken priſoners, and as baſe ſlaues, during their liues be enforced to ſerue the
Perſian women : foraſmuch as beſide the great diſtance of the place,both the great riuer Eu-
phrates,and the huge mountaine Taurus,and the faithleſſe king *Aladeules*, who had ſhut vp all
the paſſages,did cut off all hope from them,if they ſhould be ouercome,by any meanes poſſi-
ble to eſcape backe againe into Capadocia.

The great and mortall battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.

When *Hyſmael* was come neere with his armie, and the Aſapi vpon ſigne giuen diuiding
themſelues,made place for the great artillerie to play ; as was before appointed ; he alſo pro-
ſently diuiding his horſmen,charged the right wing of the Turks armie,with ſuch force,that
after a moſt terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks,and the valiant Perſian men at armes, M
Chaſan Baſſa the great commander of the Europian horſmen,with the formoſt of that wing be-
ing ſlain,and many more after them,he inforced all that wing to retyre vnto that place where
Selymus himſelf,with the Ianizaries ſtood. On the other ſide,*Vſta-Ogli* hauing receiued no lit-
tle harm by the Turks great ordnance,becauſe he had not ſo ſpeedily cleered himſelfe & his fol-

A followers of that danger, as had *Hyſmael*, charged the Aſian horſemen in the left wing, and
there in bloudie battell made great ſlaughter of the enemie,but not with like good hap as did
Hyſmael : for whiles he moſt couragiouſly in the formoſt rankes aſſailed his enemies, he was
ſtruck with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. With whoſe fall the Turks were greatly encouraged,inſo-
much as that they which but now were glad to giue ground,and had loſt the third part of that *Vſta-ogli ſlain.*
wing, began afreſh to renew the battell,and valiantly to withſtand the Perſians;and with their
harquebuſiers (wherwith the Perſian horſmen were wonderfully terrified)draue them head-
long vpon the Turks common footmen. The Perſians whether it were forced by neceſſitie
for that they had loſt ſo great a commander,and not wel able to gouerne their horſes terrifi-
ed with the thundring ſhot,or elſe for that the open ſide of the footmen preſented vnto them
B greater place of aduantage, ſerring themſelues together brake through the middle of the bat-
tell of thoſe Turkiſh footmen,and bearing them down before them with a mightie ſlaughter,
came to the great ordnance and there ſlew the canoniers, who diſcharging their field pieces
at all aduentures, in that great medly made a foule ſlaughter, as well of their owne men,as of
their enemies. And ſo without ſtop (as victorious conquerors) made way through the midſt
of their enemies,vntill they came to the right wing : where *Hyſmael* was ſtill hardly charging
the Europeian horſemen, who hauing before loſt *Chaſan* their Generall, and beeing many of
them ſlaine or wounded,were already enforced to retire ; but now charged afreſh vpon the
ſide,had much adoe to endure the fury of their enemies,but as men in extreame danger,were
glad to crie to *Selymus* for helpe.

C In this hard diſtreſſe, *Selymus* in two places opened his carriages, wherewith he ſtood as it
were entrenched,and preſently ſent out part of his horſmen. And by and by turning himſelfe
vnto his Ianizaries,ſaid,*This daies victorie is reſerued (moſt worthie ſouldiers) vnto your valor and
labor, wherefore now valiantly ſet forward,and as freſh and couragious men,aſſaile your wearied ene-
mies;their horſes are all on a water with ſweat, and the men themſelues faint vnder the waight of their
armor.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could ſay, the Ianizaries were not very forward,but ſtood
ſtill,as men willing in ſo great a danger to keepe themſelues within the ſafegard of their mu-
nition. Wherefore whileſt they at their leiſure ſet forward, the Perſians in the midſt of the
heat of this victorie,compaſſing in the Europeian horſemen,ſlew them downeright,*Selymus*
looking on and wiſhing in vain to help them. *Fabritius Carrectus* great Maſter of the Rhodes,
D who of all theſe things had certaine intelligence, writ to *Leo* the tenth then Biſhop of Rome,
that the Ianizaries refuſed to be commanded by *Selymus*,and were not by any perſuaſion or in-
treatie to be induced to relieue the diſtreſſed Europeian horſemen,but as men diſtruſting the
euent of the battell,choſe rather in their ſtrength to expect the ſucceſſe therof,than with moſt
manifeſt danger to expoſe themſelues vnto the violence of the Perſian horſemen, which had
as a tempeſt ouerborne the vantgard of the Turkiſh footmen.

The Perſians were now ready on euery ſide to haue aſſailed *Selymus* in his greateſt ſtrength:
when *Sinan Baſſa*,although the wing he led was ſore rent and weakned,yet following the Per-
ſians through the midſt of the heaps of the ſlaine footmen, came in,in good time for *Selymus*,
and with certain freſh troups which had eſcaped the fury of *Vſta Ogli*,reſtored the battell be-
E fore almoſt loſt : but eſpecially by the inuincible courage of *Alis Beg* and *Mahomet* his bro-
ther, diſcended of the honorable familie of the *Malcozzij*, which for nobilitie amongſt the
Turks is accounted next vnto the *Othomans* ; both of them for courage reſembling their war-
like father *Malcozzius*, famous for that wofull expedition he made into Friuli againſt the Ve-
netians in the raigne of *Baiazet*. *Selymus* alſo not yet diſcouraged but ſtil in hope, commanded
all the great ordnance wherewith he was enuironed, which he had reſerued as his laſt refuge,
to be diſcharged : by the violence whereof, ſuch ſlaughter was made, as well of his owne men
as of his enemies, mingled together, that what for duſt, what for ſmoake, and thundring of the
artillerie, hauing on both ſides almoſt loſt the vſe of ſight and hearing, and their horſes being
ſo terrified with the thundring report of the great ordnance, that they were not now to be ru- *The terrour of the battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.*
F led, the battell was broken off, the victory yet doubtfull. The Turkiſh hiſtories to expreſſe the
terror of this day, number it amongſt their diſmall daies, terming it *The onely day of doome.*

Hyſmael in this furious battell, hauing receiued a wound vnder his left ſhoulder with a ſmall
ſhot, by perſuaſion of his friends withdrew himſelfe to haue his wound ſearched: which thing
vndoubtedly was the ſafegard both of *Selymus* and his army: for the Perſians by & by folow-

ing

Ianizaries compaſſed about with ſmal field-pieces, and his carriages, as with a double trench: G
for he had (as their manner is) ſo inuironed himſelfe round with his ſadled camels made faſt
one to another with long chains, that they ſtood him in ſtead of a ſtrong trench, from whence
he might ſpeedily relieue any part of his diſtreſſed armie; and in caſe of extremitie being in
the midſt of his ſtrength, might as out of a ſure fort repreſſe the furious aſſault of his enemies.
He alſo commanded his footmen in the vauward of his battell, that vpon the approch of the
enemies horſe, they ſhould ſpeedily withdraw themſelues aſide into two parts, leauing ſpace
for the great ordnance which was placed behind them to play in the middle between them.
On the contrarie part *Hyſmael*, who by the Turks fugitiues vnderſtood all the deuices of his
enemies, calling vnto him the chiefe commanders of his armie, ſhewed vnto them, That there H
was no doubt of the victorie, ſo that they could ſhun the furie of the great artillerie: which
he aſſured them would eaſily be done, if when they ſaw the Turkiſh footmen diuide them-
ſelues, they would alſo in like manner withdraw themſelues into two parts, and giue place to
the furie of the great ordnance: for which purpoſe he cauſed two great enſignes to be diſplai-
ed, whereunto they ſhould at the time appointed retyre, the one for himſelfe and thoſe whom
he conducted, the other for *Vſta Ogli* and the reſt of his armie.

Hyſmael with thirty thouſand Perſians giueth battell to Selymus with three hundred thouſand Turks.

Hyſmael (as *Ionius* reporteth) had in his army about thirtie thouſand horſmen, without any
footmen, amongſt whom were ten thouſand men at armes, reſolute gentlemen of great expe-
rience, all gallantly mounted vpon couragious barbed horſes, and themſelues brauely armed, I
both for the ſhew and the terrour of the enemy; their weapons were a good lance, a ſure ſci-
mitar, and a horſemans mace; the reſt were armed with ſtrong cuiraſſes and head-pieces, and
were either archers on horſebacke, or elſe vſed light horſemens ſtaues, made of aſh after the
Spaniſh faſhion, wherewith they ſerued at the halfe ſtaffe. As for guns they had none, in which
thing only and number of men, they were inferior to the Turks. But ſuch was the inuincible
courage and noble mindes of the Perſians, that contemning the huge multitude of their ene-
mies (who were in number about three hundred thouſand) and making no great reckoning of
their great artillerie, they doubted not with ſo few to giue them battell.

Hyſmael hauing giuen the ſignall of battell, came on with his armie, exhorting his ſoldiers
then to remember the honour they had long before gotten in many battels, and couragiouſly
to follow him their Soueraigne, whom they by their worthie ſeruice and many victories had K
made the greateſt Monarch of the Eaſt; telling them, that they ſhould haue now to doe but
with naked men, whoſe weapons were but weake ſtaues and light targuets, and their horſes
little poore jades almoſt dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the firſt charge of his valiant
men at armes.

On the other ſide, *Selymus* perceiuing the comming of his enemies by the riſing of the duſt,
cauſed knowledge to be giuen through his armie by his captaines and officers, that the time
of battel which they had ſo long wiſhed for, was now come; wherein if they would worthi-
ly acquite themſelues againſt thoſe their proud enemies, they ſhould to their immortall fame
extend the Turkiſh Empire from the Perſian ſea to the mountain Caucaſus: but if they cow-
ardly forgetting their antient proweſſe, ſhould faint in time of battell, they were not then to
thinke by any meanes to eſcape by flight backe againe through thoſe great plaines and deſo-
late countries; where they ſhould by the way either ſhamefully periſh, or elſe to their perpe-
tuall infamie be taken priſoners, and as baſe ſlaues, during their liues be enforced to ſerue the
Perſian women: foraſmuch as beſide the great diſtance of the place, both the great riuer Eu-
phrates, and the huge mountaine Taurus, and the faithleſſe king *Aladeules*, who had ſhut vp all
the paſſages, did cut off all hope from them, if they ſhould be ouercome, by any meanes poſſi-
ble to eſcape backe againe into Capadocia.

The great and mortall battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.

When *Hyſmael* was come neere with his armie, and the Aſapi vpon ſigne giuen diuiding
themſelues, made place for the great artillerie to play, as was before appointed; he alſo pre-
ſently diuiding his horſmen, charged the right wing of the Turks armie, with ſuch force, that M
after a moſt terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks, and the valiant Perſian men at armes,
Chaſan Baſſa the great commander of the Europian horſmen, with the formoſt of that wing be-
ing ſlain, and many more after them, he inforced all that wing to retyre vnto that place where
Selymus himſelf, with the Ianizaries ſtood. On the other ſide, *Vſta-Ogli* hauing receiued no lit-
tle harm by the Turks great ordnance, becauſe he had not ſo ſpeedily cleered himſelfe & his fol-

A followers of that danger, as had *Hyſmael*, charged the Aſian horſemen in the left wing, and
there in bloudie battell made great ſlaughter of the enemie, but not with like good hap as did
Hyſmael: for whiles he moſt couragiouſly in the formoſt rankes aſſailed his enemies, he was
ſtruck with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. With whoſe fall the Turks were greatly encouraged, inſo-
much as that they which but now were glad to giue ground, and had loſt the third part of that *Vſta-ogli ſlain.*
wing, began afreſh to renew the battell, and valiantly to withſtand the Perſians; and with their
harquebuſiers (wherwith the Perſian horſmen were wonderfully terrified) draue them head-
long vpon the Turks common footmen. The Perſians whether it were forced by neceſſitie
for that they had loſt ſo great a commander, and not wel able to gouerne their horſes terrifi-
ed with the thundring ſhot, or elſe for that the open ſide of the footmen preſented vnto them
B greater place of aduantage, ſerring themſelues together brake through the middle of the bat-
tell of thoſe Turkiſh footmen, and bearing them down before them with a mightie ſlaughter,
came to the great ordnance and there ſlew the canoniers, who diſcharging their field pieces
at all aduentures, in that great medly made a foule ſlaughter, as well of their owne men as of
their enemies. And ſo without ſtop (as victorious conquerors) made way through the midſt
of their enemies, vntill they came to the right wing: where *Hyſmael* was ſtill hardly charging
the Europeian horſemen, who hauing before loſt *Chaſan* their Generall, and beeing many of
them ſlaine or wounded, were already enforced to retire; but now charged afreſh vpon the
ſide, had much adoe to endure the fury of their enemies, but as men in extreame danger, were
glad to crie to *Selymus* for helpe.

C In this hard diſtreſſe, *Selymus* in two places opened his carriages, wherewith he ſtood as it
were entrenched, and preſently ſent out part of his horſmen. And by and by turning himſelfe
vnto his Ianizaries, ſaid, *This daies victorie is reſerued (moſt worthie ſouldiers) vnto your valor and labor, wherefore now valiantly ſet forward, and as freſh and couragious men, aſſaile your wearied ene-
mies; their horſes are all on a water with ſweat, and the men themſelues faint vnder the waight of their armor.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could ſay, the Ianizaries were not very forward, but ſtood
ſtill, as men willing in ſo great a danger to keepe themſelues within the ſafegard of their mu-
nition. Wherefore whileſt they at their leiſure ſet forward, the Perſians in the midſt of the
heat of this victorie, compaſſing in the Europeian horſemen, ſlew them downeright. *Selymus*
looking on and wiſhing in vain to help them. *Fabritius Carrectus* great Maſter of the Rhodes,
D who of all theſe things had certaine intelligence, writ to *Leo* the tenth then Biſhop of Rome,
that the Ianizaries refuſed to be commanded by *Selymus*, and were not by any perſuaſion or in-
treatie to be induced to relieue the diſtreſſed Europeian horſemen, but as men diſtruſting the
euent of the battell, choſe rather in their ſtrength to expect the ſucceſſe therof, than with moſt
manifeſt danger to expoſe themſelues vnto the violence of the Perſian horſemen, which had
as a tempeſt ouerborne the vantgard of the Turkiſh footmen.

The Perſians were now ready on euery ſide to haue aſſailed *Selymus* in his greateſt ſtrength:
when *Sinan Baſſa*, although the wing he led was ſore rent and weakned, yet following the Per-
ſians through the midſt of the heaps of the ſlaine footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*,
and with certain freſh troups which had eſcaped the fury of *Vſta Ogli*, reſtored the battell be-
E fore almoſt loſt: but eſpecially by the inuincible courage of *Alis Beg* and *Mahomet* his bro-
ther, diſcended of the honorable familie of the *Malcozzij*, which for nobilitie amongſt the
Turks is accounted next vnto the *Othomans*; both of them for courage reſembling their war-
like father *Malcozzius*, famous for that wofull expedition he made into Friuli againſt the Ve-
netians in the raigne of *Baiazet*. *Selymus* alſo not yet diſcouraged but ſtil in hope, commanded
all the great ordnance wherewith he was enuironed, which he had reſerued as his laſt refuge,
to be diſcharged: by the violence whereof, ſuch ſlaughter was made, as well of his owne men
as of his enemies, mingled together, that what for duſt, what for ſmoake, and thundring of the
artillerie, hauing on both ſides almoſt loſt the vſe of ſight and hearing, and their horſes being
ſo terrified with the thundring report of the great ordnance, that they were not now to be ru- *The terrour of the battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.*
F led, the battell was broken off, the victory yet doubtfull. The Turkiſh hiſtories to expreſſe the
terror of this day, number it amongſt their diſmall daies, terming it *The onely day of doome.*

Hyſmael in this furious battell, hauing receiued a wound vnder his left ſhoulder with a ſmall
ſhot, by perſuaſion of his friends withdrew himſelfe to haue his wound ſearched: which thing
vndoubtedly was the ſafegard both of *Selymus* and his army: for the Perſians by & by folow-
ing

Ianizaries compaſſed about with ſmal field-pieces, and his carriages, as with a double trench: G
for he had (as their manner is) ſo inuironed himſelfe round with his ſadled camels made faſt
one to another with long chains, that they ſtood him in ſtead of a ſtrong trench, from whence
he might ſpeedily relieue any part of his diſtreſſed armie; and in caſe of extremitie being in
the midſt of his ſtrength, might as out of a ſure fort repreſſe the furious aſſault of his enemies.
He alſo commanded his footmen in the vauward of his battell, that vpon the approch of the
enemies horſe, they ſhould ſpeedily withdraw themſelues aſide into two parts, leauing ſpace
for the great ordnance which was placed behind them to play in the middle between them.
On the contrarie part *Hyſmael*, who by the Turks fugitiues vnderſtood all the deuices of his
enemies, calling vnto him the chiefe commanders of his armie, ſhewed vnto them, That there H
was no doubt of the victorie, ſo that they could ſhun the furie of the great artillerie: which
he aſſured them would eaſily be done, if when they ſaw the Turkiſh footmen diuide them-
ſelues, they would alſo in like manner withdraw themſelues into two parts, and giue place to
the furie of the great ordnance: for which purpoſe he cauſed two great enſignes to be diſplai-
ed, whereunto they ſhould at the time appointed retyre, the one for himſelfe and thoſe whom
he conducted, the other for *Vſta Ogli* and the reſt of his armie.

Hyſmael with thirty thouſand Perſians giueth battell to Selymus with three hundred thouſand Turks.

Hyſmael (as *Iouius* reporteth) had in his army about thirtie thouſand horſmen, without any
footmen, amongſt whom were ten thouſand men at armes, reſolute gentlemen of great expe-
rience, all gallantly mounted vpon couragious barbed horſes, and themſelues brauely armed,
both for the ſhew and the terrour of the enemy; their weapons were a good lance, a ſure ſci- I
mitar, and a horſemans mace; the reſt were armed with ſtrong cuiraſſes and head-pieces, and
were either archers on horſebacke, or elſe vſed light horſemens ſtaues, made of aſh after the
Spaniſh faſhion, wherewith they ſerued at the halfe ſtaffe. As for guns they had none, in which
thing only and number of men, they were inferior to the Turks. But ſuch was the inuincible
courage and noble mindes of the Perſians, that contemning the huge multitude of their ene-
mies (who were in number about three hundred thouſand) and making no great reckoning of
their great artillerie, they doubted not with ſo few to giue them battell.

Hyſmael hauing giuen the ſignall of battell, came on with his armie, exhorting his ſoldiers
then to remember the honour they had long before gotten in many battels, and couragiouſly
to follow him their Soueraigne, whom they by their worthie ſeruice and many victories had K
made the greateſt Monarch of the Eaſt; telling them, that they ſhould haue now to doe but
with naked men, whoſe weapons were but weake ſtaues and light targuets, and their horſes
little poore jades almoſt dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the firſt charge of his valiant
men at armes.

On the other ſide, *Selymus* perceiuing the comming of his enemies by the riſing of the duſt,
cauſed knowledge to be giuen through his armie by his captaines and officers, that the time
of battel which they had ſo long wiſhed for, was now come; wherein if they would worthi-
ly acquite themſelues againſt thoſe their proud enemies, they ſhould to their immortall fame
extend the Turkiſh Empire from the Perſian ſea to the mountain Caucaſus: but if they cow-
ardly forgetting their antient proweſſe, ſhould faint in time of battell, they were not then to
thinke by any meanes to eſcape by flight backe againe through thoſe great plaines and deſo-
late countries; where they ſhould by the way either ſhamefully periſh, or elſe to their perpe-
tuall infamie be taken priſoners, and as baſe ſlaues, during their liues be enforced to ſerue the
Perſian women: foraſmuch as beſide the great diſtance of the place, both the great riuer Eu-
phrates, and the huge mountaine Taurus, and the faithleſſe king *Aladeules*, who had ſhut vp all
the paſſages, did cut off all hope from them, if they ſhould be ouercome, by any meanes poſſi-
ble to eſcape backe againe into Capadocia.

The great and mortall battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.

When *Hyſmael* was come neere with his armie, and the Aſapi vpon ſigne giuen diuiding
themſelues, made place for the great artillerie to play; as was before appointed; he alſo pro-
perly diuiding his horſmen, charged the right wing of the Turks armie, with ſuch force, that
after a moſt terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks, and the valiant Perſian men at armes, M
Chaſan Baſſa the great commander of the Europian horſmen, with the formoſt of that wing be-
ing ſlain, and many more after them, he inforced all that wing to retyre vnto that place where
Selymus himſelf, with the Ianizaries ſtood. On the other ſide, *Vſta-Ogli* hauing receiued no lit-
tle harm by the Turks great ordnance, becauſe he had not ſo ſpeedily cleered himſelfe & his fol-

A followers of that danger, as had *Hyſmael*, charged the Aſian horſemen in the left wing, and
there in bloudie battell made great ſlaughter of the enemie, but not with like good hap as did
Hyſmael: for whiles he moſt couragiouſly in the formoſt rankes aſſailed his enemies, he was
ſtruck with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. With whoſe fall the Turks were greatly encouraged, inſo-
much as that they which but now were glad to giue ground, and had loſt the third part of that *Vſta-ogli ſlain.*
wing, began afreſh to renew the battell, and valiantly to withſtand the Perſians; and with their
harquebuſiers (wherwith the Perſian horſmen were wonderfully terrified) draue them head-
long vpon the Turks common footmen. The Perſians whether it were forced by neceſſitie
for that they had loſt ſo great a commander, and not wel able to gouerne their horſes terrifi-
ed with the thundring ſhot, or elſe for that the open ſide of the footmen preſented vnto them
B greater place of aduantage, ſerring themſelues together brake through the middle of the bat-
tell of thoſe Turkiſh footmen, and bearing them down before them with a mightie ſlaughter,
came to the great ordnance and there ſlew the canoniers, who diſcharging their field pieces
at all aduentures, in that great medly made a foule ſlaughter, as well of their owne men as of
their enemies. And ſo without ſtop (as victorious conquerors) made way through the midſt
of their enemies, vntill they came to the right wing: where *Hyſmael* was ſtill hardly charging
the Europeian horſemen, who hauing before loſt *Chaſan* their Generall, and beeing many of
them ſlaine or wounded, were already enforced to retire; but now charged afreſh vpon the
ſide, had much adoe to endure the fury of their enemies, but as men in extreame danger, were
glad to crie to *Selymus* for helpe.

C In this hard diſtreſſe, *Selymus* in two places opened his carriages, wherewith he ſtood as it
were entrenched, and preſently ſent out part of his horſmen. And by and by turning himſelfe
vnto his Ianizaries, ſaid, *This daies victorie is reſerued (moſt worthie ſouldiers) vnto your valor and
labor, wherefore now valiantly ſet forward, and as freſh and couragious men, aſſaile your wearied ene-
mies; their horſes are all on a water with ſweat, and the men themſelues faint vnder the waight of their
armor.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could ſay, the Ianizaries were not very forward, but ſtood
ſtill, as men willing in ſo great a danger to keepe themſelues within the ſafegard of their mu-
nition. Wherefore whileſt they at their leiſure ſet forward, the Perſians in the midſt of the
heat of this victorie, compaſſing in the Europeian horſemen, ſlew them downeright. *Selymus*
looking on and wiſhing in vain to help them. *Fabritius Carrectus* great Maſter of the Rhodes,
D who of all theſe things had certaine intelligence, writ to *Leo* the tenth then Biſhop of Rome,
that the Ianizaries refuſed to be commanded by *Selymus*, and were not by any perſuaſion or in-
treatie to be induced to relieue the diſtreſſed Europeian horſemen, but as men diſtruſting the
euent of the battell, choſe rather in their ſtrength to expect the ſucceſſe therof, than with moſt
manifeſt danger to expoſe themſelues vnto the violence of the Perſian horſemen, which had
as a tempeſt ouerborne the vantgard of the Turkiſh footmen.

The Perſians were now ready on euery ſide to haue aſſailed *Selymus* in his greateſt ſtrength:
when *Sinan Baſſa*, although the wing he led was ſore rent and weakned, yet following the Per-
ſians through the midſt of the heaps of the ſlaine footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*,
and with certain freſh troups which had eſcaped the fury of *Vſta Ogli*, reſtored the battell be-
E fore almoſt loſt: but eſpecially by the inuincible courage of *Alis-Beg* and *Mahomet* his bro-
ther, diſcended of the honorable familie of the *Molcozzij*, which for nobilitie amongſt the
Turks is accounted next vnto the *Othomans*; both of them for courage reſembling their war-
like father *Malcozzius*, famous for that wofull expedition he made into Friuli againſt the Ve-
netians in the raigne of *Baiazet*. *Selymus* alſo not yet diſcouraged but ſtil in hope, commanded
all the great ordnance wherewith he was enuironed, which he had reſerued as his laſt refuge,
to be diſcharged: by the violence whereof, ſuch ſlaughter was made, as well of his owne men
as of his enemies, mingled together, that what for duſt, what for ſmoake, and thundring of the
artillerie, hauing on both ſides almoſt loſt the vſe of ſight and hearing, and their horſes being
ſo terrified with the thundring report of the great ordnance, that they were not now to be ru- *The terrour of the battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.*
F led, the battell was broken off, the victory yet doubtfull. The Turkiſh hiſtories to expreſſe the
terror of this day, number it amongſt their diſmall daies, terming it *The onely day of doome.*

Hyſmael in this furious battell, hauing receiued a wound vnder his left ſhoulder with a ſmall
ſhot, by perſuaſion of his friends withdrew himſelfe to haue his wound ſearched: which thing
vndoubtedly was the ſafegard both of *Selymus* and his army: for the Perſians by & by folow-
ing

ing their king, left the victory, now in all mens opinion almost gotten. But after that *Hyf-* G
mael perceiued the wound was not deepe, for that the strengh of his armor had so broken the force of the shot, that it pierced not farre into his bodie, hee was about to haue charged the Turks afresh: but vnderstanding of the death of *Vsta-Ogli*, in whom for his singular experience in martial affaires, he had repoled his greatest confidence; and his captains also persuading him not to make so light reckoning of his wound, the griefe whereof he yet felt not, being warme, but to haue regard to his owne health: he in seemly order softly marched away in such sort, that his departure had no resemblance of flight. And passing by the citie of Tauris, willed the chiefe of the citizens to open the gates of the citie to *Selymus* (if he should come thither) and to receiue his garrisons, rather than by vaine constancie to fall into vtter destruction: and so marched himselfe into the confines of Media.

The Persian tents taken by the Turkes. But the Turks intangled with many difficulties, hauing no hearts for feare, nor strength for wearinesse to pursue their enemies, yet comming to the Persian tents, tooke them without resistance: where beside the rich pauillions wrought with needle worke of silke and gold, and much other pretious furniture, many noble ladies and gentlewomen were found, which after the manner of the Persians had followed their husbands in those wars; whom *Selymus* caused to be all freely set at libertie vntouched, excepting one of the wiues of *Hysmael* whom he detained and gaue her in marriage to one of his Bassaes. Some which were present at this battell, reported that amongst the heapes of them that were slaine, were found the dead bodies of diuers Persian women, which being armed, & following their husbands, died with them in the battell; whom *Selymus* caused to be honestly buried.

Thus was that notable battel fought in the Galderan fields neere vnto the citie of Coy, betwixt these two great princes, the seuenth day of August in the yeare of our Lord, 1514. In which battell *Selymus* lost aboue thirtie thousand men, amongst whom was *Chasan Bassa* his great lieutenant in Europe, seuen Sanzackes, in which were the two *Malcozzian* brethren, who labouring the one to rescue the other, were both together slaine. Beside his common footmen of whom he made least reckoning, he lost most part of his Illirian, Macedonian, Seruian, Epirot, Thessalian, and Thracian horsmen, the vndoubted flower and strength of his army, which were in that mortall battell almost all slaine, or grieuously wounded.

Selymus for all this great losse, by the confession of his enemies hauing gotten the victorie, and receiuing Embassadors from Coy and the cities thereabout, and the great citie of Tauris, K
promising to relieue him with whatsoeuer he needed, and to do what els he should command: marched directly to Tauris, desiring both to see and possesse himselfe of that citie, as one of the chiefe pallaces of the Persian kings. This citie is two dayes iourney distant from Coy where the battell was fought, & is verily thought to be the famous city called in antient time Ecbathana, about an hundred and fiftie miles distant from the Caspian sea. The citizens were readie at the comming of the Turks, and brought them great store of victuals out of the gates of the citie, where *Selymus* had lodged his armie in the suburbs, thinking it no safetie to lodge within that great and populous citie, contenting himselfe to haue the gates thereof deliuered vnto him, which he kept with strong guard. Some report that *Selymus* durst not trust the Persians, and therefore neuer went into the citie but disguised in the habit of a common souldier. L
Yet some others say, that he did with great magnificence banquet in the stately pallace of the Persian king, and there had great discourse with them of Tauris concerning his late victorie. But whilest he thus staied at Tauris, and with himselfe purposed to spend that winter in Armenia, he called together his great captains and commanders of his armie, to know how they liked thereof: who fearing his displeasure, wholly referred themselues to his own resolution. Only *Mustapha* his chiefe Bassa chanced to say, That it were good that the minds of the Ianizaries and the other souldiers of the court should therin be known. Which his speech, *Selymus* tooke in such euill part, that he presently commanded him out of his sight, and depriued him of his greatest honor: and the more to disgrace him, sent one of his iesters after him, who in great scorne and derision comming behind him, cut off part of his tulipant that hung down as M
the fashion was. But the Ianizaries vnderstanding the matter, and much offended with the in-
The Ianizaries in mutnie against Selymus. dignitie offered vnto the great Bassa whom they deerely loued, rose vp all together in armes, & told *Selymus* flatly, That they would not in any case winter so far from home in the enemies country: and therfore that it were best for him betime to consider of the matter, for that they were

A were resolutely set downe to forsake him if he would needs stay, and not with speed returne. *Selymus* much troubled with this insolencie of the Ianizaries, and hearing dayly, that *Hysmael* with new supplies out of Iberia, Albania, and Parthia, was comming vpon him with greater power than before, and considering withall, with what difficulty and danger he had escaped in the late battell, preserued rather by his good fortune and force of his great artillerie, than the valour and prowesse of his souldiers, and withall suspecting the multitude and strength of the Taurisians, of whose fidelitie he could make no reckoning, he changed his former determination, and resolued againe to returne into Capadocia: whereupon hauing contrarie to his promise exacted a great masse of money from them of Tauris, he departed thence, carrying away with him three thousand families, the best artificers in that citie, especially such as were skil-
B full in making of armour and weapons, and so with speed retired towards the riuer Euphrates, a longer way than that whereby he came: fearing to returne againe by the head of Araxis and the mountains Periardes, for meeting the Iberian and Albanian horsmen, who were reported to be then comming against him.

Hysmael vnderstanding of his departure, followed after with as much speed as he could, leauing behind him for hast his carriages and such of his souldiers as were not able to indure so long and speedie a march: yet for all his hast (forsomuch as *Selymus* was gone a great way before him) he could not ouertake any part of his army, vntil he was come to the great riuer Euphrates; where *Selymus* staying two daies, and hauing made diuers little boats, was passing ouer his footmen: which because they were not sufficient for the speedie transportation of so
C great a multitude, many for hast swam ouer the riuer with bladders, & some aduentured to get ouer vpon the broken peeces of their carriages, which they had for that purpose burst in sunder. *Selymus* himself got ouer to the farther bank in a little boat, hauing before caused his horsmen with their horses at once to take the riuer, of purpose to break the violence of the stream, whereby his footmen & cammels with their burdens got ouer with lesse danger, and some of his field pieces were also with lesse difficulty transported: yet for all the speed he could make, *Selymus in passing the riuer Euphrates, receiueth great losse.*
the Georgian horsemen, the forerunners of *Hysmael* his army, being come within sight before
D the Turks were all got ouer, raised such a feare and a stir all alongst that side of the riuer, that two thousand of the Turks were in their hasty passage there drowned, diuers field pieces left stic king in the mud, & much of their baggage carried away with the force of the riuer. The Georgians contenting themselues with such things as were left, pursued them no further: for the wheeles of the Turkes carriages entangled together with the violence of the streame, had staied a great part of the Turkish traih, floating in the riuer: and much more was in diuers places driuen vpon the shore, all which the Georgian horsemen easily drew out. *Hysmael* in the mean time reioicing at nothing more, than that hauing chased away his enemies, he had also recouered much of the great ordnance wherby he had before receiued so great hurt.

Selymus by speedie flight thus got out of the hands of the Persians, found his passing much more dangerous at the mountain Antitaurus, than he had before thought on: for *Aladeules*, the mountain king hauing now his fortune in contempt, and diligently waiting for his prey, had
E with his sauage people before taken all the strait passiges of the mountain country; who euery night in theeuish manner assailed the Turks, as they with their weake and wearie companies passed through those rough and broken waies: and robbing their carriages, presently fled into their haunts and places of refuge in the thicke woods and rockie mountaines. *Aladeules* himselfe in the mean time (by whose fraud all this was done) euery day excusing himselfe, as if it had bin done against his will, by the rude mountaine people, enured to such desperat robberies, whom neuertheless he said hee would in short time seuerely chastise so soone as hee could find the authors thereof. In the meane while, for fashion sake sending a little spare prouision for certaine dayes, did euery night rob and spoile the Turkes by his souldiers, as they could take them in places of aduantage. Against which mischiefes *Selymus* could neither by
F policie, neither his souldiers by industrie prouide any sufficient remedie. Wherefore dissembling the iniuries he daily receiued, purposing to be thereof in time reuenged, together with the foule & trecherous dealing of the faithlesse king, holding on his way, he with much adoo came at length to Trapezond, and from thence to Amasia, where he spent that winter in repairing his sore weakned army, purposing with the first of the Spring to make war vpon *A-* *Selymus commeth to Amasia.*
ladeules & the mountaine people, who in his returne had done him so great harm and iniurie.

In

blemish of infamie than the headines of punishment: so that it was not to be maruelled, if *Hysmael* by such honorable vertues did mightily defend the glorie of his maiesty and renowne. Vnto these his rare vertues, was also ioined a comlinesse of face (the fairest gift of nature) wel beseeming so great a monarch: for he was well colored, quicke eyed, yellow bearded, & that which amongst the Persians is accounted the signe of antient nobilitie, hooke noted; and was withall exceeding eloquent: by which good gifts, he wonderfully won to himselfe both the eies and hearts of such as beheld him. But in *Selymus*, his stern countenance, his fierce and piercing eies, his Tartar-like pale color, his long mustacho's on his vpperlip, like bristles, trild back to his neck, with his beard cut close to his chin, did so expresse his martial disposition & inexorable nature, that he seemed to the beholders, to haue nothing in him but mischiefe & cruelty. Which diuersitie of countenances was also accompanied with no lesse diuersity of affections, and so consequently with farre vnlike manner of gouernment. For *Hysmael* was of nature courteous and affable, easie to be seen and spoken withall, doing nothing that beseemed his regall function, but in the sight of all men: his maner was to dine openly in the companie of his nobility, delighting much in hauking and hunting, accompanied with his noble men and the Embassadors of forraine princes. He would oftentimes run, leape, and proue masteries with his chiefe courtiers, being himselfe a most excellent horsman & cunning archer: in his exercises he was so popular, that he would not stick openly to bathe himself & swim in his princely bathes: his wiues, the beautifull daughters of his nobility or neighbor princes, ladies of great chastitie, he neither loathed nor diuorced, after the antient manner of the Persian kings, who alwaies vsed most tenderly to loue and cherish their wiues, doing them all the honor possible in court, as partakers of all their fortune; and carried them, their children, nurses, & richest furniture into their farthest warres, to their great trouble and charge, by the presence of so deere pledges the more to encourage their minds in time of battell. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwise did al things in secret, eating his meat alone without any company, attended vpon with his pages and eunuches only, and satisfying natures want with some one simple dish of meat: he seldome went abroad but to the church, vpon the friday the Turks chiefe Saboth; and then so beset with his pentioners and other souldiers of the court, that although he vsed to ride alone mounted vpon some couragious horse, yet was it a hard matter by face to know him among so many armed men; who with great pride and insolencie kept backe the beholders: hee was seldome seen abroad in the city, chusing rather for his recreation to passe ouer in his gally into Asia, and there alongst the sea coast to take the aire: his wiues he would not suffer to come to court, neither vsed their companie but for procreation sake, and that (as was thought) without any great good countenance or familiarity; for that he being not greatly giuen to women, but more delighted with vnnaturall pleasure, thought a mans bodie and mind to be not a little weakned with the allurements of women: wherefore he seldome resorted to the cloister of choice paragons in the middest of Constantinople, shut in on euery side with high and blind wals. Those dainty pieces, either taken from their Christian parents, or by chance surprised by pirats, are there most curiously kept by antient matrons and old eunuches, by whom they are with all diligence instructed in the principles of the Mahometan law, and to read the Arabian tongue, and withall, cunningly and comely to sing, play, daunce, and sow: but *Selymus* of all others vsed seldomest to see their allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with women, or desirous of many (and oftentimes vnfortunat) children, hauing but one son (*Solyman*) by the daughter of *Mahamet* a Tartar king, who afterwards by the sufferance of God, proued a great plague to the Christian commonweale. Such spare time as he had from his serious & waighty affaires, he vsed to spend in walking in his gardens with some of his Bassaes or other great courtiers, & in beholding & noting the noblemens children there sporting themselues, would discourse & consult of many things of great importance. Some houres he would spend in the bathes, and in reading the histories of his ancestors & other forraine princes: imitating therein his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who caused almost all the histories of the famous princes of the world to be translated into the Turkish language, & their liuely counterfeits to be with cunning hand drawn, that by their worthy examples he might be the more inflamed to extend his fame and glory. He would many times scoffe at the great busines of his father *Baiazet*, who (as he said) was so drowned in the studie of *Auerrois* (determining nothing certainely of the nature of the soule) and the motions of the heauens, that he desired rather the name of a sharpe disputer,

Selymus tyrannicall.

Hysmael courteous.

Selymus churlish.

disputer amongst the idle professors of Philosophie, than of a renowned chiefetaine amongst his valiant souldiers and men of war.

One of the Persian embassadors finding him pleasantly disposed, demanded of him, why he did not weare his beard long, as his father *Baiazet*, and other great princes of that age had don, therby to seeme vnto their subiects of greater maiestie: to whom he answered, That he liked not to carrie about with him such an vnnecessarie handful, whereby his Bassaes might at their pleasure lead him vp and down the court, as they had done his father: noting therby, that *Baiazet* whilest he yet liued, had bin too much ouerruled by the Bassaes; which he could by no means indure, following no mans aduise but his owne in whatsoeuer he tooke in hand.

But to come vnto the Persians themselues, they in their warres had great disaduantage of the Turks: for as they were strong in horsmen, so were they destitute of expert trained foormen, by whose only meanes the Turks haue atchieued their greatest victories, and performed their greatest wars. Beside this, it was a great want in the Persians, that they had not the vse of guns, against whose fury no sufficient resistance can be made, or force of man opposed: as appeared by the lamentable example of *Vsun-Cassanes* at Artenga, & now of *Hysmael* in the Caldean fields, whose victorious armies of horsmen were in both places put to the worse by the terror and violence of the Turks artillerie. For the naked Turkish horseman is not to be compared with the Persian man at armes; who comes into the field armed with a strong cuiras, a sure head-piece, and a good targuet: whereas the Turkish Europeian horsemen, altogether naked, vse only a square or crooked buckler, wherewith they do scarcely couer themselues: and the Asian horsemen, bucklers made of soft reeds, wound round, and couered with some kind of silke. The Persian horsemen also, wearing their pouldrons and gauntlets, and bearing staues of good ash, armed at both ends, fight with them as occasion serueth at the halfe staffe, after the maner of the Numidians, and with doubling and redoubling their often thrusts from on high, doe easily wound or kill the vnarmed Turks, with their horses: whereas the Turkish horsemen, after the manner of the Grecians, couching their staues in their rests, do at the first course most commonly breake the same, being made of light and brittle firre, and so presently come to their scimitars, or horsemans maces, being in all other things far inferior to the Persian man at armes. As for the Turkish archers on horseback, they are in no respect to be compared with the Persians, who well mounted and surely armed, and vsing both greater & stronger bowes, shoot more deadly arrows, & so make small account of the Turks. So that all things well considered, the Persian armie, deuoted to their king, as well for the great and firme opinion conceiued of his high courage and diuine spirit, as for that they were to him by faith obliged, although it was in number far inferior, yet had it bin of the Turkes inuincible, if it had not bin ouerwhelmed by the cruell, cowardly, and murthering artillerie, and wonderfull multitude of men. The cause why *Hysmael* out of so many great & large prouinces then vnder his obeisance (able in antient times with their multitude to couer the face of the earth, & to drink the riuers drie) brought now so small an army against the Turkish Emperor, breaking into the heart of Armenia; was, for that *Hysmael* to win the hearts of the people by bounty, had remitted a great part of his customs and tributes, so as then stood best with his policie, hauing but lately aspired to the kingdome, and thrust downe his neere kinsmen, the posterity of *Vsun-Cassan* and *Iacup*, the right full inheritors thereof: so that his coffers being emptie, & wanting money, the sinews of war, he was not able to raise so great an army as otherwise he might out of those populous kingdoms & countries, yeelding plentifully all things necessarie for mans vse. Whereas with *Selymus* it was far otherwise: whose horsemen, footmen, captaines, canoniers, both at sea and land, officers of peace and wars, receiued their daily wages and monthly paies in readie money, of his treasurers and paymasters: for defraying of which charge he neuer wanted coyne, hauing an inestimable masse of money alwaies in store in the seuen towers at Constantinople: and his yerely tributes and reuenewes still exceeding all his charges by a fourth part. The strength of the Persian king consisted in three kind of soldiers: the first were they which were accounted souldiers of the court: the second, such as were by custome and dutie bound to serue him in his wars: and the third, such as were sent to him from the princes his neighbors and confederats. Those which were accounted souldiers of his court, had their certain stipends, and were altogether maintained of the kings charge; of whom, according to the old custome of the Persian kings, they at certaine times receiue armor, horses, apparell, tents,

The Persians better horsmen than the Turks

The cause why Hysmael came with so small an armie against Selymus.

and wages, euery one as he is in place and degree. And being attended vpon with a gallant and strong garrison of these, he maintaineth the maiesty of his court, especially when he rideth in prograce. The nobilitie and antient gentlemen of his country, who hold lands and possessions discended vnto them from their ancestours, or holden by the gift of the king, are sent for in time of wars, and are of dutie bound to performe such like seruice as the nobilitie and gentlemen of Italie, France, and Spaine do vnto their soueraignes: these hardly amount to the number of twentie thousand, wherof it is well if the third part come well armed; the rest content themselues with head-pieces and iacks, and vse for their weapons either horsemens staues or bowes, which they can most cunningly handle, discharding their arrows very neere vnto that they aime at, either forward or backward. They which come vnto him from forrein princes, confederat or tributary, are commonly sent from the kings and princes of Iberia, Albania, and the countries bordering vpon Media, and Armenia; who being halfe Christians, beare a mortall hatred against the Turkes. *Hysmael* the Persian king had then vnder his dominion these great and famous countries, Armenia the greater, Sulthania, Persia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Media and Partia: whereof Armenia is the chiefest, famous for the great citie Tauris, called in antient time Ecbathana: this countrey yeeldeth vnto the Persian king his best footmen; but his choice horsemen come from out of Persia, and especially from Scyras, called of old Cyripolis: next vnto them are from Assyria; the chiefe citie whereof is Bagadat, called in antient time Babylon. The Medes and Parthians are of all others accounted the best archers next vnto the Scythians.

The countries subiect to Hysmael.

1515 But now to returne againe from whence we haue a little too farre strayed. *Selymus* after his great expedition against *Hysmael*, wintering at Amasia, by his lieutenants and captaines in Europe and Asia, raised such a power, that with the first of the Spring he entered again into the confines of the Persian kingdome, with a greater army than before, and that somewhat sooner than the extreame cold of that parr of Armenia (subiect to the snowie mountaine Taurus) would either well suffer, or that the enemie thought it had beene possible for him to haue so done. There was vpon the further side of the riuer Euphrates a strong towne called Clamassum, scituate a little aboue that place where the riuer Melas (much celebrated by the Grecian Poets) falleth into the riuer Euphrates; which towne for the commodious scituation therof, standing vpon the first entrance of the passage into Armenia the great, the Persians had furnished with a strong garrison: this towne *Selymus* thought good in any case to be master of, by taking whereof, and of some other holds thereabout, he should open a faire way for himselfe into his enemies countrey. *Hysmael* at the same time was gone with all his power against the Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and other sauage people dwelling neere vnto the Caspian sea, then vp in arms against him: which wished opportunitie *Selymus* taking, and making a bridge ouer the riuer Euphrates, passed ouer with his armie, came before the towne, and laid hard siege to the same before his enemies were well aware of his comming. The Turkes at their first approch compassing the citie round with their huge multitude of harquebusiers and archers, draue the defendants from the wals; and still without rest or intermission bringing on fresh men, as *Selymus* had before taken order, and others at the same time breaking open the gates, and in diuers places scaling the wals, enforced the defendants to forsake their standings, and to retire themselues into the market place; where although they were before sore spent with labor & wounds, yet did they there with wonderfull courage a great while notably withstand the multitude of their enemies still swarming in, and in defence of their countrie, like resolute men, fought it out vnto the last man.

Selymus with a new armie entreth into Armenia.

Selymus hauing taken and ransacked Clamassum, with two other small castles which the defendants had for feare before abandoned, although he was with a deadly hatred & ambitious desire prickt forward against *Hysmael*, and thirsted after nothing more than the subuersion of the Persian kingdome: yet he thought it not good further to enter into Armenia, before hee had out of those forrests and mountains chased the mountain king *Aladeules*, who but the yere before had most trecherously done him and his armie so many iniuries in his return from the Persian expedition. For *Aladeules* not without cause fearing his owne estate, as soone as he vnderstood that *Selymus* had againe taken the field, and that he was come to the riuer Euphrates, and so to Clamassum, speedily assembling his forces, had in short time raised a great armie for the defence of himselfe and his Kingdome: purposing that if *Selymus* should goe farther into

into Armenia, then after his wonted maner to looke on as a beholder, and by the euent of the war, to take occasion of prey, and by shutting vp the passages of his country, at his pleasure to rob and spoile the Turkes in their returne. Wherefore *Selymus* leauing a garrison at Clamassum, retired backe againe ouer the riuer Euphrates vnto the mountaine Anritaurus, where it was reported that his enemies lay.

This *Aladeules* (as is aforesaid) ruled ouer the rude and sauage mountaine people, inhabiting the great mountaines Taurus and Anritaurus: which mountaines as it were linked together one to another, run from the mountains called Scodristi, and the borders of Capadocia, with a perpetuall rising, through many large prouinces and countries vnto the great mountain Amanus, and vttermost bounds of Cilicia. The people of this countrey were by nature fierce and warlike, more famous for nothing than for the warr of all things; who as men dwelling in a rough and bare countrey, could little or nothing profit by husbandrie: yet in such places as would beare any pasture, they had their breed of horses and camels, and did with all diligence vse grasing; but the greatest part of their liuing consisted in hunting & stealing. These are supposed to haue had their beginning from the Galatians, Capadocians, Armenians, and the old inhabitants of Asia the lesse, which by long and continuall wars in former ages, and especially by the lamentable irruption of the Scithians, were inforced to forsake their cities and dwellings, and for safegard of their liues to flie into those rough and desolat mountains. These distressed people searching euery hill and euery dale, and following the opportunitie of the riuers and fountaines, but especially the mildest temperature of the aire, and fauorable aspect of the Sun, built in many places poore country villages, and afterwards diuers faire townes: where in processe of time they growing to better estate, there rise vp some amongst them, which ouerruling the rest, ambitiously tooke vpon them the name of kings, desiring to be had in regard, and to bee feared of their neighbours, although they commanded but ouer rough woods and ragged rockes. Neere vnto the confines of *Aladeules* kingdome is the citie Orpha, which many suppose to haue bin the famous citie Edessa, because that as yet there remaineth certaine monuments of *Baldwin* in latine letters, who after his brother *Godfrey* was possessed of Ierusalem, is reported to haue taken Edessa, and there raigned. Not far from thence is also the antient citie Amyda, which at this day is called Caramrdi, ioyning vpon Mesopotamia: which countrey lying betweene the two great riuers Euphrates and Tygris, is now called Diarbecha. The chiefe citie of *Aladeules* kingdome was Maras, so called as may be thought of the faire riuer Marsias running through it out of the mountaine Cælene, taking the name of *Marsias*, ouercome by *Apollo*, and made famous by the verses of many learned Poets. But *Aladeules*, after he saw that *Selymus* with his armie was entered into the frontiers of his kingdom, and drawing neere vnto him, brought downe all his horsemen, in number about fifteene thousand, from the mountains into a faire large valley; commanding his footmen, whereof he had great store, to keepe the mountaines on the right hand and the left: where hauing the high rockie mountaines and strait passages much for his aduantage, hee determined in that place which he had long before chosen and fortified, to expect the comming of his enemies. *Selymus* considering the disaduantage of the place, although he perceiued the victorie could not without great losse of his men be obtained; and before persuaded that his enemies would neuer haue willingly bin drawne to battell: yet made no doubt to aduenture his fortune, presuming vpon the multitude and strength of his armie. Wherefore he commanded *Sinan Bassa* the Eunuch (whom he had made generall of the Europeian horsemen in stead of *Chasan Bassa* before slaine) with a square battell to charge the enemie afront, forasmuch as the place would not suffer him to range his battell in length, nor to vse any wings: and hee himselfe with his Ianizaries and Asian horsemen followed after in the rereward. Neither were the souldiers of *Aladeules* vnmindfull of themselues or of their king, who valiantly fought in the head of the battell, but hauing spent their arrowes, did couragiously receiue the furious assault of the Turkes: and standing close to them, still keeping the aduantage of the ground, did with such force repulse them, that the old beaten souldiers of the Turks, seemed little or nothing to preuaile either with their multitude or valor: for the Turks by reason of the straightnesse of the place, could not inclose them on either side, and were beside grieuously wounded by *Aladeules* footmen, who standing vpon the sides of the hils with their darts and arrowes from aboue, ouerwhelmed the Turks in the vally. When *Selymus* saw that *Aladeules*, contrary to his

Aladeules his kingdome.

Selymus assaileth Aladeules.

expectation made ſtrong reſiſtance, and valiantly withſtood his forces; he drew certaine companies of harquebuſiers out of his owne ſquadrons, and ſent them to relieue their fellowes: and at the ſame inſtant commanded the Ianizaries to all the danger to mount the hill. Then the mountain people terrified with the ſtrangenes of the ſhot, and not able to abide the force therof, by and by turned their backs, and by knowne waies fled into their ſure haunts, in the mountains & woods faſt by: yet the greateſt ſlaughter fell amongſt theſe footmen, who when they ſaw the horſmen put to flight, & the Ianizaries comming vp the hils againſt them, did with much difficultie, by ſteepe and broken waies clamber vp the high mountains: as oftentimes it falleth out, that both the ſtrength of mens legs and other their wonted forces faile them moſt, when ſurpriſed and ouercome with ſudden feare, they deſire to run, & flie faſteſt. The Turks hauing them in chaſe, had the killing of them vntill the going down of the Sun. The horſmen with the king, vpon their ſwift horſes, well acquainted with thoſe rocks & rough ways, with little loſſe retired themſelues into the further & ſtronger places of the mountains.

Aladeules flies into the mountaines.

Aladeules after this diſcomfiture, finding himſelfe in all things far inferiour to his enemie, thought it beſt by protracting the war, to wearie him out: wherfore as the Turks purſued him, and burnt the poore country cottages ſtanding in their way, hee ſtill fled from mountaine to mountaine, neuer offering battel or ſhewing himſelfe, but in places of great aduantage: and therefore *Selymus* fearing leſt in that barren rough and vnknowne countrey, he ſhould either want victual or by ſome other means be intrapped, if he ſhould ſtil with his whole armie follow after his ſtrong enemies, vpon the ſeuenth day left off to purſue them any further. And encamping himſelfe in the moſt conuenient place of that countrie, ſent *Sinan Baſſa* with his light horſemen, who carrying with them certaine daies victuals, ſhould ſtill at the heeles follow the enemie, and with all ſpeed and policie poſſible hunt after the king himſelfe. *Selymus* in the meane time curiouſly inquiring of the countrey captiues after the ſtrength of *Aladeules*, & what means he had to maintain the war; found, that he had taken with him his beſt men both horſe and foot; and had commanded the countrie people to forſake the villages, of purpoſe to leaue all deſolat to the enemie: and hauing ſurely intrenched himſelfe vpon a certain ſtrong rock (whither he had before conuaied great ſtore of prouiſion) was reſolued not to giue battell vnto his enemies, vntill he had drawn them into the impregnable ſtraits of the mountains, where their hugie multitude ſhould little auaile them, but to increaſe their owne loſſe. Another cauſe there was alſo (as they ſaid) for that he feared to be betraied by *Alis Beg* his kinſman, Generall of his horſemen; who firſt fled in the late battell; whoſe vnfaithfulnes and hatred might ſeeme to proceed of a iuſt ground, for that *Aladeules* had in former time trecherouſſly murthered his father, vpon a iealous ſuſpition of his aſpiring vnto the kingdome.

Selymus vnderſtanding all this, cauſed the captiues to haue their yrons ſtruck off, and in ſtead of their giues lading them with gifts and promiſes, ſent them to *Alis Beg* with ſecret letters and rewards, to perſuade him in ſo fit a time to reuenge his fathers death; which thing if hee would perform by ſome notable exploit vpon *Aladeules*, he ſhould both purchaſe vnto himſelfe great credit with *Selymus*, and alſo the kingdom. Theſe homely meſſengers according as was giuen them in charge, hauing imparted the matter to *Sinan Baſſa*, within few daies had ſo wrought, that *Alis Beg* (whom the deſire of a kingdome together with *Selymus* his rewards prickt forward to ſeeke reuenge) was eaſily drawne to ioine hands with *Selymus*. And when he could no other way hurt *Aladeules*, who miſtruſting all things, warily looked vnto himſelf, he found the means to go ouer to *Sinan Baſſa*, carrying after him a great part of *Aladeules* his beſt horſemen: by whoſe means the reſt alſo which remained being with rewards corrupted, one companie after another came at laſt all ouer vnto the Baſſa. *Aladeules* circumuented with this vnexpected trecherie, which neuer before thought it poſſible that his men ſhould all ſo ſuddenly haue forſaken him & reuolted to the Turks, was now glad to repoſe al his hope in ſecret flight. But *Sinan Baſſa* & *Alis Beg*, hardly purſuing him as he fled through the mountains hiding himſelf in rocks & the thick woods, & at laſt drew him out of a caue, being betraid by the country peaſants. *Aladeules* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few daies after put to death, & his head in great deriſion afterwards caried about through all Aſia the leſſe: & afterward by way of barbarous oſtentation, ſent by *Selymus* to the Senat of Venice, as a loathſome teſtimony of his victory. *Aladeules* thus dead, *Selimus* reduced al his kingdom to the form of a prouince, which he diuided into three parts, & after the maner of the Turkiſh gouernment, appointed

Aladeules taken & brought to Selymus, is put to death.

pointed to euery part a Sanzacke: yet ſo, that *Alis Beg* ſhould be chiefe ouer the reſt, with ſuch ſouereigntie, as that hee wanted nothing of a king but the name onely. And for the better gouernment of all things in that new gained kingdome, hee left *Sinan Baſſa* there all the reſt of that Summer; with commandement, that after he had ſet all things in good order, he ſhould winter at Iconium; and he himſelfe with a ſmall traine returned to Conſtantinople, for he had heard, that whileſt he was buſied in his wars againſt *Hyſmael* and *Aladeules* in Armenia, that the Hungarians had made diuers incurſions into Seruia, and ſpoiled that countrey. Wherefore for feare of loſing Samandria (which ſtanding neere to Danubius, for the conuenient ſcituation thereof is reputed the bulwarke of Seruia and Thracia) hee ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa* then Gouernor of Boſna with eight thouſand horſemen, who paſſing the riuer Savus entered into Croatia as far as Catinum: and at the ſame time tranſported another army ouer Danubius into Hungarie, to the intent that the Hungarians at one inſtant beſet with double danger, ſhould be inforced to feare their owne State; and withall to ſhew vnto the World, of what ſtrength and power the *Othoman* Emperours were. Deeming it to concerne much, both for the preſent, and the time to come, to the daunting of the Chriſtians; if hee ſhould by his happie attempts make it knowne, that hee could at once eaſily and readily maintaine ſo many and ſo puiſſant armies, and wage ſo great warres in diuers parts of the world, and ſo far diſtant one from another.

Selymus inuadeth Hungarie.

In the end of the yere, when he had thus with double inuaſion repreſſed the Hungarians, he ſpent the Winter following at Hadrianople and Conſtantinople, in making of greater preparation for war than euer hee had before from the beginning of his raigne. For he was aduertiſed, that the great monarchs of the North his neighbors, namely *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungarie, and *Sigiſmundus* king of Polonia, with the princes of Germanie, had combined themſelues together to make warre vpon him. But after he had learned by his ſure intelligencers (whom he had with great charge ſent into all parts of Europe, diligently to obſerue what was done in the courts of thoſe great princes) that all the great meetings of the Chriſtian Princes proued nothing but glorious words and ſumptuous banquets; he being rid of that vaine feare (God ſo appointing) turned himſelfe and all thoſe his wonderfull preparations againe toward the Eaſt, to the great quiet of Chriſtendome in generall.

Yet leſt happily in the abſence of himſelfe and of his armies, the Chriſtian Princes might take occaſion to inuade his dominions, he ſtrengthened the frontiers of his empire with moſt ſtrong garriſons; and left his ſonne *Solyman* (who afterward proued the ſcourge of Chriſtendome) at Hadrianople with a ſtrong power, and *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his tutor (a man of great wiſedome and gouernement) at Conſtantinople. This great Baſſa was of Cilicia, a native Turke borne, which was a thing accounted ſtrange, foraſmuch as the great Baſſaes were alwaies choſen of the Chriſtian bloud. After that, he ſent *Cherſeogles* (whom of all others he moſt truſted) with his armie into Bythinia, and made *Zafferus* an Eunuch Admiral of his nauie, which he had but a little before built, and with a wonderfull labour and charge rigged forth. Then ſtaying a few daies at Conſtantinople to ſee the young ſouldiers, but then choſing Ianizaries, hee departed thence and went to his old armie, lying with *Sinan Baſſa* at Iconium, purpoſing to haue againe inuaded the Perſian.

1516

Selymus goeth to Iconium.

When he was come thither, he vnderſtood that *Campſon Gaurius* Sultan of Ægypt (with a great armie leuied in Ægypt and Iudea) was come into Syria; giuing it out that he would aid the Perſian king his confederat, & with al hoſtilitie enter into Cilicia, if *Selymus* ſhould farther proceed to inuade *Hyſmael* the Sophi his friend & allie. *Selymus* perplexed with theſe news, & fearing that if he ſhould once paſſe ouer the riuer Euphrates, *Campſon* lying ſo neere in readineſſe, ſhould forthwith breake in at his back into Aſia by the mountain Amanus, and ſo indanger that part of his dominion, ſtaied at Iconium, & ſent his embaſſadors with great preſents to *Campſon* to pacifie him, if it might be. The chiefe men in this embaſſage were the Cadeleſcher, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, and of them exceedingly reuerenced for the opinion they had of his great knowledge in the Mahometan ſuperſtition, who afterward wrot the Commentaries of this war; & *Iachis* a great captain. The ſcope of whoſe embaſſage was, to intreat *Campſon*, that he would not hinder or diſturbe *Selymus* from making war vpon the Perſian king; who had ſo often and ſo forcibly inuaded his dominions in Aſia, and by bringing in a new forme of ſuperſtition, had corrupted and altered the moſt certain grounds of the Mahome-

Mahometan religion. And if they found him resolutely set downe and not to be by any conditions remoued, then with all possible diligence to learne his strength and farther designes, so far as by any means they could, and with all speed to make their returne. G

The cause moouing Campson to fal out with Selymus.

But *Campson* now far spent with age, and liuing in the height of worldly blisse, although he knew it fitter for him at those yeres to giue himselfe to ease & quietnesse, than to thrust himselfe into wars and other princes quarrels; yet thought this expedition to be for many causes both good and necessarie. First, he deadly hated the man for his inhumane crueltie, and therfore could neuer be persuaded to renew the league with him which he had in former time made with his father *Baiazet*: besides that, he desired to abate and represse his audacious insolencie, grown already by his prosperous successe beyond the bounds of reason: for *Selymus* hauing taken Tauris, ouerthrowne the Persians, and slaine *Aladeules*, began now to seeme terrible to all the princes that bordered vpon him, and there were many which said hee was another *Alexander*, who whilest other princes sate still as men a sleepe, did in the mean time plot in his victorious mind, the monarchie of the whole world. But aboue all things, the feare of the losing of Syria, and consequently the losse of all his kingdome (the quickest motiue to stirring vp of the suspitious mindes of the greatest princes) most inforced *Campson* to take in hand this war: for as much as the goodly kingdomes of Ægypt, Iudea, and Syria, oppressed with the intollerable gouernment of the proud Mamalukes, and therefore lesse faithfull to the Ægyptian kings, were in danger to reuolt to the Turks, if the Persians should by any mischance or fortune of war be of the Turks vanquished. For which cause *Campson* in the beginning of this war, solicited by the Persian embassadors, had made a firme league and confederation with *Hysmael*; and also moued with the miserie of the wofull yong prince *Aladin* the son of *Achomates*, was in mind persuaded, that the cruel Turkish tyrant might by his and the Persian kings forces, easily be thrust out of his empire in Asia and Europe. For *Aladin*, who after the death of *Achomates* his father, fled to *Campson* the Sultan of Ægypt (as is before declared) had liued three yeares as a forlorne and distressed prince in the Ægyptian court, and by all means he could deuise incited the Mamalukes to reuenge the iniuries and cruelty of his vncle *Selymus*. The eldest sonne also of the late king *Aladeules*, a goodly yong prince, hauing at once lost his father, his kingdome, and whatsoeuer he had else, was in good time fled to the Ægyptian king, and had so filled the minds of all men with the indignation and detestation of *Selymus* his exceeding crueltie, that the princes of the Mamalukes of their owne accord came to *Campson*, humbly beseeching him to take vpon him so iust a war: and if by reason of his great yeares he should think himselfe vnable to indure the trauell thereof, it would then please him yet to giue them leaue of themselues to take the matter in hand, for the repressing of the insolencie of that great and wicked tyrant. H I K

The order of the Mamalukes.

These Mamalukes far excelled the Turkes, not onely in strength of bodie, skilfull riding, and goodly armor, but also in courage and wealth. Beside that, they had not forgotten with what small power they had vnder the leading of *Caitbeius* their great Sultan, ouerthrown the Turks great armies in Cilicia, first at Adena, and afterward at Tarsus, where they tooke prisoners, *Mesites Palæologus* the great Bassa, and *Cherseogles*, *Baiazet* his son in law: by which victorie they grew into such a proud and vaine conceit of themselues, as if they had bin the onely souldiers of the world, able of themselues to vanquish and ouercome whomsoeuer they should set vpon. These so valiant souldiers, were for the most part of the poore people called in antient time *Getæ*, *Zinchi*, and *Bastarnæ*, born neere vnto the Euxin sea and the fens of Mæotis, especially on that side where the riuer Corax falleth into the Euxine sea: which countrey is of latter time called Circassia, of the people called Cercitæ neere vnto Cholchis. These miserable and wretched people, the Valachians, Podolians, Polonians, Roxolanes and Tartars, dwelling by Taurica (pulled from their mothers breasts, or by other violent meanes surprised) were sold to merchants; who culling out the best for strength of body, or aptnesse of wit, conuaied them by sea to Alexandria, from whence they were continually sent to the great Sultan of Ægypt: and by his appointment were at Caire (after the old manner of that people) deliuered to masters of fence and such other teachers, who carefully instructed them, beeing shut vp in their schools, in all manner of feats of actiuitie: where after they were become able to bend a strong bow, and taught cunningly to shoot, leap, run, vault, ride, and skilfully to vse all manner of weapons, they were then taken into pay, and receiued into the number of the kings L M

A kings horsemen or Mamalukes: and such of them as prooued cowardly or vnapt, were made slaues vnto the rest. So that they seeing all honor, credit, and preferment, laied vp in martiall prowesse, did with all diligence and courage imploy themselues to militarie affaires, and therin so well profited, that oftentimes they which at the first were but bare and base slaues, of the meanest of the Mamalukes, by many degrees of seruice rise at length to the highest degrees of honour. All these Mamalukes were the children of Christian parents, from the time of their captiuitie instructed in the Mahometan superstition: for no man borne of a Mahometan father, or of a Iew, could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke horsemen: which was so straitly obserued, that the honor of a Mamaluke horseman neuer descended vnto the sons of the Mamalukes, yet might they by law inherit their fathers lands, possessions, and goods: by
B which reason the sonnes of the Sultans themselues neuer succeeded, their fathers in the kingdom. Hereby also it came to passe, that many Christians of loose life, or condemned for their notorious offences, flying thither, and abiuring the Christian religion, and suffering themselues to be circumcised, being men meet for the wars, grew by degrees to great honor: as did *Tangarihardinus* the sonne of a Spanish mariner, who by his forwardnesse and industrie grew into such credit and authority with *Campson* the great Sultan, that almost all things were done by his aduice and counsell; & was diuers times by him employed in most honorable seruice, being sent embassador both to *Baiazet* the Turkish Emperour, and to the State of Venice, about matters of great importance. Yet his impietie escaped not the hand of God, for at length by the enuie of the court he was brought into disgrace, thrust out of his place, & cast into prison,
C where he, loaded with cold yron, most miserably died. Neither was it to be maruelled if the Mamalukes were growne to that excesse of wealth, forasmuch as the Ægyptians and Syrians being miserably by them oppressed, were not suffered to haue the vse either of horse or armour, neither admitted to any matters of counsell; but being impouerished and brought low with heauie impositions and daily iniuries of the Mamalukes, gaue themselues wholly to the trade of marchandise, husbandrie, and other mechanicall occupations: ouer whom the Mamalukes had power and command, as imperious masters ouer their seruants, & would with greater insolencie than is to be beleeued abuse the poore countrey people, beating and spoiling them at their pleasure; and not so contented, rauishing their wiues and daughters without redresse. The Ægyptians (a people in antient time much renowned for their valor and prowesse)
D were by these masterful slaues kept in this miserable thraldome and slauerie about the space of three hundred yeares. For after the declination of the Romane empire, that rich countrey falling into the gouernment of the Constantinopolitan Emperors, the Ægyptians soone wearie of the proud and auaritious soueraignty of the Greekes, called in the Sarasins, by whose help they expulsed the Greekes, and after chose the General of the Sarasins for their king, after whose name the Ægyptian kings were of long time called Caliphes, as they had of antient time been called by the names of *Pharo* and *Ptolomey*.

The imperious gouernment of the Mamalukes in Egypt, Iudea, and Syria.

The last of these Caliphes raigned at such time as the Christians vnder the leading of *Godfrey* and *Bohemund*, passing as conquerors through Asia and Syria, erected the kingdome of Hierusalem. He being inuaded by *Almericus* sixt king of Hierusalem, and finding himselfe too
E weake, praied aid of the Sultan of Syria, who sent him *Sarraco*, a valiant captain, with a strong power to aid him: but *Sarraco* no lesse vnfaithfull than couragious, trecherously slew the Caliph, in whose aid he came, and tooke vpon him selfe the kingdome. After *Sarraco* succeeded *Saladine* his brothers sonne, who vtterly extinguished the name and authoritie of the Caliphes in Ægypt, whom *Sarraco* had yet left as high Priests. This *Saladine* oftentimes vanquished the Christian armies in Syria and Iudea, and at length quite ouerthrew the kingdome of Hierusalem, as is in the former part of this Historie to be seene. *Saladin* dying, left the kingdome of Ægypt to his brother, whose posteritie successiuely raigned of long time there, vntill the time of *Melechsala*. This *Melechsala* (last of the free borne kings, and of the posteritie of *Saladine*) had great and mortall warres with the Christians, wherein hauing lost most of his
F best soldiers, and reposing no great confidence in the Ægyptians, thought good to strengthen himselfe with a new kind of souldiers, meere slaues bought for money. For at that time the Tartars breaking into Armenia and Capadocia, and ouerrunning the people called Comani ioyning vpon Capadocia, made generall spoile of that people, as of prisoners taken by law of armes. Of this base people, *Melechsala* for a little money bought a great multitude,

which

The beginning of the gouernment of the Mamalukes in Egypt.

which he transported into Ægypt, and furnished them with armes: by whose prowesse he not only defended the frontiers of his kingdome, but also besieged *Lewis* the French king in his trenches not far from Damiata, called in antient time Heliopolis, or Pelusium, and shortly after in plaine battel tooke him prisoner, as is long before declared. But in the pride of this victorie, *Melechsala* was by the conspiracy of these his new souldiers slaine: in whose place they set vp one *Turqueminus*, a desperat fellow of their owne companie, honouring him with the title of the great Sultan of Ægypt. *Turqueminus* of a base slaue now become a great monarch (after the maner of men) forgetting his old companions which had so highly promoted him, and hauing them in great disdaine, was by one of them (called *Clotho*) suddenly slaine; for which fact he was by those base souldiers, his companions, chosen Sultan in his place: who for the short time of his raigne did much for the confirming of that seruile monarchie: yet was he at length slaine also by *Bandocader*, sometimes one of his fellow seruants, who also succeeded him in the kingdom. After him in long order succeeded many valiant men of the same seruile state and condition, whom for breuitie I wittingly passe ouer. Amongst the rest, *Cassbeius* (of whom wee haue before spoken in the life of *Baiazet*) was for wealth and martiall prowes most famous; who according to the maner of his predecessors, did with greater bountie and care maintain that seruile gouernment, than any of them who had before him raigned in Ægypt: and was for his notable gouernment and noble acts iustly accounted amongst the greatest princes of that age. After whose death great troubles arose in that seruile monarchie about the succession. Whereby the Mamalukes drawne into diuers factions, some seeking to prefer one, and some another, had in foure yeares space with ciuile wars sore weakned their estate, and slaine diuers of their greatest princes which had aspired vnto that kingdome. For appeasing of which mischiefes, tending to the vtter ruine of their kingdome, the great courtiers and chiefe men amongst the Mamalukes with one consent offered the kingdome to *Campson Gaurus* (or as the Turks call him) *Cansaues Gauris*, of whom wee now speake, a man of great integritie and courage, and altogether free from ambition. He, terrified with the dreadfull example of so many kings whom he had seene in short time miserably slaine by the ambitious aspiring of other proud competitors; when hee was sore against his will hoist vp vpon the shoulders of the nobilitie and chiefe souldiers, and so carried into the court, as their manner was, began earnestly to refuse the kingdome, and to withstand their choice, excusing himselfe as vnfit for so hie a place; and with teares standing in his eyes, besought the other great lords his friends, that they would forbeare to thrust him, well contented with his priuat life, into that glorious place subiect to so many dangers; and the rather, for that he neither had mony to giue bountifully vnto the souldiers of the court, as other the Ægyptian Sultans had accustomed; neither held that sufficiencie and authoritie as was requisit for repressing of such violent & seditious tumults as were too rife in that troublesome time and confusion of all things.

The nobilitie on the other side perswaded him, That he would not vpon a foolish obstinacie or vaine modestie refuse the offer of his present good fortune, but couragiously to take vpon him the gouernment of the state, now sore shaken with ciuile discord, together with the regal dignitie, which was with the generall good liking of all men so frankely offered vnto him. At last they all by solemne oath promised vnto him, That they would with all their power, policie, and wealth, maintaine and defend the maiestie of his state; and that the men of war should not demand their wonted largesse, before the same might by his receiuers and treasurers be raised of his customes and other reuenewes of the crowne. By which perswasions *Campson* incouraged, suffered himselfe to be saluted Sultan, and so tooke vpon him the gouernment. Afterwards, when he had giuen vnto the men of war ten millions of duckats, by the name of a largesse, and by his moderat gouernment had caused men generally to haue his prowesse and wisedome in admiration, he did with such policie and dexteritie reforme the shaken state of that kingdome, before rent in sunder with ciuile wars, taking away by poison and other secret deuices, some few, the chiefe authors of sedition, that for the space of sixteen yeares neither tumult nor noise of war was at any time heard of in all Syria or Ægypt: worthie vndoubtedly the name of a most excellent and fortunat Prince, if when he had by singular wisedome and policie established the generall peace and prosperitie of his kingdome, hee could haue there contented himselfe to haue liued in quiet, and in the winding vp of his life not rashly haue thrust himselfe into the dangerous quarrels of other princes.

The moderat and happie gouernment of Campson.

The

A The Cadeleschers and *Iachis* (*Selymus* his embassadours) departing from Icchilim, came in few daies to *Campson* the great Sultan, who then lay incamped neere vnto the riuer Orantes, at this day called Farfar. These embassadors entertained by *Campson* with greater bountie than courtesie, and shortly after their comming hauing audience in his pauilion, did with most temperat and calme speech deliuer their embassage. To whom *Campson* answered, That it was the antient custome of the Ægyptian Sultans (forasmuch as they held the chiefe place in their religion) with all care and industrie to keepe the other Mahometan Kings and people in peace and concord amongst themselues; whereof he for his part had been alwaies most desirous: and was for no other purpose come with his army into his province of Syria, than to perswade *Selymus* to peace. Who if he would needs wilfully proceed in his intended wars against *Hysmael* the Persian king, his friend and confederat, he would then do what should stand with his honour and place, and not longer suffer all to goe to wracke, for the vaine pleasure and furie of one insolent and ambitious man. He said also, That he had of long time before seene into *Selymus* his insatiable, fierce and troublesome disposition, who hauing most vnnaturally procured the death of his good father the old Emperor *Baiazet*, and slaine his bretliren, Princes of great valour; seuen of his nephewes, princes of no small hope; with many other of his best friends and faithfull counsellors; could make no end of his ambitious tyrannie. Wherefore they should tell *Selymus*, that one and all the conditions of peace should be, if he would from thenceforth desist from inuading of *Hysmael*, and restore to *Aladenler* his son, his father's kingdome, which had of long been vnder the defence and protection of the Ægyptian Sultans, as

B

C of right and reason hee ought to doe: hee should in so doing, beside his fauor and friendship which might greatly stand him in stead, reape greater fame and glory by an assured and honorable peace, than by doubtfull and dangerous warre.

Campson his answer to the embassadors of Selymus.

The Embassadors, although they knew right well that *Selymus* would not for any threats giue ouer his enterprise or lay downe armes; yet to the intent they might the sooner be dispatched, and so in time aduertise *Selymus* of the Sultans sudden comming, seemed wonderfully to like of his motion for peace, and to giue good hope by their reasonable perswasions to induce *Selymus* to like thereof: forasmuch as they were of his secret counsell, and mightable to doe much with him; whereby they trusted (as they would haue had the Sultan to beleeue) it would easily be brought to passe, that those sparks might be quenched, which all things standing vpright had not as yet kindled the fire of war. So they being by *Campson* rewarded,

D ding vpright had not as yet kindled the fire of war. So they being by *Campson* rewarded, and hauing leaue to depart, trauelling day and night, returned to *Selymus*, who was then come to Cæsarea.

Campson also remouing from Orantes, came into Comagena vnto the famous city of Aleppo, which citie is probably supposed to haue bin built of the ruines of the antient citie Hierapolis, by *Alepius* the Emperor *Iulianus* his lieutenant, who in that prouince did many notable matters, and called that new built citie after his owne name. It is scituate neere vnto the riuer Singa, which rising out of the mountaine Pierius, with many turnings and windings runneth thorough Comagena, and being but a small riuer, falleth at length into the riuer Euphrates. This citie *Hyalon* king of the Tartars tooke and burnt, at such time as the Christian princes of

E the West made warre with the Ægyptian kings, for the kingdomes of Seruia and Ierusalem. Which calamitie notwithstanding, it was againe repeopled, and is at this day a famous city, for the commodious scituation thereof much frequented with merchants from the furthest parts of the world. It is scarce fiue daies iourney from Tripolis and Berytus, the great ports of Syria, and is also neere vnto the Turks and Persians: so that the riches of the East are thither commodiously conuaied out of Turkie, ouer the mountaine Amanus which parteth Cilicia from Syria: and so likewise out of Persia and Mesopotamia ouer the riuer Euphrates, where the citie Byrtha of late time bounded the kingdome of the Ægyptian Sultans, from the Persian.

Selymus vnderstanding by his embassadors (who had diligently noted all things in the Sul-

Selymus conuerteth his forces from the Persians against Campson.

F tans camp) both of the comming, and of the number of his enemies; and also enformed of the Sultans proud answer, who had so peremptorily prescribed to him such vnreasonable conditions as pleased himselfe thought good to alter his purpose, and now to conuert his forces another way than he had before determined. For that to enter farther into Armenia, leauing so puissant an enemy as *Campson* at his back, seemed a thing too ful of danger and to giue ouer

the

the enterprise he had with so great care and charge vndertaken, and the appointment and plea- G
sure of another man, stood neither with his honor or stare. Wherfore in a matter so doubtful,
he resolued vpon a notable and necessarie point, well fitting the greatnesse of his mind. He
made shew as if he would haue gon directly against the Persian, as he had before determined;
and that the more certaine report of this his purpose might be carried to *Campson*, he sent be-
fore part of his armie with his carriages to the citie Suassia, in old time called Sebasta, it stan-
deth in the frontiers of the Persian kingdome, where the great riuer Euphrates pent vp with
the rocks of the mountaine Taurus, breaketh againe violently forth into Mesopotamia: but
turning himself vpon the right hand, purposed to passe the mountain Taurus, & breaking sud- H
denly into Comagena to come vpon the Sultan before hee were well aware of his comming.
Wherefore calling vnto him his trustie Ianizaries, with the other souldiers of the court, hee
openly with cheerfull countenance declared vnto them what he had resolued to doe with
the reasons of the alteration of his former determination: perswading them, that the victorie
would easily be atchieued, if they as couragious soldiers would with all celeritie (before the
Mamalukes could perceiue they were returned) get vp to the top of the mountaines, and re-
couer those difficult passages; not fearing the vaine names and titles of the Mamalukes. *For*
why (said he) *the strength of those horsemen is long since decayed and gone: the old Mamalukes, whom*
the time of Caitbeius *were of some fame and reputation, are all dead. You shall in battell meet but with*
a sort of gallant horsebreakers rather than souldiers, which can cunningly manage their horses in sport,
to the pleasure of the beholders, but know not how to encounter the enemy, or to indure to be wounded: I
who as carpet Knights effeminate with long peace, and corrupted with excesse and delicacie of their great
Cities, neuer saw their foes intrenched, or armed enemies, neither haue heard the sound of a trumpet, but
at plaies or shewes. Wherefore you are to make but small account of them, being furnished with no store
of endance or strength of footmen. But as the reuerend interpretours of our sacred Lawes and Religion,
hauing orderly performed all their obseruances, do diuine vnto vs all happinesse: so you as men full of
hope, set forward cheerefully vnto most assured victorie ouer your proud enemies. For God no doubt
fauoureth the quarrell of men iustly prouoked, and offereth meanes of victorie to such as take vp iust
and necessarie armes. Yea to ouercome the enemie, and to enioy victorie indeed, wholly consisteth in the
courage and valour of them which deeme nothing better or more honourable than to spend their liues
for the honour of their Prince and Countrey. Heere the Ianizaries shaking their weapons, forth-
with cried out with cheerefull voice, That he should lead and conduct them whithersoeuer K
hee would: saying, That they were readie as courragious men, to ouercome all the difficul-
ties of those hard passages, and patiently to endure all the labors and dangers incident to that
warre.

Selymus encou-rageth his soul-diers to goe a-gainst the Ma-malukes.

Selymus, by the mountaine people hauing found out the easiest passages, resolued to passe
ouer the mountaine with his armie in three places: and so appointing three great companies
of the common souldiers and country people, for the opening of the strait passages, hee com-
manded the rough and vneuen waies to bee made plaine and smooth, for the transporting of
his ordnance, and the broken passages to be cast euen, that so his baggage and carriages might
the better passe: and the more to encourage his souldiers to take paines, he promised present
reward to all such as in transporting of his ordnance, should take any extraordinarie paines.
Whereby it came to passe, that the same being of the smaller sort bearing bullet of no great L
height, was in short time by the cheerfull labour of his souldiers, drawne ouer those great
hils and dales: so that in fiue daies all his armie with his baggage and carriages were got ouer
the mountain Taurus, and come into the plaines of Comagena. For that mountaine where it
taketh the name of Amanus, which is almost in the middle where the riuer Euphrates parteth
the mountaine Taurus, and the Bay Issicus, is neither exceeding high, or yet impassable: for
as it commeth neerer the sea, it is not so rough as elsewhere, but is in many places inhabited
and tilled by the mountaine Cilicians, a fierce kind of people accustomed to labor and toile,
who are now called Caramanians, which is to say, the inhabitants of the blacke mountaines; M
for that the burnt rocks of the mountaine seeme a far off to be blake.

Alis-Beg which betraied *Aladeules*, whom *Selymus* had a little before sent for, as soon as the
armie was come downe into the frontiers of the enemies country, with a strong power of his
light horsmen, speedily ouerran all that country which is at the foot of Amanus and Taurus:
wherby to vnderstand of the country people & such as they could take prisoners, where *Camp-*
son

A *son* lay with his armie; and also by keeping the passages to doe what might possibly be done,
that *Selymus* his comming might not be knowne to the enemie.

But *Campson*, who with no lesse vanitie than pride had fondly flattered himselfe, onely by
the authoritie and greatnesse of his name to haue terrified *Selymus*, and ouerruled him at his
pleasure; could not be perswaded that he was come ouer the mountaine Amanus, vntill certain
newes was brought him, that he was encamped with a most puissant armie within two daies
march of him. With which vnexpected newes being sore troubled, and in the midst of that
danger to seeke counsell, as one which began rightly to consider of his owne strength, and the
strength of his enemie, began then to doubt what were best for him to doe, and in great per-
plexitie sometime hoped well, and by and by was as a man halfe discouraged and dismaied.
B And now become exceeding carefull both of his honour and himselfe, hee began to doubt,
whether it were better for him to giue place to so great a danger, and shunning battell to re-
tire with his armie into places of more safetie; or elle couragiously to abide the comming of
his enemies, and to hazard the fortune of a battell, although it were vpon great disaduantage:
forasmuch as he reputed it farre more honorable, after the example of his predecessors from
whom he had receiued that great kingdom (both gotten and kept by martiall prowesse) to die
with honor in the field, than by shamefull and vnwonted flight, either to blemish their milita-
rie glorie continued aboue the space of 300 yeares, or for loue of a small remainder of life,
being now 77 yeares old, to seeme willing to reserue vnto obloquie and shame his last dayes,
depriued of all honour and reputation.

The wholesome counsell of Gazelles for protracting the warre.

C There were amongst his chiefetaines many, which preferred wholesome counsell before
that which was in shew more glorious: but aboue all others, one *Iambard* syrnamed *Gazel-*
les (sometimes the follower of great *Caitbeius*) a valiant man of great honor, for his long expe-
rience in martiall affaires, and at that time gouernour of Apamia. He, as he was of opinion,
That to fight with the Turks armie, consisting for most part of expert souldiers, with so small
a power, were a thing of desperate danger; so was he also, that it were good speedily to retire,
and to chuse the citie of Damasco, as the fittest place for those wars: forasmuch as the Turks
army could make no hast after them, by reason of their footmen and carriages, so that they
might at ease and with safety retire; and there calling together all the Mamalukes which were
in garison in Iudea and Ægypt, and entertaining the Arabians their neighbors, to protract the
D war vntill Winter, when as they might easily distresse the enemie for want of victuall. And
that it was not to be feared, that Aleppo, if it were furnished but with a reasonable garrison,
could by & by be taken of the enemy, who had but smal field peeces not fit for batterie. Beside
that, in short time aid would come from the Persians out of Mesopotamia, yea & *Hismael* him-
selfe hearing of the Turkes expedition into Syria, was like ynough to breake into Asia the
lesse: neither would the Christians refuse to furnish them with great artillerie from the Islands
of the Rhodes and Cyprus against that common enemie, if they were thereto in time re-
quested. All which things being laid together, he said, the Sultan might afterward vpon euen
hand goe into the field, if he should thinke it so much to concerne his honor, to giue his ene-
mies battell. But for as much as the greatest wars, which at the first had most violent and most
E furious motions, by the politicke enemies delay, did most commonly in time grow calme, he
should not therefore make too much hast to aduenture the fortune of battell: for that the er-
rours of war, which many times chanced through the ouersight or rashnesse of the chieftains,
might wel of good men be lamented & detested, but hardly or neuer recouered or amended.

Gazelles his graue and considerat speech had much moued both the Sultan and others: yet
the cheerfulnesse of the souldiers, and foolish hardines of the Mamalukes did so fill *Campsons*
eares, that he could not hearken to so good and wholesome counsel: for as soone as they heard
certainly of the comming of the Turks, they began to leape and dance, and to reioice among
themselues, that the time was come wherin they might make proofe of their valor, and win to
themselues honor. For now (as they said) was come that time they had long wisht for, where-
F in they would by notable slaughter of their enemies, aduance the honor and maiesty of *Camp-*
son their Sultan far aboue the fame of *Caitbeius*: and some euen of the chiefe men about *Camp-*
son, vpon flatterie and vaine ostentation, alledging how honorably and with what small labor
they had before ouerthrown the Turks great armie at Taurus, perswading him, that the victo-
rie would easily and without any great danger be gotten. But especially *Cayerbeius* Gouernor
of

of Aleppo and of the prouince of Comagena (who after his war ended, was in reward of his foule treason, by *Selymus* vnworthily preferred to the greatest honours of Ægypt) extolling with glorious words the faithfulnesse, courage, and valour of the Mamalukes, and extenuating the power and strength of the enemie, forced his wits to the vttermost to ouerthrow the wholsome counsell of *Gazelles*.

A secret grudge between Campson and Cayerbeius gouernor of Comagena.

For this *Cayerbeius* for all his faire face bare a grudge in heart against *Campson*, because hee had some few yeres before poisoned his brother, whom he had in jealousie, being a man next to himselfe of greatest power, wealth, and authority amongst the Mamalukes, and withall of an aspiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerbeius* afterwards thinking it good to looke to himselfe, and doubting the like practise to be intended against himselfe, being, as the maner of that kingdom was, summoned to a parliament at Caire, faigned himselfe sicke, and would not come: wherwith *Campson* was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it best to dissemble the matter, & to wait some fitter opportunity for the taking away of that proud man, so forgetful of his duty, and bearing himselfe against his soueraigne, as if he had bin an absolute king in his own prouince: this he thought might most couertly be brought to passe, if he should vpon the occasion of the present war (as it then fel out) or els vnder the color of going in person himselfe to the riuer Euphrates, come to Aleppo: for it was the manner of the antient Egyptian Sultans, not to account themselues worthie of the name of a Sultan or great Generall, before they had, as *Cayrbeius* had of late done, encamped their army vpon the side of the riuer Euphrates at the citie Byrtha (which standing vpon the banke of the riuer, retaineth at this day both the antient name and fame) and there with solemne pompe had in the sight of the armie forced their horses into the riuer to drinke: giuing to vnderstand by that ceremonie, the greatnes of their empire, & that they were readie by force of arms to proue, that all those countries were theirs which lay alongst the riuer Euphrates, from the mountain Taurus vnto the deserts of Arabia. But the consideration of this war letted that he did not at his first comming oppresse him, because he deemed it to stand best with his present affaires: and not yet knowing the purpose of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turks and Persians, and to defer the execution of his wrath against *Cayerbeius*, vntill the end of the war; for feare left the other Mamalukes, dismaied with the hainousnesse of the sudden fact, should either reuolt from him, or els raise some mutinie or rebellion in that populous citie. For *Cayerbeius* had by his courtesie and bountie many strong companies in the army fast bound vnto him: and beside that, was of greatest credit and authority with them of Aleppo, hauing in his keeping a strong citadell, built vpon the rising of an hill in the midst of the citie, which he kept with a strong and sure garrison.

But whiles *Campson* doth thus slowly and considerately purpose his destruction, many of the Sultans secret friends, to him more officious than faithfull, secretly aduised *Cayerbeius* to beware of the Sultan, and by some good means in time to prouide for his owne safetie. He vnderstanding of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, sent secret messengers vnto *Selymus*, discouering vnto him the cause of his griefe, and promising as occasion should serue to come ouer vnto him, and to deliuer into his power the castle with the heart of the citizens, and all the strength of his owne horsemen; thereby to prouide for his owne safetie, to reuenge his brothers death, and to further his victorie against *Campson*: and for performance of promises on both sides, required secret hostages to be giuen. By the same messengers he also aduertised him, what strength the Sultan was of, perswading him in any case to make hast to giue him battel before he had gathered any greater power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to condiscend to all that the traitor had requested, promising of himselfe farre greater things than euer he had required: assuring himselfe of the victorie, if his enemie should lose so much of his strength by the reuolt of so great a commander.

Campson enforced by the generall consent of his souldiers, and the violence of his ineuitable destinie, then at hand, reiecting the good and faithfull counsell of *Gazelles*, at such time as *Selymus* was reported to be at hand; resolued according to the counsell of the traitor *Cayerbeius*, to dare him battell. He lay conueniently incamped vpon the riuer Singa, almost ten miles from the citie, in such sort as that his soldiers might vse the benefit of the riuer, and remoued from the houses and pleasures of the citie, might yet neuertheless be easily relieued with the store and plentie thereof.

The Mamalukes notable souldiers.

The Mamalukes were scarce in number twelue thousand, but euery one of them, according as

as he was of greater place or calling, so had he attending vpon him mo seruants, wel furnished with horse and armor. A goodly and inuincible armie, if the battel might haue been tryed by true valour. The Mamalukes wearing their beards long and rough, with graue and sterne countenance, hauing strong and able bodies, vsed such cunning in all their fights and battels, that after they had giuen the first charge with their launces, they would by and by with wonderfull actiuitie vse their bows and arrows, casting their targuets behind them; and forthwith the horsmans mace, or crooked scimitar, as the manner of the battell or place required. Their horses were strong and couragious, in making and swiftnesse much like vnto the Spanish Ienets; and that which is of many hardly beleeued, so docible, that at certaine signes or speeches of the rider, they would with their teeth reach him vp from the ground a launce, an arrow, or such like thing; and as if they had known the enemie, run vpon him with open mouth, and lash at him with their heeles, and had by nature and custom learned, not to be afraid of any thing. These couragious horses were commonly furnished with siluer bridles, guilt trappings, rich saddles, their necks and brests armed with plates of yron: the horseman himselfe was commonly content with a coat of maile or a brest-plate of yron. The chiefe and wealthiest of them vsed headpieces; the rest a linnen couering of the head, curiously folded into manie wreathes, wherewith they thought themselues safe ynough against any handie strokes: the common souldiers vsed thrumb'd caps, but so thicke that no sword could pierce them.

Campson of all his armie made foure battells: The first was committed to *Cayerbeius*, because it was in his owne prouince where the battell was to be fought. The second was led by *Sybeius*, who for his wonderfull actiuitie was of them called *Baluano*, which in their language signifieth a tumbler, or one that sheweth feats of actiuitie: he was gouernour of Damasco, a man of singular faith and valour. These two great Commanders were appointed at once to charge both the wings of the Turks armie. After them followed *Gazelles* with the third battell, to second either the one or the other of the two formost, as need should require. *Campson* himselfe led the fourth, all glistering in guilt armour, behind the rest almost a mile and a halfe. The last was left for defence of the campe.

The order of Campson his battell.

But *Selymus* according to his woonted manner so ordered his battell, that his Asian horsemen were in the right wing, his Europeian horsemen in the left, his Ianizaries and artillerie in the maine battell; before whom in the middle betweene the two wings he placed his most valiant and gallant pensioners, amongst whom, contrarie to his woonted custome, he chose to serue that day.

The order of Selymus his battell.

Cayerbeius as soone as he was come neere the enemie, in token of his braue courage, gaue a hot charge vpon the Europeian horsemen; and by and by, as if he would haue compassed in that wing, wheeled a great way about behind them: where chancing vpon a great company of scullions, drudges, and other base people that followed the campe, with an infinite number of camels and carriages, he made there a great stir with little slaughter, that as a valiant and cunning traitor he might in the selfe same time satisfie the expectation of his valour and of his treason together. In the other wing, the gouernor of Damasco, to enter vpon the open side of the enemie, forbearing to charge him afront, and turning about his troups on the left hand, entred ouerthwart their ranks; where the Mamalukes fought with such furie, that hauing made great slaughter of the Asian horsemen, they brake in amongst them, as if it had been a raging floud, bearing all down before them, vntil they came to the ensignes in the midst of that wing: neither could *Mustapha* the Beglerbeg (who was by birth a Hungarian, & *Selymus* his brother in law) neither the Imbrahor-Bassa (or master of the house) though they did what they might to withstand him, after the first were ouerthrowne, stay the rest, but that they would needs turne their backs and flie. So *Sybeius* as a valiant conqueror hauing cut in two peeces the right wing of the enemies battell, and thrusting in betwixt the battell of the footmen and the backs of the pensioners, brought a great terror and feare vpon the whole maine battell. The matter was now brought to extreame danger; for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeius* was almost cut off from his footmen, in whom he had reposed his greatest confidence. And now the Ianizaries were hardly charged by *Gazelles*, who following the fortune of *Sybeius*, had set vpon the head of the enemies battell. The Asian horsemen also being put to the worse, and cut in pieces, found no meanes how to restore againe their disordered battell.

In this extremitie *Sinan Bassa* in good time came in with his horsemen: by his comming, for that

that he had bin but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the traitor, and had brought with him many G
freſh troups of horſemen, the fury of the Mamalukes was repreſſed, the Turks againe encoura-
ged, and the victorie ſhortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great artillery be-
ing by the commandement of *Selymus* at the ſame time diſcharged amongſt them, by the ter-
rible thundring whereof, the Mamalukes horſes ſomewhat troubled, could ſo well as before
be ruled: neither could the men themſelues, although they were of wonderful courage, much
preuaile, being on euery ſide oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies. Yet in that
diſtreſſe beeing nothing diſmaied, although they were by *Cayerbeius* and their good fortune
forſaken, they were not to ſeeke either of courage or direction: but ſerring themſelues cloſe
togither, they brake through the midſt of their enemies, with great ſlaughter of the Europian
horſemen, and hurt of the penſioners; and ſo with ſpeed fled towards the campe and citie. Af- H
ter whom followed *Sinan Baſſa* with the readieſt and freſheſt troupes of his horſemen: for *Se-*
lymus (who that day in the extreame heat, for his wonderfull paines, courage, and direction,
ſeemed vndoubtedly greater than himſelfe) riding vp and downe, called earneſtly vpon his
ſouldiers to vrge the victorie, and with all ſpeed to purſue their flying enemies.

Campſon had now (his deſtinie ſo leading him) ſet forward, of purpoſe to come to the relief
of his men ſent before; or if the Turks ſhould be ouercome, to be partaker of the victorie:
when vpon the way he vnderſtood by them that fled, That *Cayerbeius* was reuolted, his armie
ouerthrown, and the terror ſo great, as that the flight of his ſoldiers was not now poſſibly to be
ſtaied: beſide that, to augment the feare, it was reported, That the multitude of his enemies, I
and force of their artillerie was ſo great, that they were not then to be encountred. With
which heauie news, the proud old man, who in the perpetuall courſe of his good fortune had
neuer taſted of euill hap, was readie for ſorrow and griefe of minde to haue ſunk down to the
ground. And forthwith his own men, and the enemy purſuing them, comming vpon him, who
in their headlong courſe without regard ouerthrew whomſoeuer they met, euery man making
ſhift for himſelfe, without reſpect of others harmes: he being a corpulent man of great yeres,
and beſide the heauineſſe of his armor, troubled alſo with a rupture, ouercome with heat and
griefe of mind, fainted in that great preiſe, and ſo falling down, was without regard troden to
death, after he had with great maieſtie gouerned the kingdomes of Ægypt, Iudea, and Syria,
many yeres. The valiant Tetrarchs of Damaſco and Tripolis, whileſt others fled for life, either K
to the campe or to the citie of Aleppo, labouring in the hindermoſt of their flying troupes to
repreſſe the force of their purſuing enemies, where both fighting honorably ſlain. *Selymus* ere-
cting a few tents in the ſame field wherein the battell was fought, and keeping moſt part of his
armie in armes, ſlept not all that night, but ſtood faſt as a man not yet aſſured of his victory or
good fortune; fearing leſt men of ſo great valour as were the Mamalukes, ſhould in the co-
uert of the night returne and ſet vpon him in his campe: for he knew right wel, that they were
ouercome and put to flight, rather by the treacherie of *Cayerbeius*, and furie of his great ord-
nance, than by the valor of his ſoldiers. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they cer-
tainly vnderſtood of the death of *Campſon*, hauing giuen their horſes a ſhort bait, departed in
haſt from Aleppo to Damaſco. The next day *Selymus* remouing with his armie, took the rich L
tents of his enemies full of all princely ſtore, which he gaue vnto his ſoldiers for a prey: and
marching from thence to Aleppo, had the citie peaceably deliuered vnto him by *Cayerbeius*,
where he fauorably tooke the citizens into his protection; and the more to win their hearts,
granted vnto them greater priuiledges than they had in former time enioyed.

The death of Campſon.

Aleppo deliuered to Selymus by Cayerbeius the Traitor.

In this battell were ſlaine not aboue a thouſand Mamalukes, but of their ſeruants and fol-
lowers a great number; moe being ſlaine in the flight than in the fight, when as their horſes
fainting for heat, and dying vnder them for thirſt, many of them were inforced to betake them-
ſelues to their feet, and ſo were eaſily ſlaine of euery baſe horſeman. For a great number of
goodly horſes died there, which being foggie fat, and delicately brought vp in cold ſtables,
could not endure the vehemencie of the heat, and that vnacquainted trauell: for that day all
things were burnt with the ſcorching heat of the Sunne. M

This famous battell was fought the 17 of Auguſt, in the yere of our Lord 1516, the verie
ſame day (which is ſtrange to tell) whereon but two yeares before, he had obtained the victo-
rie againſt *Hyſmael* the great Sophie in the Chalderan fields. *Selymus* loſt in this battell three
thouſand horſemen: whereby it may eaſily be gathered, That he had there receiued a nota-
ble

A dle ouerthrow of his horſemen, if *Sinan Baſſa* in the left wing (which by the treaſon of *Cayer-*
beius eſcaped with ſmall loſſe) had alſo happened vpon his *Sybeius*, as the other Generall did.

The dead bodie of *Campſon* found two dayes after without any wound appearing thereup- *The dead bodie of Campſon laid out for all men to view.*
on, was by the commandment of *Selymus* laid forth in open place for all men to behold; that
ſuch as beleeued him yet to liue, and to be gone to repaire his armie at Caire, might be out of
all hope of his returne; and others that were alreadie reuolted, might thereby be the more
confirmed, as now out of all feare of him. Not long after, when the dead bodie began to pu-
trifie and grow noyſome, and to conuince the fame of his eſcape, had lien open to the view of
all men by the ſpace of three dayes, it was without any funerall pompe or ſolemnitie, ſimply
buried in the moſt antient Temple of Aleppo. Of the riſing and fall of this great man, *Ianus*
B *Vitalis* hath written this Elogium or Epitaph:

CAMPSON GAVRVS
Sultan of Ægypt.

Paulus Iouius lib. 4. Elog. virorum Illuſtr.

Fortuna cæca, & ſurda, verè dicetis.
Et mente vna prædita.
Ad alta tollit ſcamna in imo conditos,
Vt mox cadant profundius.

Morosa tu mortalium appetentium
Votum, omne fulmine ocyus
Fugax, deinde te nihil petentibus
Benignitate prodigis.
Campson *vt ille* Gaurius, *nil ambiens,*
Nil te proterua flagitans,
Inuitus imperator ora Ægiptia
Tumultuosa militum
Ex fece plebis factus insolentia,
Supra volabat nubila,
Inter receptus altiora sydera
Mox excidens altissimus,
Absumptus armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,
Grauis senectæ pondere
Fit ludus atrox impotentis aleæ
Tuaque peruicacia,
Amisit & cum vita, opes quas maximo
Cum regno habebat maximas.

In English thus:

Fortune, well cal'd both deafe, and blind,
And thereto fond withall,
Thou setst the beggar vp aloft,
To worke his greater fall.
Thou peeuish dame, more sudden than
The thunder clap from hie,
Reiects the suits of greedie wights,
Which to thee call and crie.
And lauishly consumes thy selfe,
And whatso else thou hast,
On such as craue nothing of thee,
Nor wish not to be grac't.
As *Campson Gaurus* seeking nought,
Ne crauing owght of thee:
Against his will by souldiers rage,
Was rais'd from base degree.
And soaring vp aboue the clouds,
Made King of Ægypts Land,
Receiu'd amongst the highest stars,
Did there in glorie stand.
But forthwith falling thence, oppresst
With rebels, war, and age:
Became the scorne of thine ore'thwart
Most fierce and fickle rage.
And so with life, together lost
A world of wealth also:
Which with his stately kingdome great,
He greatest did forgo.

Selymus coming to Damasco.

Selymus hauing receiued the citie of Aleppo into his obeisance, sent *Ionuses Bassa* before him with a great part of his light horsemen, to pursue his flying enemies to Damasco, whither he himselfe in few daies after came also with the rest of his armie, when hee vnderstood that his enemies were departed thence and fled to Caire. They of Damasco, thinking it not to stand with their good to stay the course of his victorie, and with their liues to hazard the

A the great wealth of that rich citie: without delay presently opened vnto him the gates at his comming. By whose example other cities alongst the sea coast mooued, especially Tripolis, Berytus, Sydon, and Ptolemais, sending their Embassadours, and receiuing in the Turks garrisons, yeelded themselues in like manner.

Not long after, *Selymus* held a great Councel in his camp, which then lay vnder the wals of Damasco: for he would not bring his soldiers into the citie for troubling the quiet and populous state thereof, togethet with the great trade of merchandise, which at that time was with wonderful security kept there by merchants of diuers countries, comming from far, euen from the remotest parts of the world. And in the camp such was the military discipline of that most seuere Commander, that the souldiers (knowing the victorie to giue them no whit the more *Notable discipline in Selymus his armie.*
B libertie) suffered the fruitfull orchards and gardens of the citizens, in the most plentifull time of Autumne, to rest in safetie vntouched, without any keeper. By which seuere and strait gouernment he so politickly prouided against all wants, that his camp was in all parts furnished with plentie of all things necessarie, and that at prices reasonable. There taking vnto him men skillfull in the laws and customes of the countrey, and calling before him the embassadors of all the cities of the countrey, he heard and decided the greatest controuersies of the Syrians, appointed Gouernors ouer the prouinces and cities, took view of the tributes and customs, and abrogated many customes & tributes due vnto the old Sultans, which seemed either vnreasonable or grieuous to the people; therby to gain the fame of a iust & bountiful conqueror.

When he had thus set all things in order in Syria, and sufficiently rested and refreshed his
C army; and especially his horses which with long and continuall trauel were grown maigre and leane: he of nothing more desirous than of the conquest of Ægypt, and the vtter subuersion of the Sultans state and Mamalukes gouernment; sent before *Sinan Bassa* into Iudea with fifteene thousand horsemen, and a strong regiment of harquebusiers selected out of the Ianizaries and other souldiers, to trie the passage of that countrey, and to open the way for him to Gaza, which was thought would be vnto him very troublesome, by reason of the wild Arabians roaming vp and downe that countrey. The citie of Gaza standeth neere the sea towards Ægypt, not far from the sandie desarts, whereby men with much difficultie and dangerous trauell passe out of Syria and so to Caire.

In the meane time, the Mamalukes who vnder the conduct of *Gazelles* were come to Caire,
D with all the rest of their order which were thither assembled from all parts of the kingdome, entring into counsel together (as it often falles out in time of danger & distres) without al con- *Tomombeius by the general consent of the Mamalukes chosen Sultan of Egypt*
tention or enuie, chose *Tomombeius* (of the Turks called *Tuman-bai*) a Circassian borne, to bee their king. He was then the great Diadare, and by his office next in honor and power vnto the Sultan; whose prowesse & policie was such, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamalukes was thought able and sufficient to stay and vphold the afflicted & declining state of their kingdome. He by their general consent and good liking promoted to the state of the great Sultan, thinking (as truth was) his owne maiestie, and the remainder of the Mamalukes hopes, to be wholly reposed in arms, and the fortune of battell: began with great carefulnesse and singular
E industrie to prouide armor, weapons, and horses from all places; he also caused great store of ordnance to be cast, and mustered great companies of such of his slaues as seemed meet for the wars: beside that, he entertained for pay, many of the Moores and Arabians his neighbors. He also for great reward, hired men skilfull of the countries, to go through the desarts of the Palmyrens into Mesopotamia, and so to *Hysmael* the Persian king with letters, earnestly requesting him to inuade the Turkes dominions in Asia the lesse, or with all speed to breake into Comagena, being by the departure of the enemy left bare and destitute of sufficient garisons: and farther to aduertise him, That *Selymus* who then lay in the borders of Iudea, might easily be inclosed with their two armies, and so be vanquished, or for want of victuals distressed: and the rather, for that there was no fleet of the Turkes vpon that coast, able from sea to relieue their armie by land, or yet to transport them thence in case they should by chance of war be
F distressed, & so thinke to return. In which doing, he should both relieue the Ægyptian Sultan his friend and confederat, for his sake brought into so great danger, and also without any great trouble or perill notably reuenge himselfe of so many shamefull iniuries as he had before receiued from that his most capital enemy. Whilst *Tomombius* doth these things, *Sinan Bassa* the forerunner of *Selymus*, hauing easily repulsed diuers companies of the wild Arabians, who in

 manner

manner of theeues and robbers lay vpon the passages, had now opened the way, and was come G
to Gaza: where the citisens, although they were in heart faithfull vnto the Mamalukes, yet
Gaza yeelded to Sinan. for that to shut their gates against the Bassa, and to stand vpon their guard without a sufficient garrison, seemed a matter both perilous and vnreasonable, forthwith yeelded their city vpon reasonable composition; and with the plentie thereof relieued the Turks Bassa, giuing him great (but dissembled) thanks, that by his means and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were deliuered from the cruell bondage of the Mamalukes: promising for the remembrance of so great a benefit, for euer to remaine his faithfull seruants. *Sinan* commending their readie good will, required of them all such things as he wanted, or had occasion to vse; which they seemed willingly to deliuer: and so lodged his armie neere vnto the walls of the citie, within the defence of the gardens, purposing in that place to expect the comming of *Selymus*.

In the mean time (as he was a man of great experience, and most skilfull in martial affaires) H
he sought by all means to get knowledge of that desart and vnpeopled countrie, not inhabited for lacke of water; and especially of the nature of the great sands whereby *Selymus* was with his armie to passe: he also woon by rewards the inhabitants of the countrey thereabout, by large offers, to procure vnto him the fauour of the Chieftaines and leaders of the Arabians, neere vnto those places; and also to espie what the Mamalukes did at Caire, and wherein they reposed their chiefe confidence, and forthwith to giue him knowledge thereof.

On the other side, the citisens of Gaza, in heart enemies vnto the Turks, as dayly feeling the grieuances of the present armie, aduertised *Tomombeius* of the comming of *Sinan Bassa*: and that that power of the Turks armie might easily be oppressed before the comming of *Selymus*, I
if a strong power of Mamalukes were sent thither vnder the conduct of skilfull leaders: promising, that if the Mamalukes would at an appointed time vpon the sudden in the night set vpon the sleepie Turks, they would at the same instant sallie out of the citie vpon the campe, and there with fire and sword doe what harme they could for the ouerthrow of the enemie.

Of this deuice, *Tomombeius* and the Mamalukes liked well, and so without delay sent *Gazelles* six thousand chosen horsmen, and a great number of the Arabians, to performe the exploit vpon *Sinan*: for *Gazelles*, in that his wholesome counsell had been by *Campson* and others reiected, (who being straitway desirous of battell, had rashly cast themselues and the whole State into so great calamitie) and afterwards in the greatest danger of the battell hauing performed all the parts of a politique and valiant Chiefetaine, was growne into such credit, that K
all men held a great opinion both of his valour and direction.

Sinan aduertised of the comming of Gazelles, goeth secretly to meet him. But he was scarcely well set forth, when aduertisement was giuen vnto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, That the Mamalukes with the Arabians were comming thorow the sandie Desarts, vpon the sudden to oppresse him; and that they would be with him before two dayes were expired, forasmuch as they had set forward vpon the spur, without any carriages or baggage to let them. Which ouerture in good time giuen, as it was the safegard of *Sinans* armie, so was it of greatest importance and moment, for the obtaining of the full conquest of Ægypt afterward. But *Sinan Bassa*, although he knew nothing of the treacherie of them of Gaza; yet as a man of a prouident and subtill wit, suspecting that such a thing might happen, because he L
would not at once haue to doe with a double enemy, resolued to go and meet the Mamalukes vpon the way, and to giue them battell. Wherefore with great silence dislodging his armie betwixt tenne and twelue of the clocke in the night, he set forward and marched out of sight of the citie about fifteene miles toward Ægypt. There was neere vnto that place a little low village, wherein trauellers vsed commonly to lodge, for the commodiousnesse of a liuely and plentious spring which there riseth: there by chance both *Sinan Bassa* had purposed to stay, and *Gazelles* in like manner had also determined to rest a few houres to refresh his armie, that he might by night, after he had wel refreshed his horses, come vnlooked for vpon his enemies at Gaza: when newes was brought to both the Generals almost at one instant, by the forerunners of both the armies, That the enemie was at hand.

Gazelles not a little troubled with that vnexpected news, for that he perceiued himself dis- M
appointed of his purpose; and vnable to fight with his enemies in plaine battel, especially his horses being sore wearied with trauell, was inforced vpon the sudden for the safegard of himselfe and his followers, to resolue vpon a new resolution: yet nothing discouraged, with cheerfull countenance and liuely speech exhorted his soldiers to make themselues readie for battaile,

A battell, & that which they could not by policie bring to passe, they should now by plain force performe. *Sinan* on the other side hauing somewhat sooner set his men in order of battel than had *Gazelles*, forasmuch as hee had before at good leisure taken order what hee would haue done, if it should come to the point of batell: with constant looke and long persuasions full of hope, encouraged his souldiers to fight. But the conclusion of all his speech was, That they should play the men, and not once thinke of flight, forasmuch as all places about them would be shut vp, and become impassable, if they obtained not the victorie: and that aboue all things they should persuade themselues, that no one of them could that day perish, but such as the immortall God had by the ineuitable law of fatall Destinie appointed to die: and that with like hazard valiant men found life in the middest of their enemies weapons, that cowards by
B immutable Destinie found death in their safest flight.

The battell betweene Sinan Bassa and Gazelles. The Bassa had placed his harquebusiers in the wings of his battell, which were raunged of a great length in thin ranks, thereby to vse their peeces at more libertie, and with more ease to inclose the enemie: in the middle were placed the horsemen to receiue the first charge of the Mamalukes. *Gazelles* approching the enemie, sent before the troups of the Arabian light horsmen to trouble the wings of his enemies battell, and with a square battell of his Mamalukes charged the middle battell of the Turks. The battell was a great while most terrible, and the victorie doubtfull: for although the Turks in number far exceeded, yet were they not able to indure the armed and couragious Mamalukes, but were gald to giue ground; and quite disordered by the breaking in of the Mamalukes, as men discouraged, began to looke about them
C which way they might flie: when by the commandement of *Sinan*, the harquebusiers, who with the first volley of their shot had repulsed the Arabians, wheeling about, enclosed all the enemies battell. By which means both men and horse were a far off slaine, with the multitude of the deadly shot: where true valor helped not them, so on euery side inclosed. For where any troupe of the Mamalukes pressed forward vpon the Turks, they quickly retired, and in all places of the battell as much as they could shunned to encounter their enemies with their horsemen, labouring onely to gaule them with shot. *Gazelles* seeing his horses spent with extreame wearinesse, and that he was not to expect any further help, his Arabians beginning now to fall from him; and also considering, that many of his most valiant souldiers were either slaine or wounded, and hauing also himselfe receiued a great wound in his necke, he with the rest of his
D armie made way through the midst of his enemies, and hauing lost diuers of his ensignes, fled backe againe to Caire through the same sandie deserts whereby he came. In this battell was lost the Gouernor of Alexandria, and *Orchamus* Gouernor of Caire (both men of great account among the Mamalukes) and beside them a great number of Arabians, with a thousand or more of the Mamaluke horsemen. Neither got *Sinan* a ioyfull or vnbloudie victorie hauing lost aboue two thousand of his best horsemen, and amongst them certaine commanders, men of great marke.

The Turkes wearie of this battell, which had endured from noone till night, and many of their horses fainting vnder them, were not able to pursue their enemies, and therefore encamped themselues in the same place where the battell was fought, neere vnto the fountaine. The
E day following they at leisure gathered the spoile, and cutting off the heads of their enemies, which were easily knowne by their long and rough beards, fastened them vp vpon the Date trees growing thereby, as well in witnesse of their worthie labour, as by that strange and horrible spectacle to feed the eyes of their fierce Emperour, who was shortly after to passe that way, and so to manifest vnto him the victorie of that day.

In the meane time they of Gaza vpon the rising of the Sun, perceiuing the Turks camp left emptie, as men not able longer to dissemble their couert trecherie; and vainly supposing that *Sinan Bassa* vpon some knowledge of the comming of the Mamalukes, had for feare retired back into places of more safetie, suddenly set vpon such as were left in the camp, which were for most part sick and weake men (yet in number many) whom they most cruelly slew: & pre-
F sently after set vpon 2000 of the Turks horsmen, sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance were come thither the same day, enquiring with great carefulnesse what was become of the Bassa and his armie; and spoiling them of their carriages, put them to flight: who after that discomfiture, supposing the Bassa (whom they had thought to haue found at Gaza, tarrying for the comming of *Selymus*) by some mishap or policie of the enemy to haue been lost, with all

all his armie, and therefore fearefully retiring, were vpon the way miserably slain by the Arabians: neither had any one of them escaped, if they had not met with *Iuleb* the Gouernor of Achaia at the citie of Rama: for hee was also sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan Bassa* with a strong companie of Græcian horsemen, by whose comming the fury of the Arabians was well repressed. Yet these pilfering people still calling forth to the prey more and more of their leaders which dwelt in the mountaines adioyning, and being growne to a great armie, ouertooke the Turks at a village called Carasbara, where they inforced them to fight in a place of great disaduantage. For the Arabians hauing before taken certain straits, which closed in the passage at the further end of a large vally, shewed themselues at once, before, behind, and on both sides of the Turkes: their weapons were bow and arrowes, and long speares armed at both ends, which they nimbly handled, after the manner of the Moores. These weapons they most skilfully vsed vpon their swift horses, and both in their charge & retreat wounded their enemies deadly. So that the Turks in number few, and for their horsemens staues inferior to their enemies, durst not offer to charge them; but keeping close together, hardly defended themselues still making way as they might: and had vndoubtedly bin brought into extreame danger to haue bin vtterly lost, had not *Iuleb* with foure peeces of arttillerie which he brought with him for his defence, driuen them which kept the straits from their high places, and so opening the way, with all speed brought thorow his men: which straits once passed, and comming into the open fields, he with more safetie marched forward, skirmishing a far off with the enemie with his archers and harquebusiers, and discharging his field pieces where he saw the greatest and thickest troups of those wild people.

On the other part, the Arabians dispersedly houering about them in troups, were stil in the taile of the army, and such as were wounded or weak and could not follow the rest, they slew; and sought by all means to hinder their iourny, not suffering them (circumuented with so many dangers) either to refresh themselues, or to take any rest. This was vnto the Turks a most dismall day, for many of them tormented with thirst, and weakned with wounds and extream labour, gaue vp the ghost; and now no helpe remained in this desperat estate, being still beset and hardly laid too with the multitude of those fierce and desperat enemies: when suddenly a great number of other Turks came to them in the mid way vnlooked for, being now in despaire and euen at the last cast: for *Selymus* hauing left the Imbrahor-Bassa with a strong armie vpon the borders of Persia, for the defence of Syria and Asia, and hauing sent for new supplies of souldiers to Constantinople, which should with a great fleet be transported into Syria, had now remoued from Damasco: and the better to prouide for victuals and forrage, which began now to grow scant in that wasted countrey; euery day sent before great troupes and companies of his armie, as it were at certaine appointed times.

Selymus doubting Sinan Bassa to haue bin lost becommeth melancholie.

So *Iuleb* deliuered of the present danger by the comming in of these fresh souldiers, met with *Selymus* the next day, and in order told him all that had hapned vnto him and his first troupes at Gaza and Rama, and all the way after: and also what they supposed by coniectures to haue chanced to *Sinan Bassa* with his armie, for the manifold wiles of so dangerous enemies. With which newes *Selymus* became exceeding melancholic, and thereupon thought it not good to goe any further, before he perfectly knew how all stood with *Sinan*: in whose fortune he had reposed all the hope of his good successe in that so great an enterprise. But whilest he was in this dumpe, suddenly came the Syrian spies, who declaring vnto him all that *Sinan Bassa* had done, conuerted that melancholie passion into no lesse ioy and gladnesse: for hee saw that by that victorie, Ægypt was laid open vnto him, and his desires as good as halfe accomplished in lesse time than euer he expected.

Newes of Sinans victory comforteth Selymus.

The next day after, he remoued with his armie to Rama, and by the way as he went (to the terror of others) burnt the dwellings together with the wiues and children of those Arabians, who but a little before had done so much harm to his men in their passage. And from thence sending before his footmen to *Sinan Bassa* at Gaza, he himselfe with his horsemen turned out of the way vpon the left hand to Ierusalem, to visit that most antient and famous citie, so much renowned both for the antiquitie thereof, and the fame of the religion of the Iewes. That vnpeopled and desolate citie lay then defaced with the hugie ruins of the old sacred and stately buildings; not inhabited by the Iewes, the antient inhabitants therof (who for their inexpiable guilt, as men exiled out of the world, haue no countrey or resting place) but for most part by a few

A a few poore Christians, who to the great scorne and shame of the Christian name, payd yerely a great tribute vnto the Sultan of Ægypt, for the possession of the sacred Sepulchre: when as the Christian Princes, flourishing at that time with glorie, power, and wealth, could not by any motiue of immortal glory or fame, be incited to reuenge so great an iniurie; but deeming it (as should seeme) better agreeing with their state, to spend their time in idle vanities, or mortall war one against another, than in the quarrell of the most true and Christian religion.

Selymus hauing reuerently worshipped the antient monuments of the old Prophets, and done especiall sacrifice vnto his great prophet *Mahomet*; gaue vnto the Christian priests keepers of the place (as vnto good and deuout men) mony to maintain them for six months: and staying at Ierusalem but one night, marched in foure dayes to the rest of his armie at Gaza:
B where by the way he had continuall skirmishes both day and night with the Arabians: for they according to their wonted manner were desperatly at hand in euery place, and where the straitnesse of the ways inforced the Turks to extenuat their ranks, there would they be readie to skirmish with them; and suddenly vnlooked for come to handie blowes; and when they came into the vallies, they tumbled down from the mountains great stones vpon them, which they had for that purpose before prouided. At which time the Turks harquebusiers, in whom they had greatest confidence, serued them to little purpose: for the weather was so tempestuous and extreame moist with continuall raine, that the pouder in their flaskes became wet and vnseruiceable, and hardly could they keepe fire in their matches. Yet by the valiantnes of the Ianizaries the matter was so vsed, that neere vnto the person of the Emperour no great harme
C was done by those naked robbers: for climebing vp the hils with pikes in their hands they droue them from their standings, and enforced them to abandon the straits and high places.

But *Sinan Bassa* (who after his victorie returning to Gaza, had put to death the authours of the late reuolt, confiscated their goods, and exacted of the people in generall a great sum of money, as the just punishment of their false treacherie) hearing now of the comming of *Selymus*, went to meet him with his victorious souldiers, furnished with the spoyles of their enemies. Whome *Selymus* most honourably receiued, and gaue generally to the Captaines, and particularly to the most valiant of the common souldiers, garments of silke, with a great sum of money in reward of their good seruice. 1517

Sinan Bassa goeth to meet Selymus, as hee was comming to Gaza.

After that, he staied but foure days at Gaza, for that he thought it not good to giue any long
D time of breathing vnto his discouraged enemies, now twice ouerthrowne; or to suffer the new Sultan (not yet well setled in his kingdom) to grow stronger by new preparations and supplies raised in the most populous and plentifull country of Ægypt. Which to let, although it required great haste in setting forward, and serued as spurs vnto him, naturally hasting to glorie and renowne; yet was his armie to be refreshed after so long and painfull trauell, & great prouision to be made for the carriage of water vpon camels all the way through the drie, solitarie, and sandie desarts. For betweene Gaza and Caire lie vast vnpeopled and barren sands, which moued by the wind, rise vp in billows in manner of a wrought sea, so troublesome, that oftentimes it is not possible to see for dust: and the light sands in many places gauled deepe with the winde, wonderfully troubleth the wearie passengers. But such a sudden calme ensued
E the great rain which fell but three dayes before, that *Selymus* vnto his great good fortune wanted nothing that he could wish, for the happie conduct of his armie: for the aire was become so calme, that there was no blast of wind to raise the sand to trouble their sight; and withall, such plentie of water was found almost in euery place, by reason of the abundant rain, which being not yet sunke far into the sand, afforded them water in such plentie, if they digged but two foot deep, that the soldiers commonly thought it needlesse to carrie any bottle of water for feare of thirst. Yet for all that, the wild Arabians failed not in all that passage, on euery side to houer about the Turks armie (as hawks ouer their prey) and suffered none of them to straggle out of order, or stay behind the armie, but they were straitway snatcht vp & slain. Against whom *Selymus* prouided an easie remedie, by placing his field pieces in diuers parts of his ar-
F mie, which by the direction of the leaders (as euery man hapned to be neerest vnto the danger) were forthwith discharged vpon the roaming enemie. And in the rereward of his army were placed strong companies of harquebusiers, for defence of the weake and feeble soldiers, who could but softly follow the armie, and were therefore most subiect to danger.

By this meanes *Selymus* with some small losse receiued from the Arabians, in eight dayes march

march drew neere to Caire, *Sinan Bassa* going before him, who with his Europeian souldiers still kept one daies iourney before. There is a village about six miles distant from the citie of Caire called Matharea, famous for the plentie of most excellent balme: with liquour of all others most fragrant and soueraigne, distilled out of low trees there planted, whose vttermost rind the people cut with yuorie knives to giue the liquor passage: which baulme for the notable vertues thereof, being not elsewhere to be had, mens diseases and wanton desires haue made of a wonderfull price. Into that place neere vnto a village called Rhodania, had *Tomombeius* conuaied all his new and old prouision of artillerie; and had drawne deepe ditches ouerthwart al the field, & crosse the high way, which he had closely couered ouer the weak hurlds and earth, as if it had bin firme ground. And he with his Mamalukes (in number about twelue thousand) and a great multitude of Arabian horsemen lay in places conuenient, of purpose that when the Turks battels should approch, they should first feele the force of his great ordnance, before they came within the shot of their arrowes, and forthwith vpon great disaduantage, with all his forces suddenly to set vpon them disordred and intrapped. All which things were so cunningly and so politiquely contriued and done, that there was none in the Sultans army which doubted of the good successe of that day: and a great mischiefe had vndoubtedly befallen the Turks, had not fortune which fauored *Selymus*, and frowned vpon *Tomombeius* (or more truly to say, the fatall period of that kingdome so requiring) by the false treachery of a few frustrated the great endeauors of the Mamalukes.

Tomombeius seekes to intrap the Turkes.

There was in the Sultans armie among the souldiers of the court, foure Epirot Mamalukes, who grieued to see *Tomombeius* (contrary to their desires) preferred to the kingdom by others of a contrary faction; whether it were vpon a malicious dispositiõ, or vpon hope of reward and better entertainment, or for that in so great a declination of their kingdome, they thought it good to seeke for new friends of more assurance, fled secretly to *Sinan Bassa*, as to a most famous captaine, and one of their owne nation. For this great commander *Sinan*, *Selymus* his right hand, was borne in a poore country village of Epirus, in the mountain countrey of Ambracia; whom a wonderfull mischance preferred to that height of credit and wealth: for it is reported, that a sow kept in the house wherein he was borne, bit off his genitories, being then but a child, as he lay by chance sleeping in the shadow; and being made of greater esteem by that mishap, was by them which tooke vp delicate minions for the Turkish Emperor, brought to Constantinople, and presented to the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Selymus* his grandfather: where fortune by the fatall direction of his good hap, aduanced him to his appointed honors, whome shee had long before dismembred. By these fugitiue Mamalukes, *Selymus* and *Sinan* were instructed of all the deuices of the enemie, and especially what stratagems *Tomombeius* had with great cunning and policie deuised: whereinto they must needs fall, if they should go directly on and not forsake the highway. Wherefore guided by the same fugitiues, they fetcht a great compasse on the left hand, and by an vnused way, before it was day, hauing escaped the front of their enemies campe, with all the dangers prepared for them; they came and shewed themselues at their backs in order of battell, with their great artillerie readie bent, because they were desirous without delay to joyne battell.

Tomombeius now too late perceiuing that his plot was discouered by the treason of some of his owne people; although he was therewith aboue measure grieued, for that all that he had with so great industrie and the labour of so many men brought to passe, was through spiteful fortune made frustrat, and in a moment brought to nought; yet for all that, as he was a man of an inuincible courage) presently entred into his wonted and deepe deuices, and calling to him his chiefe commanders, quickly told them what he would haue done. Now in this short moment of time he was to do many things at once; the signall was to be giuen for the souldiers to mount their horses, and to make themselues readie, the order of his campe was to be changed, his battel to be ordred, his souldiers to be encouraged, and all his great ordnance, as the case required, quite the contrarie way to be turned: all which things, as they could but hardly and troublesomely by one commander be directed, so were they hastily and disorderly at once done by many. But aboue all other things, the great concourse of people for turning & remouing the great artillerie, most troubled the wel ordring of the rest: for many of them were hugie yron pieces of great weight, made fast in stocks of wood, with rings & yron claspes, after the old and rude manner of ship ordnance, which for their exceeding and ponderous weight, could

The comming of Selymus by an vnexpected way makes great cõfusion in Tombeius campe.

A could not be out of their places remoued, but by the strength of many horses, and the great labour of men, with leauers and roules put vnder them: and such as were mounted vpon carriages when they were drawne through all parts of the campe, with the great clamour of the disordered and hasty people, some drawing, some thrusting forward the same, with their tumultuous stir and doings, wonderfully troubled the other souldiers as they were mounting to horse and repairing toward their ensignes. But two things maruellously helped these difficulties, the soldiers cheerfulnesse, & constancie, which was such as passeth credit: for they did not vpon any apprehension of feare faile either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it hapneth in sudden accidents, wherin euen the old approued soldiers do many times faile of their wonted valor. And although they were twice ouercome in battell, yet still they were of greater spirit
B and confidence, as men destitute neither of courage or skill, but onely of fortune.

Wherefore *Tomombeius* hauing with much adoo ordered this battell, and his soldiers with great cheerfulnesse desiring the signall to be giuen, commanded all the multitude of his Arabians to compasse in the wings of the enemies battell behind, and so to skirmish with them: that so (if it were possible) the Turks horsemen might with the danger of the doubtfull fight with such an vncertain enemie, be disordered before he set forward to charge them with his troups: and withall commanded his great ordnance (which was now turned vpon the enemy) to be presently discharged. So did the Turks likewise, discharging at once from a conuenient distance both their greater & smaller ordnance; and speedily recharging them, brought them within an arrow shot; so that for a good space they lay beating the one the other on both sides
C with their great artillerie onely: in which manner of fight the Ægyptian canoniers were almost all slaine, and many of their field pieces broken by force of the enemies shot. For *Selymus* had in his camp many excellent and skilfull canoniers, whom he had with great entertainment allured out of Italie and Germanie: and especially of those refuce Iewes, which by the zeale of king *Ferdinand* being driuen out of Spaine, afterwards to the shame of the Christians, dispersed those rare and deadly deuices through the East. The chiefe of these canoniers was one *Iacobus è Regio Lepidi*, a cunning enginer, who but a little before ouercome by the Turkes rewards, abiuring the Christian Religion, reuolted vnto the Mahometan Superstition.

Christian canoniers serue the Turkes against the Egyptians.

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to battel on both sides, they gaue out a most hideous and dreadfull crie, and with exceeding fury assailed the Turks in three places:
D for *Selymus* still keeping his wonted order, approched his enemies with his battel in forme of an halfe Moone. *Mustapha Bassa* had the leading of the Asian horsemen in the right wing: and *Ionuses Bassa*, of the Europeians in the left: he himselfe stood in the maine battel with the squadron of his trustie Ianizaries, and great store of artillerie: but *Sinan* the Eunuch Bassa, General of the field, led after him a great number of most valiant horsemen, drawne out of euery troup to be ready against all the vncertaine euents that might happen in the battell, vnto whom hee ioyned fiue hundred harquebusiers, Ianizaries, men of wonderfull courage and actiuitie, selected out of *Selymus* his owne squadron, to relieue such part of the army as should chance to be most pressed by the enemie.

The order of Selymus his army. Sinan Bassa Generall of the field.

So almost at one time, whilest *Tomombeius* stood in the maine battell against *Selymus*, and
E the wings of the Mamalukes with equall battell encountered the wings of the Turks, and the Arabians also valiantly charging them in the rereward as they had in charge; foure sharp battels were at once made in diuers places. It is reported by some that were present in that battel, that what for the clamor & crie of soldiers, what for the noise of drums and trumpets & such like instruments of war, what for the thundering of ordnance, clattering of armor, and rising of the dust, all mens minds were so confounded and abashed, that running on headlong as men furious & desperat, when neither their speeches could be heard their tokens known, their ensigns seen, or captains vnderstood, mistaking one another in that hurly burly, they slew many of their friends in stead of their enemies: for neuer battels met together with greater hatred, neither did euer two great kings with lesse care of their persons & safety more resolutely, or
F desperatly make shew of their strength & courage: for both of them with like danger both of themselues and of their armies, seeing plainly that they had put both their liues & kingdoms to the hazard of a battell, promised vnto themselues no other hope of safetie, but what they should obtaine by victory. *Gazelles* desirous both of honor and of reuenge, to requite the Europeian horsmen with like slaughter as he had before receiued from them not far from Gaza,

with.

with wonderfull fury assailed *Ionuses Bassa*, and at the first encounter brake his first rankes, and ouerthrew certain of his guidons: at which time the Arabians pressing couragiously in at their backes, enforced those victorious troupes, which in all battels had hitherto carried away the prise (the very flower of Tracia, Thessalia, Epirus, Macedonia, and Grecia) to flie and shew their backs, which neuer enemie had before that time seene. At which time *Sinan Bassa* carefully attending euery accident, came speedily in with his most valiant troupes of fresh men, vpon the side of the enemie, and restored againe the battell, now declining and fouly disordered. But whilest *Sinan*, who in this his last worthie labor had interrupted the manifest victory of *Gazelles*, was with an inuincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of his battell, he was by the comming in of the couragious captaine *Bidon* with his Mamalukes, ouercharged and slaine. His most valiant followers also laboring to rescue and carry away his dead bodie, were by *Gazelles* vnfolding his troupes (that standing thin, they might at more libertie vse their swords, in which manner of fight the Mamalukes far excelled the Turks) for most part slaine, and the rest put to flight: and that chosen companie of fiue hundred of the most valiant Ianizaries, now destitute of their horsemen, when they had most couragiously done what was possible for men to doe, being compassed round with the Mamalukes horsemen, were all in a trice cut in pieces and trodden vnder foot. Thus resteth this Eunuch Bassa in the bed of fame, who liuing, had the leading of this most warlike Emperour *Selymus* his greatest armies in his most dangerous warres.

Sinan Bassa with most of his followers slaine by Bidon.

Mustapha in the other wing of the Turks battell comming on couragiously with his Asian horsemen, did sore presse the left wing of the Ægyptians (whereof *Helymis* the Diadare, and *Gispal*, two valiant captaines, had the leading) who but a little before had receiued great harm by the great ordnance which was discharged out of the middest of *Selymus* his battell ouerthwart the field: which *Mustapha* perceiuing, and desiring to blot out the old infamie he had before receiued, did fiercely presse vpon them, so disordered, and with his whole troups ouerthrew their broken rankes, and glistering in his bright armour, with a loud voice encouraged his Asian souldiers, exhorting them that day with valiant prowesse or honorable death, to recouer their antient honor of late lost in the fields of Aleppo.

Mustapha with his Asian souldiers ouerthroweth the left wing of the Sultans armie.

At the same time also *Tomombeius* breaking through the middle battell of the Turks horsemen, was entered into the squadron of the footmen, with his crooked scimitar giuing many a deadly wound, himself being a valiant big made man, and of great strength. The Arabians had also in a ring inclosed the vttermost parts of the Turks armie, & in many places inforced them to turne their battell vpon them, being sore charged with a doubtfull fight both before & behinde when *Selymus* set forward with his battel of footmen, and his squadron of Ianizaries, his last and most assured refuge in that his hard distresse, whose inuincible force, neither the couragious barbed horses nor their victorious riders were able to abide: for part of them with their harquebusiers, and the rest with their pikes, had so strongly set the front of their battell, that nothing was able to stand where soeuer that firme battell, linked together as if it had been but one whole entire body, swayed. Yet was this cruell battell continued with diuers fortune on both sides, from foure a clocke vntill the going downe of the Sunne; neither was there any part of their armies, which had not with diuers successe and change of fortune, endured the fury of that battell: for both the victors and the vanquished being enraged with an implacable hatred one against another, fought desperatly as men prodigal of their liues: the Mamalukes disdaining to haue the victory wrong out of their hands by them whom they had in so many places discomfited, and the Turks taking it in no lesse scorne, that they, whom but of late they had ouercome & vanquisht in two great battels, should now the third time make so strong resistance. So that on both sides their fainting hands and bodies both wearied and weakned with wounds, supported only with anger & obstinacie of mind, seemed yet sufficient to haue maintained that bloudie battell vntill the next day, if the darknesse of the night now comming on, had not made an end of that dayes slaughter.

Tomombeius vndoubtedly vanquished, and fearing to be vtterly ouerthrown, first caused a retreat to be sounded, that his Mamalukes which were indeed notable to withstand the Ianizaries, might not seeme to be put to flight, but rather as men commanded, to retire. Which he thought to concern much both for the encouraging of his souldiers, and for the keeping of his own credit & estimation with his subiects: for now the selfe same fortune which had deceiued his

his first hopes, seemed vnto him (as it fareth with them in distresse, still hoping for better) to promise him more prosperous successe, if he were not discouraged: but reseruing such remainders of his forces as were left, he should againe couragiously renew the war.

The battell thus broken off by the approch of the night, the Turks as victors enioying the tents and great artillerie of their enemies, pursued the Mamalukes vntill midnight, who held on their way to Caire, in manner as if they had fled. This great battell was fought vpon a Thursday, the 24 day of Ianuary, in the yere 1517. The Diadare was taken in the flight mortally wounded, and with him the valiant captaine *Bidon*, hauing in the battell one of his legges broken in the knee with a faulchion shot, wherewith his horse was also slaine vnder him. *Selymus* commanded them both the next day to be slaine, either for that their wounds were supposed to be incurable, or els for that it was his pleasure, with the death of those two honorable personages to appease the angrie ghost of *Sinan Bassa*, whose death he wonderfully lamented.

Selymus causeth the Diadare & the valiant captaine Bidon to be slaine.

The Turks although they still preuailed, yet was their armie greatly impaired euen in their prosperous successe and fortunat battels: the fourth part of their armie was consumed with sickenesse and the sword, and that dayes labour had tyred a great number of their horses, besides the long journey they had before endured. For which causes *Selymus* was enforced to slacke somewhat of his accustomed haste: for as yet he had no experience of the disposition of the Ægyptians which dwelt at Caire; neither could he vnderstand by any certaine report, where *Tomombeius* stayed, or vpon what resolution he rested. Which things not throughly knowne, he thought it not good to commit himselfe and his armie into that most populous and spacious citie: but staying foure dayes at the village of Matharea and Rhodania, carefully prouided for his wounded souldiers, and caused the bodies of such as were slain to be buried; but the dead carkasses of his enemies he left to the birds of the aire and beasts of the field. And afterward remouing his campe thence, that he might more commodiously water, he came to the plaines betweene old Caire and Bulach.

In the meane while *Tomombeius*, nothing discouraged with so many mishaps, gathering together the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his armie commodiously between the new citie of Caire and the riuer Nilus; he also armed eight thousand Æthyopian slaues (which kind of men he had not before vsed, for the remembrance of their old rebellion:) beside that, he opening the old armourie, put armes into the hands of the Mamalukes sons, & Moores, (his vassals) into the hands of the Iewes and Arabians also, and couragiously prepared for a greater and more mortall war than before. But forasmuch as there were many difficulties in the managing thereof, hauing almost lost all his great artillerie, with many of his most valiant horsemen slaine in the former battels; he in his troubled minde did so cast the doubtfull hopes of his last deuice, (which cruell necessitie wrung from him) that forasmuch as he had by manly force nothing preuailed in open field, he would now altogether vse policie; as he which of late hauing vnfortunatly made proof of his strength, his forces yet al whole, thought it not good again to aduenture the fortune of a battell: neither was he in hope if he should so do, to be able with his small power and desperat supplies to protract the war vntill the heat of Summer, as he desired. Wherefore he resolued by night to assaile the Turkes campe, and if possibly he could, to set it on fire. For which his deuice he seemed to haue two reasons: whereof the one consisted in the speedie execution, that he might desperatly attempt to doe some notable exployt in the night, before the enemie should perceiue the weakenesse of his power, which was not great, and scambled vp on the sudden; as also before he himself should grow into contempt with the naturall Ægyptians; who desiring nothing more, than to cast off the seruile yoke of the Mamaluke gouernment, with wauering mindes expected but some fit occasion to rebell: The other was, That by the benefit of the night he might auoyd the danger of the great ordnance; which in sudden accidents, and especially in the darknesse of the night, serueth to little or no purpose: in which kinde of strength he had before to his great losse learned, that his enemies were too good for him. But these his reasonable policies, when all things were in readinesse to haue put the same in execution, were in like manner as the first, ouerthrowne by the treason of such as secretly reuolted from him to the enemie.

Tomombeius his purpose discouered to Selymus.

For *Selymus* vnderstanding the whole plot by certain Mamalukes (which hauing the kings euill fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with men in miserie, dayly forsook him) commanded his armie to be alwaies in readinesse, and making great fires in diuers parts of his

campe, kept moſt carefull and vigilant watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to paſſe, that the night following, *Tomombeius* approching his campe, was repulſed, with no ſmall loſſe of his firſt troupes which vnaduiſedly were gone on too farre: and had no doubt that night thereby receiued his laſt ouerthrow, but that he wiſely miſdoubting the vnwoonted light of the fires ſhining in all parts of the campe, in time called backe his haſting troups, which were themſelues with more haſte than good ſpeed marching into the verie mouth of the Turkes great artillerie, bent of purpoſe vpon them.

Tomombeius diſappointed of his purpoſe, by perſuaſion of his Chieftains retired to Caire: for the Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſe in plaine field, thought it beſt to proceed in another manner; perſuading him, with the whole ſtrength of his armie to man all the conuenient places of that great citie, otherwiſe expoſed to the enemies pleaſure, and ſo to keepe the Turkes from entring. For they as men brought to this extremitie, that they muſt now fight for their dwellings, liues, wiues, and children; thought it more honorable, and better agreeing with their antient glorie, ſo to do in their ſight, and in the entrance of their houſes, than elſewhere further off. Wherefore the Mamalukes comming home to Caire, furniſhed all their families and flat roofes of their houſes, with all manner of weapons: euery one of them now humbly requeſting the Ægyptians their neighbours, to take vp armes againſt the Turkes their antient and mortall enemies, and not to ſuffer themſelues to be cowardly ſlaine, their goods ſpoyled, and their wiues and children carried away into moſt miſerable captiuitie; foraſmuch as the mercileſſe and greedie enemie, if he ſhould once get the victorie, would no whit ſpare them, although they ſhould as neuters ſtand looking on, and helpe neither partie: for victorie (as they ſaid) alwayes full of inſolent pride, would know no friend but ſuch as with reſolute hand did their vttermoſt deuoire in time of danger for the obtaining thereof.

The Egyptians diuerſly affected toward the Mamalukes.

There were many of the wealthieſt of the Ægyptians, who as they thought the change of the ſtate would be hurtfull to their trades and wealth, ſo were they readie in all they could to helpe the Mamalukes their old lords: ſo on the other ſide there were many of the middle ſort of the citiſens, and a far greater multitude of the baſeſt ſort of the vulgar people, who hauing little or nothing to loſe, liued in hope now to make a gaine of other mens loſſes; and withall, remembring what miſerie and ſlauerie they had endured about the ſpace of three hundred yeares, vnder the proud gouernment of the Mamalukes, kept themſelues cloſe in their houſes, expecting the laſt euent of wars; and ſecretly reioycing in their hearts, that the time was come (God ſo appointing) wherein their outragious and cruell maſters ſhould be juſtly and worthily puniſhed for their oppreſſion and hard dealing; and that which gladded them the more, was, That the reuenge ſhould be taken by the hazard of other mens liues, with which wiſhed ſpectacle they well hoped ſhortly to fill their deſirous eyes.

Tomombeius with much labour and greater care, fortified all the gates and entrances of the citie, appointed vnto euery ſtreet a particular captain, in euery publique place encouraged the people, omitting nothing that could poſſibly be done or deuiſed; and that which in ſo great a calamitie and danger was of all other things the hardeſt, with cheerefull countenance and vndaunted courage made ſhew of greateſt hope. The Mamalukes alſo, beſide the neceſſitie (which in caſes of extremitie is of power to encourage and make deſperate the faint hearted coward) prouoked with emulation, ſtraue amongſt themſelues, who ſhould beſt performe all the duties of worthie captaines and ſouldiers: for euery one of them according to his conceit and deuice, cauſed great ditches or great timber logs to be caſt ouerthwart the ſtreets; ſome in couert trenches ſet vp ſharpe ſtakes, whereupon the enemie falling vnawares might be gaged; otherſome according to their ſtore, furniſhed the windowes and fronts of their houſes in the greateſt and moſt open ſtreets, with harquebuſiers: all which things with many moe, were done with ſuch celerity, that none of the beſt and moſt honorable of the Mamalukes refuſed to handle a ſpade or a mattocke, or to put his hand to any other baſe labour; ſo that nothing could be ſooner deuiſed, but it was forthwith performed.

The diſcription of the great city of Caire.

This great and antient citie of Caire was not compaſſed with any walls, yet were there diuers gates and entrances which led vnto it: whereof one broad ſtrait ſtreet came directly from the Eaſt gate vnto the caſtle and middle of the citie; the reſt were ſo narrow and crooked, that by them no great artillerie could poſſibly be brought, or ſoldiers enter without great danger. Into this place eſpecially had *Tomombeius* conueied his chiefeſt ſtrength; for that he knew his enemies

A enemies muſt of neceſſitie come in that way for the largeneſſe of the ſtreets; the other parts of the citie he kept with leſſe garriſons. But the innermoſt part where the caſtle ſtood, was kept with a verie great & ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſoldiers: that whither ſoeuer the clamor of the enemie or danger of the battell ſhould call, they might ſpeedily from thence come with reliefe. For why, that citie of all others the greateſt, could not with ſo ſmall power as *Tomombeius* then had, be in euery place & entrance ſufficiently defended: for within the circuit of Memphis (now called Caire) are contained three great cities, which ioined one to another with ſtragling bridges, make one citie, whereof the greateſt and moſt populous, is at this day called New Caire. It lieth in length ſix miles, alongſt the riuer Nilus, from which it is equally diſtant a mile: the breadth thereof, exceedeth not a mile and a quarter. In the midſt therof
B is a caſtle ſtanding vpon a little riſing ground, ſomewhat higher than the reſt of the city; more notable for the beautie and greatneſſe thereof, than for the manner of the fortification: for in it were many princely gardens, a faire ſtreet with many large galleries, diuers faire tilt-yards and courts, with ſtately chambers opening euery way: the vtter part thereof was garniſhed round about with towers, fortreſſes, and beautifull battlements, from whence all parts of the citie, the riuer Nilus running by, and the high Pyramides, were moſt pleaſantly to be ſeene. Not far from this princely pallace, is a lake made by the hand of man, the water wherin deriued from the riuer Nilus, is on euery ſide incloſed with moſt ſtately buildings; and is a place of wonderful pleaſure, when as a man ſtanding at a window may take both fiſh & foule, wherof there is in the lake great ſtore. Another lake there is far greater and fairer than this, in form
C of a triangle, in the vttermoſt part of this new citie of Caire toward Bulach: it is filled at the riſing of Nilus by a great ſluce made of ſtone with yron floudgates, and being ioyned to the great riuer by a broad channel, is able to beare ſmall boats and barges; wherin gentlemen for their diſport vſed to ſolace themſelues both by day & night in courting their miſtreſſes. The houſes were all gallantly built a front al about the lake, with porches garniſhed with open galleries, and paued with ſmooth marble euen to the brim of the lake: there the citizens in their more proſperous times vſed to row vp and downe in boats, and with pleaſant muſicke to delight the liſtening eares of the hearers. On the Eaſt ſide of this lake ſtood a moſt ſumptuous & ſtately pallace, the late worke of queene *Daltibe* wife of the great Sultan *Caietbeius*, for manet of the building and inward beautie far exceeding the other proud buildings of this pleaſant
D place: for the wals gliſtered with red marble, and pargeting of diuers colors, yea all the houſe was paued with checker and teſſelled worke; the windowes and gates were made of alablaſter, white marble, and much other ſpotted marble; the poſts & wickets of maſſie yuorie, checkered with gliſtering black ebonie, ſo curiouſly wrought in winding knots, as might eaſilier ſtay than ſatisfie the eies of the wondering beholder: neither was the furniture in it inferiour to the magnificence of the building, but ſuch as might fitly anſwer both a princes ſtate, & a womans quaint deſire. All which things ſhortly after (*Selymus* hauing obtained the victorie) carried to Conſtantinople; not ſparing the very wals, but plucking them down, ſo to take out the curious ſtones whole. Beſide the goodly buildings about that lake, in euery place of New Caire was to be ſeene the faire houſes of the chiefe Mamalukes, more commended for their
E commodiouſneſſe, than for the manner of their building. The reſt of the buildings of the city was but low, repleniſhed with the common ſort of baſe people. There are yet extant in diuers places of the citie, three churches of the Chriſtians; wherof one is holden in greater reuerence than the reſt, for the fame of a low vault in the ground, where it is reported the virgin *Mary* flying the fury of *Herod*, to haue repoſed herſelfe with her child *Chriſt Ieſus* the Sauiour of the World: another dedicated to the virgin *Barbara*: and the third to S. *George*, which amongſt thoſe nations are of great fame. Vnto the citie of New Caire, the citie of Bulacha is ioyned almoſt with continuall buildings. It is of an high and ſtately building, lying cloſe vnto the riuer Nilus, and was in Summer time frequented by the Mamalukes and other noble men, that they might at their pleaſure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous ri-
F uer. There land all the ſhips which come vp the riuer; yet the great meeting of the merchants is at New Caire. On the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt Bulach, are many cottages made of hurdles and leaues of Date trees, the dwellings of poore fiſhermen and watermen. A little aboue Bulach is old Caire, which is alſo ioyned vnto the new city with continual buildings; yet diſtant from it about two miles and an halfe, and ſtandeth alſo faſt by the riuer of Nilus:

Ouer against it in the midst of the riuer is an Island, notable for the pleasantnesse of the gardens and banqueting houses therin: in it is an antient temple, famous for the loue of king *Pharaos* daughter and the danger of *Moses* (a most antient historie, yet euery where there still fresh in memorie.) But most part of the buildings of old Caire, are now grown into gardens & rude ruins. It is supposed by many probable coniectures, that there somtime stood the antient citie of Memphis. Vpon the banke of the riuer, the late Sultan *Campson* built a sumptuous tower, ouertopping the castle in new Caire, to conuay water thither out of Nilus; which being by many wheeles and ingenious deuises forced into the top therof, and there receiued into great cisterns, was from thence by pipes of stone & lead, conuaied into all places of the kings great pallace at new Caire. About fiue miles distant from old Caire on Affricke side, stand the Pyramides, monuments of the barbarous Ægyptian kings vanitie; whose proud names and titles Time hath worne out of those huge and wonderfull buildings, of purpose made for the vaine eternising of their fame and endlesse wealth; so that of them it may now well be said,

The pyramides of Egypt.

Miramur perisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt:
Interitus saxis nominibusque venit.

What wonder we that men doe die? the stately tombes do weare:
The verie stones consume to nought, with titles they did beare.

Within them are the sepulchers of the old Ægyptian kings, diuided into chappels, garnished with stone of great price curiously wrought. Yet are those places loathsome of smel, and for darknesse thereof, dreadfull to behold: for as men go downe to come into them by a narrow way, almost swarued vp with rubbish, their lights are oftentimes put out with the dampe of the earth and swarmes of remise flying about their eares. Some hauing got to the tops of them, report, that the watch tower of Alexandria, and the mouth of the riuer Nilus where it falleth into the sea, is from thence well to be seene: and that for the great height of them, a man cannot shoot an arrow so high as the midst of the lower tower wheron the spire standeth. Of these outragious buildings, are written many strange and almost incredible things, as that an hundred thousand men should be occupied continually by the space of twentie yeres, in building of one of them: during which time, the charges for roots, garlike, and onions only, amounted to 1600 talents of siluer. These wonderfull Pyramides only excepted, nothing is in the three cities more to be wondered at than the multitude of the people, who in number almost incredible go vp and downe euery street: but for most part ragged and torne, for that they which held any wealth, durst not make any shew therof for feare of the Mamalukes. The common people did then generally liue with mutton, hens, and rise, whereof the countrey yeeldeth plentie: neither had they as yet the knowledge of the curious but vnwholesome forced dishes, and prouocations of gluttonie, which other nations had to their great cost and hurt inuented. But againe to our purpose.

Selymus encourageth his souldiers to the winning of Caire.

When *Selymus* vnderstood assuredly, that *Tomombeius* was retired into Caire, and that the Mamalukes hauing thither assembled all their strength, were resolued there to proue the vttermost of their fortune: he with his army drew neerer vnto the citie, exhorting his soldiers to set downe themselues that day for euer to vanquish and subdue their enemies, whom they had so many times before ouerthrown; & now a little to force themselues for the gaining of the rewards due to their former labors and victories: which (as he said) would be so many and so great, as they had not the full thereof before in their immoderat desires imagined. Telling them moreouer, that there was but a few good soldiers left with the desolat Sultan, who already wounded and terrified, and not able longer to keep the field, had made choice to end their daies in the sight & arms of their wiues and children. Beside that, he made them beleeue, that he was voluntarily sent for by the Ægyptians, deadly enemies vnto the very name of the Mamalukes, whose vtter destruction they earnestly expected: and had therefore promised him for the rooting vp of that wicked & cruell kind of men, to assaile them as occasion serued out of their houses, & so to further his victory: yet neuertheles he said, That the accomplishment of the whole matter, & to make a ful conquest, consisted in the subduing of those weak remainders of the vanquished & scattered army; forasmuch as they were not to be accounted as men quite

quite ouercome, which did yet liue in hope, with weapons in their hands, possessed of the chiefe citie and seat of their Empire. Wherefore that they should thinke, That in the fortune of that day, rested the good or bad estate and condition of all their liues, honours, and fortunes. Assuring them, that it would be a matter but of small labour and trauell, to bring it to a wished end, if they would in that new kinde of fight (as they had alwayes valiantly in other battels vnder his conduct) but resolue with themselues, that they would ouercome.

This his speech much inflamed the minds of his souldiers; but the hope of so great a prey much more: so that being in good order and readie, they expected but the signe of the assault. When *Selymus* entering by the gate called Basuela, did at one instant thrust in his horsemen at diuers places of the great citie; but his Ianizaries he brought in by the greatest and largest street. At the first entrance of the citie, horsemen encountred with horsemen, and made a bloudie fight in the narrow streets and lanes: but the footmen placing their culuerins & falcons before, and suddenly discharging them where they saw the thickest troupes of their enemies, cleered the street directly before them. But when they came to the barricado's & trenches, and were by force to remooue the timber logges and other like things lying crosse the streets, and so to passe the trenches, the Mamalukes on the other side valiantly withstanding them; they fought with such force and obstinacie on both parts, that in the memorie of man was neuer a more fierce and cruell battell seene. For both the Mamalukes and the Turkes in that fight shewed the vttermost of their strength and power: not ignorant, that in that, as in the last, they were to fight not for honour onely, but euen for their liues and empire; when as greatest rewards, or else extreame miserie, were by dallying fortune on both sides propounded both to the vanquished and vanquisher. At these barricado's the Turks receiued great losse, as also at the trenches; for they vnaduisedly running on, the hindermost still bearing forward the foremost, tumbled by heapes one vpon another into the couert trenches, and were there miserably impailed vpon the sharpe stakes, for that purpose before set vp by the Mamalukes. The women also and children, with manly courage threw downe stones and tyles, and such other things from the tops of their houses, and out at their windowes, vpon the Turks: and they on the other side as they could espie them, fetcht them off from those high places with their harquebusies, or else violently brake into the houses from whence they were assailed, and there fought with diuers successe. But most part of the Ægyptians, diligently obseruing the fortune both of the one and of the other (accounting them both for enemies) with diuers affection assailed sometimes the Turks, and sometime the Mamalukes, seeming still notably to helpe that part whom they saw for the time to haue the better. Many cruell and most terrible incounters were at once made in diuers places of the citie: for as they crossed from street to street, somtime the one, and somtime the other hapned vpon new troups of enemies; and they which as victors pursued their enemies afront, were by others following them at the heeles, slain downright; so that in the victorie no man could assure themselues of safetie. The lanes and streets (a most horrible thing to behold) did so flow with the bloud of them which lay by heapes slaine, that the dust which at the first rose wonderfull thicke, was quite layd, as with a plentifull shoure of raine: the aire was darkned with the smoke of shot, and shoures of arrowes: and such was the clamour of the people and souldiers, the clattering of armour, and report of the artillerie, that the earth seemed to tremble, and the houses to fall downe.

A most mortall battel fought in Caire.

This dreadfull and doubtfull fight endured two whole dayes and nights without intermission: yet so, that the Mamalukes in number few, and not able to endure so long labour & watchings, giuing ground by little and little, and forsaking their first munitions, retyred themselues further into the citie. The third day, beset with the greatest dangers that could be, as to lose themselues with all that they had, (which commonly enforceth mens courages in their last attempts) they renewed the battell with such resolution, that they constrained the Turks to retyre a great way, and for hast to leaue behind them certaine of their field pieces. With which repulse it is reported, that *Selymus* dispairing of victorie, commanded to set fire vpon the houses; mooued thereunto with iust displeasure against the Ægyptians, for that *Tonuses Bassa*, now his greatest man of war, had euen before his face receiued a dangerous wound in his head, by a stone cast out at a window.

A long and terrible fight.

Now were the houses pittifully burning, and the Ægyptians weeping and wailing cried for mercie. The Turks themselues fought but faintly, expecting the found of the retreat: when newes

newes was suddenly brought by many at once, that the enemies in the other side of the citie, were by *Mustapha Bassa* enforced to retire, and afterward had betaken themselues to flight, as to their last refuge. For *Mustapha* by the ouerture of the Ægyptians and fugitiue Mamalukes, was directed to a faire broad street, where the Mamalukes had left their horses readie sadled and bridled; that if the worst should chance, they might thither retire, & taking horse, speed themselues to such places of refuge as they had before thought vpon. All these horses, reserued by the Mamalukes as their last refuge, *Mustapha* tooke away, hauing before put to flight the garrison which kept them, which was but weake, consisting for most part of horse-boies, & mulerors; as safe enough in such a place of the citie as was least to be suspected and feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and vnexpected mischances) did not a little daunt the courage of the Mamalukes: who now seeing themselues hardly beset, and that dreadfull battell by no other hope or helpe maintained, but onely by courage; being in their own iudgement ouercome, betooke themselues to flight. Most part of them hasting to the riuer of Nilus with *Tomombeius* (who in that battell had all in vaine proued the vttermost of his prowesse and policie) being transported ouer the riuer in boats, fled into the country of Segesta: others of them hid themselues in the houses of the Ægyptians, and in the loathsome corners of the citie. A thousand fiue hundred of the better sort of the Mamalukes fled vnto the greatest Temple of their vain Prophet: where after they had a great while valiantly defended themselues as out of a strong castle, because they would not yeeld themselues but vpon honourable conditions, at last ouercome with thirst, wearinesse, and wounds, together with the furie of the great artillerie, they yeelded themselues to the pleasure of the conqueror: part of whom the furious souldiers slew in the porch of the same Temple, and the rest within a few daies after were sent downe the riuer to Alexandria, there to be afterwards murthered.

Caire taken by Selymus.

Selymus hauing thus gained the victorie, forthwith sent part of his armie to quench the fire then raging, and caused proclamation to be made through al the city, That all the Mamalukes which would yeeld themselues within twelue houres, should bee taken to mercie; but vnto such as yeelded not within the appointed time, should remaine no hope of life. Vnto the Ægyptians also that should reueale the hidden Mamalukes, he proposed rewards: but to such as should conceale them, he threatned to impaile them vpon stakes, and hauing sold their wiues and children to burne their houses: vpon which proclamation, many of the Mamalukes before crept into corners, came forth and yeelded themselues, & were forthwith cast into yrons. All which were shortly after, contrarie to his promise, most dishonourably murthered in prison, because (as it was ginen out) they sought means to haue escaped. Many of the Ægyptians which would not breake the bonds of faith and fidelitie with the Mamalukes their old lords, beeing appeached by their malitious neighbours, most constantly died for their friends, for whose sake they had vowed themselues to death.

With this victorie the Turks growing insolent, ransackt euery place of the citie, drew out the Mamalukes that had hid themselues, and slew them, rifled the houses of the Ægyptians, as wel friends as foes, & left nothing shut vp or in secret. And some there were, which at one time in the same houses raged with couetousnesse, crueltie and lust; euery man fitting his own humour, whereunto hee was by nature or custome inclined: for that in time and place of so great libertie, most men, but especially the common souldier, flattereth himselfe to the full, making conscience of nothing, but measuring all thing according to his insolent and disordered appetite. The same day that *Selymus* tooke Caire, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the commandement of *Tomombeius*, was gone to Thebais, to assemble the Arabians and to entertain new supplies) came to Caire; but finding all lost, and seeing no possibility either by force or policie to preuaile, and therefore thinking it not good againe to proue the fortune of war, which had so often with contrary course frustrated the endeuours both of himselfe and his partakers; he came to *Selymus*, vpon his faith before giuen for the safetie of himselfe and his followers (which were three Arabian captains, & a number of good horsmen) & being admitted to his presence, in the midst of his greatest captaines boldly spake vnto him as followeth:

Gazelles hit speech to Selymus.

If fortune, whom by thy great valour thou hast woone to bee thy friend, had not enuied our felicitie, thou shouldst not haue (most noble Selymus, *at this time, after that all things haue giuen place vnto thy Valour, matter whereby thou mightest excell others in worthinesse of mind also. Whilest we*

we were in arms against thee for our liues and kingdom, our wealth and state yet standing whole, we alwaies as men proudly presuming vpon their owne vaine strength, made little account of thee or the name of the Turkes; yea to say the truth, we hated thee as became enemies: But now that wee haue to the vttermost of our power made proofe of thy force, and haue in all battels beene put to the worse; admiring both thy wonderfull and diuine prowesse, and most prosperous victories (not giuen thee without the prouidence of the immortall God) wee humbly come vnto thee by thy goodnesse to better our hard and aduerse fortune: that thou by sparing and pardoning thy vanquished and yeelding enemies (by which onely vertue men come neerest vnto the gods) maiest extend thy name and fame aboue the bounds of the rest of thine immortall glorie. Wee haue faithfully serued Tomombeius, *so long as hee held the strength and maiestie, yea but the name of a king, or liued in any countenance: but seeing hee is (his Destinie so requiring) driuen out of his countrey, and wandereth the desarts, with vncertaine report whether he liue or not; wee come vnto thee, rather as men of him forsaken, than such as haue forsaken their Prince; readie to shew vnto thee our loyaltie and valour in our better condition and state: if we may by thy goodnesse, changing our hard fortune, liue and serue vnder thy worthie conduct.*

Selymus, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his vertue and valor, wherewith valiant men win credit euen with their greatest enemies, and also desiring to ioyne in league and friendship with the Arabians (or rather Alarbes) whom he knew of all others to be most to be feared, receiued them all courteously: appointing vnto euery one of them an honourable pension, and persuading them to forget their old estate, willed them to looke for far greater things of his bountie. Not long after, when as the Moores and wild Arabians, with certaine Mamalukes that were fled to the citie of Achasia, made incursions into the country about Caire, and oftentimes did cut off the Turkes which went any thing far from the citie to seeke abroad for forrage, he sent *Gazelles* with part of his armie to represse them: who hauing quickly won and sackt Achasia, and slaine most part of those aduenturers, to his owne great praise, and the wonderfull contentation of *Selymus*, honorably returned in lesse time than was expected.

In the meane time, *Tomombeius* in the countrey of Segesta (which is on the other side of Nilus towards Cyrenaica) miserably beset with so many mischiefes, began to make head againe. There were come vnto him a strong companie of Mamalukes from Alexandria, which he had by letters sent for out of the garrison of that citie, and many others had followed him in his flight from Caire. And there were not wanting many great men amongst the Arabians and Moores (the inhabitants of that countrey) which promised him their helpe and furtherance. Beside that, many of the Ægyptians, whose houses and families were become a prey & booty vnto the insolent Turks, promised him, That if he would by night come to Caire, they would raise such a tumult in the citie, as should easily worke the confusion of the Turks; forasmuch as they all hauing endured most horrible indignities and villanies, could no longer abide those most insolent men to rage and raign ouer them. They sent him word also, that the Turks huge army was now brought to a contemptible number, most part of them being slain in the battell at Caire: and the rest being for the greatest part brought to extreame weakenesse with wounds and sickenesse. For which causes, as *Tomombeius* his forces increased daily, so hope also, which neuer failed the poore vanquished and distressed king, began now also to reuiue in his inuincible heart, aboue the condition of his miserable estate. So that fawning fortune, which euen then most cruelly and despightfully went about vtterly to supplant him (of all other distressed princes most miserable) seemed but then first to change her frowning countenance, and to promise vnto him more happie and prosperous successe.

Albuchomar discouereth to Selymus the power of Tomombeius, and the trecherie of them of caire.

Whilest *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Ægyptian, for authoritie and wealth the greatest man by far in all the countrey of Segesta, whether it were to auert the miserie of the present war out of his countrey; or else by the pleasure of his reuolt to gain the good liking of *Selymus*, vpon whom all things seemed to fawne, came and certified him both of *Tomombeius* his strength, & of the new practises of the citizens of Caire. Whereupon *Selymus* caused strong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great citie: and such citizens as he suspected to fauor *Tomombeius*, he shut vp into the castle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the citie in his possession: and placed al alongst the Riuer, boates furnished with men and artillerie, to keepe and defend the farther banke

newes was suddenly brought by many at once, that the enemies in the other side of the citie, G
were by *Mustapha Bassa* enforced to retire; and afterward had betaken themselues to flight, as
to their last refuge. For *Mustapha* by the ouerture of the Ægyptians and fugitiue Mamalukes,
was directed to a faire broad street, where the Mamalukes had left their horses readie sadled
and bridled; that if the worst should chance, they might thither retire, & taking horse, speed
themselues to such places of refuge as they had before thought vpon. All these horses, reser-
ued by the Mamalukes as their last refuge, *Mustapha* tooke away, hauing before put to flight
the garrison which kept them, which was but weake, consisting for most part of horse-boies,
& muletors; as safe enough in such a place of the citie as was least to be suspected and feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and vnexpected mischances) did not a
little daunt the courage of the Mamalukes; who now seeing themselues hardly beset, and that H
dreadfull battell by no other hope or helpe maintained, but onely by courage; being in their
own iudgement ouercome, betooke themselues to flight. Most part of them hasting to the ri-
uer of Nilus with *Tomombeius* (who in that battell had all in vaine proued the vttermost of his
prowesse and policie) being transported ouer the riuer in boats, fled into the country of Sege-
sta: others of them hid themselues in the houses of the Ægyptians, and in the loathsome cor-
ners of the citie. A thousand fiue hundred of the better sort of the Mamalukes fled vnto the
greatest Temple of their vain Prophet: where after they had a great while valiantly defended
themselues as out of a strong castle, because they would not yeeld themselues but vpon ho-
nourable conditions, at last ouercome with thirst, wearinesse, and wounds, together with the
Caire taken by Selymus. furie of the great artillerie, they yeelded themselues to the pleasure of the conqueror: part of I
whom the furious souldiers slew in the porch of the same Temple, and the rest within a few
daies after were sent downe the riuer to Alexandria, there to be afterwards murthered.

Selymus hauing thus gained the victorie, forthwith sent part of his armie to quench the fire
then raging, and caused proclamation to be made through al the city, That all the Mamalukes
which would yeeld themselues within twelue houres, should bee taken to mercie; but vnto
such as yeelded not within the appointed time, should remaine no hope of life. Vnto the Æ-
gyptians also that should reueale the hidden Mamalukes, he proposed rewards: but to such as
should conceale them, he threatned to impaile them vpon stakes, and hauing sold their wiues
and children to burne their houses: vpon which proclamation, many of the Mamalukes be-
fore crept into corners, came forth and yeelded themselues, & were forthwith cast into yrons. K
All which were shortly after, contrarie to his promise, most dishonourably murthered in pri-
son, because (as it was ginen out) they sought means to haue escaped. Many of the Ægyptians
which would not breake the bonds of faith and fidelitie with the Mamalukes their old lords,
beeing appeached by their malitious neighbours, most constantly died for their friends, for
whose sake they had vowed themselues to death.

With this victorie the Turks growing insolent, ransackt euery place of the citie, drew out
the Mamalukes that had hid themselues, and slew them, rifled the houses of the Ægyptians,
as wel friends as foes, & left nothing shut vp or in secret. And some there were, which at one
time in the same houses raged with couetousnesse, crueltie and lust; euery man fitting his own
humour, whereunto hee was by nature or custome inclined: for that in time and place of so L
great libertie, most men, but especially the common souldier, flattereth himselfe to the full,
making conscience of nothing, but measuring all thing according to his insolent and disorde-
red appetite. The same day that *Selymus* tooke Caire, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the
commandement of *Tomombeius*, was gone to Thebais, to assemble the Arabians and to enter-
tain new supplies) came to Caire; but finding all lost, and seeing no possibility either by force
or policie to preuaile, and therefore thinking it not good againe to proue the fortune of war,
which had so often with contrary course frustrated the endeuours both of himselfe and his
partakers; he came to *Selymus*, vpon his faith before giuen for the safetie of himselfe and his
followers (which were three Arabian captains, & a number of good horsmen) & being admit-
ted to his presence, in the midst of his greatest captaines boldly spake vnto him as followeth: M

Gazelles his speech to Selymus.

If fortune, whom by thy great valour thou hast woone to bee thy friend, had not enuied our felici-
citie, thou should'st not haue (most noble Selymus, *at this time, after that all things haue giuen place*
vnto thy valour, matter whereby thou mightest excell others in worthinesse of mind also. Whilest
we

A *we were in arms against thee for our liues and kingdom, our wealth and state yet standing whole, we al-*
wales as men proudly presuming vpon their owne vaine strength, made little account of thee or the
name of the Turkes; yea to say the truth, we hated thee as became enemies: But now that wee haue to
the vttermost of our power made proofe of thy force, and haue in all battels beene put to the worse; ad-
miring both thy wonderfull and diuine prowesse, and most prosperous victories (not giuen thee without
the prouidence of the immortall God) wee humbly come vnto thee by thy goodnesse to better our hard
and aduerse fortune: that thou by sparing and pardoning thy vanquished and yeelding enemies (by
which onely vertue men come neerest vnto the gods) maiest extend thy name and fame aboue the
bounds of the rest of thine immortall glorie. Wee haue faithfully serued Tomombeius, *so long as hee*
held the strength and maiestie, yea but the name of a king, or liued in any countenance: but seeing hee is
■ *(his Destinie so requiring) driuen out of his countrey, and wandereth the deserts, with vncertaine re-*
port whether he liue or not; wee come vnto thee, rather as men of him forsaken, than such as haue for-
saken their Prince; readie to shew vnto thee our loyaltie and valour in our better condition and state: if
we may by thy goodnesse, changing our hard fortune, liue and serue vnder thy worthie conduct.

Selymus, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his vertue and valor, wherewith valiant men win credit euen with their greatest enemies, and also desiring to ioyne in league and friendship with the Arabians (or rather Alarbes) whom he knew of all others to be most to be feared, receiued them all courteously: appointing vnto euery one of them an honourable pen-
C sion, and persuading them to forget their old estate, willed them to looke for far greater things of his bountie. Not long after, when as the Moores and wild Arabians, with certaine Mamalukes that were fled to the citie of Achasia, made incursions into the country about Caire, and oftentimes did cut off the Turkes which went any thing far from the citie to seeke abroad for forrage, he sent *Gazelles* with part of his armie to represse them: who hauing quickly won and sackt Achasia, and slaine most part of those aduenturers, to his owne great praise, and the wonderfull contentation of *Selymus*, honorably returned in lesse time than was expected.

In the meane time, *Tomombeius* in the countrey of Segesta (which is on the other side of Nilus towards Cyrenaica) miserably beset with so many mischiefes, began to make head againe. There were come vnto him a strong companie of Mamalukes from Alexandria, which
D he had by letters sent for out of the garrison of that citie, and many others had followed him in his flight from Caire. And there were not wanting many great men amongst the Arabians and Moores (the inhabitants of that countrey) which promised him their helpe and furtherance. Beside that, many of the Ægyptians, whose houses and families were become a prey & booty vnto the insolent Turks, promised him, That if he would by night come to Caire, they would raise such a tumult in the citie, as should easily worke the confusion of the Turks; forasmuch as they all hauing endured most horrible indignities and villanies, could no longer abide those most insolent men to rage and raign ouer them. They sent him word also, that the Turks huge army was now brought to a contemptible number, most part of them being slain
E in the battell at Caire: and the rest being for the greatest part brought to extreame weakenesse with wounds and sicknesse. For which causes, as *Tomombeius* his forces increased daily, so hope also, which neuer failed the poore vanquished and distressed king, began now also to reuiue in his inuincible heart, aboue the condition of his miserable estate. So that fawning fortune, which euen then most cruelly and despightfully went about vtterly to supplant him (of all other distressed princes most miserable) seemed but then first to change her frowning countenance, and to promise vnto him more happie and prosperous successe.

Albuchomar discouereth to Selymus the power of Tomombeius, and the trecherie of them of caire.

Whilest *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Ægyptian, for authoritie and wealth the greatest man by far in all the countrey of Segesta, whether it were to auert the miserie of the present war out of his countrey; or else by the pleasure of his reuolt to gain the good liking of *Selymus*, vpon whom all things seemed to fawne; came and certified him
F both of *Tomombeius* his strength, & of the new practises of the citizens of Caire. Whereupon *Selymus* caused strong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great citie: and such citizens as he suspected to fauor *Tomombeius*, he shut vp into the castle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the citie in his possession: and placed al alongst the Riuer, boates furnished with men and artillerie, to keepe and defend the farther banke.

of Nilus, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his passage ouer. Yet considering with himselfe, with G
how great danger he had so many times fought with those desperat enemies, and what a difficultie it would be to intercept *Tomombeius*, (protracting the war in those vast and vnknowne countries, and still preparing greater forces, without whom he could nothing assure himselfe of all his former victories) to proue if he might be woon by clemencie and bountie, he resolued to send Embassadours vnto him, to persuade him to lay downe armes, and after so manie ouerthrowes, at length to acknowledge the fortune of the victor: and withall to promise him vpon the faith of a Prince, That if he would come in and submit himselfe, he should of the curtesie and bountie of the conquerour, vpon conditions reasonable repossesse that his late Kingdome, which he should neuer be able by force to regaine. But if he would needs desperatly proceed to make head againe, forgetting his offered grace, together with his own disabilitie, he should afterward when the matter was againe tried by battell, by his owne iust desert H
neuer more find at the hands of his angrie enemie, any regard of his princely state or dignitie.

The causes mooning Selymus to send Embassadors to Tomombeius.

For *Selymus* seeing himselfe by the course of his victories drawn into a far country, and not without cause fearing with so small a power as he had left, to be oppressed in that so great and populous a citie, euen with the verie multitude, men of doubtfull faith; thought it better by some honorable composition to assure himselfe of some great part of that he had woon, than by going on, to thrust himselfe with his armie into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Besides that, he was certainly aduertised, That the Mamalukes before fled into diuers countries, were in euery place leuying new supplies of horsemen: and that the fleet which gone into the Arabian gulfe against the Portugals, was dayly expected at the port Suezzia, wherein were three I
thousand Mamalukes, vnder the leading of *Amyrases* and *Ray Salomon*, two expert captaines, with great store of good brasse ordnance: by which good helpes *Tomombeius* stood in faire possibilitie to recouer his former losses, and to returne againe to Caire, whither he was by his secret friends most earnestly inuited. But aboue all things, the care he had of the Persians most induced him to think of peace: for feare that if the Bassa whom he had left at the mountain Taurus, should not be able to withstand the forces of the Persian King, he should so be excluded out of Asia the lesser, and Syria also, before his fleet could from Constantinople arriue with new supplies of men and victuall at Alexandria.

Selymus his embassadors slaine by the Mamalukes.

Wherefore he sent certaine of the most reuerend of his Turkish Religious, and with them some of the most honorable Ægyptians, Embassadors to *Tomombeius*: who passing ouer Nilus, into the country Segesta, were without further hearing, with more than barbarous crueltie K
slaine by certaine Mamalukes which chanced vpon them: thinking thereby to gratifie *Tomombeius*, as yet not knowing of any such matter, and to manifest their affection towards him, as also that they were not desirous of any peace with the Turks.

This proud and insolent fact vtterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and shortly after made an end of that mortall war, together with the honour of the Mamalukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruell nature, euen when he was nothing at all mooued, could by no means brooke that his enemies, so often vanquished and put to flight, should so lightly reiect his offers vnto them as the case stood, both honorable and profitable; and that worse was, violate his Embassadors against the law of Nations, most religiously kept euen amongst the most barbarous and L
sauage people. Wherefore prouoked by so great an iniury, he carefully prouided for all things necessarie for his expedition into Segesta against *Tomombeius*. And because it stood not with his honour (as he tooke it) nor with the good of the present seruice, to passe the riuer by boats, he gathering together all the small vessels and lighters he could possibly, made therof a large and strong bridge ouer Nilus.

Tomombeius vnderstanding by his espials, and from his friends at Caire, of the preparations of *Selymus*, & of the bridge he had made; fearing also the reuolt of the country people, whom he probably suspected to be alienated frō him, by the reuolt of *Albuchomar*, a man of so great power and authoritie amongst them; determined once again to proue the fortune of battell, which had so often deceiued his expectation. For he justly measuring of his own strength, and finding himselfe in all things inferior to his mightie enemie, wel saw that he was neither able M
to protract the wars, neither in open field to abide his comming with all his forces; and to flie further into the deserts, was as he deemed it, nothing else but to make shipwrack of that small remainder that was left of his honour and credit. Wherefore by the aduice of his best captains (which

A (which was the last indeuor both of himselfe and of the Mamalukes) he departed betime out of the prouince of Segesta with foure thousand Mamalukes, and twice as many Moores and Arabians, and trauelled day and night without intermission to come to the riuer Nilus. By that despetat attempt to deceiue the Turks, suspecting no such thing from their vanquished & weak enemy: as also by celeritie to preuent the fame of his comming; hoping so by his sudden & vnexpected approch to ouerthrow that part of the Turkes army which should first passe the riuer, before they could possibly be relieued from the other side. Neither was hee deceiued in the computation of the time, which he hauing before exactly cast, with the maner of his trauell, fel out so fitly, that he came to the place he desired, euen at such time as the Asian horsmen were come ouer the bridge, as he had before guessed. The harbengers & pa-
B ges of *Selymus* his chamber, which were gone somthing further than the rest, to make choice of the most commodious place for the erecting of the Emperors pauilion; by the rising of the dust, first perceiued the comming of the enemie: and *Mustapha* the great Bassa aduertised therof, suddenly raised an alarum: which so vnexpected a matter brought a great feare both on them which were already past ouer, & also on them that were on the further side of the riuer.

Tomombeius distresseth the Turks in passing the bridge made ouer Nilus.

Tomombeius presently assailing his enemies, as yet but putting themselues in order, and repai-
ring to their ensignes, at the first onset slew such as made resistance, and the rest he discomfited and put to flight. Neither was *Mustapha* the great commander (although he did what possibly he could, by his owne example to haue incouraged them) able either by his own inuincible courage or other persuasion, after his first rankes were ouerthrowne, to repaire his dis-
C ordered battell, or stay the flight of his men: for in that so hot and sudden a skirmish all was full of tumult, slaughter, doubtfulnesse, and feare; and all alongst the banke of the riuer, both aboue & beneath the bridge, were to be seen fearfull companies of the Turks, ruthfully looking vpon the riuer, and crying vnto their fellowes on the other side for helpe. Many forced by the furious enemy, tooke the riuer and there perished: others striuing at the end of the bridge, to returne that way, and ouerborne by their fellowes or others continually sent from the further side, or els amazed with feare, fel into the riuer, & were there drowned: the bridge was so broad, that foure horsemen abrest might easily passe ouer at once, and so great numbers of them in short space bee conueyed ouer. But when the great ordnance (the Turkes chiefe strength) was also to be transported, fewer troupes of horsemen were sent ouer, than either
D the greatnesse of the present danger, or suddennesse of the chance required. Neither did their great artillerie as then stand them in any stead, for that it could neither so speedily be conueied ouer, nor without great hurt be discharged from the hither banke to the further, by reason of their owne men standing betweene them and the enemie.

In the meane time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmish came downe to the riuers side, filled a great number of boats and other small vessels with his Ianizaries with their harquebusies, and withall hasted his horsemen ouer the bridge to relieue their fellowes distressed on the further side: in which boats the nimble watermen vsed such diligence in landing of some, and presently in fetching ouer of others, that in short time they had transported diuers bands of those most ready and valiant souldiers: whose comming wonderfully comforted the
E Asian soldiers, euen now at the last cast, and readie to haue giuen ouer. *Canoglis* also, the Tartar kings son and *Selymus* his brother in law, encouraging his horsemen to take the riuer, with losse of some few of his men recouered the further side, to the great admiration of the beholders: which in that nation was not so much to be maruelled at, as they which by troupes with their horses had oftentimes swam ouer the great riuers Taurus and Volga, no lesse dangerous than was the riuer Nilus.

Tomombeius at the same time, for that he saw speedy victorie to consist in one thing especially, ferring his troupes together, strained himselfe with might and maine to haue gained the head of the bridge, that by plucking away some few of the first boats, he might shut in his enemies already come ouer; and by cutting the cables wherby the boats were fastened to the
F banke, all the bridge with the Turks vpon it, might be born away with the force and violence of that great riuer: whereupon rise a most cruell and deadly fight, for the resolute Mamalukes in the front of their battell fought valiantly: and *Mustapha* well considering the danger, had drawn to that place both his ensignes & his best soldiers: so that there was fought such a fight, as a matter of so great consequence required: the Mamalukes plainly seeing, that if they could

obtaine

obtain the place, they ſhould ſhortly after with little ado, ouerthrow all the former victories G
of their enemies. And the Turks no leſſe ignorant, that except they kept the bridge whole,
they were all but loſt men that were already come ouer; and that the reſt of the army together
with their Emperor ſo far from home, and in the midſt of his enemies, muſt of neceſſity ſhort-
ly after run the ſame fortune. But *Muſtapha* well relieued by the Ianizaries and the Europeian
horſmen, which were now come ouer in great number, not only receiued his enemies charge;
but preſſing vpon them, gained ground, and by little and little inforced them to retire. This is
that *Muſtapha* the Hungarian, and *Baiazet* his ſonne in law, which for his owne glory and per-
petuall fame, built that notable, ſtately, and ſumptuous ſtone bridge (of the ſpoiles of this vi-
ctorie) ouer the riuer Stremon, which at this day men paſſing ouer into Thracia, wonder at, as
at a worke beſeeming the greatneſſe of the Roman Empire. H

Tomombeius, to giue a time of breathing to his Mamaluks, who, their horſes for wearines now
fainting vnder them, were not able longer to ſhew their wonted courage; & deſirous by them
againe to proue the vttermoſt fortune of the battel, exhorted the Moores & Arabians, a while
to charge the enemy, which thing they after the maner of their fight valiantly performed: and
The Mamalukes giue a freſh charge vp. on the Turks. ſhortly after, the Mamalukes hauing a little breathed themſelues & their horſes, came in afreſh
and renewed the battel; with ſuch fury, that *Selymus* doubting the victorie (although hee was
by his moſt faithful counſellors perſuaded to the contrary) yet doubted not to aduenture the
bridge, and in perſon himſelfe to go and relieue his diſtreſſed ſouldiers: who by his comming
in, encouraged, and in the ſight of their Emperor deſiring euery man for his part by ſome no-
table ſeruice to deſerue both credit and preferment, repreſſed the fury of the enemie; who in I
The Mamalukes put to flight. ſhort time after, by the comming on of certain freſh companies of Ianizaries, were notably re-
pulſed, and ſo at length put to flight: whom the horſmen which were not in the battel, purſu-
ed all the fields ouer. At length alſo the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the
ſtream, were ſomwhat long before they could recouer the farther bank & come to their ene-
mies) were now come in alſo, and with their ſwift horſes following the chaſe, augmented the
ſlaughter. But *Selymus* aboue all things deſirous of *Tomombeius*, preſently commanded *Mu-
ſtapha* the great Baſſa, *Gazelles*, and *Cayerbeius*, with certaine freſh troupes of light horſemen, to
purſue him at the heeles, and if it were poſſible not to ſuffer him to eſcape: for ſo long as hee
liued, he could not aſſure himſelfe of any thing he had yet gotten. Theſe vigilant captains not K
vnmindfull of their charge, following faſt after him, ouertooke him the next day at the ſluce
of a great deepe fen, where he had a little reſted himſelfe and his followers, being then about
to cut off a wodden bridge, ſo to haue hindered the enemies purſuit. Some of his followers
being there ſlaine, and ſome taken, he was againe inforced to flie. The third day when he had
almoſt loſt all his men, and was come with ſome few into the territory of the Secuſſan prince,
theſe great captains ſtill eagerly purſuing him, and denouncing vnto the poore country peo-
ple which dwelt in villages thereabout, all extremities and tortures, if they did not with moſt
diligent watch and ward ſo keep the paſſages of thoſe mariſhes, as that he ſhould not poſſibly
eſcape; he was ſo beſet on euery ſide, that for ſafegard of his life he was glad to hide himſelf
Tomombeius taken & brought to Selymus. all alone in a foule deepe mariſh: where ſhortly after he the poore Sultan was by the diligent L
ſearch of the country peaſants found out, hidden among the flags & bulruſhes, ſtanding in the
water vp to the ſhoulders, who deliuered him miſerably bound vnto the Turks. Shortly after
he with certaine captaines & other of his chiefe friends taken in that flight, was brought to
Caire. *Selymus* before reſolued to put him to death, and the rather for the iniurie done to his
Tomombeius tortured. embaſſadors, would not ſuffer him to come into his preſence, but commanded him to be tortu-
red, ſo to haue cauſed him to haue reuealed the great treaſures of *Campſon* his predeceſſour,
which were thought to haue bin by him hidden: in which moſt horrible & exquiſit torments
it is reported, that he with great conſtancie & ſterne countenance vttered nothing but certain
deep ſighes & grones, ouercomming with patience the tyrannie of the proud conqueror: who
after that, commanded him in baſe and ragged apparell, with his hands bound behind him, as
a theefe or murtherer condemned to die, to be ſet vpon a foule leane cammel, & ſo to be cari- M
ed in deriſion through al the publick & notable places of the citie; that the Ægyptians might
ſee him, whom they but a little before had adored for their king, by change of fortune caſt in-
to extream miſery, by moſt ſhameful death to end both his life & empire together: when they
had thus deſpightfully led him as it were in triumph, & brought him to the chiefe gate of the
citie

A citie called Baſuela, they there openly ſtrangled him with a rope: and that he might be the
better ſeene, and become more contemptible to all that paſſed that way, they hanged him vp *The miſerable end of Tomombeius laſt Sultan of Egypt.*
by the necke vpon an yron hooke in an arch of the ſame gate, and ſo left him to the worlds
wonder. *Paterius* propounding him as a mirrour both of the better and worſe fortune, for
all men to looke vpon, aptly deſcribeth both his happineſſe and miſery in theſe few verſes fol-
lowing:

TOMOMBEIVS, THE LAST
Sultan of Ægypt.

Paulus Iouius lib. 4. Elog. virorum Illuſtr.

Non fuit in toto, Rex aquè Oriente beatus:
Nec magis in toto Rex Oriente miſer,
Quam dolor Ægypti, olim Tomombeius, *auro*
Ingenti, atque armis, & ditione potens.
Captus ab hoſte fero, miſerum ſimul atque beatum,
Exemplo potiùs eſt, commonuiſſe ſuo.
Quid rides temerè? quid fles? vis te cohibere?
Es natum poſthac te meminiſſe hominem?
Mi trabeum induto, gemmis auroque corona
Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.

obtain the place, they should shortly after with little ado, ouerthrow all the former victories of their enemies. And the Turks no lesse ignorant, that except they kept the bridge whole, they were all but lost men that were already come ouer; and that the rest of the army together with their Emperor so far from home, and in the midst of his enemies, must of necessity shortly after run the same fortune. But *Mustapha* well relieued by the Ianizaries and the Europeian horsmen, which were now come ouer in great number, not only receiued his enemies charge; but pressing vpon them, gained ground, and by little and little inforced them to retire. This is that *Mustapha* the Hungarian, and *Baiazet* his sonne in law, which for his owne glory and perpetuall fame, built that notable, stately, and sumptuous stone bridge (of the spoiles of this victorie) ouer the riuer Stremon, which at this day men passing ouer into Thracia, wonder at, as at a worke beseeming the greatnesse of the Roman Empire.

Tomombeius, to giue a time of breathing to his Mamaluks, who, their horses for wearines now fainting vnder them, were not able longer to shew their wonted courage; & desirous by them againe to proue the vttermost fortune of the battel, exhorted the Moores & Arabians, a while to charge the enemy, which thing they after the maner of their fight valiantly performed. and shortly after, the Mamalukes hauing a little breathed themselues & their horses, came in afresh and renewed the battel; with such fury, that *Selymus* doubting the victorie (although hee was by his most faithful counsellors persuaded to the contrary) yet doubted not to aduenture the bridge, and in person himselfe to go and relieue his distressed souldiers: who by his comming in, encouraged, and in the sight of their Emperor desiring euery man for his part by some notable seruice to deserue both credit and preferment, repressed the fury of the enemie; who in short time after, by the comming on of certain fresh companies of Ianizaries, were notably repulsed, and so at length put to flight: whom the horsmen which were not in the battel, pursued all the fields ouer. At length also the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the stream, were somwhat long before they could recouer the farther bank & come to their enemies) were now come in also, and with their swift horses following the chase, augmented the slaughter. But *Selymus* aboue all things desirous of *Tomombeius*, presently commanded *Mustapha* the great Bassa, *Gazelles*, and *Cayerbeius*, with certaine fresh troupes of light horsemen, to pursue him at the heeles, and if it were possible not to suffer him to escape: for so long as hee liued, he could not assure himselfe of any thing he had yet gotten. These vigilant captains not vnmindfull of their charge, following fast after him, ouertooke him the next day at the sluce of a great deepe fen, where he had a little rested himselfe and his followers, being then about to cut off a wodden bridge, so to haue hindered the enemies pursuit. Some of his followers being there slaine, and some taken, he was againe inforced to flie. The third day when he had almost lost all his men, and was come with some few into the territory of the Secussan prince, these great captains still eagerly pursuing him, and denouncing vnto the poore country people which dwelt in villages thereabout, all extremities and tortures, if they did not with most diligent watch and ward so keep the passages of those marishes, as that he should not possibly escape; he was so beset on euery side, that for safegard of his life he was glad to hide himself all alone in a foule deepe marish: where shortly after he the poore Sultan was by the diligent search of the country peasants found out, hidden among the flags & bulrushes, standing in the water vp to the shoulders, who deliuered him miserably bound vnto the Turks. Shortly after he with certaine captaines & other of his chiefe friends taken in that flight, was brought to Caire. *Selymus* before resolued to put him to death, and the rather for the iniurie done to his embassadors, would not suffer him to come into his presence, but commanded him to be tortured, so to haue caused him to haue reuealed the great treasures of *Campson* his predecessour, which were thought to haue bin by him hidden: in which most horrible & exquisit torments it is reported, that he with great constancie & sterne countenance vttered nothing but certain deep sighes & grones, ouercomming with patience the tyrannie of the proud conqueror: who after that, commanded him in base and ragged apparell, with his hands bound behind him, as a theefe or murtherer condemned to die, to be set vpon a foule leane cammel, & so to be caried in derision through al the publick & notable places of the citie; that the Ægyptians might see him, whom they but a little before had adored for their king, by change of fortune cast into extream misery, by most shameful death to end both his life & empire together: when they had thus despightfully led him as it were in triumph, & brought him to the chiefe gate of the citie

The Mamalukes giue a fresh charge vpon the Turks.

The Mamalukes put to flight.

Tomombeius taken & brought to Selymus.

Tomombeius tortured.

A citie called Basuela, they there openly strangled him with a rope: and that he might be the better seene, and become more contemptible to all that passed that way, they hanged him vp by the necke vpon an yron hooke in an arch of the same gate, and so left him to the worlds wonder. *Palearius* propounding him as a mirrour both of the better and worse fortune, for all men to looke vpon, aptly describeth both his happinesse and misery in these few verses following:

The miserable end of Tomombeius last Sultan of Egypt.

TOMOMBEIVS, THE LAST
Sultan of Ægypt.

Paulus Iouius lib. 4. Elog. virorum Illustr.

Non fuit in toto, Rex aquè Oriente beatus?
Nec magis in toto Rex Oriente miser,
Quam dolor Ægypti, olim Tomombeius, *auro*
Ingenti, atque armis, & ditione potens.
Captus ab hoste fero, miserum simul atque beatum,
Exemplo potis est, commonuisse suo.
Quid rides temerè? quid fles? vis te cohibere?
Et natum posthac te meminisse hominem?
Mi trabeum induto, gemmis auroque corona
Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.

Mi quondam ornabant pretiosa monilia collum,
Nunc, fractam vili respice fune gulam.

In English thus.

In all the East a king more blest was no where to be found,
Nor in the East one more accurst liu'd not vpon the ground,
Than *Tomombeius*, Ægypts griefe, sometime for store of gold,
Of power great for martiall force, and kingdome he did hold.
But taken by his cruell foe, may good example be
Both to the happie and distrest, of mans vncertaintie.
Why do'st thou fondly laugh? Why do'st thou vainly crie?
Canst thou from henceforth stay thy selfe, and thinke th'art borne to die?
My garments were the royall robes, I wore the crowne of gold,
With richest stones most richly set, most glorious to behold:
My necke adorn'd with richest gems which I did sometimes weare:
but now trust vp in shamefull rope, behold me hanging here.

The Ægyptians in doubt of their estate beside the death of Tomombeius.

This miserie befell *Tomombeius* the 13 of Aprill, in the yere 1517, vpon the Munday in Easter weeke. There were many which shed teares to behold that so cruell and lamentable a spectacle, who by their wofull countenance and pitifull lamentation seemed to detest that foule and vnworthie death of their late Sultan: notwithstanding that the Ianizaries reproued them therfore, and threatned them with death, who like giddie braind fooles (as they termed them) enured to the slauery of the Mamalukes, ioyfully and thankfully accepted not of their deliuerance; for the Ægyptians were as yet vncertaine of their estate, and therefore as men in suspence (not without cause) stood in doubt what should become of themselues: fearing lest the Turks, a warlike nation, and a terrour to all the princes of Europe and Asia, nothing more courteous than the Mamalukes, should with no lesse insolencie rage and tyrannize ouer them, vnder their warlike and cruell Emperor. Besides that, the wofull sight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the gate, as the vnworthy scorne of fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts: for why, it was yet fresh in their remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and general fauor of the nobilitie, with good fame rise vp all the degrees of honor both in field and court, vnto the height of regall dignitie; and therfore grieued the more to see him by ineuitable destinie cast downe headlong, so shamefully to end his life and empire together. A notable spectacle vndoubtedly amongst the rarest examples of worldy fragilitie, both to the happie and vnfortunat: the one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themselues in their greatest blisse; and the other, to learne thereby with patience to indure the heauie and vnworthy changes and chances of this wretched and miserable world. And so much the more did *Tomombeius* so hanging, moue men to compassion, for that the maiestie of his tall and strong bodie, and reuerend countenance, with his long and hoarie beard, well agreed with his imperiall dignitie and martiall disposition. The same fortune with *Tomombeius* ran also diuers of the princes of the Mamalukes with some others of the common sort also.

Tomombeius thus taken out of the way, and all the Mamalukes almost slaine, and no power of the enemie to be heard of in all Ægypt to renew the war: *Selymus* diuiding his forces, sent them forth with his captaines, to take in the countries and prouinces of Ægypt lying further off. They of Alexandria after the battel of Caire hauing thrust out the garison, and easily surprised the castle of Pharus (which the weake defendants chose rather vpon hope of present reward to deliuer, than with doubtfull euent to defend) yeelded themselues many daies before vnto the Turks. Damiata also, called in antient time Pelusium, opened their gates, and submitted themselues to the victors. There was no citie betwixt the riuer of Nilus and the borders of Iudea and Arabia, which yeelded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The kings also of Affricke bordering vpon Cyrenaica, tributaries or confederats of the Ægyptian Sultans, sent their embassadors with presents to *Selymus*.

There remained now none but the wild Arabians (a people neuer to be tamed) & especially they of Affricke, who hauing lost many of their friends and kinsmen in aiding *Tomombeius*.

would

would not (as it was thought) submit themselues vnto the Turkish obedience. This wandering kind of people, liuing for most part by theft, had filled the countries from Euphrates, where it runneth by the Palmyrens, with all the inner parts of Ægypt and Affricke vnto the Atlantick sea, with huge multitudes of men: and being diuided into many companies vnder diuers leaders haue no certain dwelling places, but liue an hard and frugall kind of life in tents and waggons, after the manner of the Tartars: their greatest wealth is a good seruiceable horse, with a launce or a bundle of darts: they were alway at discord & variance amongst themselues, by reason whereof they could neuer agree for the expulsing of the Mamalukes, who otherwise had not bin able to haue stood against them, if they should haue ioined their forces together. So that the late Ægyptian Sultans seemed to hold their state and empire among so populous a nation, rather by their discord than their own strength: wherefore *Selymus* hauing now by fit men, vpon his faith before giuen, allured many of their chiefetains and greatest commanders to Caire, honorably both entertained and rewarded them. By whose example others moued, came also in daily: and hauing receiued their rewards, gaue the oath of their allegeance to *Selymus*. Others which could by no faire promises or words be won, being cunningly intercepted by other captains, and deliuered to *Selymus*, indured the paines of their vaine obstinacie and malice. The other remote nations toward Æthyopia, as they had in former time rather acknowledged the friendship than the command of the Ægyptian Sultans, so now induced with the fame of the victorie, easily ioyned in like amitie with the Turke.

Selymus cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience.

About the same time, *Selymus* sent certaine troupes of horsemen to Suezzia, a port of the red sea (of old called Arsinoe) about three daies iourney from Caire: in which port *Campson* the great Sultan (a little before the comming of the Turks) had with infinit charge and foure yeares trauell built a strong fleet against the Portingals, who by their conquests in India had taken away all the rich trade of the Indian marchandise into the gulfe of Arabia, to the great hinderance of the Ægyptian kings customes: ouer which fleet (a little before the beginning of the Turkish warres) *Campson* had appointed one *Amyrases* and *Ray Salomon* Generals, with a strong power of Mamalukes and great store of ordnance, against the Portingals. These valiant captains hauing yet done nothing in the seruice they were appointed vnto, as they lay at Gidda (the port of the famous citie of Mecha, wherein is the temple of their great Prophet *Mahomet*) vnderstanding of the death of *Campson*, and of the comming of *Selymus* into Ægypt, fell at variance betwixt themselues; one of them being willing to continue his obedience towards the new Sultan, & the other no lesse desirous to follow the good fortune of the victor. Whereupon a mutinie arising among the soldiers, *Amyrases*, who fauored *Tomombeius*, was inforced to flie to Mecha. But shortly after, *Ray Salomon* requiring to haue him, & threatning all hostilitie except he were forthwith deliuered, he was apprehended by them of Mecha, fearing to haue Gidda their port spoiled, and so sent back again to the fleet. *Ray Salomon*, that he might be Admirall alone, his associat being taken out of the way, and by some notable fact to insinuat himselfe into the fauor of the conqueror, caused *Amyrases* in the night to be cast ouerboord: and giuing to the soldiers two months pay, and swearing them to the obedience of *Selymus*, in few daies sailing came backe again to Arsinoë, where leauing the fleet, he came directly himselfe to *Selymus* at Caire, of whom he was graciously receiued. After that, all the princes which were before tributaries or confederats to the late Sultans of Ægypt, euen to the confines of *Dauid*, the most mighty king of Æthyopia (whom some call *Presbiter Iohn*) without delay entred into the like subiection or confederation with the Turks.

Ægypt, with all the prouinces thereunto belonging, thus brought into subiection, *Selymus* about the beginning of Iuly, sayled downe the riuer of Nilus to Alexandria (*Cortug-Ogli*, a famous pyrat of Halicarnassus, sitting at the helme of his gallie) there to take view of his fleet but lately come from Constantinople with new supplies both of men and victuals, sent from *Pyrrhus Bassa* and his sonne *Solyman*: which after he had well surueyed, and diligently viewed the wals of the citie, and of the castle of Pharos, he returned againe to Caire. In the meane time, the Mamalukes in durance at Alexandria, were by his commandement murthered euery mothers sonne, in the entrance of the prison. At which time also aboue fiue hundred families of the noblest and richest of the Ægyptians were commaunded to remoue from Caire to Constantinople, and a great number of women and children, of the race of the Mamalukes, were transported thither also in ships hired for that purpose. Into this fleet besides the kings

Of this Cortug-Ogli see more in the life of Solyman.

The answer of Ionuses Bassa.

of his soueraigne the most certaine tokens of his heauie displeasure: yet as he was a man of great spirit, answered boldly, That he had forbidden the soldiers wages to be augmented, contrary to his maiesties command, not vpon any euil meaning to haue inuerted that mony to his own vse, neither thereby to haue drawn any man of purpose into disgrace, as was by some his malicious enemies suggested but; vpon great reason, therby to prouide for his maiesties cofers wonderfully emptied with those late wars: beside that, the constant report of new troubles like to arise out of Persia, gaue good occasion for him to spare vnnecessarie charges: Whereas on the other side, as he said, the garrison souldiers were already inriched with the plentifull spoiles of Ægypt, & in a most goodly city possessed the sumptuous houses & lands of the Mamalukes, feeding vpon the goods of the Ægyptians, & had already receiued both greater pay & more bountiful rewards from him, than euer any soldiers had from any his predecessors the *Othoman* kings: in which case, if they were not past al modestly, they might wel enough take it in good part, if they were somthing restrained in their vnreasonable requests. He alledged moreouer, that great princes which retain their soldiers in reasonable pay in time of peace and war, ought sometime for warlike discipline, to require of them a moderation of their desires; lest whilest they all striue with greedinesse for their priuat gain, there want mony afterwards in the common treasurie to maintain a greater and more necessarie charge, wars still rising vpon wars; seeing that no commander, were he neuer so valiant or fortunat, euer did any great matter in wars, if he wanted coine, the most proper instrument & very sinues of war, answering vnto his other most heroicall parts & sufficiencie. But as he was yet thus speaking, *Selymus* full of wrath and indignation interrupted him; for if he should haue suffered him in longer discourse to haue recounted his former deserts & worthy seruice done, aswell in the time of his father *Baiazet*, as of late euen in his owne presence, he was like enough to haue had of them that were able to do most with him, intercessors for him: and so without further delay, caused him euen there in his own presence to be executed: saying moreouer, that others which would arrogantly presume to prescribe vnto their soueraignes what they had to do, should for euer after by the example of that most insolent seruant, be admonished of their duty and condition. It is reported, that the souldiers in despight of *Selymus* wonderfully lamented the vnworthie death of this so worthy a man: for he, beside his notable & rare valour, so many times to his great honor in sundry battels approued, had by the dexteritie of his Grecian wit, comelines of personage, militarie eloquence, & gallant maner of liuing, so won the loue and fauor of all men, that there was few or none in all the army which did not acknowledge himselfe some way indebted & beholden vnto him; & did therfore condemne the Emperors crueltie. They then began to tel how *Mustapha* syrnamed *Caloger*, a man of wonderful credit and authority both with *Baiazet* & himselfe, was in the heat of his furie slain without hearing: and that in like maner of rage, old *Chendemus* a man of greatest honor & integritie of life, and of all the chiefetains which came out of the great Emperor *Mahomets* nurserie, the most skilful, had bin for his graue and wholsome counsell onely, without cause murthered: neither was then *Bostanges* his son in law forgoten: neither *Cherseogles* (the one most honourable for the great place he held in court and the marriage of *Baiazets* daughter, and the other a man of no lesse marke being his great Admiral, & bearing himselfe high vpon his infinit wealth, but more vpon his wife one of the daughters of *Selymus*) both which two noble gentlemen about a yeres before had their heads strucke off, no man wel knowing wherfore; and their dead bodies cast out at the court gate, to the terror of the beholders, as a miserable spectacle of their own miserie and the Emperors cruelty. Yea the remembrance of his old tirannie (renewed as it were with this late outrage) presented a fresh vnto al mens eys the reuerent old Emperor *Baiazet* his father, with his two brethren, *Achomates* & *Corcutus*, by right both called vnto the empire before himselfe; with many other yong princes of the Bloud, of great hope & expectation, who as all men knew, perished through the vnnaturall and execrable cruelty of this most merciless man. So that men generally did both feare him and hate him. Forasmuch as he without all feare of God or regard of worldly shame, accounted no practise wicked, or deuise detestable, that might serue for the better establishing of his kingdome; and had set downe in his minde, (long before corrupted with ambition and tyrannie) That it was far better for the assurance of his estate, to be feared of all than beloued of many: and therfore spared no mans life, of whom he had but the lest suspition. Howbeit that the seueritie [illegible] him vsed against this so great a man and

The death of Ionuses the great Bassa.

and so gracious with the people, may in some sort be excused, as iustly moued thereunto by the presumptuous and malicious dealing of the proud Bassa vnder-hand, contrary to the charge giuen him by his lord, to the peril of those his great but late conquests both in Ægypt and Syria.

This great Bassa, whilest he yet liued and flourished in the court, in nothing so much offended the minds of the people (who generally both loued and honoured him) as by the crueltie by him shewed vpon the person of the faire Lady *Manto* his best beloued wife. Who being a Greeke borne, and adorned with all the good gifts of nature, whereunto her louely conditions were also answerable, was by *Zebalia* her first husband (a man of great honor) carried with him into the wars, as his greatest treasure and chiefe delight. But he slaine, and she by misfortune falling into the hands of the Turks (her enemies) remained so prisoner with them for a time; vntill that this great Bassa *Ionuses* shortly after (seeing her amongst the other captiues there taken, so far to exceed the rest as doth the Sun the lesser starres) surprised with her incomparable beautie, became of her amorous: and in too curious viewing of the captiue Ladie, was by her himselfe taken prisoner. Where finding her outward perfections graced with no lesse inward vertues, and her honourable mind answerable vnto her rare feature, tooke her vnto his wife; honouring her farre aboue all the rest of his wiues and concubines: and shee againe in all dutifull loyaltie seeking to please him, for a space liued in all worldly felicitie and blisse, not much inferiour vnto one of the great Sultanesses. But long lasteth not the Summer fruit of wanton loue, blasted most time in the blossome, and rotten before it be well gathered: for in short time the Bassa more amorous of her person, than secured in her vertues, and after the manner of sensuall men, still fearing lest that which so much pleased himselfe, gaue no lesse contentment to others also: began to haue her in distrust, although he saw no great cause, why, more than his owne conceit, not grounded vpon any her euill demeanor, but vpon the excesse of his own liking. Which mad humor (hardly to be ouer purged) of it self still more and more in him increasing, he became so froward and imperious, that nothing she could say or do could now so please or content him, but that he still thought some one or other, although he wist not who, to be therein partakers with him. So fearefull was the iealous man of his owne conceits. Yet could he not chuse but loue those great perfections; whereat he could not enough wonder, although he found no contentment therein, tormenting still both himselfe and her whom he so dearely loued with his owne passionat distrust: vntill at length, the faire ladie grieued to see her self thus without cause to be suspected, and wearied with the insolent pride of her peeuish husband, together with his imperious commands, determined secretly to depart from him, and so to returne againe into her owne country. Which her purpose she discouered vnto one of her Eunuches, to whom she had also deliuered certaine letters to be by him conuaied vnto such of her friends, as whose helpe she was to vse in her intended flight; which letters the false eunuch opened, & so for the more manifesting of the matter deliuered them vnto the Bassa his master. Who therewith inraged, and calling her vnto him, forthwith in his furie, with a dagger stabd her to the heart and slew her: so together with the death of his loue, hauing cured his tormenting jealousie. The liuely counterfeits of these two so notable personages thus vnworthily slaine, the one by the imperious commaund of his soueraigne, and the other by the cruell hand of her husband, thou maiest in the pages following behold, as they are by *Boisardus* expressed.

Ionuses Bassa iealous of his faire wife Manto.

The faire Ladie Manto cruelly slain by her iealous husband.

Reijce Sultani titulos, Nilotica Memphis
Quos confert : erit hic inuidiosus honos.
Regna Tomombeo, Campson, *cum rege reliquit :*
Virtutis Selymus *dicit id esse tuæ.*

Reject the Sultans titles, which proud *Memphis* doth thee show:
From such great honours oftentimes doth greatest danger grow.
That *Campson* with great *Tomombey* lost both their state and fame:
Vnto thy valour, *Selymus* doth yet ascribe the same.

Formam si spectes, nihil est formosius ista :
Pectoris & casti gratia rara fuit.
Sed dum dissimuli vixit male iuncta marito :
Infelix misera morte perempta iacet.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

If feature braue thou do'st respect, thou canst none fairer see,
Nor in whose chast and constant brest, could greater graces lie.
But whilst mismatcht she liu'd to mourne, inthral'd to iealous braine,
Vnhappie she with cruell hand, was by her husband slaine.

But leauing this great Bassa with faire *Manto* vnto their rest, his course thus run, to returne againe vnto *Selymus*; who now come into Syria, was by letters from the Himbracor-Bassa or master of his horse (whom he had left vpon the frontiers of his kingdome to attend the motions of the Persians) aduertised, That the Persian preparations which had raised such a hoat rumor of wars in the beginning of Winter, was growne cold in the heat of Sommer: and that he had seene in all the time of his abode in those quarters, none but certaine stragling companies, making shew as if some greater power had bin comming, which had many times made sudden roads into the countrey, with whom he had sundry times prosperously encountered:

and

& it was generally reported by [illegible] prisoners as he had taken, & by his own espials also, that *Hysmael*, troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars, had conuerted the greatest part of his forces against those nations: so the Winter now drawing fast on, and deepe snowes alreadie fallen vpon the mountaine Taurus, he could not though he would that yeare looke after Asia the lesse, or Syria. There were that reported, that the Tartars which dwell betweene the two riuers, Tanais and Volga, were by *Selymus* his procurement, and mony, set a worke to keep *Hysmael* busied, by inuading the Iberians and Albanians, which were vnder his protection: which thing he wrought by the means of *Mahomet* his father in law, the Bosphoran king, who being of the same language and nation, by rewards easily induced the needy captains of the Tartars his friends and confederats, to take vp armes against their neighbours.

The cause why Hysmael inuaded not Selymus wholey busied in the Egyptian warre.

Many men maruelled that *Hysmael* the Persian king neglected so faire an opportunity, whereby he might (as most men thought) haue thrust *Selymus* quite out of Asia and Syria, whilest he was thus busied in Ægypt, yea and easily haue destroied him, shut vp with all his power, especially at such time as the Ægyptian Sultans *Campson* and *Tomombeius* made so great resistance. But they which could better iudge of the matter, saw that *Hysmael* was not of so great power and strength abroad, as at home: for his armie for most part consisted of gentlemen, or such as were by custome bound to serue him in his defensiue wars, voluntary men, and such as serued without pay. These as they were the most valiant horsemen of the East, so did they with singular valour worthily defend the kingdome of Persia, and also as occasion required, make war with their neere neighbours: but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no meanes away withall, accounting it a grieuous thing to depart from their wiues, vnto whom they are so addicted, that oftentimes they carrie them with them into the wars; and being a wanton & fine kind of people, are not able without wages to draw after them according to their accustomed manner, so many carriages and horses as might serue both for their necessarie and wanton vses. With which difficultie, the great king *Vsun Cassanes*, *Hysmael* his grandfather by the mothers side, was much troubled in his wars against *Mahomet* the great: but was now much harder for *Hysmael* to doe, for that he hauing obtained his grandfathers kingdome by the meere good will of the people, easing them forthwith of their heauie impositions, alwaies thought the loue of his subiects (which is easily gotten with bountie and iustice) the surest riches of his kingdome; and that to command only ouer the bodies and goods of his people, their hearts altogether alienated and lost by most heauy and grieuous exactions, seemed not the part of a gracious and naturall prince, but of an outragious and momentarie tyrant. Whereas *Selymus* on the contrary part, who had by force, mischiefe, and most detestable practises stept vp into his fathers seat, had after the manner of the *Othoman* kings reposed his greatest and most assured strength in a seruile & mercinarie kind of men, whom he might for pay as his owne creatures, at his pleasure draw farre from home, and as he best liked lead them from place to place, and countrey to countrey, for the enlarging of his empire, and eternising of his name: and therefore according to the qualitie of his people, deemed true and ready power to consist only in money, and the seueritie of his owne command; whereby he had learned with most happie successe, in short time to obscure all the victories of the former *Othoman* kings, with the greatnesse of his owne.

1518 All the Winter following, *Selymus* staied with his armie in Syria, spending the time in visiting the ports & cities of that prouince, and setting of things in order, for the better assurance thereof. But vpon the approch of the Spring, when he certainly vnderstood, that by the procurement of *Leo* the tenth, then bishop of Rome, the Christian Princes were entered into consultation to make war vpon him, and that supplications with great solemnitie were made for that purpose, and honourable embassadors sent into all prouinces to stir vp the greatest kings of Christendome against him, he (leauing *Gazelles* his lieutenant in Syria) by great iournies returned to Constantinople: from thence as at hand to behold the deuises and motions of Christian Princes his enemies. In the mean time, fearing no alteration to arise in the prouinces of Syria and Ægypt, forasmuch as he well saw, that *Cayerbeius* and *Gazelles*, his lieutenants, being at deadly hatred betwixt themselues (as well for old grudges, as for the late treason of *Cayerbeius*, the great cause of the ruine of the Mamalukes kingdome) would neuer agree in one against him, but rather with a certaine emulation striue betwixt themselues with diligence, faithfulnesse, & moderation, who should deserue best in well gouerning the prouinces by him committed

committed to their charge, as indeed they did during the short time of his raigne. 1519

Selymus being arriued at Constantinople, and purposing from thenceforth to turne all his forces vpon the Christians, caused wonderfull preparation to be made for his wars, but especially at sea: whereby it was thought, that he would haue either attempted the strong Iland of the Rhodes (a great moat in his eye) or else some part of Italie. But as he was hatching this mischiefe, or some other of no lesse importance, and in the meane time delighted himselfe with visiting the cities of Grecia and Thrace, and solaced himselfe in the pleasant countrey about Hadrianople, he was suddenly attached with the hand of God, and strucken in the reins of his backe with a canker: which melancholie and deuouring maladie contemning all cure, did by little and little so eat and corrupt his body, as that he before so much honored, became now loathsome and odious both to himselfe and others.

Selymus purposing to inuade the Christians, striken ouer the reins of his backe with a canker.

As he lay thus languishing, his incurable disease still increasing, leaning his head in the lap of *Pyrrhus* the Bassa, whom of all others he most loued, said, *O Pyrrhus, I see I must shortly die without remedie.* Whereupon the graue Bassa tooke occasion to discourse with him of many matters: and amongst others, that it would please him to giue order for the well bestowing of the great wealth taken from the Persian merchants in diuers places of his empire: persuading him to bestow the same vpon some notable hospitall for reliefe of the poore. To whom *Selymus* replied, Wouldst thou *Pyrrhus*, that I should bestow other mens goods, wrongfully taken from them, vpon workes of charity and deuotion, for mine owne vaine glorie and praise? assuredly I will neuer doe it: nay, rather see they be againe restored vnto the right owners. Which was forthwith done accordingly: to the great shame of many Christians, who minding nothing lesse than restitution, but making *ex rapina holocaustam*, doe out of a world of euill gotten goods cull out some small fragments, to build some poore hospitall, or mend some blind way; a poore testimonie of their hot charitie.

Selymus lying thus sicke to death, and rotting aboue the ground in his tent, as he was vpon the way going to Hadrianople, sent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*, two of his greatest Bassaes, to prouide for the solemnising of the great feast, which the Turks call *Bairam* (and is as it were their Easter) purposing to come after himselfe at leisure, as his weake bodie would giue him leaue: and kept with him onely *Ferhates*, the third of his greatest Bassaes and priuie Counsellors. But such was the furie of his foule disease, continually attainting him with intollerable paines, that shortly after the departure of the other two Bassaes, hee breathed out his cruell ghost, in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1520: neere vnto the citie Chiurli, in the self same place where he had somtime most vnnaturally assailed his aged father *Baiazet*, with purpose to haue slaine him, had not the fortune of the old Emperor in a great battell preuailed both against his force and the treason of his owne people. Thus intending the mischiefe he could not performe, cut off by a loathsome and vntimely death, he to the great ioy of all Christendome ended his daies, when he had liued six and fortie yeares, and thereof raigned eight: which time of his raigne was nothing else but a most horrible and dreadfull time of bloudshed. His dead bodie was afterwards solemnly by his son *Solyman* buried in a new temple at Constantinople, which he to the imitation of his father and grandfather, had for that purpose before built. Vpon his tombe is ingrauen in the Greeke, Turkish, and Sclauonian Tongues, this short Epitaph.

1520

The death of Selymus.

The iust iudgement of God.

Hic maximus adsum Selymus, *qui orbem domui.*
Non bella relinquo, sed pergo inquirere,
Non vlla me fortuna potuit euertere:
Licet ossa iacent, animus quarit.

Phi. Lonicerus Turcicæ Historiæ, Tomo primo, li. primo.

In English thus:

Lo here I lie great *Selymus*, which held the World in feare:
The World I leaue, but not the wars, which I seeke, though not here.
No fortunes force, or victors hand, could take from me the spoiles:
And though my bones lie buried here, my ghost seekes bloudie broiles.

He

Selymus before his death commendeth the tuition of his son Solyman to Pyrrhus the Bassa.

He vsed commonly to say, That nothing was sweeter than to raigne without feare or suspition of his kindred. A little before his death, he commended his son *Solyman* to *Pyrrhus Bassa*, straightly charging him, that after his death he should leaue the Persian, and turne his forces altogether vpon the Christians. And the more to incense him to the effusion of bloud, he left him the liuely counterfeit of himselfe hanging at his bed side, with sundrie bloudie precepts breathing forth his cruell and vnmercifull disposition.

Tabulæ Epigraphe.

Soldanus Selymus Othomanus, *Rex Regum, Dominus omnium Dominorum, Princeps omnium Principum, Filius & Nepos Dei. S. S. S.*

Ad dextram, versus Græca lingua ad scripti in hunc sensum.

Tutus vt imperij Princeps sibi sceptra capessat,
Anxia ne dubio corda pauore premat,
Ne putet esse nefas cognatum haurire cruorem:
Et nece fraterna, constabilire domum.
Iura, Fides, Pietas, regni dum nemo supersit,
Æmulus, haud turbent religione animum.
Has ratio est, quæ sola queat regale tueri
Nomen, & expertem te sinit esse metus.

Ad sinistram lingua Sclauonica.

Te semel aduersus peccantem, mitiùs haberi
Ne studeas, pœna vindice tutus eris.
Protinus ense rescindendum, putrescere si quid
Incipiet, clemens rex malè sceptra gerit.
Ad veniam facilis, peccandi perigit ansam
Qua se sustentans, ad noua damna ruat.

Ad Calcem tabulæ lingua Turcica.

Qui non ipse sua Princeps hastilia dextra,
Agmen in aduersum marte fauente iacet.
Sed refugit sæuis caput obiectare periclis
Dum grauia impauido, prælia corde subit:
Iste sciat vanis belli sese artibus vti:
Et votis nunquam fata fauere suis.
Nulla sibi speret, suscepti commoda belli,
Hostiles acies quisquis adire timet.

The Inscription of the Table.

Sultan *Selymus Othoman* King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Prince of all Princes, the sonne and nephew of God.

On the right hand of the Table were written Greeke Verses to this sence.

The Prince that safely seekes to raigne, and hold his state in quiet rest,
Must neuer suffer troubled care to harbour in his princely brest:
Nor thinke it sinne to spill the bloud of his most neere and deerest kin,
Not of his brother, so thereby assured safetie he may win.
Law, Faith, Deuotion, and such like, to breake them all he must not spare,
Nor conscience make of any thing, to rid him from aspiring care.
This is the way and onely meane that may protect a princes State,
And set him safe without all feare, whilest none may liue whom he doth hate.

The bloudie & tyrannical precepts left by Selymus to his son Solyman, which hee afterwards most assuredly kept as is to be seene in his life following.

On the left hand of the Table was written in the Sclauonian tongue,

Of him that seekes to worke thy woe, deserue not to be counted kind:
But take him for thy mortall foe, and plague him with reuenging mind.
The rotten lym is cut away for feare of doing further harme:
The gentle prince doth beare small sway, if no abuse can make him warme.
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to presume of further grace,
It doth but strength to rebels lend, to thrust their soueraigne out of place.

At the lower end of the same table was written in Turkish verse,

What Prince in person dareth not in open field to meet his foe,
And there with vnapplauded heart, his deadly darts himselfe to throw:
But hides his head for feare of harme, and shuns the danger of the field,
When martial minds with courage bold withstand their foes with speare & shield:
Let him well know, how that in vaine he beareth armes but for a show,
And that the honour of the field will neuer such a coward know.
Ne let him hope to gaine the spoile by any warres he takes in hand,
That feareth with couragious mind his enemies forces to withstand.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Selymus the first	Emperours of Germany	Maximilian the first,	1494. 25.
		Charles the fifth.	1509. 39.
	Kings,	Of England, Henrie the eighth.	1509. 38.
		Of France, Lewis the twelfth,	1497. 17.
		Francis the first,	1514. 32.
		Of Scotland, Iames the fourth,	1489. 25.
		Iames the fifth,	1513. 32.
	Bishops of Rome,	Iulius the II,	1503. 9.
		Leo the X,	1513. 8.

Phil. Lonicer. Hist. Turc. li. 1.

Imperij Solyman *patrij moderatur habenas,*
Regnaque Christianum cladibus vsque metit.
Antiquam capit ille Rhodon, Naxumque Parumque
Tyrrheni infastat Littora curua maris.
Pannonios multo populatur milite fines,
Et cingit muros clara Vienna tuos.
Inclyta Sigethi dum mœnia concutit armis,
Cogitur, hinc Stygiam nudus adire domum.

His fathers Empire *Solyman* doth rule with mightie power,
And Christian kingdomes ceaseth not with slaughter to deuour.
The antient Rhodes, with Naxos Isle, and Paros he did take,
And on the coasts of Italie did wofull hauocke make:
Faire Hungarie with armies great he often did annoy,
And with a world of men had thought Vienna to destroy.
But whilest to Sigeth he laied siege, in hope the same to haue,
Cut off by death in his great pride, went naked to his graue.

THE LIFE OF *SOLYMAN*, THE FOVRTH AND MOST MAGNIFICENT EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

C THE death of *Selymus* was with all carefulnesse concealed by *Ferhates* the only Bassa then present, for feare lest the Ianizaries and souldiers of the court getting knowledge thereof, should after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancie of the empire, spoile the merchants and strangers in places where they lay in garrison, and especially in the imperial citie: and not so contented, after their accustomed insolencie prescribe vnto the greatest Bassaes at their pleasure. For preuenting whereof, *Ferhates* dispatched a trustie messenger with letters in post to *Solyman* the only sonne of *Selymus*, then lying at Magnesia; certifying him of the death of his father; and that he should deserue well of his peaceable subiects by hastening his comming to Constantinople, whilest all things were yet in good order, in time to represse with his presence the feared disordered proceedings of his men of warre.

D *Solyman* hauing to his great content perused the Bassaes letters, as one desirous enough of the empire; yet considering the cruel disposition of his father (who vpon a meere iealous conceit of his aspiring mind, and for certain words by him let fall in dislike of his fathers extream dealing, had practised most vnnaturally to haue taken away him by poison: which danger he escaped only by the carefulnesse of his mother, who misdoubting the worst, caused the poisoned rich shirt sent to him from his father, to be first worne by one of his chamber, whereof he in short time after died) and also that the letters were signed onely by *Ferhates*, and the newes not seconded from any of the other Bassaes: fearing some hidden and secret plot of his father tending to his destruction, durst not aduenture to remoue from his charge, but returned the messenger as one to whom hee gaue little or no credit. Ten daies thus spent, and the death of *Solyman hardly perswaded that his father was dead.*

E *Selymus* nothing as yet suspected; *Ferhates* vnderstanding by his messenger the warinesse of *Solyman*, and that he expected more assured aduertisement, sent presently vnto the other great Bassaes *Pyrrhus* and *Mustapha* at Hadrianople, that they should without delay repaire vnto the court: vnto whom at their comming hee declared the death of the Emperour. Which after they had seene to be true, they by another secret and speedie messenger aduertised *Solyman* again therof, confirming those letters with all their hands & seals: wherby *Solyman* now assured of his fathers death, presently put himselfe vpon the way, and by long and painfull iournies in few daies came to Scutarium, called in antient time Chrisopolis, ouer against Constantinople. Where he was met with the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, and by him transported in a gallie ouer that straight passage to Constantinople; where at his landing the Ianizaries by

F the appointment of their captaine were readie to receiue him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, vntill that *Solyman* being now in the midst of them, the captaine with a loud voice said vnto them, *Behold your Emperor.* Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, *Long liue the great Emperor Solyman*: which consent of the men of war, is vnto the Turkish Emperours the greatest assurance of their estate. And so with much triumph he was by them

brought into the roiall pallace, and placed in his fathers seat in the yeare 1520: in which yere also *Charles* the fift was chosen Emperour of Germanie. The Ianizaries disappointed by the Bassies of the spoile of the merchants, especially Christians and Iewes, receiued of the bountie of *Solyman* a great largious; and in the beginning of his raigne had their accustomed wages somewhat augmented also, to their wonderfull contentment.

Solyman was about twentie eight yeares old when hee began to raigne, and was at the first supposed to haue bin of a mild and peaceable disposition: so that the princes to whom the name of *Selymus* was before dreadful, were now in hope that a quiet Lamb was come in place of a raging Lyon. But in short time they found themselues in their expectation far deceiued; and especially the Christian Princes bordering vpon him, vnto whom he became a far more dangerous enemie then was his father before him; conuerting his forces most part of his long raigne vpon them, which *Selymus* had almost altogether imployed against the kings of Persia, and Ægypt, the greatest Princes of the Mahometan superstition.

The first that felt his heauie hand was *Gazelles* Gouernour of Syria: who presently vpon the death of *Selymus*, thinking himselfe now discharged of the oath of obedience which hee had giuen to *Selymus*, but not to his successors; and earnestly desiring to restore again the kingdome of the Mamalukes lately ouerthrowne, gathered together the remainder of the dispersed Mamalukes, which speedily resorted vnto him out of all parts of Asia and Africke: and alluring with rewards the leaders of the wild Arabians, with great numbers of the countrey people of Syria, discontented with the Turkish gouernment, entred into open rebellion, and by force of armes draue the Turkes garrisons out of Byrtha, Tripolis, and diuers other cities of Syria, taking them into his owne possession. And the better to effect that hee had taken in hand, he sent embassadors to Caire, vnto *Cayerbeius*, who had of *Selymus* receiued the gouernment of Ægypt, the vnworthie reward of his horrible treason; persuading him by any means to take reuenge of the iniurie and wrong before done to the Mamalukes, and by killing of the Turkes garrisons to make himselfe Sultan of Ægypt, and restore againe the kingdome of the Mamalukes, offering him therein the vttermost of his deuoire and seruice. But *Cayerbeius*, either not trusting *Gazelles* his old enemie, or ashamed by new treason to augment his former dishonor, or els (which was most like) misdoubting his owne strength in performance of so great an enterprise; after he had attentiuely heard what the embassadours had to say, caused them presently in his own sight to be put to death stra itors, and with all speed certified *Solyman* therof: who without delay sent *Ferhates Bassa* with with a strong army into Syria. Which thing *Gazelles* hearing, and hauing in his power most of the cities of Syria, retired himself, with all his armie into the strong citie of Damasco; whither at length, *Ferhates* the great Bassa by long march came also. *Gazelles* resolued to trie the fortune of the field, and so either by speedy victorie or honourable death to end the matter, rather than to suffer himselfe to be shut vp within the wals of the citie (vpon the comming of the Bassa, valiantly issued forth with all his power, and gaue him battell; which for the space of six houres was most cruelly fought, and many slaine on both sides. At length *Gazelles* being oppressed with the multitude of his enemies (being eight times more in number) and hardly assailed on either side, was enforced to fight in a ring, and there performing all the parts of a worthie Generall and valiant soldier, honorably died together with his Mamalukes in the midst of his enemies, leauing vnto them a bloudie victory. *Gazelles* thus slaine, the citie of Damasco with all the country of Syria without any more adoe yeelded again vnto the Turks obedience, which the Bassa took in so good part, that he would not suffer his soldiers to enter into the city, then richly restored with commodities of all sorts, brought thither by merchants out of diuers parts of the world.

Gazelles gouernor of Syria rebelleth against Solyman.

Gazelles slaine.

Syria thus pacified, the Bassa went to Caire in Ægypt, and there commending *Cayerbeius* for his fidelitie, confirmed him in his gouernment; and enuaying against the cruelty of *Selymus* (so to please the Ægyptians) wished them to hope for all happinesse vnder the peaceable gouernment of the new Sultan *Solyman*. And so when he had set all things in order in both the prouinces of Syria and Ægypt, returned againe to *Solyman*.

The yeare next following, *Solyman* by the counsell of *Pyrrhus Bassa* his old tutor (a mortall enemie vnto the Christians) and by the persuasion of the Ianizaries resolued to besiege the strong citie of Belgrade, otherwise called Taurunum, scituat vpon the borders of Hungarie, where the riuer Sauus falleth into Danubius. Which city his great grandfather *Mahomet* (surnamed

named the Great, and before him the warlike *Amurath*) had with all their power, long time before to their great losse and dishonour, vainly attempted. Wherein vntill that time were reserued the ensignes, then taken from the Turks, to their no small griefe, with other trophies of the glorious victories of the worthie captaine *Huniades*, and the great King *Matthias Coruinus* his sonne. Wherefore *Solyman* sending his armie before, was come as far as Sophia, a citie in Seruia (the place where the Turks great lieutenant in Europe is alwaies resiant) before that the Hungarians were aware of his comming: for they liuing at ease all the time that *Vladislaus* raigned, and now sleeping in securitie vnder the young King *Lodouicus* his sonne, a man of no experience; who contenting himselfe with the title of a King, suffered himselfe to be pilled and poled by his nobilitie and great clergie men (inuerting all the wealth of the land to their owne priuat gaine) that he was not able to raise any sufficient power to go against his puissant enemie; especially his nobilitie, in whose hands rested the wealth of his kingdome, promising him much, but performing indeed nothing. *Huniades* with his hardie souldiers, the scourge and terror of the Turks, was dead long before; so was also *Matthias* that fortunat warriour: after whom succeeded others giuen to all pleasure and ease; to whose example the people fashioning themselues, forgot their wonted valour, and gaue themselues ouer to sensualitie and voluptuous pleasure: so that *Solyman* without let, presented his armie before the citie of Belgrade, and with batterie and vndermining in short time became Lord thereof, hauing lost few of his people in that siege. How much the losse of that strong citie concerned the Christian common wealth, the manifold and lamentable miseries which afterwards insued by the opening of that gap, not vnto the kingdom of Hungarie only, but to all that side of Christendom, did, and yet doth, most manifestly declare. It was woon by the Turkes the nine and twentieth day of August in the yeare, 1521.

Belgrade woon by Solyman.

After the taking of the strong citie of Belgrade, *Solyman* returning to Constantinople, brake vp his armie and there lay still almost all the yeare following. During which time, hee caused great preparation to be made at Calipolis and other his ports, for rigging vp of a great fleet: which caused the Italians, Venetians, and them of the Rhodes, to looke about them, as men carefull of their estates, fearing that those forces would ere long bee imployed against some or all of them. 1522

About the same time *Philippus Villerius* a man of great wisedome and courage, then following the French court, was in his absence by the knights of the Rhodes chosen Great master of that honourable companie: who embarking himselfe at Marcelles, after a long and dangerous iourney (being not without the knowledge of *Solyman* hardly laied for at sea by *Cortug-Ogli* a famous pyrat of the Turkes, whose two brethren the knights of the Rhodes had but a little before surprised at sea and slaine, and then held the third in prison) arriued in safety at the Rhodes, where he was with great ioy and triumph receiued.

Philippus Villerius chosen great master of the Rhodes.

The great Bassa, by whose graue aduise *Solyman* was contented in all his waightie affaires to be directed, consulting with the other Bassaes, of diuers great exploits which was first to be taken in hand, for the honor of their Emperour and inlarging of his empire, were of diuers opinions concerning the besieging of the Rhodes. *Pyrrhus* the Bassa of greatest account, dissuaded the taking in hand of that action, as too full of difficultie and danger: producing for proofe thereof the example of the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Solymans* great grandfather; by whom it was vnfortunatly attempted, and in fine shamefully abandoned. But *Mustapha* next in place and reputation to *Pyrrhus*, extolling the power and fortune of *Solyman*, said, That the greatnesse of their Emperor was not to be concluded within the attempts of his predecessors as well appeared by the late taking of Belgrade; from whence first *Amurath*, and after him; *Mahomet*, two of the most warlike Princes of the Turks, had with great dishonour been repulsed: and should no doubt with like good fortune preuaile against the Rhodes also, being able (if need were) to bring more men before it than were stones in the wals thereof. Which he so confidently affirmed, with extenuating the power of the Rhodians, that hee seemed to make no doubt of the good successe of that war: presumptuously affirming, that vpon the first landing of *Solymans* great armie, they of the Rhodes would without delay yeeld themselues and their citie into his hands.

Amongst others of great experience, whose opinions *Solyman* was desirous to haue, before he would take so great a matter in hand, was the famous pirat *Cortug-Ogli*, a man of a mischie-

nous and cruell nature, but of great experience in sea matters. Who presented to *Solyman* by *Mustapha* and *Ferhates*, two of the greatest Bassaes, going before him, after due reuerence done, and commanded to deliuer his opinion, spake vnto *Solyman*, as followeth:

Corsug-Ogli the pyrat perswadeth Solyman to besiege the Rhodes.

The greatnesse of your deserts (most mightie and puissant Emperour) maketh me (beeing by you so commanded) at this time frankly to speake what I thinke may be for the glorie and honour both of your Maiestie and Empire. I daily heare the pittifull lamentation of the miserable people of Mitylene, Eubœa, Peloponesus, Achaia, Caria, Lycia, and all alongst the sea coast of Syria and Ægypt, bewayling the spoyle of their countries, the ransacking of their cities, the taking away of their cattell and people, with other infinite and incredible calamities, which they dayly suffer of the crossed Rhodian pyrats, no man withstanding them: Many a time haue these wretched people holden vp their hands to mee for helpe, most instantly requesting mee to bee a meane for them to your imperiall Maiestie, wherby they might be protected from the iniurie, rapine, and slaughter of these cruell rouers. Wherefore in their behalfe I beseech your sacred Maiestie, by the most reuerend name of the holy Prophet Mahomet, and by your owne most heroicall disposition, to deliuer your afflicted subiects from these their most cruell enemies, and at length to set them free from the furie, captiuitie, and feare, of these pyrats, more grieuous vnto them than death it selfe: and consider with your selfe, that this iniurie and insolencie tendeth not so much to the hurt of your poore subiects and oppressed people in priuate, as to the dishonour and disgrace of your imperiall name and dignitie, which if any other Christian King or Prince should offer, your Maiestie I know would not suffer vnreuenged: And will you then suffer these robbers, cut-throats, base people gathered out of all the corners of Christendome, to waste your countries spoile your Cities, murther your people, and trouble all your seas? For who can passe by sea to Tripolis, Damasco, Alexandria, Caire, Chalcide, Lesbos, Chios, nay vnto this your imperiall citie of Constantinople, without most certaine and manifest danger of these rouers? What haue we heard euerie Spring this many yeares, but that the Rhodians had taken some one or other of your Ports, led away your people into most miserable captiuitie, and carried away with them the rich spoiles of your countries? And that which is of all other things most dishonourable, this they doe vnder your nose, and in your sight, in the middest and heart of your Empire. Pardon mee I beseech you most Mightie Emperour, if I too plainely speake what I thinke: For whatsoeuer I say, I say it to no other end, but that you should now at length doe that which should many yeares agoe haue beene done. Wee your most loyall subiects may not, nor ought not, for the increase of our Mahometan religion, and for the enlarging of your Empire and Honour, to refuse to aduenture our goods, our bodies, our liues, to all hazard and danger whithout exception. If you likewise be carried with loue of glorie and renowme, or rauished with the desire of neuer dying Fame, in what warres can you more easily gaine the same, or better imploy vs your seruants, than in vanquishing and subduing the Rhodes, the reputed bulwarke of Christendome, which onely keepeth vs from their countries? But some will perhaps say, your ancestours haue in former times vnfortunately attempted that citie: so did they also Belgrade in Hungarie: yet hath your happie fortune to your immortall fame brought the same vnder your subiection, beeing farre more strongly fortified than it was in times past: and doe you then despaire of the Rhodes? Cast off such vaine and needlesse misdoubt. The Turkish Empire hath alwaies growne by aduentures and honourable attempts: Therefore make haste to besiege it both by sea and land. If your subiects mourning vnder the heauie burthen of the Christian captiuitie, built it with their owne hands for the Christians; cannot they now at libertie, desirous of reuenge, and fitted with opportunitie, with like hands destroy the same? If it please you to vouchsafe but to looke into the matter (most dread Soueraigne) you shall see that there is a diuine occasion by the procurement of our great Prophet Mahomet, presented vnto your most sacred Maiestie, now that the Christians of the West are at discord and mortall warre amongst themselues. Your Maiestie is not ignorant, that in managing of wars, the opportunitie of the time is especially to be followed, and that when occasion serueth, all remissnesse and delay is to be carefully auoided: the changes of times are most tickle, and if you suffer your good hap now to passe ouer, you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards pursue the same when it is fled and gone.

Solyman by nature an ambitious yong prince, prickt forward this also by the perswasions of *Corsug-Ogli* and others, seeking their further credit and preferment by fitting his ambitious humor: but most of all by the instigation of the Bassa *Mustapha*, resolued to go in person himselfe

selfe against the Rhodes. And first to make some proofe of what spirit and courage *Villerius* the new chosen Great Master was of, in whose sufficiencie the greatest part of the defence of the citie was supposed to consist: to him by way of a little cold friendship, he sent a messenger with this short Letter thus directed:

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greatest Emperour of Constantinople and Trapezond, most Mightie King of Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Ægypt; Lord of Asia and Europe; Prince of Mecha and Aleppo, Ruler of Hierusalem; and Master of the Vniuersall Sea: to the reuerend Father, *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Master of the Rhodes, and Legat of Asia, greeting.

Solymans letter to Villerius, Great master of the Rhodes.

I am glad of thy kingdome and new promotion, which I wish thou maiest long and happily enioy: for that I hope thou wilt in honour and fidelitie exceed all them which before thee ruled in the Rhodes: from whom as my ancestours haue withdrawne their hand, so I after their example ioyne with thee in amitie and friendship. Ioy thou therefore, my friend, and in my behalfe reioyce of my victorie and triumph also: for this last Summer passing ouer Danubius with ensignes displayed, I there expected the Hungarian King, who I thought would haue giuen me battell: I tooke from him by strong hand Belgrade, the strongest citie of his Kingdome, with other strong holds thereabouts: and hauing with fire and sword destroyed much people, and carried away many moe into captiuitie, as a triumphant conqueror, breaking vp mine armie, am returned to my imperiall citie of Constantinople, from whence farewell.

The Great Master hauing read these Letters, and well considered of the same, perceiued forthwith *Solymans* meaning; and that peace was offered him in words and shew, but war in deed and meaning. Which because he was readie by force to repulse, he rewarded the Turks messenger, and sent backe with him another of his owne, a priuat person. For the Rhodians did seldome vouchsafe to send any honourable embassadours to the Turkish Emperours (with whom they for most part liued in hostilitie) either the Turkes to them. By this messenger he answered *Solymans* Letters with other of like vaine, as followeth:

Philippus Villerius Lilladamus, Great Master of the Rhodes, to the Turke.

The answer of Villerius to Solymans letters.

I right well vnderstand your letters which your messenger brought vnto me. The friendship you write of, is as pleasing to me as displeasing to Cortug-Ogli *your seruant, who went about to haue intercepted me vpon the sudden, as I came out of France: but failing of his purpose, stealing by night into the Rhodian Sea, he attempted to haue robbed certaine merchants ships bound from Ioppe to Venice: but sending my fleet out of my hauen, I staied his furie, constrained the pyrat to flie, and for hast to leaue behind him the prises he had before taken from the merchants of Crete. Farewell, from the Rhodes.*

By this answer *Solyman* perceiued, that he was well met withall in his owne fineneſſe, and that he should not so easily carrie the Rhodes, as he had before done Belgrade. Yet being fully in himselfe resolued to trie his fortune therein, he called vnto him certaine of the chiefe commanders of his warres, to whom he opened his whole determination in this sort:

Solymans Oration to his men of war, declaring his purpose of besieging the Rhodes.

Although I doubt not, worthie chiefetaines, but that you are of the same mind now that you haue beene alwaies of, in the inuading of other Nations; yet I haue thought it good in matters tending to the common glorie, and good of vs all, to vse your generall aduice and counsell. Since the time that my father left this world, wee haue made warre with diuers Nations and people. The Syrians by nature vnconstant, and prone to rebellion, we haue by force reduced to their former obedience. The Sophi, that mightie king, nephew vnto the great King Vsun-Cassanes, *by his daughter the sister of king* Iacup, *in heart and deed our mortall enemie, not contented with the kingdomes of Assyria, Media, Armenia the greater, Persia, and Mesopotamia, wee haue with our forces shut vp within the compasse of his owne dominions. The last yeare running through Hungarie, both on this side and beyond Danubius wee tooke Belgrade the strongest fortresse in that Kingdome; And whatsoeuer else wee attempted, was subdued. Yet for all that (to speke plainly of my selfe) my minde greater*

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR

in conceit than my Empire, and the blood of Othoman, *findeth no contentment in these victories. For whatsoeuer you haue yet done, although it be great, yet I deeme it all but little, in regard of your worth: my desire carrieth me further. This haue I alwaies aboue all things most earnestly desired, to set vpon the Rhodes, and vtterly to root out all the strength and forces, yea the very name of those Rhodian souldiers. And haue not you also no lesse than my selfe desired the same? How often haue I heard you crying out, The Rhodes, The Rhodes? I haue expected the time that beeing discharged of other warres, I might heere employ my whole strength and power. That we so long desired, is now come: there was neuer greater opportunitie of good successe offered, a great part of the walls of the citie of the Rhodes now lying euen with the ground; which cannot in short time bee repaired, especially in their want of coyne. Beside this, the garrison in the castle is but small, and their aid from France farre off, which wil either come too late when the citie is lost, or that which I rather beleeue, neuer. For neither will the French King (being at mortall warres with the Germane Emperour, and Lord of Italie) suffer his storehouses to be disfurnished, or his ports bared of the necessarie defence of his shipping. Neither doe you beleeue that the Spaniards (distressed at home with famine, warre, and ciuile discention) will easily come hither out of Sicilia and Campania with supplies of men and victuall. But you may perhaps thinke, that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian fleet, and the Isle of Crete, which I assure you is not so: for I know (although I will not now manifest the same) how I haue preuented that mischiefe. Wherefore couragious souldiers (borne to the subduing of all Christendome, much more of the Rhodes) with cheerefull hearts follow me your soueraigne against these your most perfidious and cruell enemies. How long I pray you will you suffer that staine and disgrace to sticke vpon the* Othoman *Familie, and generally vpon all the name of the Turkes, which these Rhodians cast vpon vs the last time they were besieged? Which was not so much done by their valour, as by the vnfortunate counsell of my great grandfather* Mahomet, *calling home* Mesithes Palæologus *his Generall in that war, for one vnluckie assault. But admit that their valour gained them victorie, will you therefore alwaies suffer these pyraticall excursions vpon our Maine and Islands? The ransacking of cities and countries? The carrying away of your cattell and richest substance? The captiuitie and slaughter of your wiues and children? The slauerie of your neerest friends and kinsmen. So helpe me great* Mahomet *it shall not so be: I vow in despight of Christ and* Iohn, *in short time to set vp mine ensignes with the Moone in the middle of the market place of Rhodes. Neither doe I seeke any thing vnto my selfe, more than the honour of the enterprise; the profit I giue vnto you my fellow souldiers, their coine, plate, iewels (which is reported to be great) their riches and wealth is all yours, to carrie home with you vnto your wiues and children. Wherefore let vs now with all our forces and courage set forward to the besieging of the Rhodes.*

Solymans purpose thus made knowne, and the same with one accord of all his captains well liked: *Pyrrhus* the eldest Bassa and of greatest authoritie, who at the first dissuaded the warre, standing vp in the middest of the rest, said:

I cannot but much admire the great wisedome and rare vertues of our young Emperour, who so wisely and aduisedly hath declared all the deepe counsels of a worthie chiefetaine in taking of warre in hand. Blessed be Mahomet, *thrice and foure times blessed is this empire, blessed is our estate, and blessed are we with such a Prince, which carrieth with him in his warres not onely men and habiliments of warre, but most deepe wisedome and policie. Which wholesome manner of proceeding, if we had alwaies before our eyes, and would follow, we should in short time bring vnder our subiection not the Rhodes onely, but all the kingdomes of the Christians. Yet beside that which our Emperor hath most carefully and considerately deuised, mine age and experience would exhort you, by gifts, promises, rewards, and all other meanes whatsoeuer, to corrupt if it were possible the very chiefe and principall citizens of the Rhodes, thereby to enter into their most secret deuices and counsels: which how it may be wrought, I will in few words giue you to vnderstand. I as a man indifferent, desirous of peace and quietnesse, will by messengers, and letters induce the Great Master to send some honourable embassage to our dread Soueraigne, which if I can once bring him vnto, then let me alone with the rest.*

Solyman worketh preparation against the Rhodes.

This counsell of the old Fox pleased all the hearers wel, but aboue others the emperor himselfe, who gaue him in charge with all diligence and speed, to proue what he could doe: the other captains he commanded to prepare the greatest forces they could, both for land & sea seruice.

Which preparation was so great both at Constantinople and other places, that it could not long be kept so secret, but that newes therof was brought to the Rhodes the fourth day of Februarie: which newes dayly increasing and still confirmed by more certaine reports, *Villerius* the Great Master for more certaine intelligence, sent a Christian of Epidaurus, who could perfectly speake the Turkish language, as a spie to Constantinople; who by secret letters from thence gaue him knowledge that the Turks were preparing a great fleet, and raising a mightie armie, aduertising him also of a wonderfull proportion of artillerie prepared for batterie: but against whom was not commonly knowne, some deeming it to be for the inuasion of Italie, some for the Rhodes, others supposing it to be for Ciprus or Corcira: which diuersitie of coniectures, made many (whose conceits auerted from themselues the fortune of that war) to be more careless and secure. But whilest euery man was of opinion, that it was made against any man rather than himselfe: certaine aduertisement was giuen to the Rhodians from diuers places by Letters from their friends and confederates, That the Turkes did with extraordinarie diligence keep strait watch and ward in all their ports thereabouts along the sea coast, otherwise than they were before accustomed: which seemed to prognosticate some farther matter than the defence of their frontiers. *Villerius* carefull of his charge, as the marke whereat th enemie aimed, prouided with all possible diligence great store of victuall, armor, weapons, shot, powder, and whatsoeuer else necessarie for the defence of the citie.

Villerius prepareth to make resistance against the Turkes.

The new wals of the citie, and Auergne fortresse, by *Basilius* enginier to the Emperour *Charles* the fift (a worke begun in the time of *Fabritius Caractus* the late Grand master, but not yet finished) was now with all diligent labour set vpon, euery man putting his helping hand vnto so necessarie a worke. Whilest these things were with so great endeuour and labor a doing, a messenger came from Constantinople, (sent from the old Bassa *Pyrrhus*) a sharpe witted and cunning fellow; who with much filed speech in most ample manner doing his message, by the way, painted forth the great towardlinesse and courteous nature of the Turkish Emperor *Solyman*, with the great commendation of *Pyrrhus* Bassa his master: deliuering from both of them letters vnto the Great Master of this purport.

Solyman by the grace of God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. to the reuerend father *Phillippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Master of the Rhodes, and Legat of Asia, greeting.

I am certainly informed that my letters are deliuered vnto thee; which for that thou vnderstoodest them aright, I cannot expresse how much it pleased me. Trust to it, that I am not contented with the victorie I got at Belgrade; I hope for another, nay I assure my selfe thereof, which I will not hide from thee whom I am alwaies mindfull of. Farewell from Constantinople.

Solymans letters to Villerius.

Pyrrhus, great Counsellour to the mightie Emperour *Solyman*, to *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Master of the Rhodes and Legat of Asia, greeting.

Your Letters, greater in meaning than character, I haue deliuered vnto our most mightie Emperor: but the bearer thereof I would not suffer to come to his presence, lest hee should be too much offended with so base a messenger. Vnto whom from henceforth send men of worth commendable for their yeares and discretion, with whom his Maiestie may (if he so please) conferre and conclude of matters concerning the common good: which thing if you shall doe, it shall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my counsell. The messenger I send, bringeth letters vnto you also from our great Emperour; to whose diuine excellencie how you are to answer, you are alreadie admonished. Farewell from Constantinople.

Pyrrhus Bassa his letters to Villerius.

These letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diuersly. Such as altogether wished for peace, measuring others after their owne plaine meaning and integritie, commended the counsel of *Pyrrhus*, saying, That he being an old man of great experience, was not so desirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his prince & country: and therfore wished by wisdom to order that which the yong prince sought for by war, fearing the vncertainty of mans fragilitie,

fragilitie, the common chance of war, the violence of fortune, which hath oftentimes in a moment with a handfull of men ouerthrowne most mightie kings with their strong armies. The persuasion of these men tooke such effect, that one of the knights of the Order called *Raimund March*, a Spaniard a noble gentleman of great courage, and very eloquent, skilfull also in the Turkish tongue, and then Muster-master, was appointed to haue been sent Embassadour vnto the Turkish Emperour. Many there were of a contrarie oinion, which suspecting fraud and deceit, said it were good to beware of the enemies counsell: asking, to what end this embassage were? For should wee proclaime warre (say they) against the most mightie tyrant, not yet our professed enemie, who writeth all peace? Or should we intreat for peace, no warre as yet proclaimed; that he which as yet is afraid himselfe, may now vnderstand that he is of vs feared? Besides that, with what securitie, with what face can our Embassadors go, vnrequested of the Turkish Emperor, without his safe conduct thorow those countries which we daily burn & spoile? But they shall shew *Pyrrhus* the great Bassaes letters forsooth, his protection, his credit and authoritie shall defend them from all iniurie and wrong; as though the seruant should prescribe laws to his master, & such a seruant as is most like vnto his master (that is, disloyal, false of faith, a hater of all Christians, but especially of vs Rhodians: whom the merciles tyrant hauing in his power, with his nauy & army in readines, shall with cruel torture inforce to discouer vnto him our prouision, the secrets of our city and Order. This opinion of the wiser sort, was greatly confirmed by the too much curiositie of the messenger which was sent, who with all diligence enquired of the state and scituation of the citie, of the number and strength of the Order. Wherefore in conclusion he was sent backe againe accompanied but with one priuat souldier to carrie the Great masters letters vnto the Turkish tyrant: the tenure whereof was thus:

Philippus Villerius Great Master of the Rhodes, vnto the Turke greeting.

Villerius his answer to Solymans letters.

That you are mindfull of me grieueth me nothing; and I am also mindfull of you. You repeat your victorie in Hungarie, wherewith not being contented you hope for another: nay you promise and assure your selfe thereof, before you haue attempted the warre. Beware you deceiue not your selfe; mens expectations neuer deceiue them more than in warres. Farewell, from the Rhodes.

The other letters written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect:

Philippus Villerius Liladamus Great Master of the Rhodes, to *Pyrrhus* the Bassa.

Villerius his answer to Pyrrhus the Bassa his letters.

I haue aduisedly considered thy letters, with the behauiour and disposition of thy messenger. As I contemne not thy counsell, so I will not follow the same, whilest my men of warre do spoile the countries and ports of thy lord and master, which I beare with all, by reason of the iniuries they haue sustained of the Turkish pirats. But I will call them home, and will send Embassadors vnto thy great Lord: so that thou before send me safe conduct vnder thy masters great seale, for their safe comming and returne. Farewell, from the Rhodes.

But these letters were neuer deliuered vnto the great Turke, or the Bassa: for as soon as the Turkish messenger was come ouer into the maine, he presently tooke horse, which was there in readinesse for him, and posted towards Constantinople with as much speed as he could, leauing the Christian messenger his companion behind him, who returning backe againe to the Rhodes, and telling what he had heard and seene, gaue them all great occasion to dispaire of peace: whereupon *Villerius* sent into Crete to hire certain companies of Cretensian archers.

Villerius aduertised of the comming of the Turkes fleet.

In the meane time aduertisement was giuen vnto the Great master by letters from the Island of Naxos, That the Turks were readie to put their fleet to sea with the first appearance of the new moone: which thing they most superstitiously obserue in the beginning of all their great actions. The same newes was brought also by certaine merchants of the Island of Pathmos, who came to the Rhodes with a great ship laded with corne from Euboea, vnder the colour, of the sale whereof, they (by the commandement of the Turkes, to whom they were tributaries)

A ries) diligently noted all that was done in the citie, shortly after besieged. The great master with no lesse diligence, sent diuers of his small gallies amongst the Islands and alongst the maine, to learne what might be of the enemies doings. *Ioannes Lupus* one of the knights of the order, and captaine of one of these gallies, meeting with a great ship of the Turks laded with corne, tooke her and brought her home to Rhodes. But *Alphonsus* captaine of another of the gallies, lying in harbour in one of the Islands, and suffering his men to straggle too far into the land, was set vpon by a Turkish pirat and taken.

About the same time the Turks by often fires made vpon the maine in the night season, gaue signe vnto the Rhodians, that they were desirous to haue some parly with them, as their manner was. Wherupon one *Meneton* a French man, one of the knights, by commandement of
B the rest of the Order, was sent with a gallie well appointed to the maine to see what the matter might be; and with him was ioined *Iacobus Xaycus* a paymaster for the gallies, that he might of the inhabitants of the place, and his friends there dwelling, diligently enquire of all things concerning the intended warre: for this *Xaycus*, besides that he was a skilfull sea man and one that knew the coast well, had also good experience in ciuile affaires, and was wonderfully beloued & made of by the Turkish merchants whose language he had perfectly learned. Drawing neere the shoare, he found the Turkish merchants making merrie vpon the main, with their carpets, cotten wooll, and such like merchandise about them as they vsed to exchange with the Rhodian merchants for woollen cloathes: vnto these merchants he gaue due salutations, gaging his faith for their safetie, & they likewise to him. But being requested to come ashore
C to make merrie vntill one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be sent for, who as they said was not far off; he answered, that he could not so doe, except they would first deliuer a pledge for him a shipboord. The perfidious Turks laughing as it were at his needlesse feare, willingly sent their merchandise, & a pledge aboord the gallies. *Xaycus* then going ashore, and embracing the Turkish merchants which met him: vpon a signe giuen, was forthwith beset on euery side and taken prisoner, and by post horses conuaied with all speed to Constantinople; where he was with most exquisit torments that could be deuised for any man to endure, enforced to confesse whatsoeuer his cruel enemies could desire. After *Xaycus* was by treacherie thus lost, then began their prouident wisedome to be highly commended, which h were the occasion, that the decrece made for sending embassadors vnto the Turke, was againe re-
D noked. The hostage giuen for *Xaycus*, being brought to the Rhodes and examined, was found to be a simple countrey fellow whom the Turkes had of purpose well apparelled to deceiue the Rhodians: who frankly and plainly according to his simple knowledge, answered to all things that were of him demanded; as that the Turks were making great prepatation for sea, vpon the coasts of Caria and Lycia, and had taken vp many souldiers in the countries thereabouts to send into the frontiers of his dominions towards Syria, for defence of the same against the Persians. All which was true: for *Solyman* to put the Rhodians out of all suspition of inuasion (whom he knew carefully to obserue his doings) sent the souldiers whom he had leuied in the countries neerest to the Rhodes, far away against the Persian, as if he had meant nothing against the Rhodes, and so vpon the sudden to set vpon them with his armie brought
E out of Europe, before they were aware. But this his deuise serued to small purpose: for the great Master perceiuing by many circumstances, but specially by that late calamitie of *Xaycus*, that the Rhodes was the place the Turkish tyrant longed after; & fearing that delay might bring farther danger, caused a cessation from al other busines to be proclaimed, vntil all things necessary for defence of the citie were accomplished: watch & ward was kept in euery street, the great artillerie planted vpon the wals and bulwarks, companies appointed for the defence of euery place, the publick armorie of all warlike prouision was open, all the streets were ful of men carrying weapons, some to one place, some to another. At which time a general muster was taken by the chiefe men of the Order, where were found about 5000 men able to beare armes, among whom were 600 knights of the Order, &. 500 souldiers of Crete; the rest were
F for most part mariners, able bodies, who in the time of the siege did great seruice, encouraged by their sea captains: the Island people which repaired into the citie, serued to little other purpose but to dig and carry earth vnto the rampiers; and the citizens (except it were some few of the better sort) were for the most part weak and of smal courage, not able to indure any labor or paines, and yet hardly to bee kept in order and gouerned, great speakers, but small doers,

The care taken of the Grand Master.

greater

greater in shew than in deed. The Great Master hauing carefully prouided and ordered all C
things needfull for defence of the citie, and fearing nothing more than the faint hearts of the
citizens, caused them all to be called together; for incouragement of whom, hee spake vnto
them as followeth:

Valiant Gentlemen and worthie Citizens, wee heare that the Turke our mortall enemie is comming against vs, with a huge armie raised of diuers Nations: from whose naturall crueltie and wonted periurie except we defend our selues by force, one and the selfe same danger is like to befall me, my knights, and you all. For we haue with common consent and hand grieuously spoiled him both by sea and land, and you are by booties taken by strong hand out of his dominions, inriched: and at this day we keepe his people in grieuous seruitude, and he ours; but he iniuriously, and we most iustly: For his ancestours (wearie of the darke dennes and caues of the mountaine Caucasus, their naturall dwelling) without right, title, or cause, incited onely with couetousnesse, ambition, and the hatred of our most sacred religion, haue driuen the Christians out of Syria: and afterwards oppressed the Grecians in Grecia; where not contented to haue destroyed the people, with one simple kinde of death (as barbarisme is euer cruell and merciless) they haue with most exquisit and horrible torments butchered many thousands of that Nation. All whom, this wicked proud youth (whose mischiefe exceedeth his yeares) an euill neighbour to all men, not contented with the dominions of Arabia, Syria, Ægypt, the greatest part of Asia, and of many other places moe, seeketh in tyrannie, murther, spoile, periurie, and hatred against Christ and Christians, farre to excell: and forceth himselfe to the vttermost of his power, to take from vs our I
Islands, and to subdue the Christian Countries; that so at length being Lord of all, and commander of the World, hee may at his pleasure ouerthrow the Christian cities, kill the Christians, and vtterly root out the Christian name, which hee so much hateth. For the repulsing of which intollerable iniurie, wee haue especially chosen this Island of the Rhodes for our dwelling place, because the same seemed more commodious than any other for the annoying of this barbarous Nation. We haue done what in vs lay, holpen by you: we know by proofe your great valour and fidelitie, which we now haue not in any distrust. Wherefore I will not vse many wordes to persuade you to continue in your fidelitie and loyaltie, neither long circumstance to encourage you to play the men: sithence worthie mindes are not with wordes either encouraged or dismayed. But concerning my selfe and my Knights of the Order, I will K
speake a few words. I with them, with whom (as I hope) the Christian Princes and other my knights of the West will in good time ioyne their forces, are most readie and prest to defend your selues, your children, your wiues, your goods, the monuments of your ancestours and sacred Temples, dedicated to the seruice of our God. Which opinion, that it may remaine firme and fix in your minds, if nothing else, my faithfulnesse in your warres, my bodie not yet altogether spent, but able enough to endure paines and trauell, the nobilitie of these worthie knights of the Order, their loue towards you, and their hatred towards your enemies were sufficient to confirm: but beside this, the strength of this citie, which this noble Order hath with infinit charges so notably fortified with ditches, wals, towers, and bulwarkes, against all the force and furie of Artillerie, is such, as that no citie may worthily bee compared, much lesse preferred before the same. It is wonderfully stored with all kind of weapons and warrelike prouision: wee haue layed vp plentie of wine, flesh, and corne, in vaults, so that neither wet weather nor wormes can attaine L
the same: of wood and wholesome water not to be taken from vs, things necessarie for men besieged wee haue plentie, and able men ynow for the defence of the citie. All which things promise vnto vs assured victorie, and such end of the warre as we wish for. Besides this, Necessitie, which giueth courage euen vnto cowards, will enforce vs to fight. Yet standeth on our side true Religion, Faith, Conscience, Deuotion, Constancie, the loue of our Countrey, the loue of our Libertie, the loue of our Parents, Wiues, Children, and whatsoeuer else we hold deare: Whereas they bring with them the proud command of their captaines, Infidelitie, Impietie, Vnconstancie, a wicked desire of your bondage, of your bloud, and the bloud of your parents, wiues, and children. Out of doubt (beloued citizens) our good God will not suffer so many good vertues to be ouercome by their foule vices. Wherefore be you in minds quiet and secure, and trouble not your selues with forboding feare of your enemies; onely continue in the fidelitie and loyaltie which you haue alwaies kept inuiolat and vnspotted toward this sacred and honourable M
fellowship, in most dangerous warres, and hardest chances of fortune: and if need shall so require, with couragious hand shew your valour against your enemies, and make it knowne vnto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and English, That the Rhodians are of power to daunt the Turkish pride, and to auert their fleets and armies from Italie, which they haue so many yeares threatned with fire and

Her in his Oration vnto the Rhodians,

A *and sword: and will no doubt thither with all speed hasten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth to speake) they should here preuaile. Neither will his ambitious youth, in courage, falshood, and cruelty exceeding* Hannibal, *imitate him in that, that hauing ouerthrowne the Romans in the great battell at Cannas, knew not to vse his victorie: but he will presently with more than Cæsars celeritie, bring forth the treasures his father got in Ægypt, and with great fleets and huge armies inuade Apulia, Calabria, and Scicilia: from whence he will foorthwith breake into France, and afterwards into Spaine, and other Christian Countries, raging through them with all kind of crueltie. But I am carried away further than I purposed, and than need is; For your fidelitie and valour (most worthie citizens) to endure the siege, and repulse the enemie, is such, as needeth not my persuasion, and of greater resolution, than that it can be shaken with the dangers incident to men besieged: yet the greatest and most forcible miseries of all, which is hunger and thirst, I assure you, you shall neuer feele;*
B *which pinching calamities for all that, some people (in faithfulnesse, courage, and valour nothing comparable to you) haue neuertheless most constantly endured. For they of Petelinum, besieged by the Carthaginensians, for want of victuall, thrust their parents and children out of the citie, the longer to hold out the siege, and liued themselues with hides and leather sod or broyled, and leaues of trees, and many other homely things, by the space of eleuen moneths: and could not be ouercome vntill they wanted strength longer* ▪*stand vpon the wals, & to hold their weapons in their hands. They of Casilinum, besieged by* Hannibal, *held out vntill a poore mouse was sold for much money. You must of necessitie keepe watch and ward in your Stations; if your houses chance to be beaten downe with the enemies artillerie, you must haue patience: for why, they shall be repaired againe, and it is not a matter of such*
C *importance, that we should therefore yeeld vnto our enemies, in whose courtesie and fidelity no assurance is to be reposed. For besides that he is by nature cruell and vnfaithfull, he can by no meanes be gentle and faithfull towards vs, which haue done him so much harme, who onely (as he himselfe saith) haue oftentimes to his griefe interrupted the course of the victories of him the conqueror both of sea and land, whom he hath so many times assailed by open force with all his strength, wit, crafts, deceit, and policie: yet alwaies hitherto in vaine, Almighty God still protecting vs, whom aboue all things (most deare citizens) I wish you to serue and call vpon, for except he keepe and defend the city, the watchmen do but watch in vaine.*

This cheerfull speech wonderfully encouraged the hearers, especially the vulgar sort, easily carried away with pleasing words. But whilest they in their iolitie dreame of nothing but
D of triumph and victorie, the wiser sort possessed with care, ceased not to do what in them lay, to procure, That the good commonly forewished, might in fine come to effect. Among others *Clement* Bishop of the Greekes, a man both for his place and deuout manner of liuing had in great reputation amongst them, laboured earnestly by dayly exhortations, to perswade the Greekes his countriemen in that great and common danger with heart and hand to ioin with the Latines in defence of the citie: for although the gouernment was altogether in the Great Master and his Knights, which were Latines, yet the people both of the Iland and citie were for most part Greekes, who liked not altogether so well of the Latine gouernment, but that they did many times repine thereat. Howbeit the matter was at that time so ordered by the
E good perswasion of the Bishop, & good gouernment of the Great Master, that they all agreed as one man to spend their liues in defence of the citie; and were so far from feare of the comming of the barbarous enemie, that many of the vulgar people, in whom appeareth commonly more heat than wit, wished rather for his comming than otherwise. But looke what they had fondly wished, proued afterward to their costs ouer true. For within a few nights after, the Turks by fire made in the night time vpon the maine, gaue signe of parley vnto the Rhodians. Whereupon a gallie well appointed, with a long boat, was presently sent forth to see what the matter was: which drawing neere vnto the shore, was hailed by a Turke, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen, desiring the captaine of the gallie to send some on shore,
with whom they might more conueniently parley: which thing the captaine refusing; What,
F said the Turke, art thou afraid of *Xaycus* fortune? to whom the captain in threatning maner answered againe, *Xaycus* whom you haue contrary to your faith and oath taken, troubleth me not; neither am I afraid of you, whom I trust not; but if you haue any thing to say let me heare it, or els get you further off, otherwise I will speake to you by the mouth of the cannon. Then one of the Turkes comming to the water side, laid downe letters vpon a stone, saying, that in them

them was contained that they had in charge: which said, he presently set spurs to his horse, G
and departed with the rest of his companie. The captaine sending out his long boat for these
Letters, found them directed in this sort:

Solyman, by the grace of God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, most mightie
Emperour of Constantinople and Trapezond, &c. vnto the reuerend
father *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Master of the Rhodes,
to his knights, and all his people in generall.

The purport of which Letter was as followeth:

Solymans threatening letters to the Rhodians.

The compassion I haue of my distressed subiects, and the great iniurie you doe me, hath moued me to H
wrath. Wherefore I command you without delay to yeeld vnto me the Island and citie of the Rhodes,
willingly and charitably graunting you leaue safely to depart with all your riches, or to tarrie if you so
please vnder my obeisance, your libertie and religion in no part infringed with any tribute or impositi-
on. If you be wise, preferre friendship and peace before bloudie warre: for vnto them which are by force
subdued, are reserued all extremities which the miserable vanquished vse to suffer of the angrie con-
queror: from which neither your owne force, nor forreine aid, nor huge wals, which I will vtterly ouer-
throw, shall be able to defend you. Fare you well. All which shal assuredly be performed, if you shall make
choice rather of my friendship, than of my force: wherein you shall neither be deceiued nor circumuen-
ted; I take to witnesse God the Creator of heauen and earth, the foure writers of the Euangelicall histo- I
rie, the fourscore thousand Prophets descended from heauen, and amongst them our highest Prophet Ma-
homet, the reuerend ghosts of my father and grandfather, and this my sacred and imperiall head. From
our pallace at Constantinople.

When these letters were openly read in the counsell chamber at the Rhodes, some were of opinion, That it was good to answer the Turkish tyrant roundly, therby to giue him to vnderstand that they were not afraid of his threats: other some thought it no wisedome with hard words to prouoke so great an enemie to further displeasure. Thus whilst euery man would haue framed an answer according to his owne disposition, in conclusion it was agreed vpon, to giue him no answer at all.

The same day these letters came to the Rhodes, which was the fourteenth day of Iune, one of the Turks great commanders at sea with thirty gallies, the forerunners of the Turkish fleet, K
arriued at the Island of Chos, famous in antient time for the birth of *Hippocrates* the great physition, and the wonderfull picture of *Venus* left there vnperfect by *Apelles*, which for the excellencie thereof neuer man durst afterward take in hand to perfect: which fruitfull and pleasant Island was then at the arriuall of the Turks, part of the dominion of the Rhodes. The Admiral of this fleet here landing his Turks, began to burn the corne which was then almost ripe, with the countrie villages round about. With which iniurie, *Preianes* Gouernour of the Island (a man of great courage and valor) moued, with a chosen companie of footmen, and certain troups of horsemen, suddenly set vpon the Turkes, in diuers places dispersed abroad far into the countrie, with such a terrible crie of the countrie people, and instruments of war, L
that the Turks being therewith amazed, ran away as if they had bin mad, and were many of them slaine without resistance; and had not the gallies lien neere the shore, to receiue them that were able to flie thither, there had not one of them which landed escaped the hands of the Island people. The Turks hauing receiued this losse, left the Island, and put to sea againe.

The Rhodians for feare of the Turkes destroy their suburbes and places of pleasure without the citie.

The Rhodians for the most part now assured and out of doubt of the comming of the Turks, by the persuasion of *Gabriel Pomerolus* vicemaster, and other men of great experience, pluckt downe the suburbes of the city, & laid them euen with the ground, their pleasant orchards also & gardens neere to the citie, they vtterly destroied; the great master for example sake beginning first with his owne, being a place of great delicacie, lying vnder the wals neere to the French Bulwarke: & taking into the city all such things as they thought needful for the M
inditing of the siege, they vtterly destroied al the rest, were it neuer so pleasant or commodious, within a mile of the town, leauing all that space as euen and as bare as they could possibly make it; to the intent, that the enemy at his comming should find nothing neere the city wherof to make vse. But whilst the pleasures & delights of the suburbs are thus in defacing, another more

The feare of the countrey people.

A more heauie and wofull sight presented vnto the eies of the citizens, filled the city with greater mourning and pensiuenesse than did the comming of the enemy. The miserable multitude of the poore countrey people, some bringing wood, some corne, some cattell, some foules, and other such necessaries as they had out of the countrey into the city (for so the Great Master had commanded) after whom followed great numbers of women and children weeping, with dischiueled haire, scratching their faces and teating themselues after the manner of the countrie, wringing their hands, and casting vp their eies to heauen, beseeching God with heauie countenance and flouds of teares to defend the noble citie of the Rhodes, and themselues from the fury of their enemies. Which multitude of country people with their prouision be-
B ing packt vp into narrow roomes in the houses of the citizens, and their cattell staruing for want of fodder, afterwards corrupted the aire; whereof insued rotten agues and the flix, during the time of the siege. But after the city was giuen vp, such a plague and mortalitie followed as destroied great numbers of the Turkes and poore Christians, which knowing not whether to go, chose rather there to die, than to forsake their natiue country.

The Generall of the Turkish fleet which landed in the Island of Chos, and was of purpose sent by *Solyman* to prouoke the Rhodians to battell at sea; before he with his whole power came to besiege the Island, came daily with twentie gallies halfe those narrow seas ouer, betwixt Lycia and the Rhodes, leauing the rest of his fleet riding at anchor at the promontorie
C called Gnidum (not far from the citie of Rhodes) readie to aid him as need should require: this manner of brauerie he vsed many daies together, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians out of their hauen to giue him battell; knowing, that if he should therein obtaine the victorie, it were at that time little lesse than the taking of the citie, or if hee could by cruell fight but weaken the forces of the Rhodians, hee should therein doe his master good seruice, and greatly further his victorie by diminishing the number of the defendants. When he had madaies without intermission in this proud manner come halfe seas ouer, and sometimes passing further came and lay at the mouth of the hauen, as it were daring them to fight: the Rhodians not wont to be so braued at their owne doores, moued with the intollerable insolencie of this proud Turke, by their continuall importunitie caused the Great Master to call a counsell, to consider whether they should fight with this fleet of the Turks or not. The counsellors
D by the appointment of the Great Master assembled: the Chancellor, a man of great authoritie and spirit, famous for his noble acts both at home and abroad, and chiefe of them which were of opinion this fleet of the Turks was to be fought withall, said:

The chancellor his speech perswading the Rhodians to fight with the Turkes gallies.

So great disgrace was not longer to be suffered, but presently reuenged: For (said he) *the bugie*
fleet of the Turkes, I doe not say at whose force and sight, but at whose very name many men doe trem-
ble and quake (which for all that is vnto vs no great noueltie, for euery yeare we heare of the like) is as
it were to be ioyned vnto these pyraticall gallies, as members; and then will it be most expedient (which
will be a most easie thing for vs to doe, hauing the better both for strength of shipping and number and
valour of men) to giue that great head such a blow and wound, by cutting off these limbes, that it shall
euer after stagger and faint for want of strength: or else there is no other fleet at all prepared against
E *vs to follow this, and then this discomfited we shall be at quiet. Which thing in my iudgement (though*
others which feare their owne shadowes and the falling of heauen, say otherwise) is most like to be true;
for the great Turke is not so sottish to come hither, the fittest time of the yeare being so farre spent, in the
latter end of Iune, to besiege this citie, and such a citie as hee knoweth to bee most strong, wanting no-
thing that is needfull, and thorowly manned with valiant souldiers, from whence his ancestours haue
beene with losse and shame repulsed: when as the remainder of the Sommer will be spent before he can
encampe himselfe and place his batteries; and Winter time as you know is vnfit for euery siege, especi-
ally in this Island, wherein they can find no hauen or harbour to rest in. Wherefore in God his name
let vs set vpon our proud enemies; and let vs not for a few threatening words sent vnto vs from a
fearefull youth, vpon a fineneſse and policie lest we should follow the tayle of his fleet bound for some
F *other place, sit still like cowards within our wals with our hands in our bosomes, as men which for feare*
and dread durst not shew their heads. Which our cowardise and want of courage we forsooth call Fabius
his policie: But I would to God we were like Fabius, *but I feare we shall proue more like* Antiochus,
the Aetolians, the Vitellians, all whose courage consisted in words, vainly hoping to gaine the victo-
rie by sitting still and wishing well. But the helpe of God is not to be gotten with womens prayers and

supplications or these faint-hearted polices, which cowards call aduised counsell . but victorie is gai- G
ned by aduenturing and exposing our selues to danger and perill.

With these and such like speeches he so moued the multitude, which commonly conceiueth most courage vpon the greatest vncertainties, that they desired that they might fight; saying, That they would wash away that foule disgrace with the bloud and slaughter of their enemies: for why, they wanted not weapons, courage, or hands (as they said) to do it withall.

For all this, the grauer sort of the counsel (without whose consent the master might in such cases doe nothing) thought it not good in so dangerous a time to aduenture any great part of their forces, which they should afterwards want for the defence of their city. The Turkish Generall deceiued of his expectation, and perceiuing that the Rhodians would not be drawne H
forth to battel at sea, withdrew his fleet twelue miles off, vnto a place called Villanoua; where casting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the corne all thereabouts which was now almost ripe, but forsaken of the people as a thing desperat: as for the people themselues, they were all fled, and had retired themselues either into the citie of the Rhodes, or else into strong castles in other places of the Iland.

At the same time certain troupes of horsemen sent forth to haue skirmished with the Turks that were burning of the corne, were by a messenger sent from the Great Master, commanded to retire: for the prouident Generall sought by all meanes to reserue his soldiers for greater dangers, which he iustly feared in the expected siege: during which time he shewed himself a *The wise thie commendation of the Great Master.* most politicke captaine and braue soldier, he would many times by day eat his meat with his I
soldiers, as one of them, & most part of the night keep watch himselfe, walking vp and down, resting himselfe when hee was wearie vpon some stone or piece of timber, or other homely seat, as it chanced. In time of assault he was alwaies more forward and aduenturous than the graue counsellors wished, fearing neither shot nor enemie; yet did he alwaies more commend discreet counsell grounded vpon reason, than prosperous actions commended but by their euents. And that which a man would wonder at, amongst so many cares in middest of such dinuers & dangerous chances, he carried alwaies such a grace and maiesty in his cheerful countenance, as made him to be of the beholders both reuerenced and loued. All the time he could spare from the necessarie cares of his weighty charge, from assaults, & the naturall refreshing of his body, he bestowed in praier & seruing of God; hee oftentimes spent the greatest part of the night in the church alone praying, his head piece, gorget, & gantlets lying by him: so K
that it was often said, that his deuout prayers and carefulnesse would make the city inuincible.

The Turkis fleet descried at sea troubleth the Rhodians. The 26 day of Iune early in the morning, newes was brought into the citie from the watch tower standing vpon S. *Stephens* hill about a mile from the citie, That a most hugie fleet was descried at sea, making thitherwards all alongst the Westerne coast of Lycia. This bad newes much troubled the city, although it was not of most men vnexpected, all places was filled with tumult and hurly burly, euery man measured the greatnesse of the danger by the measure of his owne feare, & such a pittifulcrie was in euery place as is vsuall in cities presently to bee besieged. Hereupon publicke praiers were made through all the citie, and euery man with great deuotion besought the God of heauen, That as it was his pleasure that the Rhodians L
should at that time bee the champions of the Christian religion, so hee would giue them strength & victorie against their enemies, and to turne the calamities of war vpon the enemies of his Name. Their deuotion ended, the gates of the city were shut vp, & people from al places ran vnto the wals, great flocks of women, children, and aged men not able to stand without a staffe going forth of their houses to gaze vpon the dreadfull fleet (wherein was aboue 200 *The order of the Turks fleet.* sailes as is reported) filled the streets, the tops of the hie towers & houses. The formost of the fleet was the Admiral of Calipolis, to whom *Solyman* had committed the charge of all his nauie, & to assaile the city by sea: the Rearadmirall was *Cara Mahometes* an arch pirat, who was afterwards slain with a great shot out of the citie. The Viceadmirall in the middle of the fleet M
with a great squadron of gallies, hauing a faire Westerly wind, strucke saile directly before the mouth of the hauen (which was on both sides defended with two strong towers wel furnished with great artillerie) & began to row toward the city: whereupon an alarum was raised, the trumpers sounded, & many hasted vnto the bulwarke which defended the left side of the hauen, which the enemy seemed to direct his course vnto, & was indeed more subiect to danger than

A than the other. But the Turke seeing himselfe in danger to be hurt with shot from the bulwarke, was glad to get himself fe further off vnto the rest of the fleet: the Rhodians from the wals with loud outcries scornfully deriding him for his fooliish attempt. This great fleet in exceeding brauerie and triumph passing by the citie in sight of the Rhodians (standing vpon the wals with ensignes displaied) did not more terrifie them, than they were themselues terrified to behold the strength of the citie, and cheerfulnesse of the defendants. But passing on, they came to the promontorie which the inhabitants call Bo, about three milies distant from the city, Eastward. Which small harbor being not able to receiue so great a fleet, many of the gallies were inforced to ride it out at sea, where they were by shot out of the citie oftentimes indangered & inforced to get them further off. Whilst the enemy was there landing his great B ordnance & other instruments of war prepared for the siege, chusing a place for his camp, transporting his land souldiers from the maine into the Iland, viewing the strength and scituation of the citie, and in what place he might with most ease assault the same: the Rhodians in the mean time were not idle, but sunke diuers deepe founds in many places of the citie neere vnto the wals, to discouer the enemies mines; and fortified their bulwarkes with greater rampiers; in which work euery man put too his helping hand without respect of age or calling. The Grand Master about that time sent *Lodouicus Andugus* one of the knights of the Order, into Spaine to *Charles* the Emperor; & *Claudius Ducenuillus* another of the Order also, to Rome to the Cardinals, & Italian Knights of the Order; and from thence into France vnto the French king with letters: craiuing the aid of these Christian princes, for reliefe of the city, by sea & land C besieged. But all in vain, for they caried away with the endlesse grudge of one against another, or respecting only their own states, returned the embassadors with good words, but no reliefe. *The Great Master by his embassadours craueth aid of the christian princes.*

At this time *Prejanes* Gouernor of Chios (of whom we haue before spoken) a man comparable with any of the captains of that age, an excellent soldier both by sea and land, valiant & thereto fortunat, of an inuincible courage, brought vp in the wars from his childhood; when hee had by the space of two or three daies hid himselfe in the rockes at sea, for feare of the Turks great fleet, came by night in a small pinnasse to the Rhodes, hauing deceiued the Turks watch: at whose comming the Rhodians wonderfully reioyced, for the souldiers reposed greater confidence in no man, than in him: and if any great exploit were to be don, him the Master trusted aboue any other: he alwaies in armes during the siege, incouraged the souldiers, fear- *The commendation of Prejanes* D ched the watch, suruaied the bulwarks, repaired the breaches, & such labors as others accounted extream miseries, he cheerfully indured, as if they had bin but his pleasures and recreations. At the same time also, *Gabriel Martiningus* of Brixia, a most skilfull enginier, came to the Rhodes out of Creta; by whose industrie and cunning, 55 mines which the Turkes did with infinit labor and charge make (by reason of the springing of the water, and hardnesse of the rockes) during the siege, were all by countermines disappointed and defeated.

The citie of the Rhodes is scituate on a plaine ground, on euery side to be besieged, only *The description of the Rhodes.* Northward it is defended with a goodly hauen, from whence it lyeth all Westward: betwixt it and the hils round about it, lieth a stony plain ground, not verie broad, but of greater length; these hils are ful of springs, and orchards planted with Oliues, Fig-trees, Vines, and such other E fruits as such drie and sandie ground will beare. But what by nature wanted, was by the hand and industrie of man supplied; for it was compassed about with a most strong double wall, and deepe trenches, threatening the enemie with thirteene stately towers: and sure against all assaults, with fiue mightie bulwarks: with diuers goodly faire gates: and that which was the greatest defence of all, within the citie was alwaies kept a most exact and strait form of warlike discipline. The defence of the whole citie was thus proportioned: from the French tower (which with the greatnesse and heigth thereof seemed to mate the skie) stood the French men with the French Lillies in their ensignes, vnder their Commander *Ioannes Abbinus*, a noble knight of he Order: from thence to S. *Georges* gate lay the stout Germans, with the Eagle in their ensignes: in the third station were placed the French Auergnoys, with the Spaniards, F for that the ditches in that place were neither so deep nor broad as elsewhere: in the fift place lay the English garrison, ouer whom the Grand Master himselfe commanded: after them succeeded they of Narbona: and last of all the Italians, in valor not inferior to any of the rest, vnder the leading of *Petrus Balinus* & *Gregorius Morgutas*. In euery one of these stations were diuers valiant knights of the Order, whose names (worthie of eternall memorie) for breuity we passe

passe ouer, all men of themselues sufficient to haue taken vpon them the whole charge.

A Turkish woman slaue, conspireth to fire the citie.

The enemie was not busier without the citie in placing his batterie, but traiterous minds were as busie within to haue betraied the same. A Turkish woman, slaue to one of the rich citizens, had conspired with certaine other her complices, at such time as the Turks should giue assault vnto the towne, at one instant to set on fire the houses wherein they dwelt in diuers places of the citie, that the defendants drawne from the wals to quench the fire, the Turkes in the meane time might the more easily enter. But this treason was in good time reuealed, and the offenders worthily executed.

The Turks had not as yet placed their batterie, when as they tooke a certaine hill, whereon stood the church dedicated to *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, directly ouer against the English station: from thence (as it seemed, rather for exercising of their soldiers than for any great harm they could do so far off) they began with small battering pieces to shoot into the citie: and afterwards they began to dig mines, and to cast vp trenches: for the performance of which kind of worke, and for the filling vp of the towne ditches, they had brought with them fiftie thousand pioners, men better acquainted with country labor and keeping of cattell, than with wars; which being inforced vnto their labor day and night, somtime with stripes and somtime with death, did with incredible celeritie bring that to passe, which was before thought impossible. They cut waies through the most hard stony rocks, raising the plains as hie as mountains, with earth brought two miles off, and laying the mountains euen with the plaines, & yet they neuer wrought in safetie, but were miserably rent in sunder with the great ordnance out of the towne: and that which most of all troubled them, the Rhodians sallying out vpon those ouer-labored people, hauing neither courage nor skil to defend themselues, but trusting only to their heeles, slew great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others also appointed for their defence, whom the Rhodians (taking courage of their feare) fiercely pursued & slew down-right. And when many others issuing out of the campe in great companies, thought to haue relieued their fellowes, the great ordnance before of purpose placed to most aduantage, so thundred from the wals among the thickest of them, that the ground lay couered with the bodies and weapons of the dead Turks. With which manner of fight, after the Rhodians had twice or thrice troubled the enemy, the Turks for their more safety wrought most vpon their mounts by night, keeping most strong watch for defence of their pioners, which for more assurance they doubled in the day time, and bent their artillerie against the places which the Rhodians vsed to sallie out at: which did not so much keep them in, as the feare of weakning themselues by often sallies, knowing that one man was vnto them a greater losse, than vnto the enemie an hundred. Amongst others which in the beginning of this great siege forced the vttermost of their deuices to the destruction of the Turks, were certain mariners, who hauing the Turkish language perfectly, by leaue of the Graund Master (disguising themselues in the habit of Turkes) departed by night out of the hauen in a small boat, loaded with apples, plums, peares, millons, grapes, & such other fruits as the time of the yeare afforded; and in the darknesse came along the coast, vnto that part of the Island wherunto the passage was out of the main. There as if they had bin Turks come from the maine, they landed their commodities, which the Turkish soldiers bought greedily. When they had thus sold their fruits, and in selling therof diligently noted the speech and talke of the soldiers concerning the siege, and were now readie to depart, certaine Turks which greatly disliked the hard beginning of this siege, seeing themselues if they did but stir, in danger to be set off with shot out of the towne, earnestly requested the mariners to take them with them into the maine: which to doe, at the first the marriners dissembling, refused, as a thing dangerous; & besides that, their boat was too little to receiue so many as would willingly haue gone with them. Yet with much adoe, they suffred themselues to be intreated to take in seuen or eight, such a number as they could wel master; who in hope of passing ouer into the maine, were (contrary to their expectation) brought prisoners to the Rhodes, where they were by *Preianes* brought vp to the top of the highest tower of S. *Iohns* church, from whence they might see all about the country, and well deserie all the maner of the Turks camp, which they simplie discouered vnto the captain, and what soeuer els they were demanded: and amongst other things confessed, that the souldiers were greatly discontented with the siege, hauing in the beginning thereof lost so many men, and that they were readie to rise in mutinie against their captaines, and would hardly by them be

The painfulnesse of the Turkes pioners.

The Turks deceiued by the christian mariners.

A be commanded out of their trenches and cabbins, saying, that all they did was but lost labour, and that they should find it another peece of worke to win the Rhodes, than they had at Belgrade: wherefore if they were wise, they should in time depart before they had receiued further harme both from the enemie, and for want of necessaries, wherewith the souldiers began alreadie to be pinched. Al which was then supposed to haue bin spoken by the captiues to please him in whose power they now were: yet it appeared afterwards to be all true. For *Pyrrhus Bassa* considering the troubled state of the camp, & the general discontentment of the soldiers, whom he was at that time gladder to please than to punish, writ vnto *Solyman* at Constantinople, That if he would the siege should goe forward, he should without delay come in
B person himselfe to the campe, for that the souldiers without regard of shame were ready to rise in mutinie and to abandon the siege, refusing to be commanded by their captaines.

In the meane time whilest *Solyman* prepareth himselfe to set forward, the Turkish captaines vnderstood by certaine fugitiues (whereof in all wars some are to be found) that the high steeple of S. *Iohns* church serued them of the towne for a watch tower: for which cause, and for despight of the Crosse standing vpon the top thereof, they laboured nothing more, than with continuall shot to beat downe that tower; which whilest they were doing with great diligence, *Solyman* himselfe came into the campe the 28 day of August in the afternoone: where finding in his armie all the signes of cowardise and feare that could be spoken of or deuised, and nothing done according to the command of such as he had appointed for that charge, but all things out of order, he tooke more griefe to see that great disorder, than he did pleasure
C and good hope of two hundred thousand souldiers which were in his armie. Yet, for all that he was inwardly chafed with the heat of youth and indignation, against his owne people as well as the Rhodians, he moderated himselfe betwixt his owne rage and the offence of his souldiers, and calling them together, caused them to be disarmed, not leauing among them so much as a sword: and compassing them in with fifteene thousand harquebusiers whom hee had brought with him well appointed, hee stept vp into his royall seat, there set on high for that purpose; where sitting downe, he paused a good while without any word speaking, as if he had considered with himselfe, whether he should onely punish the authors of the mutinie, or else with the punishment of many to reuenge so foule a sedition, little differing from open rebellion. But following of himselfe the milder resolution, he thought it sufficient to correct
D the multitude and common sort of souldiers with sharpe and bitter words: and after generall silence made, brake out into this chollericke speech.

Solymans chollerick Oration to his souldiers.

Slaues (quoth he) *for I cannot find in my heart to call you souldiers, What kind of men are you now become? are you Turkes? men woont both to fight and ouercome? Verily I see the bodies, countenances, attire, and habit of my souldiers; but the deeds, speeches, counsels and deuices of cowardly and vile traitors. Alas how hath my opinion deceiued mee? that Turkish force and courage is gone, the valour and strength both of bodies and mindes, wherewith the Arabians, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Seruians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Epirotes, Macedonians and Thracians were subdued, is lost: forgetting your countrey, your oath, the command of your captaines, your obedience, and all other warlike*
E *discipline; you haue against the Maiestie of my Empire refused to fight, like cowards betaken your selues to flight, for vaine feare of death and danger, not beseeming men of warre. If any man should at home but haue named the Rhodes in your feasts, amongst your pots, in your assemblies or great meetings, you could then with your tongues bragge to pull it downe, you had much adoe to hold your hands: here, when I would make proofe of your force and courage, it is nothing. But you thought perhaps, that the Rhodians so soone as they saw your ensignes before their gates, would straight way yeeld themselues and their Citie into your power: Let all men cease so to say or thinke, and beleeue me that know the truth, This base and infamous denne (which you see) is full of most cruell beasts, whose madesse you shall neuer tame, without much labour and bloudshed. Yet shall wee tame them; for why nothing is so wild but at length it may be tamed; which except I bring to passe, I am fully*
F *resolued and haue vowed vnto my selfe, Either heere to die, or spend my daies; And if euer I doe or say otherwise, let this my head, my fleete, mine armie, and Empire, bee for euer accursed and vnfortunate.*

And so without further speech, desiring rather to be accounted of his soldiers gentle than seuere

seuere, he pardoned them all their former offences, and swore them all againe to his obedience. This mutiny so appeased, all things were afterwards done with better successe, and greater care both of the souldiers and commanders. First, they planted in diuers places twelue great bombards, wherewith they threw vp stones of hugie weight into the ayre, which falling downe into the citie, might breake downe the houses and whatsoeuer else they lighted vpon: with the fall of one of these, the Great Master was like to haue bin slaine. Howbeit this proued a deuise of more terror than danger, for with 200 such shot were but ten men slaine; which thing amongst others, *Apella* a traiterous fugitiue declared vnto the enemy, with whom he had intelligence, as he himselfe confessed being taken vpon suspition and examined: for which his treason he was justly executed.

Apella a traitor

The force of the batterie was more feared, wherein the Turks had planted fortie great pieces of batterie, and amongst them twelue Basiliskes (so aptly named of the serpent *Basiliscus*, who as *Plinie* writeth, killeth man or beast with his sight) with these pieces the Turks battered the wals continually; but lying somewhat far off, did no great harme.

The Turks batterie.

At the same time also *Solyman* caused batterie to be laid against the tower of S. *Nicholas*, standing vpon a narrow piece of ground pointing far into the sea, defending the hauen vpon the right hand, where sometime stood the great Colossus of the Sun, accounted the greatest amongst the seuen wonders of the world. Which castle was both strongly and sumptuously built at the charges of the Dukes of Burgondie, as appeared by their armes there engrauen in many places in marble. This tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a French man, who had the charge thereof, with 200 souldiers, amongst whom were 30 knights of the Order.

The Turks artillerie planted against the tower, was by the skilfulnes of the Christian canoniers in short time dismounted with shot from the tower, and many of the gunners slaine: so that they were glad to surcease any more to batter the tower by day, but lying still all the day they began to batter the same by night, wherein they preuailed no more than they had before done in the day time; for the defendants warily obseruing such places as were likest for the enemie to place his batterie in, did so aptly place their ordnance against the same, and to so good purpose, that the Turks swore, their doings were by some meanes discouered vnto the enemies. So when they had in vaine bestowed 500 great shot, and made a small breach which they durst not once attempt to enter, they shamefully abandoned that place also.

At this while *Pyrrhus* was busie in working of mines to vndermine the citie, two and thirty of which mines the defendants frustrated with countermines; in which kind of worke many were lost on both sides: yet for all the carefulnesse of the Christians, the English bulwarke was vndermined by the enemie, & vpon the fourth of September part thereof blown vp, with such violence, that vnto them in the city it seemed at the first to be a generall earthquake; and therewith diuers English men were there ouerwhelmed. The Turks attempting presently to enter, were by the Grand Master and his followers with great slaughter repulsed.

The English bulwarke blowne vp.

But *Mustapha* the Bassa comming on with fresh supplies, and crying out of the cowardise of them which retired, renewed the assault: where for a while was fought a most sharpe & cruell fight, the leaders cheerfully encouraging their soldiers, and they likewise doing what was possible for men to doe. All mens eares were filled with the thundering of the shot, noise of trumpets and drums, and crying of men. And vnto the Turks it seemed that ouer their heads it rained deadly shot, stones, and fire: for the townsmen and women mingled with the soldiers cast downe vpon the Turks, fire, stones, timber, and whatsoeuer els came to hand: so that they vnable longer to indure the courage and force of the Christians, turned their backs and ran away by heaps, not expecting any signe of retreat, euery man seeking to saue one: among whom as they fled, the great ordnance shot off from the wals made wonderfull slaughter. At this assault of the Turks were slaine (as some write) almost 2000, and among them the master of the Turks ordnance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loued: which victorie the Christians gained not without some losse, for besides some few others that were slaine, fiftie knights of the Order (men worthie of eternall memorie) there ended their daies also.

The Turks assault the English bulwarke the second time, and are againe beaten.

The fift day after (which was the ninth day of September) *Solyman* by the persuasion of *Mustapha* the great Bassa, commanded a fresh assault to be giuen to the English Bulwarke, which was attempted by the Turkes with greater resolution than the first. Seuen ensignes of the Turks were broken in by the ruins of the bulwarke, & had inforced the defendants, oppressed with

with number to giue ground, when the Graund Master comming in with the ensigne of the Order, guarded with a companie of most valiant knights, draue them out againe by force, and made good the place. *Mustapha* seeing his men retire, couragiously restored the battell by bringing on of new supplie, and other captains with threats, strokes, and terrour of death, enforced the souldiers (who had before turned their backs) now againe to fight. So that there began a more cruell fight than had before been from the beginning of the siege, which was vnto the Christians more dangerous, for that they were ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkish shot. But in that extremitie no man regarded either danger, or life, only this they remembred, That those were their barbarous enemies, whom they must either victoriously ouercome, or die therefore: with which furie the assault was continued by the space of three houres, vntill at length *Mustapha* with his Turks discouraged, with the losse of 2000 of their fellowes, and of three great noble men, whom *Solyman* especially fauored, and sore beaten by the Spaniards out of their flankers, were inforced to retire. Few of the Christians in respect of so many enemies, were slaine: yet had the ensigne of the Order bin then lost, *Ioachimus Cluys* the ensigne bearer hauing both his eies shot out, had not *Emericus Rinaulx* an Auergnois, and one of the knights of the Order, with incredible courage rescued the same.

After this second assault, falling out so vnluckily vnto the Turks, *Mustapha* the great Bassa began to grow in contempt with *Solyman*: and *Pyrrhus* to keepe his credit by doing something, with continuall batterie of 17 great pieces, did batter the mount neere vnto the Italian bulwarke. At which time also *Cassius* Gouernor of Bythinia, another of the Turks great commanders, laboured by vndermining to haue ouerthrowne the French bulwarke: so glad they were to attempt any thing to content their imperious great lord and master. But the indeauors of *Cassius* was by countermines through the careful diligence of *Gabriel Cheresius*, hauing charge of those workes, frustrated: and *Pyrrhus* in the other place after hee had by hot assault slaine them which were appointed for the defence thereof, and gained the mount, and brought a great feare vpon the citie, was againe with great losse shamefully repulsed, and by the commandement of *Solyman* caused to retire. At this assault the Gouernor of Euboea, *Solyman* his Lieutenant generall, a man of great honour (if any of the Turks slaues are so to be accounted) was slaine, for whose death *Solyman* was exceeding pensiue and heauie.

Mustapha Bassa fallet into disgrace with Solyman.

Mustapha the Bassa finding himself in disgrace with *Solyman* for the two vnfortunat assaults by him giuen at the English station, determined if it were possible by a third to recouer his lost credit: and for his better successe therein, agreed with *Achimetes* another great commander, at the same time to assault the Spanish bulwarke: according to this resolution *Achimetes* hauing with a mine suddenly blowne vp a great part of the wall of the Spanish station, in the thicke of the dust and smoke, presently entered his men, who by the ruins of the wall recouered the top of the rampiers. *Mustapha* also at the same instant hardly charged the English, so that in both places was made a hard and doubtfull fight. *Mustapha*, desiring nothing more than with better successe now to redeeme his former dishonour, did what he might to incourage the soldiers, calling vpon them by name, and putting them in remembrance of their former victories. The Rhodians on the other side mindfull of their former honour, with the greatnesse of the present danger, valiantly repulsed the enemie, and forced him with shame to retire. In this assault many Englishmen were slaine, and *Preianes* also sore hurt, hauing before slaine many of the Turks. *Mustapha* beside the losse of his men, had also two of his ensignes taken by *Christopherus Vauldericke*, Commendator of the German knights. *Achimetes* hauing won the top of the wals, had there set vp the Turkish ensignes; but by the valiantnes of the defendants, & by means of certain small pieces of ordnance, by *Martinengus* aptly placed in the houses before the new made breach, and by force of shot out of the flankers on both sides of the breach, wherof none fell in vaine, he was again inforced to forsake the wals and to retire.

The English bulwark assaulted the third time by Mustapha.

The Turks ensignes aduanced to the top of the wals, are againe cast downe.

The three and twentieth day of September, the Turkish captaines hoping by meanes of a mine which they had made against the Auergne bulwarke, to enter and win the citie; approching the wals with great multitudes of souldiers, ready to haue entred vpon the blowing vp of the mine, which being met with a countermine out of the citie, wrought not such effect as was by them expected: so that hauing receiued some harm, standing in a place of great disaduantage, and done nothing, they returned again into the camp. Yet all the expert captains probably coniecturing that the wal might be inwardly shaken by the mine, though it were not by them

them outwardly perceiued caused that part of the wall to be most violently battered all the rest of that day and night following: and by the fury of their artillerie, made a faire and large breach. All that night was heard in the Turkes campe an vnwonted clattering of weapons, and of men running too and fro, as if there had bin some great matter a doing; which the Rhodians coniecturing (as the truth was) to be a signe of some great assault to be shortly giuen.

Another breach made in the wals.

Solyman resoluing the next day with al his force to assault the new made breach, after he had by himselfe in a melancholly mood walked vp and downe in his tent a great part of the night, sent for the chiefe commanders of his army, to whom he declared his mind as followeth:

Your valour and wisedome (worthie captaines) needeth not any exhortation, yet the desperate madnesse of our enemies maketh me to speake vnto you these few words. Who whilest they yet doe, as from the beginning, as men without reason desperatly defend their citie rent with our artillerie, shaken with our mines, their Churches and houses beaten downe about their eares, wearied and worne out with slaughter, labour, and wounds, which must needs befall men so oftentimes assaulted, they worthily [illegible] vnto our souldiers men of inuincible force and courage; which opinion to haue removed, much concerneth the happie and wished successe of our assault. Wherefore I would haue you with effectuall persuasion and bountifull promises to hearten on our men to the winning of this citie. Besides this, you shall open vnto them my purpose and intent, and that they should not thinke that they are brought hither to besiege one citie; but that in taking this one, they shall vpon the matter make a way into all the dominions of the Christians. Heere be the kinsmen, aliance, and friends of all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Christendome: heere is all our enemies treasure, the spoile whereof promised vnto our souldiers may serue to great purpose to encourage them forward: here is the store of ordnance, armour, and other warlike prouision, which shall both furnish vs, and in time to come miserably confound the rest of the Christians. We shall beside this, enioy a most goodly and rich citie, with a hauen of all others most commodious, from whence all things necessarie for war may at all times as occasion shall require, by land and sea be supplied: which as they shall be to vs things of great importance, so shall we despoile our enemies of far greater. This is their castle, storehouse, treasurie, and armorie: thus is the very receptacle and place of refuge for all such as trouble the Turks by sea: from hence shall we haue free scope and passage into Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and many other Christian countries. But as for your selues valiant captaines, when as I consider how that you haue within these few moneths by your valour and wisedome subdued vnto my Empire the strong citie of Belgrade, which my great grandfather Mahomet *that mightie Emperour could not with all his power get; I rest in great hope that these fierce and obstinate Christians shall not long be able to defend themselues in these their dens and lurking places.*

Hauing ended this speech, the captaines euery one vnto his companie, made knowne what the great Emperors will and pleasure was, and open proclamation made thorow all the camp, wherein the spoile of that rich city was all granted vnto the souldiers, as a prey and reward for the paines they were to take.

Solyman heauie with sleepe and care, laied himselfe downe vpon his pallat to take his rest. But the Great Master (to whom the vnaccustomed stirre of the enemie portended some great matter) all that night in armes, painefully viewed euery part of the citie, cheerefully encouraging his souldiers to remember, That they did watch for the safetie of their countrey, their liues and libertie. Fortuned the same night, that a poore Christian ferning a Turke in the campe, calling secretly vnto the watchmen vpon the wals, gaue them warning that the Turks prepared the next day to giue a generall assault vnto the citie. Which thing when the Great Master vnderstood, because he would haue nothing done rashly or fearefully (as it commonly happeneth in things done vpon the sudden) called together his Knights, and spake vnto them, as followeth.

The Great Master his oration vnto his knights

I am glad sacred companions and fellowes in armes, that the time is come when in one battell getting vnto your selues great honour, and defending your countrey, you may bee iustly accounted the worthie defenders and reuengers of the Christian commonweale and name. The people against whome wee are to fight to morrow, assaileth vs only presuming vpon their multitude: But if wee measure valour, not by number, but by courage and prowesse, vndoubtedly a few resolute men will easily ouercome a multitude of cowards. You know your enemie, and the manner of his fight: you are to fight (most

(most worthie knights) with them whom you haue alwaies vanquished at sea, and in iust battell sometimes ouercome by land, at such time as with their whole power they assaulted your wals: omitting in the meane time many hot skirmishes, wherein you euer put them to the worst: Wherefore you and they in the assault ■ morrow shall haue such courage, as conquerors and men conquered vse to haue. Neither will they fight, because they dare fight, but because the great tyrant and violent command of their captaines enforceth them thereunto. Wherefore remembring what you are by birth, what opinion the Christian commonwealth hath conceiued of you, where you are, and what you haue taken vpon you; take vp your armes with iust furie and indignation, and fight against them, following one franticke youth, as if you saw your slaues bearing armes against you: whereunto you are inforced, not onely by the indignitie of the wrong by them offered, but also by necessitie, which of it selfe is of power to make cowards valiant and hardie. For here we are in an iland from whence we cannot escape, and in a citie, whose rent and battered walls doe not so much protect and defend vs, as our weapons; wherefore to morrow we must heere either vanquish them, or die therefore: ■ morrow shall giue vnto vs either ioyfull victorie, or a most honourable death.

As he was yet thus speaking, newes of approch of the enemie caused him to make an end: and euery man hasted with speed vnto the place of his charge. The enemie comming fast on, with a most horrible crie (as their manner is) fiercely assailed the citie in fiue places, where the English, Spanish, Italians, Narbonenses,, and Auergnoys had their stations. To the assault of euery of which places, *Solyman* had appointed ten thousand Turkes. *Mustapha* the Bassa calling vpon the name of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, and promising vnto the souldiers the rich spoile of the citie, fiercely assailed the English station, from whence he had beene three times before shamefully repulsed. *Pyrrhus* the other great Bassa, with like furie assaulted the Italian station. In both places was maintained a cruell and deadly fight; the Turks fighting for the prey, and the Rhodians for their liues and libertie. Neither was there any, of what degree or order soeuer, which did not that day fight for the defence of the citie. The priests and religious were not then exempted, but fought among other souldiers; women, children, and with them the aged fathers, beyond the strength of their bodies and courage of their minds, brought weapons vnto the defendants, some stones, which they had digged out of the streets, some burning pitchbarrels, some hoops with wild fire, some scalding oyle, some boiling pitch: which being cast down vpon the enemies, troubled them so, as nothing was more feared; for vpon whomsoeuer it fel, it stucke fast, and so scalded their bodies, that they were glad to cast down their weapons to teare off their clothes, wherewith many of them rent off the skin and flesh also. All which things fel so thick vpon the Turks, as if it had rained fire & stones, besides the deadly shot, which amongst such a multitude of enemies neuer fel in vain. The Great Master hauing a careful eye ouer euery part of the city, after he had well relieued the Italian station, which was at the first hardly distressed by *Pyrrhus*, left there *Antonius Monterollus*, one of the knights of the Order, with such company as he thought conuenient for the safety of that place, & went himselfe with the rest vnto the English station, which was then hardly laid to by the Bassa *Mustapha*. But whilest he was there busied in repulsing the enemie, & had now well relieued the place, a sudden crie ran alongst the wals, that the Spanish bulwarke was already possessed by the enemy: with which heauy news he was not a little troubled, but leauing there *Emericus Gombaulus*, one of the knights of the Order, with a chosen companie of soldiers for the defence of that place; he with his guard hasted vnto the Spanish station, which he found by a wonderful chance already taken by the enemy. In the beginning of the assault, certain Turks to shun the danger of the shot, had for feare hidden themselues at the foot of this bulwarke, among the stones, which had before bin beaten downe with the batterie: in the meane time, other Turkes of the same regiment, vnder the leading of the valiant captain *Achimetes*, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the bulwarke, not medling with the bulwarke it selfe, as a thing of greatest strength: the valiant soldiers appointed for the defence of the bulwark, seeing their fellows & countrymen distressed fast by them on the right hand, could not indure to stand stil as lookers on, but left the bulwark, & went to the place so hardly assaulted: where whilst they were valiantly incountring the enemy, the cowardly Turks who had before hid themselues for feare, hearing al still ouer their heads, & therby guessing (as the truth was) that the defendants were drawn thence to another place more distressed; to color their feare, & proue

The Turks assault the city in fiue places at once.

The Rhodians valiantly defend the citie.

The Spanish bulwarke taken by the Turks.

Now my fellowes (most valiant souldiers) what great things you indure for mine honour, and the
glorie of your Emperor. This continuall threatnings of the heauens, this immoderate raine, this terri-
ble thunder and lightening, the coldnesse of the weather, the want of necessaries, with the manyfold misc-
ries of this long siege, do much perswade me, to giue you leaue to lay downe armes and to take your rest.
But if (as we consider of vnto men of courage it be not a dishonour, for the tediousnesse of paine and
trauell, to leaue vnto our enemies the victorie alreadie in our hands, and shamefully to forsake our tren-
ches, mines, and entrapping not onely the wals of the citie, but mating the heauens, with such other
like works made with my instant charge and your great trauell, all for the taking of this citie. Truely
this were either honor not base beene taken in hand at all, or being once begun, is to bee ended for the
honour of the Ottomain empire. Which for so much as it could not be accomplished in Summer; the
extremitie of whose cowrse in common, and the regard of the commoditie of euerie one of you in priuat,
enforceth vnto performe it in Winter. For if wee shall from hence depart with our armie, who doubts
but the enemie, not onely for desire of reuenge, but also strained by necessitie, hauing lost all hee had of
his owne, will prey vpon your countries, houses, and goods, and will bring you, your wiues, and children,
into a farre more miserable slaverie and bondage, than that wherein he himselfe now is? Wherefore I
admit no excuse to continue the siege, and neuer to depart before you haue attained vnto the end of your desires.
And admit there were no necessitie in the matter, yet the honour and fame of the action ought to im-
pose vpon you a resolution both of bodie and mind to indure the siege: For the eies and countenances
of all nations, especially the Christians, are fixed vpon you; whom when they shall vnderstand not to
be able to endure the seuerest Winter, they will of right call you Summer birds, which so soone as any
stormie weather looke after your houses and places of repose. It is reported, that the Grecians for a strumpet
besieged Troy ten yeares; and shall not the Turkes, vexed and oppressed with slaughters, robberies, inua-
sions both in sea and land, and that more is with the seruitude of 214 yeares, endure one Winters siege?
They will say, that the terror of your name is but vaine, and that fame hath encreased the same (as many
other things moe) which not seene, are more feared in far countries amongst men of small experience:
And that now euerie man may safely enough abide your force, which make your inuasions rather vpon a
furie and braverie than vpon any good resolution, which in all kind of war (but especially in besieging
of cities) is most necessarie: whereof many being by naturall scituation and fortification impregnable,
time hath with her handmaides, Famine and Thirst, ouercome and vanquished, as it shall doe this citie
of the Rhodes: against which beloued in armes there is a secret mischiefe prepared, which may not in
this open audience be published; for it is as necessarie that the vulgar sort should be ignorant of some
things, as to know the same.

Many thought, that this was spoken rather of policie than vpon any good ground: and although his hot perswasion had little moued the cold courage of his despairing souldiers, yet the regard of dutie in that most loyall nation, with the greedie expectation of so great a secret, ouercame all other difficulties; so that they departed (at leastwise in shew) contented to indure whatsoeuer should befall.

Achimetes authour of this great expectation, and the onely hope of *Solymans* successe, came oftentimes and assailed the Vamures of the Auergne station, which although they were not verie high, yet were they alwaies valiantly defended by the Rhodians. It fortuned, that this warlike captaine dayly attempting the Vaumures, in the end by force obtained the same, and so possessed of the place he so much desired, desperatly kept it vntill greater helpe came running in, who with wonderfull expedition (with matter for that purpose before prepared) clapt vp a strong and defensible couering in manner of a penthouse against the towne wal, betwixt the wall and the Vaumure, vnder which they shrowded themselues from the defendants; which was an easie matter for such a multitude to do, the ditches of the towne in that place being now filled vp so high, that the defendants could not out of the flankers scoure the ditch, nor yet without manifest danger come to cast any thing downe vpon them from the top of the wals: for the Turks harquebusiers which lying vpon their mounts, higher than the battered wals of the citie, suffered none to appeare vpon them without danger. So that the Rhodians who erst thought themselues at great quiet, were now ouertaken with a sudden and an vnexpected mischiefe: which at the first filled the citie with feare and heauie silence, which straightwaies after brake out into pittifull outcries and lamentations. The Turks lurking vnder their penthouse, laboured with mattocks and pickaxes to dig vp the foundation of the

Achimetes winneth the Vaumures of the Auergne bulwark, raiseth a strong penthouse against the wall, and so undermineth the same.

A the wall; and *Preianes* forward and couragious to do what might be done threw downe vpon the Turks, fire, scalding oyle, burning pitch, wild-fire and such things. But when the miserable men which shrunke from the worke for feare of the fire, were againe beaten forward by their imperious commanders, and presently slaine if they made any delay, and fresh men still thrust on in stead of such as were hurt or slain: the fatall worke begun the seuenth day of October, went apace forward, with the great and continuall labour of these wretched slaues. A great number of the common souldiers whom the Turks call Asapi was imployed in this worke: of whom *Solyman* in this siege of the Rhodes, and other his expeditions, made not much more account but as of pioners to worke in mines and to cast vp trenches, and oftentimes with their bodies to fill towne ditches to make a way for the Ianizaries to passe ouer vpon: they by

The miserable state of the common souldiers of the Turks, and the small account is made of them.

B the constraint of *Achimetes* vndermined the wall, and as they wrought, shoared vp the same againe with timber, whereunto they afterwards set fire, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wal, which falling not out according to their expectation; for that they had not far enough vndermined it, they assaied with great hooks and strong ropes to haue pulled it downe. But the Rhodians with their great ordnance from the Auergne bulwarke, quickly put them from that mad worke with great slaughter, and frustrated all their long labor. *Achimetes* thus disappointed of his purpose, stood in great doubt whether he should giue ouer the enterprise, for that he saw he laboured in vain, or else in that dangerous place to expect some better hap, the onely meane to saue him from the tyrants heauie displeasure; who as he knew measured all things by the euent. *Solyman* vnderstanding by *Achimetes* that the wall (although it was not

C ouerthrown as was expected) was yet sore shaken and weakned with vndermining, caused his batterie to be planted against that part of the wal so vndermined: which so many waies weakned, & now sore battered, fell downe daily more and more. For remedie wherof, the Rhodians laboured day and night to raise a new wall, in stead of that which was beaten downe.

At the same time, *Solyman* perswaded by the generall opinion of all his great captaines, that the citie was that day or neuer to be taken, determining to giue another generall assault, caused proclamation to be made thorow his camp: wherein he gaue the spoile of the citie vnto his souldiers, and the more to encourage them, spake vnto them in few words, as followeth:

D *Fortune at length valiant souldiers, hauing notably proued your courage and patience, now offereth vnto you the worthie rewards of your labour and paines. The victorie and wealth of your enemies which you haue so much desired, is now in your hands. Now is the time to make an end of this mungrell people, of whom more are slaine than left aliue; and they not men, but the shadowes and ghosts of men, feeble and spent with hunger, wounds, wants and labour; who will I know resist you, not because they so dare, but because of necessitie they so must, enforced thereunto with all extremities. Wherefore now reuenge your selues of the fashood, cruelties, and villanies of these Christians, and make them a wofull example to all posteritie, that neuer man hereafter presume to offer iniurie to a Turke, in whatsoeuer state he be. The way is already open into the citie, there is a faire breach made whereby thirtie horsemen may at once enter, nothing wanteth but courage in you to assaile the same.*

Solyman encourageth his souldiers to a fresh assault.

E The souldiers encouraged with this speech of their Emperour, made great shew of cheerfulnesse, and promised to doe their vttermost deuoire, threatning vnto the Christians most horrible death and miserable captiuitie.

In the meane time, the great shot flying continually thorow the breach, did beat downe many houses in the citie; but the countermure new built against the breach standing vpon a lower ground, it seldome toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The ratling of the falling houses, the horrible noise of the enemie, with the thundering of the great artillerie, wonderfully terrified the miserable citizens: in euery place was heard the lamentation of women and children, euery thing shewed the heauinesse of the time, and seemed as altogether lost and forlorne. The day thus troublesomely spent, the night followed much more troublesome; and

F after the night, the day of assault of all other most dreadfull: for with the dawning thereof, the glistering ensignes of the enemie were seene flying in the wind, and the Turks cheerfull with the hope of spoile and victory, hasted towards the breach with great outcries and songs, after their countrey manner: and there before one of the gates of the citie called S. *Ambrose* gate, set downe a great number of their ensignes decke with garlands, in token of victory. The

The distressed estate of the Rhodians and their courageous resolution therin.

Turks great fleet also at the same time sayling too and fro before the hauen; made shew as if it would haue assailed the citie on that side: who had seen the citie so beset, would haue said that it would at one instant haue bin besieged both by sea and land; and to most mens iudgements, it seemed that the Rhodian state should that day haue taken end & bin destroied. Yet for al these extremities, the Rhodians were nothing discouraged, but looking vpon their weapons as the onely remainders of their hopes, not regarding any danger, vpon the alarme giuen came running out of their houses by heaps vnto the wals, like desperat men opposing their bodies in stead of their battered wals against their enemies in defence of their countrey. There needed neither exhortation nor command of captaine, euery man was vnto himselfe a persuader to fight valiantly in defence of the citie; and one of them propounded vnto another the cruell death, the miserable seruitude, the mockes and taunts they should indure, if they should chance to come into the proud enemies hand: all which was to be auoided either by honorable victorie or death. The Turks conducted by *Achimetes*, fiercely assailed the breach, which was by the Rhodians (standing vpon the ruins of their wals valiantly defended. In the meane time the dismaied matrons and maidens, some in their houses, with heauie hearts expected the wofull destruction of the citie & themselues, others some in the Churches with flouds of tears and lamentable cries, poured forth their praiers to the Almightie, crauing his helpe in that their hard distresse, and to protect them against their barbarous enemies. The deadly fight at the breach, was on both sides with great courage and force maintained. The Turks were in good hope forthwith to win the city, if they did but a little more straine themselues: & therfore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in their fighting gaue out most terrible outcries: and the Rhodians accounted the Turks as good as vanquished, for they being so many in number, and in a place of such indifferency, had not yet preuailed: beside that, they were greatly incouraged with the greatnesse of the common danger, and the sight one of anothers valor, so that by their inuincible courage the Turks were inforced shamefully to retire. The Rhodians seeing their enemies turne their backes, gaue a great shout in derision of them: the Turks disdaining that they in number many (and now victors, if they should with a little resolution maintain the assault they had begun) should be so derided of a handfull of men as good as already vanquished, with great indignation returned again to the breach, & more furiously assailed the Rhodians than at the first. At which time the citie had vndoubtedly bin taken, had not they which defended the ends of the wal, yet standing on both sides of the breach, out of their baricadoes with their shot ouerwhelmed the Turks thronging in at the breach; & others with murthring shot out of the flankers of the new built wal so cut them in sunder, that a greater slaughter for the time was hardly in any place seen. *Achimetes* beholding the wonderfull slaughter of his souldiers, and that he fought with great disaduantage and losse, against desperat men, who resoluing to die, feared no danger, gaue ouer the assault, and againe retired: leauing behind him in the breach and town ditch, the carkasses of fiue thousand of his dead Turks besides many more which afterwards died vpon the hurts there receiued.

The Turks trouble the Rhodians with continuall alarms, and by casting vp of trenches get into the city

This assault was giuen vnto the town the last day of Nouember, a day dedicated to S. *Andrew*: after which time the captains of the Turkish army, although they dispaired not of the victorie, yet terrified with so great slaughter of their men, resolued with one accord no more to attempt the city with any notable assault; but by sundry great trenches to be made thorow the midst of the ruins of the wals, to get into the city; & with matoks & pickaxes to ouerthrow the new made wall and another barricado which the defendants had made within the same: and in the mean time whilest this was in doing, to keepe the Rhodians still busied with continuall skirmishes and alarmes. This deuise put in execution by the wonderfull labor of such a multitude of people, serued the enemie to greater purpose than all that he had before done: who daily ouerthrowing or destroying the new fortifications which the Rhodians made in stead of them which were before ouerthrown, and by little & little creeping on further, draue the defendants to that extremity, that they were glad to pul down many of their houses, therwith to make new fortifications, and to make their citie lesse, by casting vp of new trenches: so that in short time they were brought to that point, that they could not wel tel which place to fortifie first, the enemie was now so far crept within them: for the ground which the enemie had thus gained within the city, was almost 200 paces in breadth, & 150 paces in length.

Solyman, although he did now assure himselfe of the victorie, and was by nature cruell and desirous

A desirous of reuenge; yet persuaded by *Achimetes* and *Cassius* (two of his most valiant captaines) that for the inlarging of his empire, nothing was better than the fame of clemencie: commanded *Pyrrhus* the old Bassa to proue if the Rhodians might by parley be drawne to yeeld their citie vpon reasonable conditions. Whereupon the Bassa sent one *Hieronimus Monelia*, a Genoway, vnto the wals, who crauing of the defendants safe conduct, said he had something to say tending to the common good of the distressed city. Al mens minds were presently filled with expectation of some great matter, & he commanded to speake. Who answered, that he might not deliuer his message openly, but would either by speech in secret, or by letters deliuer the same vnto one *Mathias de Via* his countryman, one of the citizens of the Rhodes. When *Fra. Fornouius*, one of the knights of the Order, a Frenchman of a chollericke disposition, whose great courage was well seene in all that siege (hauing as it is reported, with shot out of Saint *Georges* tower himselfe slaine 500 Turks during the time of that siege) being now present, and moued with indignation to heare a motion made of priuat conference with the enemie: bent his piece vpon the messenger, & caused him forthwith to depart without doing his message. Many who in time of the assault feared not any danger, but were altogether become desperat and careles of themselues, after that they had vnderstood that the enemie had offered parley, and that they began to conceiue some hope of life: resorted vnto the Great Master, requesting him, that he would prouide for the safetie of his louing people, whose warlike forces was with many assaults sore weakned, the citie beaten downe about their eares, and most of them which were left, either wounded or sick. They had (as they said) now sufficiently proued both their force and fortune: wherefore he should do well, to beware, lest while he were too long in consulting, the enemie should conceiue a further indignation in seeing his offers refused. With these and such speeches they inforced the great master to send embassadors to *Solyman*. The men that were sent, were *Anthonius Groleus* a Frenchman, ensigne bearer for the Order, a man of great reputation for his wisedome and experience, and with him *Robertus Barusius*, a man of great grauitie, and skilfull in the Greeke tongue: for whom was receiued as pledges, a kinsman of the great captaine *Achimetes*, and a certaine Epirot which fled out of the city vnto the Turks, because one of the Grecian captaines had struck him with his open hand, a man of a sharpe wit, and one that could perfectly speake the Greeke, Turkish, and Italian tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongst the enemies, beeing had of them in great regard D although he was not knowne whilest he dwelt in the citie, that he was any such man. After that came also *Solymans* enterpreter, for he himselfe could speak no other language more than his owne, accounting it a great disgrace, and against the *Othoman* empire to vse any other language. The embassadors admitted vnto *Solymans* presence, told him, That they were sent to know, for what cause he had sent to require parly? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had known nothing thereof, said there was no such matter: and commanding them presently to void his campe, sent them away with letters to the Great Master and the citizens, to this effect.

Parley offered by the Turks to the Rhodians.

Secret parley refused.

Solymans letter sent to the great master and the Rhodians, by their embassadours.

E *If I had not compassion of humane infirmitie, which oftentimes tumbleth headlong mens ambitious and hautie minds, into most dangerous and vnnecessarie mischiefs, truly I would not haue directed vnto you these letters at this time; but as you haue well deserued, persecute you with death and most miserable seruitude: which how easie a thing were it for me to doe, you your selues know. But hauing now sufficiently tried my force, if you be wise make proofe of my clemencie. You haue already satisfied your owne furie, your owne mad humour: and now aduise your selues, lay your hand vpon your heart, and without delay yeeld your selues as I command; your liues I giue, I giue you your wealth, and more than that, your choice to tarrie there still, or to depart: Refuse not the grace frankly offered, which was of you to haue bin most heartily desired. It shall not alwaies be lawful for you (as at this present) to make choice of both. From our campe.*

F Vpon the returne of the embassadors, the poore of all sorts flockt together to the Great Master his house not far from the breach: where after the multitude of the common people was dismissed, and the chiefe of the burgers sent for, the imperious letter of the Turkish tyrant was openly read before the knights of the Order, and the better sort of the citizens. Whereunto the Great Master accounting it both honor enough, and sufficient tearme of life honorably to die, answered in this sort.

The great Master at the instance of his people condeth vnto dishonours to Solyman.

The Great Master his opinion concerning that Solyman demanded by his letters.

You heard (sacred fellowes in armes, and valiant citizens of the Rhodes) these imperious and sorrow- G
full letters: whereunto how we are to answer, requireth no great deliberation: we must as resolute men
either yeeld or die, all hope of the victorie is gone, except forraine aid come. Wherefore if you will follow
my counsell, let vs with weapons in our hands, vntill the last gaspe and the spending of the last drop of
our bloud, like valiant men defend our faith and nobilitie receiued from our ancestours, and the honour
which we haue so long time gotten both at home and abroad: and let it neuer be said, that our honour di-
ed but with our selues.

This speech of the great Master seemed vnto many, heauier than the imperious commande-
ment of the Turkish tyrant: and a great while men stood silent, heauily looking one vpon an-
other, many with changing of their countenance and outward gesture, more than by words
expressing what they thought in heart. At length a certaine Greeke priest, with great compas- H
sion of mind (as it seemed) and teares trickling down his cheeks, brake forth into these words:

A notable speech of a Greeke priest, perswading the Great Master to yeeld.

And I would also hold my peace, if I were a priuat man; and not first of all in so great and troubled
assemblie, broach mine owne opinion. But forasmuch as the regard of our common preseruation, cal-
wring a word out of no mans mouth; and all men know, that now is the time to speake and say what
euery man thinketh best, which shall neither alwayes nor long bee graunted vnto vs; I will not let it
now ouerpasse and slip away: Wherefore let vs suppose, that no commaund of a most mightie prince be-
sieging vs, were come vnto vs, but that I were reasoning as a priuate man with his neighbour, or one
friend with another by the fire side, or in our cups without care, without any great affection to either par-
tie, as men indifferent, not liking or hating (as men oftentimes do of princes affairs which concerne them I
nothing) and then (as I hope) my speech shall be vnto you neither vnpleasant nor vnprofitable. We
Greekes and Latines, with ioyned armes, haue now these six moneths withstood our deadly ene-
mies, not onely abroad before our wals, but also in the very bowels of our citie, without any forreine
helpe: which as wee haue of long time all vainely looked for, so are we now euery one of vs out of hope
thereof. And yet our enemie either moued with the secret goodnesse of God, or else ignorant of our
strength and forces, spent with wounds, slaughter, sicknesse, and perpetuall labour, doth voluntarly of-
fer that vnto vs, which was of vs to be most of all desired and earnestly sued for. Your publicke and
priuate treasures the bodies of your selues, your wiues and children hee keepeth vnviolated; he taketh
from vs onely the citie, which he hath for most part alreadie beaten downe and taken. Worthie Great
Master, and you most valiant knights, I haue knowne prowesse and valour in many battels at sea, but K
especially in this siege; whereof seeing there is no more vse in this our desperate estate, I doe appeale
vnto your wisedom and discretion. Since all is now the conquerours, in that he leaueth vnto vs our liues
and goods, that is to be accounted gaines, and the yeelding vp of the citie and Island no losse, which the
victorious enemie alreadie commandeth: which although it be a heauie matter and grieuous vnto the
nobilitie, yet your fortune perswadeth you thereunto. Wherefore if you be to be mooued with any compas-
sion, I account it better to yeeld, than to bee slaine our selues, or to see your wiues and children by law
of armes to be led away before your faces into miserable captiuity and seruitude. If any Christian compas-
sion remaine in your warlike mindes, I beseech you seeke not the vtter destruction of this innocent people,
who (I may with modestie say) hath not euill deserued of you, whom Christ Iesus, whom the enemie him-
selfe would haue preserued. That I say this which I speake vnto you for Christian charitie, and for no
other cause, let this be a sufficient testimonie, That so long as you were able to resist by your owne power, L
or hoped for aid from forreine princes, I neuer spake word, or once thought of yeelding: but now seeing
the fatall ruine of all things about vs, our common estate brought vnto the vttermost extremitie, our
deadly enemie in the heart of our citie, no hope, and that the warre cannot longer bee protracted; I wish
you to yeeld, and for my part had rather make choice of peace than war, and to proue the enemies fauour,
than his furie.

Most of them there present, were of the same mind with the priest. But as nothing can bee
so reasonably spoken as to content al men, so this speech was not of them al liked: some there
were (though not many) which considering the harmes they had done vnto the Turkes, and M
doubting with what safetie they might yeeld themselues into the power of that faithlesse
people, had rather to haue fought it out to the last man, and so to haue left vnto them a blou-
die victorie. Amongst these, one bold spoken fellow step forth, and in presence of them all
dissuaded the yeelding vp of the citie, in this sort:

I haue

A most resolute speech of a common soldier, dissuading the yeelding up of the Rhodes.

A *I haue not beene with any thing more vnacquainted, than to deliuer my opinion before princes, or in*
such great and publicke assemblies; being alwaies more desirous modestly to heare other mens opinions,
than impudently to thrust foorth mine owne. But now, seeing extreame necessitie will not longer suffer
me to keepe my wonted course of silence, I will frankly speake my mind, and tell you what in my opi-
nion is to be answered vnto the heauie message and imperious commaund of the most perfidious tyrant.
This cruell enemie hath ouerthrowne our wall, and is entred three hundred foot and more within our
citie, and as a most troublesome guest liueth and conuerseth with vs as it were vnder the same roofe.
Such as list not longer to indure such an vnwelcome guest and troublesome neighbour, perswade you be-
cause he is troublesome, to giue him all: but (worthie and sacred knights) I am of farre different opi-
nion; neither doe I thinke a possession of two hundred and fourteene yeares is so lightly to bee
deliuered vp, and the ground forsaken: but rather that this troublesome intruder is in like manner to
B *be himselfe troubled, and with deadly skirmishes continually vexed: whom after wee had by force of*
armes and vndaunted courage maugre his head, held out fiue moneths, at length he brake into our city,
not by any valour in himselfe but holpen by time, which tameth all things: and since his first entrance
is is now almost fortie daies in which time for all his hast, hee hath scarcely got forward a hundred and
thirtie paces, hindered by the blockes we haue laied in his way, and will not cease continually to lay, if we
be wise men and mindfull of our former valour. Destroy me you heauenly powers, before I see with these
eies these sacred knights to yeeld vp this famous citie of the Rhodes; the antient bulwarke of Christian
religion, vnto our mercilesse enemies, polluted with the infamous superstition of Mahomet: *who be-*
sides the insatiable thirst they haue of our bloud, how faithlesse and mischieuous they are by nature, if
we know not, we need not make example of our selues, but we may take example by the calamitie of Con-
C *stantinople, the late miserie of Eubœa, and that which later was, of Methone, as also by the Mamalukes*
at Caire, miserably slaine contrary to the league, contrarie to the faith and promise by the Turkish Em-
perour himselfe before giuen. What, doe you not remember how the death of the most noble captaines at
Belgrade was of late procured by the fashood, craft, and deceit of the same faithlesse miscreants? Let
vs then, being men of wit and vnderstanding, trust these mad beasts, let vs giue our selues into their
power, which haue no regard of right or reason, of religion, or any thing else: whose couetousnesse and
cruelties it is hard to say which is greater; which for these many yeres haue plotted and laboured nothing
more, than how by policie or force they may vtterly root out the very name of the Rhodians, which they
so deadly hate. They keep vs shut vp and besieged now the sixt moneth feeling together with vs extream
D *dangers and endlesse labour, slaine by heapes before our wals and fortresses, and cannot be remoued hence*
with thunder, leightening, stormes, tempests, and all the calamities of Winter, a time which giueth inter-
mission of all warre, both by sea and land; so desirous they are of reuenge, and greedie of our bloud: and
that not altogether without cause, for we haue also shed theirs, and gladly would still so do, if it lay in our
power. But seeing it seemeth good vnto God otherwise, and that we are surprised with inuitable neces-
sitie, yet let vs whilest we are at libertie, and haue power our selues, by honorable death amongst the Chri-
stian ensignes, eschew the torments and reproches which our cruell enemies hope to inflict vpon vs: so
shall we enioy eternall fame and glorie, prepared both in heauen and earth for such as honourably die in
defence of their prince and country: which honour it becommeth not them to enuie vnto thy most noble
name and vertue, worthie Grand Master, which hauing for many yeares enioyed the commoditie and
profit of peace, and greatly enriched by bountie of this sacred militarie Order, refuse now to beare this last
E *burden of warre.*

At these words an antient Greeke, for his wisedome and discretion of great reputation
both with the Greekes and Latines, perceiuing his countreymen wrongfully touched, and
the desperat holding out of the citie vainly perswaded, tooke hold, and interrupting this yong
gallant; in answer of that he had said, spake as followeth:

The former speech notably answered by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the citie vrged.

That griefe of minde and desperation can make men rather eloquent than wise, as you haue many
times heard before this, so you might this day perceiue also, most valiant gentlemen: for aduised mode-
M *stie neuer falleth into obloquie, neither confoundeth falshood with truth; it desireth not the slaughter*
F *of the citizens, it perswadeth not furie nor exhorteth men to madnesse: but it is by nature so engraffed*
in many, that when they cannot by their owne wisedome and policie deliuer themselues from their trou-
bles, they yet seeke to draw others into the fellowship of the same danger: so greedie haue malice and
miserie alwaies been of companie. But if you (worthie Commaunder) will giue me also leaue to speake,

a man

a man amongst his countrymen not of meaneſt place and authoritie, which thing both the preſent calamitie and vrgent neceſſitie might of you eaſily obtaine, I would alledge ſuch reaſons, and lay downe ſuch matter, as ſhould not only refell the copious and glorious words of this ſharpe witted Orator, ſcrapt together of purpoſe to flouriſh out the matter, but alſo ſuch as might ſtirre your mind to that which is honeſt, profitable, and neceſſarie; expulſing hatred, feare, trouble, or deſpaire. This Gentleman, whom we all know, not onely to bee a vehement Orator, but ſometime a man moſt terrible, whereas for all his great words he is by nature mild, and ſo mild, that he neuer had the heart to kill, nay not ſo much as lightly to wound any one of them whom he calleth barbarous, mad, cruell, whoſe perfidious dealing he deteſteth, whoſe crueltie he accurſeth, whoſe manner of liuing he exclaimeth againſt, as altogether without law, without reaſon, without order, without regard: and now in time of truce, and whileſt the ſhowers of arrowes, yron bullets, fire and ſtones doth ceaſe, creeping out of his caue, maketh much adoe, and keepeth a great ſtirre; and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now with glorious words call vpon death, whereof he hath hitherto ſhewed himſelfe too much affraid, and all forſooth (as hee ſaid) leſt hee ſhould be enforced to endure the mocking and ſcorning of the enemie. But this is meere pride, not Chriſtian fortitude or humilitie. But our enemie neither threateneth nor purpoſeth any ſuch matter, nothing ſo perfidious or cruell as he would make him, rubbing vp the ſlaughter at Caire, Eubœa, Methone, and Conſtantinople, cities taken either by force or warlike policie, and not yeelded by compoſition, vpon faith giuen betwixt the beſieger and the beſieged: who becauſe he would ſpare vs, will not ſuffer vs to doe that whereby we ſhould vndoubtedly periſh. But whereof proceedeth this new found clemencie? This vnwonted fauor toward the people of the Rhodes? I am not of the tyrants priuie counſel, neither euer curiouſly ſought after the reaſon of another mans bountie, but am glad to receiue it when I need it. Yet for all that, I will not diſſemble what I thinke in a matter ſo doubtfull: he is willing (as I ſuppoſe) in this ſiege and conqueſt of the Rhodes, to ſhew vnto other nations whom he purpoſed to inuade, both his power and his patience: leſt alwaies ſatisfying his cruell nature, he ſhould make deſolation in places he would raigne ouer, and ſo for euer alienating the minds of men, be inforced to fight with all men with fire and ſword: by which rigour he hath not ſo much hurt his enemie as himſelfe. For this cauſe (as I ſuppoſe he leaueth vnto vs life and goods, leſt whileſt hee in going about to take them from vs by force, and we ſeeking to keepe them by deſperatneſſe, we ſhould both fall into great deſtruction, no leſſe lamentable vnto the conqueror than to the vanquiſhed. Beſides that, if he ſhould kill all here, truly he might then enter the breaches of the citie on the bodies of the dead, no men now leſt aliue to reſiſt him. But Lerus is ſhut vp, Arangia is ſtrongly fortified, Lyndus is by ſcituation impregnable: heere he knoweth are weapons, armour, and men; here he muſt begin a new warre, except he will haue the remainder of your warre, the fatall plague of his empire, to prey ſtill vpon his ſubiects: all which ſtrong places he ſhall haue without ſlaughter, without bloudſhed (as reaſon is) if he ſhould let you and vs poore wretches depart in ſafety with a little traſh. Except theſe worldy conſiderations haue moued him to mercy and compaſſion: then out of doubt it is wrought by diuine power and the ſecret fauour of God towards vs, and of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus crucified. Whereunto if you be men well aduiſed, if religious, if mindfull of the dutie of Chriſtians, it becommeth not you to oppoſe any obſtacle, and with the ruine of your ſelues to deſtroy this miſerable people, which for this halfe yeares ſiege, hath ſcarcely had ſo much reſt as might ſuffice the neceſſitie of nature, ſtanding for you in battell, enduring both wounds and death for your honour and victorie: by whoſe faithfull labour and diligence you haue bin alwaies holpen both at home and abroad; whether you inuaded the Turke by land in Mytilene, Naupactus, Methone, Patras, or other parts of Peloponeſus; or els by ſea thruſt him out of the poſſeſſion of the Ionian or Ægeum: whereby it may appeare euen vnto a blind man, how iniurious it is, and farre from truth, to obiect vnto vs, That inioying the fruits of peace, we refuſe the charges of warres; nay we neuer refuſed warres. But now it is come to that point, that if we would neuer ſo faine make warres, we are not able ſo to doe, the flower of our youth being ſlaine: and the ſmall remainder that is left, not onely weakened in bodie with wounds, ſickneſſe, watching, and reſtleſſe labour; but alſo in mind diſcouraged, whileſt all things fall out proſperouſly to our enemies, and to vs aduerſe: the greateſt and beſt part of our great artillerie beeing broken with continuall vſe, which if it were whole, we could haue thereof ſmal vſe or profit, for want of pouder, which not only this city now wanteth, but alſo your ſtrong holds, Lerus, Lyndus, Halicarnaſus, Arangia. I was neuer deſirous or curious to look into other mens doings, much leſſe into your maner of war: but yet (Great Maſter) you cannot deny, but it is ſo; who haue cauſed ſoldiers to be brought from thence hither openly, and gunpouder ſecretly: by which policie you haue withſtood your fortein enemy theſe ſix months, & deceiued the trechery of one or two domeſtical traitors. But I gladly admit we haue al theſe things,

things, I ſtand not vpon the truth, I ſay not what moſt men ſay, but I ſpeake to pleaſe a few: and ſuppoſe we wanted neither armour nor courage, I would then aske you this, whether they would aduiſe you to vſe them to your defence, or to your deſtruction? For vnto both it cannot be, no more than at once to bee a freeman and a ſlaue. To vſe them to your deſtruction, that were madneſſe and ſenceleſſe pride, hatefull to God and man; you ſhould therefore vſe them to defence: but how ſhall we defend a citie (I doe not ſay, as the truth is) alreadie loſt and poſſeſſed by the enemie, wherein he raigneth, raungeth, and turneth all vpſide down? but hauing the wals battered downe, a great breach in the Spaniſh ſtation, and another not like, but euen now as good as made in the Italian ſtation, how ſhall we be able to keepe this vnfortunate towne, battered and rent at the French, Engliſh, and Anergne ſtations, and the tower of S. Nicholas? Which if it were not ſo battered and bared of al warlike prouiſion, but ſound and thorowly furniſhed with munition and victuall, yet neceſſitie enforcing, and reaſon perſuading, you ought to forſake it, forſomuch as all power of further reſiſtance is taken from you. Doe you not ſee how eaſily and almoſt without any trouble the enemie (by meanes of the caſtle he hath new built vpon the mount Philermo, not paſt two miles diſtant) can take from you all manner of prouiſion both by ſea and land, and reſtraine you from going out or in? Truely notable gentlemen, honourable for your martiall proweſſe, you ſee and haue long agoe foreſeene theſe things better than I, altogether ignorant in martiall affaires, altogether buſied in the trade of merchandiſe, and caring for my family: yet ſuffer me to ſay the truth. All the powers whereby this kingdome ſtood, are departed and gone; againſt the force of our enemies no policie of force remaineth; and to expect armies of angels or ſouldiers from heauen, and other ſuch like miracles, is in my iudgement more and more ■ prouoke God to anger, although in his anger he bee vnto vs mercifull. Wherefore being deſtitute of all worldly helpe, let vs as we may, prouide for our ſafetie. I beſeech thee (worthie Great Maſter) by theſe my aged teares, by the naturall pietie ingrafted in thy noble nature, expoſe not this miſerable citie to the ſpoile of the enemie, our old and middle aged men to the ſword, our wiues and daughters to be raviſhed, our boyes and youths to the vnnaturall filthineſſe of our barbarous enemies, and to be corrupted with the mad and groſſe opinion of the vngodly Mahometane ſuperſtition. I would (noble knights) you had ſeene with what teares, with what mourning our heauie families and children crying about their mothers, ſent vs hither, and what praiers they made for vs at our departing: I would you knew with what minde and how great hope they expect their ſafetie from your clemencie and aduiſed reſolution.

This ſpeech of the aged Greek might haue moued a heart of flint: but the Great Maſter; who in his countenance ſhewed a greater courage than his preſent ſtate required, commanding euery man to his charge: after the matter had bin thus moſt part of the night diſcourſed, gaue then no other anſwer, but, That he would be carefull of all their well doing. The next morning he ſent for *Preianes*, *Martiningus*, & a few other of the greateſt iudgement & experience; by whom he was fully reſolued, that the citie in ſo many places by the enemie laid open and ſhaken, was not poſſibly to be long defended: whereupon he cauſed a common counſell to be called of all the knights of the Order together with the burgeſſes of the citie: where after long debating, whether they ſhould fight it out to the laſt man, or yeeld vpon ſuch conditions as was to be obtained? it was by generall conſent concluded, that the city ſhould be yeelded, and thereupon a decree made which was by the Great Maſter pronounced. Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, a truce was taken with the enemy for foure daies, but full of feare & danger. During which time, diuers of the Turks preſuming vpon the truce, came by great companies to behold the wals & rampiers of the citie: wherwith *Fornouius* the Frenchman (of whom mention is before made) being ſore moued, in his choler without further command diſcharged a tire of great ordnance among the thickſt of them, contrary to the truce taken. At which time alſo the Rhodians receiued into the citie ſecretly by night a ſhip loaded with wines out of Crete, & in her *Alphonſus* a Spaniard, chiefe pilot of the Rhodian gallies, & with him 100 voluntary ſouldiers all Latines, all which went out of Crete without the knowledge of the Venetian Senat: for at that time the Venetians were in league with *Solyman*. The Turks iuſtly offended with the breach of the truce, and the taking in of new ſupplies, which they ſuppoſed to haue bin far greater than in truth they were; without command of any captain or enſigne diſplaid, in great numbers thruſt in thorow the ruines of the breaches into the city as farre as the rampiers and baricadoes new made, and furiouſly aſſailed the defendants: In which conflict many were ſlaine and wounded on both ſides. But after the Turkes had to

The Great Maſter reſoluted that the citie was not to be defended, calleth a common counſell of al his knights, and the burgeſſes of the citie.

A truce taken with the Turke for foure daies.

their

their coſt againe made proofe of the courage of their enemies, as without commandement they began that skirmiſh, ſo of themſelues they brake it off and retired. After the truce was thus broken, the captaine of the Turkes fencers, a bloudie cruell fellow, hauing taken three Chriſtians priſoners, cut off their hands, eares, and noſes, and ſent them ſo diſmembred into the citie with letters to the Great Maſter, charging him with the vniuſt breach of the truce, barbarouſly threatning within three or foure dales to make like example of him to all poſteritie. Amongſt others none was more troubled with this ſudden and vnexpected breach of the truce, than *Robertus Peruſinus*, *Raymundus Marchet*, and *Raymundus Lupus*, three knights of the Order, men of ſingular wiſedome and grauitie, embaſſadours at that time in the Turkes campe: whom the barbarous people in their furie had vndoubtedly ſlaine or put to torture, if they had not feared the like meaſure to haue bin ſhewed to their hoſtages in the citie. But after that *Nicholaus Vergotus*, and *Georgius Sandritteus*, two of the Burgeſſes of the citie, were come into the campe with articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliuer vp the citie, all their furie and rage was quickly appeaſed. *Solyman* for his greater maieſtie and the more terror of theſe meſſengers, beſet round about with his great armie, & guarded about with his Ianizaries in their richeſt attire & gliſtering armor, gaue them audience: who admitted to his preſence, with great humilitie offered vnto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yeeld vp vnto him the citie. The chiefe points whereof were, That the Churches ſhould remaine vnto the Chriſtians inuiolated: That no children ſhould be taken from their parents: That no Chriſtian ſhould be inforced to forſake his religion and turne Turke: That ſuch Chriſtians as would tarrie ſtill in the citie, might ſo do at libertie, without paying any tribute for the ſpace of fiue yeares: That all they which would depart might go with bag & bagage, furniſhed with conuenient ſhipping and prouiſion as farre as Crete, & to carrie with them ſo much great ordnance as they pleaſed; and that the Chriſtians ſhould appoint a reaſonable day for the time of their departure. Al which articles *Solyman* condeſcended vnto and ſolemnly ſwore faithfully to performe the ſame. But how they were indeed performed the writers of that age do much vary: it ſhould ſeem they were neither altogether kept, nor broken, but ſo performed as pleaſed the conqueror: certaine it is, that many great outrages wete through militarie inſolencie committed by the proud Turkes vpon the poore Chriſtians, contrary to the mind of *Solyman*. *Iacobus Fontanus* a Ciuilian, and at that time one of the judges of the city (out of whoſe writings this hiſtorie is for moſt part collected) reporteth, That the Turks not expecting the departure of the Chriſtians, brake into the citie vpon Chriſtenmas day, by the gate called Coſquinium, polluted the Temples, ſhamefully abuſed the Chriſtians, & made hauock of all things: and that he himſelfe, falling into their hands, after he had with ſuch mony as he had, redeemed himſelfe, hauing not ſufficient to content all their greedy deſires, was by them hardly intreated & grieuouſly beaten. The Great Maſter by the counſell of *Achimetes*, putting on ſuch ſimple attire as beſt beſeemed a vanquiſhed man that was to humble himſelfe before the conquetor, went out of the citie into the camp, attended vpon with a few knights of the Order: where after he had waited in the raine moſt part of the day, before *Solymans* tent, at laſt he had a rich gowne caſt vpon him, & ſo brought into the proud tyrants preſence. Where after thew had a while at the firſt, with piercing eies one earneſtly beholden the other; the Great Maſter humbling himſelfe before him, was in token of grace admitted to kiſſe his hand, and welcomed by *Solyman* in this ſort.

A barbarous fact

Solyman his ſpeech vnto the Great Maſter.

Although (ſaid he) *I might worthily and iuſtly infringe the articles I haue preſcribed concerning the yeelding of the Citie, with thy moſt wicked croſſed compiers, the people of the Rhodes, and thee eſpecially ſuch a capitall enemie, from whoſe deſerued puniſhment, neither faith nor oath ought to ſtay a moſt iuſt conquerour: yet I haue determined to bee not onely gratious and mercifull vnto thee ſo great an offender, deſeruing exemplarie puniſhment, but alſo liberall and bountifull: who if thou wilt by weldoing amend the grieuous tranſgreſſions of thy former life, I promiſe vnto thee moſt honourable entertainement, great preferment, and the higheſt places in my Empire, in my armie in time of warre, and in counſell in time of peace. Not to refuſe this mine offer, both thy preſent eſtate perſuadeth thee, and the Chriſtians (whoſe quarrell thou tookeſt vpon thee to defend againſt me, with better beginning than ſucceſſe) deſerue at thy hands no better: for what ſhould let thee forſaken of all thy friends, a man as it were betraied and vanquiſhed, to caſt thy ſelfe into the perpetuall faith and*

and protection of a moſt mightie and mercifull conquerour, of himſelfe offering thee this vndeſerued grace and fauour.

Whereunto the Great Maſter preſently anſwered:

The reſolute anſwere of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

Moſt Mightie and gracious Emperour, your offered fauours before your other worthie captaines, I deſerue not; neither is my preſent eſtate and deſert towards you ſuch, as that I dare or ought to refell the ſame: yet I will ſpeake freely in the middeſt of your victorious armie, a man vanquiſhed in preſence of the conquerour, whoſe great mercie I neuer deſpaired of, and whoſe faith I neuer doubted: I had rather now I haue loſt my ſoueraigntie, forthwith to loſe my priuat and vnfortunate life; or elſe for euer hereafter to liue in obſcurity, than of my people to be accounted a fugitiue rather than a vanquiſhed man: For, to be vanquiſhed is but chance of warre, and of ſo great a conquerour no ſhame to him that is conquered: but afterwards to forſake his owne people and to turne to the enemie, I account it ſhamefull cowardiſe and treacherie.

Solyman commeth into the citie vnto the Great Maſter.

Solyman maruelling at the courage and maieſtie of the hoarie old prince, in his ſo great extremitie, diſmiſſed him, and ſent him again into the citie, guarded with his owne guard, vntill he was come into his pallace: and vnto euery one of the knights attending vpon the Great Maſter, was giuen a rich garment, in token of *Solymans* fauor. Within a few daies after *Solyman* comming into the citie, went to viſit the Great Maſter alſo: whom he found buſie in packing vp his things againſt his departure. Here when the Great Maſter falling downe vpon his knees would haue worſhipped him, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to do: but with his hand putting aſide his vaile of maieſtie (which manner of reuerence the Turkiſh Emperors giue only to God, and their Great Prophet *Mahomet*) tooke him vp and ſaluted him by the name of Father. To whom the Great Maſter for his wiſedome and diſcretion now to him no leſſe admirable, than he was before in time of war for his valour and courage, ſpake in this ſort:

The ſpeech of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

If my fortune and ſucceſſe had beene anſwerable to my heart and courage, I ſhould heere be in this citie, rather as a victorious conquerour than a man conquered. But ſithence the fatall Deſtinies would needs ouerthrow the Rhodian eſtate, I am glad that you are the man before all other by fortune aſſigned, of whom I ſhall receiue both force and grace. And vnto you, amongſt many other your rare and worthie praiſes, this ſhall not be the leaſt, That you vanquiſhed the Rhodes and ſhewed mercie. By this meanes you haue ioyned vnto your dreadfull power, the fame of clemencie and courteſie: an honour not of the higheſt to be deſpiſed, by which alone wee come neereſt vnto God. Wherefore I doubt not but you will keepe the conuentions of the late peace inuiolate, which your owne clemencie perſuaded you to grant, and neceſſitie inforced vs to take. I ſhall now bee an eternall example of the Turkiſh Emperours clemencie and vertue, more than if I had by and by at the firſt yeelded my ſelfe: Obſtinate wilfulneſſe hath made thy glorie and mercie now famous thorow the whole World, and vnto the Worlds end.

Whereunto *Solyman* by his interpreter, anſwered:

The notable anſwere of Solyman to the great Maſter.

It is to me a great pleaſure, that God at length hath put into thy mind to make choice of peace before warre, which I would thou couldeſt haue liked of from the beginning: then truely thou ſhouldeſt at this time haue receiued of my great and mightie Maieſtie, more good than thou haſt indured harme. Which that I haue done vnto thee, not for any hatred, but onely for deſire of Soueraigntie, thou mayſt gather by this, That I ſuffer thee and thine to depart hence at libertie, with all your wealth and ſubſtance: for I make not warre, thereby to heape vp wealth and riches; but for honour, fame, immortalitie, and enlarging of mine Empire. For it is the propertie of a king royally deſcended, by ſtrong hand to take from others, and to inuade others; not vpon a greedie and couetous mind, but for the honourable deſire of rule and ſoueraigntie: which whileſt my neighbour withſtandeth, I count it enough by force of armes to remoue him.

But the tyrant (as many ſuppoſed) ſpake all this by way of diſſimulation, hauing as it was commonly bruted, giuen order for the rigging vp of a great ſhip, & certain gallies, for the ſudden

den transporting of the Great Master and the knights of the Order to Constantinople, which report seemeth to haue bin but feigned either of malice, or else by such as least knew *Solymans* mind: for if he had so purposed, who should haue let him, hauing them al in his power. *Iouius* in his little treatise *Rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the fifth, reporteth that hee himselfe heard *Lilladamus* the Great Master say, That when *Solyman* entered into the Rhodes attended vpon with thirtie thousand men, there was not any man heard to speake a word, but that the souldiers went as if they had bin obseruant Friers: and that when hee came to aske leaue of *Solyman* that hee might depart, he was so courteously vsed of him, that turning himselfe to *Abram* the Bassa, whom hee aboue all men loued, said, Truely I cannot but grieue to see this vnfortunat old man, driuen out of his owne dwelling, to depart hence so heauily.

The Great Master embarking himselfe with his knights and such other as were willing to depart, in vessels and gallies prepared for that purpose, departed out of the Island on Newyeares day at night: and after long and dangerous trauell by sea in that Winter weather, landed at last at Messana in Sicilia, from whence he afterwards sailed into Italie, and so trauelled to Rome where he was honorably receiued by *Adrian* the sixt of that name then Bishop there, a Hollander borne, sometime schoolemaster to *Charles* the fift, and his Vicegerent in Spain; who if he had bin as forward in the short time of his Papacie to haue relieued the Rhodes, as hee was to maintaine *Charles* his quarrell against the French king, it is not vnlike but that famous citie had been relieued, and the Island in possession of the Christians at this day. Thus *Solyman*, whilest the Christian princes were at discord amongst themselues, to his great glory and no lesse griefe of all good Christians, entered the Rhodes the 25 day of December, a day dedicated vnto the natiuitie of our Sauiour Christ, in the yeare 1522, after it had bin by the Knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended against the Infidels by the space of 214 yeares, since the time they by force tooke it from the Infidels in the yeare 1308: and now being so long holden as was possible, against all the power of the Turks, was yeelded vp when it had bin six moneths besieged. At this siege *Solymon* lost a great part of his army, for besides them that were slaine at the assaults, which were many, thirtie thousand died of the flix.

Solyman entreth into the Rhodes on christenmas day, in the yere 1522.

Solyman sendes Ferhates Bassa against Alis-beg the mountaine prince.

Whilest *Solyman* thus lay at the siege of the Rhodes, *Ferhates Bassa* Gouernor of the Marches of the Turkish empire, alongst the riuer of Euphrates, by the commandement of *Solyman* went with a great army against *Alis-Beg*, whom the Turks called *Schach, Suar-Ogli*, that is to say, king *Suar* his son: which *P. Iouius* corrupting, calleth him by the name of *Saxonar-Oglis*. This *Alis* after he had betraied his vncle *Aladeules* the mountaine king, vnto *Sinan Bassa*, was by *Selymus* left chiefe Gouernor of that large and wild country alongst the borders of Armenia and Capadocia, wanting nothing of the honour of a king but the name onely, as is before declared in the life of *Selymus*. *Solyman* jealous of his honour, and fearing lest hee should take vpon him the absolute gouernment of that countrey (which indeed of right belonged vnto him, the children of *Aladeules* the late king, being now all dead) and so to make himselfe king; especially if he should ioine in friendship with the Persian king: after the manner of ambitious men, purposed by any meanes to haue him taken out of the way: and had therefore sent *Ferhates* to ease him of that care. The Bassa without making any shew of hostilitie, marching with his army along the confines of his countrey, as if it had beene but to looke to his charge, when he was come as neere as he could to *Alis*, without mistruft, thought good to assay if he could by policie bring that to passe which he was otherwise with great danger to attempt by force. Wherfore fayning himselfe to be extream sicke, he sent embassadors to *Alis*, requesting him as a friend to vouchsafe to come vnto him being at the point of death, vnto whom he had many things of importance from the great Emperour to impart, and would if he should die, leaue with him all his charge vntill *Solyman* should otherwise dispose thereof.

Alis and his foure sonnes treacherously slaine.

Alis, who from his youth had alwaies honoured the Turkish Emperors and faithfully serued them, mistrusting no harme came to the Bassa, accompanied with his foure sonnes, whom the faithlesse Bassa without regard of infamie; caused presently to be put to death with their father: and so reducing all that country into the manner of a prouince, vnder *Solymans* obeisance, came to him with twentie thousand men, about the time that the citie of the Rhodes was yeelded vp. This is the faithlesse dealing of the Turks, not with the Christians onely, but with them of their owne superstition also: vsing it as no small policie, vtterly to extinguish the nobilitie of all countries subiect to their seruile tyrannie.

Solyman after he had thus subdued the Rhodes, and disposed of the Island as he liked best, returning to Constantinople, brake vp his armie, and for the space of three yeares after followed his pleasure, not doing any thing worthy of remembrance. During which time and many yeres after, the rich and flourishing country of Italie, sometime mistresse of the world, was miserably afflicted and rent in pieces by *Charles* the fift (then Emperor) and *Francis* the French king, the one enuying vnto the other the glorie of the Empire: and he not content therwith, seeking with immoderat ambition to make himselfe lord of all Italie: most of the other Christian princes and states being at the same time either by the one or by the other, drawne into the fellowship of that war, to the great trouble and sore weakning of the Christian commonweale. Whereupon *Solyman* waiting all occasions that might serue for the inlarging of his empire, and annoying of the Christians, thought it now a fit time for him to set his foot into Hungarie, whereinto he had alreadie laied open a way by the taking of Belgrade. He knew right well that *Lewes* then king of Hungarie was but yong, altogether vnacquainted with the wars, commanding ouer his headstrong subiects (especially his rich prelates and nobility) no otherwise than pleased themselues, being himselfe rather by them altogether ouerruled: besides that, he was in good hope, that the other Christian princes neere vnto him, either carried away with regard of their owne estate, would not, or els before vnto himselfe by league fast bound, could not affoord vnto him any great aid or succour: the Germanes hee knew would make small haste vnto such wars as should yeeld them much danger, and but small pay. As for the princes of the house of Austria, *Charles* the Emperor, and *Ferdinand* his brother, although they were ioyned vnto the young king with the neerest bonds of alliance (*Lewis* hauing married *Mary* their yongest sister, and *Ferdinand*, *Anne*, king *Lewis* his sister) yet was there as he thought small helpe to be expected from them; *Charles* hauing his hands full in Italie, and *Ferdinand* altogether careful of himselfe: and that *Sigismund* king of Polonia would for the yong kings sake breake the antient league he had with the Turkish Emperors, he could hardly be perswaded: as for other Christian princes farther off, he stood not in any great doubt. Thus hauing with himselfe singled out this young prince the Hungarian king, whom he had in his greedie mind already deuoured, he set forward from Constantinople, and was come on his way as far as Sophia in Seruia with a mightie armie of two hundred thousand men before that the Hungarians had any knowledge of his comming (so blind and senceless was that state, which now sleeping in securitie, had long before lost those eies which euer watcht, and neuer spared cost or paines to keep the same in safety) in stead of whom were others come in place, sharpe of sight, and too too prouident for that concerned their owne aduancement; but blind as beetles in foreseeing this great and common danger (wherwith they were shortly after all quite ouerwhelmed) vntill it was now brought home vnto their own dores. The yong king of himselfe but weake, by reason of his youthfull yeres, and nothing strengthned by them for whom he had most done, and should haue bin his greatest stay; was wonderfully dismaied with the fame of the approch of so mightie an enemie: yet the better to withstand him, he sent embassadours with all speed vnto the Christian Princes his neighbors, requesting their aid against the common enemy, but all in vaine. In the mean time, after the antient manner of his country he gaue out generall summons for the assembly of his counsell for the warres: whether his great stipendarie prelats (of duty bound to appeare) came with their troupes of euill appointed horsemen, and not halfe full; who also deliuered in lesse summes of money by far, than of right they should haue done, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common warre. And the temporall nobilitie, forgetting the warlike discipline of their famous ancestours, as fresh water soldiers which had seen the Turkish emperor in his strength, & but litle acquainted with some light skirmishes or small inuasions, in their vain brauerie made light account of the Turks; proudly vaunting, That although they were in number but few, yet they would easily ouerthrow the great numbers of them, if euer they came to handie strokes. But aboue al the rest, one *Paulus Tomoreus*, Archbishop of Colossa, sometimes a Minorit, who had before bin in diuers light skirmishes against the Turks, with great insolencie did so confidently brag and boast of the victorie he vainly dreamed of, that in his sermons vnto the souldiers, and in open talke with the nobilitie (if he could haue done so much as he vaunted of) it should seem that he himselfe had been enough to haue ouerthrowne the Turks whole armie.

Solyman returneth to Constantinople.

Solyman vpon the discord of the Christian princes and disordered state of Hungarie, taketh occasion to inuad that kingdome.

1526

Solyman commeth against Lewis king of Hungarie.

The vanitie of Tomoreus.

But when all the kings army was assembled, and a generall muster taken, there was hardly found

found fiue and twentie thousand men in all, horse and foot. So that the foolish hardinesse of *Tomoreus*, and others so forwards to giue the Turks battel, was of most wise men disliked. The old souldiers and men of great experience said plainly, That it was meere folly and madnesse with such a handfull of men to giue battell vnto the enemie, who would bring eight times so many moe into the field as they were. Wherefore some wished, that the yong king should be withdrawn from the eminent danger: among whom *Stephanus Verbetius*, a noble captain, of all the rest best acquainted with the Turkish wars, gaue counsel, that the person of the yong king should for the safety of the common state, whatsoeuer should happen, be kept out of danger in the strong castle of Buda. But the vnruly soldiers with open mouth impugned his wholsome counsell, and said plainly, That except the king himselfe did lead them, they would not at all fight. Of which opinion was also the rash prelat *Tomoreus*, persuading them with all speed to giue the enemie battell, and that the noble yong king vnder the protection of Almighty God should in person himselfe go & giue the signall of battell against his enemies. The king ouer-ruled by this vnlucky counsell, vpon a brauerie without reason set forward with his army, and came to a place called Mohatchz or Mugace, which is a little country village not far from Danubius, almost in the middle between Buda and Belgrade. And now *Balybeus* with 20000 horsemen (the forerunners of the Turkish army) was at hand, at which time the commanders and captaines of the kings armie, entred into counsell, Whether it were better to incamp their armie within their waggons alongst the riuer of Danubius, and so to expect the comming of *Ioannes Sepusius*, countie of Cilia, and Vayuod of Transyluania (who was then said to be comming towards the king with his Transyluanian horsemen, of all other fittest to haue incountered the Turkes, or els to march on forward, and presently to giue them battell? But *Tomoreus*, who now commanded all, knowing that vpon the comming of the Vayuod, hee was to giue place, and himselfe to be commanded (which vnto so proud a man was no small griefe) for the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carrie away the glorie of the victorie he so vainely hoped for, could not abide to heare of any delay; but hasting headlong to his owne destruction, did with such vehemencie impugne the wholsome counsell of others, who would haue expected the comming of the Vayuod, that he by his franticke persuasions, drew on the vnaduised yong king into most apparent and manifest danger. For *Balybeus* diuided his horsemen into foure battels, which by turnes skirmished with the kings armie without intermission, and gaue the Hungarians no leisure to rest either day or night, but continually wheeling about, kept them in so strait, that no man could without great danger go to water his horse at the side of Danubius, which was fast by, or once to stir out of the campe, but were inforced to dig pits for water in places where they lay: with which necessitie *Tomoreus* was enforced to put the armie in order of battell, and there was now no remedie, but he must of necessitie fight for the honor of his prince and country. His battell was ranged all in length, and his horsmen not altogether (as it was thought) vnfitly placed here and there by troups among his footmen; lest the Turks (being in number eight to one) should with their multitude compasse them round, and so inforce them to fight as it were in a ring: for now was *Solyman* come also with all his huge armie. The Hungarian tents defended with a small garrison, were left a little from the armie on the right hand, inclosed round about with wagons, one chained to another: neere vnto the which, *Tomoreus* Generall of this vnluckie battell, had not altogether vndiscreetly placed a troupe of chosen horsemen for defence of the kings person against all vncertain euents of the battel. But this day (vnluckie to the Hungarian name, but vnto the king himselfe most fatal and vnfortunat) ouerthrew that his purpose, deuised too late for the safetie of the kings person: for at the first incounter the Hungarians, although they had receiued no harme by the Turkish artillerie (being mounted too hie, of purpose as it was thought, the gunners being for most part Christians) were easily beaten down and ouerthrowne, oppressed by the multitude of their enemies, especially *Tomoreus* with the rest of the prelats & nobility being almost all slaine together, & the Hungarian horsmen also either slaine or put to flight. All things going thus to wracke, a companie of Turks assailed the camp, which was hardly defended by the weake garrison. Which thing the troupe of the chosen horsmen appointed for defence of the kings person, beholding, could not be staid, but that they would needs help them which defended the camp. The yong king seeing all his armie discomfited, & himself forsaken of the horsmen which he was in hope should haue guarded him, betook himself to flight.

Wholsome counsel not followed

The battell of Mohatchz

Tomoreus slain.

But

But as he was making shift for himselfe, thinking to haue passed ouer a fennie ditch, his horse in plunging out, fell backwards vpon him into the ditch; where being heauie loaden with armour not able to helpe himselfe, hee was in the middest of the filthie ditch in the mud most miserably drowned. Some few horsemen escaped out of the battell, the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. This woful battell neuer sufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miseries of that worthy kingdome, was fought the 29 day of October in the yeare 1526.

King Lewis drowned in a ditch.

Solyman hauing obtained this victorie, marched on directly to Buda, the regall seat of the Hungarian kings, which was deliuered to him with the castle; vpon condition, that he should not violate any man either in person or goods, and at his departure to leaue the same againe vnto the Hungarians: all which things he (according vnto their request) faithfully performed. Being entred into the castle, he wonderfully commended the same, but lodged not therein, because it is by their antient law forbidden the Turkish Emperor to lodge within any walled place which is not his owne. Wherefore he returned and lodged in his campe alongst the riuer of Danubius.

Whilest *Solyman* lay thus at Buda, seuen bloudie heads of the Bishops and greatest of the nobilitie (slaine in the late battell at Mohatchz) were presented to him, all set in order vpon a wodden step: wherat he smiled, to see his courtiers laying their right hands vpon their brests, and bending their bodies as if they had done them great obeisance, to salute them by name, and in derision to welcome them by the names of valiant Popes. But afterwards, when he had more particularly enquired what euery one of them was, it is reported that he most of all detested *Ladislaus Salcanius* the great Bishop of Strigonium, for his miserable couetousnesse, that being a man of infinit wealth, refused to spare part therof vnto his soueraigne, requesting the same at his great need. *Tomoreus* he blamed of inconsiderat rashnesse, for that he being a clergie man, would busie himselfe so far in matters not belonging to his vocation: on the contrary part, he commended *Franciscus Perenus* Bishop of Veradium, a man honorably descended, for his wise counsell (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported, that he as a true prophet foretelling the common slaughter ensuing, had sharply said in the counsell when such time as *Tomoreus* would needs fight with the Turks, & was not by any means to bee remoued from that his fatall opinion, That he did foresee what that their Frier-like Generall would the next day doe; and that he would with so great an enterprise effect no more, but to make one holiday the more in the Christian kalenders, in remembrance of 30000 Hungarian martyrs, most miserably slaine of the Turkes in an vnequall battell, for defence of the Christian faith and religion (for at that time, they which willingly exposed themselues to death in defence of the Christian faith, were all accounted for martyrs:) *Georgius Sepusius* and the others, he called rash fooles, that would aduenture with so small strength to incounter so strong an enemy. At such time as the counterfeits of king *Lewis* and *Mary* his wife were shewed vnto him, he honorably said, That he was sorrie for the yong king, that it was his euill hap to haue so vnaduised counsellors in a matter of so great importance, as to perswade him against all reason to fight at so great disaduantage: & that he came not into Hungarie to take his kingdome from him, but only to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by the Hungarians: and that if he had escaped the danger of the battell, he would assuredly haue againe restored vnto him the kingdome of Hungarie, contenting himselfe with some small tribute: and that it should haue bin vnto him honor enough to haue saued the nephew of *Sigismund* king of Polonia his confederat, so strongly allied with the honorable house of Austria. Al which he commanded to be told to *Marie* the Queene, who was for feare fled from Buda to Possonium. Which might perhaps all seeme to haue bin either dissemblingly spoken, or falsly reported of the equitie and courtesie of the barbarous king, if he had not shortly afterwards to the ample declaration of his bountie and liberalitie, without any desert, giuen the same kingdom of Hungar to *Ioannes Sepusius*, not borne of any royall bloud, and then retaining the mind of a very enemie. After that, he took away three goodly images of brasse of antient workemanship, which were placed in the entrance into the kings pallace, by that renowned king *Mathias Coruinus* the great fauourer of rare qualities and vertues: these images represented the formes of *Hercules* with his club, of *Appollo* with his harpe, and *Diana* with her bow and quiuer: all which hee placed in the tilt-yard at Constantinople, as a trophie of the Hungarian victorie. Howbeit these images were since taken downe by the persuasion of the Mufti, and molten (as contrary to

The lead of fiue christian bishops and captaines presented to Solyman.

The Bishop of Veradium too true a prophet.

The honourable speech of Solyman concerning his comming into Hungarie.

to their superstition) and great ordnance made of them. He carried also away with him three pieces of artillerie of most excellent and curious workmanship; and certain brasen pillars of chamfred worke, which supported the Chapiters of the gates. He taried at Buda about twentie daies: in which time to satisfie the cruell nature and greedie desires of his souldiers, hee sent out diuers troupes of horsemen into the countrie thereabout, by whom all the countrey betwixt Rab and the riuer of Tibyscus was by that sudden and vnexpected incursion so destroied, that it is reported that aboue an hundred and fiftie thousand people of all sorts were either slaine or led away into most miserable captiuitie. All which done, he returned againe by the same way he came, to Constantinople.

Ioannes Sepusius, Vayuod of Transiuania, aspireth to the kingdome of Hungarie.

About the same time *Ioannes Sepusius* Vayuod of Transyluania, with a great power came now too late into Hungarie to haue aided the king: but glad, as was thought, of his death, as tending to his owne aduancement; forasmuch as he was now (the king beeing dead without issue) a man of greatest account among the nobilitie of Hungarie. Wherefore as one of deep and reaching wit, and in great hope to obtaine the kingdome, hee began cunningly to labour diuers of the noblemen one by one, and instantly to request them, that at the next parliament they would not betray the honour of their countrey, in suffering the royall dignitie of that antient kingdome to be transferred vnto a stranger, of such a nation as happily loued them not: for why, the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they had receiued in former times, in chusing forreine kings and strangers to rule ouer them, and in following their vnfortunat ensignes against the Turks; which thing the wofull miseries of times past might notably prooue: which either *Sigismundus* of Bohemia, or *Ladislaus* the first, of Polonia, by their vnfortunat battels, once at Nicopolis, againe at Culumbarium, and last of all at Varna, had brought vnto the Hungarians. But to speake, nay once to remember the harmes receiued by the long cowardise of *Ladislaus*, or this late rashnesse of his sonne King *Lewis*, would make any noble minde to blush and be ashamed: vnder whose gouernment all militarie discipline, and the glory of Hungary, might well be thought to be vtterly lost. And he said there remained of the nobilitie of Hungarie, men honourably descended of most antient houses, worthie of the kingdome, which bare noble mindes, and were of sufficient courage, discretion, and power, in this time of common heauinesse to restore the honor of the estate, and worthily to defend the kingdome: amongst whom (said he) I would not be accounted so base minded, or heauie headed (although there bee many which for the honour of their houses and wealth may seeme to goe before me) that I will therefore confesse, that any of them is for valour, prowesse, or fortune, better than my selfe, either for conducting of an army, or gouernment of a kingdome: for I shall be a king of courage and valour sufficient, if by your fauourable good will I shall be thought worthie of your consent and sufferages. The Vayuod taking this course, by his earnest sute and labor had won the good wils of many; and so much the easier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greatest nobilitie among the Hungarians) was a little before gone into Bohemia vnto king *Ferdinand*, who was then greatly busied (by reason of a parliament there summoned) in procuring the fauour of the nobilitie and commons of that Realme, against the time of the parliament, wherein he was in good hope to bee chosen king; as he was in short time after.

At the same time the Hungarians were with great solemnitie celebrating the funerall of their late king; whose dead bodie after the departure of *Solyman* from Buda, was found whole by the demonstration of one *Cotriscus* one of the squires of his bodie, who was present when he was drowned; and so was brought out of the fens of Mohatchz to Alba Regalis, where it was with great pompe buried amongst the sepulchres of the other kings of Hungary his predecessours. Which solemne funerall once ended, the generall militarie parliament (by the authoritie and voice whereof the kings of Hungarie were by their antient lawes and customes to be chosen) was called: in the shutting vp whereof, *Iohn* the Vayuod hauing in that common heauinesse no competitor, nor any of the greatest nobilitie which durst stand against him, was with the great applause and consent of all there present chosen king. To whom forthwith *Petrus Perennus* came and presented the antient crowne of the kingdome of Hungarie, which was in his keeping, made after an homely fashon of pure gold, with which the lawfull kings of Hungary vsed alwaies to bee solemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the crowne of *Stephanus* first King of Hungarie, and was by an antient custome alwayes kept in the Castle of

King Lewis buried.

A of Vicegrade. And so *Iohn* the Vayuod was orderly crowned, and consecrated by the hands of *Paulus* Bishop of Strigonium, lately chosen in stead of *Ladislaus Salcanius*, slaine in the battel at Mugace, & by the hands of *Stephanus Brodaricus* Bishop of Vacia, whom he chose for his Secretarie. And vnto *Americus Cibachus* he gaue the honour of the Vayuod of Transyluania, being but a little before chosen Bishop of Veradium. In his preferment, he was greatly holpen vnto the kingdome by the nobilitie which followed him out of Transyluania, men of great

Iohn Sepusius the Vayuod chosen and crowned king of Hungarie.

B account both in peace and warre: amongst whom descended of the Hungarian bloud, were chiefe, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Antandrus*, *Gregorius Peschenius*, *Nicholaus Glessa*, and *Ianus Docia*. But whilest this new king is in this sort busied in rewarding his friends, and strengthening himselfe in his kingdome, he was aduertised that *Ferdinand* his competitor of the Hungarian kingdome was chosen king of Bohemia: who out of the old controuersie betwixt *Mathias Coruinus* and *Fredericus* the Emperors great grandfather, alleadged great claime vnto that kingdome, deriued from the time of *Ladislaus*, who was reported to haue beene poisoned at the time of the solemnization of his marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius Pogibracius*; who affecting the kingdome of Bohemia, shortly after obtained the same. And now it seemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the kingdome

Ferdinand king of Bohemia layeth claime to the kingdome of Hungarie.

C of Bohemia, and strengthened with the power of his brother *Charles* the Emperour, not forgetting his right, might vpon good ground lay claime vnto the kingdome of Hungarie, vnto him (as hee pretended) of right belonging euer since the time of *Albertus* the Emperour. Neither did *Ferdinand* beside the strength of Austria and Bohemia, want the furtherance of diuers of the princes of Hungarie: hauing in his court many of vnquiet spirit, halfe fugitiues, desirous of change, which enuied at the Vayuods royall preferment (as if it had beene taken from themselues, more worthie thereof than he) by the rash and tumultuous fauor of the vulgar people. For besides *Bator*, who in most mens iudgement might most worthily haue required and obtained the kingdome, there were others also almost of like nobilitie and valour, as *Valentinus Turaccus*, *Stephanus Maylatus*, *Ianus Scala*, *Gasper Seredius*, *Baltasor Pamphilus*, and *Fe-*

D *rentius Gnarius*; to whom also was ioyned *Paulus Bachitius* borne in Seruia, a valiant Gentleman, who being entered into the Mahometan religion, to auoid the Turkish slauerie, got away vnto the Christians, and hardly escaped from the battell of Mohatchz. By the perswasion of these noblemen, *Ferdinand* of his owne disposition readie enough to claime his right, especially a kingdome, and trusting vnto his strength in Austria, Bohemia, Rhetia, Stiria, and Carynthia, marched directly towards Buda. With whose comming, *Iohn* the new king being wonderfully troubled, as a man beset with want of all things, hauing neither sufficient strength whereupon to rest in his new got kingdome, neither any great assurance of the fidelitie of his subiects, like enough either for feare, or of their naturall inconstancie, to fall from him, determined not to abide the comming of his enemie to Buda: but exhorting his captaines to follow him, although he were glad to depart and giue place to his euill fortune for a time, with such power as he had brought with him out of Transyluania, & such other as he could otherwise leuie, he passed ouer the riuer to Pestum: and not daring any where thereabouts to rest,

E by long marches passed ouer the riuer Tibiscus, and there incamped at Tocai, which was a strong castle vpon the further side of the riuer. His departure being knowne, *Ferdinand* marching on, obtained Buda without resistance: where he staied a while, and consulted with his captaines, Whether he should pursue his flying enemie, or not. But it was quickly resolued, That the discouraged enemie was to be speedily pursued, before hee should gather greater strength, or enter into greater policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed al his armie vnto the nobilitie of Hungarie, his friends, whom we haue before named; who marching with all speed possible, came to the riuer Tibiscus: where passing ouer vpon a bridge made of boats which they brought with them in waggons for that purpose, they came with ensignes displayed vnto the castle of Tocai, where the king lay with his armie in order of battell. But terrified

King Ferdinand taketh Buda.

F with the sudden comming of his enemies, and debating with his captaines of the greatnesse of the danger, tooke a course vnto himselfe rather safe than honourable: for his captaines desiring nothing more than to ioine battell, and in manner contemning their enemies, perswaded him to withdraw himselfe a little out of the battell, and to keepe him out of danger; and if things fel out otherwise than wel, to reserue himself vnto his better fortunes: as for themlues they would most resolutely fight against those traiterous fugitiues, forasmuch as it were great dishonour

dishonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike people by nature, to refuse battell being offered by the enemie. Amongst the chieftaines of the kings armie, *Ferentius Budo* an old captain of great experience and courage was chiefe, to whom the King deliuered his Ensigne with his own hands, and he with great skill ordered his battell, for the number of his soldiers: he himselfe stood in the maine battell with the Hungarians, placing the Transyluanians in the wings. In *Ferdinands* armie, *Valentinus Turaccus* led the maine battell with the Hungarians, vnder *Ferdinands* Ensigne; strengthned on the one side with troupes of horsemen out of Styria, and on the other, with the horsemen of Austria. But *Paulus Bachitius* (according to the manner of the Turkish wars, wherewith he was well acquainted) with a companie of light horsemen lay close in ambush in a conuenient place for that purpose, a good distance off, against the left wing of the enemies armie, readie as occasion should serue, to take his most aduantage. It was not greatly needfull for the captaines to vse any persuasions to encourage their souldiers, readie enough of themselues to fight. The great ordnance once discharged, the armies came fast on and ioyned battell, where the wings of both battels fought with diuers fortune. The Styrian horsemen were not able to endure the force of the Transyluanians, but were put to the worse. And on the other side, the left wing of *Bodo* his armie, consisting for most part of raw and vnexpert soldiers, was by the horsemen of Austria ouerthrown. At the same time both the main battels (being almost all Hungarians) fought with equall courage, and that so eagerly, as seldome had bin seene a more fierce or cruell battell. But by a fresh charge giuen by *Ferdinands* horsemen, who had now put to flight the right wing of *Bodo* his battell, all *Bodo* his army fighting most valiantly, was disordred and put to flight: *Bodo* the General laboring to restore the battell, and to saue the ensigne to him before by the King deliuered, was by the comming in of *Paulus Bachitius* with his light horsemen taken. The other captaines seeing all lost, and past hope of recouerie, betooke themselues to flight: all the Kings Artillerie and Ensignes were taken by the enemie. The king seeing the ouerthrow of his armie, for safegard of his life fled into Polonia. *Ferdinands* captaines following the course of the victorie, entred into Transyluania; where the people yeelding themselues at the first, all the whole prouince submitted it selfe vnto the authoritie of *Ferdinand*. *Bodo* and the rest of the noblemen that were taken prisoners, with the ensignes taken from the enemies, were sent to *Ferdinand*. But when *Bodo* hauing his liberty promised, could not be perswaded to renounce his oath giuen to king *Iohn*, and to beare armes against him, he was by *Ferdinand* his commandement cast into a darke dungeon, where shortly after consumed with sorrow and griefe, he miserably ended his life.

The battell of Tocai, betweene the armies of King Iohn and king Ferdinand.

King Iohn flies into Polonia.

Ferdinand crowned king of Hungarie at Alba Regalis.

Shortly after, *Ferdinand* (the Hungarians generally submitting themselues vnto him) was by their common consent saluted King, and crowned with the same old Crowne wherewith King *Iohn* had bin crowned, which the same *Perenus* (a man of little constancie) brought vnto him; and with him was also crowned *Anne* his wife, the only sister of the late king *Lewis*. All which solemne ceremonies were celebrated at Alba Regalis, the vsuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian kings. *Ferdinand* by rare felicitie thus possessed of two kingdomes, whereunto he was not borne, returned into Bohemia, and left his deputies for the gouernement of the kingdome of Hungarie: these were *Stephanus Bator*, whom he appointed viceroy, with whom he ioyned *Paulus* Bishop of Strigonium, who had also reuolted from king *Iohn*; and made *Berethsaxtus* Secretarie, and *Alexius Tursonus* a Morauian, Treasurer.

King *Iohn* thus miserably distressed, and thrust out of his kingdome by *Ferdinand*, fled to *Hieronimus Lascus*, a man for his honorable discent and learned vertue, of great fame and reputation amongst the Polonians: who glad of so honorable a gueſt, was more careful of nothing, than with all possible kindenesse and curtesie how to comfort him, wrapt vp in so many calamities with the losse of his kingdome: he frankely promised vnto him all his owne wealth (which was not small) for the recouerie of his former estate; and that which more was, for the reuiuing of his former felicitie, the vttermost of his wit and deuice, which in the compassing of all great matters was accounted wonderfull. That bountifull entertainment of this poore king by *Lascus*, was not altogether vnpleasant to *Sigismund* K. of Polonia, although (because he would not offend *Ferdinand*, with whom he was ioyned in friendship and alyance) he seemed to most men plainly to forget himselfe, in shewing so small kindnesse vnto K. *Iohn*, whose sister *Barbara* he had somtime married: which was the cause that *Lascus* forgot no point of curtesie in entertaining his gueſt, and yet the credit of *Sigismund* with king *Ferdinand* not toucht. But when

when they had spent almost a month in consultation & debating of matters too and fro, *Lascus* accustomed with his deep wit sharply to reason, and aduisedly to determine of most weighty causes, at last rested vpon this one point, That ready helpe in so hard and desperat a case was only to be hoped for of the Turkish Emperor *Solyman*: being of opinion, that he being a most mightie prince and of an honorable disposition, answerable to his greatnesse, would not reiect the humble praiers of an oppressed and exiled king: especially, if that being by his mercie and power restored, he could be content for so great a benefit to hold his kingdome, as of the bountie of the *Othoman* kings. For *Lascus* saw that *Solyman* (so great and proud an Emperour) was not so desirous of kingdomes (whereof he had so many as could not easily be reckoned, then commanding ouer a great part of the world) as of glory and renowne, wherewith he vnderstood him to be wonderfully delighted aboue all other kings of the East, naturally carried away with that windie vanitie. This counsell (as in effect it proued) was vnto king *Iohn* wholesome and reasonable, if a man do but respect the poore estate of a king, so greatly wronging in exile, but respecting the Christian common weale, it was vndoubtedly most dangerous and lamentable, for one mans particular profit to bring the whole state into most dreadfull and horrible danger: but the sicke minds of worldly men, liuing in small hope of doing wel, & at the point of desparation, refuse no worldy remedies, be they neuer so doubtfull or dangerous. And not long after, vpon this resolution with the king, *Lascus* desirous by noble actions to encrease the honor of his name, tooke the matter vpon him, and went as embassadour from the exiled king to *Solyman* to Constantinople. The report was, that *Sigismund* did not only not stay him, but secretly gaue him his safe cõduct with letters of credence, wherin he commended him vnto the Bassaes & other great men in *Solymans* court, descended of the Polonian bloud, as his faithfull and louing subiect sent thither vpon an extraordinary and speciall embassage. *Lascus* as soon as he was come to Constantinople, with wonderful dexteritie had in short time won the fauor, not of the Bassaes only, but of the other courtiers also; presenting them with such gifts as might for the fineneſse and rareneſse thereof, rather than for the value (as he thought) be most acceptable and pleasing to their wiues: for amongst that barbarous and corrupted people nothing is better welcome than gifts, whether they proceed of simple good will, or other respect, is no great difference. Amongst the great Bassaes at that time of greatest power and authoritie, was *Lusicheius*, or rather *Lutzis*, who had married *Solymans* sister; and *Abraham* borne at Parga, a base village in Acarnania, brought vp in the court from his childhood with *Solyman*: he was then visier or chiefe of the Bassaes, and keeper of the Emperors seale, and was by his office to subscribe all such grants or letters as passed from the Emperor: by which his great place, and the speciall fauor he had with *Solyman*, he in magnificence, power, & authoritie, far exceeded all the rest of the Bassaes, doing whatsoeuer pleased himselfe; & that with such soueraignrie and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly said, he was the commander of his thoughts. *Lascus* thus insinuated into the court, and oftentimes talking with the Bassaes without an interpretor, for that he could wel speake the Sclauonian tongue (the familiar speech of the Turkish courtiers) earnestly solicited the kings cause, wonderfully commending him: for at his first comming, after he had saluted *Solyman*, & was about to haue declared the cause of his comming, he was after the manner of the Turkish court referred to the Bassaes: for *Solyman* vsed not to admit any Christian to talk with him in his court. *Lascus* requested of *Solyman*, by the Bassaes, That king *Iohn* wrongfully thrust out of his kingdom by *Ferdinand* duke of Austria, & the treason of certain of the Hungarians, might by the Turkish power be again restored vnto the kingdom of Hungary, which he would hold by homage of the Turkish Emperor, as of right belonging vnto him, since the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand reuenging his wrongs & subduing his enemies, had by law of arms (fortune so iudging) gained the same. Promising that king *Iohn*, who for his worthines was by the generall good liking of the Hungarians lawfully chosen to be their king, and so after the antient maner of that kingdom crowned, if he were now receiued into *Solymans* protection, & by him restored, should neuer forget so great a benefit, but alwaies most faithfully and thankfully to honor the maiestie of *Solyman*, paying him such yerely tribute as it should please him to impose, and to make it knowne to all men, that he was his vassall. Which thing if it would please him to grant, it should be no lesse honor & glory to *Solyman* himself, than profitable and comfortable vnto the distressed king. For beside, that heroical kings are compared vnto gods, rather

Lascus counselleth king Iohn to craue aid of Solyman.

Lascus goeth Embassador for king Iohn to Solyman.

Abraham Bassa.

Lascus his request of Solyman in the behalfe of K. Iohn

rather for giuing than receiuing: it was easie to be seen, how greatly it did concerne the profit of the *Othoman* kings to bee neighboured with a weake and tributarie king, rather than with *Ferdinand*, a prince of great power, lately chosen king of Bohemia, supported by the strength of his brother *Charles* the Emperor, commanding ouer the warlike nation of the Germanes, which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continuall heauie warre vpon his borders, and the safe enioying of a most assured peace. Beside that, it concerned the Turks to beware, that such things as they had got by the sword, they should also by the sword defend; & not to suffer any one to grow greater than the rest in riches and power. For it might so fall out, that *Charles*, growne to be a prince of mightie power, might draw the rest of the Christian princes to ioine with him in the common cause of the Christian religion, & in that quarrell, as the Christian kings of Europe had in former time done, with vnited forces to seeke to recouer againe what they had before lost; whose force it would bee hard to withstand. These things being sharply deliuered, & by the Bassaes againe reported to *Solyman*, who standing at a secret window, had before heard them as they were by *Lascus* to the Bassaes declared; it was no great labor to perswade the Turkish Emperour, of himselfe desirous of glory and soueraignetie, againe to vndertake the Hungarian war, and to grant king *Iohn* his request, promising according to the successe of the victorie, to giue him that he desired, so that he would faithfully performe what he had promised, and not shew himselfe therefore vnthankfull.

Solyman granteth Lascus his request.

In the meane time, *Ferdinand* vpon great reason thinking it necessarie by all means possible to confirme himselfe in possession of the kingdome of Hungarie: and fearing no force but the Turks, determined to proue *Solymans* disposition, and to seeke for his friendship; hoping by reasonable meanes to compasse it, by shewing vnto the barbarous prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of iustice) his antient title and claime, and that hee was by the antient lawes of the countrie right heire thereof: thinking that *Solyman* hauing obtained so many victories, and ruling ouer so many kingdomes, would now at length giue himselfe to peace, as a man contented with his glorie already gotten. His desire was, to be receiued into his friendship, and to ioine with him in league vpon the same conditions which *Ladislaus* and his son *Lewis* had for certain yeares before obtained of the *Othoman* kings, and *Sigismund* king of Polonia then also with like quietnesse inioied. Wherfore hauing found out a fit man, whom he might send vpon this embassage to Constantinople (one *Iohannes Oberdanscus*, a Hungarian) he furnished him accordingly, and gaue him gifts, such as hee thought good to bestow vpon the great Bassaes. But when *Oberdanscus* was come vnto Constantinople, he found *Solyman* harder to bee intreated than hee had before hoped, and the Bassaes altogether vnwilling to heare of any league: for although he was courteously receiued of *Solyman*, and most patiently heard, whilest he both eloquently and discreetly before the great Bassaes, deliuered his embassage; yet in the shutting vp of all, he receiued no more but a proud and insolent answer: for *Solyman* said, it was far from the manner of his ancestors, to receiue them into grace and fauor which had done iniurie vnto the *Othoman* name: wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to inuade another mans kingdome, and to thinke to hold it to himselfe: forasmuch as his old title and claime which he stood so much vpon, was altogether extinguished and lost by law of armes, by his late victorie against king *Lewis*; for which causes he adiudged him vnworthie of his friendship and fauor, purposing sharply to reuenge the wrong he had receiued; and proclaiming war, to come againe into Hungarie with such a power as should be sufficient to inuade *Ferdinand* either in Austria or Germanie. Wherfore in stead of friendship and league he denounced vnto him all the calamities of war: and so commanded the embassadour with speed to depart from Constantinople. But *Oberdanscus* when hee was come backe againe as farre as Vienna, and had there told the kings lieutenants, of the threatning words of *Solyman*, and that he would shortly come thither with his armie, he was not of any of them beleeued, but reputed for a vaine man. Wherefore to shun the hatred of them which mistooke truth for falshood, hee made hast to come vnto *Ferdinand*, who was then at Spires, labouring for voices to further his suit, for that at the next assemblie of the states of the empire, which was then at hand for the coronation of his brother *Charles*, he himselfe as he well hoped, was to be chosen King of the Romanes. The newes brought by *Oberdanscus*, did not a little trouble King *Ferdinand*, foreseeing as it were what would happen: for that the Turkish tyrant vsed not lightly to breake such promises, but to performe them to the vttermost: and that more

Ferdinand sendeth an embassador to Solyman.

Solymans answer to Ferdinands embassadour.

encreased

increased his care, he knew he should come in euill time to craue help of the Germans, for the defence of his kingdome in Hungarie against so mightie an enemie, especially his brother *Charles* the Emperour being busied in his wars in Italie, and he himselfe wanting money the only means to raise an armie to withstand the Turke. The Spring now come, and all things fresh and greene, *Solyman* altering nothing of his former determination, hauing leuied an army of an hundred and fifteene thousand men, set forward from Hadrianople, his Europeian horsmen going before him conducted by *Abraham* the great Bassa, and *Achomates Michael-Ogli*, Generall of the Acanzij or voluntarie horsemen: and his Asian souldiers led by *Becrambeius Bassa* following after him: he himselfe with his Ianizaries and souldiers of the court keeping in the middle. And marching on in this sort, came in fifteene daies to Belgrade, where King *Iohn* accompanied with *Lascus* and such of the Hungarian nobilitie as tooke his part, came vnto him, of purpose to make himselfe knowne vnto him which was to protect him; and doing him all the honour he possibly could, to request him to proceed to reuenge his quarrell. *Solyman* with graue and yet friendly countenance, raising himselfe a little from the cushion whereon he sat, gaue him his right hand, protesting, That nothing could happen vnto him better, or that he more desired of God, than to be able to relieue distressed Princes, especially such as were wrongfully oppressed by his enemies: wherfore he willed him to be of good comfort, promising of his bountie frankly to bestow vpon him whatsoeuer he should in that war win with the sword from the enemie. King *Iohn* obtained this rare fauor of *Solyman* by the earnest mediation of *Abraham* the commanding Bassa; whom he had before at Constantinople by his embassador *Lascus* so woon with gifts and requests, that he thorowly tooke vpon him the defence of the kings cause: wherein *Lascus* was especially holpen by *Aloysius Grittus* the Duke of Venice his son, who then followed the Turks campe, and was for his fathers sake and the great sufficiencie hee held himselfe, had in great reputation amongst the Turks; and in such fauor with *Abraham*, who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could perswade him to any thing he would. For this *Aloysius Grittus*, borne and brought vp in Constantinople, and wonderfull eloquent in the Turkish tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himselfe, and the great port he kept in his house, so thorowly possessed *Abraham* (that all commanded) that he would many times bring *Solyman* himselfe ouer the hauen to Pera, to solace himselfe in *Grittus* his pleasant gardens and banquetting houses, which he had there most sumptuously made after the Italian manner: whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chiefe man in receiuing of the Turks' customes.

1529

Solyman commeth into Hungarie with a great armie.

King Iohn commeth to Solyman at Belgrade.

The fame of *Solymans* comming directly from Belgrade to Buda, so terrified the citizens of Buda, that they almost all forsooke the citie and fled vnto other places further off, some to Strigonium, some to Alba Regalis, some to Possonium: so that at his first comming he entered the citie (almost desolate) without any resistance: the castle holden by a garrison of Germans, he commanded to bee besieged. The captaine of the castle was one *Thomas Nadastus*, a man of great account among the Hungarians, both for the honor of his house, & his qualities answerable to the same, graced with singular learning: he perceiuing his soldiers dismaied with the sight of so great an armie, and willing to surrender vp the castle; as beseemed a valiant captaine, forbad his souldiers to haue any talke with the enemie, commanded the great artillerie to be bent and discharged vpon the Turks: and seeing his souldiers slacke and timorous, reproued them of cowardise and treason, threatning them with shamefull death if they did not hold out the siege to the vttermost, & shew themselues valiant men, both for the honor of their country, & of king *Ferdinand* whose pay they receiued, & of whose bounty they were to expect rewards and preferments answerable to their deserts. But they misdoubting by the running too & fro of the Turks, that the castle was vndermined; & smelling, or at leastwise imagining themselues to smell the sent of the gunpouder, which they supposed to be in the mine, & doubting to be presently blown vp; were struck with such a sudden feare, that neither the fear of future punishment, neither the shame of so foule a fact, nor the reuerence of so worthy a captain could stay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliuer vp the castle: which when they could by no means perswade the resolute captain to consent to, but that he stil with stern countenance exclaimed against their cowardise and treason, they laied hands on him, & bound him hand & foot, & so presently concluded with the enemy to yeeld to him the castle, so that they might in safety depart thence with bag & baggage: which their

Solyman entereth Buda without resistance, and beseeged the castle.

request

request *Solyman* granted. But when the garrison soldiers (in number about 700) were about to depart with their baggage towards Possonium, as was before agreed: and the Ianizaries coming into the castle, hauing loosed the captaine, were about to let him goe: also *Solyman* aduertised of the trecherie of the garrison souldiers, and of the fidelity of the captaine, changing his mind, iudged such villanous minded men vnworthy of his mercy, & in detestation of their perfidious dealing with their captaine, gaue them all to his Ianizaries to bee slaine: but to the captaine himselfe he offered honorable entertainment, which when he refused, *Solyman* courteously sent him away; holpen therein by the commendation of king *Iohn*, although his sister was married to *Stephanus Maylat* his deadly enemie. Which bloudie execution done by the commandement of the bloudie tyrant, the Turks said was not only lawfully done, but also to the immortall glorie of his name in the execution of iustice: which might peradventure seem reasonable, if the perpetuall hatred of that most barbarous nation against the Christians gaue not iust occasion of suspect, that it proceeded rather of their antient malice, than of any regard of iustice. For why should the Germans, who had offended to his great good, and therefore obtained his safe conduct, be thought worthy of so cruell death: when as *Solyman* himselfe in punishing the periurie of another, ran into wilfull periurie himselfe, peruerting the commendation of iustice which he so much desired, by his most bloudie and vniust sentence.

Solyman contrarie to his promise causeth the garrison souldiers after they had deliuered the castle, to bee slaine.

Buda the chiefe citie of Hungarie thus taken by *Solyman*, he resolued forthwith to besiege Vienna the chiefe citie of Austria: in good hope, that by the carriage away of that, the other cities of lesse strength both of Hungarie and Austria would without any resistance be yeelded vnto him. Wherefore he sent before him *Achomates* with the voluntarie horsemen, who according to the manner of the Turkish wars, running thorow the heart of Hungarie, & entring with fire and sword into Austria, passed by Vienna, miserably burning and destroying the country before him as far as Lyntz. The poore people not knowing where to hide themselues from the fury of their enemies, nor of whom to craue helpe, fled as men and women dismaid, carrying with them their beloued children, the vnfortunat pledges of their loue, and what els they could, as things saued out of the midst of the fire. For whatsoeuer fell into the enemies hand, was lost without recure: the old men were slain, the yong men led away into captiuitie, women rauished before their husbands faces, and afterwards slain with their children, young infants were ript out of their mothers wombs, and others taken from their brests were cut in pieces, or else thrust vpon sharpe stakes, yeelding vp againe that breath which they had but a little before receiued, with many other incredible cruelties, which were then by the mercilesse enemie committed. *Solyman* himselfe shortly after followed these forerunners, and setting forward with all his armie from Buda towards Vienna, by the way tooke the castle of Altenbourg, whether by force or composition, is diuersly reported: of the garrison souldiers there placed by king *Ferdinand*, he reserued 300 Bohemians, whom he commanded to follow his campe. He also assaulted the little city of Neapolis seuen times in one day, and was as often repulsed: but being loath to spend any longer time about a towne of so small importance he forsook that, & held on his way to Vienna, whither he came about the six & twentie day of September, and incamped in fiue places round about the citie, with such a world of people, that vnto them which viewed his campe from the highest tower in Vienna, it seemed that the ground was for the space of eight miles all couered with the multitude of his tents and people. King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his embassadour *Oberdanscus* receiued the hard answere from *Solyman*, alwaies stood in doubt of his comming; and beside his owne forces (which were not great to oppose against so mightie an enemie) craued aide of the Christian Princes his neighbours, especially of the Princes of the Empire: Who granting him aide against the common enemie, appointed *Fredericke* Countie Palatine of Rhene and Duke of Bauaria, Generall of their forces. But whilest the Germaines after their manner, slowly set forward, and made lesse hast than the greatnesse of the present danger required; *Solyman* comming in the meane time, had so belaied the Citie, that it was not possible for the Duke *Fredericke* by any means to get into it, but was glad to stay with his armie at Chremse about twelue miles from Vienna. A few daies before by good hap, vpon the report of the losse of Buda, twentie thousand soldiers horsemen and footmen out of diuers countries, were in good time come to Vienna: Amongst these, the chiefe Commaunders was *Philip* the Paulsgraue, Duke *Frederickes* nephew (a young Gentleman of great courage and hope, sent

Austria spoiled by the Turks.

Altenburge taken.

Solyman commeth to Vienna

A sent thither but a little before with a few companies of horsemen and footmen by *Fredericke* his vncle, who was comming after with a greater power himselfe, but was now shut out of the city by *Solyman*) *Nicholaus* countie of Salma, the L. *William Rogendorff*, steward of the Kings houshold, *Ioannes Cazzianer*, a noble man of Croatia, and afterwards Gouernor of Vienna: and next vnto them, *Nicholaus Turrianus*, *Ioannes Hardecus*, *Leonardus Velsius*, *Hector Ramsack*, men both for their birth and valour of great account amongst the Germans. The citie of Vienna as it was of some good strength toward the North, by reason of Danubius, so in other places it was at that time neither by art nor nature strong. The ditches, such as they were, were altogether drie, and easie to be passed ouer: the wals of bricke, built round without any flankers, and neither high nor thicke, but after the antient simple manner of fortification of cities: for

Vienna badly fortified.

B before that time neither had king *Ferdinand*, fearing no enemie, neither they of Vienna, who had not of many yeares seene an enemie, had any care to fortifie the citie: but as men altogether buried in securitie, and nothing fearing the comming of so mightie an enemie (although they were therof before admonished by *Oberdanscus*) had not so much as cast vp any rampire or bulwarke, more than at the gate of Carinthia, wheron they might conueniently place their great ordnance: so that of 100 great pieces, and 300 others of lesse charge, which might haue wonderfully annoyed the enemie, a great part serued to no vse, for want of conuenient place to mount them vpon. Yet as the sudden comming of the enemie, and the shortnesse of the time gaue leaue, such bulwarkes as they could vpon the sudden, they cast vp, and planted their ordnance thereon. The citie was diuided into diuers quarters, and to euery part a strong

C garrison appointed for the defence thereof, all the gates of the citie were mured vp, except such as were of purpose reserued to sallie out at. Now had *Abraham* the great Bassa encamped himselfe vpon a high hil, where stood a ruinous castle, from whence he might ouerlooke all the citie; yet so, as that he lay out of the danger of gun shot. *Becrambeius*, *Solymans* great commander in Asia, lay at the gate called Purgatoria, neere the church of S. *Vlderich*. In the third campe towards the rising of the hils, lay *Michael-Ogli*, towards the church of S. *Vitus*. At the Scottish gate toward Danubius, lay the Aspi, with diuers companies of the Ianizaries; which with shot out of their trenches, suffred no man to appeare vpon the wals in that quarter without most manifest danger, and poured such showers of arrowes ouer the wals into the citie, as if they had fallen out of the clouds; that hardly could any man stir in the citie vnarmed, but

D hee was forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himselfe lay neere vnto S. *Markes* church, compassed about with the Ianizaries and other souldiers of the court, defended also with the brick wals of the gardens thereabouts. Whilest the Turks were thus incamping themselues, the Christian defendants oftentimes fortunatly sallied out vpon them, and slew many of them. In one of which sallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant captaine, with certain old soldiers of the Spaniards was slain, fighting most valiantly at the gates of the castle: and in another skirmish *Christophorus Zetlitz* a man of great courage, sallying out of the city with 500 horsemen, euen vnto the enemies trenches, was intercepted and taken with six others of his company; who were all compelled by the Turks to carrie so many heads of their slain fellowes vpon poles, and so presented vnto *Solyman*: of whom he inquired many things as wel concerning *Ferdinand* himselfe, and where he was, as concerning the princes which had the charge of the city, whether

E they were in hope to defend the same against his mightie power or not. Whereunto *Christophorus* aptly and wisely answered, although not altogether so truly, That king *Ferdinand* lay not far off at the citie of Lintz, expecting the assembly of a great armie: and that the princes of Germanie, Bohemia, Morauia, and of diuers other places were comming vnto him, with great aid; so that if he would but stay a little vntill his forces were come together, he should then see whether of them were of greater strength and power: forasmuch as it would not be long before the king would come and giue him battell: as for the princes in the citie, he said he knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the souldiers from the highest to the lowest, had solemnly sworne to defend the citie, and not to giue it ouer, vnto the last man,

F reposing their hope not in the wals and fortresses thereof, but in their weapons and valor, being men of great resolution, and not easily to be vanquished or discouraged. With which answer although *Solyman* was a little moued, yet dissembling his present heat, said, he had hetherto made war against diuers nations, and alwaies had the victorie, whereof he doubted not now also: but as for him, and the others taken with him, they knew they were in his power to

saue

Solymans wisedom in the ouerthrow of his enemies with mercie.

fame or kill at his pleasure: yet to make them know that he could shew mercie vnto his vanquished enemies, he frankely granted them their liues and liberty: charging them, that after C they were again returned into the citie, they should in his name wish the defendants of themselues to yeeld vp the city, which it was impossible for them long to defend against his mightie power, which neither the strong city of Belgrade, nor the famous citie of the Rhodes were able to withstand; and to accept of such reasonable conditions as he should grant vnto them; promising, that amongst other things proceeding of his infinit bountie, he would take order, that they should in safetie depart thence with bag and baggage: in which doing, they should well prouide for the safety of themselues and of their goods by flying vnto his mercy in time, before the fury of the war was growne to further extremitie: all which it would be too late to expect after the victorie, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruell death, murther, and H miserable destruction. Wherefore it were good for them well to consider of the matter, and not foolishly to refuse that was now frankely offered them of mercie, which they should not afterwards obtaine with any prayers or teares: for why, he was resolutely set down (as he said) not to depart thence before he had taken the citie. When he had thus schooled them, he gaue vnto euery one of them three hungarian duckats, & so sent them away. They being receiued into the city with great ioy, made relation vnto the princes and great captains, of all the threatning and proud speeches of the Turkish tyrant: which they tooke in such disdaine, that they would not vouchsafe to returne him any answer. *Solyman* not a little displeased, that his great words were so lightly regarded, by way of derision sent word to the citie, That if they wanted help, he would send them the 300 Bohemians, whom he tooke in the castle of Altenburg: I to whom answere was returned by them of the citie, That they needed no helpe from him, wherefore he might dispose of his prisoners as he thought good. By this, *Solyman* perceiued, that Vienna was not to be won with words, nor the defendants to be discouraged with great lookes, wherefore he begun to vse his force, & with such ordnance as he had brought with him, to batter the wals: which because it was not great, but fitter for seruice in field than for batterie, did not much more harme than to beat down the battlements & such like standings, made of timber and boords in manner of galleries, hanging here & there ouer the wall, for the small shot to play out of, a simple deuise in stead of flankers. His great artillerie prouided for batterie was comming vp the riuer of Danubius, which he daily looked for; but by good hap, *Wolfgangus Hoder*, a forward captaine, hearing of the Turkes comming vp the riuer, went K out of Possonium with certain small vessels wel appointed, & meeting with the Turks, set vpon them with such courage & resolution that he slew many of them, and sunke diuers of their boats and pinnaces, amongst whom were they which were bringing vp *Solymans* great pieces for batterie to Vienna: which was thereall sunke in the riuer, with the boats that brought it. By this good seruice, *Solyman* was disappointed of his great artillerie, and the citie deliuered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* hauing made great spoile amongst the Turkes, and lost some few men, returned with victorie to Possonium. Yet another part of the Turks fleet comming vp to Vienna, at the first comming brake downe all the bridges: for a little aboue the citie, the riuer of Danubius diuiding his channell, maketh diuers Islands, which by sundrie bridges are ioined together, ouer which lieth the way from Austria vnto the citie. This fleet so kept L the passage, that no man could without danger either by water or by land go in or out of the citie. *Solyman* hauing lost all his pieces for batterie, & seeing how little he preuailed with his field pieces, fel to vndermining of the city, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wals, and to make a way for his men to enter. This work, as the Turks chiefe hope, was with wonderful labor & diligence attempted in 15 sundry places: which was not so secretly done, but that is was by drums laid opon the ground, by basons filled with water, & sounds made into the earth perceiued by the defendants; and so with countermines met withall, that most part of those works were vtterly frustrated, & in them 8000 of his Turks either slaine or buried quicke.

Eight thousand Turkes lost in the Mines.

Solyman to busie the defendants that they should not so perfectly discouer his mines, diuided his army into foure parts, appointing them orderly to succeed one after another in giuing M alarums to the town, that filling their eares with continuall noise, he might keep them alwaies occuppied. In the midst of which hurly burly his mine-workes went forward with all speed possible, neither was he in that his expectation deceiued: for one of the mines brought to perfection vnperceiued by the defendants, and suddenly blown vp, shook and ouerthrew a great part

The wals of Vienna blown vp.

A part of the wall neere vnto the gate which leadeth towards Carinthia, whereat the Turkes gaue a great shout, as if the citie had now bin taken, and withal couragiously stepping forward, pressed in on all sides, by the ruines of the wall to haue entred the breach, charging the defendants with their small shot and Turkie arrowes as thicke as haile. Who on the contrarie part like resolute men stood in the face of the breach, with more assurance than the wall it selfe, receiuing them with deadly shot and push of pike, in such furious manner, that the Turks for all *The Turkes repulsed from the breach.*
B their multitude, vnable longer to maintaine the assault, began to retyre. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, sent in new supplies, and so renewed the assault before giuen ouer, but with no better successe than before: for hauing receiued a great ouerthrow, as men forgetting both dutie and martiall discipline, they retyred, not expecting any signe of retreat. At this assault so many of the Turks were slaine, that the ground neere vnto the town lay couered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies. Not long after, the wall was blowne vp in two places more, ouer against S. *Clares* church; by which breach, being not verie great, the Turks seeking to haue entred, made a bloudie fight with the Germans which defended that place; which they fought so desperatly to haue entred, that without regard they thrust one another vpon the points of their enemies weapons; who glistering in good armour, readily receiued them
C being for most part naked men, and slew them without number, and so inforced them againe *A most terrible assault.* disorderly to retyre, hauing before filled both the breaches with their dead carkases. Three dayes after ensued a most cruell fight, when as another part of the wall (neere vnto the gate of Carinthia, and not far from the first breach) was so suddenly ouerthrowne, that the Turks thorow the new made breach seeing the Christians as they stood readie to come to the defence thereof; and likewise the Christians them, now approching; for eagernesse and hast on both sides threw away their pieces and bowes, and came to handie blowes in the middle of the breach; the Turks with their scimiters, and the Germans with their long swords. At which time, as the Christian captaines encouraged their soldiers with cheerefull persuasions; so the Turkish commanders enforced forward their Turks both with words and wounds. The as-
D fault began so terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and deadly fight was neuer seen from the beginning of the world: which was with great resolution maintained by the Turks; for that many of their most valiant horsemen forsaking their horses, thrust in with their targets and scimiters, or else with their launces amongst the Ianizaries and other footmen, and there fought most desperatly. At last, after this furious fight had endured by the space of 3 houres, *The Turkes the third time repulsed.* and many of the Turks best captaines and soldiers lay dead vpon the ground by heapes; the Turks seeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the assault, and retyred to their campe.

Long and tedious it were to recount euery assault giuen during the time of that dreadfull siege, with euery particular accident not vnworthie the remembrance, which for breuity wittingly I passe ouer. Yet among the rest, the most valiant leader (though afterward vnfortunat) *The Lo. William Rogendorffe.* the Lo. *William Rogendorffe* is not to be forgotten, who oftentimes perceiuing many of the Turks stragling disorderly abroad in the countrey, one day vpon the sudden sallied out vpon
E them with certain troups of horsemen, with such violence, that at the first onset he ouerthrew them, and hauing them in chase, did such speedie execution, that of 5300 scarce 140 escaped his hands: after which time his name became terrible vnto the Turkes. *Solyman* was exceedingly grieued with the often & bloudie assaults by him in vain giuen to the city; but purposing now to proue the last and vtmost of all his forces, he called to him the chiefe Commanders of his army, whom at the first he sharply reproued as men of no courage, which being many times as good as possessed of the victorie, had most cowardly, contrarie to the maner of that victorious nation, turned their backes vpon their enemies, in the breaches alreadie halfe woon: wherefore he willed them to pluck vp their hearts, & to make all things readie for a new assault, wherin he expected that they should with couragious forwardnes and resolution, recompence their late cowardise: for why, he accounted it a great dishonor to forsake the siege
F begun; wherfore they should resolue the next day as victorious conquerors to take the city, *Vienna against assaulted.* or else there as faint hearted cowards to end their days. The next day after this heauie charge giuen, which was the fifteenth of October, the great commanders of the Turks army with all their forces assailed the citie, thrusting their men into the breaches by heaps, as if they would, if no way else, yet with verie multitude (if it had bin possible) haue discouraged or ouerborne the Christians: they were come to handie blows, and the fight was in euery place most terri-

ble,

ble, the Christian defendants still repulsing them with greater courage than they were able to assaile them. Besides that, to the great aduantage of the defendants, many pieces of their great ordnance skilfully mounted in places most conuenient, and continually discharged among the thickest of their enemies as they pressed on, made of them such slaughter, and so cut them off, that being thorowly discouraged, they shrunk backe, and could no by any threats or commaund of their captaines be thrust forward; chusing rather to be slaine of their own captaines (as some of them were) than to be rent in sunder with the murthering shot of the Christians. So that the captaines seeing now no other remedie, gaue ouer the assault and retyred, leauing behind them many thoulands of their dead Turks in the towne ditches.

The Turks repulsed.

The next day after this assault, *Solyman* despairing to win the city, and fearing the comming of King *Ferdinand* and the Countie Palatine with a strong armie, as it had been to him reported, considering also that Winter was now comming fast on, determined to raise his siege: and to colour the dishonour thereof, he sent certaine of the chiefe prisoners which he had taken, richly apparelled, with their purses full of money, into the citie, to tell the captaines, that he came not with purpose either to besiege or take the city, but to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by his enemie king *Ferdinand*, and to haue fought a battell with him for the kingdom of Hungarie: whom forasmuch as he could not draw vnto Vienna, he would remoove thence to seeke for him, as his capitall enemie: wherefore they should do well to yeeld themselues; which if they would, he promised not to enter their citie, but to receiue both the citizens and soldiers into his protection, reseruing vnto them their liues and goods, with perpetuall freedome. Which his offer the defendants scornfully refused, as proceeding of meere desparation.

Solyman raiseth his siege.

The next night following, *Solyman* with more than barbarous cruelty caused all the prisoners in his armie to be slaine; which pittifull outcries was of the souldiers heard into the city, not knowing what the matter should be, vntill that the next day after the departure of the enemy, they found the dead bodies of men, women, and children in all places of the campe wallowed in their owne bloud, a most lamentable spectacle to behold. *Solyman* purposing to forsake the siege, caused *Abraham* the great Bassa to shew himselfe in order of battell, as if he would haue giuen a fresh assault: in the meane time he himselfe rose vpon the sudden with the rest of his armie, and returned towards Buda in such hast, that he neither put any garrison into such places as he had taken, neither demanded of them any tribute. After whom the Bassa followed, keeping himselfe a dayes journey behind him: and so in fiue dayes he arriued with all his armie at Buda, 32 Germane miles from Vienna.

80000 Turkes lost at the siege of Vienna.

This siege was giuen ouer by *Solyman* about the sixteenth of October, wherein he is reported to haue lost eightie thousand men, amongst whom was his great Lieutenant of Asia, with many other of his forward Captaines and best souldiers. Of the defendants few or none of name were lost; but of the countrey people it is supposed that there was aboue sixtie thousand slain and carried away into captiuitie: all the country about Vienna was miserably spoiled, all their trees and vines being by the Turks cut downe to the ground. *Solyman* according to his promise restored Buda vnto king *Iohn*; who by solemne writing acknowledged himselfe his vassall, and to hold the kingdome of Hungarie of him as his lord and soueraigne. Vnto him *Solyman* ioyned *Aloysius Grittus* as his Legat, to helpe him to prouide such things as should be needfull for the defence of that kingdome.

Solyman restoreth the kingdome of Hungary to K. Iohn.

It hapned one day whilest *Solyman* lay at Buda, and had giuen king *Iohn* with diuers of the nobilitie of Hungarie accesse into his pauilion, that he fell earnestly in hand with king *Iohn*, to pardon *Paulus* bishop of Strigonium, and *Petrus Perenus* (who had taken part with king *Ferdinand*) and to receiue them into his fauor again: which men king *Iohn* in no case liked of, because that they as traitors vnto their Prince and countrey, forgetting their faith and oath, had performed the like dutie to *Ferdinand*, as they had but a little before done vnto him at the time of his coronation: wherin he shewing himselfe vnwilling to be entreated, said, That their mutable minds fraught with infidelitie, would neuer containe themselues within the bounds of loyaltie, but find occasion to commit some fouler treason than they had before. Whereunto *Solyman* straining his voice a little, as one somewhat moued, most honorably replied, *Can any thing (said he) happen vnto thee in this life better or more honorable, than if by thy kindenesse thine enemies shall be preuented, that is to say, men noted with eternall infamie; when as in thy selfe the commendation of a good and courteous Prince shall for euer remaine?* And so not

The honourable saying of Solyman to K. Iohn.

long after, fearing the cold of Winter then approching, dangerous for his beasts for carriage, especially his camels, bred and brought vp in the hot countries of Asia, he set forward to Belgrade, and so trauelling through Thracia, returned to Constantinople.

All this while that *Solyman* thus raged in Hungarie and Austria, *Charles* the Emperor lately reconciled to *Clement* the seuenth of that name, then Bishop of Rome, with a strong army besieged Florence, by his lieutenant *Daualus*, (who might haue done much against the Turkes, if he had been so well imployed) labouring by all meanes to represse the libertie of the citizens, whereunto they had but a little before aspired, and to bring them againe vnder the subiection of the familie of *Medices*, whereof *Clement* was the chiefe. Which thing with much adoo he brought to passe, inuesting *Alexander* the Bishops nephew in the dukedome of Florence, and afterward giuing him his base daughter in marriage; forgetting his brother *Ferdinand* in the meane time, thrust out of the kingdome of Hungarie by *Solyman*, and the dukedom of Austria wasted by the Turks, with the citie of Vienna in danger to haue been lost. Which common calamities might well haue mooued both the Emperor and the Bishop, to haue had more regard of, than by oppressing the libertie of one free citie, to seeke how to serue their owne priuat respects.

1530 *Solyman circumciseth his three sonnes.*

The yeare following, which was 1530, *Solyman* with great solemnitie and triumph, after the Turkish manner, circumcised three of his sonnes, *Mustapha*, *Muhamet*, and *Selymus*, at Constantinople.

Solyman hardly digesting the dishonour he had before receiued at Vienna, and oftentimes solicited by King *Iohn*, for aid against *Ferdinand*, who with greater stomacke than power ceased not continually to molest him: but most of all prickt forward with the insatiable desire of inlarging his Empire, after the manner of the *Othoman* kings, accounting his neighbor princes alwayes his enemies, and their dominions the obiects of his victories, and spoile for his souldiers; raised such an armie, as for the greatnesse thereof might worthily haue been a terror vnto the world: not so much purposing the protection of king *Iohn*, which he in shew most pretended; neither the siege of Vienna, as was commonly bruted, as the conquering of Austria, Carinthia, Croatia, Styria, and the rest of King *Ferdinands* dominions, and so afterwards of all Germanie. For the accomplishment whereof, he had in his immoderat desire prefined vnto himselfe the space of three yeares, which the great Monarchs of Rome could not performe in more than so many hundreds. It was commonly reported, that the proud tyrant would many times say, That whatsoeuer belonged vnto the Empire of Rome, was of right his, forasmuch as he was rightfully possessed both of the Imperiall seat and sceptre of *Constantine* the Great, commander of the world, which his great grandfather *Mahomet* had by law of Armes woon from *Constantine* the late Christian Emperour, whom he slew at Constantinople. And therefore both in his common talke and writings, as oft as he had occasion to make any mention of *Charles* the Emperour, he would proudly, and as it were in disdaine terme him by the name of the King of Spaine, but neuer by the name of Emperour.

King Ferdinand sends Embassadors to Solyman

The discord of the Christian Princes, and the great troubles euen then arising in Germany about matters of Religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous tyrant to take in hand this great expedition. King *Ferdinand* certainly aduertised, that *Solyman* was in person himselfe setting forward with his huge armie, sent vnto him three Embassadors; whereof *Leonardus Negarola*, a noble gentleman well learned, and skilfull in diuers languages, was chiefe, with rich Presents, and reasonable offers to entreat with him for peace. Who meeting him vpon the borders of Seruia, were by him curteously receiued, and patiently heard: yet obtained of him no other answer, but that they should follow his campe, and attend his further pleasure. The report whereof brought a generall feare vpon all Germanie, but especially them of Austria, in whose fresh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding wounds of their countrey, their brethren and friends slain, their wiues and children led away into captiuitie, their goods & cattel lost, their houses and fields burnt, and thousands of other grieuous calamities which they had endured in the late inuasion of the Turks. *Charles* the Emperor had in verie good time a little before, for a while well appeased the dissention then arising in Germanie about matters of religion; putting them in hope of a free and generall Councell to be holden for the deciding of all such matters: & in a great assemblie of the States of the empire to be holden at Ratisbon, shewing the greatnesse of the imminent danger, so puissant an enemie threatning vnto them all

the calamities of war, with the manifold mischiefe like to ensue, if they should in so vnfit time fall at varience amongst themselues: offering with great resolution, to goe in person himselfe with all his old expert soldiers, in defence of the common Christian cause; so much preuailed with the Princes of the Empire, and the Embassadors of the free States, that they highly commended his forwardnesse, and all other matters for that time set apart, agreed all with one consent, at a prefixed day to send vnto Vienna such warlike forces as they had in any time before set forth for the defence of the Christian religion, & the maiestie of the Empire. Wherupon he wrot vnto *Alphonsius Vastius* (his lieutenant generall in Italie, and one of the greatest captaines of that age) that he should without delay call together the old captaines, and to leuie so many companies of harquebusiers as they possibly could; and with them and the Spanish soldiers to repaire forthwith vnto him into Austria. He also enioyned *Andreas Auria* his Admirall, that he should with like diligence rig vp a strong fleet of gallies & merchants ships, and to go against the Turks Nauie into Grecia. At the same time he sent for his choice horsemen out of Burgondie and the Low-countries, and many noble gentlemen and old soul iers out of Spaine: for the guard of his owne person he entertained twelue thousand Germ s, such as had longest serued in his wars in Italie, ouer whom commanded *Maximilian Herberstene* and *Tamisius*, both famous captaines. At the same time *Clement* the seuenth then Bishop of Rome, although his coffers were greatly emptied by the late Florentine wars, which had cost him ten hundred thousand duckats; yet to make some shew of his deuotion in so dangerous a time, with the great good will he bare vnto the Emperor; after he had with grieuous exaction extorted from the Clergie a great masse of money (whereunto his rich Cardinalls contributed nothing, as if it had bin a thing vtterly vnlawfull for them, in so good a cause to haue abated any jot of their pontificall shew in the court of Rome) sent the young Cardinall *Hippolitus Medices* his nephew, being then about twentie yeares of age, a man indeed fitter for the wars than for the Church, as his Legate vnto the Emperour, accompanied with mo good captaines than clergie men, and his coffers well stuffed with treasure: whose comming to Ratisbone was vnto the Emperor and the Germanes verie welcome; for besides that hee was a young gentlemen of verie comely personage, and exceeding bountifull, he entertained for those wars (besides the companie he brought with him) eight thousand Hungarian horsemen, of all others best acquainted with the Turkish wars.

The preparation of Charles the emperor against Solyman.

Strigonium beseged by King Iohn.

King *Iohn* vnderstanding, that the formost of *Solymans* great armie were come as far as Samandria in Seruia, thought it now a fit time to wring from king *Ferdinand* such townes as hee yet held in Hungarie; wherefore he sent *Aloysius Grittus* (whom *Solyman* had left as a helper for his estate) to besiege Strigonium, which is a citie of Hungarie scituat vpon the side of Danubius, about thirtie miles from Buda, the castle thereof was at that time holden with a strong garrison of king *Ferdinands*: whereunto for all that *Grittus* layed such hard siege both by the riuer and by land, that the defendants doubting how they should be able to hold out, especially if *Solyman* should take that in his way, as it was most like he would; sent for reliefe to *Cazzianer*, a warlike captaine then gouernor of Vienna, and General of all King *Ferdinands* forces: by whose appointment certaine small frigots were sent downe the riuer of Danubius, from Possonium, well manned; who suddenly setting vpon the Turks fleet (which so kept the riuer, that nothing could that way possibly be conueyed either in or out of the castle) should by their vnexpected comming open that way. But *Grittus* hauing intelligence thereof by certain Hungarians, which though they serued King *Ferdinand*, made no great account to flie somtime to the one part, somtime to the other, as best fitted their purpose; presently resolued to send his fleet vp the riuer, and by his sudden comming to oppresse his enemies, in like sort as they had thought to haue done him. And the more to encourage his soldiers, he promised great rewards to all such as should performe any extraordinarie piece of seruice in that action: and so hauing thorowly furnished all his fleet with good soldiers, but especially with Turkish archers, sent them vp the riuer to seeke their enemies: who fearing no such matter, as men surprised with the same mischiefe they had prepared for others, were at the first exceedingly dismayed; yet considering that they were reasonably wel prouided for their comming (although they yet wanted such helpe as *Cazzianer* had appointed to send them) they thought it a great shame to flie, and therefore putting themselues in order of battel, came down the riuer, & with great courage encountred their enemie. There began a fi ce & cruell fight, many being slain and

A aud wounded on both sides: but at last they of Possonium not able longer to endure the deadly shot of their enemies, and especially of the Turkish archers, (who with their arrowes sore gauled both the soldiers and the mariners) they turned their backs and fled: in which fight of sixtie frigots which came from Possonium, only thirteene escaped, with *Corpranus* the Generall, all the rest being either sunke in the fight, or else taken by the enemy, being run ashore and forsaken by the Possonians, trusting more vnto their legs by land, than their oares by water. Besides this losse of the Frigots, there was slain of the Possonians almost fiue hundred. After this victorie, *Grittus* hoping that they in the castle of Strigonium, dispairing now of reliefe, and fearing the comming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out, left off to batter or vndermine the castle, (wherewith he perceiued he little preuailed) purposing by lying still, and keeping them in the castle from all reliefe, to inforce them in time to forsake the place. Thus whilest
B the diuided Hungarians with their owne hands inconsiderately sought one anothers destruction, with the ruine of their countrie; *Solyman* the great enemie of all Christians was readie at their backs to deuoure both the one and the other, as in few yeares after he did.

Much about this time the old Spanish soldiers in Italie, drawne together by *Vastius*, as the Emperor had before commanded, were come to the Alpes. In this campe, of one sort of men and other, was aboue 20000, whereof almost the third part was not seruiceable: for the old soldiers enriched with the long wars in Italie, and the spoyle of the rich country of Lumbardie, wherein they had of late bin billited, brought with them all their old gotten spoyles and substance, not forgetting so much as their women, and whatsoeuer else serued their pleasure: for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of carriages and vnnecessa-
C rie people, all which serued for no other vse but for the soldiers pleasure, and to consume victuals. Which their licentious wantonnesse *Vastius* desiring to reforme, gaue strait commandment thorow all the campe, That they should leau behind them all such vnnecessary bagage, and appointed what carriages should suffice for euery companie. Whereat the souldiers began at the first to murmure, and presently after to arise vp in mutinie: for many of the captains being rich, and disliking of that long and dangerous expedition, couertly incited the common soldiers to crie out vpon *Vastius* the Generall, for their pay alreadie due. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter set on foot, quickly grew to that heat, that they all with one voice said flatly, That they would go no foot further before they had receiued their pay. *Vastius* although he well perceiued that tumult to be raised by some of his enemies, which
D sought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the present to dissemble the matter, & yeelding to the necessitie of the time, to content the mutinous soldiers with one months pay, promising them their full contentment, at such time as they should come vnto the emperor: and so when he had with much ado appeased that tumult, he set forward into Germany.

Mutinie among the Spanish soldiers.

Immediatly after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with such cheerfulnesse offered themselues to that seruice, that euery captain brought with him twice so many in his companie as was expected: so that *Vastius* (who before doubtfull of their forwardnesse in so dangerous a war, especially in the aid of the Germans, of whom they had in the late wars receiued great harmes, had by great and earnest persuasions induced diuers of the nobilitie, and others of the better sort, to enter into that honourable action, in hope that they would draw after
E them great numbers of their friends and tenants, as indeed they did) was now glad to send backe again many of the common soldiers, by reason of the multitude; and also to his great discredit, and the offence of many; full sore against his will to displace most part of those forward gentlemen, whom he had but a little before made captaines; who to their no small charge had gallantly furnished themselues according to their degrees and places: for the Emperor had then appointed what number of Italians he should bring; and also giuen commandement, That reiecting the rest, he should commit the leading of them onely to those old expert captaines, of whose valour and discretion he had before had good experience. There were *Martius Columna*, *Petrus Maria Rubeus*, *Philippus Torniellus*, *Ioannes Baptista Castalius*, *Fabritius Maramaldus*, *Pyrrhus Stipcianus*, and *Camillus Columna*, being all men of great worth, and
F approoued faith towards the Emperor.

In these Italian companies were fourteen thousand select footmen, beside many other braue men who voluntarily resorted from diuers places to Vienna. After these footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thousand horsemen, and certaine troups of Grecians and Spani-

ards, and with them came many noble gentlemen out of all parts of Italie, who had before G
bin great commanders, but now serued as priuate gentlemen voluntarily without charge or
pay; accounting it a great shame to tarrie at home as cowards, and not to be present in that re-
ligious war.

The Emperour also about the same time hauing taken view of his horsemen come out of
the Low-countries most excellently appointed, and shipping his great ordnance, whereof hee
had bought great store at Nurembergh, departed downe the riuer from Ratisbone to Lyntz.
The riuer of Danubius neuer carried so many vessels and soldiers since the time of the great
Roman Emperors, as it did at that present: and yet besides them which went down the riuer
by shipping, the pleasant bankes on both sides were filled with great companies of horsemen
and footmen passing all alongst the riuer vnder their colours, with their drums and trumpets H
sounding, which altogether made the most glorious shew that a man could well behold vpon
earth.

1532. In the meane while, *Solyman* in six and fiftie days march come to Belgrade, thrust ouer the
great riuer Sauus by bridges made in diuers places, an infinit number of his horsmen into Hun-
Solyman commeth into Hungarie. garie; and leauing Danubius on the right hand, turning a little vpon the left, marched directly
towards the rich countrie of Stiria, called in antient time Valeria, and now Stiermarke. By the
way as he went he came to the little towne of Gunza, which one *Nicholas Iurischitz* (a man of
an inuincible courage) kept with a small garrison of his owne. This towne standeth in a Plain
not far from the citie of Sabaria, built square, and but of a small compasse, not verie strongly
walled, a poore obscure thing, neuer famous till now by the great dishonour that the Turkish I
Emperor *Solyman* there receiued. *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa (who so absolutely commanded
among the Turks, as if *Solyman* had receiued him into the fellowship of the Empire with him-
selfe) was very desirous to saue this captain *Nicholas*, for that he knew him to be a man of great
courage, and was familiarly acquainted with him at such time as he lay Embassadour at Con-
stantinople: wherfore he attempted first by gentle persuasions and large offers, and afterwards
Gunza besieged by the Turks. by most terrible threats, to induce him to yeeld the town to *Solyman*. But finding him so reso-
lutely set downe, that he was neither by faire nor foule means, but only by force to be remo-
ued out of his town; he inclosed the same round about with the huge armie of the Turkes,
and by mines ouerthrew the walls in three places. Which sudden breach whilest the garison
souldiers most valiantly defended against the furious assault of the Ianiziaries on the South K
side of the towne, the Bassa planting his field pieces vpon the hils on the North side, did from
thence grieuously annoy the defendants: who fiercely assailed by their enemies before, and
beaten with the great ordnance behind, were grieuously distressed. Wherwith the worthy go-
uernor somwhat troubled, though not much discouraged, suddenly of timber and boords rai-
sed vp a curtaine twelue foot high, at the backs of his soldiers, wherewith they were so coue-
red from the sight of their enemies, that they could not make any certain shot at them, but on-
ly at that curtaine at all aduentures, not doing any thing so great harme as before: and with
desperat and restlesse labor, in despight of all the Turks great power, repaired the breaches, in
as strong manner as at the first. In the meane time 200 of the Turks horsemen straggling from
the campe, and seeking after bootie into the countrey as far as Neostat, were by the Hunga- L
rian horsemen intercepted, and all slaine or taken; whose heads the Hungarians brought to
Vienna, and the more to encourage the soldiers which daily repaired thither, in token of good
lucke set them vp vpon stakes vpon the walls of the citie. Then was it certainly known of the
The huge armie of Solyman. prisoners, that *Solyman* had in his campe fiue hundred thousand men, and three hundred field
pieces, which were not of greater bignesse but that a camell might well carrie one of them,
being taken from the carriage: for why, *Solyman* purposing by destroying the countrey before
him, to draw the Emperor vnto battell; had (as they said) brought no greater pieces of bat-
terie with him. Which report of the prisoners was also confirmed by the Embassadours of
king *Ferdinand*, whom *Solyman* gaue leaue to depart at Gunza, giuing to euery one of them a
Solymans proud letters vnto the Emperor Charles and king Ferdinand. gowne of veluet and a piece of plate, with letters vnto the Emperour and king *Ferdinand* his M
brother; wherein proudly vsurping the titles of many kingdomes, he most insolently wrot
himselfe lord & soueraign of almost all countries and nations. But the effect therof was, That
he was come into Hungarie, to reuenge the wrongs which they had done vnto King *Iohn* his
friend and vassall; and would with fire and sword enter their countries, and by the power of
God

A God and his great Prophet *Mahomet*, the fauourers of iust quarrels, giue them battell, if they
durst meet him: wherfore if they would as valiant & couragious princes meet him in the field,
he would in one battell end that quarrell with them, and in reward of the victorie either win
or lose the empire of the World. When *Solyman* had thus a great while layen at the siege of
Gunza, and thereto giuen diuers sharp assaults, being still with great losse and dishonor repul-
sed, he in the space of foure daies cast vp neere vnto the towne ditch two great mounts of fag-
gots and earth, as if they had bin two great mountaines, of such height, that they ouertopped
not the wals only, but euen the highest towers in the towne: (by which wonderfull worke the
greatnesse of the Turks army might easily be coniectured:) one of these great mounts he cast
vp directly against the face of the town, and the other at a corner of the same, to flankier along
the wall; from whence he did with his shot not onely beat them which appeared vpon the
wals for the defence therof, but them also which vpon occasion went too & fro in the streets.
These mounts being with incredible celeritie brought to perfection, the town ditch filled vp,
and many of the defendants either slaine or wounded vpon the wals, the Turkes gaue a most
furious assault at the place which was before shaken with the mine: against whom the valiant
captain as need was in that extreame danger, opposed all the strength he had left. But the
Turkes still pressing on with their infinit multitude, were got vp to the top of the walls with
eight ensignes, from whence they had repulsed the defendants: which being all either woun-
ded or wearied, shrouded themselues vnder the defence of their penthouses, being neither able
nor of courage to make further resistance, so that the wals were now abandoned, & the town
C there left without defendants: when suddenly such a great clamor was made by the loud out-
cries and lamentation of the women and children and other fearefull people, that the Turkes
which had recouered the top of the wals, stucken with a sudden feare, thinking the towne to
haue bin full of souldiers, stood as men astonied & dismaid, whereupon the defendants began
again to take courage, and to shew themselues: at whose sight the Turks possessed with a need-
lesse feare, forsooke the wal, & could not by any persuasions or threats of their captaines bee
brought on againe to the assault. The town was that day in all mens iudgements defended by
the mightie power of God, and not by the strength of man. It grieued the proud tyrant aboue
measure, that so base a towne should so long hold out against all his power, so that oftentimes
in his rage he would threaten to rase it down to the ground, & not to leaue any signe thereof
D remaining: which he would vndoubtedly haue in time performed, had not *Abraham* the great
Bassa (by whose counsell he was altogether directed) otherwise persuaded him: who waiting
a fit time, when his choller was past, told him, that it was not worth his name & greatnes, to
spend his time & forces vpon so smal a town of no importance, by rasing wherof he should
neither get honor nor profit: for why, no man would maruell, if he with so puissant an armie
should take so small a thing, especially by long siege, wherby the strongest places are inforced
to yeeld; & when he had so taken it, it would be accounted a greater honor for so little a town
to haue holden out so long, than for him to haue with so great forces in long time constrained
it: but if it should otherwise fall out, as the chances of war are vncertaine, that hee should by
any occasion be constrained to leaue it, he should thereby get no small dishonor: wherefore it
E were more wisedome to spare his soldiers labor in so small a matter, wh erof he was not to ex-
pect either honour or profit, & for to reserue them for his greater designes, & not vainely to
spend his forces & time in besieging of so base a village, from whence he might now depart
with lesse dishonor than he could afterwards, when he had proued the vttermost of his forces,
and yet in the end glad peraduenture to forsake it: wherfore it were more for his honour to
raise his siege, & calling the Gouernor of the town vnto him, to giue him the town as it were
of bounty, than to spend so many good men as he must needs cast away in the winning of it by
force: with these & like reasons the Bassa preuailed so much with *Solyman*, that *Nicholas* the
worthy gouernor of the town was by a herauld at arms sent for to come to the great Bassa, *So-
lyman* disdaining (as it should seem) to speake with him himself. The gouernor being sent for,
F though he was grieuously wounded, & in smal hope of life, yet stoutly refused to com to any
parly, except he were first wel assured both by safe conduct & good hostages for the safety of
his person, & that nothing should be exacted of him, not befitting his religion & honor: which
stout answer caused *Solyman* & the Bassa to think, that his strength was not yet so weakned, but
that he was still able to hold out the siege: and thereupon, that he required for his safetie was
forthwith

Abraham Bassa persuadeth Solyman to leaue the siege of Gunza.

forthwith granted, and two men of great account sent for hostages for him into the citie with *Solymans* safe conduct. Which being receiued, the Gouernor went forth, and was by *Abraham* the great Bassa honoraby receiued into the campe, and commanded to sit downe by him in his tent: where he was by him first by the way of courtesie demanded, whether he had recouered his old infirmitie wherewith he was troubled at such time as he was sent embassador vnto *Solyman* at Constantinople? After that, whether the wounds he had receiued in the last assault, were dangerous or not? But last of all, & that which most concerned the matter, vpon what hope he alone had so long and so obstinatly withstood the mightie Sultan *Solyman*, when as all his neighbours round about him had so willingly submitted themselues? saying further, that he maruelled much why hee reposed any confidence in the lingring king *Ferdinand*. Whereunto the Gouernor modestly answered, That he was (thanks be to God) well deliuered of his old disease, and that his wounds were without danger: but as concerning his holding out, he said, that he for his great wisedome knew, that it was the duty of a good soldier valiantly to withstand his enemies, & not to be troubled with any euill hap, or discouraged with any chance of war: as for himselfe, he said, when mans helpe failed, he had reposed his full trust in God, by whose power he had bin hitherto preserued, which as he well hoped should neuer faile him at his need: and that king *Ferdinand* was not so far off, but that he would before it were long be there present with a great army: wherfore he did not greatly maruel, that he was not relieued before that time, forasmuch as many lets and occasions might chance which might hinder the kings purpose, considering that fortune always by nature vnconstant, was in nothing more like vnto her selfe in her vnconstancie, than in martiall affaires. The Bassa wondering at the inuincible courage of the Gouernor, said, That although the great Emperor *Solyman* might now at his pleasure vtterly destroy the towne, with all that therein was, yet being by nature of a most honorable and mild disposition, and a great louer of valiant and couragious men, had commanded him in his name to giue him that town, & the liues of all them that were in it, as a reward of his valour shewed in the defence thereof: yet so, that hee should sweare obedience vnto him, and receiue some few Turks into the towne, in token that he had yeelded the same. The politicke Gouernour knowing that of 800 valiant souldiers, hee had scarcely a third part left, and them also sore weakned with wounds and want of rest, thought it necessarie to make his peace in best sort hee could: for what could haue hapned vnto him more wishedly, than with his great honor to keep the town stil, & with the losse of a few pleasing words to deliuer himselfe, with so many of his friends, from extream feare and perill? and so in all his talke shewing no signe of feare, and with great words setting forth the strength of his garrison (which was indeed brought to an extreame weaknes) said he was ready at the first to haue yeelded vp the towne, for the old acquaintance he had with him at Constantinople, but was alwaies letted by the Germans and Spaniards which were there in garrison, fierce and cruell soldiers, whose hard hearts were (as he said) hardly intreated to suffer him at that time to come out of the citie into the campe: wherfore he could promise to be a friend to all such Turks as should passe that way, and to relieue them with such things as his wasted country could affoord; and further in token of his submission, to set vp one of *Solymans* enfignes in the chiefe tower of the city: but as for receiuing any Turks into garison, in token that he had yeelded vp the towne, he was willing so to do, but that he was greatly afraid they should bee euill intreated by the Germans & Spaniards, who deadly hated the Turks: whereof it was to be thought, that new wars would eftsoone arise. In conclusion, he so cunningly vsed the matter, that the great Bassa was contented with this small token of submission, that he should receiue in at one of the gates of the citie, one of *Solymans* captains with ten Ianizaries: which being don accordingly, & they courteously for a while entertained & again dismissed, the great Bassa held himselfe with that simple submission well contented: when as the Gouernor had neither German nor Spaniard as then in garrison. So when *Solyman* had with his great armie lien at the siege of Gunza by the space of 28 daies, and in that time to his great losse assaulted the same thirteene times, he rose with his army, glad of a little fained submission for the safegard of his honor: and leauing Vienna on the right hand, whither most part of the Christian armie was assembled, took the way on the left into Carinthia, and so came to the riuer Mura, and from thence to the citie Gratia. This turning of *Solymans* out of the way from Vienna, where he knew his enemies lay, put al fear out of the minds of the Christians, which they had before

The Gouernor commeth to the Bassa.

His answer to the Bassa.

Solyman departeth from the siege of Gunza.

before not without cause conceiued, insomuch, that he but a little before feared as a prince of great pride and power, shamefully repulsed at the little town of Gunza, and now shunning his enemies at Vienna, began to grow into contempt as if he had beene running away for feare. Which disgrace the Turks sought by diuers excuses to couer, as that the strong citie of Neostat lay betwixt him & Viena, which could neither without much difficultie be taken, nor danger left enemy behind him: besides that, Winter began to approch, which caused him (as the Turkes gaue it out) to content himselfe with the spoile of the rich countries betwixt the riuers of Savus and Dranus, and so in good time to returne againe to Belgrade. But they which seemed to see farther into the matter, were of opinion, That *Solyman* vnderstanding by his espials, and secret aduertisement from his friends, that the Princes of Germanie had with one consent ioined their forces with the emperors, brought out of Italy, Spaine, and the low countries, which at his setting forth he least feared; and that the Christian army in number great, consisted not of raw souldiers, but for the most part of such as had been trained vp in warres, men both for courage and skill nothing inferiour to his Ianizaries and best men of war; chose rather to take the spoile of the countrey, as he might with safety, than to aduenture his person and state to the hazard of a most doubtfull and dangerous battell.

Cason sent with 15000 horsmen to spoile Austria

Whilest these things were in doing, *Michael-Ogli* by the commandement of *Solyman*, sent *Cason* with 15000 of his voluntarie horsemen (who in *Solymans* expedition against Vienna, had run thorow the countrey of Austria as far as Lyntz) charging him without stay to spoile all the country far and neere which lyeth between Danubius and the Alpes, thereby to learne what he could of the state and strength of the Emperours camp; and by doing all the harmes he could possibly, to leaue a most lamentable remembrance of the Turks being in Austria. *Cason* was of himselfe forward enough, and desirous of the spoile: but so much the more, for that he was by the former road into that countrey become both famous and rich: wherefore diuiding his horsemen into three companies not far distant one from another, hee suddenly oppressed an infinit multitude of all sorts of people in the fields and countrey villages as hee went; all which he either slew without mercie, or carried away as miserable prisoners. Thousands of men and women tied together in chains and ropes, were by the cruell Turks enforced to run as fast as their horses; the countrey villages were all burnt downe to the ground, and in them the poore children of the Christians, whose parents were either slaine or carried away captiues: so that al the country euery way almost for the space of 150 miles, was couered with smoke and fire, within three miles of Lyntz, where king *Ferdinand* then lying, was glad to get himselfe farther off to Strabinga, where his brother *Charles* the Emperor lay. This cruell Turke according to his charge, hauing with fire and sword without compassion wrought all the woe he could possible vpon the poore Christians, and now loded with the spoile of the country and multitude of prisoners, began to returne the same way he came, thinking to find *Solyman* either at the siege of Gunza, where he left him, or neerer hand at Neostat comming towards Vienna. But he as is aforesaid, rising with small honour from Gunza, and fearing the power of the Christians, was quite gone another way as far as Gratia, the Metropoliticall city of Stiria, standing vpon the riuer of Mura; which turned to the vtter destruction of *Cason* and all his followers: for as soone as it was perceiued by the burning of the countrey all about, that the Turks were come neere to Lyntz, the Christian captaines with their companies went out of the campe, some one way some another, as was thought most conuenient for the meeting with of these mischieuous Turkes, which neuer rested in one place: wherein they vsed such diligence in taking the passages, that it was not possible they should escape vnfought withall. Foure companies of Spanish and Italian horsemen vnder the leading of *Lewis Coue* a valiant captain, first lighting vpon them in a valley neere vnto Neostat, and desperately charging them, were by the Turks for most part slaine: But *Cason* perceiuing how he was on euery side laied by the Christians in the vallies betwixt Neostat, Sabaria, and Vesprinium, the night following with more than barbarous crueltie slew foure thousand of the Christians he had before taken prisoners, because hee should not be hindered by them in his flight; and diuiding his armie into two parts, about midnight began to set forward, vsing the benefit of the night to haue escaped from his enemies out of these vallies wherein he was enclosed. One part of this army led by *Ferises* taking the way Southward, did with incredible labor cut a way thorow the thicke and ouergrown woods (a thing thought altogether impossible) and so with lit-

4000 Christian captiues murdred by Cason.

tle

tle or no losse came to *Solyman* into Styria. *Cason* with the other part of the armie breaking out of the valley of Storamberg, chanced vpon the Palatine (Generall of the forces sent from the German Princes) who with ten thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and certaine field pieces brake the battell of the Turkes, and slew of them a great number: in which conflict *Cason* his chiefe ensigne was taken. He fighting most valiantly, in the rereward to giue others time to escape, was himselfe there slaine: whose gallant head-piece presented afterwards to the Emperour, confirmed the report of his death. They which escaped from the *Palatine*, in their flight fell into the hands of *Lewis*, and the Marquesse of Brandenburg, by whom they were slaine like beasts. The Hungarian horsemen led by *Valentinus Turacus*, lighting vpon them which fled from *Lewis* and the Marquesse, had the killing of them for the space of seuen miles; and of all others did vpon them the cruellest execution, following them hard at the heels with their swift horses, and fiercely insulting vpon them in their owne language. Those few dispersed Turks which escaped the fury of the Hungarians, fell into the hands of the countrey people about Vesprinium and the lake of Balaton, which came out on euery side in hope of spoile, who shewed them small fauour: so that of 8000 which were with *Cason*, it was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

Cason discomfited by the Palatine, and slaine.

The slaughter of the Turkes.

The Emperour vnderstanding that *Solyman* was gone as farre as Gracia in Stiria, called his chiefe captains together into the castle of Lyntz, to know their opinions, whether it were best to follow the enemie into Stiria or not. The cities of Lyntz, Gracia, and Vienna, are scituat almost in forme of a triangle: but from Lyntz to Gracia is three good dayes journey of bad rough way by horse. Some said it was best to fight with the Turks in that vneuen mountaine countrey, where the Turks chiefe strength consisting in the multitude of his horsemen, should stand him in small stead, but should be inforced to trie the battell with his footmen, wherein he was inferiour to the Christians. This counsel although it had in it many difficulties, yet for that it proceeded from the most approoued captaines, so mooued the Emperour, that he presently sent *Apontius* a Spaniard (the most famous captaine *Antonius Leua* his lieutenant) to take view of that passage: who shortly after returned againe to Lyntz, bringing word that all the countrey as he went was desolat and for feare forsaken of the inhabitants, but concerning the place of the enemies abode, he could learne no certaintie. Whereupon it was by generall consent concluded, that they should all goe to Vienna, whither all the strength of the Germans was already assembled, there to take a general view of the armie, and to giue the enemie battell if he should againe returne. Some there were of great courage which openly disliked of that going to Vienna, saying, that the Emperour should rather in that distresse of the prouinces of Stiria and Carinthia pursue his enemie, than turne out of the way to Vienna. But others of greater judgement, whose opinion preuailed, said, It was one thing to inuade, and another thing to defend: so that the Emperour might with honor enough encampe himselfe in the fields of Vienna, and from thence to expect and deride the base expedition and vaine brags of his proud enemie, who a far off challenged him into the field, and then like a coward durst not come neere him.

Charles the emperour in his power at Vienna.

The Emperor comming to Vienna, and taking a generall view of the armie, found therein two hundred and sixtie thousand men, whereof 90000 footmen, and 30000 horsemen were accounted old expert souldiers, & of them many whole companies and bands, of such as had before bin Generals, Captains Lieutenants, Antients, or other officers and men of marke in other armies, and now were content to serue as priuat men. It was thought that so many worthy captains and valiant souldiers, were neuer before in the memorie of man assembled together into one camp: for the princes and free cities had not sent thither common souldiers, but their chosen and approued men, striuing as it were amongst themselues, who should send the best. All the flowre and strength of Germanie from the riuer of Vistula to the Rhene, & from the Ocean to the Alpes, was by the princes of the empire and free cities either sent thither, or of themselues voluntarily came thither. A thing neuer before heard of, that all Germanie should as it were with one consent, be glad to take vp arms for their cõmon safety, in defence of their honor and libertie; especially against people brought out of the furthest parts of Asia, Syria, and Ægypt. Beside the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; the Bohemian campe lay not farre off, strengthened with them of Silicia and Motauia. There were also some troupes of Polonian horsemen, not sent thither by publicke authoritie, but seruing as

as voluntary men: king *Sigismund* winking thereat, who as he was carefull not rashly to break the league he had made with *Solyman*; so lest he should seeme careless of the Christian common cause, by notable dissimulation left place for such of his subiects as would (as if it had bin without his knowledge) to shew their valour in the most honourable warre.

The Christian army ready to receiue the enemie, lay in a great field neere vnto Vienna, in this order: three great squadrons of pikemen, standing one squadron a great way distant from another, were so placed against the enemie with like and equall front, that all the horsemen diuided into two parts, might well bee receiued into the great spaces betwixt the three squadrons: for it was not thought conuenient to oppose so small a number of horsmen in open field without the footmen, against almost 300000 of the Turks horsemen. The right wing of the horsemen was led by the Emperor himselfe, and the left by king *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on euery side of the three squadrons of pikes, sauing in those places which were left open for the horsemen, about thirtie paces off, were placed twentie thousand nimble harquebusiers ranged in length, and but fiue in a ranke; so that whilest the first discharged, the second, and after them the third, and so the rest readily and orderly comming on, might without let deliuer their bullets vpon their enemies: neither was it thought any disaduantage to place them so thin, for that if they found themselues by the enemies oppressed, they might easily retire amongst the pikes, standing fast at hand. Before the harquebusiers was planted the great ordnance, whereof the Emperor had such store, and so well placed, that he could therewith (as with a most sure trench) haue compassed in his whole army. Only the Hungarians, men well acquainted with the manner of the Turks fight, chose to lie in the open field in two great wings, vnder the leading of their two valiant captaines *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble gentlemen beholding this goodly army, wept for ioy, conceiuing a most assured hope of victorie, if the proud enemy durst with all his forces ioine in battell. But *Solyman*, who by all means sought with his great number of horsemen to keep the wide and open fields, certainly aduertised both of the Emperors strength and the manner of his lying, got him ouer the riuer of Mura, and at Marpurge by bridges which he made on the sudden, passed ouer the great riuer Dranus. And so he which that Summer held almost all the world in suspence, with the doubtfull expectation of the successe of that war; hauing with all that his huge power wherewith he threatned the world, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in euery place either ouercome, or els shamefully repulsed; left Stiria, and returned the same way hee came, directly betwixt the riuers of Sauus and Dranus, to Belgrade, and so to Constantinople; leauing here and there some remembrance of his barbarous crueltie, and stil looking behinde him if the Emperour were not at his heeles: at such time as a few Dalmatian and Croatian horsemen did still pursue the taile of his army. It is reported, that he carried away with him 30000 Christians into captiuitie, besides many thousands of poore countrey people slain by the mercilesse Turks; but especially by *Cason* and his followers: and so to his eternall infamy was twice in the space of a few years driuen out of Germanie. The Emperor vnderstanding of *Solymans* departure, determined with all speed to returne into Italie; although king *Ferdinand* his brother most earnestly intreated him before his departure, in so fit a time to imploy the great forces against king *Iohn*, who now as it were forsaken of *Solyman*, might eas... puissant an army haue bin thrust not only out of Buda, but also quite out of the king... Hungarie, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his vassall placed. But the Emperour, for that ... ter began now to approch, and the plague was got into the camp, yea euen into his ... tinued in his former purpose of departing into Italie: yet yeelding so far vnto ... request, as to leaue behind him all the Italians, who ioyned with king *Ferdinand* were thought sufficient for the accomplishment of the Hungarian warre.

The order of the Christianitie.

Solymae returneth.

Ouer these Italians, one *Fabritius Maramaldus* was by the meanes of *Al...* pointed Generall: but no order taken for the paiment of their wages, wh... might be the more incouraged to take in hand that warre, and also ... thing at the first much offended the minds of the other captains, thi... ced by the preferment of *Maramaldus*, a man of no greater account ... soon as it was known abroad, the vnder captains & officers of the ... fauor of their old captains, said plainly, That they would not go ... King *Ferdinand* would in person goe himselfe, or else one ...

despight or what ... where they dis... ded

or *Leua* were appointed for their Generall: and the common ſouldiers ſaid flatly, that they would aske leaue to depart, except they had three moneths pay, which they knew well they ſhould neuer get of that poore king, already brought vnto great wants. *Vaſtius* to appeaſe this mutinie, trauelled greatly with his ſoldiers, perſuading them to remember the faith of ſoldiers, and by their conſtant perſeuerance to maintaine the honour they had got by their cheerfull comming: telling them, That valiant ſouldiers neuer wanted pay, furniſhing themſelues by their victories with all things neceſſary from the enemy. And as for *Maramaldus* their Generall, they had no iuſt cauſe to miſlike him being an old captain of great experience, for courage and policie not inferior to any of the greateſt Commanders, and placed by the Emperors owne appointment as a man moſt ſufficient, whoſe judgement they ought not in any caſe to diſlike. When *Vaſtius* had with theſe and ſuch like reaſons well appeaſed the tumultuous ſouldiers, and was gone out of the camp into Vienna, to take further order for the remedying of all difficulties, night the nurſe of ſedition came on, whoſe darkneſſe excluding all modeſty and feare, gaue further ſcope and place vnto the mutinous ſouldiers inſolencie. By chance there was at that time brought out of the citie into the campe very courſe, hoarie, moulded bread, which ſome of the ſouldiers hauing brought, and thruſting it vpon the points of their ſpeares, ſhewed it vnto their fellowes in great choller, railing againſt king *Ferdinand*, which in his owne kingdome in the beginning of the war had made no better prouiſion, but with ſuch corrupt and peſtilent bread to feed them being ſtrangers, which were onely for his defence and quarrell to aduenture their liues. And but a little before, a certaine Spaniard, beeing but a common ſouldier, comming into the Generals tent, and caſting the like bread down at the feet of *Vaſtius*, bitterly curſing the Emperour and king *Ferdinand*, had raiſed a wonderfull tumult: wherefore the Italian ſouldiers flocking together out of their tents, gaue many hard ſpeeches concerning their pay, their victuals, and the difficulties of the Hungarian war. There one *Titus Marconius* of Volaterra, a man of a troubleſome ſpirit, but reaſonably well ſpoken, was by the other ſouldiers ſet vp vpon a great heap of ſaddles, that he might be the better heard, and by diuers ſeditious captains requeſted frankly to ſpeake his mind, ſo far as he thought concerned the ſafety and welfare of them all. Where it is reported that he ſpake vnto them in this ſeditious manner as followeth:

The ſeditious oration of Titus Marconius, to the mutinous Italians.

And ſhall the Spaniards (ſaid hee) *beloued companions and fellowes in armes, as you haue heard, goe into Italie? and to our great hurt againe returne into their old Wintering places? and that which I am aſhamed to ſay, as notable gueſts lie with our wiues? and wee Italians as baniſhed men fight this Winter with yce and ſnow in Hungarie? and that forſooth for a moſt beggarly King, and him alſo to the Hungarians a forrener and meere ſtranger, againſt a naturall borne Prince, of his ſubiects well beloued and ſtrongly backt with the power and wealth of the Turkiſh Emperour? And that which might iuſtly grieue any couragious mind, vnder the conduct of* Maramaldus, *who oftentimes blinded with anger and haſtie crueltie, hath ſo furiouſly thruſt vs thorow with his ſword, that hee ſeemeth not more to deſire the name of a captaine for any thing, than for the killing and murthering of vs now his ſouldiers. Neither can I beleeue that you, who haue oftentimes beene captaines and antients your ſelues, will be ſo mad, as to ſerue vnder a common captaine, without hope of any pay, of any prouiſion, of victorie, or returne. Truely it delighteth me not ſo much to haue come hither for the honour of the Italian name (no more reckoned of than a ruſh) although I haue eleuen times ſerued; as it doth this day aſhame mee to ſee this ſhamefull end of the warre, ended before it was well begun. But in Regall dignities no ſhame, nor equitie in rewarding the ſouldier: for Kings now adayes make account of ſouldiers onely according to their neceſſitie; this is it alone that giueth vs pay, this is that getteth vs loue, this is it maintaineth our reputation: all which, peace once by victorie obtained, leeſe their grace. So fareth it with vs at this preſent (fellow ſouldiers) the Emperour and his brother king* Ferdinand, *deliuered from the feare of a moſt dangerous warre, to eaſe themſelues of this multitude of vs, ſeeke to thruſt vs into Hungarie as beaſts to the ſlaughter, by the ſpending of our blood hoping to purchaſe vnto themſelues victorie; and by the loſſe of vs to take no harme themſelues, though the Turks and Hungarians ſhould with ſword and famine vtterly deſtroy vs, ſhut vp with the yce of Danubius, and the ſnow of the Alpes. But peraduenture you vnderſtand not theſe deuiſes, no more than you vnderſtand what this terrible and bloudie* comet, ſhooting his beames towards Italie, pretendeth. Verily it is not fatall either to* Solyman *or* Cæſar, *but rather threateneth vnto vs death and deſtru-*

* *At this very time a great blazing ſtar was ſeene in the firmament at Vienna.*

deſtruction; for they with like counſell full of ſafetie and diſcretion, would not open any way vnto their owne deſtinies, but warily withdrew themſelues one from the other, and ſhunned all the dangers of the field. Wherefore if it were lawfull for them, without any blemiſh of their Maieſties, ſo notably to prouide to keepe themſelues out of danger, when as on each ſide halfe the world lay as a reward of the victorie; ſhall not we looke to our ſelues, that we be not thruſt thither from whence appeareth no hope of returne, but with vtter deſtruction, when as we may do it without offence, and by good right, eſpecially ſeeing no pay is offered vs. Thus you ſee what a goodly end is made of this notable war, wherein only we the Italians, in ſtead of commendation and reward, reape iniurie and diſgrace: and are peraduenture of purpoſe exiled into Hungarie, that this floure of chualrie being drawne out of Italie, and ſent far out of the way, ſolonies of Spaniards and Germanes may be placed in our ſteads. Truly it ſeemeth hard dealing, to be ſent out of the way into a barbarous countrey, where we ſhall find all hoſtilitie, and no place of refuge to receiue vs, being diſtreſſed. Beſides this, we ſhall alſo whether we wil or no, feele how heauie and intollerable it will be both to our bodies and minds, to endure the miſeries of this Winter and dangerous war: and in the meane time, with no ſmall hearts griefe imagine what things our children, our brethren, our kinſmen, yea our wiues, ſuffer at home of the Spaniards and Germanes. Wherefore worthie companions, it concerneth vs more at this time to haue a good foreſight than valiantly to fight. The occaſion preſented vnto vs for our ſafety and welfare, ſtandeth vpon a tickle point, it muſt be done without delay, and we muſt hie vs hence before that the Spaniards truſſe vp their baggage; and ſo preuenting the emperors formoſt companies, come firſt our ſelues into Italie: for if we ſhall ſtay but a little to conſult vpon the matter, Vaſtius *and our other proud commanders will preſently be here, the verie betrayers of the Italian bloud, who for their owne gaine and our miſchiefe, haue brought vs into theſe ſtraits; who I know will moſt earneſtly entreat vs, and with many ſubtilties ſeeke to ſeduce vs, by offering vs great pay, and whatſoeuer elſe we ſhall require; which will all proone but words. But you, if you be men, refuſe to talke with them, as with your common enemies, or rather in reuenge of their old iniuries kill them. Here wanteth not in this aſſemblie valiant men, for courage and integritie of life their betters far, which can leade you forth, order your battell, and fortunatly vſe this your courage and forwardneſſe. Wherefore if you be wiſe, ſet forward reſolutely, and good fortune no doubt will attend you in your haſt; for the full accompliſhment of your deſire conſiſteth in your haſt onely.*

Marconius had no ſooner made an end of this mutinous ſpeech, but the tumultuous ſouldiers in euery band began highly to commend and approoue the ſame, and by and by ſuch a confuſed noyſe was heard through all the aſſemblie, as vſeth to riſe amongſt the diſcontented vulgar people, readie to riſe in armes: but the drums preſently ſtriking vp a march, they made no longer ſtay, but without delay plucket vp their enſignes, and forward they goe directly towards Neoſtat. In this tumult, inſtead of their old captaines, which either were not then preſent, or refuſed to go with them, they choſe others to be their Leaders: who once named by the ſeditious multitude, might in no caſe without danger refuſe to take the charge vpon them, were they neuer ſo vnwilling. Theſe were *Montebellius*, *Nerius*, *Melcarius*, *Sanctius*, and the two twins of Millan, called *Gluſſani*: who drew after them eight thouſand ſouldiers; the reſt partly for ſhame, and partly for feare, ſtayed ſtill with *Maramaldus* their new appointed General. When they were thus gone, *Vaſtius* and diuers other great companies hearing thereof in the citie, poſted after them ſix miles, and at length ouertaking them, requeſted them to ſtay, and not to diſhonour themſelues with ſo foule a fact; telling them that their pay was readie for them; and omitting nothing wherewith they might haue bin moued to ſtay, mingled their prayers with grieuous threats: but they reſolutely ſet downe, would neither heare nor ſtay; but as men inraged with furie and their owne guiltie conſcience, with ſterne looks diſcharged ſome ſmall ſhot vpon them. Whileſt *Vaſtius* would there haue ſtayed the companie, and did what he poſſibly could by threatning and otherwiſe, to haue terrified their leaders, and to haue brought them backe, he was oftentimes in danger to haue bin ſlaine. In the end hee was glad to forſake them, and to returne as he came. King *Ferdinand* by this ſudden departure of the Italians, for that time diſappointed of all his hope of recouering the kingdome of Hungarie from king *Iohn*; in great choller wrot vnto his ſubiects of Styria and Caryathia, whereby the Italians were to paſſe, That they ſhould ſhew them no manner of curteſie in their paſſage: whereupon inſued great hurt on both ſides. Yet for all that, theſe Italians in deſpight of what could be done, at length recouered Tiliauentum in the borders of Italie, where they diſban-

8000 of the Italians in mutine, forſake their captaines, and returne into Italie.

ded themselues, and returned euerie man to his owne dwelling, leauing King *Ferdinand* vnto his owne forces. The Emperour also breaking vp his armie at Vienna, and purposing now as before, to returne into Italie, appointed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* to go formost with the light horsemen, with whom also he went himselfe: after him followed *Vastius* with the Spaniards; two dayes after came the Cardinall, whose traine was of all the greatest: last of all followed the mercinarie Germanes: in which order he returned in safetie into Italie.

Charles the emperor returneth into Italy.

This was the end of those wonderfull preparations made by the two great monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the fift, in the yeare 1532, which held the world in great suspence with the fearefull expectation of some maruelous alteration; and so much the more, for that at the same time appeared a great blazing star by the space of fifteene dayes. All which for all that, God so appointing, sorted to far lesse harme than was of most men feared.

Auria goeth against the Turks.

Now whilest *Charles* the Emperour was thus in armes against *Solyman* in Austria, *Andreas Auria* by his appointment, with a fleet of thirty fiue tall ships and fortie eight gallies, wherein he had embarked twentie fiue thousand good souldiers well appointed, did in the meane time wonderfully annoy the Turks in Peloponesus. With this fleet *Auria* departing from Messana in Sicilia, and passing alongst the coast of Italie, into the Ionian, neere vnto the Isle of Zacynthus met with *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admirall, with a fleet of sixtie gallies set forth by the Venetians for defence of their Territorie: who offered vnto *Auria* all possible kindenesse, but excused himselfe, that he could not joyne with him in that war against the common enemie, by reason of an old league betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, which *Solyman* had but a little before renewed. So that at that time the Venetians stood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Solyman*, offering like kindenesse to both, but taking part with neither, yet in readinesse to fall out with either, if they should by sea or land offer any iniurie to their State: wherein they bare themselues so indifferent, that it was thought, that they at one and the selfe same instant aduertised *Auria*, That *Hymerales* the Turkes Admirall lay with his fleet of sixtie Gallies euill appointed, in the Bay of Ambracia, where hee might easily be surprised; and gaue likewise warning to him of the comming of *Auria* with a strong fleet, wishing him in time to prouide for his better safetie, by retyring his fleet into some other place of more assurance: which he presently did; for knowing himself too weak, hee departed from Ambracia, to the strong hauen of Calcide. Which thing with other like, well considered, might giue iust cause to any Christian heart, to bewaile the state of that time, wherein the Christian Princes being either in mortall wars amongst themselues, or intangled by *Solyman* with leagues of no assurance, omitted the fairest opportunitie that could haue been wished for the abating of the Turks greatnesse: for if the Venetians joyning their forces with *Auria*, had in time pursued the Turkish Admirall, it was like, that not onely all *Solymans* power at sea had bin vtterly discomfited; but also most part of Grecia, mindfull of their antient empire and libertie, and then readie to haue rebelled, and joyned hands with the Christians, might haue been recouered out of the Turkish thraldome; yea and the Imperiall city of Constantinople greatly indangered, few or none being left for the defence thereof, beside yong Ianizaries and effœminate Eunuchs, the heartlesse keepers of the Turkes Concubines; *Solyman* himselfe being then far off in Hungarie, and hauing drawne with him the greatest strength of his Empire.

Auria taking his leaue of the Venetian Admirall, with much honour done at sea on both sides; was shortly after aduertised, That the Turks Admirall was fled to Calcide. Wherefore now out of hope to do any good against him, he directed his course to Corone (which is a strong citie vpon the coast of Peloponesus, about twelue miles distant from Modon) with purpose to besiege it: which when he had well viewed, and considered of the strength thereof, he laid siege thereto both by sea and land, battering it most terribly at one time with fourteen great pieces of artillerie by land, and a hundred and fiftie by sea, so that a more terrible batterie had not beene lightly heard of: for all that, the Turks valiantly stood vpon their defence, and manfully repulsed the Italians, which vnder the leading of the Countie of Sarne assaulted the citie by land. The Turkish garrisons lying about in the countrey of Peloponesus, did what they might to haue relieued the citie; who by the valour of the said Countie were discomfited, and *Zadares* their chiefe leader slaine: whose head, with others of the slain Turks, were set vpon stakes, to the terror of the defendants.

Auria besiegeth Corone in Peloponesus.

A At length the Turks wearied with assaults, and terrified with the thundring shot which neuer ceased, and driuen also from their greatest strength towards sea, by the desperate assault of certaine resolute Christians, whom they had now full sore against their wills receiued as it were into their bosomes; fearing also to want victuall and pouder, if they should longer hold out without any hope of relief, yeelded the citie and castle to *Auria*, vpon condition that they might in safetie depart thence with bag and baggage. Corone thus taken, and a strong garrison of Spaniards there placed, and the Christian Greeks which dwelt in the citie sworn vnto them, *Auria* put to sea with his fleet, and sailing againe by Zazinthus, came to Patras another antient citie of Peloponesus, which he easily tooke and ransacked: for the Turks distrusting the strength of the Citie, had strongly intrenched themselues neere vnto the Castle; which B place also, together with the castle, they in short time yeelded to *Auria*; couenanting, that they, & especially their wiues, might with their garments only depart in safetie into Ætolia: which was by *Auria* so precisely performed, that when three thousand of them passed along through the armie of the Christians, ranged on both sides, and some of the souldiers began rudely to handle some of the women, and to take from them some of their jewels, he caused them presently, to the terror of others, to be hanged. *Auria* leauing his armie at Patras, with commandment to follow him by land, sailed alongst the coast of Peloponesus, vntill he came to the strait of Naupactum, now called Lepanto, which is the entrance into the gulfe of Corinthia, parting Peloponesus from Ætolia, with a strait somewhat narrower than the strait of C Hellespont. Vpon this strait stood two castles, the one called Rhium, vpon the coast of Peloponesus, and the other Molycreum in Ætolia, which *Baiazet* had wonderfully fortified, and stored with ordnance for the keeping of that strait. *Auria* threatning all extremitie vnto the captaine of the castle on Peloponesus side, if he did enforce him to plant his batterie, so terrified him, that he without delay yeelded vnto him the castle; couenanting onely, That he and his soldiers might in safetie depart thence: which granted, and the Turks departed, *Auria* gaue the spoile of the castle vnto his soldiers which came with him by sea: whereby he so offended the mindes of the other souldiers which came by land from Patras, that they were about to haue forsaken him. The other castle vpon Ætolia side was not so easily taken, being valiantly defended by a garrison of old Ianizaries, appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in D the end by furie of the ordnance a breach was made, wherby the Christians forcibly entring, slew three hundred of the old garrison souldiers, not taking any one to mercie: the rest fled into a strong tower in the midst of the castle, where seeing no remedie but that they must needs fall into the hands of their enemies, they desperatly blew vp themselues, and the tower, with a great part of the castle, with gunpouder, in such sort, that it seemed all the sea coast to haue bin shaken with an earthquake; and the gallies which lay a bow shoot off, were almost ouerwhelmed with stones blown out so far off. The great ordinance taken in this castle was valued at 70000 duckats; whereof certaine pieces of a wonderfull greatnesse, with Arabian letters written vpon them, were afterwards by *Auria* brought to Genoa; and in remembrance of the victorie, mounted vpon the bulwarke at the mouth of the hauen. All these things thus E happily atchieued, *Auria* strongly fortified the citie of Corone, storing it both with munition and plentie of victuall, committing the defence thereof to *Mendoza* a valiant Spaniard, with a strong garrison of Spaniards; promising of his owne charge to relieue him whensoeuer he should need, if the Emperor should defer to do it. The strait of Naupactum laid open, *Sanutus* with the gallies of Malta scoured all alongst the gulfe of Corinth, doing great harme vnto the Turks which dwelt on both sides of the gulfe, spoyling and terrifying them euen as far as Corinth. Not long after, Winter now approching, *Auria* receiuing letters from the Emperor, of *Solymans* departure out of Hungarie, returned with his fleet loaded with the spoile of the Turks, to Naples, and so from thence home to Genoa.

Corone yeelded to Auria by the Turks.

Patras taken & ransacked by Auria.

In the beginning of the Spring following (which was the yere 1533) it was stilly reported F that the Turks were comming with a great fleet toward Peloponesus: and not one [illegible] *doza* gouernor of Corone, by letters aduertised *Peter* of Toledo, Vizroy of Naples, was both by sea and land hardly besieged by the Turks; and that he would not of his power valiantly defend the citie, so long as he had any prouision [illegible] he most earnestly requested, That if the Emperour would haue the [illegible] in time send him reliefe, whereupon the oppressed Grecians taking [illegible]

to rebell, and to helpe to expulse the Turks quite out of Peloponesus. But aboue all things he forgot not to craue speedie aid of *Auria*, and to put him in minde of the faithfull promise he had made to relieue him at his need. Vpon this newes, *Charles* the Emperor commanded *Auria* his Admirall, to rig vp a conuenient fleet for that seruice, promising forthwith to send vnto him twelue gallies, which he had new built in Spaine. Hee also requested the Knights of Malta to aid him with their gallies against that common enemie. Wherefore *Auria* hauing with wonderfull celeritie rigged vp thirtie tall ships, and as many gallies, came to Naples to take in his soldiers: there the old garrisons of the Spaniards which for want of pay were risen in mutinie against the great commander and Generall *Vastius* and the Viceroy, and had risled the citie of Auersa, and done no little harme all about in the countrey of Campania, were again pacified by a pay giuen vnto them, and presently embarked for Corone, vnder the command of *Rodericus Mancaius* their General; at which time also *Fredericke* of Toledo the Viceroy's son, with a companie of braue gentlemen went aboord, vowing vnto the sacred war that their first seruice. The knights of Malta came thither also with their gallies. But whilst these things were a doing, *Auria* to incourage them of Corone, for feare lest they dispairing of help, should fall to some hard composition with the Turkes; sent *Christopher Palauicine* a resolute yong gentleman of an inuincible courage, with a most swift gallie to Corone: who by day-light passing through the midst of the Turks fleet, safely recouered the hauen, to the great joy of the besieged Christians: and shortly after when he had well viewed all things he was sent for, with the strength and manner of the enemies lying, and filled the minds of the defendants with assured hope of speedie rescue; about noon time of the day he suddenly brake out again through the midst of his enemies, and as it were miraculously escaped in safetie, for all that they could do, although they ceased not to giue him chace so long as they were in any hope to haue ouertaken him. *Auria* departing from Naples, came to Messana, where he certainly informed of the enemies force both by sea and land, with the number of their gallies, and seeing that the chiefe hope of relieuing of the citie consisted in celeritie, staied not for the gallies he expected out of Spaine, but held on his course towards Grecia: for it was told him, that the enemies fleet dayly increased, by the comming in of the Turkish pirats; and that *Assem-Beg* (otherwise called the Moore of Alexandria, an arch pirat) was still looked for, in whose good directions the Turkish captaines reposed the greatest hope of their victorie. When he was come as far as Zazynthus, he was informed by the Venetians, That *Lustibeius Bassa* (or rather *Lutzis Bassa* the Turks great Admirall, and *Solymans* brother in law) with *Solyman* of Acarnania, and the Moore (men for their skil at sea, of great fame and reputation) lay before Corone, with 80 gallies manned with diuers companies of the old Ianizaries; so that it was thought a matter of exceeding perill for him to aduenture to relieue the town, except he tooke the aduantage of some prosperous gale of winde. Wherefore *Auria* to haue yet more certain knowledge of the enemies fleet, sent before him *Christopher Palauicine* with one gallie, again to view the manner of the enemies lying: who passing the promontorie of Acrites, saw all the Turkes great fleet lying in verie good order before the citie: and so returned to *Auria*, confirming that the Venetians had before reported, and that the Turks fleet was greatly increased, & lay readie as it should seem to giue him battell as soon as he should approch the citie. For all that, *Auria* nothing dismaid with the greatnesse of the Turks fleet, made no stay, but stil kept on his course, and with a faire gale of winde passing the promontorie of Acrytes, came directly towards Corone. Two great gallions, of all the fleet the most warrelike shippes, came formost; whereof the one was *Auria's* own, which he had built with a wonderfull charge; and the other was of Sicilia. These two great ships were appointed by *Auria* to turne a little vpon the left hand; and at such time as the enemie should set forward from the shore, to cast anchor betwixt both the fleets; that as occasion should serue, they might as out of two strong Castles, beat the Turks gallies with their great ordnance, wherewith they were for that purpose wonderfully stored. Next vnto these great gallions followed the other warlike ships with ful sails: after whom came the gallies in three squadrons, whereof *Saluiatus* had the leading of the right wing, which consisted of the Bishop of Rome's gallies & them of Malta: in the left wing and neere vnto the enemie, commanded *Antonius Auria*: and in the middle was *Auria* himselfe. At the first sight of the Christian fleet, the Turks moued not from the shore, but discharged their ordnance at them afar off, and then begun to set forward and to draw neerer; especially the

Auria sent by the emperor to relieue Corone.

The order of Auria his fleet before Corone.

the Moore, who with greater courage than the rest, assailed the side and rereward of the fleet: for the Christians keeping on their course right forth to Corone, and turning nothing to the left hand, as was before appointed, seemed as if they had fled; and so much the more, for that the gallies in the right wing, for feare of the Turkes great ordnance, did fet a great compasse farther off into the sea, and many of the middle squadron and of the left wing also, had disorderly thrust themselues in amongst the ships, although they had receiued little or no harme of the enemies great shot.

The christian fleet disordred.

In this confusion of the Christian Nauie, the Moore requested *Lutzis* the Admirall, not to let slip so faire an occasion, wherein the Christian fleet might easily haue bin ouerthrowne: but whilest *Lutzis* doth slowly and considerately set forward, *Auria* in the meane time had put his fleet again in order, and with a faire wind was come to Corone. Two of the ships by the way falling foule one on another, staid behind, being not able to keep way with the rest: about which all the Turks gallies presently flockt, and tooke the lesser of them, killing all the Spaniards they found therein. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloudie fight had won the forecastle & wast of the ship: when *Auria*, accounting it no smal dishonor to haue his ships so surprised at his heeles, caused all his gallies to turne againe vpon the enemie, to rescue those ships. The Turks seeing that, and with the Westernly wind by little and little fallen down so far with the ships, that they were come within the danger of the shot of the town, began with great stir to forsake the ships, and to betake themselues to their oares, and so in manner of flight withdrew themselues. Whom *Auria* pursued a good way to Modon, thundring in their poupes with his great shot, which he liberally bestowed amongst them: whilest in the mean time *Antonius Auria* came to rescue the two distressed ships. There the Spaniards which but a little before had hardly maintained their close fights, began now as men reuiued, to shew themselues, and couragiously to make resistance: and they which came with *Antonius Auria* to their rescue, entring with wonderful celeritie on euery side, slew and tooke 300 Ianizaries, which with great courage had entred those ships, and were there left by the sudden departure of their fellows. Amongst whom was taken one *Iosuphus* an old captain of 1000 Ianizaries; to whom *Auria* after he was come to Corone, gaue a faire suit of apparell & a chain of gold, and so set him at libertie without any ransome; thereby to prouoke the Turks to the like kind of curteous dealing with the Christians. *Assam-beg* the pyrat, and the other captaines of the Turks fleet, wonderfully blamed *Lutzis* the Admirall, for that he would not then fight with the Christians, when as he was thereto most earnestly requested both by the Captains and soldiers in generall, and had a faire opportunitie of victorie offered at such time as the Christians fleet was disordred: but he excused himselfe, saying, That it was giuen him in speciall charge from *Solyman* the Emperor, That he should in any case respect the safetie of his nauie, and not to come to the hazard of a battell. The Turks which besieged the citie by land, vpon the approch of the Christian fleet, forsooke their trenches and fled: at which time *Mendoza* the gouernor sallying out, tooke great store of victuall and warlike prouision which the Turks had for hast left behind them. So *Auria* to his great honor hauing driuen the Turks from Corone both by sea and land, furnished the citie with store of corne, wine, victuall, pouder, and shot; and committed the defence thereof to *Maticaus* and the companies of the mutinous Spaniards which he had brought from Naples: comforting the Grecks, and exhorting them, patiently for a while to endure those calamities of war; telling them that the Emperor would the next Spring make war against the Turks both by sea and land in Peloponesus, and free them from the Turkish bondage. And so imbarking the old garrison of Spaniards, departed from Corone, and came before Modon, where he lay as it were brauing the Turks Admirall, hoping thereby to draw him out of that strong harbor to battell. But when [illegible] the enemie could by no meanes be allured out of his strength, or assailed as he lay, [illegible] departed thence to Corcyra, and so backe againe to Messana in Sicilia.

Auria arriueth at Corone.

The Turks fleet flies to Modon.

Corone reliued by Auria.

Auria returneth, and hauing [illegible]

Within a few dayes after, *Assam-beg* the Moore of Alexandria and most famous Pyrat, [illegible] lying in wait for the Merchants ships of Venice comming out of Syria with merchandise, by chance met with *Hieronimus Canalis* vpon the coast of Crete, where in the night there was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruell battell; wherein of the Moores thirteene [illegible] foure were sunke, three taken, and the rest hauing [illegible] most part of their [illegible] Alexandria. In this fight was slaine three hundred Ianizaries [illegible]

The slaughter of [illegible]

thousand other Turks: of all them that was taken, there was scarcely one saued, but the Moore himselfe, who grieuously wounded in the face, for safegard of his life was glad to discouer himselfe: for the Venetians maintaining their state by trade & traffique, do of all other shew lest fauor vnto pyrats. When the Moore had made himselfe knowne vnto *Canalis*, there was great care taken for the curing of his wounds, and either of them began with notable dissimulation to excuse the matter to other; saying, That they were both deceiued by the likenesse of the gallies, & mistaking of their friends for enemies: when as for all that, they knew one another right well. For the Moore said, that he tooke those Venetian gallies for to haue bin part of *Auria* his fleet: and *Canalis* excused himselfe, by saying, that he mistooke him for *Barbarussa*, who a few yeares before had surprised three of the Venetian gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the matter, by their embassador sought to excuse what was done, as a thing happening by errour and mischance: of which excuse *Solyman* accepted, and said moreouer, that *Canalis* had done wel and souldier like, to repulse by force the wrong that was offered him. Three of the emperors gallies staying behind the rest of the fleet, were driuen vnto the promontorie Palinurus, vpon the coast of Apulia, intercepted and carried away by *Sinam*, surnamed the few, a notable pyrat of that time also.

The Winter following, the Spaniards and Greeks in Corone began to want victuals, especially wine and flesh: for the Turks had so blocked vp the city, that nothing was to be had out of the countrey; wherefore the souldiers requested *Macicaus* their Gouernour and Generall, to lead them forth to some piece of seruice against the enemie, forsomuch as they were not to hope for any relief elswhere before April, wishing rather valiantly to die like men in fight against the Turks, than to languish within those dead wals for want of victuall. But *Macicaus* mind full of his charge, fought by many reasons to dissuade them from such purpose, shewing them what an offence it were rashly to depart out of the city committed to their custody, which might be vnto them dangerous, although they should speed neuer so wel; & that those wants which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be ouercome by sparing and patience: and therefore told them plainly, that he was resolutely set downe to keep the city for the Emperor, and so indure all hardnes, rather than to incurre the infamie, That he had forsaken the citie, and betraid his garrison. Yet for all this, the matter was so vrged by *Didacus Touarres* and *Hermosilla*, both great captains, and by the generall importunitie of the soldiers, that *Macicaus* was inforced to yeeld to their desire, and to promise them to goe: yet earnestly protesting, that he did it altogether against his will, rather inforced than persuaded vnto that, whereof he had no great hope of successe. Among other that were so forward in this action, was one *Barbatius*, a most valiant Greeke, who could perfectly speake the Turks language, and of all others best knew the by-waies and secret passages of the countrie: he vndertooke to bee their guide, and by vnknown waies to bring them vnto the enemies vndiscouered in the dead time of the night, when as they feared no such matter. So *Macicaus* commending the custodie of the citie to *Liscanius* and *Mendosius*, with charge that they should suffer no man to goe out of the city after his departure, for feare of giuing any knowledge vnto the enemy, set forward about ten a clocke in the night towards Andrussa, *Barbatius* being his guide, who shunning the common beaten waies, brought them by secret and vncouth paths that night halfe the way to Andrussa: but vpon the rising of the Sun he brought them into a secret woody valley, where they rested and refreshed themselues all that day, and setting forward againe at night, came to Andrussa before day. In this towne, which was of no great strength, lay one *Caranus*, a warlike captaine with three thousand footmen, whereof the one halfe was of the Ianizaries; and in the suburbes lay *Acomates*, with a thousand chosen horsemen, with which garrison the Turks kept all that side of Peloponnesus in awe. *Macicaus* brought by his guide vnto the place where his enemies lay, went directly to the towne to haue surprised it: *Hermosilla* in the meane time standing still with certain companies of Spaniards ouer against the place where the horsemen lay. But this could not be don with so great silence, but that some of the horseboies being awake, discouered them by the fire in their matches; who first awaked the negligent watchmen, and afterwards raised an alarme in the suburbs: whereupon *Hermosilla* couragiously set vpon the horsemen, beeing altogether vnready, and slew many of them before they could arme themselues, and set fire also vpon the stables, wherein the Turks horses stood, with the rage whereof many of the Turkes scuffled, with their horses and armour. Great and terrible was the noise

The garrison souldiers of Corone desire of their generall to be brought to some seruice.

Macicaus gouernour of Corone goeth out to surprise Andrussa.

A noise raised vpon the sudden in the suburbs, but especially of the horses, which burnt as they stood fast tied in the stables, or by chance breaking loose, ran vp and downe with their tayles and maines on a light fire; by occasion whereof, an alarum was raised in the towne, and the Turks to got the wals before the Spaniards could enter. *Macicaus* himself laboring to break in at a posterne, was shot in the head with a small shot, and slaine: diuers others neere vnto him were there slaine also. The Turks perceiuing the small number of their enemies, sallied out vpon them, and enforced them to retire to *Hermosilla*, who had alreadie made great spoile amongst the horsemen, by whose skilful direction, the Spaniards retired in so good order, making many stands, with their harquebusiers all drawn into the rereward, that such of the Turks as were most forward to pursue them, did by their death cause the rest to make lesse hast. *Macicaus slain*

B *Acomates* with such of his horsemen as had escaped the fire, hasted thither also, bringing with him two hundred harquebusiers, which he had caused his horsemen for hast to take vp behinde them vpon their horses: but whilest he sought eagerly to be reuenged vpon his enemies, and with too much heat pressed on with the formost, he was shot into the bodie with a bullet and slain. The horsmen which had before receiued a great losse as they lay in their lodgings, accounting it in their good haps that they were not there all slaine, and hauing now lost their captain, ceased any further to pursue their enemies, but returned. The Spaniards and Greekes, although they were wearied both with their long march and euill successe, retired still as resolute men, ready to fight, and so returned to Corone. Presently after, the Turkish garrison remoued from Andrussa to Megalopolis, now called Londarium: after whose departure the

C Christian souldiers of Corone came thither and buried the dead bodies of their slaine fellows (which till then lay vnburied) and brought backe with them the head of *Macicaus* their late General, which the Turks had there set vp vpon a long pole, which they honorably buried at Corone. Not long after, the plague began to grow hot in Coron, so much the more grieuous, for that it came accompanied with many other hard difficulties. For which causes, the Spaniards as men at once inforced with many extremities, imbarked themselues with all the great ordnance, and such Greekes as would go with them, in certaine ships which came with corne out of Sicilia, and so departed, leauing the towne emptie for the Turks to come vnto. *Corone forsaken by the Spaniards.*

It was commonly reported, that the Spaniards left Corone not without the secret consent of the Emperor, which was the rather thought to be so, because that they which forsook the

D place, receiued thereby no disgrace, and the Emperor himselfe had offered to giue the towne to *Clement* Bishop of Rome, the Venetians and the knights of Malta, who all refused to receiue it, as loath to be at so great a charge in keeping a place seruing for no greater purpose; the very cause why the emperor was so willing to part with it. Now *Clement* the great Bishop had by meanes of *Aloysius Grittus* made a motion of a peace, to haue bin concluded for ten yeres betwixt *Solyman* and the Christian princes, and thereupon the towne to haue been againe deliuered vnto the Turkes: which peace *Solyman* was not altogether vnwilling to grant, beeing then wholly bent to inuade the Persian king. *Ferdinand* was also in good hope that his brother *Charles* the Emperour, would for the yeelding vp of that towne haue couenanted with the Turke some great matter for his benefit in Hungarie, which as was thought would also haue

E been easily obtained. But whilest the Emperor drawne diuersly with the consideration of his honour in keeping it, and of his profit in giuing it vp, stood too long in resoluing, the towne in the meane time was by the Spaniards (their necessitie daily increasing) abandoned, and so left to the Turks for nothing.

Solyman now purposing to turne his forces against the Persians, of whom he had in the frontiers of his dominions receiued great hurt, especiellly in Comagene, renewed the league hee had with the Venetians, and some other Christian princes: but of all other his affaires with the Christians, he was most carefull of the interest he had already gotten in Hungarie. For it was reported, that king *Iohn* his vassall induced by the continuall solicitations of his subiects, was desirous of peace with king *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that hee might quietly enioy the

F kingdome during his life: and after his decease it to remaine to king *Ferdinand* and his heires. Wherfore *Solyman*, that nothing should be there done in his absence without his knowledge, sent *Aloysius Grittus* the Duke of Venice his son (of whom we haue before spoken (a man both for the honour of his house, the good carriage of himselfe, and the speciall commendation of *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa, in great credit with him: with commission as his Lieutenant to bee assistant

1534

Aloysius Grittus the duke of Venice his son, Solymans lieutenant in Hungarie to ouersee king Iohn.

assistant vnto king *Iohn*, in such magnificall sort, as that without him the king might conclude nothing in matters of state, concerning either peace or warres, with any other the Christian princes. With this proud commission from the grand Seignior, *Grittus* entred into Transylvania, then a part of the kingdome of Hungarie (much about the same time that *Solyman* set forward from Constantinople against the Persian) attended vpon with seuen thousand persons of one sort and other, among whom were *Vrbanus Batianus*, and *Ianus Docia*, two famous Hungarian captains with their companies, and many of the Turks Ianizaries also. At his first comming, to make his authority the more known, he sent out his proud command vnto the great men and Gouernors of the cities of that warlike prouince, charging them forthwith to repaire vnto him as great *Solymans* deputie, authorised by him to heare and determine all the controuersies and matters of state concerning the kingdome of Hungarie. At that time *Americus Cihachus* Bishop of Veradium, a man of great nobilitie and power, withall singularly well qualitied, was Vayuod or Gouernor of Transyluania, an honor next vnto the king: he vnderstanding that *Grittus* was come into his prouince, and making small hast to welcome him, as one not greatly mooued with his comming, or much regarding the commandement of *Solyman*, wonderfully offended *Grittus*, who desired nothing more than at his first enterance to haue confirmed the opinion of his authoritie in the minds of the vulgar people by the prest and ready attendance of the Vayuod. But it was commonly bruted, that the stout Bishop vpon a Christian zeale detested the friendship of the Turkes, and could not well brooke that they should be too much acquainted in his prouince, for feare lest that fruitfull country abounding with men and horses; should by one means or other fall into their hands. *Grittus* was come to Baxouia when hee vnderstood by many messengers, that the Vayuod was comming with a great traine, and lay about ten miles off, encamped with diuers gallant troups of horsemen, in warlike manner appointed: for the Bishops of Hungarie being wonderfull rich, were by old custome bound to keepe great numbers of horsemen, which as occasion serued they vsed to bring into the field against the Turke; accounting it great honor with their religious hands to defend the cause of religion. But then especially the nobility of the country wel appointed resorted on euery side, on courtesie to honour and countenance their great Bishop and gouernor, at whose commandement they were: insomuch as the Bishops retinue made shew of a good army. Which thing moued *Grittus* exceedingly, that he should be enforced contrary to his expectation to parley with the Bishop in the open fields, as with an enemie in sight of all their followers. Hereof rose enuie, a deadly mischiefe alwaies repining at another mans honor; when as the one swelling with Turkish pride could not then abide any equall, & the other iealous of his honor, could by no means indure any superior, in such place as he had the soueraignty of. When these two great men had met together in the open fields, and there dined more like enemies than friends, without any shew of friendship or good will: *Grittus* inwardly chafing at his bare entertainment, couertly threatned to be reuenged vpon al such as should make so light account of his authoritie: and immediatly as he departed from the banket, taking his cap from his head (which was after the Turkish manner made of a high fashion, of rich Sables) and opening it with both his hands, said, This cap wil not hold two heads, and therefore it must be fitted to one, and so put it on againe. *Ianus Docia* one of the Hungarian captains, his followers, who deadly hated the Vayuod (for that he had long time before, for his malapert speech in a great assembly, giuen him a blow with his fist) tooke hold of that speech of *Grittus*, as a fit occasion for him to worke his reuenge: and said, *Your honor maketh a fit comparison, neither can this prouince containe two equall gouernors or commanders, nor you euer enioy your power and authoritie, except you doe this day with speedy and manly resolution defend both* Solymans *credit and your owne. You know not this proud beast* Americus, *whose pride and insolencie if you but say the word, I will quickly put downe: for he hateth* Solyman, *he regardeth not the king, and of you hee maketh no account at all. for why, he aspireth vnto the maiestie of a king, and saith that the Vayuodship of Transyluania well beseemeth a king; for that in this country* Decebaldus *the Dacian sometime raigned; whom the warlike Emperour* Traian *with all the force of the Roman empire hardly subdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly set himselfe foorth than he, neither more craftily or cunningly dissemble to serue his turne. Indeed he hath for fashion sake presented your honor with a few simple presents, and giuen you his hand also, better koown for his falshood than his faith; to the intent that when you are once past his countrey, he may scoffe and jeast at your decrees: verily he deadly enuieth at your*

Americus Bishop of Veradium and Vayuod of Transyluania, contemneth Grittus.

Ianus Docia inciteth Grittus against the Vayuod.

A *your honor and felicitie, and grudgeth in his heart, that you should set down the lawes of peace and war in Hungarie: and whereas he doth manifestly aspire vnto a kingdome, hee feareth you aboue all others, lest you should trouble his designes, abate his credit, and chastise his insolency. Verily, he that thus malligneth your happinesse, and contemneth your authority, is not to be suffered, but by good reason to be taken away: therby at this your first entrance to defend the credit of your commission, & honor of your name. For nothing is more dangerous than a faithlesse companion, and a secret enemy, especally when you shall leaue him at your backe behind you: for when he shall as occasion serues shew forth his hidden malice, he shall so much the more stily and desperatly indanger your person.* *Grittus* enraged with his speech more than before, thought it best to make hast, and to vse his authoritie to the full; he commended *Docia*, and promised him in short time to requite his good will towards him, especially if he
B would by some notable attempt abate the Bishops pride. It is reported, that *Grittus* gaue him no other charge, but to take the Bishop, that so hee might after the Turkish manner haue sent him in chains to Constantinople, & bestowed the honor of the Vayuod vpon *Hieronimus Lascus* the Polonian, who in hope of that honorable preferment vnto him promised by king *Iohn*, had done him great and faithfull seruice, as his embassador both vnto *Solyman*, and also vnto the French king. But when king *Iohn* perceiued that he could not conueniently without manifest danger place him, being a Polonian (who could scarcely speak the Hungarian language) gouernor ouer such a warlike people, he as it were inforced by necessitie, preferred this *Americus* the Bishop of Veradium, a man of them both reuerenced and feared: Which so grieued *Lascus*, a man of great stomacke and experience, and thereunto excellently learned, that he would
C neuer admit any excuse of the kings, but alwayes after complained, that he was by the king deluded. Yet for all that, he kept himselfe within the bounds of loyaltie, & inioyed certain lands and townes which the king had giuen him in the borders of Polonia, and estranged neuertheless from him in mind, was now become one of *Grittus* his followers, hoping of his better preferment by his means vnto *Solyman*; and for that cause was not so forward to doe the king such seruice as he had in times past. Now by the commandement of *Grittus*, a strong companie of Turkish horsemen, and certaine troups of Hungarians, were deliuered to *Docia*; who secretly departing that night from Baxouia, came suddenly to the Vayuods campe, hauing a little before by his Hungarian spies learned that he lay in the open fields in his tent, by reason of the great heat, without any watch or guard, attended on only with his pages and houshold
D seruants, as a man without feare; & that all the rest of his retinue lay dispersed in the countrey villages round about. All which serued so well for *Docia* his purpose, that the Vayuod ignorant of his death so nigh at hand (who rather contemned than feared his enemies) was suddenly oppressed by *Docia* his soldiers: so that whilest he was yet lying in his bed, & scarcely well awaked by his chamberlaines and the noise of the enemie; *Docia* breaking into his tent, cut off his head as he lay. All they which lay neere, amazed with the suddennesse of the matter, fled away for feare, and left their horses and other things for a prey to the Turks and other
E of *Docia* his followers. *Docia* hauing done so great an outrage, returned to *Grittus*, presenting vnto him the Vayuods head, which hee brought in his hand by the eare. *Lascus* was then present, but altogether ignorant of the murder, who as a man moued with a naturall compassion in so sudden & horrible a fact, and forgetting al former grudge (as in like case it oftentimes chanceth) stood as one dismaid, nothing reioicing at the vnworthie death of his enemy. To whom *Grittus* turning himselfe, said, *Lascus*, Doest thou not know this shauen pate, truly it is a great mans head, but of such a one as was very ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom *Lascus* replied, Truly though I loued him not, yet I thought it not so whilest it stood vpon his shoulders; disallowing therein the crueltie of the fact. Which thing *Grittus* perceiuing, began to repent him of that was done, & said openly, that although he was worthily slain, yet he could haue wished rather to haue had him taken prisoner. The report of this horrible murder once bruted abroad, the Bishops kinsmen & friends, yea almost all the people of that prouince rise vp in arms against *Grittus*, to reuenge the death of the reuerend Bishop, whom liuing they had
F both loued and feared. Neuer did any people in reuenge of a common wrong, enter into arms with greater desire, more heat, or quicker speed: so that in few daies there were assembled together 40000 horse and foot, vnder the leading of *Stephanus Maylat* a noble gentleman, who of all other most honored the Bishop, & in that common griefe took vpon him as chiefe, the persecuting of the authors of such inhumane crueltie. *Grittus* perceiuing how grieuously the matter

The cause why Lascus the Polonian fell from King Iohn.

The Vayuod murdred in his tent by Docia; and his head presented to Grittus.

The Transyluanians rise vp in armes against Grittus, to reuenge the death of the Vayuod.

matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himselfe what course were G
best for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious people, the same was present death; and to returne and leaue the honorable deputation he had with so great expectation of all men taken vpon him, was vnto his aspiring mind no lesse torment than death it selfe. Thus perplexed, he with all speed got himself with his followers to the strong town of Mege, in hope to shreud himselfe vntill such time as the rage of the countrey people were either of it selfe appeased (as it oftentimes falleth out in such sudden tumults) or els he should be relieued by king *Iohn*, or the Turks Sanzacks which had the charge of the frontiers of the Turkish empire. The townsmen of Mege seeing *Grittus* accompanied with so many Turkes, shut the gates against him: yet at length by the perswasion of the two Hungarian captains *Docia* and *Batianus*, they gaue him leaue to enter into the base town, hauing before retired themselues with all their substance vnto the higher towne, which in manner of a strong castle com- H
manded the lower. Here whilst *Grittus* with all carefulnes fortifieth the place, and dispatcheth the messengers vnto his friends abroad for aid, his enemies with hideous noise and outcries approching the town, at their first comming attempted to haue scaled the wals and ramplers therof: which thing whilst they disorderly did, with greater fury than discretion, they were easily repulsed, and many of them slaine by the Turks Ianizaries & harquebusiers. After which losse, by the direction of *Maylat* their Generall, they withdrew themselues out of the danger of the shot, & incamped on euery side of the towne, hoping as the truth was, that their enemies vnprouided of victuall, could not long hold the place, but must of necessitie either starue with famine, or yeeld it vp. In the mean time *Grittus* resolutely enduring all the calamities of a man I
besieged, fell sicke, and so much the more for that he could heare nothing of any aide which he expected from his friends: for king *Iohn* glad in his mind of the distresse of the ouerseer, or rather competitor of his kingdom; and also knowing that he could not without great discontentment of his subiects oppose himself against such a multitude risen vpon so iust a cause; yet for fashion sake sent certain troups of horsmen to his relefe: who not altogether ignorant of the kings mind, made such hast, as men that purposed not to come in time to do him good. As for the Turks Sanzacks of Belgrade and Samandria, they enuying at his honor, flatly refused to depart from their charge, to relieue him, without expresse commandment from *Solyman* himselfe: and *Lascus* (before one of *Grittus* his chiefe followers, but now a beholder of his distres) when he had a little before departed from him to procure him some relefe, as he promised, K
did now in this extremity forsake him also. The citizens in the vpper town (who a great while had stood looking on from aboue as men indifferent) perceiuing the full resolution of their countrymen to be reuenged, and the difficulties wherewith the Turks were inclosed, assailed them also from the high towne. *Grittus* thus beset on euery side, offered vnto the Transyluanians a great masse of money, to suffer him to passe forward into Hungarie; but their furious minds more desirous of reuenge than money, were not to be moued with any gold. In fine, he sent rich iewels to the Gouernor of Moldauia his friend, to be ready at a certain houre when he would sallie out of the towne, to receiue him with certain troups of horsmen; so if it were possible to saue himselfe & his children. *Grittus* (whether it were vpon a doubtfull hope, or vrged by inexitable destinie) sallying out of the towne at the appointed time, with *Solymans* L
commission in his hand, and missing of the Moldauian, fell vpon *Francis Schenden* the late Bishops nigh kinsman, and *Maylat* his familiar friend; who furiously running in vpon him with tumultuous speech, violently caught from his head his rich cap of Sables, and with his horsemen tooke him, being weake with sicknesse, and making no resistance. His followers, especially the Turks, inclosed on euery side, were either slain or taken. But *Grittus* himself being brought to the generals tent, beset round with his armed enemies, and there examined, Why hee had commanded the Vayuod to be slain; earnestly protested, That he neuer commanded any such thing, and that it was done without his knowledge. Which his answer serued not his turne, all the people crying out against him with one voice, that he should as a sacrifice be offered vnto the Vayuods ghost. Whereupon he was by *Maylat* deliuered again to *Francis Schenden* to bee M
executed, who without delay caused his head to bee strucke off. The nobilitie and the Vayuods kinsmen (after the maner of that people) dipped some part of their garments in his bloud, the longer to keep in mind the remembrance of the reuenge. This was the shamefull end of *Aloysius Gritus* the duke of Venice his son, *Solymans* deputie in Hungarie, with whom he was in

Grittus besieged by the Transyluanians.

Grittus taken and brought to Maylat.

Grittus beheaded.

A in such credit as neuer was any Christian abounding in wealth and worldly felicitie: but climing too fast vp the euill staued ladder of ambition, suddenly fell and neuer rise more. The executioner stripping his dead body, found about him so many precious stones and iewels as were valued at fortie milions of duckats. And not long after, *Lascus* sent for by the king to Buda, was straitly examined vpon torture concerning *Grittus* his commission and purposes, and was in great danger of his life: but at last by the intercession of *Sigismund* king of Polonia, he B
was set at libertie, & so fled out of Hungarie vnto *Sigismund* his court in Polonia: after hee had long time wearied himselfe, and aduentured his life in the Hungarian state. *Docia* the author of this Tragedie, was by the furious people afterwards rent in pieces, and so perished.

The riches found about Grittus.

The same time that *Grittus* went from Constantinople into Hungarie, *Solyman* the Turkish Emperor dreading no danger out of Europe, tooke in hand two great expeditions both at one time, the one by land into Asia against the Persians, & the other by sea into Affrick against the Moores; promising vnto himselfe in his inordinat desires, the Monarchie of the whole world in short time, if he might subdue these two great nations whom he had already in hope deuoured. But forasmuch as all cannot be told at once, which was at one time in diuers places so far distant done, omitting for a while the expedition made in person himselfe against the
C Persians, we will first declare what he did by his Lieutenants against the Moores. *Hariadenus*, surnamed of the Christians *Barbarussa* (who succeeding his elder brother *Horruccius* in the kingdom of Algiers in Affricke, had by many victories so inlarged the kingdome before gotten by his brother, that his name and power was now become terrible both to the Christians and wild Moores, and his fame growne great in the Turkish court) was the chiefe author and perswader of *Solyman* to inuade Affricke. But it shall not (as I thinke) be far from our purpose here briefely to rehearse by what meanes those two Mytilene brethren, basely borne, crept out of a smal galliot vnto the maiestie of great kings; that herein they which come afterwards may also admire the wonderfull changes and chances of these worldly things, now vp, now downe, as if the life of man were not of much more certaintie than a stage play.

Solyman at one time purposeth to inuade Persia and Affricke.

D These two brethren, *Horuccius* and *Hariadenus*, borne at Mytilene in the Iland of Lesbos, weary of the poore and base estate they led at home with their father, a renegate Grecian; stealing a little galliot, committed themselues and all the hope of their good fortune to sea, where by chance they consorted themselues with *Camales*, a most famous pyrat of that time; vnder whom *Horruccius* the elder brother, for his forwardnesse became a captain: and growing rich by many purchases, and also strong with gallies and slaues which hee had at sundrie times taken; and at last consorting himselfe with *Haidin*, *Sinam* the Iew, *Salec*, and other lesse pyrats (which afterwards became men of great fame and account) ouer whom he commanded as an arch pyrat, came seeking after purchase as far as Mauritania. At which time *Selymes* king of Iulia-Cæsarea, which now we call Algiers, was in armes against his brother *Mechemetes*, competitor of the kingdom; who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, put his brother in great doubt of his estate. *Selymes* glad of the comming of *Horruccius* & the
E other pyrats his followers, with a great masse of money paid before hand, induced *Horruccius* and the rest to take vpon them the defence of him and his kingdom against his brother: which thing *Horruccius* so happily performed, (especially by the means of his harquebusiers, as then no small terror to the wild Moores and Numidians) that in short time he repulsed that sauage people, and set *Selymes* at peace in his kingdom. *Horruccius* being a man of a sharp wit, and by nature ambitious, noting in the time of his seruice the kings mild and simple disposition, void of all distrust; and that the naked Moores were no soldiers, but a light and vnconstant people, alwaies at variance among themselues; and that the wandring Numidians liuing barely diuided into many factions, were easily by reward to be woon, or by force constrained; suddenly falsified his faith, & villanously slew *Selymes* the king, as he was bathing himselfe, mistrusting nothing lesse than the falshood of the pyrat; & in the same hurle murthring such as he thought
F would withstand his desire, and with bountie and crueltie ouercomming the rest, so wrought the matter, that he was by generall consent chosen king of Algiers. Thus of a pyrat becomes a king, he shortly after by policie surprised Circello (a famous citie about 60 mile distant from Algiers) by his souldiers sent thither in the habit of marchants. After that, he by his brother *Hariadenus* (no lesse valiant than himself) troubled al the Mediterranean sea from Algiers with his gallies, & al his neighbors: himself by land with daily incursiõs, leauing nothing vntoucht, which

The poor beginning of Horruccius & Hariadenus, who of base pyrats, aspired to the kingdom of Algiers.

Horruccius his successe.

matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himselfe what course were G
best for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious people, the same
was present death; and to returne and leaue the honorable deputation he had with so great ex-
pectation of all men taken vpon him, was vnto his aspiring mind no lesse torment than death
it selfe. Thus perplexed, he with all speed got himself with his followers to the strong town
of Mege, in hope to shroud himselfe vntill such time as the rage of the countrey people were
either of it selfe appeased (as it oftentimes falleth out in such sudden tumults) or els he should
be relieued by king *Iohn*, or the Turks Sanzacks which had the charge of the frontiers of the
Turkish empire. The townsmen of Mege seeing *Grittus* accompanied with so many Turkes,
shut the gates against him: yet at length by the perswasion of the two Hungarian captains *Do-*
cia and *Batianus*, they gaue him leaue to enter into the base town, hauing before retired them-
selues with all their substance vnto the higher towne, which in manner of a strong castle com- H
manded the lower. Here whilst *Grittus* with all carefulnes fortifieth the place, and dispatcheth
the messengers vnto his friends abroad for aid, his enemies with hideous noise and outcries
approching the town, at their first comming attempted to haue scaled the wals and ramparts
therof: which thing whilst they disorderly did, with greater fury than discretion, they were
Grittus besie- easily repulsed, and many of them slaine by the Turks Ianizaries & harquebusiers. After which
ged by the Tra- losse, by the direction of *Maylat* their Generall, they withdrew themselues out of the danger
syluanians. of the shot, & incamped on euery side of the town, hoping as the truth was, that their enemies
vnprouided of victuall, could not long hold the place, but must of necessitie either starue with
famine, or yeeld it vp. In the mean time *Grittus* resolutely enduring all the calamities of a man I
besieged, fell sicke, and so much the more for that he could heare nothing of any aide which
he expected from his friends: for king *Iohn* glad in his mind of the distresse of the ouerseer,
or rather competitor of his kingdom; and also knowing that he could not without great dis-
contentment of his subiects oppose himself against such a multitude risen vpon so iust a cause;
yet for fashion sake sent certain troups of horsmen to his relefe: who not altogether ignorant
of the kings mind, made such hast, as men that purposed not to come in time to do him good.
As for the Turks Sanzacks of Belgrade and Samandria, they enuying at his honor, flatly refu-
sed to depart from their charge, to relieue him, without expresse commandment from *Solyman* him-
selfe: and *Lascus* (before one of *Grittus* his chiefe followers, but now a beholder of his distres)
when he had a little before departed from him to procure him some relefe, as he promised, K
did now in this extremity forsake him also. The citizens in the vpper town (who a great while
had stood looking on from aboue as men indifferent) perceiuing the full resolution of their
countrymen to be reuenged, and the difficulties wherewith the Turks were inclosed, assailed
them also from the high towne. *Grittus* thus beset on euery side, offered vnto the Transyluanians
a great masse of money, to suffer him to passe forward into Hungarie; but their furious
minds more desirous of reuenge than money, were not to be moued with any gold. In fine, he
sent rich iewels to the Gouernor of Moldauia his friend, to be ready at a certain houre when
he would sallie out of the towne, to receiue him with certain troups of horsmen; so if it were
possible to saue himselfe & his children. *Grittus* (whether it were vpon a doubtfull hope, or
Grittus taken vrged by ineuitable destinie) sallying out of the towne at the appointed time, with *Solymans* L
and brought to commission in his hand, and missing of the Moldauian, fell vpon *Francis Schenden* the late Bi-
Maylat. shops nigh kinsman, and *Maylat* his familiar friend; who furiously running in vpon him with
tumultuous speech, violently caught from his head his rich cap of Sables, and with his horse-
men tooke him, being weake with sickenesse, and making no resistance. His followers, especially
the Turks, inclosed on euery side, were either slain or taken. But *Grittus* himself being brought
to the generals tent, beset round with his armed enemies, and there examined, Why hee had
commanded the Vayuod to be slain; earnestly protested, That he neuer commanded any such
thing, and that it was done without his knowledge. Which his answer serued not his turne, all
the people crying out against him with one voice, that he should as a sacrifice be offered vnto
Grittus beheaded. the Vayuods ghost. Whereupon he was by *Maylat* deliuered again to *Francis Schenden* to bee M
executed, who without delay caused his head to bee strucke off. The nobilitie and the Vay-
uods kinsmen (after the maner of that people) dipped some part of their garments in his bloud,
the longer to keep in mind the remembrance of the reuenge. This was the shamefull end of
Aloysius Gritus the duke of Venice his son, *Solymans* deputie in Hungarie, with whom he was
in

A in such credit as neuer was any Christian abounding in wealth and worldly felicitie: but cli-
ming too fast vp the euill staued ladder of ambition, suddenly fell and neuer rise more. The
executioner stripping his dead body, found about him so many precious stones and iewels as
were valued at fortie milions of duckats. And not long after, *Lascus* sent for by the king to Bu- *The riches found about Grittus.*
da, was straitly examined vpon torture concerning *Grittus* his commission and purposes, and
was in great danger of his life: but at last by the intercession of *Sigismund* king of Polonia, he
B was set at libertie, & so fled out of Hungarie vnto *Sigismund* his court in Polonia: after hee
had long time wearied himselfe, and aduentured his life in the Hungarian state. *Docia* the au-
thor of this Tragedie, was by the furious people afterwards rent in pieces, and so perished.

The same time that *Grittus* went from Constantinople into Hungarie, *Solyman* the Turkish *Solyman at one time purposeth to inuade Persia and Affricke.*
Emperor dreading no danger out of Europe, tooke in hand two great expeditions both at one
time, the one by land into Asia against the Persians, & the other by sea into Affrick against the
Moores; promising vnto himselfe in his inordinat desires, the Monarchie of the whole world
in short time, if he might subdue these two great nations whom he had already in hope de-
uoured. But forasmuch as all cannot be told at once, which was at one time in diuers places
so far distant done, omitting for a while the expedition made in person himselfe against the
C Persians, we will first declare what he did by his Lieutenants against the Moores. *Hariadenus*,
surnamed of the Christians *Barbarussa* (who succeeding his elder brother *Horruccius* in the
kingdom of Algiers in Affricke, had by many victories so inlarged the kingdome before got-
ten by his brother, that his name and power was now become terrible both to the Christians
and wild Moores, and his fame growne great in the Turkish court) was the chiefe author and
perswader of *Solyman* to inuade Affricke. But it shall not (as I thinke) be far from our purpose
here briefely to rehearse by what meanes those two Mytilene brethren, basely borne, crept
out of a smal galliot vnto the maiestie of great kings; that herein they which come afterwards
may also admire the wonderfull changes and chances of these worldly things, now vp, now
downe, as if the life of man were not of much more certaintie than a stage play.

D These two brethren, *Horruccius* and *Hariadenus*, borne at Mytilene in the Iland of Lesbos, *The poor beginning of Horruccius & Hariadenus, who of base pyrats, aspired to the kingdom of Algiers.*
weary of the poore and base estate they led at home with their father, a renegate Grecian;
stealing a little galliot, committed themselues and all the hope of their good fortune to sea,
where by chance they consorted themselues with *Camales*, a most famous pyrat of that time;
vnder whom *Horruccius* the elder brother, for his forwardnesse became a captain: and grow-
ing rich by many purchases, and also strong with gallies and slaues which hee had at sundrie
times taken; and at last consorting himselfe with *Huidin*, *Sinam* the Iew, *Sales*, and other lesse
pyrats (which afterwards became men of great fame and account) ouer whom he commanded
as an arch pyrat, came seeking after purchase as far as Mauritania. At which time *Selymes* king
of Iulia-Cæsarea, which now we call Algiers, was in armes against his brother *Mechemetes*,
competitor of the kingdom; who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians,
put his brother in great doubt of his estate. *Selymes* glad of the comming of *Horruccius* & the
E other pyrats his followers, with a great masse of money paid before hand, induced *Horruccius*
and the rest to take vpon them the defence of him and his kingdom against his brother: which
thing *Horruccius* so happily performed, (especially by the means of his harquebusiers, eathen
no small terror to the wild Moores and Numidians) that in short time he repulsed that sauage
people, and set *Selymes* at peace in his kingdom. *Horruccius* being a man of a sharp wit, and by
nature ambitious, noting in the time of his seruice the kings mild and simple disposition, void
of all distrust; and that the naked Moores were no soldiers, but a light and vnconstant people,
alwaies at variance among themselues; and that the wandring Numidians liuing barely diui-
ded into many factions, were easily by reward to be woon, or by force constrained; suddenly
falsified his faith, & villanously slew *Selymes* the king, as he was bathing himselfe, mistrusting
nothing lesse than the falshood of the pyrat; & in the same hurle murthring such as he thought
F would withstand his desire, and with bountie and crueltie ouercomming the rest, so wrought
the matter, that he was by generall consent chosen king of Algiers. Thus of a pyrat becomes a
king, he shortly after by policie surprised Circello (a famous citie about 60 mile distant from
Algiers) by his souldiers sent thither in the habit of marchants. After that, he by his brother
Hariadenus (no lesse valiant than himself) troubled al the Mediterranean sea from Algiers with
his gallies, & al his neighbors: himself by land with daily incursios, leauing nothing vnattempted, *Horruccius al* which *passage*

which might by force or policy be had; so that his power daily increased, men of seruice continually resorting vnto him, as the chiefe man in al those parts. Not thus contented, he to enlarge his kingdome, draue the Spaniards out of Bugea, a citie famous both for the great trade thither, and for the Mahometan schoole solnetime there kept: at the taking whereof hee lost his right hand with a shot, and in stead thereof euer after vsed a hand of yron, wherewith hee obtained many worthie victories against his enemies: for neere to Algiers he ouerthrew an army of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vara* their Generall. And shortly after, at such time as *Hugo Moncada* returning out of Italie with the old Spanish souldiers, landed in his country, he enforced him againe to sea; where hee with all his expert souldiers either perished by shipwracke, or driuen on shore, were slain or taken prisoners by *Horruccius*, and thrust into his gallies. At last hauing in sundry battels ouercome the king of Tremisla, *Charles* the Emperor his confederat, and thrust him out of his kingdome, he stirred vp both the Christians and Numidians against him: so that comming to take Ora and Portus (two strong holds kept by garrisons of Spaniards sent thither to aid the king of Tremissa) he was by them and the Moo[illegible] at the first repulled, and afterwards quite ouerthrowne: where most part of his army being [illegible] or taken prisoners, he with a few of his friends sought to saue themselues by flight out [illegible] de Iart sands; and seeing himselfe hardly pursued by his enemies, scattered many pieces of gold vpon the sands as he fled, thereby to haue staied their hastie pursuit: but they more desirous of him than of his gold, followed so fast, that at last they ouertooke him, and without further delay strucke off his head, which was afterwards sent into Spiane, and carried vpon a launce thorow all the townes and cities alongst the sea coast, to the wonderfull reioycing of the people, vnto whom he had in former time done great harme.

Horruccius slain, & his head carried aboue in Spaine.

Hariadenus surnamed Barbarussa, succeedeth his brother Horruccius in the kingdome of Algiers.

After the death of *Horruccius*, *Hariadenus* inferiour to his brother neither in courage nor martiall prowesse, by the generall content of the souldiers tooke vpon him the kingdome of Algiers. He, made heire not only of his brothers kingdome, but of his vertues and haughtie thoughts, and of the surname also of *Barbarussa*, began forthwith to aspire vnto the empire of all that part of Affricke; accounting what he had already gotten, too little and too base to answer his desires. Wherefore he entred into armes, and became a terrour both to the Moores and Numidians; holding peace with some, and wars with others, as best serued his purpose: and with his gallies robbed and spoiled the coasts of Spaine, Sardinia, and the Islands Baleares; fortune so fauouring him in al his enterprises, that he became both famous & feareful to his enemies. He slew *Hamet*, a great commander among the Numidians, and chased *Benchades* and *Abenida*, two of their greatest princes, out of the country: and with like fortune at sea, ouercame *Hugo Moncada*, a famous Spaniard, who sore wounded, had much adoe to saue himselfe by flight, when he had lost diuers of his gallies. He also in battel at sea ouerthrew *Rodericus Portundus*, Admirall of Spaine: in which fight the Admirall with his son were both slaine, and seuen of his gallies taken: in token of which victory, he sent part of the rich spoile there taken, with the Admirals ensigne, as a Present vnto *Solyman*; wherby he became famous in the Turks court; but much more, after he had repulsed *Auria* from Cercenna, and taken two great Genoway ships which were comming to *Auria* loaded with men and munition; the losse whereof filled the citie of Genoa with much sorrow. All things sorting thus according to his desire, and his name become no lesse terrible in Spaine, Italie, Sicilie, and the Islands of the Mediterranian, than it was in the greatest part of Affricke; *Solyman* grieued with the losse of Corone, Patras, and the castles vpon the straits of Lepanto, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himerales* his Admirall being shamefully put to flight: by the counsel of his Bassaes, but especially of *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa, sent Embassadours vnto him to Algiers; offering him the greatest honours of his court, and to make him Admirall of all his fleet, if hee would forthwith repaire vnto Constantinople: for why, hee was the onely man in all mens iudgements, who for his yeres and great experience at sea, as wel as for his inuincible courage, and glory of his late atchieued kingdome, was to be compared with *Auria*, and to be opposed against the Christian fleet. *Sinas* a great man in *Solymans* court, was with this embassage sent, and speedily transported to Algiers by *Mangalis*, a famous pyrat, then Gouernour of the Rhodes; who at his landing, was honourably receiued by *Barbarussa*, and audience giuen him. *Barbarussa* vnderstanding the cause of his comming, was exceeding glad thereof, presently conceiuing no small hope of obtaining the monarchie of Affricke, if hee might once come to *Solymans* presence, and

His wonderfull successe.

Solyman sends for Barbarussa.

and at large shew vnto him the state of Affricke, and power of the Christians, with their continuall discord amongst themselues. Wherefore without further delay committing the protection of his son *Asanes* (then about eighteene yeares old) and the gouernment of his new gotten kingdome to *Ramada* and *Agû*, two of his nigh kinsemen and assured friends, of whose fidelitie he doubted not: he with fortie of his owne gallies in most warrelike manner appointed, set forward with *Solymans* Embassadour towards Constantinople: where by the way hee met with a fleet of Genoway ships bound for Sicilie for corne, which after a sharpe and cruell fight he tooke and burnt. After that, landing by night in the countrey of Elba, not far from Naples, he suddenly surprised Rhium a rich citie; where loading his gallies with the wealth thereof, and carrying away with him all the inhabitants into captiuitie, he arriued at Constantinople in the yeare 1533, where he was by the great courtiers brought to *Solyman*, of whom he was joyfully receiued, if it were but for the presents which he gaue him: which were faire boyes and yong maidens sumptuously apparrelled, eunuchs and wild beasts of Lybia, as Lyons, Leopards and such like. But after he had certain dayes discoursed at large with the great Bassa's, of the state of Affricke, the strength of the Christians, and how the wars were to be managed, he was afterwards by them seldomer sent for, and offering himselfe into their companie, was hardly admitted: for enuie (the inseperable companion of growing honor) had quickely ouertaken him in the court, so that many men letted not openly to say, It had not bin the fashion of the *Othoman* kings, to prefer pyrats (the worst kind of theeues) to the honor of their great Admirall; and that there wanted not, neither euer would want men both vertuous and valiant in the Turks court, which could with great honour maintaine and augmene the glory of the Turkish empire both by sea and land; whereas hee had against all right and conscience, by shameful treacherie intruded himselfe into another mans kingdom in Affricke, and there persecuted the Mahometan princes and people, being of no religion himselfe, as one that was borne of a renegate Greeke, and had from his youth liued as a mercilesse pyrat, and common enemie of mankind. By which speeches *Barbarussa* perceiued in how euill time *Abraham Bassa* his best friend, and by whose means he was sent for, was absent from Court, who at that time was gone into Comagena, and wintred at Aleppo, with purpose (as *Solymans* forerunner) with the first of the next Spring, to passe ouer Euphrates against the Persian. After long suit, and much expectation, *Solyman* answered *Barbarussa* by *Aiax* and *Cassimes* two of the great Bassa's, That all the matter concerning him should be referred to the discretion of *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa, for that he was by his counsell especially sent for into Affricke: wherefore if he did expect any thing, he should repaire vnto him in Syria, that according to his graue iudgement all things might be ordred. *Barbarussa* thus reiected into Syria, although he well perceiued that it tended to his no small disgrace; yet in hope by sufferance to obtaine another kingdome, seemed contented with the answere, and resolued forthwith to take vpon him that long and painfull journy: which the old king lustily performed, and so posting by land through Asia the lesse, & trauelling ouer the mountain Amanus, then couered with deep snow, came in the dead time of Winter to Aleppo in Syria, where he was honourably receiued by the great Bassa, and heard at large, to his so good contentation and liking, that he deemed him of all others the fittest to command the Turks power at sea; & to that purpose writ commendatorie letters in his behalfe to *Solyman*: wishing him for his sufficience to place him as the fourth with the other three Bassa's of his counsell. After *Barbarussa* was again arriued at Constantinople with these letters, and that it was once knowne how effectually the chiefe Bassa had commended him to *Solyman*, it was a world to see how on the sudden the face of the court was changed vpon him, euery man either for friendship or flatterie began now to speake of his praises, and to extoll his worthines: who was now in all mens mouthes but *Barbarussa*? so great was the power and authoritie of the chiefe Bassa, that being absent, yet was his approbation of all men accounted sufficient to prefer whom he pleased; and his letters lawes to the rest of the court. *Barbarussa* had brought with him from Algiers, one *Rosetes* the elder brother of *Muleasses* king of Tunes, who wrongfully driuen into exile by his yonger brother, had liued certain yeres at Algiers, but now by the persuasion of *Barbarussa* was come with him to Constantinople, to craue aid of *Solyman* against the oppression of his brother. Him *Barbarussa* oftentimes shewed vnto the great Bassa's, and in his discourses with them concerning the conquest of Affricke, set him out as a most fit instrument for subduing of the kingdome of Tunes, as

Barbarussa retireth to Constantinople.

Barbarussa enuied in the Turks court.

Barbarussa referred to Abraham the great Bassa.

He trauelleth into Syria to the Bass, and is by him commended to Solyman

His returne to Constantinople.

Rosetes.

as a man whom the people more affected than they did *Muleasses* the vsurper. After long deliberation and consultation had with the Bassa's concerning the inuasion of Affricke, *Barbarussa* now admitted vnto the presence of *Solyman*, in these or like words persuaded him to that warr, for the entrance whereunto we haue thus far digressed.

Barbarussa his speech to Solyman to persuade him to inuade Tunes.

What thing the Priests with loud voyce vse to pray for, at such time as the Othoman *Emperors enter into the Temple to pray, the same thing doe I also wish vnto thee most mightie* Solyman; *which is, That thou shouldest remember, thy progenitors by Iustice and religion to haue got for thee this Empire, than which, more magnificent and richer the gods haue not giuen to any: Fortune hath neuer deceiued them that troad that way, and thou hitherto hast so traced their steps, that thou hast easily surmounted their fame and glorie, administring Iustice to thy subiects; and inflamed with the hope of eternall praise, making continuall warr against the enemies of our religion, the true office of a zealous Prince. By this meanes is Belgrade taken, Rhodes woon, the King of Hungarie slaine in battell, Germanie twice harried and burnt: so that* Charles, *whom the Christians would make equall to thy selfe in power and name, with the great aid almost of all the Christian Nations, terrified with the noyse of thy armie, shunned battell. But forasmuch as Empires, be they neuer so large, or victories be they neuer so glorious, can either satisfie the greatnesse of an heroicall mind, or glut the same with glorie; thou hast therefore sent before thee thy victorious ensignes against the Persians and Parthians, that those Nations who haue wickedly fallen from our Rites, purified as it were by thy sacred armes, may be again reclaimed to the antient rites of our religion. But be this vnto thy greatnesse most honorable to attempt, and glorious to performe: let it only be lawfull for me now growne an old man in the middest of armes and dangers, to declare what is expedient, and briefely to open such things as I haue by long experience learned to concerne the augmenting of thy fame and empire elsewhere. Neither would I haue you to take this as presumptuously spoken of me: for Fortune hath enough, yea and more than enough fauoured my designes, whom from a poore cottage and bare hope, she hath promoted to glorious victories, great riches, yea vnto the title and maiestie of a King. But vnto these things the gods could giue me nothing better, than to be called for of thee, and sent for, in Councell to discourse of matters of greatest importance: wherefore my aduice shall be vnto thee faithfull, and with experience confirmed: which although it be all that it seemeth old men can do, yet in my sound bodie remaineth such strength, that I dare both promise and performe vnto thee my good seruice at all assayes both by sea and land. For vnto this onely course haue I bent my selfe day and night from my youth, following the purpose and counsell of my valiant brother* Horuccius *(who to extend the bounds of our religion, persecuted the Christians both by sea and land) desiring nothing more, than that thy fleet and power might once be ioyned with my forces and direction, and so vnder thy good hap, to be either a commander, or else commanded: forasmuch as it grieueth me not to be commanded by my betters. Of which my desires if the gods shall make me partaker, the Spaniards shall shortly be driuen quite out of Affricke, thou shalt heare that the Moores are gone ouer into Spaine, to repossesse the kingdome of Granado; that Tunes and Numidia are at thy command; and not to speake of Sardinia and Corcyca, that Sicilia is ours: which once taken, we shall starue vp Italie, and on euery side distresse it with our fleet, being now weake and brought low by the discord of the Princes, and that part thereof both towards Sicilia and Macedonia readie to submit it selfe vpon any condition, so it might cast off the Spanish yoke. Thinke not, that either that strength or vnitie is now in Italie, which was when thy great grandfather* Mahomet *hauing taken Hydruntum brought a great feare, not vpon Italie onely, but vpon other the Christian Nations also: for by the good successe of that warre, which all the Christian Princes could hardly withstand, he had vndoubtedly taken the citie of Rome, and so according to right and reason, againe vnited the Empire of the East and of the West, as they were before in their antient glory. But he suddenly left the world, rapt to heauen, that he might leaue to thee (according to the appointment of the fatall Destinies, and reuolutions of the heauens) this worke of absolute perfection. And yet my purpose is not by putting thee in hope of so great and rare a triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning thy power into the East, against thy old and irreligious enemies, deseruing all extremities: for thy nauie shall be sufficient for me, whereof thou shalt haue no need in thy wars so farre within land; that whilest thou art conquering Asia, Affrica the third part of the world may in the meane time be brought vnder thy subiection also. Where before all other things,* Muleasses *is to be driuen out of Tunes; a man of insatiable couetousnesse, vnstayed lust, horrible cruelitie, hated both of God and man; who hauing by treacherie slaine eighteene of his brethren, or that which worse is, cruelly burnt out their eyes, doth so raigne alone, that he hath left him neither kinseman nor friend. For being as vnthankefull as perfideous, hee hath*

A *hath murthered all his fathers friends, who with great trauell had preferred him to the kingdome, so to make short payment for so great desert. With this beast we must haue to do, whom whilest no man loueth, all men wish to perish. The Numidians trouble him with dayly inuasions, whose iniuries the infamous coward endureth with such shame and reproach, that it should seeme he had rather to suffer them than reuenge them. And yet this effœminate dastard holdeth in chaines many valiant Turks, and acknowledgeth not your imperiall name, whereunto all men on euery side sue for grace: and which is not to be suffered exceedingly fauoureth the Spaniards of Tripolis, to the intent that* Agis *and* Moses, *two valiant Turkish captaines may be driuen out of the citie. This wild beast disarmed of his claws and teeth, we shall easily destroy, if it be but for that we haue with vs* Roscetes *his brother, whom the Numidians wish and long for: him must we vse, if it be but for a shew, so shall the thing we desire, be without bloud effected, as*

B *soone as we shall but present our selues before the gates of Tunes. Then shall it be at your pleasure, to appoint whom you will haue to gouerne the Numidian kingdome: it shall be vnto me glorie enough, when the greatest part of Affricke conquered, shall be peaceably deliuered into your hands at your return with the triumphs of Persia. But by the way as I returne, I assure you vpon mine own priuat, so to vse the matter, that the Christians shall also haue good cause to bewaile their calamities: and if I hap to meet with* Auria, *he shall haue small cause to reioyce of the mischiefe he hath done: for him alone I challenge to persecute, as my proper and peculiar enemie, both for the remembrance of the harmes wee haue receiued at his hands, and for the despight I haue at his fame; who once taken out of the way, the seas shall be open only to you and your fleets. And beleeue me, he that shall be able to command the seas, shall easily also subdue the kingdomes by land.*

C But *Solyman*, who after the manner of wise Princes, vsed well to consider, and afterwards with ripe iudgement to resolue of such matters as he had with attentiue care hearkned vnto; commending *Barbarussa* for his forwardnesse in his seruice, for that time brake vp the counsel. Not long after, a decree was made, according to *Abraham* the great Bassa's aduice, That *Barbarussa* should be ioyned as fourth with the other three chiefe Bassa's of *Solymans* counsel, and be made great Admiral; so that all the Islands, ports, and people all alongst the sea coast thorow out *Solymans* Empire should be at his command, and that it should be lawfull for him to take vp such mariners and soldiers for seruice at sea, as pleased him in what place soeuer. This being solemnly proclaimed, *Solyman* with his owne hand deliuered him a sceptre and a sword,

Barbarussa is made Solymans great Admirall.

D willing him, by worthie deeds to performe what he had promised. After which, *Aiax* and *Cassimes* the two great Bassa's, with the Captaine of the Ianizaries, brought him with exceeding pompe, from the court to the Nauie: at which time was carried before him all the tokens of his new obtained honour. And toward the maintenance of that war at sea, he had deliuered vnto him out of *Solymans* treasures, eight hundred thousand duckets, and eight hundred Ianizaries.

But forasmuch as much it was that he did in the seruice of *Solyman*, and more is of him hereafter to be spoken; it shall not be amisse here to present vnto the view of the world the sterne but liuely countenance of this so famous a man (who liuing kept all the Miditerranian in feare) as it is by *Boisardus* expressed, together with the Elogium following.

Littora te Hesperia timuere vtriusque, Lybesque
Oppressi dextra subcubuere tua.
Nunquam te Lypare, Corcyraue diligit, harum
Cum sit immeritos depopulatus agros.

The coasts of Italie and Spaine, of thee were sore afraid,
And so the Moores did stoupe to thee, by thy right hand dismaid.
Lyparos will thee neuer loue, ne yet Corcyra strong;
For that thou causelesse did'st to them so great and open wrong.

Barbarussa sped of that hee desired, staied not long after at Constantinople, but departing out of Helespontus with eightie gillies and certaine galliots, shaped his course towards Italie, leauing *Amurathes* (a sea captaine) with twelue gallies to transport *Solyman* and his armie, readie to set forward against the Persian, ouer that narrow sea into Asia. Who after he had so done, ouertooke *Barbarussa* at Methone, who holding on his course to Affricke, and suddenly passing the strait betwixt Italie and Cicilie, brought a great feare vpon both the countries; but passing by the bay of Hippona alongst the coast of the lower Calabria, hee set vpon the towne of Saint *Lucidius* called in antient time Tempsa: which although it stood vpon a rocke and was reasonable well walled; yet such was the violence of the Turkes assault, that it could not be defended but was taken, with so much more hurt to the enhabitants, for that the Maior

He spoileth the coast of Italie.

A Major of the towne, to keepe the people from flying away, had lockt vp the gates on the other side of the citie, from the enemie. From thence he with rich spoyle and many prisoners went to Citrarium, where he had learned of his prisoners, a fleet of gallies was in building. This town forsaken of the inhabitants for feare, he tooke without resistance, ransacked it, and burnt it, where he also fired seuen gallies not yet altogether finished. But after he was come with his fleet as farre as the Island Capri, within the sight of Naples, such a terror was strucke into the minds of all that dwelt alongst that coast, That it was thought, if he had landed and gone directly to Naples, the Neopolitans would for feare haue abandoned the citie. But holding on his course, he came to Prochita, which he tooke and rifled: so passing by the port of Caieta, (which he might easily haue taken) he came to Spelunca, a towne in the hithermost part of the
B Kingdome of Naples. They of the Towne dismaied with the sudden arriuall of so great a fleet, yeelded the same without resistance. The enemie entring the town, tooke twelue hundred prisoners. *Pelegrinus* a chiefe man amongst them of Spelunca, was fled into the Castle: him *Barbarussa* commanded to yeeld, which if he would presently do, he promised to let him go free; but if he should stand vpon his defence, hee threatned in short time to make him repent his foolish hardinesse, with the vtter destruction both of himselfe and the towne. The fearefull gentleman without delay came out of the castle, and fell downe at his feet; who according to his promise gaue him his libertie, and with rare curtesie restored to him his wife, his sonne, and niece, whom he had taken prisoners; who receiued them with many teares falling from their eyes for ioy.

C The same night also 2000 Turkes came from the fleet, through the rough and bushie mountaines, to the citie Fundi, ten miles distant from Spelunca, in the vttermost borders of the kingdome of Naples, conducted as was thought by certaine Italians of that countrey; who a few yeares before taken at sea, and ouerwearied with the heauie burthen of the Turkish slauerie, had reuolted to the Mahometan religion. But such was the suddennesse of their coming, and their celeritie in entring the citie, that *Iulia Gonzaga* the Paragon of Italie, and the chiefe prise which they sought after, had scarce time to get to horse halfe naked, and so with much difficultie to escape into the mountaines. It is reported, that *Barbarussa* (which thing he himselfe afterwards seemed not to deny) mooued with the fame of her incomparable beautie, and wonderfull perfection, desired exceedingly to haue taken her as a Present for *Solyman*.

Iulia Gonzaga a faire Ladie hardly distressed by Barbarussa.

D The citizens were for most part either slain or taken prisoners by the Turks, who loaded with the spoile of the citie, returned again to the fleet. Another part of *Barbarussa's* fleet came to Tarracina, which the Turks tooke forsaken of the inhabitants, who for feare were all fled into the mountains, except some which for age or sicknesse could not shift for themselues, whom the Turks slew, & spoyled the churches. *Barbarussa* thus scouring along the coast of Italie, and newes thereof daily brought to the citie of Rome, strucke such an exceeding terrour into the minds of the citizens, that it was verily thought if he had come a little further to Ostia, they would generally haue forsaken the city. But he hauing well performed his promise made to *Solyman* for vexing the Christians, and before resolued of a greater matter he had to do; when he had watted at Pontia, passed ouer into Affrick with such celeritie, that he was arriued there
E before it was thought that he was departed from the coast of Italie. For *Barbarussa* to deceiue *Muleasses* king of Tunes, and to take him vnprouided, had giuen it out, that he would burn and spoyle the coasts of the Christian countries, especially of Italie, Liguria, and Spain, in reuenge of the harme done by *Auria* at Corone and Patras. Which thing *Muleasses* the rather beleeued, vnderstanding his proceedings vpon the coast of Italie. The Venetians having also at the same time at great charges prepared a great fleet, did in some part lessen *Muleasses* feare, That *Barbarussa* would imploy his Forces for Affricke: for then what should the Venetians haue needed to haue made so great and chargeable a preparation. But that which aboue all other things brought him into securitie, was for that he had by secret espials certainly learned, that his brother *Roscetes* was kept at Constantinople, as a prisoner at large, vnder safe keeping:
F which made him to think, that *Barbarussa's* forces were not prepared against him; for he knew that he could not be impugned, or his state more indangered by any other meanes, than by producing the competitour of his kingdome, to whom his guiltie conscience doubted, that both the citizens of Tunes and the Numidians were for most part well affected.

The Romans afraid of Barbarussa.

This *Muleasses* of whom we now speake, and whom hereafter we shal by occasion often remember,

Muleasses king of Tunes.

member, was lineally discended of the antient kings of Tunes; who without interruption of discent, or mixture of forreine bloud, had by the space of 954 yeares mightily ruled the great kingdome of Tunes, from Tripolis to Bugia, almost 800 miles alongst the Mediterranian, and into the Main as far as the mount Atlas: and for the long continuance of their state, and largenesse of their kingdome, were worthily accounted the most reuerend and mightie amongst the Mahometan kings of Affricke. His father *Mahomethes*, when he had with much glorie, and more pleasure, raigned 32 yeares, perceiuing the end of his life to approch, had purposed to haue appointed *Maimo* his eldest sonne (whom for his hastie aspiring he then held in durance) to succeed him in his kingdome: but ouercome with the importunitie of *Lentigesia* his wife, a woman of haughtie spirit, who had by reward made a strong faction in the Court for her sonne *Muleasses*, he altered his former purpose, and appointed him his successor: by whom (as it was thought) the small remainder of his owne old yeares wa shortened; *Maimo* the right heire of the kingdome in prison, presently murthered; seuenteene of his other brethren vnmercifully executed; and three other, *Barcha*, *Beleth*, and *Saeth*, with more than barbarous crueltie with a hot yron of their sight depriued; only *Roscetes* the second brother, and *Abdemelech*, escaping the hands of their vnnaturall brother, fled to *Morhabitus* a great Prince amongst the Numidians: whither also their brothers malice persecuted them, seeking by many practises to haue taken them away, and at last for a great summe of money to haue had them deliuered into his hands. Which mony the Numidian receiued, but suffered the distressed Princes, as if they had escaped against his will, to flie further to another Numidian prince a friend of his, called *Benticses*: where *Muleasses* by like practises as before, sought to haue destroyed them, or to haue got them into his owne power. Thus chased by their brothers endlesse malice, from Prince to Prince, and place to place, they for their more safetie fled at last to the citie of Biscaris, farre into the maine land: where *Abdemelech* as one wearie of the world gaue ouer all, and betooke himselfe to a solitarie life, and became a melancholie Mahometan Monke. But *Roscetes* curteously entertained by *Abdalla* Prince of that citie, found such fauour in his sight, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage, and long time honorably maintained him as his sonne in law, with such carefulnesse, that for feare of *Muleasses* practises, hee was seldome permitted to eat any other meat but such as the Prince or his wife had before tasted of. *Muleasses* thus raigning and raging, and yet not contented with the death of so many of his brethren, proceeded further, and murthered diuers of their children also. He caused also the Manifet and Mesuar, men of greatest authoritie in all the kingdome, his fathers graue counsellors, and his chiefe friends, by whose meanes especially he had aspired vnto the Kingdome, to be cruelly tortured to death, fearing their greatnes; or rather as some thought, grieuing to see them liue, to whom he was so much beholden, and therefore rewarded them with such sharp payment. And by the instigation of *Lentesia* his mother, caused diuers of his fathers other wiues and concubines to be shamefully murthered, enueighing oftentimes against his father, that as an effoeminat prince, had for his pleasure maintained 200 wiues and concubines in his houses of delight, by whom he had begot so many sons competitors of the kingdome, that he had left him (as he said) a laborious and endlesse piece of worke, to destroy so great a brood. *Roscetes* aided by his father in law and the other Numidian princes, to whome the name of *Muleasses*, both for his crueltie against his owne bloud, and iniurious dealing against his neighbours, was become odious; passing ouer the riuer Bragada with a great armie, neere vnto Tunes met with *Muleasses* his armie, conducted by *Dorax* a valiant captaine, brother to *Lentigesia*: where in a sharpe conflict he ouerthrew his brothers Armie, and enforced *Dorax* with them that were escaped out of the battell, for safegard of their liues to flie into Tunes. *Roscetes* pursuing the victorie, came and presented his armie before the gates of the citie, in hope that the citisens (whom he knew for the most part to hate the vsurping tyrant) would vpon the sight of him, in right their King, with so great an army, raise some tumult in the city, and let him in. There he lay by the space of twentie dayes, still expecting some innouation; in which time the more to alienate the mindes of the people from *Muleasses*, and to shew how vnable he was to protect them, he burnt & destroyed all the Oliue and fruit trees, which grew most plentifully and pleasantly all alongst the countrey, from the ruines of old Carthage, to the walls of Tunes: which was vnto the citisens, whose greatest possessions lay there, a most heanie and lamentable spectacle. But *Muleasses* had so attempered their minds with faire speeches

The ingratitude of Muleasses.

Roscetes riseth against his brother Muleasses.

A ches, and large promises of recompensing euery man to the full; for all such harme as they should sustaine for his brothers furie in the countrey: and beside that, had the citie in such strong possession by reason of his souldiers, that the citisens either would not or could not reuolt to *Roscetes*. The Numidian princes wearie of that long and vain expectation, according to the leuitie of that nation, accounting it no shame after victorie once gotten to depart, began one after another to shrinke away to their owne dwellings, persuading *Roscetes* also to prouide for himselfe whilst he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherfore he fearing to be betraied by the Numidians, or circumuented by his cruell brother, fled to *Barbarussa*, then raigning at Algiers in great glorie, where he was honourably entertained; and there remained vntill such time as by his persuasion he went with him as is aforesaid to Constantinople, to

B craue help of *Solyman*, by whom he was detained in safe custodie: although it was in policie giuen out by *Barbarussa*, that he was in the fleet, and that he should by *Solymans* power be restored to his fathers kingdome at Tunes.

Forsaken of the Numidian princes, he flieth to Barbarussa.

This was the state of the kingdom of Tunes, at such time as *Barbarussa* with *Solymans* great fleet, contrarie to all mens expectation, suddenly departing from the coast of Italie, landed in Affricke at Biserta, a famous port of the kingdome of Tunes. They of Biserta wearie of the gouernment of *Muleasses*, and of themselues desirous of change, as soone as they heard the name of *Roscetes*, forthwith draue out their Gouernor, and receiued the Turks into the towne. For *Barbarussa* had before sent certaine of *Roscetes* his familiar friends ashore, which bare the people in hand, that he was in the fleet, but not able to come yet on shore, for that he was (as

C they said) sea-sicke, and troubled him with an ague. Biserta thus possessed by *Barbarussa*, hee presently departed thence, and sailing by Vtica, thirtie miles distant from Biserta, and so keeping alongst the coast, and passing the promontorie of Carthage, came before Guletta, a strong castle within the bay of Tunes, so placed vpon a strait, that it commandeth all the passage by seavnto the city of Tunes. Before this castle, *Barbarussa* in token of friendship, discharged all his great ordnance, which they of the castle answered with like: but being required to deliuer it vp to *Roscetes*, they said it should be alwaies at his command that ruled in the city of Tunes. The newes of *Roscetes* his supposed comming, flying swiftly by land from Biserta to Tunes, and the great fleet once discouered, set all the citie on an vptore: for the citizens were in great expectation of their new king, both for the loue of *Roscetes*, who had alwaies shewed

Barbarussa Landeth at Biserta.

Biserta yeelded.

Barbarussa cometh to Guletta.

D himselfe to be of a mild and bountifull nature; and also for the hatred of *Muleasses*, whose tyrannous and couetous gouernment they thought they had too long indured. Neither was hee ignorant what report ran of himselfe, and how he had lost the hearts of his subiects; which was euidently to be seene in the eyes and countenances of the chiefe men of the citie. And that which more increased their hatred, was for that he had not according to his promise to them in time of his distresse, made them any recompence for their goodly houses and Oliue gardens, destroyed in the countrey by *Roscetes* in the former wars: wherefore at such time as hee came now out of the castle, and in the greatest assemblie of his people, began to persuade them to play the men, and to continue constant in their obedience, promising vnto them such reward as they knew he was neuer able to performe, they all departed, and left him alone, saue

E some of them vnder the color of friendship, and amongst them *Abdahar*, then Mesuar (who was chiefe officer next vnto the king) persuaded him to giue place to his hard fortune, & [illegible] with to flie, for by chance at the same instant it was in euery mans mouth, that the Turks were euen at hand: which thing caused *Muleasses*, forsaken of his subiects, of himselfe feare [illegible] worthily doubting to be betraied, to flie in such hast out of the city, that he left behind him both his treasure and iewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his enemies. The

that reuolted was *Abezes*, a man of great authority; & *Fetuches*, captain of the castle [illegible] gate Spaniards. *Fetuches* presently after the flight of *Muleasses*, brought out *Roscetes* children, whom *Muleasses* had long time kept in prison, & to welcom their father

F in the kings royall seat. *Abezes* also forthwith aduertised *Barbarussa* of [illegible] & with what longing the people expected their desired king; wishing him [illegible] repaire vnto the city: and for a present sent him a goodly Barbarian horse [illegible] and diuers others for his other chiefe captaines. Hereupon *Barbarussa* [illegible] forward with fiue thousand Turks, which he had already landed, & [illegible] of the citisens ioifully receiued. But after long looking, when they [illegible]

cetes their supposed king, and heard nothing but the name of *Solyman* and *Barbarussa*, doubled and redoubled by the Turks in their militarie acclamations, as they marched thorow the citie towards the castle; they began to distrust, as the truth was, that in stead of their new king whom they so much desired, they had receiued the Turkish gouernment, which they vtterly detested. Which suspition once confirmed by certaine of *Rosetes* friends (whom *Barbarussa* had brought with him of purpose to delude the people) who grieued to see the ruin of their natiue country, spared not for feare of the present danger to tell their friends and acquaintance as they went, That they did in vaine looke for *Rosetes*, whom they had left in bonds at Constantinople: it was a wonder to see, how suddenly the minds of the people were changed, how speedily they ran to their weapons, and how furiously they assailed the Turks, now fearing no such matter, and were not as yet al got into the castle. The chiefe leader of the citizens in this tumult, was *Abdahar* the Mesuar, who but a little before vpon the comming of the Turkes, by augmenting the danger, and the vnfaithfulnesse of his subiects, had persuaded *Muleasses* to flie; but now perceiuing himselfe deceiued of his expectation for the comming of *Rosetes*, and repenting of that he had done, sought by all means to driue out the Turks, and to recall *Muleasses*. And the more to animat the people, as he stood on high, from whence he might best be heard, hee cried vnto them with a loud voice:

The citizens deceiued of their expectation, rise against the Turkes.

We are most villanously betraied (worthie citizens) for Rosetes, *whom we expected for our lawful king, lamenteth his miserie in chains, in prison at Constantinople: and we, except we presently play the men, and valiantly fight for our libertie, shall for euer serue as slaues to these forreine and mercilesse pyrats. The present danger of our estate telleth vs, that we must presently and without delay take the occasion offered. Wherefore let all men that meane not to serue as slaues, and to be bought and sold as beasts, take vp armes against the faithlesse Turks. I my selfe will be your leader; let vs therefore all with one consent, with heart and hand reuenge this shamefull trecherie, defend our countrey and libertie with the antient honour and libertie of the Numidians.*

There was now no time to stay, euery man had betaken himselfe to his weapons; *Muleasses* was againe sent for, who yet staied in the suburbs, expecting what should happen; many of the Turks were slain before they were aware, or feared any thing; all the citie was filled with outcries and clattering of weapons; the number of the citizens was such, as might easily haue expulsed the Turks, had they bin but reasonably armed, or well conducted, which in a matter so sudden, and with men altogether ignorant of seruice, was not possible. Yet they, armed with furie, and encouraged with the multitude of themselues, swarmed vp as thicke as was possible one of the bulwarkes of the castle, which they knew was easiest to be gained, where the Turks had set vp one of their ensignes; and with the multitude of their darts and arrowes so ouerwhelmed the Turks, that they were glad to forsake the place, & to retire farther into the castle to a place of more strength: from whence and all alongst the curtaine of the wall, they without intermission discharged their great artillerie and small shot amongst the thickest of the naked Moores, making of them a wonderfull slaughter. *Barbarussa* although he was a man of an inuincible courage & great experience, all his life time well acquainted with desperate dangers (the dreadfull steps of aspiring minds) yet surprised with the suddennesse of the assault, shut vp in a place whereof he yet knew not the strength, and not prouided of victual for three daies, was with the due consideration of these difficulties, not a little troubled: which his care was by the disordered furie of his enemies, and knowne valour of his owne souldiers greatly diminished; especially when hee saw his owne men still fighting, as men full of hope and courage, and the Moores as men halfe dismaied with the wounds and slaughter of their friends, ready to retire. Howbeit, by the comming in of *Muleasses* & *Dorax*, the assault twice before giuen ouer, was againe at both times renewed, with no lesse desperate furie than at the first, and the Turks hardly charged. In this dangerous assault *Halis* of Maliga, a renegat Spaniard, but a most expert souldier, turning himselfe to *Barbarussa*, said,

Muleasses returned into the citie.

If thou wilt saue thine honour, and hold this fort, we must sallie out vpon this enemie, which hauing neuer seene a set battell, but onely acquainted with light skirmishes, will not be able to endure our charge at hand, but shall in a moment know the price of their foolish hardinesse, who as brainesicke men could neither indure the gouernment of their cruell king, ne yet thankefully receiue the authors of their deliuerance and liberty.

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the generall approbation of the chiefest captaines,

taines, *Barbarussa* commanded *Halis* the author of that counsell, with certaine other captaines and their companions, at one instant to sallie out at two ports of the castle: which they so resolutely performed, that in short time a wonderful number of the naked Moores lay dead vpon the ground.

Abdahar the Mesuar himselfe, was there shot thorow with a bullet and slaine: whereupon the assault was quite giuen ouer, the Moores retiring by companies backe into the city, and the Turkes still pursuing them: where in the streets for certaine houres, was fought a most cruel and bloudie battel. At last the citizens ouercome, forsooke the open streets, and betook them to the refuge of their houses; not so careful of their king, as of themselues, their wiues, and children. And *Halis* with the rest, wearied with the slaughter of his enemies, and ouercome with labour, heat, and thirst, returned with victorie vnto the castle. It is reported that there was aboue three thousand of the citizens slaine that day, and thrice as many hurt. *Muleasses* thus discouraged, and vtterly despairing to recouer the citie, hardly escaped his enemies hands, by the good helpe of his vncle *Dorax*, with whom he fled ouer the riuer Bagrada, and came in safetie to Constantina (called of old time Cyrtha) the antient seat of the Numidian kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his dominion; where he was houourably maintained and protected vntill the comming of *Charles* the Emperour into Affricke. The night ensuing this battell, and the flight of the king, was restlesse both to the citizens and the Turks, each of them for feare of other standing vpon their strongest guard.

The citizens of Tunes discomfited by the Turks.

Muleasses flieth

The next day, the citizens discouraged with the losse of so many of their kinsemen and friends, and hauing no king now for whom they should fight, craued pardon of *Barbarussa* for their rash attempt, excusing it by the name of loyaltie to their antient kings, offering to submit themselues vnto him with all faithfulnesse. Which their offer hee willingly accepted, knowing that he was not able to keepe that place with his souldiers three daies, for lacke of victuall: so that all his hope and victorie gotten, might easily be ouerthrowne and brought to nought, if the citizens moued either with desperation or desire of reuenge, should ioyne with the other Numidian princes, and besiege him in the castle. Whereupon a generall peace was granted, and by solemne oath on both side confirmed, whereby the citizens expresly bound themselues to the obedience of *Solyman*, & to *Barbarussa* as his lieutenant. All things thus set in order in the citie of Tunes, & new magistrates and officers by him made, he laboured by all meanes to win vnto him the Numidian princes: which when he had easily brought to passe by gifts and rewards with those needie princes, of themselues prone enough vpon light occasions to make or breake the bonds of friendship, hee sent *Asan-aga* an eunuch, and *Halis* the Spaniard, with the Ianizaries, & certaine pieces of great ordnance, to take in the other cities of the kingdome of Tunes: which they in short time performed, being in all places peaceably receiued, onely the city of Caruenna held out a while, yet afterwards for feare of further harme receiued the Turks garrison. But to leaue *Barbarussa* king of Algiers and *Solymans* great Admirall, thus possessed of the kingdome of Tunes; and *Muleasses* in exile at Constantina, vntil he be againe restored vnto his kingdome by *Charles* the Emperor, as shall be hereafter declared: let vs againe returne to the wars at the selfe same time vndertaken by *Solyman* in person himselfe in Persia, perswaded thereunto (as we haue before said) by *Abraham* the great Bassa. Of whom a few words, that they which shall hereafter liue, may in him as in others, see in what slipperie place they stand, and what smal assurance they haue, which forsaking God, run headlong after these worldly vanities, and swelling with the fauours of great princes, are in a moment when they least feare any such fall, suddenly ouerthrowne, and become the miserable spectacles of mans fragilitie in the height of their supposed blisse.

The citizens of Tunes yeeld themselues to Barbarussa.

This great Bassa called of the Turks *Ibrahim*, of vs *Abraham*, was borne in a poore countrie village neere vnto Perga, a towne in that part of Epirus which was called Buthrotia: who in his childhood was taken from his Christian parents, by such as by authoritie did take vp the tribute children of the Christians for the Turkish Emperour. A tribute of all tributes most grieuous. He was of countenance amiable, of feature comely, actiue of body, wel spoken, pleasantly conceited, and sharpe of wit; so that hee in shorter time than was thought possible, to the admiration of many, learned both to speake and write the Arabian tongue, and other languages vsed in the Turkes court, and could skilfully play vpon sundrie kindes of instruments. And being yet a boy, serued *Scanderbassa*, a man of great authoritie and power, in the time

The description of Abraham the Bassa.

time of *Selymus* the Emperor, in whose seruice he was instructed in the Mahometan religion: G
but giuing himselfe to all manner of curiositie and neatnesse, he was wonderfully fauoured by
the great ladie his mistresse, and by her commended to her husband *Scanderbasse*, as a fit page
to temper his melancholie and wayward disposition, with his pleasant conceits and deuices:
wherein the Tetricall Bassa finding him to excell, gaue him as a rare gift to *Solyman* the son of
His bringing vp in the Court. *Selymus*, his grand father *Baiazet* yet liuing: who tooke in him such pleasure, that the old Em-
perour caused him to be brought vp in the Court, in all princely qualities with *Solyman* (who
was of like yeares vnto him) as his companion and playfellow. Where hee so framed him-
selfe vnto the yong Princes disposition in all points, that he was of him alwayes exceedingly
beloued, and afterwards promoted to all the honors of the court, and made one of the Bassa's,
His great credit with Solyman. giuing vnto him in marriage the only daughter and heire of *Scanderbassa* his master, then dead, H
with an exceeding great dowrie. And after that made him gouernor of Caire: where he had
not long remained, but he was againe sent for to the court, as the man which gaue thereunto
life, without whose companie *Solyman* was as one halfe dead. At length he made him Vasier,
which is the chiefe of all the Bassa's, and President of his Councell, the greatest honour in the
Turkish empire next vnto the Emperor himselfe. And to honor him yet more, he deliuered
him his priuat signet, wherewith the Turkish Emperours neuer vsed to trust any but them-
selues: he might at his pleasure grace and disgrace whom he would, in court or elsewhere.
What he commanded was done, and whatsoeuer he did was taken for well done. He might
without the Emperours knowledge giue any office, yea the gouernment of whole Countries I
and Prouinces vnto his fauorits: his credit with the Emperor was so great, that hee did what
he list, and no man durst presume to aske any reason why. And to say all at once, he wanted no-
thing of the maiestie of an Emperor, but the name only; in stead whereof, he was commonly
called the great Commander of all the Emperours forces. His house in Constantinople was
of all other most stately, wherein was daily to be seene such a multitude of his gallant follow-
ers, and such a world of wealth and royall furniture, as that it might be worthily compared
with the palace of a great Prince. Neither was he partaker of *Solymans* counsels in his weigh-
tie matters of state only, but of his secret delights and pleasures also: if hee were present, all
was well; if he were away, nothing pleased: to be short, he so possessed this great Emperour,
that men commonly sayd, The soule of *Solyman* liued in *Abraham*. Whereat many of the K
great men of the court secretly repined; but especially *Solymans* mother, and *Roxolana* his
faire Concubine whom of all women he held dearest. His liuely and majesticall countenance
thou maist here behold.

ABRA

Magnum es, & Getici gratia prona tyranni
Seruit at ex alto magna ruina venit:
Te proceres odere, parensq; & regia coniux
Horum ne pereas proditione cane.

E

Right great thou art, and do'st command the fauour of thy King:
But such great fauours oftentimes a greater fall doth bring.
The great Kings mother, wife, and all the Nobles hate thee sore:
Beware that by their wylie drifts thou perish not therefore.

Abraham Bassa persuadeth Solyman to make warre vpon the Persians.

This great commander, which might at all times be bold to speake what he thought, vnto *Solyman*, sought many times in his priuat discourses betwixt them two, to persuade him to forbeare to vse his forces any farther against the Christians, ouer whom he had sufficiently al-
readie triumphed, & to turn them vpon the Persians, by whom he was daily iniured. Alled-
F ging to him, that the Germans were a strong & warlike people; who as they both in language
and manners differed from the Hungarians, so were they alwayes at variance with them, and
therfore much cared not though they were by him subdued: but if he should begin to inuade
any part of their country, he should then soon see that iuuincible nation with their vnited for-
ces vp in armes, readie to make strong resistance. And to prouoke *Charles* the Emperor (of all
the Christian princes the mightiest) were not good, who of himself was able to bring into the
field

field most puissant armies of valiant souldiers out of his owne dominions: besides the wonderfull concourse of most resolute men out of all parts of Christendome, which would not spare to lay downe their liues at his feet in that warre; which was of them accounted most religious. *Yea what strength both of horse and foot might be raised and brought to the battell by the two brethren* Charles *and* Ferdinand, *only might* (as hee said) *euen then be plainely perceiued, when as they valiantly defended Vienna, besieged by vs with great power. Neither did* Charles *afterward, as it seemed, and as the Christians commonly vaunt, feare to haue aduentured the fortune of a maine battell with you: who although I doubt not but hee should haue beene ouercome by you so great a monarch with so puissant an armie, a thing peculiar to your owne good fortune; yet I cannot denie, but that the victorie against such expert and resolute souldiers, so strongly armed as their manner is, must haue beene bought with a great deale of our bloud. These things in my opinion may resonably perswade you to let the Christians alone, by ciuile warres to weaken one another, that so afterwards they may become a prey vnto vs without any danger of ours. So that in my iudgement the Persian warre is to bee taken in hand, rather than the warres in Germanie, and especially for that you haue sufficiently enlarged the bounds of your empire Westward, which you haue extended euen vnto Nations very farre distant. So that it is now a great matter to defend so much as you haue alreadie gotten; and therefore partly for the difficultie of the defending thereof, and partly vpon an honourable contempt, according to the infinite bountie of your heroicall inclination, haue thought good to bestow whole kingdoms vpon strangers, yea halfe your enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious shall it be now vpon iust occasion to seeke for that which ioineth vnto your owne confines; and may therefore easily be united vnto your owne empire: if you according to the example of your grandfather and father shall force your selfe to drive that accursed and abhominable race of* Ismael *out of Asia. For it shall be a great glorie vnto the name of the* Othoman *Kings for euer, if you shall after your woonted manner zealously respect the cause of religion: a worke of incomparable fame, if the authours of a most detestable superstition shall by you be chased quite out of Asia. For what more iust or honourable cause can there bee to make warre, than to professe your selfe the defender of the diuine precepts of our great prophet* Mahomet, *against the wicked and irreligious impugners thereof? And by the way to reuenge and vtterly to destroy the capital enemies of your auncestours; which was the last prayer of your father* Selymus. *Can you endure them which rule so insolently, that they account euerie one that is neere them their enemies and prey, and dare also with their pilfering inuasions prouoke your selfe, liuing contented within the bounds of your owne Empire, in peace both in Europe and Asia? and they (forsooth) such as haue by most horrible wrong crept into the royall seat of the most lawfull and noble Kings descended of the blond of* Vsun-Cassanes: *who after their woonted manner still liue by rapine and robberie? Beleeue mee, Noble Emperour, if you shall vpon a zeale to your religion with your victorious hand take away this staine and plague of Asia, there shall vndoubtedly be erected vnto you so glorious and magnificent a trophie in the middest of Persia, as may bee compared, yea preferred before the Triumphs of your victorious father* Selymus. *For it is not so much to haue destroyed the Mamalukes (by condition slaues) and the proude Sultans of Ægypt and Syria, as to haue subdued the Persians, famous in antient time for their martiall prowesse, who so often times vanquished by* Alexander *of Macedon, gaue vnto him the name of Great.*

Solyman prickt forward with many such discourses, daily sounded in his eares by the Bassa, began to yeeld to his perswasion. Whereof *Abraham* himselfe greatly reioyced: for it was thought of many, that he did neuer in heart renounce the Christian Religion, but was onely in outward shew a Turke, and in heart a Christian. Which was the rather coniectured, for that he meruellously fauoured and protected the Christian marchants, furthered by all means the leagues of the Christian Princes with *Solyman*, and laboured alwaies to turne his forces from them vpon the Persians. And the more to whet him forward, the Bassa had cunningly insinuated into his acquaintance one *Mulearbe* of Damasco, a man in that time famous in Constantinople, for the opinion the people had generally conceiued of his holinesse and profound knowledge in the secret causes of things, and the art of Magicke; vsing him as a prophet to fill the ambitious mind of *Solyman*, with assured hope of prosperous successe: which thing the hypocritical wisard, after the manner of such deceiuers, slily performed, prophesying vnto him all happinesse in so religious a warre, and so much (as hee saide) pleasing God. This the Bassaes purpose was much furthered also by *Vlemus* a noble and valiant Persian, who hauing married the great Persian King *Tamas* his sister, was reuolted from him to *Solyman*, fearing to bee called to account for the extortion wherewith hee had grieuously

oppressed

oppressed the countries whereof he had the gouernment: and being wonderfully countenanced in *Solymans* court by the great Bassa, did after the manner of disloyall fugitiues perswade *Solyman* by all means he could to take that war in hand, discouering vnto him the power, state, and strength of the Persian kingdome (which hee could well doe) and plotting vnto him the easiest way for the conquering thereof, offering also vnto him the vttermost of his deuoire. So *Solyman* filled with the vain hope of the conquest of Persia, yeelded fully vnto the perswasions of the great Bassa, and gaue out his commissions into all parts of his empire, for the raising of a mightie armie for the performance of so great an enterprise; commanding all his captaines and men of war to be readie at the citie of Nice in Bythinia at a certain day appointed. Which his purpose, although it was mightily impugned by his mother, and faire *Roxolana* his best beloued, as that which altogether proceeded from the Bassa: the one alledging, with what euill successe his grandfather and father had before him attempted that same war; the other assailing him with her passionat affections: but both of them indeed repining at the credit of the Bassa, and in their hearts disdaining, that so great a Monarch should at the pleasure of his seruant be led vp and down the world so far from their companie: for which cause they did what in them lay to haue ouerthrowne the purpose of *Abraham*, and to haue altreed *Solymans* former determination. But so strong was the Bassa's credit with his great lord and master, that all these great ladies deuices and prayers were as womens affectionat passions reiected, and the Bassa's counsell (to their no small griefe) in all things regarded.

Solyman resolueth to goe against the Persians.

Abrahams credit maligned by Solymans mother and Roxolana.

The time appointed being come, and all things in readines, *Solyman* sent *Abraham* the Bassa, and *Vlemas* the Persian, before him into Syria with a strong armie, to be readie with the first of the Spring to inuade the Persian King. Which thing the Bassa gladly tooke vpon him, and comming into Syria, wintered with his armie at Aleppo: whither *Barbarussa* came vnto him for his letters of credence to *Solyman*, as is before declared. The Spring now approching, *Abraham* sent *Vlemas* the fugitiue Persian Prince before him with the light horsmen, the forerunners of his armie, into Mesopotamia as his guide, because the countrey was vnto him best knowne; following not far after himselfe with all his armie. And marching still forward in that manner, came at length without resistance vnto the famous citie of Tauris in Armenia the greater, called in antient time Ecbathana, as is probably by some coniectured: a great and rich citie, but vnwalled and of no strength; where the Persian kings, for the pleasantnesse of the place, and freshnesse of the aire, vsed commonly to be resiant in the heat of the yere. From whence *Tamas* the Persian King was as then absent, busied in wars with *Kezien-bassa*, a Prince of the Corasine Hircanians: so that the citizens of Tauris destitute of all helpe, yeelded themselues and the citie vnto the Bassa at his first comming. *Tamas* the Persian King vnderstanding what had hapned at Tauris, drew neere with his power, warily expecting to haue taken the Turks at some aduantage, and so by policie to haue defeated his enemies, whom he was too weake to meet with in plaine battell. Which thing the warie Bassa well perceiuing, for more assurance by speedie courrours aduertised *Solyman* of the taking of Tauris, and of the enemies purpose, requesting him with all speed to repaire with his armie to Tauris. *Solyman* was then come far on his way with a great armie, not by the way of Ancyra, Sebastia, Amasia, the borders of Trapezond, and so ouer Euphrates at Arsenga, into Armenia, as his father *Selymus* had done before him, because that way was thought longer and more troublesome: but quite another way, on the right hand from Nice in Bythinia, to Iconium, and by Cæsaria to Malathia, where is the notable passage ouer the riuer Euphrates, bursting out by the vallies of the mountaine Antitaurus, from whence the plaines of Mesopotamia (then part of the Persian kingdome) begin to open themselues: through which countrey *Solyman* marched peaceably with his armie, paying the poore countrey people for whatsoeuer he tooke; and so in foure and fiftie dayes march, came from Nice in Bythinia, to the citie of Coim in Armenia the greater, which is supposed to be built in the ruines of the famous and antient citie Artaxata. But hearing such newes as is aforesaid from the Bassa, he doubled his march, and so in short time after came and ioyned his forces with the Bassa at Tauris. *Tamas* (who yet dayly expected the comming of the Georgian light horsmen) vnderstanding that *Solyman* was comming against him with a world of men, thought it not good to abide the comming of so puissant an enemie, but with delay to wearie him out, that drew such a multitude of people after him; and by taking of him at all aduantages, to cut off his people, spent with long trauell, wanting victuall,

The citie of Tauris yeelded vnto the Bassa.

Solyman commeth to Tauris.

victuall, and falling into diuers diseases; as it commonly chanceth to populous armies in G
strange countries, where the change of the aire, with the ineuitable necessitie alwayes attending vpon a great armie, most times causeth grieuous and contagious diseases. Wherefore
Solyman followeth Tamas the Persian king into Sultania. *Tamas* to shun the comming of *Solyman*, retyred farther off into Sultania, about six days journey from Tauris. Whereof *Solyman* hauing knowledge, departed from that rich Citie without doing any harme therein; following after *Tamas* into Sultania, to joyne battell with him if he could possible: leauing behind him for hast, a great part of his carriages and baggage, with fiue hundred Ianizaries, and three of his Sanzacks with their companies. The citie of Sultania was in antient time one of the royall seats of the Persian Kings, but ruinated by the Scythian *Tamerlane*, retained no shew of the antient maiestie, but onely in the churches by him spared. Neere vnto this citie *Solyman* lay incamped many dayes, expecting that the Persian King (in H
reuenge of the iniuries to him done, and for the safegard of his honour) should at length come out of the mountaines, and shew himselfe in plaine field, and giue him battell. Which was a thing so far from *Tamas* his resolution, vpon the due comparing of his owne strength with his enemies, that he retired in such sort, that *Solyman* could by no means learne what was become of him, or which way to follow him.

Solymans army distressed with tempest. The countrey neere vnto the citie of Sultania, wherein *Solyman* lay incamped at large, is on euerie side inuironed with hugie mountaines, whose tops are to be seene a far off, alwayes couered with deepe snow: these mountains were in antient time called Nyphates, Caspius, Coathras, and Zagrus, taking their beginning no doubt from Caucasus the father of mountaines; I
and joyning one to another, some one way, some another, doe diuide most large and wide Countries. Whilest *Solyman* in those vast and plaine fields most fit to fight a battell in, expected the comming of *Tamas*, such a horrible and cruel tempest (as the like whereof the Persians had neuer before seene at that time of the yeare) fell downe from those mountains (which was so much the more strange, for that it fell in the beginning of September) with such abundance of raine, which froze so eagerly as it fell, that it seemed the depth of Winter had euen then of a sudden been come in: for such was the rage of the blustring windes, striuing with themselues as if it had been for victorie, that they swept the snow from off the tops of those high mountaines, and cast it into the plaines in such aboundance, that the Turkes lay as men buried aliue in the deepe snow, most part of their tents being ouerthrowne and beaten downe K
to the ground with the violence of the tempest, and weight of the snow; wherein a wonderful number of sicke souldiers and others of the baser sort which followed the campe, perished; and many others were so benummed, some their hands, some their feet, that they lost the vse of them for euer: most part of their beasts which they vsed for carriage, but especially their camels, were frozen to death. Yea *Solyman* himselfe was in great danger to haue beene ouerwhelmed in his Tent, all the Tents round about him being ouerthrowne with the violence of the tempest. Neither was there any remedie to be found for so great mischiefes, by reason of the hellish darknesse of that tempestuous night, most of their fires being put out by the extremitie of the storme: which did not a little terrifie the superstitious Turks, as a thing accounted of them ominous. And that which troubled them no lesse than the miseries of the tem- L
pest, was the feare of the enemie, whose sudden comming they deadly feared: vntill that after so tedious a night, the Sun breaking out the next morning, with his cheerefull beams reuiued many, before readie to giue vp the ghost for cold, and gaue comfort vnto them all in generall, by discouering the open fields cleere of their feared enemies. It was a dreadfull thing to haue seen what miserie that one night had brought into the Turks camp: the ground lay almost couered with bodies of the dead; & many liued but so, as that they accounted the dead more happie than themselues. Many of the Turks vainly thought, that horrible tempest was brought vpon them by the charmes and inchantments of the Persian Magicians: whereas it was vndoubtedly by the hand of him who bringeth the proud deuices of Princes to naught.

Solyman troubled as well with the strangenesse of the accident, as the losse he had receiued, M
after he had a little refreshed his discouraged soldiers, rose with his armie, and tooke his way on the left hand into Assyria: *Vlemas* the Persian persuading him thereunto for many causes, but especially by putting him in hope of the taking of Babylon; for that *Mahometes* a friend of his, was gouernour thereof. But he when the matter came to proofe, was not to be woon either by promise or reward, to betray the Citie. Wherefore *Solyman* resolued to take it

A it by force: neither did his fortune faile him therein: for as soone as *Mahometes* vnderstood that *Vlemas* was at hand with the forerunners of the Turks armie, and that *Solyman* with all his power was comming after, (who as he thought would neuer haue come so far;) he not prouided to withstand so mightie an enemie, and not beloued of the citizens, fled out of the citie. *Babylon yeelded to Solyman.* *Solyman* comming, in short time after was of the Babylonians receiued without resistance. The citie of Babylon, commonly called Bagdat, rise out of the ruines of the old citie of Babylon, so much spoken of in holy Writ: from whence it is not far distant, standing vpon the riuer Tygris, which not far beneath falleth into the riuer Euphrates. In this famous citie is the seat of the great Calyph, the chiefe Mahometan Priest, whom all the Mahometan Princes haue in great reuerence, and hath an old prerogatiue in the choice and confirmation of the
B Kings of Assyria and the Sultans of Ægypt: of which Calyph, *Solyman* according to the old superstitious manner, receiued at his hands the ensignes and ornaments of the Assyrian kings, and with great bountie woon the hearts of the people: and thereupon resolued to spend that Winter there, billiting his armie in diuers places of that fertile countrey. The other cities of Assyria and Mesopotamia also, namely Caraemida, Meredinum, Orsa, and Asanceса, hearing that *Solyman* had without resistance taken Babylon, yeelded themselues and receiued his garrisons. Yea the fame thereof was so great, that Embassadours came vnto him as far as Ormus, (a citie in the mouth of Euphrates where it falleth into the Persian gulfe, famous for the great traffique out of India thither) suing vnto him for peace. Thus the antient Citie of Baby- *The countries of Assyria and Mesopotamia possessed by the Turke.*
C lon, with the great countries of Assyria and Mesopotamia, sometimes famous kingdomes of themselues, and lately part of the Persian kingdome, fell into the hands of the Turks, and became Prouinces of the Turkish empire, in the yeare 1534. Where *Solyman* after he had spent that Winter in great ioy and triumph, according to the manner of the Turkish gouernement, placed a great commander, which they by a proud name call the *Beglerbeg*, (which is as much as to say, the lord of lords) and vnder him diuers others for the gouernment of these Countries, by parts, which they cal Sanzacks, who are euer at the command of the *Beglerbeg*. Whilst he thus wintered at Babylon, he caused *Asshender Zelibi* (which is to say, *Alexander* the Noble) his great treasurer for the wars, to be hanged, for that he had vnfaithfully dealt in his Office; and confiscated all his goods.

D *Tamas* hearing that *Solyman* was gone to Babylon, returned to Tauris: of whose speedie *Tamas comes to Tauris.* comming the Ianizaries and other captaines there left by *Solyman* vnderstanding, fled in haste out of the citie, leauing all such things as were committed to their custodie, for a prey vnto the Persian souldiers.

Solymans armie being mightily increased by the comming vnto him of the great Bassa of 1535
Caire, with the Sanzacks of Alexandria, Iudea, Syria, and Comagena; by the persuasion of *Abraham* and *Vlemas*, the Spring now well come on, departed from Babylon again toward Tauris, with purpose either to draw *Tamas* to battell, or else to his eternall infamie, before his face to sacke that his regall citie. But *Tamas* aduertised of his comming, and knowing him- *Tamas hearing of the comming of Solyman to Tauris, flieth into Hyrcania.*
E selfe too weake to giue him battel, forsooke the citie, and fled into the mountains of Hircania: destroying all the countrey before him as he went, and carrying away the inhabitants, leauing nothing to relieue the Turkes souldiers, if they should pursue him. *Solyman* vnderstanding that *Tamas* was againe fled, sent *Vlemas* with all the choice horsemen of his armie to ouertake him if it were possible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three days journy, and still found the country desolate as he went, yeelding neither forrage for his horses, nor reliefe for his men, and saw no hope to ouertake the king; he began as a prouident General, to forecast the extremities like to befal in his return thorow those desolat countries with the enemie at his heeles: and therupon in time retired back againe to *Solyman*, declaring vnto him what had happened. Who fretting in his mind, that the Persian king was not to be drawne to battel, marched forthwith to Tauris, entring it without resistance, the citizens sub-
F mitting themselues vnto him: whose liues spared, he gaue that rich citie for a prey to his soldiers, who left neither house nor corner thereof vnransacked, abusing the poore citizens with all manner of insolencie; euery common souldier without controlment fitting himselfe with whatsoeuer best pleased his greedie desire or filthie lust. *Tamas* had in this citie a most stately *Solyman ransacks Tauris.* and royal palace; so had also most part of the nobilitie their sumptuous & rich houses, which by the commandment of *Solyman* were all rased down to the ground, and the greatest part of the

the best citisens and beautifull personages of all sort and condition, at his departure thence carried away captiues. *Solyman* contenting himselfe to haue done the Persian king this disgrace, in spoyling this his rich and royall citie, returned again towards Mesopotamia, destroying the countries all the way as he went, killing the verie beasts and cattell, thereby the more to impouerish the Persians, wishing to leaue nothing vnto them but penurie and miserie. Hee was scarcely past Coim & the Calderan fields (famous for his fathers victory against *Hismael*) but that certain troups of Persian horsemen were in the taile of his armie, and had taken away some of his baggage, and slaine diuers of the sicke and stragling soldiers, and with their often skirmishes did not a little trouble his whole armie. Besides that, it was noysed thorow all his campe, That *Tamas* himselfe was comming after him with a greater power of horsemen, taken vp in Hiberia, Albania, Parthia, Media, and Armenia, and would be at their backs before they could get out of Armenia: for which cause he appointed the two great Bassa's of Caire and Syria (for so they were called) and *Vlemas* the Persian, with 18000 good soldiers to follow him in the reareward of his armie, to receiue and represse the sudden assaults of the Persians, if need should require: and so still kept on his march, vntill he was come to Amida, now called Caraemida, an antient citie of Mesopotamia. In the meane time *Tamas* the Persian king was returned to Tauris with a mighty armie, in hope there to haue suddenly surprised his enemie, surcharhed with the pleasures of so rich a citie: but finding him gone, and beholding the miserable spoyle and desolation he had made in the citie; mooued with indignation, hee resolued to pursue him whither soeuer he were gone, and was now on his way as far as Coim. Where vnderstanding that *Solyman* was gone so farre before, that he was hardly to be ouertaken, and finding the noble gentlemen in his armie vnwilling in their heauy armour to vndertake such a pursuit, as could not be performed without the wonderfull toyle of themselues, and most assured losse of their goodly horses; alledging, that they were prouided to fight a battel, and not to trauel so long a journy (all which, *Tamas* now that his choler was ouer knew to stand with good reason) he changed his former determination, thinking it best there to stay and not to follow the pursuit of his enemies any further: vntill that *Delimenthes* one of his Noblemen (alwayes more forward than the rest) offered with fiue thousand chosen horsemen to ouertake some part of the Turks armie, and to do on them some good seruice. Which his offer *Tamas* gladly accepted, commending him greatly for the same, promising him most honorable reward: and so in haste sent him away.

Delimenthes with 5000 Persians pursues the Turks.

He forthwith taking the wel knowne and neerest way, vsed such expedition, that he was in hope to ouertake the rereward of the Turks armie (marching not far now before him) about the foot of the mountaine Taurus, as in deed it fell out at a place called Bethlis. This Bethlis is a famous towne in the confines of the Persian kingdome, where it bordereth vpon Mesopotamia, standing in a pleasant valley, by which runneth a little riuer falling out of the mountain Antitaurus; and had a castle kept with a garrison of Persians. In this valley the two Bassa's of Caire and Syria (conducted by *Vlemas*) thinking they had now bin past all danger of the enemies pursuit, stayd with the rereward of his armie to refresh their wearied soldiers, vpon certaine knowledge, that *Solyman* with the rest of his armie was alreadie come in safetie to Amida in Mesopotamia. And therefore lay as men secure, without any suspition of the comming of the Persians, whom they had not so much as heard any thing of in long time before. But *Delimenthes* vsing most faithfull and diligent espials of that countrey people, by that time he was come within one dayes journey of Bethlis, vnderstood certainly where the Turks lay, wearie of their long trauell, as men without feare, keeping little or no watch in their campe: Whereupon he determined in the dead time of the night following to assaile them in their camp: & by secret messengers gaue knowledge both of his comming, & of this his purpose, to the captaine of the castle of Bethlis; requesting him at an appointed houre vpon signe giuen, to be readie to sallie out with his garrison vpon that side of the Turkes campe which was towards the Castle. Which his venturous designement was so furthered both by the darkenesse of the night, and the aboundance of raine which fell at the same time, as if it had beene wished for; that he was got with all his resolute followers within the Turkes campe, before they were aware of his comming: where the Persian souldiers as wolues amongst sheepe, did such speedie execution amongst the sleepie Turkes, that the two great Bassa's and *Vlemas* had much adoo to get to horse and saue themselues by flight. And such was the furie of the Persians,

Delimenthes assailes the Turks campe by night, and maketh a great slaughter.

fians, and the greatnesse of the sudden feare increased by the darkenesse of the night, that the Turks not knowing which way to turne themselues, or what to do, were slaine by thousands, some sleeping, some halfe waking, some making themselues readie to fight, and some to flie, few of all that great armie escaped the sword of the Persians. Of the fiue great Sanzackes which were in the armie, three were slaine, and one taken. Eight hundred Ianizaries seeing themselues forsaken of their chiefetaines, laid downe their harquebusies and other weapons, and yeelded themselues vpon *Delimenthes* his word. The fierce mountaine people also, who in former time had suffered great iniuries of the Turks, after the death of *Aladeules* their king, had now ioyned themselues to the Persians, and notably reuenged their wrongs; to whose share all the baggage of the Turks campe fell for a prey. It might then well haue bin sayd of the Turks, which the Poet speaketh of the night wherein Troy was sackt:

Quis cladem illius noctis qui funera fando
explicet? ———

The slaughter of that night was so great, that it is of the Turks vntill this day accounted amongst their greatest losses: and the victorie so welcome to the Persians, that in memoriall thereof they kept that day (which was the thirteenth of October) as one of their solemne holidayes for many yeares after. *Delimenthes* returning all bloudie with the slaughter of the Turks, & loded with their spoiles, was of *Tamas* ioyfully receiued, and honorably rewarded.

Solyman discouraged.

This ouerthrow reported to *Solyman* by the two great Bassa's and *Vlemas*, as men that had hardly escaped shipwrecke, so daunted his proud conceits, that he resolued in himselfe to return home, and no further to prosecute that vnfortunat war; the euill euent whereof, his mother (as he said) had more truly presaged, than had the cold Prophet *Mulearabe*: but secretly in minde displeased with *Abraham* the great Bassa, by whose persuasion hee had taken in hand that dangerous expedition. By the way as he went he was met at Iconium by *Barbarussa* and *Sinan Bassa* syrnamed the Iew, a man for his skill at sea in reputation next to *Barbarussa*. These two great personages lately come from Algiers to Constantinople with the remainder of his fleet, met him so far by land, to shew their ioyfulnesse for the conquest he had made of Mesopotamia and Assyria, and to excuse themselues for the losse of the kingdome of Tunes; which woon by *Barbarussa* in the beginning of the Persian war, was before the ending thereof againe wrung out of his hands by *Charles* the Emperor, and restored to *Muleasses*, as shall be hereafter declared. They with great humilitie declared vnto him the whole processe of that war, and with what successe they had endured the force of *Charles* the Emperour himselfe in person: shewing plainly vnto him, that there wanted neither valour in the souldiers, nor direction in them the commanders, but only fortune, which as it mightily raigneth in all mens actions, so especially in matters of war. *Solyman* graciously accepted of their excuse, and curteously took them vp, prostrate at his feet, commending them for their valor in their euil haps, in a plot so well by them laid, more than he did the victory of others, got by good fortune, not grounded vpon any good reason: willing them to be of good cheere, saying, that he would in short time find occasion for them to recompence that disgrace, and again to shew their approued valour.

After long trauell he came to the strait of Bosphorus, where *Abraham* the Bassa going before him, had in token of triumph caused the shore all along the place where he should go aboord the gallie prouided for his transportation, to be couered with Persian silke for him to tread vpon: from whence he passed with much triumph ouer to his palace to Constantinople.

Abraham The great Bassa in disgrace with Solyman.

Enuie, the fatall and cruell companion of Princes immoderat fauours, had with her prying eys quickly discouered in court *Solymans* changed countenance vpon the great Bassa, & began now to shew her gastly face. They which before were most ready to do him all honor possible, yea to haue laid their hands vnder his feet, sought now by all secret means to worke his disgrace and confusion. But of all others, the two great ladies, *Solymans* mother and the faire *Roxolana*, ceased not by dayly complaints to incense *Solyman* against him: the mother, for that he had by his persuasion, contrary to her mind and her superstitious obseruations, drawn her son into the dangers of the Persian war: and *Roxolana*, for that he most honoured and sought the preferment of *Mustapha*, *Solymans* eldest sonne by another woman: whereas she aboue all things laboured by all subtill means to prefer *Baiazet* her owne sonne to the Empire after the death of *Solyman* his father: which her designement she perceiued to be much crossed by the credit which the Bassa had with her *Solyman*, and therefore did what she might, both to bring him

him out of fauour, and to worke his destruction. But that which most impared his credit with G
Solyman, was the common report raised of him by his enemies, That he being in heart a Christian, did in all things fauour the Christians, (a thing most odious among the Turks) and had for that cause craftily persuaded *Solyman* to take in hand the vnfortunat Persian war. And that which more increased the suspition, was, That he about that time had caused one *Marke Nicholas* a Venetian merchant (who had not without the suspition of some, oftentimes come vnto him with letters and secret messages whilest he lay at Babylon) to be taken in the night, and murdred at Constantinople, and cast into the sea, because he should not discouer any thing that might be hurtfull vnto him. *Abraham* thus brought in disgrace with *Solyman*, was (after the manner of the Turkish tyrannie) bid to a solemne supper in the court about the fourteenth of March (after which time he was neuer more seene. It is reported, That after supper *Solyman* H
fell into a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had misgouerned the State, inuerted his treasures to his own priuat, and as a traitor, had secret intelligence with the Christian Princes his enemies: for proofe whereof, *Solyman* with sterne countenance shewed him his owne letters, which had by chance beene intercepted; oftentimes asking him in furious manner, If he knew not that hand, if he knew not that seale. All which, the Bassa lying prostrat at his feet humbly confessed, and with many teares craued of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any prayers to be moued: for the same night as he was slumbring vpon a palat in the court, ouercome with heauinesse, an Eunuch cut his throat with a crooked knife, which *Solyman* for that purpose had deliuered vnto him with his owne hand. He was murdered sleeping, because *Solyman* had in former time of his fauour solemnly sworne vnto him, That he I
would neuer kill him whilest he liued. By which oath, the great Mahometan Priest sayd hee was not so bound, but that he might kill him sleeping, for as much as men by sleepe depriued of sence, are for that time not to be accounted as liuing, but as dead, mans life consisting altogether (as he said) in liuely actions. It is reported, that after *Solyman* had looked vpon the dead bodie, and bitterly curst the same, he caused a great weight to be tied vnto it, and so cast it into the sea. His treasure and goods, which were almost infinite, were the next day all seised vpon for the Emperor, and a small portion thereof appointed for his poore wife to liue vpon. His death was no sooner knowne, but that the vulgar people deuised of him infamous songs, and slanderous reports, as of a traitor most iustly condemned; & in further despight, with mire and stones defaced the trophies of the Hungarian victorie, which he had in a stately manner K
erected before his sumptuous house in Constantinople. This was the wofull end of *Abraham* the great Bassa, who whilest he stood in fauour with his Prince, was of all others accounted most fortunate, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan: but after falling into disgrace, became the scorne of fortune, and the lamentable spectacle of mans fragilitie. Hee was murthered the fifteenth day of March, in the yeare 1536.

Abraham Bassa murdred in the Court by the cõmandement of Solyman.

The causes that mooued Charles the Emperor to inuade Tunes.

How the kingdom of Tunes was by *Barbarussa* (the Turks great Admirall) taken from *Mulasses*, we haue alreadie told: but how the same was again taken from him by *Charles* the Emperor a little before the returne of *Solyman* out of Persia, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without iust cause feared, that *Barbarussa*, possessed of the kingdome of Tunes, and supported by the power of *Solyman*, would the next Summer, not L
content himselfe with the spoile of the coasts of Spaine, Sardinia, and Italie, as he had in former time, but with all his forces inuade Sicilia, the garnarie and storehouse of Italie, and from thence attempt to conquer the kingdom of Naples, which it was thought he in his immoderat desires had longed much after. To represse this his barbarous insolencie, and to work the safetie of the frontiers of the Christian kingdomes (much subiect to the rapines of the Turkish pyrats) *Charles* the Emperour resolued in person himselfe with a puissant armie to passe ouer into Affricke, whilest *Solyman* was yet buried in the Persian wars, and by force of arms to dispossesse the tyrant of his new gotten kingdome in Tunes. For the accomplishment whereof, he caused soldiers to be leuied in all parts of Spaine, and came downe to Barcelona with eight

The Emperours great preparations fo the inuasion of Tunes.

thousand footmen and seuen hundred horsemen, farre sooner than was by any man expected; M
amongst whom were many of the nobilitie of Spaine, with their followers most gallantly appoynted: but especially *Ferdinand* of Toledo, Duke of Alba; whose forwardnesse in that honorable action, with the desire he had to reuenge the death of his father *Garzias*, slaine before by the Moores at Girapolis, gaue great hope euen then vnto his Countreymen, That he would

A would in time proue a worthie Chiefetaine, as indeed he afterward did.

Andrew Auria the Emperours Admirall.

In the meane time *Andrew Auria* the great Admirall, vnto whom onely for his approued fidelitie and long experience the Emperor had fully communicated what he had with himselfe before purposed, had with wonderfull diligence and celeritie rigged vp a great fleet of ships and gallies so furnished with all manner of warlike prouision, as might wel haue sufficed a great army: whereunto he ioined also his own fleet of 17 gallies and three galeasses, wherin he had imbarked the flower of Genoa and Liguria, who with exceeding cheerefulnesse had voluntarily offered themselues to follow him their old Generall in that sacred expedition. With this great preparation *Auria* came to the Emperour at Barcelonia. Thither came also *Lewis* the king of Portingals brother (whose sister *Isabel*, *Charles* the Emperour had married)
B with 25 Carauels, ships which the Portingals vsed in their Indian voyages, amongst whome was also one huge Galeon; all ships well appointed and fit for seruice, wherein were embarked 2000 Portingals, beside marriners: there also arriued sixtie saile of tall ships sent out of Flanders and the Low-countries; wherin were a great number of condemned persons, whose liues were spared that they might serue in the gallies. Vnto this warre *Paulus* the third of that name, then Bishop of Rome, sent ten gallies vnder the conduct of *Virginius Vrsinus*: the great Master of Malta sent thither his fleet also. At the same time that all this preparation was in making in other places, that worthie chiefetaine *Alphonsus D'aualus Vastius*, whom the Emperor had appointed Generall of all his forces at land, had by the Emperors commandement
C taken vp fiue thousand new souldiers in Italie, which were led by *Hieronimus Tutauilla*, Countie of Sarne, *Fredericke*, *Caracte*, and *Augustine Spinola*, all famous captaines. The old Spanish garrisons which lay in Lombardie, the Emperor commanded to be straitly looked vnto, that none of them should leaue their places to goe into this new expedition, but to remaine there still vnder their Generall *Antonius Leua*: which worthie captaine although hee would faine haue had him with him, as of all his great commanders the best; yet he thought it good to spare him, both for that he was much troubled with the gout, and also for that it was necessarie (as he thought) to leaue such a valiant captaine with his garrisons in the countrey, so neere vnto the French and Swissers, whom he durst not so well trust as to dis-furnish that countrey
D either of so great a commander, or of the woonted garrisons. At the same time *Maximilian Eberstein*, an old commander, came to *Vastius* with eight thousand Germans, ouer the Tridentine Alpes to Millaine, and so to Genoa; amongst whom were diuers noble Gentlemen, who then as voluntarie men serued of their owne charges. With these Germanes and the fiue thousand Italians, *Vastius* embarked himselfe at the port called Portus Veneris, in Liguria: hauing before persuaded them, with patience to indure the tediousnesse of the sea, and to comfort themselues with the hope of the victorie in Affrick; where they should fight in the quarrel of God, and for the Emperor, who did neuer forget his religious and valiant souldiers. So sailing
E alongst the coast of Italie, he came to Naples, where the viceroy and diuers other of the nobilitie had of their owne charges, euery man according to his deuotion or abilitie, built or furnished some one gallie, some moe, for that seruice. It was a wonder to see with what cheerfulnesse the gallants and lustie youths of Naples, and all that part of Italie, came and offered themselues vnto *Vastius*; so that it seemed there was none left behind in Naples: for he had with singular courtesie so woon the hearts of the old souldiers and lustie youths of that kingdome, that both the one and the other thought it a most honourable thing to adorne, the one their before deserued pensions, and the other their first entrance into martial affaires, with the participation of so notable a victorie. But whilest euery man was thus busied in setting forward, certaine mutinous souldiers (wearie of the sea, and fearing the dangers of so long a voyage) began to cast many perils, to finde fault with their small wages, and to discourage the multitude, persuading them with seditious speeches to forsake their colours, and to run away: for redresse whereof, *Vastius* caused the anthours of that mutinie to be taken and thrust into sacks, and in the sight of the whole fleet to be cast into the sea. So *Vastius* departing with his
F fleet from Naples, came in few daies to Palermo in Sicilie. The Emperour also loosing from Barcelona, came to the Port of Mago in the Island of Minorica, and from thence to Caralis in Sardinia, whether *Alphonsus Vastius* was a little before come with all his fleet out of Sicilie. Not long after, the Emperour, now that all his forces were come together, passed ouer from Sardinia into Affricke, and with a faire Westerly winde put into the Port of

Alphonsus Daualus Vastius Generall of the land forces.

The Emperour passeth ouer into Affricke.

of Vtica, which is of the seafaring men called Farina. In the entring wherof, the Admirall galley, wherein the Emperor himselfe was, by great mischance strake vpon a sand, & there stucke fast: which so much more troubled the Emperor, for that his father *Philip* had by like mishap bin like to haue bin cast away vpon the coast of England, as hee was sailing out of the Low-countries into Spaine: howbeit, by the good direction of *Auria* she was quickly got off the sand againe, and entred with the rest, to the great reioycing of the whole fleet. So presently departing again from Vtica, and sailing alongst the coast, he doubled the promontorie of Carthage, yet famous for the ruins of that proud citie, and came to anker before a castle, which of a well beneath it, is called by the name of Aquaria, or the water castle. The Moores, who from the hils of Vtica and their watch towers, had taken view of the Christian fleet and of

Barbarussa hearing of the coming of the emperour, is much discouraged.

the course it held, aduertised *Barbarussa*, That the Christians were comming against him with an innumerable fleet: for there was of one sort and other almost 700 saile, whereof 82 were great gallies, which gallantly garnished with flags and streamers, made a shew of moe than indeed they were, and wonderfully terrified the enemie. But that troubled *Barbarussa* most, that he was by messenger vpon messenger certainly informed, that the most mighty Christian Emperour *Charles* was in person himselfe in the fleet, with such a world of people, that it should seeme he had left none in Spaine and Italie that were able to beare armes. Which newes was brought by certain Mahometan slaues, who getting loose in the gallies, had in the night swum ashore, and reported the certaintie of the Emperours comming: for the proud Turke, great contemner of the Christian forces, neuer thought that the Emperour would haue aduentured his person vnto the dangers of the sea, and chances of warre, especially in an vnknowne barren and scorching countrey, but would rather haue attempted to doe something by his Lieutenants; or else by *Auria* his Admirall seeke to surprise some base places alongst the sea coast, but not to come directly for the regall citie of Tunes: in which opinion he was chiefly confirmed by *Aloysius Præsenda*, a gentleman of Genoa, who taken at sea, was kept as prisoner at large in Tunes: of whom *Barbarussa* had learned many things concerning the state of Italie, the manner of the Christians, and strength of the Emperour; craftily feeding him with the hope of libertie, if he would truly declare vnto him such things as he desired to know. Wherfore now in his rage he caused him to be brought before him; charging him bitterly, that he had craftily and perfidiously told him lies for truth, concerning the Emperor, and therefore commanded him to be forthwith executed. When he had thus with the vnworthie death of a guiltlesse Christian, somwhat mittigated the griefe of his light beleefe, he forthwith began to cast with himselfe how he might best withstand his puissant enemie. And first of all calling to counsell his sea captains, in whom for their approued valor he reposed most confidence, he shewed vnto them, that they as valiant men, acquainted with the dangers attending vpon honorable actions, were not to doubt of the victorie, forsomuch as he saw as it good as alreadie gained; for the same reasons for which he had before persuaded himselfe, that the Emperour (if he had not bin halfe mad) would not haue vndertaken so desperat and doubtfull a warre.

In his rage he executeth Aloysius Præsenda.

Barbarussa encourageth his souldiers.

For who is there (said hee) *that knoweth this countrey (not to speake of our owne forces) which would not reasonably thinke our enemies should in short time know the price of their ambitious desire and rash attempt? which in a most vnseasonable time of the yeare, the dayes beeing now at the longest, and the Sunne in his greatest strength, are come to fight in a countrey scortched with heat, and altogether without water; where the verie sand which riseth with euerie blast of wind, flying into their eyes and faces, shall no lesse trouble them than their enemies? Shall we thinke that they, which as I heare for most part are fresh-water souldiers, and surcharged with heauie armor, can easily march forward, or retire, or yet keepe their ground, as the diuers occasions of battell shall require: when as the deepe and hollow burning sand vp to the mid leg, will not suffer them to keepe any order of array? How shall they bee able by any meanes to abide the force of our Turkish footmen, or the often charging of the nimble Numidian horsemen? And if they bee so many of them as they say there is, where can they get victuall to feed such a multitude, if wee doe but protract the warre? Assurealy (most valiant and couragious chiefetaines) wee shall erect a most rare and incomparable trophie in this countrey of Affricke: when as* Charles *the rich and great Emperour of the Christians shall either heere bee slaine in battell, or else fall into our hands as a most rich prey. For mine owne part, I will notably prouide, that you shall want neither weapons, victuall, nor aide, during the time of this warre: I will open the*

the old armories, broach my store, and bring forth my treasures. The Numidian princes now our friends, I will without delay entertaine with great pay, and such Presents as shall be to them most welcome. As for the citizens of Tunes, you know how easily they are to be kept in obedience, and brought on against the enemie for a small pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I most earnestly require of your approued valor, That you most valiantly defend the strong Castle of Guletta, as the most assured defence not of this city onely, but of the whole kingdome; and especially of our nauie which there lieth in safe harbour: for that piece will our enemies with all their forces first assaile. Wherefore, as worthie men neuer to be vanquished, keepe that for Solyman *and mee: so that it being vainly attempted by our enemies, and resolutely defended by you, the Christian Emperor there failing of his purpose, and shamefully foiled, shall now begin to despaire, not of the taking of the citie of Tunes, but of his owne returne and safetie.*

When he had thus said, the sea captains answered with one consent, That they would most willingly and cheerfully performe whatsoeuer it should please him to command: and in confirmation therof, promised him not to do any thing which beseemed not most valiant and resolute men. Amongst these sea captains, *Sinan* of Smirna a Iew, who had lost his right eie, was both for his age and long experience in militarie affaires, of greatest account: next vnto him was *Haidinus* of Cilicia, for his furiousnesse in fight surnamed of the Italians *Cacciadiabolo*, and *Salec* of Ionia; which two had before in a great battell at sea, slaine *Rodericus Portendus* great Admirall of Spaine, and taken his son *Iohn* prisoner, and seuen great gallies: after these, was *Tabacches* of Laodicia, and *Giaffer* a valiant captaine of the Ianizaries: all which were notable pyrates, and then men of great fame. The strong castle of Gulletta standeth in the bottome of the bay of Carthage, vpon a point of the land, where the sea by a narrow strait runneth on the East side of the castle into the lake of Tunes, which being in a manner round, is about 12 Italian miles ouer. But now that castle is parted from the maine on the West side also, by the sea that way let in; which chargeable worke was by *Barbarussa* begun, but giuen ouer againe by him, perswaded by some, That the sea comming in that way, would in short time fil vp the lake with sand: but was afterwards for all that, perfected by others. So that now it standeth in the manner of an Iland, in the mouth of the lake, diuided from the firm land by two narrow strait passages; the one on the East, and the other on the West; yet so, that it commandeth both. This castle *Barbarussa* had before strongly fortified both with men and munition, as the key of that kingdome: but now vpon the comming of the Emperour, he put into it his most expert and resolute captaines before named: well foreseeing, that in the defence thereof rested the safetie of his nauie which then lay within the lake, as in a most sure harbour; and also the greatest hope he had for the holding of the citie of Tunes, whereon depended the whole state of that kingdome. The Emperor lying at anchor with all his fleet neere vnto the shore, gaue generall commandement, that his souldiers should with as much speed as was possible be landed with the long boats: which was so orderly done, that the Moores terrified with the hideous crie of the souldiers, making toward land, and not able to abide the showers of small shot, were easily beaten from the shore, whither they were come downe in great multitudes, and so suffered the Christian souldiers to land quietly. The first that landed were the Spanish companies, after them the Italians, and last of all the Germans, whom *Vastius* Generall of the army caused presently to encampe themselues; straitly commanding, that no man should straggle from the camp farther into the land, vntil the horsemen and great artillerie were all landed. The Emperour himselfe bearing victorie in the cheerfulnesse of his countenance, landed also. In the mean time certaine companies were sent out by the Generall, to view the places nighhand, and to seeke out the cisternes and fountaines of fresh waters thereabout, which sometime serued the famous citie of Carthage; with whom the Moores, but especially the Numidian horsemen, a swift, subtle, and painefull kind of souldiers, oftentimes and in many places suddenly skirmished: and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the aduantages they could of the places to them well knowne, with their arrowes and darts furiously assailed them vnawares, and ouerloaded with armour, sparing no mans life that fell into their hands. Among whom was *Hieronimus Spinnula* a Ligurian captaine, who ouerthrowne by a Numidian horseman, had his head cut off, and carried away by the same nimble horseman, before hee could bee rescued. The like mishap befell *Fredericus Carellus* a noble Gentleman, who going with *Vastius*

Barbarussa his chiefe captaines.

The situation of Guletta.

The Christian armie landeth at Guletta.

to

to view the places thereabouts, was fast by his side suddenly slaine with a small shot. All G
which nimblenesse and fiercenesse of the enemie, could not for all that stay the Emperor: but
that he would needs with a small troupe of horsemen, in person himselfe take view of the
places thereabouts, euen in the sight of the Numidian horsemen, which were in euery place
to be seene pricking vp and downe the countrey in troupes; although he was many times re-
quested by his graue counsellors, to leaue that seruice for his inferior captains, & not to expose
himself to so great danger both of his person & of the cõmon safety. *Vastius* had now brought
on the armie neere vnto the castle of Guletta, still casting vp a rolling trench as he came neerer
thereunto, thereby to keep his men out of the danger of the enemies shot: which worke was
not done only by the pioners and gallie slaues, but by souldiers of all sorts; yea many of the H
captaines themselues laid their hands to the spade and mattocke: for why, the Emperor was
there a continuall beholder, and cheerfull commender of euery mans labor and forwardnesse,
and the busie enemie was euer readie to take the aduantage, if any thing were by negligence
omitted, oftentimes sallying out euen vnto the very trenches of the Christians, there giuing
vnto them proud words of defiance. When the armie was to be martialled, and euery com-
mander to be appointed to the place of his charge in this siege of Guletta: the countie of
Sarne (a man famous both for the honour of his house, and for the good seruice hee had late-
ly done against the Turks at Corone) requested of *Vastius* the Generall, to haue the charge of
the mount neerest vnto the castle; which as it was a place of most danger, so was it also of grea-
test honor. Whereat the old Spaniards (after the manner of their proud nature) much repined. I
Vpon the top of this mount, the countie set vp his rich tent in the eie of the enemy, and there
lay with the Italian companies ouer whom he commanded. He had not there lien long, but
Salec, one of the Turks famous pirats, with certaine companies of the garrison souldiers, salli-
ed out of the castle directly vpon the mount whereon the countie lay; and by making shew as
Salec sallieth out vpon the countie and the Italians. if he would desperatly haue assailed the same, raising a great alarme against the Italians: yet so
as after certaine vollies of shot discharged on both sides, he began to retire as if he had beene
thereto constrained. Which thing the county perceiuing, being a man of greater courage than
direction, in great rage with bitter words reproued certaine of the captaines, whom hee per-
ceiued not so forward in pursuit of the enemie as he would haue had them: and in his furie
ran downe from the mount, the rest for shame following him, and ouertaking the enemies K
slew diuers of them. The craftie pyrat now seeing the countie drawne out of his strength in-
to the plaine ground, and perceiuing himselfe strong enough to encounter him, suddenly tur-
ning himselfe about, said vnto his souldiers: *The aduantage you wished to haue of your enemies is
now offred, they are now in your danger; wherefore now shew your selues valiant men, and suffer not one
of these proud fresh-water souldiers to escape aliue or vnwounded.* Which he had no sooner said, but
they presently made a stand, and so hardly charged them from whom they but euen now see-
med to flie, that the Italians not able longer to indure the fight, betooke themselues to flight.
The countie himselfe with *Belingerus* his kinsman, fighting valiantly in the formost of his
companies, was slaine; many others indured the same fortune: others flying backe againe to
the mount, were slaine there by the Turks; who resolutely entred into the trenches with them L
so far, that they caried away with them the plate and riches of the counties tent. Neither was
there any of the Spaniards which lay neerest vnto them, and might easily haue rescued them,
that would once stir out of their places to helpe them: for it is reported, that they were no-
thing sorie for the ouerthrow of the Italians, forasmuch as the countie had so arrogantly cra-
ued of the Generall the most honourable place, which he so euill held. His head & right hand
The countie slaine, and his head and right hand sent to Barbarussa. were cut off, and sent by *Salec* to *Barbarussa*. This ouerthrow much grieued the Italians, whom
Vastius comforted with cheerfull speeches, imputing all that losse, neither to the valour of
the enemie, or cowardise of the Italians; but onely to the rashnesse of the countie, whome he
said worthilie to haue paied the price of his inconsiderat forwardnesse. But the Spaniards hee
sharpely reproued as mercilesse men, which vpon so light an occasion had giuen cause for the
Italians to haue them in distrust. The Turks in the mean time by the often shooting off of their M
The Spaniards reioycing at the ouerthrow of the Italians, are themselues foiled by Tabaccbes. great ordnance, shewed the ioy they conceiued of this victory.

It oftentimes so falleth out, that whilest men laugh at their neighbors harmes, their own is
not far off; and so it fell out with the Spaniards: for *Tabaccbes* another of the piraticall cap-
tains, shortly after sallying suddenly out of the castle in the dawning of the day, was got vp to the

A the top of the trenches wherein the Spaniards lay, before they were aware of his comming,
and there slew some as they were asleepe, some idlie sitting fearing no harme, others, as they
were arming themselues; and with their sudden crie, caused the rest which lay neere vnto that
place, shamefully for feare to flie out of their trenches: where the Turks taking such trash as
they there found, and hauing slaine and wounded many, amongst whom was one *Cardenasa* a
captaine, and carrying away with them the enfigne of *Sarmentus* which stood vpon the top
of the trench, returned with victory. The alarme raised in the armie was such, as that the Em-
peror himselfe came running to the place in his armor, seuerely reprouing them of cow-
which had forsaken the place; and grieuously offended with them which had kept vnsuffi-
ligent watch against such an enemie, as was not for wilinesse, agilitie, and courage, to bee
B slightly regarded of the best and most expert souldiers. This disgrace of the Spaniards wa
comforted the Italians, to see the old souldiers no lesse ouertaken in their negligence, than
they had been in their vnaduised forwardnesse.

This tumult appeased, *Vastius* called into his tent the Colonels and chiefe Captaines of
the Spaniards, and spake vnto them in this manner:

Friends (said he) *elsewhere alwaies valiant, who together with me, haue by your inuincible prowesse*
gained vnto our Emperor many most glorious victories; you seeme vnto me at this time to haue needs
to be called vpon, and to beput in remembrance of your wonted and approued valor: for as far as I can
see, the remembrance of your antient fame, is in you growne altogether cold: your hands are become faint
C *for feare; and that which I am sorie and ashamed to say, you are growne I know not how altogether out*
of order, and heartlesse, shewing no courage for the subduing of these naked pyrats. Yesterday (as many
say) you smiled at the vnskilfull and vnfortunat forwardnesse of your friends, which they bought deere;
but to day they worthily laugh at your degenerat carelesse negligence: so that it concerneth you in ho-
nour, to blot out this so foule and publicke a disgrace, by some notable and worthie exploit. Wherefore I
exhort you, and I straightly charge and command you, that with all speed you prepare both your minds
and weapons for the atchieuement of some new honour: so that if the proud enemie shall againe presume
to come forth and assaile your trenches, you shall forthwith breake out vpon him, and beat him backe
againe euen to the gates of Guletta. Perhaps good fortune will so attend your valiant and resolute pur-
suit, that you may together with their disordered men, enter some of their rampiers, wherein we see their
D *whole hope consisteth: which if it shal otherwise fall out than is hoped for, yet shall you by this your notable*
deuoire wonderfull content the Emperour your soueraigne, and me your Generall, and withall, couer your
late dishonour.

Wherunto they all answered, That they would so beare themselues against the enemie, as
that hee should not desire greater courage or contempt of danger in men desirous of honour
and commendation.

It was not long, but that the Turks incouraged with their former successe, after their wonted *The Turks sally against out of Guletta.*
manner sallied out againe, conducted by *Giaffer* captaine of the Ianizaries, a man of exceeding
courage and strength of bodie: who with the Ianizaries and certaine companies of Moorish
E archers, about the noone time of the day issuing out of the castle, assailed the vttermost tren-
ches, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Christians in their stations negligent and vnpre-
pared: wherin he was nothing deceiued; for the Spaniards that burning hoat time of the day,
kept such negligent watch, that *Giaffer* with his Ianizaries and archers, was got vp to the top
of the rampiers, and there discharged their shot & arrowes vpon the Christians in their tren-
ches, before they were well aware of his comming. But vpon the striking vp of the drum, cer-
taine companies of harquebusiers brake out vpon them in two places at one instant, as *Vastius*
had before commanded; whom hee seconded with a company of halbardiers, keeping in rea-
dines his squadrons to rescue his harquebusiers, if they should be inforced by the enemie to
F retire: & in that order expected the euent of the skirmish, which was most valiantly maintai-
ned on both sides. For the Ianizaries, although they were inforced to giue ground, yet (as men
not vsed to flie, & standing vpon the honor of their order) withstood the Christians with no
lesse resolution than they were by them charged; vntill that *Giaffer* their leader, desirous
fighting among the formost of the Ianizaries, was at once shot in with a bullets, & [illegible]
dead bodie the Ianizaries laboring to carrie away, indured a most cruell fight, many being
hurt

both sides slaine vpon his dead carkasse: yet at length they were inforced to flie, and so fiercely followed by the Spaniards, that they of Guletta, when they had receiued in the formost, shut out almost a fourth part of their owne men, for feare the Christians should together with them haue entred the castle. *Didacus Abila*, one of the Spanish ensigne-bearers, aduanced his ensigne vnto the top of one of the enemies rampiers, and was there slaine, but his ensigne saued by one of the souldiers of the same band. The Christians receiued more losse in their retreat, than they had in all the fight; for the Turks from their rampiers then discharged their shot as fast as they could vpon them, which they could not before doe, without the like danger to their own men mingled amongst them. This daies worke well abated the pride of the Turks, and gaue good hope to the Christians, that the castle would without any great losse be gained: for being neere vnto it, they perceiued it not to be so strong as they had supposed.

The Emperor hauing spent a few daies in consultation about his farther proceeding and preparing of things for the siege, resolued without further delay with all his forces to assaile the castle, perswaded thereunto by many reasons: first, by the cheerfulnes of his own soldiers and the courage of his enemies sore danted in the last skirmish, which he was loth they should againe recouer by the comming of new supplies; besides that, hee was informed, that diuers companies of the Numidians were comming to Tunes, entertained by *Barbarussa*, whose strength was like daily to encrease: but that which moued him most to hasten the matter, was, for that his men began to grow sickly in his camp, being all the day time scortched as it were with the feruent heat of the Sun; and well neere starued in the night with cold and exceeding dewes wherwith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good water, or fresh victuall by any meanes to be had in that sandie and barren soile, for the reliefe of the sicke, other than that was brought out of the fleet; for all the water thereabout was most vnpleasant and exceeding brackish, so that both sicke and whole were glad when they could get a crab to quench their extreame thirst: although the Emperor did what hee might to remedie these extremities, and much reliefe was in good time sent both from Sicilia and Naples: the bisket also in the ships, especially in the Spanish gallies, was growne hoarie and vnwholesome. Wherefore he began to place his batterie about the 15 of Iuly, which was defended all alongst with Gabions, and caske filled with sand, for that the countrey soyle in that place yeelded neither earth nor turfe to do it. *Auria* appointed to batter the castle by sea, diuided his gallies into three squadrons which orderly succeeding one another, should by turnes beat the same: his great ships rid at anker, and out of their forecastles thundered with their great ordnance. And *Vastius* at land had diuided the army into three battels; Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, euery station by themselues, in such sort, as that they might indifferently be partakers both of the danger of the assault, & of the glorie of the victory. There was neuer strong place in the memorie of man (since guns, that fatal engine were first inuented for the destruction of mankind) assailed with greater force, greater preparation, or industrie. The great ordnance in maner of a great earthquake, so terribly roared & thundred, that the earth seemed not only to tremble & quake vnder mens feet, but euen by and by to rent in sunder & swallow them vp: and the sea which was euen now quiet and calme, began to rise aloft, and to rage and fome as if it had bin in a great storm: at which time the aire became thicke, and the skie darkned with the smoke of the great artillerie: from the breake of the day vntil noon, the roaring cannon and culuering neuer ceased: so that the Vamures were beaten downe, the castle made faultable, & the wals so shaken, that in many places the Turks canoniers, together with their cannons lay buried in the ruins thereof. Which thing perceiued, they which were before appointed to giue the first assault, vpon signal giuen by the Emperor, presently vpon the ceasing of the great artillerie assailed the breach, & others with their scaling ladders scaled the wals: which was done with such courage & resolution, that the Turkes when they had done what they possibly could for the defence of the place, by casting down darts, wild fire, & such like things vpon the Christians as they were climbing vp; at length as men despairing longer to hold the place, & ouercome with a greater fortune, turned their backs and fled. *Sinan* & the rest of the captains by a wooden bridge, fled out at the further side of the castle, into the main, and so alongst the left side of the lake by land to Tunes, not looking behind them for hast: which way most part of his men followed him also. The rest were either slain or driuen into the lake, where seeking to saue their liues by swimming, they were either slain in comming to land, by the

Guletta furiously battered

Guletta assaulted by the Christians.

the Spanish horsemen, or else in their swimming shot at pleasure by the harquebusiers, so that all the lake was as it were couered with the dead bodies of the Turks and Moores. The Emperor with small shot thus gained the castle of Guletta, with all the warlike prouision therein, and with it all *Barbarussa* his great fleet and strength at sea, which he for the more safetie had before put into the lake: which as it was vnto the Emperour a thing most pleasant, so was it vnto *Barbarussa* and his pyrats the greatest griefe and losse possible, hauing at once lost all their power at sea, which but a little before was no small terror to all the frontiers of the Christian countries and Islands in the Mediterranian.

Guletta woon, and Barbarussa his fleet taken.

Barbarussa troubled and terrified with so great a losse, with a sterne and scornefull countenance receiued the Iew and the rest of the captains fled from Guletta, reuiling them bitterly in his rage, and calling them faint hearted cowards, which had in so short a time giuen ouer so strong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* answered for them all, in this sort:

Barbarussa rageth.

Hairadin (said he) *so long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou well knowest, and our enemies cannot denie, what well beseemed vs and thy magnificent fortune. But when we are to withstand the Diuell and his infernall furies, which came against vs with flames of fire, and earthquakes, things of extreame terrour and danger; it ought not to seeme strange vnto thee, if we sought to escape the vncouth furie of the immortall enemies of mankinde, to do thee seruice in thy better fortune, in defence of thy citie and kingdome. Neither do we account it any disgrace to haue escaped that danger, as men that minde againe to fight: out of which thou, a most antient and expert Commander (if I may frankly speake vnto thee the truth) if thou hadst been there present, wouldst haue accounted it no dishonor, but very good discretion to haue escaped in safetie.*

The short answer of Sinan the Iew vnto Barbarussa.

Barbarussa repressing his furie, began in a more temperat manner to request them euery one particularly, as valiant and couragious men to stand fast vnto him in that war against their enemies the Christians: telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great supplie of the Moorish footmen and Numidian horsemen were once come (which were now at hand) the enemy should not long reioyce of the taking of Guletta. After that, he forthwith conuerted all his studie and endeauour, to prepare such things as were needfull for the war, bringing forth his treasures, and bountifully bestowing the same amongst the Moors and Numidians, thereby to confirme the friendship of such as well affected him, and with his new bountie to winne the hearts of such as yet stood doubtfull.

In the mean time *Muleasses* the exiled king, with a smal retinue of his friends and followers came from the farthest part of Numidia, into the Emperors campe; the Emperor sitting in a royall seat in the midst of his pauilion, whereinto *Muleasses* was admitted, with a mytre vpon his head, in a garment of greene and blew changeable silke: he was of a tal and manly stature, of colour tawnie, but so squint-eyed, that he seemed spitefully to looke vpon them whom he beheld: whom after he had kissed the Emperors right hand, and had set himselfe downe with his legs gathered close vnder him, vpon a carpet spred vpon the bare ground, after the manner of his countrey, he by an interpreter spake vnto the Emperor as followeth:

Muleasses commeth to the emperour.

Thou art come in armes into this countrey, and art now almost conquerour of the same, (thrice mightie Emperour) prouoked thereunto not by any desert of mine, for that our different religion so required; yet as I verily thinke, not without the appointment of the most high God, whom both thou and I do with like deuotion worship, to take reuenge of the most perfidious and cruell tyrant and pyrat, the mortall enemie of mankind; whom I foresee as good as alreadie vanquished, now that Guletta is taken, and his Nauie surprised. So that I hope he shall in short time by thy reuenging hand, at once receiue the iust guerdon of all his former villanies: which shall be so much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the fruit of thy rare felicitie and glorious victorie will redound in great part to me, being restored by thee into my fathers kingdome: which I as a poore exiled Prince most humbly request of thy justice and bountie. For it shall be vnto thee a thing most honourable and profitable, if thou shalt receiue into thy protection me, a king royally discended of a most antient progenie, strengthned with the great allyance of the Numidians and Moores. Neither doe I refuse either to pay thee tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my selfe vassal vnto thee the Christian Emperor. Of which my fidelitie there can be no greater assurance, than the thankefull remembrance of so great a benefit receiued; which shall for euer remaine vnforgotten of

The Oration of Muleasses vnto Charles the emperour.

me and my posteritie, euen for that especially, that I accept and esteeme the name of an vnthankefull G
man; and do well by experience finde, how much my glorie may be increased, and the minds of my people
to me assured, by thy garrisons so neere as Sicilia and Sardinia.

The Emperours answere to Muleasses.

Whereto the Emperor answered, [illegible] of the iniuries which [illegible] and to [illegible] the [illegible] by the [illegible] by [illegible] his victorie: [illegible] H repo-sed [illegible] to his heroical [illegible] done, if cause, ready [illegible] his vnexampled [illegible] to celebrate.

The behauior of Muleasses.

Muleasses [illegible] such a grauitie and grace in his speech & gesture, as well [illegible] generall and the [illegible] vp and down with [illegible] launce with such [illegible] I At other vacant [illegible] Emperours [illegible] his dyet. [illegible] honour, and at such time [illegible] of it, that [illegible] was of great [illegible] brasse and [illegible] conuersation [illegible] with [illegible] of; stroked [illegible] to his great [illegible] subdue the enemie. Where [illegible] K the great [illegible] found in [illegible]

His opinion and counsell concerning the present warre.

Now [illegible] of the expert Captains by [illegible] ing battle better prouided [illegible] of them of [illegible] of the [illegible] fortresses of the citie, of the nature of the [illegible] of the Castle, and [illegible] and [illegible] ans were of, which *Barbarossa* had entertained. In conclusion [illegible] wards it fell out, that *Barbarossa* would neuer trust to the strength of the [illegible] ly be ouercome with [illegible] artillerie; but would [illegible] bring all his forces [illegible] of purpose to terrifie the Christians with the sight of the L multitude of his rascall souldiers, [illegible] with his [illegible] who with hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that nation, would [illegible] them: and yet for all that would neuer bring [illegible] battell his Turkish footmen, in whom he reposed his greatest confidence, and whom he [illegible] spare, but would as a crafty and subtill Turke, by opposing of the Moores, whom he held in small regard, trie by their bloud what might be done without the danger of his own men. But as he said them, nothing could be more strange vnto the Moores his countrymen: or that they were more afraid of, than in a feeble and tired fight with that enemie whose squadrons commonly ouer-in shifting armor with long pikes, might scorne and easily ouer-throw the naked bare-backers of the Moores, and the vnarmed Numidian horsmen: and that our men should find nothing more grieuous or troublesome, than the scorching heate of the Sun, and the dust rising thereof; which might easily be M remedied by plenty of water, which by flates and small boats might easily be brought in casks and bottles from the fleet alongst the lake, and so distributed amongst the armie: although not far from the walls of the citie were certaine old conduits which would yeeld them great plentie of water, if the malicious enemie did not to his owne hurt and others, poyson the

A the same. These things orderly reported to the Emperour, confirmed the hope he had before conceiued of the desired victorie: so that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully forecasting all things, he resolued forthwith to depart from Guletta, and with all his power to besiege Tunes.

But whilest he was preparing things necessarie, ordering his souldiers, and discouering the enemies purposes, his souldiers had dayly diuers skirmishes with the Numidians; so that once the skirmish was like to haue come to a iust battel: which began in this sort; The Moors had planted certain field-pieces amongst the Oliue gardens, wherewith they shot continually into the campe: for remouing whereof, the Emperor leauing the Italians, with certain companies of the old Germane and Spanish soldiers, for the keeping of his campe and trenches, went
B forth with his horsemen and the rest of his armie: sending before him *Montegius*, Generall of the Spanish horsemen, who for most part were but raw souldiers, such as were of the Noblemens ordinarie seruants and followers, not before acquainted with the warres. These light horsemen with diuers fortune skirmished a while with the enemy; but when they saw themselues to be hardly charged, and *Montegius* their Generall grieuously wounded, they turned their backs, and in the sight of the Emperour shamefully fled to the men at armes which were comming after them. The manner of the enemies fight was, to giue at the first a fierce and desperat charge, and vpon the incounter giuen, of purpose to retyre, auoiding thereby the sudden force of their enemies, and by and by to turne againe vpon them with a fresh charge. The Emperour seeing the flight of his light horsemen, came on couragiously with his men at
C arms; by whose comming in and valiant encounter the Turks and Moores were put to flight, and the field pieces wherewith they had before annoyed the campe, taken. In this skirmish the Emperour in person, as he stood formost in his armed troups, gaue the signe of battel himselfe, by crying with a loud voice, Saint *Iames*, Saint *Iames*, whom the Spaniards take for their Patron; and so chargiug the enemie, performed the part not only of a couragious Chieftaine, but of a resolute and valiant souldier also; rescuing with his owne hand *Andreas Pontius* a noble gentleman of Granado, whom vnhorsed and sore wounded, the enemie was readie presently to haue slaine, had not the Emperor by his comming in saued him: deseruing thereby the Oken garland, which the Romans by the name of *Ciuica Corona*, gaue as an honour to such as had in battell saued a citisen.

The Spanish light horsmen put to flight.

The Emperour restoreth the battell, & with his owne hand rescueth Andreas Pontius of Granado.

D About the same time it fortuned, that thirtie thousand Moores came vpon the sudden to haue surprised a little tower standing vpon a hil neere vnto the ruines of old Carthage: wherein the Emperor had placed certaine soldiers for the keeping thereof, because it was neere vnto his campe. Before these Moores went a Numidian Priest, who bellowing out certain superstitious charmes, cast diuers scrols of paper on each side the way, wherein he cursed and banned the Christians: and now they had with fire and smoake brought the Christians in that tower to great extremitie, when the Emperour himselfe comming to their rescue with certaine companies of horsemen and footmen, slew the coniuring Priest, with others, and put the rest to flight. The discomfiture of the Spanish horsemen caused many men to thinke, that if the Emperor should come to a set battell with the enemie, he should finde his horsemen too
E weake, both for that they were but few in number, and not to be compared with the Numidians. For which cause, and diuers others, certain of the Emperors graue counsellors, but none of the best soldiers, wished him not to proceed further in that dangerous war, but with speed to returne out of Affricke, for as much as he had woon honour enough by the taking of Guletta, and the surprising of the enemies fleet: whereby he had to his immortall praise, and the common good of Christendome, deliuered all the frontiers of the Christian countries in the Mediterranean, from the danger and feare of those most cruell pyrats: besides that, the fixe began to rage in his campe, whereof many of his soldiers fell sicke and died daily. Whereas on the contrarie part, the mightie Numidian Princes, such as were *Muleasses* old enemies, were reported to come in dayly to the aid of *Barbarussa*. These vnseasonable speeches the Empe-
F rour thought good to represse betime; reasoning against the authors thereof with great grauitie, as against men who with more feare doubted of the successe of things, and the euent of the victorie, than beseemed them, whom for their constant resolution, and good opinion conceiued of their discretion, he had chosen to be of his most secret counsell.

The Emperour aduised by his Counsellours to returne home.

Saying, *That he desired not of them that their needlesse and dishonourable labour, wherein they* *The resolute answer of the Emperour.* *should*

should shew themselues more carefull of his person than of his honour: for as much as those things which G
they now alledged, should haue been said before the war was taken in hand, now by good hap halfe ended;
before he euer passed ouer into Affricke. For he might (as he said) haue rested quietly in Spaine, and
haue easily neglected and reiected the iniuries done vpon the sea coasts, and the complaints of his subiects;
but he was (as they well knew) for most vrgent causes come thither: whereas he was resolued to satisfie
the expectation of the world with a notable victorie; or if God should otherwise appoint, there to end his
dayes with honour. Wherefore he willed them to cease further to flatter him that was no way dismaid, or
to possesse the minds of his valiant souldiers with a vaine foreboding feare, and with resolute mindes, to-
gether with him their chiefetaine, against the next day to expect what the fortune of the field should ap-
point for the full accomplishment of that war. For he was (as he said) *set downe to giue the enemie bat-* H
tell; or if he refused the [illegible] to batter the walls of Tunes, not doubting but that God would stand on his
side in so good and so goa[illegible] quarrell.

The Emperor marcheth toward Tunes.

The Emperour leauing a sufficient garrison in the castle of Guletta, commanded the [illegible]ches to be repaired, and the great ordnance there taken to be laid vpon carriages, which before after the old rude sea fashion lay bound in great vnweldie pieces of timber, with yron rings fastned thereunto, and could not handsomely be handled or remooued to or fro. After that, when he had caused the countrey to be well viewed all about, which betwixt the Oliue groues and the right side of the lake giueth a direct passage vnto the citie of Tunes; he set forward with his armie in so good order, that he still marched as readie to fight, for feare of the I
policies and sudden assaults of the enemie. On the left hand marched the Italians next vnto the lake; on the right hand the Spaniards neere vnto the Oliue groues, which in the manner of a great wood ran all alongst the countrie, from the ruines of Carthage almost to the wals of Tunes: in the midst betwixt both marched the Germans; next vnto them followed the great ordnance; and after it, the carriages of all the armie. In the vaumgard was *Vastius*, whom the Emperour had made Generall of the armie, and especially for that day: in the rereward was the Duke of Alba with certaine troups of chosen horsemen: in the middle of the main battel was the Emperor, and by his side *Lewis* his brother in law the king of Portingals brother. The Italians were conducted by the Prince of Salerne, the Spaniards by *Alarco* an antient captaine, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eberstein*. But the Emperor in his armor ceased not to ride K
from squadron to squadron, with cheerefull countenance and full of hope, recounting vnto them the former victories which they had gotten for him: and telling them, that he did that day expect of them a most honourable dayes seruice, forasmuch as they were to fight against the naked enemies of the Christian religion: wherefore they should with resolute minds set downe themselues to endure the weight of their armor, the painfulnesse of the march, the heat of the Sun and sand, and the tediousnesse of the thirst arising thereof; vntill they might joyne battell with their enemies, where they should vndoubtedly by the goodnes of God (in whose quarrel they fought) obtaine the victorie: in the meane time they should with patience ouercome all difficulties, comforting themselues with the vndoubted hope of a most rich prey, which they were to expect of the spoile of a rich citie. Whereunto euery squadron answered with a great shout, that he should not trouble himselfe with those matters which hee had L
before rehearsed, but to assure himselfe, that they his souldiers would most patiently endure all extremities, and not deceiue the expectation he had conceiued of their wonted valour, but by valiant fight to make him Emperor, not of Affricke but of Asia also.

Now *Vastius* had withdrawn two companies of harquebusiers out of the Spanish squadron, to skirmish with the Moores who continually followed in the taile of the armie: whome, by those harquebusiers and certaine troups of horsemen deputed to that purpose, the duke of Alba notably repulsed in the rereward.

The soldiers for greedines of water disordered their march.

The armie was now come vnto the Cisternes of fresh water, which *Muleasses* and others which well knew the country, had before told them of; which as soon as the soldiers almost fainting vnder the weight of their armor, with the scorching heat of the Sun, & extremity of M
thirst, descried afar off; they for desire they had to quench their thirst, forthwith forsook their colours, & disorderly ran as fast as they could to those cisternes: *Vastius* the Generall, to the vttermost of his power laboring in vaine both by faire meanes and foule to haue stayed them; who saw by that disordrednes of the soldiers, a great aduantage offred vnto the enemie, which then

A then was not far off. But when the Generall could neither with words or blows preuaile any thing with them, the Emperour himselfe was glad to haste thither, with his presence and authoritie to haue kept them in order: yet such was the force of their intollerable thirst, that neither the sight of the Emperour, nor all that he could do, could remedie the disorder; some fainting in the sand for lacke of drinke, and some other for greedinesse readie to burst their bellies at the fountains; so that the Emperor was faine with his truncheon to beat them away. Amongst the rest, one *Sullius Cicero* of Arpinas, a famous captain, died at the cisterne side with drinking too much. This extremitie for want of water seemed iustly to haue happened vnto them, forasmuch as *Vastius* the day before had by generall proclamation thorow the campe, commanded that euery soldier should carrie with him a bottle of wine or water at his girdle:
B although he caused so much water as he conueniently could, to be carried in great caskes for the common reliefe of the armie, whereof the Germanes had the greatest part; some almost readie to giue ouer for thirst, were glad to get a draught of cold water of their fellows which had it, for two duckets.

A draught of water sold for two duckets.

This disorder being with as much speed as was possible reformed, and the Armie againe brought into order, the Emperor held on his march towards the enemie: for *Barbarussa* with a wonderfull multitude of horsemen and footmen, and a number of ensignes (the instruments of vaine feare and foolish brauerie) gallantly displaied after the manner of the Moores, was come about three miles from the citie, and with certaine field pieces (as *Muleasses* had foretold) went about three miles from the citie, and with certaine field pieces (as *Muleasses* had foretold) went
C about to haue broken the battell of the Christians: which Pieces although they were often-times discharged, yet did they little or no harme by reason of the vnskilfulnesse of the Canoniers. *Vastius* in like manner, and for like purpose had commanded the great ordnance to be brought into the front of the battell: but perceiuing what time and toile it required to haue it done (for that it was drawne but by strength of men, and the wheels of the carriages sunk deep in the deuouring sand, and the shot and pouder which the Mariners and gally slaues carried altogether vpon their shoulders, came but softly on) he suddenly changed his purpose, and told the Emperor, That he thought it not best to stay for the great artillerie in that cheerfulnesse of his armie when euery man desired battell; but to commit all to the valour of his resolute men, and his own good fortune, which euer fauored his noble attempts: lest whilst we stay (said he) too long vpon our great ordnance (which doth not alwayes serue to great purpose in sudden
D battels) our enemies gather courage in the time of this our vnnecessarie delay; and this exceeding cheerfulnes of our soldiers (the most sure token of vndoubted victorie) by deferring of time grow cold. Whereunto the Emperor, desirous of battell, and filled with good hope, joyfully answered; *Vastius*, if thou so think it good (which I also like wel of) in Gods name giue the signall. That shal I by & by do (said he) but first it is reason that you which sway and command a great part of the world, learne at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and shame, you, laying aside the imperiall maiestie of your selfe, haue for this day made Generall and commander of so mightie an armie: wherefore (said *Vastius*) I wil now vse my authority, and command you, sith I may not so request you, to depart from this place, and to get you into the midst of the battell neere vnto the ensignes; lest by some vnluckie shot, the whole estate of

Vastius commandeth the Emperour.

E the armie be brought into extream perill by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the Emperor smiling, willed him to feare no such thing; saying moreouer, That neuer Emperour was yet slain with a gun. For all that, he departed out of the place as he was commanded, & went into the middle of the battell. Whereupon the signal of battel was by the sound of the trumper, and striking vp of the drum, presently giuen, and the enemie (with more haste than the extream heat of the day required) furiously charged by the Emperors horsemen, who to auoid the danger of the great artillerie, made all the hast they could to come to handie blows. In the formost of these horsmen was *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, a most valiant nobleman, who then serued the emperor without charge: he being somwhat before the rest, at the first onset slew with his lance a great captain of the Moors, & presently with his sword so troubled them that were
F next, that he opened a way for them that followed him, to break into the enemies battel. The harquebusiers also discharged so fast vpon the enemie, that 300 of them lay dead vpon the ground before the ioyning of the battell: which the rest of the footmen seeing, forsooke their great ordnance, and fled backe to *Barbarussa*. Who long endured not the force or sight of the Christians; but grinding his teeth for sorrow and griefe of mind, turned his horse, and with his

Barbaruſſa flieth to Tunes.

his Turks retyred into Tunes. For now that his deſignes had in the beginning taken ſo euill G
ſucceſſe, he thought it not beſt to aduenture all in one battell; knowing right wel, that the emperours armie could not long endure the inconueniences of the intollerable heat, and want of many things, eſpecially of freſh water: which fed him with hope, that he ſhould out of theſe his enemies diſtreſſes picke ſome fit occaſion of aduantage, if he could but a while defend the citie of Tunes. The Numidians and Moores, who in great troups and companies had alwaies houered about the Emperors armie, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired themſelues into the ſuburbes, gardens, and other places neere vnto the citie.

The Emperor glad of the flight of his enemies, which were thought to haue bin in number 100000, incamped with his armie that night in the ſame place where they before lay; determining the next day to batter the walls of Tunes. In the meane time *Barbaruſſa*, ſurpriſed H
with an exceeding feare, and diſtracted with many cares, and now become more cruell than himſelfe, had in his mind purpoſed a fact full of exceeding and inhuman crueltie; which was at once to haue killed all the Chriſtian captiues in the caſtle of Tunes: fully reſolued to put the ſame in execution, had not *Sinan* the Iew diſſuaded him from that moſt execrable fact; proteſting ſuch a practiſe to be vnſeemly for a man of his valor, famous for his many victories, and carrying with him the maieſtie of a king: whereas he would ſhortly after wonderfully repent him for doing ſo ſhamefull a fact: the doing whereof, What was it elſe (as the Iew ſayd) but a manifeſt demonſtration of his extreame feare and deſperation? which two things were moſt dangerous to him, that was to maintaine ſo doubtfull a war, and would much deface the glorie of his former life: wherefore he ſhould do well to beware, that by the fame of ſuch a I
moſt horrible fact, he did not prouoke *Solymans* heauie diſpleaſure againſt him: who deuoid of all human crueltie, had vſed both to deteſt and reuenge ſuch outrages. Wherfore he ſhould ſuffer the Chriſtian captiues to liue bound in their fatall chaines, ſo long as it were their fortunes; who being well kept, and vnarmed, might ſhortly after ſerue him to good purpoſe, and could no way without moſt certain danger moue themſelues, if they ſhould vnaduiſedly luſt after their vnluckie libertie: for by them, the expected victorie could neither be giuen to the enemie, nor taken from him, or yet ſo much as hindered. At which ſpeech the tyrant was aſhamed, and ſo ſparing the liues of the poore wretches, went out of the Caſtle, into the greateſt church of Tunes, whither he had cauſed to be aſſembled all the chiefe men of the citie, to tel them what he would haue done for the defence of the citie, and now by perſuaſion to encou- K
rage them to fight: from whom, as men by him holden in diſtruſt, he had but a little before the comming of the Chriſtians, taken all manner of armor and weapons.

Barbaruſſa in mind to kil all the Chriſtian captiues, is diſſuaded by Sinan the Iew.

Whileſt *Barbaruſſa* was thus buſied, the moſt ioyfull and happie day appeared to thoſe miſerable captiues; by fortunes change no leſſe blacke and diſmall to the Turks and Moores. For that hainous purpoſe of the cruell tyrant could not long be couered or kept ſecret: ſo that a conſtant report of a danger ſo imminent, was run thorow the whole caſtle, euen into deep dungeons; by the compaſſion of certaine manumiſed ſlaues, who deteſting the ſauage crueltie of *Barbaruſſa* their maſter, and touched with deuotion, had in heart returned to their old and true Chriſtian religion; incouraging by ſecret ſpeeches the chiefe of the captiues with whom they L
were acquainted, to lay hand now vpon their libertie. Amongſt theſe well minded men was one *Francis* a Spaniard, whom *Barbaruſſa* had from his youth brought vp as his minion, hauing him alwayes in great eſteem by the name of *Memis*; and another called *Vincentius Caterus* of Dalmatia an eunuch. Theſe two aduenturing a moſt memorable and godly attempt, ſet open the priſon doores, and gaue inſtruments vnto the poore priſoners, readie to take the occaſion offered; who boldly ſtarting vp, brake off their chains and gyues, and ſo by the great goodnes and mercie of God, about 6000 poore naked Chriſtians, armed with that came firſt in hand, but eſpecially with ſtones, brake forth ſuddenly vpon the Turks that were in the caſtle. *Ramadas* a renegate Spaniard captain of the caſtle, ſtirred vp with the vnexpected and terrible noiſe of ſo many priſoners breaking their yrons, with a few ſoldiers whom he had ſuddenly called M
vnto him, ran to the caſtle gate, where one of the priſoners (a luſtie yong man of Sicilia) had with one of the bars of the gate ſtrucke downe one or two of the Warders, and hauing bolted the gate, was become maſter thereof: him *Ramadas* ſlew, and opening the gate, made way for himſelfe and his few followers, with whom he went to *Barbaruſſa*, to carrie him the newes of that his hard miſchance. But the Chriſtians now loſed from their bands, and hauing ſuddenly

The Chriſtian captiues breake priſon, & driue the Turkes out of the caſtle of Tunes.

A ſuddenly ſlaine diuers of the Turkes, poſſeſſed themſelues of all the caſtle, brake open the armorie, and ſo ſeizing vpon the kings treaſure, armor, & prouiſion, from a hie turret gaue ſignes of victorie to the Chriſtian army by ſmoke & falſe fires made with gunpowder; and laſtly by diſplaying of *Sarmentus* his enſigne, which (as we haue before declared) was by *Tabaccbes* taken from the top of the trenches at the ſiege of Guletta. Theſe ſignes although the Chriſtians in the army could not well perceiue, as being too far off, yet by the fugitiues which came oftentimes out of Tunes to the Emperour and *Muleaſſes*, they were both perſuaded, that ſome great tumult was riſen amongſt the enemies. Wherefore the Emperor ſent two of his captains with their companies, who going as neere as they could to the citie and the caſtle, ſhould diſcouer what the matter was. In the meane time, *Barbaruſſa* almoſt mad for anger, in his furie
B blaſpheming his vain gods, and bitterly curſing and banning the Iew, for diſſuading him from killing the captiues, came to the caſtle gate, with tears ſtanding in his eys pittifully requeſting the late Chriſtian captiues (which then ſtood vpon the top of the wals & the gate, with weapons in their hands) that they would forthwith let him in, faithfully promiſing them their libertie, with a generall and free pardon for all that they had done. But they mindfull both of their former and preſent fortune, and moued with iuſt hatred, caſt ſtones at him, and with many opprobrious words reiected his requeſt: ſo that he inraged with ſorrow and madneſſe, ſhot at them with his owne hand, and ſeeing all paſt remedie, and the citie not poſſible now to be kept, ſhamefully betooke himſelfe to flight. After him followed the Turkes, in number ſeuen thouſand, with purpoſe to flie to the citie Hippona, now called Bona, famous with the Bi-
C ſhopricke of that reuerend Father and great Diuine *Auguſtine*. For there (as in a moſt ſure harbour) had *Barbaruſſa* left foureteene gallies in the lake neere vnto the citie, to ſerue his turne whatſoeuer miſchance ſhould happen: but the tacklings, ſailes, oares, and ordnance, hee had laid vp in the caſtle faſt by, which was kept with a garriſon of his owne.

Tunes yeelded to the Emperor.

The Emperour vnderſtanding that *Barbaruſſa* with his Turks was fled, came with all his armie vnto the gates of Tunes, where the magiſtrates of the citie were ready to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, & to deliuer him the keies of the citie; only requeſting of him, that he would keep his ſoldiers incamped without the citie, and not to ſeeke the vtter ſpoile and ruin thereof: promiſing, that the ſouldiers ſhould want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleaſſes* alſo carefull of the ſafetie thereof, earneſtly intreated the Emperor in the citizens behalfe. But he,
D although he was of his own honorable diſpoſition ready enough to haue granted what they requeſted; yet for that he did, not without cauſe, doubt of the Moores fidelitie, and that the paiment of the mony which they of Tunes had by *Muleaſſes* promiſed for the paiment of the ſoldiers wages, was by them craftily delaied, expecting ſtill the vttermoſt deuoire of *Barbaruſſa*, he could not by any means be perſuaded to promiſe them any certaintie of their ſafetie: moued alſo ſo to do by the diſcontented ſpeeches of his ſoldiers, who ſpared not to ſay, That they ſhould be hardly and vnkindly dealt withall, if after ſo long trauell and ſo much paines taken both by ſea and land, they ſhould be defrauded of the reward of the victory, ſith nothing but only the hope of the preſent ſpoile did relieue and feed them, being poore and miſerable, hauing ſcarce clothes to couer their nakedneſſe, and their bodies ſpent with long labour and
E thirſt; ſo that the Moores of Tunes, enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and the perpetuall receiuers of moſt horrible pyrats, might worthily reioice of the Chriſtian victorie; & the conquerors themſelues for euer bewaile their owne calamities and miſeries. Whileſt the Emperor ſtood thus in doubt what to reſolue vpon, *Vaſtius* with a ſmall companie came to the caſtle gate, & was with wonderfull ioy receiued by the Chriſtian captiues. But as he was viewing the wealth & prouiſion laid vp in the caſtle, a Ligurian captiue diſcouered vnto him where certain treaſure lay hid: for *Barbaruſſa* had there caſt into a well 30000 duckats ſowed vp in bags, which *Vaſtius* getting eaſily out, obtain'd them of the Emperor of gift, as he whoſe good ſeruice had wel deſerued them. The caſtle thus won by a moſt rare chance, & the captiues ta-
Tunes ſpoiled by the Chriſtians.
king the ſpoile thereof, the ſoldiers could no longer be ſtaied, but that they entred into the ci-
F ty by heaps, running after the ſpoile into euery part therof, the citizens fearing no ſuch matter, and calling in vain vpon the faith of *Muleaſſes*: the old ſoldiers at the firſt entrance ſlew many. The Spaniards and the Italians ſought moſt after the ſpoile; but the Germans deſiring more to glut themſelues with the Mahometan bloud, fill'd all places with dead bodies, without regard of ſex or age; ſo that the prophane temples of their vain prophet, ſwam with the bloud of them

that

that were fled into them. Which furious execution continued vntill such time as the emperor mooued with the pittifull request of *Muleasses*, caused proclamation to be made, That no man should vpon paine of death hurt any citizen, or take any prisoners: yet for all that, it could not otherwise be, but that many young men and women were by the mariners (which were come to the spoile of the citie) carried away to the fleet. G

Muleasses for a little mony redeemed diuers which he knew, out of the hands of such as had them prisoners: amongst others, one of his wiues, whom he sometime held dearest, was ransomed for two duckats. The Emperour entering into the castle, commended the captiues, who were the occasion of that speedie victorie: and giuing to euery one of them money, set them at libertie, promising vnto them shipping and prouision to bring them home euery man into his owne country. Vnto the two manumised seruants of *Barbarussa*, which were the authours of breaking the prison, he gaue mony and apparell, & afterwards learned of them many things concerning *Barbarussa* his purposes, and secret disposition. In the spoile of the castle, *Muleasses* lamented the losse of three things especially: first, the antient Arabian bookes containing the interpretation of the Mahometane law, and the acts of the kings his predecessours, the want whereof, *Muleasses* (in the hearing of *P. Iouius*, out of whom this historie is taken) said (as he reporteth) that he would most gladly, if it had bin possible, haue redeemed with the price of a city: then the precious ointments and perfumes, with the wonderfull store of ambergrize, muske, and ciuet, worth much gold: all which, *Barbarussa* as a rude and rough man had made no reckoning of. And last of all, the rare and rich colours for painting, which lying by heapes, were by the ignorant souldiers, seeking for that might yeeld them present money, foolishly neglected & troden vnder foot, seruing no man to good. In this castle were found diuers head-pieces and other armor of the Christians, namely of the French, who with *Lewis* their king, had about three hundred yeares before besieged that Castle: which armour had been vntill that time there kept by the Moores in remembrance of that victorie against the Christians. H I

Three things especially lamented by Muleasses in the spoile of the castle of Tunes.

Barbarussa in the meane time was come to the riuer of Bagrada, which the Moores call Maiordech, which he easily passed ouer, though he was pursued by certain Numidian horsmen, whom *Muleasses* had raised of his old friends, and of the followers of his vncle *Dorax*, & sent them to pursue the Turks: but *Barbarussa* so marched with his harquebusiers & archers placed in the rereward, that the Numidian horsemen durst not come neere him, and so in safety came to Hippona, as he had before purposed. Yet in passing the riuer Bagrada, he lost *Haydin* of Smirna, that famous pirat: who being a fat man, and wearied with the heat of the Sunne and painefulnesse of the iourny, dranke so much, that he died presently vpon the banke of the riuer. When *Barbarussa* was come to Hippona, he rested his men two daies: then calling them together againe, he comforted them with good words; persuading them, that whatsoeuer mischance had hapned, they should impute it not to the valor of the enemie, but to the trecherie of the slaues: exhorting them, as valiant men patiently to indure that frowne of Fortune, and by some notable exploit to win againe her fauor: for hee was againe determined to put to sea with the fleet he had, and to go presently from thence to Algiers, where after he had with new supplies increased his power, and augmented his fleet, and better aduised himselfe, he would take an attempt in hand answerable to their desires, and not vnbeseeming his owne credit and estimation. It is reported, that neuer vanquished and beaten captaine was with a more cheerful acclamation answered by his souldiers, than he was at that present; they all with one consent most willingly requesting him to command whatsoeuer pleased him, which they would neuer refuse to vndertake, were it neuer so heauie or dangerous, so that they might bee brought to some notable exploit. *Barbarussa* vsing this exceeding cheerfulnesse and forwardnesse of his souldiers, did with wonderfull celeritie weigh vp the 14 gallies which he had sunke in the lake, & forthwith rigged them vp, & furnished them for all assaies: and vpon the very brinke of the lake cast vp a mount of earth, whereon he placed certain pieces of artillerie for defence of the harbour; not vainly coniecturing, that the Christian fleet would in short time come thither to impeach his going out: pointing therin as it were at the purpose of the Emperor and *Auria* his admirall, who were of opinion, that by sending part of the fleet thither, those gallies might be drown'd in the harbor with the great ordnance, before they could be rigged & made readie. Vnto this piece of seruice *Auria* appointed one *Adam*, a captain of Genoa, a man of no great skill in matters at sea, but yet of great wealth and credit, & the Admirals nigh kinsman: he K L M

Barbarussa flieth to Hippona, and there comforteth his souldiers.

Auria sendeth certaine gallies to intercept Barbarussa.

A he with certaine galliots and foureteene gallies, set forward towards Hippona, promising vnto himselfe a most certain and easie victorie, hoping to purchase vnto himselfe great honor of the vnprouided enemy: for that he thought to haue taken *Barbarussa* busie in setting forth of his fleet. But after he was past Biserta, & come neere to Hippona, he was certainly aduertised, that *Barbarussa* had with incredible celeritie rigged vp his gallies, & fortified the harbor, by planting great ordnance vpon the mount he had there raised. With which newes he wonderfully troubled, changed his purpose, persuaded by the other captains of the gallies, in no case to aduenture to fight with him, because the Spanish, Sicilian, and Neapolitan gallies were but weakly manned, many of the souldiers being for greedinesse of the spoile gone ashore without leaue at Tunes: so that he should at great disaduantage fight with the Turks, being more in
B number and desperatly bent. Wherefore he vpon good aduise presently changed his former course, and returned to the fleet for more aid. *Barbarussa* (as it was afterwards knowne) stood a good while in doubt, whether he should in hope of victoie pursue those gallies, forasmuch as they were in number no more than his owne, or else to persist in his former purpose of going to Algiers. Vnto which opinion al the vnder captains inclined, being altogether ignorant of the weaknesse of the Christians: and so letting slip a faire occasion, leauing a small garrison of Turks in the castle, he departed from Hippona & sailed alongst the coast to Algiers. When *Adam* was returned againe to the fleet, and had done nothing, many of the Christian princes were wonderfully offended, that by the negligence of some who were hardly to be commanded, and by the vnrulinesse of others who without leaue were gone ashore, so faire an occasion
C of the desired victorie, was neglected. For this thing onely wanted vnto the Emperors rare felicitie in that war: for if those few gallies had been taken from the cruell enemie, or sunke in the sea, there had been no means for him to haue escaped; being verily thought, that the Numidians in number infinit, and deadly enemies vnto the Turkes, would with often skirmishes out of their knowne places of aduantage, haue so cut him off in his long and painfull trauell by land, that they would altogether haue made an end both of him and his followers before hee could haue come to Algiers. *Auria* angrie both with himselfe and those whom he had put in trust, and yet not out of hope to ouertake his enemie; with his owne gallies and some other of the best ships went to Hippona: but finding *Barbarussa* gone, he tooke the city and ouerthrew
D the wals thereof: but in the castle which he by force tooke from the Turks, he placed *Aluarus Gometius* with a sufficient garrison, and so returned vnto the Emperor. This *Gometius*, though he was a most valiant captain, yet became so infamous for his auaritious dealing, both with the enemie and his friends, that for feare how to answer such things as he knew would be laid to his charge, he became the infamous executioner of himselfe. The castle was afterwards by the commandement of the Emperor, rased downe to the ground, for that it was not without a maruellous charge to be kept. After that, a counsell was holden concerning *Muleasses*, whom the Emperor placed againe in the kingdome of Tunes, there to raigne as his ancestors had don before him; paying him yearly by the name of a tribute, two Faulcons, and two Numidian coursers; with condition, that he should for euer honour the Emperour, and be a
E friend vnto all Christians, and an vtter enemie vnto the Turks. Besides that, That he should from time to time defray the charges of a thousand Spaniards and more, to be left in garrison in the castle of Guletta; by holding whereof, the Emperour kept as it were the keies of that kingdome at his girdle. The Emperor hauing thus honourably driuen *Barbarussa* & the Turks pyrats out of Tunes, taken from them their gallies, deliuered the Christian countries (all along the sea coast into the Mediterranean) of a great feare, and restored *Muleasses* againe to his kingdome, sailed into Sicilia, where he was in great triumph receiued at Panormus and Messana, from whence he passed ouer to Rhegium in Italie, and from thence by land to Naples. Thus was the kingdome of Tunes taken by *Barbarussa* and the Turks; and by *Charles* the Emperour recouered againe out of their hands the selfe-same time that *Solyman* was in person himselfe
F in wars against the Persian: whom *Barbarussa* accompanied with *Sinan* the Iew, after this ouerthrow met at Iconium in his returne out of Persia, well accepting of their excuse, as is before declared.

Barbarussa espeth to Algiers.

The kingdom of Tunes is by the emperour restored to Muleasses.

The Emperour returneth with victorie into Italie.

Solyman as well of his own ambitious disposition, as following the manner of the *Othoman* kings, desirous by all meanes to increase the glory of his name, and to inlarge his empire, determined with himself to take away from the Portingals all their trafick into the East Indies. 1537.

It

It grieued him to heare, that the Christian religion should begin to take root amongst those Pagan kings, which had not long before receiued the Mahometan religion: Besides that, hee was credibly informed, that the Portingals in these late wars he had against the Persians, had aided them with certain harquebusiers, and also had sent them workemen to shew them both the making and vse of great artillerie. But that which moued him most of all, was for that the Portingals by their traffique into the Indies, had cut off all the trade of merchandise into the gulfe of Arabia, whereby the riches of the East were woont to be transported vnto Caire, and so to Alexandria, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian merchants and others dispersed into all parts of Europe: but now were carried by the great Ocean into Portingall, and from thence conuaied into all parts of Christendome, to the great hindrance of his tributes and customs of Ægypt. For these causes, & at the instance of *Solyman Bassa* an eunuch, borne in Epirus, and then Gouernour of Ægypt; *Solyman* caused wonderfull preparation to be made, for the building of a great fleet in the red sea, to goe against the Portingals. The timber whereof was cut downe in the mountaines of Cilicia, and shipped in the bay of Italia in the bottome of the Mediterranean, from whence it was by sea transported to Pelusium, and so vp the riuer of Nilus to Caire; where after it was framed and readie to be set together, it was with infinit labour, and no lesse charge, carried by land with Camels thorow that hoat and sandie country, from Caire to Suetia, a port of the Red sea, called in antient time Arsinoe.

The Egyptian kings about to let in the red sea into the Mediterranean.

From which place eightie miles distant from Caire, the antient kings of Ægypt, seeking by vaine and wonderfull workes to eternise the memorie of themselues, had with incredible charge cut thorow al that main land; so that vessels of good burthen might come vp the same from Arsinoe to Caire: which great cut or ditch, *Sesostris* the rich king of Ægypt, and long after him *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, purposed to haue made a great deale wider and deeper, and thereby to haue let the Red sea into the Mediterranean, for the readier transportation of the Indian merchandise to Caire and Alexandria. Which mad worke, *Sesostris* preuented by death could not performe: and *Ptolomeus* otherwise perswaded by skilfull men, in time gaue ouer; for feare lest by lettting in the great South Sea into the Mediterranean, he should thereby as it were with another generall deluge haue drowned the greatest part of Græcia, & many other goodly countries in Asia, and with exceeding charge, in stead of honor, haue purchased himselfe eternall infamie. Yet by the singular industrie of *Solyman* the Eunuch, who with seuere commandement inforced all the people of the countries thereabouts to the furtherance of the building of that fleet; hee had with wonderfull celeritie in short time new built eightie tall ships and gallies at Arsinoe, and furnished them with men, and all things else needfull for so long a voyage. At which time, hee vpon a quarrell picked without cause, but not without the good liking of *Solyman*, most iniuriously confiscated the goods of the Venetian merchants in Alexandria and Caire, and thrust the mariners into his gallies as slaues. With which fleet in most warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Bassa, accompanied with *Assan-Beg*, commonly called the Moore of Alexandria, a most famous pyrat and an excellent sea-man, set forward against the Portingals: and sailing thorow the Red sea, and so Eastward by the gulfe of Persia, came at length as far as the great riuer Indus; where with all his power hee assaulted Dium a castle of the Portingals, scituate vpon the mouth of that great riuer: but in conclusion, after he had many days besieged the castle both by sea & land, and tried the vttermost of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portingals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, & leaning his great ordnance behind him for hast, returned backe againe to Aden, a citie of great trade in Arabia Fœlix: where discouraged with the euill successe he had against the Portingals, because he would be thought to haue done something, he allured the king of that rich citie to come vnto him, vpon his false faith before giuen for his safe returne: but as soone as he had him aboord, he like a periured wretch hanged him vp at the yards arme of his Admirall galley, and so surprising the citie, enriched himselfe with the spoile thereof. The like barbarous crueltie hee vsed at Zibyth, another famous port of Arabia, where the pilgrims of the East doe commonly land when they after the manner of their superstition come to visit the temple of their false prophet at Mecha: the king of which place together with al his nobilitie he cruelly murthered, contrary to his faith giuen; and so trauelling himselfe by land to Mecha, as if he had been some deuout pilgrim, sent backe his fleet by the Moore to Suetia, hauing performed against the Portingals nothing at all.

Dium a castle of the Portingals in the East Indies in vaine assaulted by the Turks.

The treacherous dealing of Solyman the eunuch Bassa with the kings of Arabia

At

A At the same time Solyman by the perswasion of *Lutzis* and *Alui* the Bassaes of gentle-
thorn [illegible] moou[illegible], moued and *Barbaros* was [illegible]
me[illegible] [illegible] with the Venetians and his Ma[illegible]
[illegible] Italie: wherevnto Pope [illegible] *Solyman* against
B *Charles* [illegible] *Troilus Pyrrhus Imperialis*, [illegible] *Charles* the Em-
[illegible] pro[illegible] [illegible] Solyman sent
C [illegible] griefous [illegible] exactions by the Emperors [illegible] *Mercurinus* and
[illegible] the [illegible] *Lutzis* [illegible] *Barbaros* [illegible] with two
D [illegible] *Lutzis Bassa* [illegible] *Hieronimus*
[illegible] Solyman sende
E [illegible] *Mercurinus*
Carnutus, [illegible] Cattaro was [illegible] Turkes, [illegible] Cattaro is a-
[illegible] *Troilus*, [illegible] *Lutzis* and *Barbaros* [illegible] *Mercurinus* [illegible] The Turkes
F [illegible] *Carnutus* at liberte again. At [illegible] Solyman [illegible] Turkes
troupes of light horsemen, in great [illegible] Salentina, and whatso-
Taken [illegible] carried away with them both the people and cattell, and what-
euer [illegible] their way [illegible] So that all the country of Salenti-
num, now called Otranto, was [illegible] was

Solyman inuited by the Venetians to make warre.

Solyman with an army of two hundred thousand men commeth to Aulona.

Solyman sendeth part of his power to inuade Italie.

The Turkes spoile Apulia.

was like enough to haue ouerwhelmed all Italie, by the comming ouer of *Solyman* with his whole armie, had not the rashnesse of one Venetian captaine by vnexpected chance turned that tempest from the Italians vpon the Venetians themselues.

Alexander Contarenus, a valiant captain of the Venetians, meeting with certaine of the Turks gallies, which would neither vaile their top sailes, nor in token of reuerence and friendship, discharge any of their great ordnance, as of dutie they ought to haue done in those seas where the Venetians commanded; offended with their proud insolencie, fiercely assailed them, and in fight sunke two of them: wherein *Vstamenes* Gouernour of Calipolis, a man of no smal reputation among the Turks, was reported to haue perished. Which outrage done by *Contarenus* in a most vnfit time (to the great hurt of the Venetian estate, as it appeared afterward) was imputed to his owne priuat grudge which he bare against the Turks, for that they intercepted a ship of his as she was coming out of the East countries laden with rich merchandise, so that it was thought, that he to please himselfe in reuenging of his own priuat iniurie, regarded not what in that dangerous time might ensue thereof to the common state.

A little before the comming ouer of the Turks into Italie, *Andreas Auria* the Emperours Admirall lying at Messana in Sicilia, vnderstanding that *Solyman* was come with his armie to Aulona, and that his fleet was arriued there also, put to sea, directing his course towards the Islands of Caphalenia and Zacynthus, hoping (as indeed it fell out) to meet with the taile of the Turks fleet: for there according to his expectation he chanced vpon diuers of the Turks victuallers, whom he easily tooke. The marriners he chained in his owne gallies for slaues, and furnishing his fleet with the victual which was not for him prouided, fired the ships. Whilest *Auria* was thus beating too and fro in the Ionian sea, it fortuned that *Solyman* sent *Iunusbeius* his chiefe interpreter, a man whome hee made no small account of, with two gallies on a message to *Lutzis* his Admirall. This proud Turke comming neere vnto Corcyra, where the Venetian Admirall lay with his fleet, offered scornefully to passe, without vailing: which his pride tending to the disgrace of the Venetians, certain of the Venetian captains not enduring, set vpon him with such furie, that the Turks were enforced to run both their gallies on shore vpon the coast of Epirus, neere vnto the mountaines called Acroceraunij, where hauing escaped the danger at sea, they fell almost all into the hands of the cruel mountaine people, liuing for the most part by theft, and waiting for wracks, as hawks for their prey: by these shauers the Turks were stript of all they had, and *Iunusbeius* with much adoe redeeming himselfe out of their hands, returned to *Solyman*. *Auria* laying alongst the sea coast, chanced vpon these gallies, and finding them sore brused, set fire on them,

Iunusbeius with two gallies, driuen by the Venetians vpon the Acroceraunian rocks.

For these vnkind parts, the Turks were wonderfully offended with the Venetians, & grieuously complained of them to *Solyman*: although the Venetian Admirall laboured by all means he could to appease *Iunusbeius*, and to excuse the matter, as a thing done by great ouersight on both sides. Vpon these small occasions, the Turkes sought to breake off the league with the Venetians; which fell out so much the sooner, for that about the same time *Auria* sailing vp & downe the Ionian sea, and diligently looking into euery harbor to intercept such as stragled from the Turkes fleet, hapned by night to light vpon 12 of *Solymans* great gallies neere vnto Corcyra, all filled with his Ianizaries and choice horsemen of the court, the best soldiers of the Turks, who had by land sent their horses to the camp by their lackies, & were comming themselues with the Ianizaries by sea. *Auria* falling vpon these gallies, had with them a cruell and deadly fight: for they as resolute men, wishing rather to die than to yeeld to their enemies, with inuincible courage maintained a most bloudie fight against *Auria* with his 30 gallies excellently appointed, vntill such time as most part of them were slaine, and the rest sore wounded; who seeing no remedie, but that they must needs come into the hands of their enemies, threw their scimitars ouerboord, because those choice weapons should not come into the hands of the Christians. In this conflict, *Auria* lost also many of his best soldiers: yet hauing got the victory, and possessed of the gallies, he ankered neere vnto Corcyra, there to take view of his own harms and the enemies: but whilst he rid there at anker, he was aduertised, that *Barbarussa* was comming against him with 80 gallies. Wherfore knowing himselfe too weake to incounter so strong an enemie, he departed thence, and returned againe to Messana to repaire his fleet. *Solyman* thorowly chafed with the losse of his gallies and best souldiers, and with the double iniurie done vnto him by the Venetians, fell into such a rage, that he cursed

Auria taketh 12 of the Turks gallies full of Ianizaries and Solymans other best souldiers.

A cursed *Barbarussa*, as one who in these wars had done him no good seruice: and thundred out grieuous threats against the Venetians, saying, he was vnder the colour of an antient league, by them deceiued and greatly abused, and that they were secretly confederated with *Charles* his enemie, and had for that cause (as they had always) holpen *Auria* with intelligence, and all things necessarie, receiuing him into their harbors, and by their espials giuing him knowledge of the order of his fleet, that so he might at his own aduantage surprise his gallies, as he had alreadie done. Vnto which fire, *Iunusbeius* his Interpreter, *Barbarussa*, and *Aiax*, laid new coles, more and more incensing the tyrant, who was of himselfe sufficiently inflamed; persuading him by all means they could, to breake the league with the Venetians. Wherein *Iunusbeius* B dit, gaping after the spoile of the Islands neere hand, especially of Corcyra (now caled Corfu) Zazynthus, and Cephalenia, all subiect to the Venetian Seigniorie; finding the wars in Italie more dangerous and difficult than they had before imagined. For the French King came not then into Italie, as was by them expected: and it was commonly reported, That *Petrus Toletanus* Viceroy of Naples, hauing put strong garrisons into the townes all alongst the sea coast, was comming himselfe with a great armie: beside that, the horsemen sent ouer from Aulona, ranging about in the countrey of Salentum for spoile, were many times cut off by *Scipio Sommeius* a noble gentleman there gouernor for the Emperor. Wherefore *Solyman* changing his purpose for the inuasion of Italie, in his mad mood proclaimed war against the Venetians: and rising with his armie from Aulona, and marching alongst the sea coast vntill hee came ouer C against Corcyra, he incamped neere vnto the mountains called Acroceraunij, where the fierce and wilde people inhabiting the high and rough mountaine of Chimera, a part of the Acroceraunian mountaines; by the instigation of one *Damianus* a notable Theefe, and verie perfect in the blinde and difficult passages amongst the Rockes and Woods in those desolate Mountaines; conspired to attempt a most strange and desperate exploit, which was, by night to spoile *Solyman* in his owne pauilion. These beggarly wilde rogues liuing for most part by murther & robbery, altogether without law or any manner of religion, in hope of so great a prey, and to become famous in killing one of the greatest Monarks of the world in the midst of his strength, garded with so many thousands of his soldiers, were not affraid of any danger, how great soeuer, hoping in the dead time of the night to steale into the campe vndiscouered, D and there so to oppresse *Solyman* sleeping in his tent. Which (as was by many afterwards supposed) they were like enough to haue performed, to the astonishment of the world, had it not by chance discouered: for when they had put all things in readinesse for that purpose, *Dabin* by chance discouered: for when they had put all things in readinesse for that purpose, *Dabinus* ringleader of these desperat sauage people, by secret wayes stealing down the broken rocks of those huge mountaines, and comming verie neere vnto the campe, to view the standing of *Solymans* pauilion, with the order of the Turks watch, was by the cracking of a bough espied by the Ianizaries, where he stood in a tree prying all ouer the campe: and being there taken, and afterward put to torture, and confessing what he had intended, was by the commandement of *Solyman* torne in pieces. Whereupon he forthwith sent a great part of his armie vp into the mountains, which hunting after these wild people, as if they had bin wild beasts, slew E many of them, and by *Solymans* appointment did what they possibly could to haue quite destroyed them, as an infamous people, enemie to all men.

Iunusbeius, Barbarussa, and Aiax, intende Solyman against the Venetians.

Solymã conuerteth his Forces from the Italians against the Venetians.

Solymã in danger to haue bin slain in the midst of his armie.

When *Solyman* had thus fully reuenged himselfe vpon this barbarous nation, he purposed to inuade the Island of Corcyra, now called Corfu, part of the Venetian seigniorie: sending before, *Barbarussa* with his great artillerie, whom he had but a little before called out of Italie with his forces. *Pisaurius* the Venetian Admirall in good time perceiuing the tyrants purpose, strengthened the garrisons in both the castles of Corfu, with new supplies of good souldiers sent out of the gallies: and knowing himselfe vnable to incounter with the Turks great fleet at sea, withdrew himselfe farther off from the Island, into the gulfe of the Adriatik, to the intent to joyne his power with *Ioannes Veturius*, who kept that sea with another fleet of the Venetian F gallies, and so with ioyned forces to defend the Venetian coasts against the Turkes: whom he thought himselfe strong enough for with the helpe of *Veturius* and of *Auria*, whose comming was dayly expected. *Solyman* sending a great part of his armie out of the Main, into the Island, burnt and destroyed the countrey villages, leading away a wonderfull number of poore countrey people into most miserable captiuitie. *Aiax* the Bassa, and *Barbarussa*, in two small pinnaces came

Solyman inuadeth the Island of Corcyra.

came as neere vnto the citie of Corfu as they possibly could, to see which way they might G
most conueniently lay siege vnto it: but perceiuing the great strength thereof, being wonderfully fortified and thorowly manned, they aduertised *Solyman*, that it was a place impregnable. *Aloysius Ripa*, and *Symon Leonius*, two Senators of Venice, were then gouernors of Corfu: who not without cause standing in doubt of the great strength of the Turks both by sea and land, caused the citie suburbs (which were verie great and sumptuously built) to be pluckt downe, for feare that the Turks shrouding themselues in them, should more easily besiege the towne. This was a woful and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the same time a man might haue seene the magnificent houses of the Venetian merchants, built in time of long peace, both for profit and for pleasure in euery place of the Island, and set on fire by the Turks. But the regard of the publique State in so great a danger, made all those goodly things which went so H
to wracke, to be lightly accounted of in comparison of their liues and libertie; for as much as those lost things might with new charge be againe in short time recouered.

The two Venetian gouernours aforesaid, fearing a long siege, and not prouided of victuall to suffice such a multitude as were got into the Citie, for any long time; vsed a heauie and sharpe remedie, by turning a great number of weake people and children vnable for seruice, out of the city; of whom many, especially children, died in the town ditches in their mothers armes, vnder the walls of the citie, not daring to go any further for feare of the enemie, who had fast by, in places conuenient cast vp great mounts, and planted his ordnance against the citie. Only the castle called S. *Angelo*, standing in the middle of the Island, about fifteene miles from the citie of Corfu, being valiantly defended by the Inhabitants against the assaults of the I
Turkes, happily saued aboue three thousand poore people which fled thither from the furie of the Turkes, who in all other places of the Island had made all desolate. The Turkes the more to terrifie them of Corfu, taking a hil not far from the city, couered the same with their tents, and from the rocke called Maripetrus, shot with their great ordnance into the Towne: some of them in the meane time standing close in the ruins of the suburbs, did with their harquebusies kill or wound them which appeared vpon the walls. The gallies also did oftentimes out of their prows discharge their great pieces against the citie, to the greater terrour than hurt of the defendants. *Solyman* perceiuing that he did but lose his labour in besieging the citie (as he was told at the first by his great captaines, *Lutzis*, *Aiax*, and *Barbarussa*) determined K
now to raise his siege, and to returne to Constantinople, greatly ashamed that he had no better sped, neither in Italie, nor at the siege of Corfu. But when he was about to haue departed, it was told him how vnfaithfully some of his souldiers had dealt with them of Castrum in Italie, who yeelding themselues vpon the Turks faith to them giuen for the safegard of their libertie and goods, were neuertheless most iniuriously spoiled of all that they had, and carried away into bondage. Which fact, as tending to the dishonor of his name, and the deterring of others from yeelding, *Solyman* tooke in so euill part, that for amending thereof, he caused the authours of that fact to be put to death, and the captiues of Castrum to be diligently sought out, and sent home againe into their countrey; well deseruing therein the commendation of a most iust Prince. The Turks left the siege of Corfu and departed out of the Island about the L
twelfth of September, in the yeare 1537; carrying away aboue sixteen thousand of the Island people into perpetuall captiuitie. So *Solyman* rising with his armie, marching thorow Acarnania and Ætolia, returned thorow Macedonia to Constantinople: hauing in this his expedition done great harme both in Italie and Corcyra, but yet nothing increased his Empire or honour.

Good Iustice done by Solymã

The Turkes depart frõ Corfu, and carry away with thé aboue 16000 Christiãs vnto captiuitie.

Before his departure, calling vnto him *Lutzis* his Admirall, he commanded him also to returne with his fleet to Hellespontus: who passing by Zazinthus, and landing some of his men in the night, tooke diuers of the country people prisoners. But vnderstanding that the citie it selfe was both strong and well manned, he departed thence to Cythera, where vnfortunately attempting to haue taken the castle, and disappointed of his purpose, he made what spoyle he M
could vpon that Island, and with 800 prisoners returned into Ægium to Ægyna, a rich and famous Island, and well peopled both with mariners and other inhabitants. Approching the Island, he by his messengers sent before vnto the Gouernour of the Citie, attempted first by faire means, and afterwards by threats, to haue had the same yeelded vnto him: and not so preuailing, but perceiuing them to stand vpon their defence, landed his men, and gaue the signall

A nall of battell. Which they of the Island refused not, but manfully met him, and at the first incounter slew many of his men. Wherewith the Admirall grieuously offended, and still landing fresh men, euen with his multitude oppressed them of the Island, being but in number few, and wearie of long fight; and so inforced them to retyre into the citie.

Aegina with other Islands of the Aegeã spoyled.

To be reuenged of this iniurie, the Bassa caused certaine pieces of great ordnance to be landed, and a batterie planted against the citie: by force whereof he had in short time in diuers places opened the walls, and then with all his power assaulting the breaches, forthwith tooke the citie, which after he had rifled, he burnt it down to the ground, rased the walls, and put the men euerie mothers son to the sword. As for the women, he gaue them without respect vnto the lust of his soldiers and mariners, whom afterwards together with the boyes and young
B children he shipped into the countrie neere vnto Athens, to be from thence conueyed vnto Constantinople, into most miserable seruitude.

Ægina thus vtterly rased, he with much like force and crueltie raged vpon them of Paros and the other Islands thereabouts, killing the old men and such as made resistance, and thrusting the rest into his gallies. Shortly after he came to the Isle of Naxos, where all the Island people were for feare of his comming fled out of the country into the citie: where landing his men, he made hauocke of whatsoeuer came to his hand. And in the mean time sent a messenger vnto the Duke, to will him to yeeld himselfe and his citie into the obedience of the Turkish Emperour *Solyman*. Which messenger admitted into the citie, and brought before the
C Duke, in blunt and plaine termes, without further circumstance, deliuered his message thus:

The blunt speech of a Turke sent by Lutzis Bassa vnto the Duke of Naxos.

If thou wilt without more adoo, yeeld thy selfe, thy citie, and territorie, to the Constantinopolitan emperour, thou shalt deserue his fauour, and so saue thy selfe with that thou hast. But if thou, otherwise aduised, shalt now refuse this grace, thou shalt neuer hereafter haue the like offer, but for euer vndoe thy selfe, thy wife, and children, thy citizens, and subiects in generall. Here is present a most mightie fleet, with most valiant and victorious souldiers, furnished with all the habiliments of war requisit for battel or siege. Be warned by them of Ægina, Paros, and other thy neighbour Princes of the Islands. Thy hap is good, if thou be not misaduised, and (warned by other mens harmes) wilfully refuse to remedie thine owne; and when thou mightst be safe, wilfully cast away thy selfe.

D

This said, he was commanded by the duke to stand aside, and a while to expect his answer: who with the chiefe of his subiects there present, but much troubled, and all full of heauines and sorrow, consulted what answer to make. But after they had according to the weightinesse of the cause, & necessitie of time fully debated the matter, it was with general consent agreed, That forasmuch as they were not themselues of power to withstand so furious an enemie, neither to expect for helpe from others, they should therefore yeeld vnto the present necessitie, which otherwise threatned vnto them vtter destruction, and reserue themselues vnto better times. Whereupon answer was giuen vnto the messenger by the Duke, That he was readie to yeeld himselfe vnto *Solyman* as his vassall, and of him as of his Soueraigne to hold his Seigni-

Naxos becometh tributarie vnto the Turke.

E orie for the yerely tribute of 5000 duckets. Of which offer the Bassa accepted, receiuing in hand one yeares tribute. So was that notable Island yeelded vnto the Turkish obeisance the 11 of Nouember, the yeare 1537: from whence *Lutzis* the proud Bassa, laded with the rich spoyle of the countries & Islands he had passed by, returned to Constantinople with his fleet. Not long after, this great Bassa (then in credit and authoritie next vnto *Solyman* himselfe) fell at ods with his wife *Solymans* sister: for that he, after the vnnaturall manner of those barbarous people, kept in his house a most delicate youth, in whom he tooke more pleasure than in his wife. Which she, being a woman of great spirit, not able to endure, and knowing her husband by marrying of her, to haue bin from base degree aduanced vnto the highest honors the Emperor her brother could heap vpon him; in great rage reproued him with most bitter words,
F saying, That she had married him to be of him beloued, and vsed as his wife, & not contemptuously abused by his minions. Wherwith the Bassa moued, gaue her a blow on the eare, and caused her as a foolish and vnquiet woman to be shut vp in her chamber. But she not brooking such abuse, came weeping to *Solyman* her brother, and complaining of her husband, requested to be diuorsed from him who made no better reckoning of her. And with her complaint so incensed *Solyman*, that he tooke from him his Seale, and thrust him out of all his honourable

Lutzic Baſſa disgraced by Solyman, and exiled.

promotions; and had vndoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old C
loue and friendſhip ſtayed his furie: yet hauing vtterly diſgraced him, he baniſhed him the
court, into Macedonia, where he ſpent the remainder of his loathed life like as a poore priuat
man: of whom *Boiſardus* thus writeth:

Quæ tibi cum molli res eſt pollute Cynedo:
Cum cubet in Thalamis regia nympha tuis?
Ex humili fortuna loco te euexit in altum
Ex alto maior ſæpe ruina venit.

On daintie boyes thou filthie man, why do'ſt thou fix thine eye;
Whileſt prin[illegible] dame of royal bloud doth in thy chamber lie? H
From baſe eſtate, to honors height blind Fortune did thee call,
And ſet thee vp with Princes great, to worke thy greater fall.

The Turks ſpoil the Venetians, and the Venetians them likewiſe.

Solyman thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforeſaid, to intangle them at once with
warres in diuers places, commanded his lieutenants in euery place bordring vpon any part of
the Venetian Seignioric, to vex and moleſt them with all hoſtilitie, which they did according-
ly. In Peloponeſſus, *Caſimes* beſieged Mauplium and Epidaurus, two ſtrong cities of the Ve-
netians: *Barbaruſſa* landing his men in Dalmatia, ſurpriſed the antient citie of Botrotus belon-
ging to the Venetians, carried away the citiſens, and raſed the citie: Obroatium another citie I
of the Venetians in Dalmatia, called in antient time Argirutum, with the caſtle of Nadin, were
taken by *Vſtref*, *Solymans* lieutenant in Illyria. The Venetians thus inuaded on euery ſide, requi-
ted them againe with the like: *Piſaurius* and *Veturius* the Venetian Admirals landing their
men, beſieged Scardona a citie of the Turks in the borders of Dalmatia, which they tooke by
force, put the Turks to the ſword, and ouerthrew the walls of the citie, becauſe it ſhould be no
more a refuge vnto the Turks: they ſent alſo one of their Captaines called *Gabriel Ribeus* to
beſiege Obroatium; who vpon the comming of *Amurathes* one of *Vſtref* his Captaines, cow-
ardly fled, and in flight loſt moſt of his men: for which his cowardiſe, *Piſaurus* cauſed his
head to be ſtrucke off aboord the Admirall Galley: And *Camillus Vrſinus*, appointed by the
Venetian State Gouernour of Iadera a ſtrong towne vpon the frontiers of their territorie in K
Dalmatia, tooke from the Turkes the towne of Oſtrouizza, which hee burnt downe to the
ground: hee recouered alſo Obroatium, which was a little before loſt; which by the
commandement of the Senat hee vtterly raſed, as a place not well to be kept againſt the
Enemie.

The ſame Autumne that *Solyman* hauing waſted Corcyra, returned to Conſtantinople, and
the Venetians held wars with the Turks for the townes and caſtles in Dalmatia; King *Ferdi-
nand* receiued ſuch an ouerthrow at Exek by the Turkes, as a greater or more ſhamefull vnto
the name of the Chriſtians was hardly in that age ſeene; if the loſſe of the choice ſouldiours
and captaines of foure great Nations, with the ſhamefull flight of the Generall be well conſi-
dered. After the battell of Mohahz, wherein King *Lewis* was loſt, the Turks hauing gotten the L
victorie, kept vnto themſelues that part of Hungarie which is called Poſſega, becauſe thereby
they had a fit paſſage from Belgrade further into Hungarie. The two great riuers of Sauus
and Dranus running almoſt with equall diſtance from the Weſt, taking with them diuers
other ſmaller Riuers, before they fall into the great riuer of Danubius Eaſtward, doe on
both ſides incloſe this Countrey of Poſſega, being a rich and plentifull Countrey, and
wonderfull well peopled: it bordereth vpon the Prouinces of Croatia and Corbania, which
in times paſt were at continuall wars with the Turks garriſons there by in Illyria and alſo in
Boſna.

Mahometes gouernour of Belgrade.

At that time one *Mahometes* a moſt valiant captain of the Turks was gouernor of Belgrade:
to whom for his approued valor and wiſedome *Solyman* had committed the keeping of thoſe M
frontiers, and the protection of the kingdome of Hungarie in the behalfe of king *Iohn*. He the
yeare before had ſo vſed the matter, that what by force, what by policie, he had taken from
the Chriſtians aboue thirtie ſmall Caſtles in the Coun[illegible]ey, (which was ſometime part of
the patrimonie of the Deſpot of Raſcia) and had ioyn[illegible] them to the regiment of Boſna.
One

One of theſe caſtles amongſt the reſt called Exek, for the commodious ſcituation thereof he A
ſtrongly fortified, as that which might giue him paſſage ouer the riuer Dranus into Hungarie:
from whence he fet infinite preys out of King *Ferdinands* countrey neere vnto him. Yet was
there at that time a certaine league betwixt *Solyman* and *Ferdinand*, which notwithſtanding af- *An euill aſſu-
red peace.*
ter the old cuſtome of thoſe countries for the exerciſe of the garriſon ſoldiers, did beare with
the taking of bootie, and light skirmiſhes, without any breach thereof; ſo that it were done
without any great power or field pieces: which wrong named peace, *Mathias* and other kings
of Hungary had of long time vſed with the Turks, doing them with their nimble light horſe-
men no leſſe harme than they receiued. But the Germans now vſing no ſuch light horſmen,
but ſeruing vpon great horſes, and charged with heauie armour, receiued great hurt by thoſe
B light skirmiſhes; the Turks with their light horſes eaſily ſhunning their charge, and againe at
their pleaſure charging them afreſh, when they ſaw the heauie German horſes almoſt wearie
and ſpent: by which means the German horſemen were oftentimes by the Turks light horſe-
men ouerthrowne, and ſo either ſlain or taken. King *Ferdinand* not well brooking theſe con- *K. Ferdinand breaketh his League with the Turks.*
tinuall iniuries, and grieued in mind at the league which *Solyman* had to his profit made with
him at his going into Perſia; finding the ſame both vnprofitable and hurtfull to himſelfe, de-
termined to take vp armes, with purpoſe that if he could driue the Turks out of the countrey
of Poſſega, then forthwith to paſſe ouer Dranus, and to go directly to Buda againſt King *Iohn*.
It ſtil ſtucke in his minde, how that kingdome was taken from him by *Solyman*; and that more
C was, as it were in diſgrace of him and the Houſe of Auſtria, beſtowed vpon a ſtranger, which
had neither right thereto, nor was any way royally diſcended. Yet were there ſome which
wiſhed him, not raſhly to enter into armes againſt ſo mightie an enemie, as was not to be van-
quiſhed but by the vnited forces of all the Chriſtian Princes of Europe. For they foreſaw,
that *Solyman* ſo prouoked, would not put it vp, but for the hatred he bare againſt the Chriſti-
ans, and for his honour, ſeeke more cruell reuenge: as he had of late done againſt the Venetia-
ans, with whom vpon a light occaſion he had broken an antient league, for ſinking one or two
of his gallies; for which he would admit no excuſe or ſatisfaction. All this *Ferdinand* knew to
be true; yet all the people of his dominions lay ſo earneſtly vpon him to take that warre in
hand, that they ſaid plainly, they would neuer beare armes more againſt the Turks, if he omit-
D ted that occaſion. For they of Carinthia, Stiria, Croatia, and Noricum, ſubiect to the inuaſion
of the Turks, and dayly receiuing great harmes, thought the Turks might eaſily be driuen out
of Poſſega, for as much as *Mahometes* had no great power, nor like to haue any greater, Au-
tumne now almoſt ſpent.

So king *Ferdinand*, with the wonderfull reioycing of his ſubiects, cauſed ſouldiers to be ta-
ken vp in all parts of his kingdome, ſending for moſt of his nobilitie and beſt captaines, as to a
religious warre: and in a verie ſhort ſpace had raiſed a good armie, yet ſuppoſed of greater
ſtrength than number, as conſiſting moſt of ſelect men. The footmen were for moſt part Ger-
mans, to whom were ioyned as wings certaine companies of Italians, harquebuſiers, whome
Lewis Lodronius, a valiant captaine, and Generall of the footmen, had raiſed in Rhetia and thoſe
E parts of Italie which lie neere vnto the Alps. The horſmen were of Bohemia, Sileſia, Morauia,
Stiria, Carinthia, and ſome alſo out of Hungarie, all conducted by their ſeuerall captaines: all
theſe horſemen were in number 8000, but the footmen were 16000 ſtrong, with great ſtore
of artillerie of all ſorts. This armie for the expertneſſe and valour of the ſoldiers, was thought
ſufficient to haue met the greateſt armie of the Turks in field, if it had bin conducted by a po-
litique Generall, and (as he had at other times bin) fortunat: which was one *Iohn Cuzzianer*, *Cuzzianer Ge-
nerall of King Ferdinands armie.*
a Nobleman of Croatia, whom as one of great experience, and famous for the late defence of
Vienna, King *Ferdinand* had made Generall of his armie. For *Ferdinand* by the aduice of his
beſt friends neuer vſed to aduenture his perſon vnto the danger of any battel, eſpecially againſt
the Turks, by whom many Chriſtian Kings had in former time bin vanquiſhed and ſlain; but
F performed all his wars by his lieutenants: which he was thought to do, not ſo much for want
of courage, as moued with the fatal miſhap of ſo many Chriſtian Kings. *Mahometes* gouernor *Mahometes Go-
uernour of Bel-
grade, aided by
the other Turke
captaines.*
of Belgrade vnderſtanding of this preparation made againſt him, ſent for diuers companies of
the garriſon ſouldiers which lay vpon the borders neere hand; he required aid of the gouer-
nours of the Turks prouince thereabouts; and was eſpecially holpen by *Vſtref* gouernour of
Boſna, who of all *Solymans* lieutenants in Europe, was able to bring into the field moſt good
horſe-

horsemen; he sent him *Amurathes* a famous captaine, with a great companie of gallant horse- G
men, vnto whom were ioyned certaine companies of footmen of the wild and mountain peo-
ple of Dalmatia, entertained for pay: which rough and rude kinde of people were gouerned
and kept in order by certaine companies of Ianizaries drawne out of the garrison towns as far
as Belgrade and Samandria: after whom followed many out of Seruia and Rascia, some for
pay, some for prey. The Turks receiuer liberally paying to such as were willing to serue, two
months pay before hand. Neither wanted he aid of the Hungarians from Buda: so that the
Turkish gouernors on euery side putting to their helping hands, *Mahometes* had in short time
gathered such an armie, as for number and strength was not much inferior to king *Ferdinands*,
and resolued to expect the comming of his enemies at Exek. *Cazzianer* was now come as far
on his way as Caprunza, a towne vpon the riuer Dranus; hauing before wel and conueniently H
prouided for the victualling of his armie, if they whom he put in trust, and had taken ti[me] mat-
ter vpon them, had with like speed and diligence performed their charge: for they w[ere] the
chiefe men of all the countrey, who all followed the direction of *Symon* Bishop of Za[g]rabia;
who inflamed with zeale aboue measure, or else for want of iudgement deceiued, had promi-
sed to serue the whole campe with plentie of victuals at a verie low rate. Which thing the
countrey people which were to bring in the victuall, some by waggon, some by boats alongst
the riuers, many difficulties now arising, were not able to perfourn: which was not to be reme-
died by reason of the neereneſſe of the enemie; and also for that *Mahometes* with small gallies
in both riuers, and his troups of horsemen pricking vp and down the countrey, did either stay
the country people from bringing of victuall, or else allured them for a greater price to bring I
it to his owne campe, where they receiued readie mony. *Cazzianer* setting forward from Ca-
prunza, hardly came in ten dayes to the castle of Verucza, which is about fortie miles distant
from Caprunza; being inforced to make short marches, by reason of the troublesome carriage
of some great pieces of artillerie for batterie. The wiser sort began euen then to misdoubt
the want of victuall, both for the reasons before alledged, and for that such victual as was loo-
A slow march. ked for, came not, although they marched verie softly: so that they were then inforced to
spend such victuall as they had prouided, not for the beginning, but for the difficulties of a
long protracted warr. Wherefore *Cazzianer* wrot sharply to the Bishop and the other which
had taken vpon them the charge of prouiding victuall for the armie; commanding them to
vse all possible diligence and speed, and not to let the hope of a notable victorie to be lost K
through their negligence, for want of victuall, rather than the valour of the enemie. In the
meane time *Cazzianer* thought good there to stay, and to expect the comming of the victual,
sending before him *Paulus Bachitius* with a thousand Hungarian light horsemen and certaine
companies of Italian harquebusiers, as farre as the castle of Zopia, to the intent that he might
of such prisoners as he could take, learne somthing of the enemies purpose. The Turks in the
castle of Zopia descrying the comming of *Bachitius*, & thinking the whole armie of the Chri-
stians had bin at hand, set fire on the castle, which they thought they could not keepe, and by
boats fled down the riuer Dranus. Yet for all their hast, *Bachitius* tooke some of them in their
flight; of whom *Cazzianer* learned that which he before knew by his owne espials, how that
Mahometes and the Turks lay incamped at Exek, with a full resolution to giue him battell. *Caz-* L
zianer setting forward again, still keeping alongst the riuer Dranus, came in eight dayes to the
Cazzianer cometh to Walpo. castle of Walpo, where by the way he was glad to stay seuen daies at the riuer Crassus, which
falleth into Dranus, vntil such time as a bridge was made for the transporting of his armie, for
that the riuer was not to be waded ouer: in which time *Cazzianer* entred oftentimes into coun-
sell with the other Captaines, what course to hold for the better proceeding in that warre.
Where diuers men were of diuers opinions: some said, It were best to leaue Exek, and to be-
siege a castle of the enemies there by, called Villach: others more warie than the rest, were
of opinion, That it were better there to stay vntill the rest of the aid and victuall, which they
dayly expected, were come. But the greater number, which also preuailed, vrged the first
determination, of going directly to the enemie at Exek, for that longer delay would but M
breed further danger; and there was in the campe (as they said) both strength and victual suf-
ficient for the obtaining of the victorie, if they would make an end of their needlesse consul-
tations, and not protract the warre vntill Winter were come on: whereby they did nothing
else, but cause the Souldiours to thinke that they were afraid to meet the enemie, and se-
cretly

A cretly to steale away back again into their countries: wheras if they would like resolute men
march on forward against the enemy, who at other times trusting most vnto his multitudes, &
now hauing no great power, would neuer abide the sight of the Christian army, bringing with
it so much artillerie, but would forthwith forsake the place, & neuer shew his face: forasmuch
as the Christian men at arms would (as they said) easily breake thorow & ouerthrow the na-
ked Turkish horsmen, if they durst abide the field. The yong souldiers, who as yet had neuer
made proofe of the Turks manner of fight, did with such cheerfulnes like of this resolution,
that they thought two daies staying, a long delay of so ready & easie a victory. Wherefore it
was resolued vpon, presently to set forward, and therupon the army was mustred: where, vpon
view taken, there was found to be 10000 horsmen (for diuers troups of Germans were come
B to the camp, after the time of the first setting forward of the army:) a more gallant company
of horsemen, both for the strength of their horses, & goodly furniture of the men, had seldom
bin seen in an army so suddenly raised. But the footmen, selected out of all the prouinces, was
greatly diminished, being now in number scarce 8000 strong: for many were sick in the camp,
others weary of the long iourney, lingering behind were stolne away: and generally all they
which were left, moyled with dirt and myre, by reason of the deepnes of the rotten way, wet
thorow with rain, and almost starued with cold, and therto pinch't with hunger, were thought
scarce able to indure the hardnesse of the present war. After that, commandement was giuen,
That euery soldier should carry with him three daies victual: & proclamation made, That no
man should vpon paine of death take any Turke prisoner, although he yeelded himselfe, or
C charge himselfe with any spoile before the battell were fully ended; forasmuch as the cap-
tains would afterwards diuide the spoile of the enemy among the soldiers. This proclamati-
on thus made thorow the campe, they set forward towards Exek: and the third day they came
to a certain vally, about three miles from Exek, where they incamped. The next day a compa-
ny of Turks shewed themselues, which was by the great ordnance repulsed. The day follow- *The Turks skir-*
mish with the
Christians.
ing, the enemie sallied out of the towne and skirmished oftentimes with the Christians: in
which skirmishes many were slain on both sides, but more wounded of the Christians, for that
the Turkes had politickly mingled certaine Ianizaries harquebusiers, and archers, with their
horsemen; who, vsed to that manner of fight, sore gauled the Christian horsemen. For which
cause the Generall forbad all such light skirmishes, as purposing to keepe his strength whole
D against the generall day of battell: commanding his canoniers so to place the great ordnance as
might most annoy the enemy, if he should shew himselfe by troupes within the danger of the
shot: which was so well performed, that the Turks sallying forth, receiued therby great hurt,
the deadly shot flying thorow the midst of their companies. The same day *Symon* Bishop of
Zagrabia came into the camp with his horsemen, and a certain prouision of victual, whereby
the feare of the want before conceiued, was wel eased. *Mahometes* perceiuing that the Christi-
ans were not longer to be drawn to those harmful skirmishes, but that he must bring his men
in danger of the great shot, to annoy them by another means, sent many small boats, manned
with harquebusiers & small pieces of ordnance, into the lake neere vnto the camp, so to keepe
the Christians from watering there, & with those small pieces shot oftentimes into the camp.
E Neere vnto the vally where the Christians lay, was a hill, whereupon stood a village, wherin
were placed certaine companies of Turks, to skirmish as occasion should serue with the Chri-
stians; for displacing of whom the whole army was put in order of battel, and the great artil-
lerie bent vpon them, that they should not with their light skirmishes, after the maner of the
Turkish fight, trouble the order of the armie. Which thing the Turks perceiuing, & that they
The christians
come within
sight of Exek.
were not able to hold the place, set fire on the town, & so retired to Exek. The Christians kee-
ping on their march, came to the top of the hil, from whence they might see Exek stand about
two miles off in a faire plaine, neere vnto the banke of Dranus: all which low ground betwixt
the hil and Exek, was so subiect to the castle, that it was thought a matter too ful of danger, to
attempt, that way to batter the castle, & expose the army to the ineuitable fury of the enemies
F shot. Wherfore descrying a rising ground on the further side of the city equal with the top of
the wals, they thought it best to remoue their camp thither, & on that side to plant their bat-
terie against the city. But to come to that place was thought a matter of no smal trouble: for
they must fet a compasse three miles on the right hand thorow a forrest by a foule & trouble-
some way, before they could come to the place they desired: for the army was not so great, as
to

to beſiege the citie round; wherein were not (as is reported) aboue ſixteen thouſand men: neither was there ſuch ſtore of victuals in the camp, but that the army was like ſoone to feele the want thereof, without a continuall ſupplie, which would hardly be had, the enemie ſtil beſetting euery paſſage, and with their light horſemen ſcouring about all the countrey, of purpoſe to keep them from victual. For which cauſe, ſome were of opinion, That it were beſt for them there to ſtay where they were, vntill ſuch time as both more aid and better ſtore of victuals were come vnto them: but others of contrary mind, ſaid the enemy was but barely ſtored with victuall himſelfe, and therefore could not long hold out; which they ſaid they vnderſtood by certain Chriſtian fugitiues; and that *Mahometes* had put his chiefe ſubſtance into certain boats, to be conueied downe the riuer, as purpoſing to flie, and would not hold out the ſiege aboue three daies: as for the forreſt, they thought it would well enough be paſſed thorow, if they would couragiouſly ſet forward: beſide that, the time of the yeare ſuffered no delay, Winter comming ſo faſt on, that except ſome notable thing were done quickly, they ſhould be preuented by the very time of the yeare to returne with ſhame, without doing any thing. This opinion was beſt liked of, as more honorable and better beſeeming men of valor, than to lie ſtill in one place: whereupon the next day the army remoued, and in good order marched thorow the forreſt. Which thing *Mahometes* quickly perceiuing, preſently ſent forth a thouſand light horſemen, and certaine companies of the Ianizaries, harquebuſiers, to trouble the Chriſtians in their paſſage: who by a neere and well knowne way ouertaking the armie, ſuddenly charged the rereward, wherin the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled, and the Italians with much adoe endured the charge: but being relieued by the Carinthian men at armes, they notably repulſed the Turks, and put them to flight. So the army with ſmall loſſe paſſed the forreſt, and came to the place they deſired: where, after they had incamped themſelues, and in good order placed all things needfull for the ſiege, they in ſeemely order offered vnto the enemie battell: but he keeping himſelfe within the towne, ſhot at the Chriſtians with his great ordnance: and they to requite him, with two great pieces which they had placed vpon the riſing of a hill, ſhot thorow both the wals of the towne and the bulwarke alſo, to the great terror of the defendants. The Chriſtians in the meane time hauing ſtood almoſt all the day in order of battell in ſight of the enemie, vainely expecting when hee ſhould come forth to giue them battell, returned at night into their camp: for *Mahometes* vpon great conſideration kept in his ſouldiers, although they were moſt deſirous to fight; vnderſtanding right well of the want of victuall in the Chriſtian camp; and beſide that (as the fugitiues reported) being ſtraitly commanded by letters from *Solyman*, that he ſhould not vpon pain of a moſt ſhamefull death forſake the place, but to defend it to the laſt. Now the Chriſtians deſirous of battell, being thus delaied and deceiued of their expectation, had in a few daies ſpent the ſmal ſtore of victuall they had, and began to feele a generall want: neither was there any apparant meanes how they ſhould bee relieued, ſo that euery man began to feare ſome generall miſchiefe to inſue. When *Balthaſar Pamphilus*, a noble Hungarian, & a captain of great experience, ſitting in counſell with the reſt, entred into this ſpeech.

Captaines (ſaid hee) *we doe all that wee doe, vnaduiſedly: For whileſt we conſult at large how wee may ouercome our enemies, the ſtrength of our armie is in the meane time ſo weakened for want of victuall, that the ſouldiers are neither well able to ſtand on their legs, nor to hold their weapons in their feeble hands: and generally, euen they which are of greateſt courage begin now to quaile, and deſpairing of battell, ſee that they muſt miſerably and ſhamefully periſh for want. Wherefore in my opinion, wee ought firſt and aboue all things moſt ſpeedily to prouide for this want, which ſo grieuouſly pincheth vs: and preſently to remoone hence vnto the caſtle of Hermande, that with the proviſion thereof, which is not like to be little, we may refreſh our whole armie; and ſo relieued, to proceed further as occaſion ſhall require.*

This caſtle was about ten miles diſtant from Exek; whereinto many of the Turks had conueied their wiues & children, and chiefeſt ſubſtance, being kept with a ſmal garriſon of 20 Turks. Faſt by the caſtle was a prettie little walled towne, without flankers, after the manner of the old fortifying: which towne and caſtle *Balthazer* ſaid would eaſily be taken. This his counſell was well liked of all men, and he himſelfe ſent with certain companies of ſoldiers to take the towne. Wherin fortune ſo fauored him, that it was at his firſt comming ſurrendred vnto him: but when he had it, he found not therein any ſuch ſtore of corne or victuall as he had hoped for:

The Turkes skirmiſh with the Chriſtians in paſſing the forreſt.

Mahometes wiſely refuſeth to fight with the Chriſtians, offering him battel

Balthazer Pamphilus his counſell for reliefe of the armie.

Balthazer taketh the towne of Hermande.

for: yet he tooke there certaine veſſels of wine, to the great reliefe of the weake ſouldiers. Vpon the newes of the taking of this towne, the campe remoued from Exek about ten a clock in the night, but ſo diſorderly, that the ſouldiers ſcarce knowing their owne enſignes, ſeemed rather to haue fled for feare, than marched for ſpoile: yet the Turks for all that mooued not out of Exek, miſdoubting ſome deceit, & loth to attempt any thing raſhly in the night. When the army was come to the towne, the captains tooke order, that the victuall there found, was equally diuided amongſt the ſouldiers, and the next morning batterie laied againſt the caſtle; which thoſe few Turks valiantly defended halfe a day, and then by compoſition yeelded it. But when the caſtle was taken, there was found in it but two barrels of meale, and other two of millet. Then might a man haue ſeene the captaines themſelues hanging their heads, as men ſtrucken with a ſudden feare, who in ſtead of a great prey & victual to haue ſerued many daies, found nothing but a few women and children, and ſcarce ſo much victuall both in the town & caſtle, as would ſerue the army two daies. Yet they diſſembled the matter, & fed the ſoldiers with hope of better ſtore, after the bridge were once repaired, that they might paſſe the riuer of Bodrog, which ran by the town: which bridge the Turks had before (for defence of themſelues) broken, by plucking vp of certain piles, & taking away of the planks; wherfore the carpenters being ſet on worke, and euery man putting too his helping hand, the bridge was with continual labor in 3 daies repaired. The fourth day, the wagons & ſmaller pieces of ordnance paſſed ouer the bridge, & after them ſix of the great pieces for batterie; but the bridge ouercharged with the ſeuenth, which was of a wonderfull weight, & much greater than the reſt, began to breake; ſo that the captains were inforced to breake that faire piece of ordnance, and ſo by pieces to carry it away, that the enemy ſhould not get ſo great a ſpoile. All things being thus well paſſed ouer, the piles were again cut down, & the plancks ſtrucke off, to the intent the enemie ſhould not that way purſue them: & other way there was none, but to fetch a compaſſe about the great lake which was many miles about. Here the captaines began to conſult, whether it were beſt to break the great pieces of ordnance, that ſo they might more ſpeedily march away, or not. Of which opinion was *Cazzianer* himſelfe, promiſing of his own charge to new caſt them. As for the ſcaling ladders, & ſuch other like things prouided for the ſiege, they burnt becauſe they ſhould not come into the enemies hand, or trouble themſelues in their march. But moſt of the captains were of opinion, that it was not beſt ſo diſhonorably to break those goodly pieces, the greateſt ornament and defence of their country; but to hold on their march thorow Poſſega, vntill they came to Iuvancha, where they ſhould find great ſtore both of corne and wine: which towne with the caſtle of Gara faſt by it, ſtored with all kind of proviſion, they ſaid would eaſily be taken before the Turks could poſſibly come ſo far about the lake from Exek: and that it were a great ſhame, ſo to return without doing any thing. *Cazzianer* thus perſuaded, ſet forward, & with great toile (by reaſon of the deepnes of the way and heauines of the great ordnance) came by night to Iuvancha, which was but three miles off: where the Turkes hauing with incredible celeritie paſſed a long iourney, arriued at the ſame time alſo. Neere vnto this caſtle was a little towne, out of which all the Turks were fled: the townſmen being Chriſtians, opened the gates and receiued in the ſouldiers; who there filled themſelues aboundantly with wine, & could hardly be driuen out thence by their captains to the camp. The ſame night the Turks burnt the ſame towne, and whatſoeuer the Chriſtians had therin left: and euery man betooke him to his armour in the camp, for the enemie was now at hand: & in the dawning of the day began hotly to skirmiſh in diuers places with the Chriſtians; but eſpecially in that quarter of the camp where the Bohemians lay. Wherwith *Petrus Raſchinius* Generall of the Bohemians, being grieued, ſet vpon them with a troup of his beſt horſmen, & inforced them to flie: but the Turks after the manner of their fight, quickly returning again, & relieued by the comming in of their fellows, beſet the Bohemians on euery ſide, and ſlew many of them. *Raſchinius* the Generall fighting moſt valiantly, was there ſlaine with his followers. The Chriſtian captains purpoſing to retire home, placed on each ſide of the armie foure ranks of wagons for defence on both ſides: in the vauward were placed the weake and ſick men, yet ſo, that in the front of the army were certain companies of luſty tal ſoldiers: but in the rereward was placed the greateſt ſtrength both of horſe & foot. The army thus marching as it were on both ſides intrenched, as it oftimes met with woody hils hindring their way, ſo did the ſame fitly ſerue the Chriſtians, that the Turkes could not wel aſſaile them in their march,

The caſtle of Hermande yeelded vnto the Chriſtians.

Cazzianer to retire with more haſte, would haue broken his great ordnance.

The Turks sore trouble the Christians in their retire.

march, both before and behind. Which thing *Mahometes* perceiuing, sent before certain companies of Ianizaries and nimble footmen, which knew the country and the passages well, with certaine faulcons and other small pieces to take the straits whereby the armie was to passe, and so to gaul them in their passage; & when they could keep the place no longer, to flie back to another, and so from place to place: and in the open places he had his troups of light horsemen, which were euer busie in one place or another of the armie. By which meanes the Christians in their march receiued much harme, which grieued them the more, for that no great power of the Turks was any where to be seen together, but straggling companies; which as they were commanded, sometime would come on with a fierce charge, and by and by retire againe, and with their arrows and faulcon shot, from places of aduantage assaile them. At one of these straits somewhat bigger than the rest, *Paulus Bachitius* one of the Hungarian captains, in whom the souldiers generally reposed their greatest trust, was slaine with a faulcon shot, with diuers other of the valiant Hungarians; who seeing there a greater number of the Turks than they had seen in other places, thought to haue don som good seruice vpon them: his death bred a generall feare vpon the whole army, forasmuch as both then and at other times, without him they neuer had any good successe against the Turks. Yet in that skirmish, the Hungarians, to reuenge the dearth of their captaine, did with such force repulse the enemy, that they caused him after he had lost many of his men, to run away and leaue his small field-pieces behinde him. But such was the weakenesse or cowardise of the Christian footmen, and the agilitie of the Turks, especially the Ianizaries, that they with their shot out of the woods, staid the Hungarian horsemen from the pursuit of their fellowes, and recouered their small field-pieces before they could be carried away by the Christian footmen: wherewith they did againe forerun the army, and still trouble it as before. The Christians beset with these dangers, and almost spent for want of victuall, seeing no meanes to relieue their weake bodies, nor any hope to comfort their fainting spirits, did generally feare some extreame calamitie to insue: and so much the more, for that it was reported, that *Mahometes* stil expected fresh supplies from Belgrade, Samandria, and Nicopolis: and many of the Hungarian light horsemen stole away from them, as carefull of their owne safetie: neither did they see any comfort in the dismaied captaines, who at other times were woont with cheerefull and couragious wordes to relieue the souldiers, if they saw them any thing discouraged. But when they were come into a faire open field neere vnto a towne called Gara, they were aduertised, That the enemy had in the woods before them, whereby they were to passe, cut downe great trees crosse the waies, so that neither their great ordnance nor wagons, nor yet their horsemen could possibly passe that way but that they must needs breake their order.

A generall feare in the Christians camp

This once bruted thorow the army, filled them with all heauinesse and desperation, and so much the more, for that *Ladislaus Moreus*, and others which knew the country well, said there was but two wayes to escape; the one thorow the woods about ten miles space to Walpo, which by reason of the trees cut downe crosse the waies by the Turkes was not to be passed, but they must needs leaue behind them their great ordnance and carriages: the other towards the castle of Zenthuerzebeth, which was in *Ladislaus Moreus* his countrey, certaine miles distant from Gara: by taking of which way, the enemy by reason of the straightnesse of the passage, must of necessitie be inforced to giue ouer his pursuit. Yet for all that, it was in counsell resolued vpon, to take the way thorow the woods of Walpo, for that there was there victuall enough, and in the castle of Walpo was kept mony sent from king *Ferdinand*, sufficient to pay the souldiers for all that Winter. And so leauing the great ordnance behind them, and burning the pouder and whatsoeuer els could not well be carried on horseback, to set forward with all speed: as for the trees they said, they would be well enough remoued, & the way opened by the pioners and waggoners: wherfore euery captain was commanded to haue his souldiers in readines to set forward vpon the signe giuen, which was by the sound of a shalm or hoboy; which when it should be giuen, was referred to the discretion of the Generall. There were many which wonderfully disliked of this resolution, and said openly, that the enemy was fewer in number than their horsmen, and pinched almost with like want of victuall: besides, that the Turks durst neuer in just fight incounter with the Christian men at arms, but like theeues assaile them vpon a sudden at some aduantage, and by & by be gone again: and that the town of Gara where the enemy lay incamped, was not so strong but that it might be won: wherfore all

The fearefull resolution of the Christians to get from the Turks

all things were to be proued, and some great matter to be attempted of valiant men, pinched with wants: for that to run away, would be not only a dishonor vnto the captains themselues, who ought always to prefer their honor before their liues, but also dangerous to them, which respected nothing but life. And if they should set forward in the night, many would be lost in the woods; and valor in the darke could not be knowne from cowardise: besides that, the Turks (as they said) lay so nigh, that it was not possible to depart without their knowledge, especially if they should burne the pouder, or breake the great ordnance. For which causes, they thought it better to fight a battel with them, & not to beleeue the false reports of new supplies come vnto them, and that God would vndoubtedly giue them aid, which were ready to lay down their liues for their religion and glory of the Christian name. After all this, they began to consult what was now to bee done with the sicke and wounded souldiers, which were before carried in wagons or among the other baggage of the armie: for it was like, that so great a multitude of sicke and wounded men, vnderstanding what was decreed concerning the departure of the army, would as miserable forsaken men, fill the campe with lamentation and mourning; which it was thought would be also increased by the weeping and wailing of them which should neuer afterwards see their brethren, kinsmen, fellowes, or friends, so miserably and shamefully left behind and forsaken: the noise wherof, must needs come to the ears of the Turks, which lay within a small gun shot. Wherefore it was determined, that these sicke and wounded souldiers should be carried vpon the wagon and cart horses; and that such as were not able to stay themselues, should be holden vp by other of more strength riding behind thē vpon the bottocks of the horse. In fine, to color the matter, they which were so desirous to go, said that this their maner of departure grounded vpon good reason, was not to be accounted a shameful flight (as some would tearm it) but a right honest & necessary maner of retiring: forasmuch as the were stronger than their enemies in horsmen, & equal also (if not stronger) in footmen, although they were sore weakned with sicknes. Whilst these things were in counsel diuersly discoursed, & the resolution set down as is before said, the matter was brought to this passe, that euery captain with troubled iudgement conceiued in himselfe secret cogitations, far from the common good; & without regard of shame & dishonor, bethought himself how he might betake himselfe to flight, the vncertaine hope of desired life. On the contrarie part, *Mahometes* vsing most certain spies, & aduertised euery houre of all the distresses of the Christians, and thereby presaging his future victorie; did by most diligent watch and troupes of horsemen, besetting the passages farre and neere, most vigilantly attend euery motion in the Christian camp: of purpose, that when the army should rise and set forward, he after his wonted manner might in the straits (fit for his purpose) set vpon them being diuided and disperſed one from another, as they must needs in those troublesome passages: for he had so placed his horsmen & footmen in the knowne tracts of those woods, that he had shut vp the Christians as it were in a toile. It was now almost midnight, and the army taking no rest, so carefully expected the signe of setting forward, that euery little delay seemed to most men both tedious and dangerous: so that many great captains vpon a cowardly conceit would stay no longer, but hasted to depart, and to go before the rest, without any leaue of the Generall. The beginning of this mischieuous departure, is reported to haue bin begun by the common Hungarian horsmen, which knowing the passages & waies thorow the woods, made most hast to Walpo. *Ladislaus Moreus* dishonourably following their example, went the other way to his castle Zenthuerzebeth. After them followed in great hast the Stirian horsmen, without regard of shame, led by *Iohn Hunganot* their General, who was appointed to haue guarded the rereward. *Symon* Bishop of Zagrabia fled in like manner, knowne by his great lanthorne wandring in the wood: yet with lesse shame than the rest, because he being a clergie man, thought it not to belong to his vocation to put on armes, or to goe into battell. In the meantime it was fearefully told to *Cazzianer*, That the Hungarian horsemen were fled, and that *Ladislaus* and *Hunganot*, with the Stirian troupes were gone also; and that all the rest of the armie not expecting the appointed signall, were in like manner vpon flying: with which report, the cowardly and dismaid Generall was so terrified, that he presently got to horse, quite forgetting the signall he should haue giuen (for that he thought all the rest, as he afterwards said, to haue beene gone before) and as hee was vnarmed, betooke himselfe to flight, leauing behinde him for hast his Tent stored with plate and other rich furniture. In this tumult of them which so disorderly fled, *Lodro-*

The vigilancie of Mahometes.

The Christian captains shamefully flie some one way, some another, in the night.

The dishonourable flight of Cazzianer.

nius

trey, and authour of the publique calamitie: so that it was reported, that he durst neither goe abroad, nor shew his face for shame. He was so generally hated, that infamous libels, made against him & the other captains which shamefully fled as he did, were commonly sung in the streets by boyes in all places of Germanie. Wherewith he was so much grieued, that hee requested of K. *Ferdinand*, that he might safely come to the court, to answer whatsoeuer could be laid against him: which his request the king easily granted, and when he came to the court, receiued him with doubtfull countenance. But when the hearing of his cause was by the king somewhat longer protracted than he would haue had it, and he in the meane time kept vnder safe custodie; impatient of such delay, and halfe doubtfull whether he should be quitted or condemned, thought it better to flie, than to abide the triall. So feigning himselfe sicke, and scraping vp by little and little with his knife a bricke pauement vnder his bed, and so in the night getting out one bricke, first and then another, at length brake thorow the vault, & with his sheets letting himself downe, escaped, hauing post horses readie for him without the castle. Not long after, as he was a man of a hastie and vnconstant nature, despairing of his [illegible], he fled to the Turks; *Mahometes* gladly receiuing him, and beside his great entertainment, promising him the gouernment of all Croatia in manner of a tributarie king, if he would faithfully serue *Solyman*, and helpe him in the subduing of the cities of Austria. After he had agreed vpon all the conditions of his reuolt, that he might return to *Mahometes* with some more credit, he began boldly to deale with *Nicholaus Sirenus* a Nobleman of Croatia, and his deere friend, as he supposed, to reuolt with him; assuring him, that *Solyman* would deale as kindely with them both, as he had before with king *Iohn* in the kingdom of Hungarie. *Sirenus* promised him he would, or at least made as if he promised to do what he desired, and so agreed as it were vpon the matter, promising to goe ouer with him to the Turke with a troupe of his best and most trustie horsemen. But *Sirenus* considering with himselfe the hainousnesse and impietie of so great an offence, changing his purpose, chose rather to deale treacherously with his old friend, fearing no such thing in his house, than to offend both against God and his Prince. Wherefore after he had well feasted *Cazzianer* in his house, he as a most cruell hoast, caused him to be slaine, and sent his head to King *Ferdinand*: in reward whereof he receiued of the Kings gift *Cazzianer* his castle, with all his substance.

Cazzianer imprisoned, breaketh prison.

Cazzianer most shamefully murdred, and his head sent vnto K. Ferdinand.

In the meantime the Venetians, prouoked by the Turks with diuers iniuries both by sea & land (when as *Solyman* but a little before hardly besieging Corcyra, and with most barbarous cruelty wasting the Island, had broken the league, & euen then by his lieutenant *Cassimes Bassa* besieged Epidaurus and Nauplium, two of their cities in Peloponesus) resolued without defence. Whereunto they were also animated both by *Charles* the Emperor, and *Paulus* the great Bishop: who warned by the late and dangerous attempts of *Solyman* and *Barbarussa*, thought it more for the safetie of their estates, by giuing aid to the Venetians, to keepe the Turks busied further off, than to suffer them to acquaint themselues too much with the ports of Italy and Sicilia. Wherefore all the Winter following they labored by their Embassadors, to set down what number and what manner of ships, what souldiers, what money was to be prouided, and how to be according to their estates apportioned, for the setting forth of a strong fleet against the next Summer, to be sent into Grecia against the Turks. At last it was agreed amongst these confederat Princes, by their Embassadors at Rome, That the Emperour should furnish and set forth 82 gallies, the Venetians the like number, and the Bishop 36, to make vp the number of two hundred gallies; that the Venetians should send vnto the Bishop so many gallies readie rigged, as he should desire, to be furnished by him with mariners and soldiers; and that the Emperor and the State of Genoa should find sufficient shipping for the transportation of the land forces and victuall. The Generals also of this great fleet to be set forth, were at the same time appointed: *Andreas Auria* for the Emperour, *Vincentius Capellus* for the Venetians, and *Marcus Grimmenus*, Patriarch of Aquilea for the Bishop; to whom was ioyned *Paulus Iustinianus* one of the chiefe Senatours, a man of great experience in sea matters. It was also agreed, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* Viceroy of Sicilie, should haue the commanding of the land forces; and that whatsoeuer was got from the Turks in that expedition in Grecia, the islands, or Dalmatia, should be all faithfully deliuered to the Venetians, who had receiued so many iniuries from the Turks. The Emperour also of his liberalitie promised vnto the other Confederats,

The Emperour, the Venetians, and the Bishop of Rome, enter into a confederation against the Turks.

federats, that they should for reasonable price haue as much wheat as they would out of Sicilia, without paying any custome.

Solyman vnderstanding of this confederation and preparation made against him by these Christian Princes, commanded *Barbarussa* his Admirall to make readie his fleet to goe against these enemies, and to do all the harme he could vpon the Islands subiect to the Venetian state. Which thing *Barbarussa* with great care and diligence in short time performed: and so with 130 gallies in most warlike manner appointed, with the first of the Spring, in the yeare 1538, departed from Hellespontus directly to Crete; where hauing passed the promontorie of Gyamus, which at this day is called Sparta, he vnaduisedly landed most part of his men, to haue surprised the citie Canea, which was in antient time called Sydonia. But *Grittus* one of the Venetian Senatours then kept the Citie with a strong garrison; who from the walls and bulwarks thereof so plagued the Turks with great and small shot, and the sallying out of two companies of Italians, that *Barbarussa* hauing lost many of his men, was faine to retyre againe to his fleet in such hast, that he left behind him 1000 of his Turks, which were gone further into the Island after bootie, who were afterwards all slain by them of Crete. After that, he attempted to haue taken diuers places in the Island, and was euery where notably repulsed. With the citie of Candia, whereof the Island now taketh name, and was in antient time called Cytheum, he durst not meddle: but sailing almost round about the Island, tooke only Cecilia, a little towne before forsaken of the inhabitants, which he set on fire, and so departed from Crete: for he was aduertised, That *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admirall, who was now come to Corcyra, would in short time come to relieue them of Crete. *Auria*, Admiral of the Emperors fleet, passing the strait of Messana, came to Corcyra also, and there ioyned with the Venetians. The Christian fleet was then so great that it was thought the Turks durst not meet it at sea, but by all means shun to giue battell. For *Barbarussa* then lay with the Turkes fleet in the bay of Ambracia, expecting when the Christians should enter the strait entrance thereof, where he had on both sides placed diuers pieces of great ordnance, to haue sunk them in their comming in: for *Grimanus* the Patriarch, a little before departing from Corcyra, had with the great Bishops gallies begun to besiege Preuesa, a towne vpon the promontorie of Actium fast by that strait; and landing some of his souldiers, with three great pieces of artillerie so battered the castle of Preuesa, that he was like enough to haue taken it, had not the Turks from Ætolia come to relieue it with a strong power both of horse and foot. Wherefore the Patriarch shipping againe his men and ordnance, returned to the fleet at Corcyra, not repenting him of his journey, for that he had well viewed the straits of that Bay, and all the enemies fleet riding at anchor within it. Vpon the returne of the Patriarch, and relation made, what he had both done and seene, the great commanders of the Christian fleet entred into counsell, what course were best to take for their better proceeding in that great action. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy, Generall of the land forces, was of opinion, That it were best to land the souldiers and great ordnance, and with all their force to assault the castle of Preuesa: which once trken, and their ordnance there planted, the enemies fleet might in the Bay be vtterly defeated, for that all passage to sea might easily be taken from them, by sinking of one of the great ships in the mouth of the Strait, and by moaring there of three great Galleons full of Artillerie: so that if *Barbarussa* would desperatly aduenture to come out, he must needs be sunke in the mouth of the Bay. Whereunto *Auria* replied, That *Gonzaga* his counsell was in words and shew glorious, but to put in execution most dangerous: for that first to land the souldiers and great artillerie, hee said was a thing too too full of hazard and perill: for it was to be thought, that the Turkes in Ætolia would as they had before done, come with speed with their horsemen to relieue the besieged in the castle; whose force the Christian footmen could hardly abide. Besides that, if the fleet should by force of weather be constrained to leaue that coast, (as it wel might, Autumne now comming fast on) after the souldiers were landed, From whence should they then get victuall in the enemies countrey? or what relefe should they hope for, if they should happ to be distressed; being on euery side beset with their enemies, and their friends by tempest driuen from them? Wherefore he thought it best, if the enemie could not be drawne out of the Bay to battell, to go directly into the Bay of Naupactum, and to take that town which was not greatly fortified, and to ransacke and spoile all the townes, euen to the bottom of the Bay of Corinth. Which the Grecians in the Fleet, said might easily be done: by taking of which

1538

Solyman sendeth Barbarussa against the Venetians.

Barbarussa landing in Crete, is repulsed with losse.

Gonzaga his opinion.

Auria of another opinion.

course it might so fall out, that *Barbarussa* mooued with the danger of his friends, would for G
shame come out and ioyne with them in battell. This counsell of *Auria* was best liked both of *Capellius* and the Patriarch, being far more desirous to fight with their enemies at sea, than land.

Auria braueth Barbarussa lying in the Bay of Ambracia.

Auria hauing put in order his fleet, came to Preuesa, and so to the strait of the bay of Ambracia, where he so placed the whole fleet, which was in number 250 saile, that it might easily of the enemie be numbred. Which sight (as it was reported) wonderfully troubled *Barbarussa*; who although he was of a couragious disposition, and such a man as greatly feared not either the valor or martial discipline of the Christians, yet was he exceedingly moued with the sight of so great a fleet so well appointed; for a greater had not of long time bin seen in the Ionian sea. So that an Eunuch of [illegible]*mans* court, sent by him as *Barbarussa* his companion, seeing him to delay the time as a [illegible]re discouraged, did with most vnciuil and proud words take him vp, because he would not forthwith go out of the bay and fight with the Christians wh[illegible]ay at the mouth thereof daring of them: wherein he was not (as he said) to regard his ow[illegible]- tie (who as a coward could not endure the sight of the enemie) but the honour of *Solyman* his Soueraigne, who would not take it well, to haue the glorie of his name stained with so shamefull a delay: for if he were a valiant and martiall man, as he professed himselfe to be, he ought neuer to dispaire of victorie: and if it should so fall out, that fortune should frown vpon them, and not answer to their desires, yet should not *Solyman* therefore want captaines and souldiers better than they, if they were ouercome; and the woods of Pontus would afford him timber I enough to build twice so great and strong a fleet. And for a conclusion, the insolent Eunuch willed *Barbarussa* to beware, that whilest he feared a most honorable death (which was vncertain, though the battell were lost) he drew not vpon himselfe the certaine danger of a most shamefull death by the displeasure of *Solyman*.

Barbarussa reproued of cowardise by one of the Turkes Eunuchs.

Barbarussa his answere to Salec concerning the Eunuchs speech.

At which speech *Barbarussa* turning himself about to *Salec*, one of the arch pyrats, a famous sea man, said vnto him, *We must for ought that I can see, most valiant and faithfull captaine, aduenture this battell, although it be at too much disaduantage; lest haply we perish by the complaints of this barking demie man.* And so presently commanded all his fleet to weigh anchor, at the same time that *Auria* had hoised saile, and was on his way toward the bay of Naupactus, thinking that the enemie durst not for feare haue come out of the bay of Ambracia. *Auria* keeping on his K
course, was come to Leucade, when the enemies fleet was descried out of the top of *Bondelmerius* galleon, to be come out of the Bay, & to make towards them, keeping close by the shore: which manner of course the craftie Turke, misdoubting his owne strength, held of purpose, that if he should chance to be ouermatched by the Christians, he might turne the prow of his gallies vpon them, and running the poups aground, so to land his men and great ordnance, and from land as hee might to defend his fleet: accounting it a lesse losse (if the worst should chance) to lose the gallies, than the men.

Barbarussa putteth out of the bay of Ambracia, and followeth Auria.

Auria somewhat troubled with this sudden comming out of the enemie, as with a thing which he then least expected, yet notably staid himselfe, and commanded all the fleet to pre- L
pare themselues to battel, and to follow his Admirall gally. Now all the Turks fleet was come into the open sea in such order, that *Barbarussa* himselfe was in the middle battell; where his Admirall gallie was to be seene with many purple flagges and streamers flying gallantly in the winde: on his right hand was *Tabaches*, and *Salec* on the left, both men of great fame, euerie one of them hauing almost like number of gallies, which were in all 150. Vnto the middle battell were ioyned two wings, in such order, that which way soeuer the Admirall turned, they turning also, still represented the forme of a flying Eagle: so that (as *Auria* himselfe afterwards confessed) a more firme or orderly fleet could not haue bin brought out by any expert captain. Before the fleet, came about 20 nimble gallies conducted by *Drogut* (or *Dragut*) an arch pyrat, famous afterwards for the great harme he did vnto the Christians. *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall came in his long boat to *Auria*, requesting him, That he with his gallies might giue the first charge vpon the enemy: to whom *Auria* gaue great thanks, and praising his forwardnes, requested him to follow him, to whom he would in good time giue a signe what he would M
haue done. The formost of the Turks light gallies was now come to the great galleon of *Bondelmerius*, which was the formost of the Christian fleet, whereunto were sent also certaine gallies from *Salec*, to helpe to assaile that tall ship; which shooting a far off, did no harme, neither

The order of the Turks fleet.

A *Bondelmerius* them; who would not suffer one piece to be discharged; for he being an expert sea man, and loth to shoot in vain, expected that they should come neerer vnto him, and then vpon the sudden to discharge all his great ordnance vpon them. Neither was he deceiued in that his expectation, for the Turks comming neere vnto him, were so ouerwhelmed with the great and small shot out of the galleon, that they were glad to stay their course, and retyre. In the meane time *Auria* called backe again the ships which were gon before, and caused his galleon to be towed out; and by boats of purpose sent out, charged the captains of the gallies to make themselues readie to fight, vpon signal giuen by the sound of the trumper, and displaying of the Admirals ensigne: yet was not *Auria* of mind to fight, with his gallies without his ships. Which thing the craftie enemie well perceiued, and therefore sought by all meanes to ioyne
B battel with the gallies, before the comming in of the tall ships, which were as castles in respect of the gallies: for it was then such a calme, that the ships were not able to keepe way with the gallies, and the smooth water seemed to offer a fit opportunity for battell; which so wel pleased the Patriarch, that many heard him crying aloud to *Auria* to giue the signal; and maruelled much why he deferred to giue battell. For he fetching a great compasse, and houering about his ships, with his gallies kept such a course, that many thought he would vpon a sudden haue done some strange & vnexpected exploit vpon the enemie: but *Auria* held that strange course *Auria his politique course.*
of purpose to haue drawn the enemies gallies within the danger of his great ships, who thundring amongst them with their great ordnance, might haue easily sore beaten and disordered them, and opened a way vnto his gallies to haue gotten a most certain victorie. But the craftie
C old Turke doubting by the strangenes of *Auria's* course, to be circumuented with some fineasse, changed his course, and lay still with his own squadron of gallies, warily expecting to what purpose that strange course of the enemie tended. In the meane time, both the wings of his fleet had a little before Sun-set, begun in diuers places to encounter with the Christians: some were in vaine still assailing *Bondelmerius* his great galleon; others with their great ordnance had so sore beaten two tall ships (wherein *Buccanigra* and *Mongaia*, two Spanish captains, were imbarked with their companies) that they were giuen for lost, many of the souldiers and mariners being slain. Two other ships loded with victual, the one of Venice, the other of Dalmatia, were burnt by the Turks, & some few of the men saued by their ship boats, & by swimming to the ships neerest vnto them. In the shutting in of the euening *Salec* tooke two gallies
D straggling behind the rest of the fleet, whereof *Mozenicus* a Venetian, and *Bebiena* a Florentine, were captains. After these gallies, was taken also the ship of *Aloysius Figaroa* a Spaniard, although his souldiers had for a time fought most valiantly. In this ship, with *Figaroa* the father, was taken his son, a yong gentleman, and beautified with all the good gifts of nature; who afterwards presented to *Solyman*, turned Turke: and growing in credit in *Solymans* chamber, after 3 yeres miserable imprisonment, obtained his poore fathers libertie, and sent him well rewarded home againe into Spain. Whilst both the fleets were thus expecting how they might to their most aduantage ioyne battell, suddenly arose a great tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, with a fresh gale of Easterly wind: whereupon the Christians seeing the Turks hoising vp *The christian fleet shamefully flieth.*
their small sails, without delay hoised vp both small and great to cleere themselues of the ene-
E mie, and with that faire wind returned again to Corcyra; so disordredly and in such hast, sparing neither saile nor oare, that it seemed rather a shamefull flight, than an orderly retreat. So that *Auria*, a man of so great fame at sea, as that he was called a second *Neptune*, was that day accounted no captain. It is reported, that *Barbarussa* with the same wind pursued the Christians a while, and being not able longer to see what course they held, by reason of the darknesse of the night, to haue staid his course: for the Admirals had caused their lights which they vsed to carrie in the poups of their gallies, to be put out. Wherat *Barbarussa* heartily laughing, said oftentimes in the Spanish tongue; Auria *hath therefore put out his light, the better in the darke to hide his flight:* noting in him such a feare, as that he without regard of honour, fought onely *Barbarussa scoffeth at Auria.*
how by flight to escape. When they were come to Corcyra, they were all generally of opi-
F nion, That by the benefit of that sudden storme they had auoided a great danger. The Imperials, especially the Genowaies, to excuse *Auria*, imputed the cause of so shameful a flight vnto the Venetians, who would not from the beginning receiue any Spanish souldiers into their gallies, the better to haue withstood the enemy; and that *Auria* therfore doubting of the Venetians, refrained from ioyning battell; and the rather, because that vpon the comming forth

of the Turks fleet, they had hoised vp their sailes tied vp to the yards with small lines, which they might at their pleasure easily cut, and set saile to flie which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbarussa* with all his fleet to the Island of Paxus, about foure leagues from Corcyra Eastward, braving the Christians as if he would haue fought with them, if they durst come out. Whereat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting, went to euery one of the three great commanders, requesting them for the honor of the Christians, to represse that proud Turkes insolencie. At last the matter was brought to that passe, that the Venetians hauing taken in certain companies of Spaniards, the fleet should be diuided into foure squadrons, and so to giue battel. But this consultation was so long protracted, that *Barbarussa* fearing the tempestuous Autumne weather, hoised saile, and about the seuenth of October returned again into the bay of Ambracia. After the departing of *Barbarussa*, the Generals of the Christian fleet directed their course into the Bay called Sinus Rizonicus, to besiege Castronovum, or New-castle, a strong town of the Turks standing in that bay, and bordering vpon the Venetian Senators. The Inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Christian religion, and some Turkes, liuing most part by merchandise. Vnto this towne the Christians laid siege, and in short time woon it, where they had a great prey, and a wonderfull number of captiues of all sorts. Three dayes after the taking of the towne, the castle was also yeelded by the Turkes garrison; couenanting in vain to depart with life and libertie.

Barbarussa braueth the Christians.

Castronovum taken by the Christians.

This towne taken by common force, ought of right by the couenants of the league to haue bin deliuered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* reserued for the Emperor, and *Franciscus Sarmentus* with foure thousand Spaniards all old soldiers, left therein garrison: *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which thing so much grieued the Senat, (who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in suspect, and now assured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of Catarum) that repenting themselues of the league with the Emperour, they decreed to sue to *Solyman* for peace: which they afterwards easily obtained, for a short space, by *Laurentius Gritti* their dukes son, and by the helpe of *Antonius Rincus* the French kings Embassador; who then lying at Constantinople, in good time told the great Bassa's, that the league the Venetians had made with the Emperour, was made without the consent of the greatest part of the Senat, and that war taken in hand against most of their wils.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Barbarussa* put to sea againe to haue relieued Castronovum: but being at sea, many of his gallies were by the violence of a sudden tempest driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rocks, and there cast away. It is reported that he lost there 20000 men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almost all alongst the coast of Dalmatia. This shipwrack being certainly knowne, *Capellius* would haue perswaded *Auria* to haue presently pursued *Barbarussa* so distressed: which motion *Gonzaga* wel liked, as a man desirous by some notable exploit to recompence the disgrace before receiued at Leucade. But *Auria* for diuers causes not liking of the matter, was so set down vpon his return to Italie, that he presently hoised saile, leauing the Venetian Admirall in such a rage, that he detested himselfe, for submitting himselfe to another mans power; and wished the captaines there present, neuer to subiect themselues to the command of a stranger, forasmuch as that Genoway, either vpon cowardise or malicious mind, as an old enemie to the Venetian State, would not prosecute so manifest a victorie, but put vp so shamefull a disgrace as he had before receiued. But of all this *Auria* made small reckoning, referring all that he both said and did, so far vnto the Emperours commodity, that *Valerius Vrsinus* a noble gentleman then seruing in the Venetian pay, merrily said, That *Auria* had done nothing but wisely & politickly, in setting the Venetians together by the ears with the Turks, & opening a gate for a long war, whether the Venetians would or not: so as the emperor himself could not haue better wished, and that without the losse of one gallie. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians, would fort to the great good of the Emperor; when as the Venetians worne out and spent with those long and chargeable wars against so mightie an enemy, should be stripped of their lands and territories either by force, or some hard composition wrung from them by necessitie.

Auria neglecting to pursue Barbarussa, returneth into Italie to the griefe of the Venetian Admirall.

Castronovum thus taken, and *Sarmentus* with a garrison of foure thousand Spaniards there placed, as is aforesaid, and the Christian fleet dissolued, *Solyman* tooke the matter so grieuously, that hee determined to besiege it againe both by sea and land: and in his furie, caused Naupli-

A Nauplium and Epidaurus, two of the Venetian cities in the country of Peloponesus, to bee straitly besieged. Yet tooke he singular pleasure, that *Barbarussa* his Admirall, in all respects worse furnished, had driuen out of the sea the great fleet of the Christians, which hee before that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the yeare 1539, *Barbarussa* by his commandement repaired againe his fleet, & notably furnished it with all maner of warlike prouision, manning his gallies for the most part with Ianizaries and other such select soldiers. With this fleet *Barbarussa* (Sommer now wel come on) departed out of the Helespontus, and came to the bay Risonicus; at which time also *Vlames* the Persian then Gouernor of Bosna, shewed himselfe with his forces vpon the mountains, as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbarussa* before he entred the straits of the bay, sent before him *Dragut* and *Corsetus*, two notable pirats, with thirty galliots, who landing their men neere vnto Castronovum (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountered by *Sarmentus* with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being slaine and taken prisoners. After that came *Barbarussa* with 90 gallies, and 3 tal ships which carried the artillerie for batterie and other necessarie prouision for the campe; where he spent three daies landing his great ordnance & casting vp trenches, which could not be done but by night by reason of the continuall shot out of the towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that three days space slaine aboue 1000 Turks: amongst whom was *Agis Hariadenus*, who had made himselfe as it were a king at Taiorea, a citie neere Tripolis in Africa, whose death much grieued *Barbarussa*, as one of his most antient and best friends. At length *Barbarussa* hauing cast vp his trenches, landed foure and fiftie great pieces of artillerie for batterie; whereof he gaue a fourth part to *Vlames* to batter the towne on the North side, whilest he in the meane time, in three diuers places battered the East side, and *Salec* from sea with ten gallies, did morning and euening batter another part of the wall. Whilest *Sarmentus* was thus in so many places assailed, and did what was possible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke one of the towers, where after they had displaied their ensignes, they from thence with their shot sore troubled the Spaniards. At the same time also, *Vlames* had made a breach, and was ready on the other side of the citie to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmentus* seeing no means longer to defend the city, commanded the hurt soldiers to get them into the castle below, & the rest with him to take the market place, there to die together like men: where the Turkes straight way breaking in on euery side vpon them, made a most cruell and bloudie fight, wherein the Spaniards ouerwhelmed with shot, and the mukitude of their enemies, were slaine almost euerie man. *Sarmentus* wounded in the face with three arrowes, and wearied with long fight, seeing *Sancius Fria* a captain ready to flie, sharply reproued him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarrie by it, vntill they were both together slaine. Many valiant captaines were there lost, whose names for breuitie I omit. *Aloysius Arius*, and certaine other captaines who together with the wounded souldiers were got into the castle, seeing no means to defend the place, yeelded themselues: whom *Barbarussa* according to his promise, tooke to mercie in sparing their liues, yet carried them away into captiuitie to Constantinople. The dead bodie of *Sarmentus* could not be knowne amongst so many heaps of the dead, although *Barbarussa* had caused most diligent search to be made for it, and offered great sums of money and libertie also, to whosoeuer could recouer it; being desirous to haue sent his head for a Present to Solyman. *Barbarussa* proud of this victorie, began forthwith to gape after Cattarus a citie of the Venetians in the bottome of the same bay: and thereupon writ threatning letters to *Bembus* one of the Venetian Senatours then Gouernour of the citie, presently to surrender the citie; which he would (as he said) otherwise assault by force. Whereunto *Bembus* answered again by letters, that in so doing he should violate the league lately made with Turkie, and that he should find him readie by force to repell his forces. Wherewith *Barbarussa* sent certaine gallies into the bottome of the bay; who discharging certaine pieces of the citie, made shew as if they had come to besiege it. At whom *Bembus* as it were in derision caused as many mo like pieces to be discharged, and shewed his men ready to the same thing *Barbarussa* perceiuing staid his course, and calling backe his gallies from Castronovum, from whence (better appeased with Presents afterwards sent) he departed out of that bay.

Barbarussa sent by Solyman to besiege Castronouum.

Castronovum hardly besieged by Barbarussa.

Castronovum taken.

Sarmentus slaine.

The long wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the

pacified, and such friendship (at leastwise in shew) now growne betwixt these two great princes, that most men thought that all other quarrels laid aside, they would now at length with vnited forces goe against the great and dangerous enemie of Christendome: which opinion not altogether of the wiser sort beleeued, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraordinarie and rare courtesies then passing betwixt them, which concerne not this historie; as also, in that two of their most famous captains, *Alphonsus Vastius*, and *Hanebald*, were as it were with one consent by them both sent embassadors to Venice: to haue drawn the Venetians into the confederation of that warre against the Turke. Which two renowned captains comming to Venice, most gallantly accompanied, were by *Landus* the duke, and the whole State, with great magnificence receiued, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in euery place to behold them so noble captains sent from such mightie princes; but especially *Vastius*, whose fame hauing many times before filled their eares, made them now the more desirous to satisfie their eies also with the beholding of his tall and comely person. Which two famous captaines admitted into the Senate, for that purpose fully assembled, audience giuen: *Vastius* arising from the dukes side, in these or like words deliuered their embassage.

Alphonsus Vastius and Hanebaldus sent embassadours from the Emperor & the French king to the State of Venice.

Vastius his Oration to the Venetian Senat.

It is come to passe (as I suppose) by the great prouidence of Almightie God, and of all the Diuine powers (most noble Duke and honourable Senatours) that two of the most mightie Kings of Europe, who of late had of long time made mortall warres one vpon another, touched with the Zeale of religion, are become great friends: vndoubtedly to that purpose onely; that hauing made a firme peace, they may bring such a generall quietnesse to the long troubled and afflicted state of Christendome, as best beseemeth their greatnesse; and taking in hand a sacred war, to reuenge so many calamities receiued from the Infidel. That this might be made knowne vnto you (most noble Venetians) these mightie Monarchs haue sent vs hither in good time to kindle in you the like Zeale, wherewith it is well knowne you haue alwaies for the honour of your State bin inflamed: for you of all others, which are of such power and valour at sea, they wish for, as their fellows and confederats in this sacred war and hoped victorie, and thinke you worthie, which should enioy the especiall fruit of all that labour. Forasmuch as the Christian forces once renewed, and so great and strong a fleet one assembled, euery man seeth that the Turks must needs be too weake: although they brag, that they carried away the victorie of late at Actium, when as they then escaped the victorious hands of our men, not by their owne valour, but by the vnexpected hap of a sudden storm. For all the powers of heauen and earth, and of the sea also, will be propitious vnto vs, vniting so great forces, in regard of our sacred religion; and will so take away the hearts of the Infidels, that they shall learne to be ouercome. As for our land forces, wee are to hope nothing but well, forasmuch as vnto those which the Emperour of late brought into the field at Vienna, and caused the Turkish Emperour to flie, shall be ioyned not onely all the horsemen and infanterie of Fraunce (a wonderfull strength) but Sigismund also King of Polonia will without delay bring foorth his armies, wherewith he hath beene vsed in the quarrell of the Christian Religion happily to fight against the Infidels: so that it is not to be doubted of a most certaine and assured victorie. Wherefore the victorious Emperor and most Christian king Francis most instantly request you to enter into the like godly cogitations, conceiued for the general good of the Christian name, and religiously to embrace the hope of a most true and glorious victorie: and further exhort you, by a wholsome decree to auert your religious and courageous hearts from the friendship of the Infidels: for it may worthily seeme vnto your most honourable minds, a most foule and shamefull thing, to haue renewed your league, and to haue preferred an infamous and vncertaine peace, before a most religious and iust warre. Neither doth it beseeme this most wealthie State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any charges of warre, be they neuer so great: for if wee shall once ouercome, which is incident to this present and long wished occasion, wee shall by the profit of one victorie, either by sea or land, to your incomparable praise recompence all the losses by vs in former times receiued.

The answere of the duke to Vastius.

Whereunto the duke in the name of the whole State answered, That there neuer happened any thing at any time vnto the Venetian Senat more honorable, for the manner of the embassage, or for the publick security of their state, more to be desired than the hope of such a peace: after that two most mightie kings by two such famous captains their embassadors, did certifie them of their attonement & assured peace, most glorious to themselues, to their eternal praise, whole-

wholesome also to the Venetian State, beset with so many dangers, and wonderfully to bee wished for of all the other princes of Christendome, if they would sincerely and religiously with their forces by common consent vnited, resolue vpon that sacred war: for then would not the Venetians bee wanting to themselues or the Christian common-weale, but end the league they had with the Turke, not with a dishonourable peace, but with armes and victory. Wherefore it was to be requested of Almightie God by prayer, That those puissant Kings would with religious & happie euent speedily & seriously fulfil all that hope of peace, which they had by their mutuall discourses and embracings in shew promised vnto the world.

In few daies after, certain of the select Senators sitting in counsell, after the manner of that State, called the embassadors vnto them, and asked them, Whether they knew any thing of the articles & capitulations wherein that league and confederation was to be concluded? and by the way, Whether they thought the Emperour in regard of that peace would giue vnto the French kings son the Dukedom of Millain, as was reported? Whereunto *Hanebald* the French embassador answering nothing, *Vastius* said, that he knew nothing more, but that the two great princes had agreed of betwixt themselues, and that the Emperour had desired the peace, as one willing to help the afflicted & declining state of the Christian common-weale: which thing any man might see could not be effected or brought to passe, but that the Emperor must in many things yeeld to the requests of the French king, and redeeme his good will: for the noble mind (said he) worthie Senators, can easily make light of the greatest losse of his owne things, when it foreseeth a large way opened therby to eternall fame and glory. These words were very glorious & gracious to the hearers: but they, as men of great experience, could not let it sinke in their minds, that the Emperour whom they had often deeply sounded, would euer part with the Dukedome of Millan, which onely thing the French king required, and had for the recouering therof vnfortunatly striuen almost 20 years, to the trouble & disquiet of a great part of the world. The nobilitie and authoritie of this embassage more moued the Senat than did the other former embassadors, *Didaco Mendoza*, a Spaniard, and *Gulielmus Pellicerius*, a Frenchman, then both present: yet was it much suspected by the Venetians, because it contained no certaine resolution, but only the bare hope of a future peace; so that it was by many men supposed to be but a matter deuised to deceiue others, and to serue the Emperors turne to his great profit. Yet all the cunning seemed to rest in this point, That the Venetians led on with the hope of this league, should neglect the renewing of the league they had the yeare before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almost expired. Vpon which vncertainty of other mens resolutions, the graue Senators thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

Vastius his answer to the demand of the Venetian Senatours.

Vpon this question of this new league and confederation to be made with these Christian princes against the Turke, the Senat was wonderfully diuided: some fauoring the Emperours request, inueighed against the renewing of that shameful league with the Infidels, which they said was nothing els, but as much as in them lay to betray vnto them the other parts of Christendom, & especially Italie, destitute of their help, and yet not to be obtained without great charge; & with many reasons vrged the honourable confederation with these Christian princes: others of a deeper reach, considering what infinit harmes they had from time to time receiued by falling out with the Turks, & suspecting also the Emperors drift; and ioining thereunto the consideration of the great dearth then raigning in the citie, which was not to be relieued but out of Macedonia & Grecia, the Turks countries; the emperor hauing at that time as it were of purpose imposed so great a custome vpon all corne to be transported out of Sicilie, that the very custome came to as much as both the price of the corne & the fraight together: al which mischiefs they said were to be preuented by renuing the league with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senat too & fro, either part hauing great faultours: so that the Senatours spent almost whole Winter nights in the court in discoursing and consulting what were best to be don: but whatsoeuer was there said or decreed, was forthwith by one of the factions or other made known, not only to the embassadors present in the city, but by letters also discouered into prouinces far off: a thing neuer before in that state known, which had euer vsed as it were with a religious silence to keepe secret whatsoeuer was there decreed. Which thing *Marcus Foscarus*, an old Senator & a man of great wisedom, perceiuing, said openly, That the state was betraied by the multitude and corruption of voices, and must needs shortly perish, if it were not speedily committed to the graue & faithfull iudgement of some

The Venetian Senators diuersly affected towards the confederation with the Emperour and the French king against Solyman.

Foscarus a graue Senatour.

some few: for there was almost two hundred of them which gaue voices, reducing the multitude to the number of fiftie, who for their experience and loue toward their countrey, were holden for men of greatest grauitie and secrecie: so was the madnesse of many staied by the discretion of a few. But *Foscarus* shortly after fell into such hatred of the multitude, grieuing to be as light headed men without discretion, so excluded out of the counsell; that he was by the voices of the multitude first thrust out of the counsell himselfe, and by them kept a great while after from all the preferments and honours of the citie: being indeed one of the grauest Senatours, and a man of deepest iudgement. Which disgrace turned afterward to his great honour and credit, as one that had foreseene much, after they were once found out and condemned which had traiterously reuealed the secrets of the State.

Foscarus disgraced by the multitude.

The Venetians sent Aloysius Badoerius their Embassadour to Solyman, to conclude a peace.

But this long consultati[on] concerning the confederation, came to this end, That the Senators doubting the vnion of [two] great princes, and yet willing to expect the euent, decreed forthwith to send three [Em]bassadours; whereof two should be sent to the Emperour and the French king to discouer their designes; and the third, which was *Aloysius Badoerius*, a wi[se] well spoken man, was with all speed dispatched away to *Solyman*, to preuent the fame [of] distrust to be conceiued of the agreement of these great Christian princes, and if he could by any meanes, to spare for no cost, to saue vnto the Venetians their cities of Nauplium and Epidaurus, which *Solyman* required of them before hee would graunt them peace. Which if it could not be obtained of the proud and craftie tyrant, then to yeeld vnto necessitie, and to conclude a peace with him vpon any conditions: which course the Decem-viri thought to be most expedient for the State: yet concerning the yeelding vp of the cities, they gaue him secret instructions and warrant, fearing forsooth the force and tumult of the headstrong multitude, who if they had knowne any such thing, would vndoubtedly thereupon haue taken occasion to haue crossed and ouerthrown that most wholesome decree: for there was no doubt, that if they had delaied the matter, and sought for peace too late, but that *Solyman* would vpon another mans weaknesse and necessitie haue increased his insatiable desire, and not granted them peace, being brought low and forsaken, except they would deliuer vnto him the Islands of Cephalenia, Zacinthus, & Corcyra, a matter no lesse grieuous than the destruction of the very city of Venice it selfe. So that the great embassadors *Vastius* and *Hanebald*, who came of purpose to haue hindred the league with the Turk, by their great diligence wrought nothing more effectually, than that the Venetians the better foreseeing the danger of their state, should as they did, make hast to conclude the same: for it falleth out in mens purposes & actions, That a good and happie successe otherwise well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hanebald* was sent by the French King but for fashion sake, and secretly vnderhand by *Pellicerius* the old embassadour, perswaded the Venetians to hasten the conclusion of peace with *Solyman*. Which as *Badoerius* their embassador was carefully soliciting the matter at Constantinople, & being loth to yeeld the strong cities which *Solyman* required, offering vnto him in stead of them a great sum of mony: *Solyman* took him vp with threatning words as a shamelesse dissembler, earnestly protesting, That he would neuer grant him peace, without the yeelding of those cities, rehearsing vnto him the most secretest points of his embassage, and how that he was authorised from the Decem-viri to yeeld them vnto him: which thing the embassadour little thought *Solyman* had knowne. Wherefore *Badoerius* so shamefully reproued, & standing in doubt of his life, seeing the greatest secrets of his embassage reuealed to *Solyman* and his Bassaes, was glad to accept of peace, by yeelding vnto him Nauplium and Epidaurus, two cities in Peloponesus, and with them Nadinum and Labrania, two castles of Dalmatia, to the great griefe of the whole Senate: for granting whereof the common people ignorant of the secret decree of the Decem-viri, and supposing that *Badoerius* had giuen away that which he had no authoritie to giue, were so inraged against him at his returne, that there was much adoe to saue the guiltlesse man from exile, and his goods from confiscation, although the traitors were then knowne which had discouered the secrets of the state vnto the Turkes. These were *Mapheus Leonius* a Senatour, and *Constantinus Cobatius*, Secretarie to the colledge of the Decem-viri, and *Franciscus Valerius*, one of the Senatours base sonnes, the traiterous dispersers of the Turks money for the corruption of others: who with other his complices were for the same fact hanged in the market place; when as *Leonius* and *Cobatius* were a little before fled into France.

The most secret decree of the Venetian Senat made knowne to Solyman.

1540 *A peace concluded betwixt the Venetians and Solyman.*

The traitours which reuealed the secrets of the Venetian state to Solyman executed.

About

About the same time, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1540, died *Ioannes Sepusius* king of Hungarie, *Solymans* tributarie; after whose death ensued great wars in Hungarie, and the lamentable subuersion of that flourishing kingdome: for the better conceiuing whereof, it shal not be amisse with as much breuitie as the plainnesse of the historie will permit, to open the causes and grounds of the endlesse calamities which afterwards ensued, and neuer tooke end, vntill that warlike kingdome was to the great weakning of Christendome vtterly subuerted.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributarie king *Iohn*, had with like desire of peace and quietnesse, made betweene them a league; profitable to them both as their estates then stood, rather than honorable: yet most welcome to the Hungarians, who diuided into factions, and hauing followed some the one king and some the other, enioyed neuertheless their lands and goods by the benefit of this peace; the townes and castles being still kept by them in whose possession they then were at the making of the peace. In the capitulations of which peace, it was comprised, That *Ferdinand* should from thence forth call *Iohn* by the name of a king; whereas before he had both in his common talke and letters called him by the name of the Vayuod only: It was also expresly set downe in the same articles of peace, and subscribed by the hands of diuers of the nobility of Hungary, That if king *Iohn* should die, king *Ferdinand* should succeed him in the whole kingdome of Hungarie: Which condition was suppressed and kept very secret for feare of *Solyman*, who accounted of that kingdom as of his owne, gotten by law of armes, and bestowed vpon king *Iohn* as vpón his vassaile: neither was it to haue bin thought, that if he should haue knowne thereof (being of a hauty mind by nature, and not able to indure any iniurie) he would haue suffered that kingdome, got and defended with so great danger and cost, to be by the Will of an vnthankfull man, transferred vnto his enemie.

The secret confederation betwixt king Ferdinand & king Iohn reuealed.

This matter of so great importance, was (as it is reported) by *Hieronimus Lascus* embassador for king *Ferdinand* to Constantinople, reuealed vnto *Solyman* and the Bassaes, to bring King *Iohn* into hatred. So much did this noble gentleman, for his rare vertues otherwise greatly to haue bin commended, yeeld vnto his griefe, and desire of reuenge: when after the death of *Aloysius Gritti*, he fell from the friendship of king *Iohn*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to prison, and hardly afterwards inlarged, at the request of king *Sigismund*. Whereupon *Solyman* being exceedingly angry with king *Iohn*, called him vnthankfull churle, and turning himselfe about to *Lutzis Bassa* his brother in law, said, How vnworthily doe these two Christian kings weare their crownes vpon their faithlesse heads; who as shamefull deceiuers are not afraid, either for worldy shame or feare of God, for their profit to falsifie their faith? But king *Iohn* vnderstanding therof, & wonderfully fearing his own estate, did by good friends and rich Presents, pacifie *Solyman* againe, laying all the blame vpon king *Ferdinand*, as better able to beare it. Not long after, king *Iohn* hauing set his kingdome in good order, and strongly fortified the citie of Buda; being now far stricken in yeares, at the earnest request of most of the nobilitie of Hungarie, & other his best friends, married *Isabella* the daughter of *Sigismund* king of Polonia, a gracious ladie and of great spirit: which king *Sigismund*, had long before married *Barbara* king *Iohns* sister, after whose death he maried the lady *Bona Sforcia*, the daughter of *Ioannes Galeacius* duke of Millain, by whom he had this ladie *Isabella* whom king *Iohn* now married. Which marriage *Solyman* liked well of, hauing many times by way of talke before condemned the single life of the king: but king *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all, plainly foreseeing, that the Hungarians (if the king should chance to haue a son) would forthwith looke vpon him as their naturall king, and reiect himselfe as but a stranger.

King Iohn in his old yeares marrieth Isabel la king Sigismunds daughter.

The Queene with child.

This yong queene in short time (as he had feared) conceiued with child, and was now very big: when king *Iohn* was inforced to make an expedition in person himselfe against *Maylat* (famous for the death of *Aloysius Grittus*) and *Balas* both Gouernors of Transyluania: whereof *Maylat* not contented with the name of Vayuod or Gouernor, sought to make himselfe king. But *Solyman* detesting the impudent arrogancie of the faithlesse man, and hating him for the death of *Grittus*, and the Turks slaine with him, aduertised king *Iohn* of all the matter, wishing him to be more circumspect, whom hee trusted with the gouernment of so great and rich a countrey. So *Maylat* shamefully reiected of *Solyman*, and out of hope of a kingdome, fearing also to be thrust quite out of his gouernment by king *Iohn*, thought it best for his owne safety to raise vp all the prouince into rebellion, and to take part with king *Ferdinand*: which thing *Ferdinand* by his diuers agents secretly furthered to the vttermost. For these two Kings, although

though they were at peace the one with the other, and in words and shew made semblance of friendship, yet in heart they enuied and hated each other, as if they should presently haue waged war. At that same time king *Iohn* exacted of his subiects, and especially of them of Transiluania, a great sum of money, to pay the Turks his tribute, then two yeares behind: Which thing serued *Maylat* and his complices, as a fit occasion to raise the people into rebellion, persuading them, that there was no reason to pay vnto the Turke such a tribute, as would serue wel to wage ten years honorable war against him: so that by that, and such like persuasion, all the prouince was in an vprore, little differing from manifest rebellion. To appease these dangerous troubles thus arising, king *Iohn* sent certaine of his chiefe nobilitie and best captaines with a great power into Transyluania, following after himselfe in his chariot, not yet well recouered of his late sickn[illegible]. These noblemen entering in two places into Transyluania, and scouting vp and down the countrey, had in short time so vsed the matter, that what by force, what by policie, the tumult was well pacified, and diuers of the chiefe offenders wor[illegible] executed. *Maylat* the ambitious author of this sedition, not able to hold the field against t[illegible], and seeing himselfe beset on euery side with his enemies, retired himselfe with all his [illegible] into a towne called Fogaras, a place of great strength, which the kiugs power shortly after hardly besieged: the king himselfe then lying at Sibynium, the chiefe citie of Transyluania, about a mile distant from Fogaras, sicke of anague, wherinto he was ag[illegible] fallen through too much care and paines taken in trauelling in that hoat time of the yeare, the daies being then at the longest. Whilest he thus lay sicke at Sibynium, and his army fast by at the siege of Fogaras, newes was brought vnto him from the court, That the Queene his wife was deliuered of a faire yong son: which was no sooner bruted abroad, but the Hungarians as men ouerioyed, came flocking to the court where the king lay, discharging their pieces in triumph, with all other signes of ioy and mirth they could possibly deuise: the noble men came from the camp to reioice with the king, and all the armie was filled with gladnesse. And for the greater solemnitie of this so common a ioy, a royall feast was prepared, which the noble men would needs haue the king to honour with his presence, though he were thereto vnwilling, being as yet but a little recouered: howbeit yeelding to their importunitie, he suffered himselfe to be ouerruled and brought to the feast by them, which was vnto him the merriest and the last that euer he made: for willing to shew his inward ioy, and to content his nobilitie there present, he forgot himselfe, and eat and dranke more liberally than was for the health of his weak bodie: whereby the feauer which had but a little before left him, was againe renewed, in such sort, as that he well perceiued he could not long endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw fast on, he made his Will, appointing his yong son to be his heire, whom he committed to the tuition of *George*, Bishop of Veradium, and *Peter Vicche* a noble gentleman and his neere kinsman, vntill he came to age: requesting the rest of the noblemen to prefer his son in the succession of the kingdom, before a stranger; telling them, That *Solyman* would vndoubtedly take vpon him the protection both of the kingdome and of his sonne, if they would in time send embassadors vnto him with presents, and promise for his sonne, that he should raigne as his tributarie as he had done before: and so presently after died.

Queene Isabella deliuered of a sonne.

The death of king Iohn.

This king was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountifull, and in all his doings iust, of no fierce and rough disposition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a most ciuill behauiour, garnished with good letters, and thorowly schooled in the diuers chances of both fortunes, not measuring his actions by the strength of his power, but by the exact rule of descretion; for in time of businesse no man was more circumspect or vigilant than he, nor in time of recreation any man more courteous or pleasant. He vsed oftentimes to say, That the fauor and loue of valiant men gotten by bountie and courtesie, was the best treasures of a prince; for that courteous and thankfull men, did oftentimes in some one worthie piece of seruice, plentifully repay whatsoeuer had been bestowed vpon them: as for such as were vnthankfull, they did to their shame beare the testimonie of another mans vertue.

The honourable saying of king Iohn.

The kings death was kept secret vntill such time as the noble men had agreed with *Maylat* that he should take an oath of his faithfull allegeance to the king, and his son his lawful heire, and so still to inioy his former place & gouernment: which offer *Maylat* gladly accepted. Then calling together the counsel, it was decreed to send the same embassage to *Solyman*, which was appointed the old king yet liuing. So were presently dispatched away two most honourable

Embassadours, *Ioannes Exechius* Bishop of Quinque Ecclesiæ, and *Stephanus Verbetius* the Chancellor, a man of great yeres; carrying with them ten boles of pure gold curiously wrote, 600 of siluer, gilt and ingrauen; fortie pieces of purple silke and cloath of gold for Turkes gownes, and 50 li. of coyned gold to be paid in the name of two yeres tribute. Which Embassadors passing directly from Sybinium ouer Danubius into Seruia, and so trauelling thorow Thracia, came to Constantinople. In the meantime, the dead body of the king was with much heauinesse carried from Sybinium to Alba Regalis, most part of the armie following it, and there with great solemnitie buried. After this, the young child was christened and called *Stephen*, and there presently crowned with the antient Crowne of King *Stephen*, who first erected that kingdome, & without which the Hungarians neuer accounted their kings lawfully crowned. Yet the royal dignitie was by the common consent of the nobilitie giuen vnto the queen, with condition, that in all publique writings, the names of the sonne and of the mother should be ioyned, and the kings mony coyned with the same inscription: but the chiefest authoritie rested in *George* the Bishop, for he was Treasurer, and had at his command the castles & strong Holds: yet were the soldiers with their ensignes and furniture, at the deuotion of *Valentinus Thuracus*: In the middle betweene these two was placed *Peter Vicche* the kings kinseman, and by the old king appointed for one of the Tutors of his young sonne, suspected of neither part, honoured with the name of high Constable. But because the name of this *George* the Bishop was most famous in this wofull war which we are about to write, I thought it worth the labor to speake something of his nature and disposition, that it may be knowne to all posteritie, by what policie this war was managed, and how this flourishing kingdome by the madnes of the Hungarians came into the hands of the Turks.

Embassadours sent out of Hungarie to Solyman.

A young childe crowned king of Hungarie.

This *George* was born in Croatia, and brought vp from his youth in the house of king *Iohn*, where vertue and industrie neuer wanted relefe; when as hee vnaduisedly before had entred into the orders of a monasticall life, and wearie too late of the straitnesse thereof, had forsaken his profession. Wherfore being of a very pleasing nature, and stil following K. *Iohn* driuen out of his kingdome, and long liuing in exile, he woon such credit and commendation for his fidelitie, integritie, and readie counsel in the kings most doubtfull and dangerous affairs, that after *Sibacchus* that worthie Bishop was by the treacherie of *Aloysius Gritti* slain at Baxouia, he obtained the great Bishopricke of Veradium. After that, when he had strengthned his credit with great wealth, he always as a faithfull counsellor swayd and happily ruled both the court and kingdome, to the profit of the king. But he was of such a diuers and pliant nature, that performing in all actions all the parts of a most readie and excellent man, he seemed to be made of contrarie qualities, and borne to do any thing: for in saying of his priestly seruice, and performing the other ceremonies of the Christian religion, he shewed, or at least wise counterfeited such a contrition in his deuout countenance & speech, that a man would not haue thought it could possibly be the same man, who in the most weightie affairs both of war and peace, did most stourly shew the wonderfull force of a most pregnant and couragious wit: for he vsed to keepe whole companies of most excellent and readie horsmen, & would oftimes come forth into the battel armed: he would with often banquets & rewards win the hearts of the soldiers, and after the manner of great chieftains, maintain the honor and credit of his name, both with punishment and reward, as occasion required. Besides that, no man looked into the wealth of the kingdome more diligently than he, no man did to more profit let to farme the customes, old mines, feedings, and salt pits; no man could deuise finer means to raise mony, of all others the readiest way to credit: insomuch that K. *Iohn* would confesse himselfe to rain by the speciall industrie of that one man: And K. *Ferdinand* would many times say, That he enuied at K. *Iohn* for nothing he had, but for one hooded fellow, which was better for the defence of a kingdome than 1000 with helmets on their heads. Wherefore this Bishop hauing taken vpon him the tuition of the yong king, was still busied in all the weightie causes of the kingdome, both ciuil and martiall: he labored with great care, that the Hungarians should agree together in loue and vnity; and did what he might, prouidently to foresee, that no tumult or rebellion should any where arise, wherby the beginning of the kingdom, yet but weake, might any way be troubled. But king *Ferdinand* hearing of the death of king *Iohn*, thought it now a fit time for him to recouer again the kingdome of Hungarie, which he had so long desired. Whereunto he was also the more prickt forward by the persuasion of *Alexius Torso*, *Ferentius Gnarus*, *Petrus*

George bishop of Veradium, one of the kings tutors, a notable man.

The fugitive Hungarians perswade king Ferdinand to inuade Hungarie.

Bachio, Balthazar Pamphilus, Francus Capolnates, Ianus Castellamphus, and *Casparus Seredus*, all noblemen or gentlemen of great account in Hungarie, who in the former troubles followed the part of King *Ferdinand* against King *Iohn*, liued now in exile; these all with one consent told King *Ferdinand*, That now or neuer was the time when they might be againe restored vnto their countrey with honour, and that the war might that Autumne be dispatched, if he would make haſt, for as much as Winter comming fast on, would stay the comming of the Turkes, and such noblemen of Hungarie as tooke part with the Queene, did not verie well agree together, being vnwilling to be commanded by *George* the Apostata Monke, who (as they sayd) with great cunning and dissimulation seducing the Queene, and possessing the Treasure, enioyed all alone the power of a king: and that they, which for taking part with the right, had long liued as banished men, might now safely returne into their countrey, and be honourably preferred by the Queene; the Bishop (which all commanded) assuring them thereof, if they would returne vnto the young Kings Court, vnto their friends and antient Houses. [illegible] had (as they said) before giuen their faith vnto him, as to a vertuous & faithfull Prince, [illegible] they had preferred before one that was an Hungarian borne: wherefore he should doe both vnaduisedly and vnkindely, if letting slip the occasion presented, he should deferre to make warre. For, what could be more dishonorable to him so great a King, and also Emperor elect, than by shamefull delay to forsake them, being noble and valiant gentlemen, which had followed his part, and were then readie with strong troups of horsmen to do him the best seruice they could.

The German captaines in like manner perswaded him to take the matter in hand: who martiall men, expecting some one preferment, some another, in the armie, were desirous of honour, pay, and prey, the chiefe comforts of their trauell and perill.

Laschus disswadeth K. Ferdinand from setking for the Kingdome of Hungarie by force, perswading him rather to request it of curtesie, of Solyman.

But *Laschus* the Polonian (who in matters concerning peace and warre saw more than all they; as he that knew the dispositions of many Princes, and had seene the manners and fashions of diuers Nations, hauing trauelled thorow a great part of the world, and oftentimes beene Embassadour in the Courts of the greatest Princes) was of a contrarie opinion, and told King *Ferdinand* plainley, That the Kingdome of Hungarie was to be obtained rather by policie than by force, by craning it at *Solymans* hand, to hold it of him by tribute, as king *Iohn* had done.

For (said he) *that may by petition and faire entreatance be easily obtained of that heroicall Prince (who in his vaine humor oftentimes fondly seeketh after honour) which will neuer be got from him by force of armes. I thorowly know* (said he) Solymans *haughtie minde, and the proud disposition of his Bassa's: he contemneth wealth, and is cloyed with so many kingdomes: but they, vpon their insatiable couetousnesse and exceeding pride, desire nothing, nor persuade him to nothing more than war. Wherefore it is good to beware, that with the noyse of this sudden war you stir not vp the Turkes, which lie readie as it were expecting such an occasion, which cannot be withstood but by the united forces of the Christian Princes; which might by their generall consent be done, but that their eyes blinded with fatall darknesse cannot see it, and the vnity of the Christians now desperat, seemeth by God reserued to some better time: seeing that of late the Christian Kings are fallen off, and cannot agree vpon the long expected peace. Is not* (said he) *the French King deceiued of his hope; and as he would haue it thought, greatly dishonored with this late vnkindenesse? which renewing his old wound will reuiue in him an endlesse hatred. Away with all dissimulations, enemie to graue counsels, and let plaine truth, although vnpleasant vnto Princes eares, preuent flatterie. Vndoubtedly he being a Prince of no base courage (as it oftentimes falleth out with men thorowly grieued) will in his anger, as an enemie poure forth his gold, whereof he hath great store, to crosse the Emperours designes, to trouble the assemblies of the States of Germanie, to withdraw the mindes of the Princes, and with bountie to gaine them to himselfe: who enuying mightily at the Imperiall dignitie, woont to be indifferently giuen to them that best deserued the same, to be as it were inuested in the House of Austria, which in this perpetuall succession of so many Emperours, hath as it were got aright by long custome. Wherefore they will secretly conspire together, and as notable lingerers by nature, will either giue no helpe at all, or else too late; at such time as the Turks garrisons shall come flying to the succor of the yong king. Neither is there any cause why any man should thinke that the gouernors of the Turks countries neere at hand, will for the approch of Winter be slacke in this cause: for they vndoubtedly, making an honest & honorable shew, wil take vpon them to defend the fatherlesse child and widow;*

widow; of purpose to make an entrance to the secret desire they haue to gaine the kingdom to themselues: for if you shall once ioyne with them in battell, if the best happen, and fortune fauour our first attempts, yet you shall haue war without end, with such an enemie, which will bring with him wealth that will neuer be spent, power not to be ouercome, and courageous soldiers sworne to our destruction: So wil it come to passe, and I pray God I be a false Prophet, that in seeking for the kingdome of Hungarie by warre, you shall at length be glad to fight for Austria it selfe, and your owne kingdome also.

Laschus sent embassador frō K. Ferdinand to Solyman.

This speech so moued king *Ferdinand*, that although he purposed to go on with the warre, yet he thought it good by an honorable embassage to proue *Solymans* mind and purpose also: which to do, no man was thought fitter than *Laschus* himselfe, authour of that counsell, being vnto him verie well knowne, and familiarly acquainted with all the great Bassa's of the court. Which seruice *Laschus* refused not, but being furnished with all things needfull for such an embassage, departed from Vienna towards Constantinople.

K. *Ferdinand* sendeth an Embassador to the Queene, to demand of her the Kingdome of Hungarie.

Yet for all that, King *Ferdinand* persisting in his former purpose, made withall preparation for wars, trusting vpon the aid of the Emperor his brother, and the comming ouer of the Hungarians, who euer thought it cause honest enough for them to reuolt, if it so stood with their present profit. But before he would enter into open wars, he sent *Nicholas* Countie of Salma to the queen, to shew her the instruments of the last league betwixt the king her late husband and him, & to exhort her to yeeld vp the kingdom, which by the late league was another mans right; and not by delaying of the matter, to hurt both her selfe and her son: for K. *Ferdinand* offered to giue vnto the childe the prouince of Sepusia, as was before agreed betwixt the two kings expresly in the league; and to the queen a greater reuenue, and whatsoeuer else she had in dowrie. But if she would forget that lawfull league, he threatned, that neither the Emperor *Charles* his brother, nor he, wanted force wherewith to recouer by strong hand the kingdom, annexed to the house of Austria both by antient right & the new consent of most of the Hungarian nobilitie. The countie of Salma being receiued at Buda, hardly obtained to be admitted to the presence of the queen: for *George* the Bishop, and *Vicche*, mistrusting her womanlike courage, said, she was not to be spoken withall, by reason she was so full of heauinesse and sorrow: and that they were of authoritie, as the kings tutors, & readie to giue him both audience and answer. Which opinion of her weaknesse and want of iudgement, the queen, being a woman of an heroicall and royall spirit, tooke as tending so much to her disgrace, that she said she would kill her selfe, if the embassadors were not permitted to come into her chamber (which was a darke roome hanged with black, as the manner is:) and she sitting vpon a low pallet negligently attyred, as one that had no care of her selfe, wan and pale coloured, but as then shedding no teares, yet with voice and counteance so heauie, as might shew her teares to be rather dried vp with long mourning, than that her sorrow was any thing abated: for the desire of hearing rule had now so possessed her minde, that she contemned all the dangers of imminent war, and for defence of her soueraignetie resolued with her selfe to call in the Turks. After the countie admitted to her presence, had with due reuerence and great protestation deliuered his message, she demurely answered, That such was the fortune of her sex and yeares, that being bereft of the king her husband, and perplexed with the dayly griefs both of bodie and minde, she could neither take nor giue counsell, but purposed in so weightie a cause to vse the aduice of *Sigismund* her father, whose integritie and justice was such, as king *Ferdinand* need no other Iudge or arbitrator to end that controuersie: Wherefore she requested a conuenient time and space wherein shee might aske counsell of her father; to whose iust iudgement shee said shee would stand, as she thought the nobilitie of Hungarie would also. Which small time of delay if it should be denied, and that they would needs forthwith make war vpon her; she said, that the Emperor and king *Ferdinand* his brother should surely win no great honour, if they should come to oppugne her a widow consumed with teares, and a young child yet crying in his cradle. The Countie so sent away, when hee was returned to king *Ferdinand*, told him, That the queen was altogether in the power of the Bishop, and could neither say nor doe any thing, but what she had before receiued from him: for he onely (as he said) commanded all; as for the rest of the nobilitie, they shared amongst them the honors and preferments of the realme, and as men desirous of credit and gaine, had rather bee the gouernours of the young Prince, than the seruants and waiters of a great and mightie forreine king: all which, he said he had both

The Queens answer to the embassador.

heard

heard and seen. Wherefore all the hope was in war, wherein such speed was to be vsed, as that the Queen with her sonne vnprouided, and expecting the euent of their embassage from Constantinople, might be driuen out of Buda before they could take vp arms, or well aduise themselues what to do: and that the Queene sought delay but to make her selfe the stronger, and in the meane time to call in the Turke, and so to make a more dangerous war. Wherefore if euer he purposed to raigne in Hungarie, he should forthwith cast off all other cogitations, and make readie his forces with all speed possible.

King Ferdinand inuadeth Hungarie.

Hereupon K. *Ferdinand* furnished with mony from *Charles* the Emperor, without delay raised a great armie, which he sent downe the riuer Danubius to Strigonium, which city had all the raign of king *Iohn*, continued faithfull to king *Ferdinand*. The Generall of his armie was *Leonardus Velsius* a nobleman of Rhetia: who for many causes, thought it expedient first [illegible] the way to Buda, for ai[illegible] the middle of the way stood Vicegrade, with a good[illegible] vpon the top of an hill by the riuer; which towne (but not the castle) *Velsius* after ni[illegible] siege tooke, with the losse of about 200 of his men, all the garrison souldiers therein b[illegible] ther slain or taken prisoners, with *Valentinus Listeratus* their captaine. From Vicegrade he passed ouer the riuer Danubius to Pesth, which he took, being forsaken of the enemie. Whith like successe he tooke the citie of Vacia without losse: and remouing thence, and crossing again the riuer with his fleet, came and incamped before Buda, so to terrifie the citizens, and to discouer as far as he could the purpose of the queen. Where *Perenus*, *Stephanus Rascaius*, and *Franciscus Francopanes* bishop of Agria, all men of great nobilitie amongst the Hungarians, reuolted from the queene to king *Ferdinand*: the Bishop was reputed for a man of great integritie, and vpon meere conscience to haue gon ouer to *Ferdinand*; yet was he by letters from *George* the kings tutor, challenged to haue reuolted, in hope by means of *Charles* the Emperor to be made a cardinall. *Velsius* lay with his armie at the hot baths, about a mile and a halfe from the citie, as if he would rather besiege it than assault it. The Germans lying there, did fetch in bootie round about the country; which was taken in euill part by the Hungarians on their side, who seeing their own cattell or their friends driuen away, the villages burnt, and the poore husbandmen bound & taken prisoners, fel together by the ears oftentimes with the Germans. On the other side they of Buda sending out their troups of horsmen, skirmisht with the Germans if they did but stir out of the campe, and well defended the villages from the iniurie of the enemie: for *Valentinus Thurrascus* Generall of the queens power, had taken into the citie a wonderful number of light horsemen. Whilest the armie lay thus incamped, it fortuned that *Balthazar Pamphilus* a noble Hungarian, straying out of the campe euen vnto the gates of Buda, desired the warders at the gate to giue him leaue to talke with *Valentinus* their Generall, for that he desired to see his old friend, and to conferre with him of certaine matters concerning the good of the common state. Which thing being granted by the Generall, he was immediatly receiued into the citie with his troupe of horsemen. Shortly after returning again into the campe, he reported how he had beene entertained by his old acquaintance in the citie: where viewing the garrison, the great artillerie, and fortification of the citie, he perceiued it was not to be taken without a greater power, and in a more seasonable time of the yeare. Which thing so mooued *Velsius*, by nature suspitious, and doubtfull of the fidelitie of a stranger, that he commanded him in anger to void the campe, because he had without his leaue gone into the city, and vpon his own priuat insolencie had conference with the enemie, and by amplifying their strength, to haue discouraged the armie, by putting them out of hope of victorie. Wherefore *Velsius* neuer attempting to assault the citie, returned again to Vicegrade to besiege the higher castle (wherein the antient crowne of king *Stephen*, wherewith the Hungarian kings were euer after him crowned, was kept) which castle he also took, with something lesse losse than he had done the lower towne. Not long after, he marched with his armie to Alba Regalis, the citie where the Hungarian Kings were vsually crowned and buried; which by the meanes of *Perenus* was deliuered vnto him, and a garrison put into it for king *Ferdinand*. These things thus done, *Velsius* retyred again to Strigonium; which hee did the rather, because the Germanes and Hungarians, two rough Nations, could by no meanes agree together, in so much as that *Velsius* the Generall in parting them was wounded in the th[illegible] and *Perenus* hurt with a stone: besid[illegible]s that, Winter was now come farre on, and the [illegible]iours cried out for pay. For which causes, *Velsius* (being also sicke of the Stone) bill[illegible]s Souldiours for that Winter about

Vicegrade taken.

Pesth and Vacia taken.

Buda besieged.

K. Ferdinands armie departs from Buda.

Alba Regalis yeelded to king Ferdinand.

about the countrey. Yet before that, he new fortified Pesth, and left therein a garrison; because it was reported, that the Turkes vpon their frontiers were making preparation to come to aid them of Buda.

At such time as king *Ferdinand* was leuying his forces for the inuasion of Hungarie, the queene by the counsell of the bishop had in good time craued aid of the Turks lieutenants in the countries bordering vpon Hungarie, especially of *Vstref* gouernor of Bosna (a verie aged man, and of great honor, who had married one of the daughters of *Baiazet* the old Emperour) as also of *Mahometes* gouernour of Belgrade, and *Amurathes* who had the charge of the frontiers of Dalmatia; from whom she receiued one answer, That they might in no case without expresse commandement from *Solyman* depart from the places committed to their charge. Besides that, *Mahometes* was by rewards ouercome by *Lascus*, as he passed by Belgrade to Constantinople, not to stir or aid the Queene. Wherefore she, reiected by these great captains, certified *Solyman* by her Embassadours, what danger her selfe, her sonne, and the kingdome was in, crauing his speedie aid. *Laschus* was not yet come to Constantinople, being falne sicke by the way, but had sent before, *Ptolomeus* his Physitian to the great Bassa's, and especially to *Lutzis*, his old acquaintance, vpon whom he had bestowed great gifts, and was in hope by him to haue obtained what he desired: but all in vain; for *Solyman* who thought it much for his honour to defend his owne right, and that he had before giuen vnto king *Iohn*; thought also that it would redound both to his great profit and glorie, if he should as it were vpon charity take vpon him the protection of the widow and fatherlesse childe, in their so great distresse & danger. Wherfore calling vnto him the Embassadors, the three great Bassa's standing by, he said, That he had of his meere bountie before giuen the kingdome of Hungarie vnto King *Iohn*, to discend to his posteritie, so long as they should retaine the kinde remembrance of so great a benefit; wherefore to declare his constancie, inseperable from his bountie, he said he would take such a course in the matter, as that the Germans his enemies should not long reioyce of the wars they had begun. And in token of friendship, and that he had taken vpon him the protection of the yong King, he caused to be deliuered vnto the Embassadours a royall robe of purple and gold, a buckler with the bosse most curiously wrought, a horsemans Mace with a handle of gold, and a scimiter with the scabberd richly set with stones; and afterwards wrot effectuall to *Vstref* and *Mahometes* his lieutenants, That they should without delay aid the queen, and not to make excuse because it was Winter; threatning them, that if shee tooke any harme through their default and negligence, it should cost them their heads. The queens embassadors glad of their good dispatch, were scarce departed from the Turks court, when *Lascus* came to Constantinople; and vnderstanding by his physition the successe of the Hungarian Embassadors, proceeded for all that in his businesse, and deliuered his message, and vpon reasonable conditions requested the kingdome for King *Ferdinand*. But when he in speaking had oftentimes made mention of *Charles* the Emperour, as if he would with all the power of Germanie aid his brother; *Solyman* was so mooued therewith, that hee was presently taken away and committed to prison: the great Bassa's, but especially *Rustan*, *Solymans* son in law, a proud and furious young man, chiding him and shaking him vp as worthie of death, for offending with his liberall speech the maiestie of so curteous a Prince, and as it were mocking the king of kings; requiring friendship, when in the mean time his master most impudently made wars in Hungarie.

The Queen craueth aid of Solyman against Ferdinand.

Solyman promiseth to protect the Queene and her son, against Ferdinand, and sends presentis to the yong king.

Lasebus K. Ferdinand his Embassador imprisoned by Solyman.

Vstref and *Mahometes* the Bassa's aforesaid, hauing receiued such strait commandment from *Solyman*, assembled their dispersed souldiers, and by shipping brought them down the riuers Saus and Dranus, into Danubius: for it is a hard matter to performe any great thing by wars in Hungarie without the helpe of a great fleet, for conueying of the great ordnance, victuall, and other such necessaries of the armie, from one side of the great riuers to the other, as occasion requireth: but as then being the midst of Winter, and the North wind blowing hard, Danubius was so frozen on both sides, that the middle of the riuer was scarce open: so that the Turks not able to passe for the extremitie of the weather, not daring to return for the strait command of *Solyman*, were inforced in their tents there to abide the hardnesse of Winter, to shew their readinesse. It is almost incredible to be spoken, with what patience and resolution the souldiers endured all the extremities of the time, in so bare a place, their horses, which of all other things they hold most deere, staruing for cold and want of meat.

The

1541 The Spring at length comming on, right welcome both to the Turks and the Queen; *Ma-* G
The Queen ioyneth her Forces with the Turks, and burneth Vacia. *hometes* with his Turks and wilde Illyrians, and *Vſtref* with his ſouldiers of Boſna, entred into Hungarie, with whom *Valentinus* Generall of the Queenes forces, ioyned alſo, with an army of Hungarians brought from Buda. And the Queene to further the matter, ſent Preſents to the Turks Generals, victualled the campe, and furniſhed them with great ordnance for the beſieging of ſuch cities as were holden by King *Ferdinand* her enemie. They paſſing ouer Danubius, tooke the citie of Vacia (being but badly defended for king *Ferdinand*) and putting many to the ſword, after the manner of their barbarous crueltie, burnt the citie. From thence
Peſth in vaine beſieged by the Turks. they remoued to Peſth, which was ſo valiantly defended by *Barcocius* and *Fotiſcus*, the one a Hungarian captain, the other a German, that the Turks diſpairing of the winning of the citie, H
and not well relieued with victuall by the Queene then, fearing future want, paſſed again ouer Danubius, and faithfully reſtoring the great ordnance without any more doing, returned again into their owne countries: but in their retyring, the Hungarians by the leading of *Petrus Gnarus*, ſlew many of them, amongſt whom was one *Achomates* one of their beſt and valiantſt captains.

King *Ferdinand* aduertiſed of the Turks departure, returned again to his old hope of recouering the kingdome: perſuading the Emperor his brother, not to giue ouer the war ſo fortunatly begun, eſpecially now that the Turks hauing forſaken the queen, were departed & gon. Wherefore the new forces lately before raiſed in Auſtria, Bohemia, Sileſia, and Morauia, for
King Ferdinand ſendeth the Lo. William Rogendorffe with an armie into Hungarie. the new ſupply of *Velſius* his army, were preſently ſent into Hungary, vnder the leading of the Lord *William Rogendorff* ſteward of the kings houſe, who was then gon as far as Poſſonium to I
haue relieued them of Peſth; vnto whom, as a more antient and honorable Generall, *Velſius* gaue place, He, furniſhed with theſe new ſupplies, three moneths victuals, and great Artillerie from Vienna, ioining with the old army, marched directly to Buda, & beſieged it. Ouer againſt
Buda beſieged. the ſtately caſtle of Buda, wherein the queene lay, was a great hill called S. *Gerrards* mount, ſo high, that the middle thereof was equall with the higheſt place of the caſtle, and from the top thereof they might looke into the ſtreets of the citie, betwixt which hill and the caſtle was a great valley and a deepe ditch. Vpon this hill, *Rogendorff* to beat the caſtle, and to terrifie the queen, planted his batterie, and ſo ſhooke a new built tower thereof, that it was thought that it would haue ſuddenly fallen; which if it had, yet was it ſuppoſed a dangerous matter to haue aſſaulted it, becauſe it was walled about with a treble wall. But the ſumptuous turrets and the K
princely galleries of the kings palace in the caſtle, which euery man ſaw *Rogendorff* might haue beaten down with his great ordnance, he ſpared: but whether of himſelf, or elſe commanded
Rogendorffe threatens the Queene. by the king (as loath to deſtroy ſo goodly buildings, as could not without great charges be in long time again repaired) was vncertain. Wherfore by diuers heraulds ſent vnto the queen, he wiſhed her to breake in ſunder thoſe gyues & fetters wherin the Biſhop vnder colour of protection, had faſt bound her ſon and her, and to accept of K. *Ferdinands* offer, who was ready to beſtow vpon her a goodly ſeigniory, wherein ſhe might moſt honorably liue in quiet, & bring vp her ſon in ſafetie. Which thing if ſhe, as a ſimple woman, and ignorant of her owne danger,
The Biſhop his ſcornful anſwer to Rogendorff. ſhould refuſe, and obſtinatly contemne the perill wherein ſhe ſtood, he would forthwith in moſt terrible manner beat downe the palace about her eares. Whereunto the Biſhop in the L
Queens behalfe anſwered, That ſhe was not ſuch a foole to exchange the kingdom of Hungary for the principalitie of Sepuſia: and that ſhee thought *Rogendorff* a verie doting and mad old man, who being once before well beaten in thoſe ditches, came now againe like a foole to receiue his vtter deſtruction in full guerdon of his raſh follie: wherefore he ſhould ceaſe to terrifie valiant men, fighting with diſcretion for their naturall king and countty, againſt his drunken companie, for that they were nothing troubled with the noiſe of his great ſhot: but yet he ſaid, that he would aboue all the reſt, by way of priuat courteſie, gently requeſt *Rogendorff* to diſcharge his pieces with a little leſſe noiſe, becauſe he had a ſow at home great with pigges, which terrified with the thundring of his guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the griefe of his gueſts. For the biſhop was of a ſharpe & taunting ſpirit, and ſuch a contemner M
of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the kings orchards burning certain houſes, he in deriſion cauſed two hogs to be hanged vpon the ſame gallows with them. Not long after, *Rogendorff* remoued his campe from S. *Gerrards* mount, to a more conuenient place for the battering of the citie, called the Iewes Graues, neere vnto the gate called the Iewes gate.

Which

A Which thing the Biſhop ſeeing, after his quipping manner requeſted of *Rogendorff* to pardon him, in that he had of late wrongully called him a doting old man; for that in remooving his camp into a more commodious place, he ſeemed to be a proper wiſe man and of good diſcretion, now that he had pitched his tents in a moſt fit place amongſt the dead, both for himſelfe being an old man and almoſt worne with vaine labour; and for his armie there condemned to die with him. *Rogendorff* thus encamped, begun in two places to batter the wals: *Perenus* and the Hungarians with the Bohemians neere vnto the gate called Sabatina in one place, and he himſelfe with the Germans betwixt the Iewes gate and the caſtle in another: which was don with ſuch violence, that a great part of the wall was beaten downe; and another part thereof ouercharged with earth, which the defendants had caſt vp on the inner ſide for the ſtrength-
B ning thereof, was at the ſame time borne quite out and ſo fell downe, to the wonderfull diſ- *A great breach in the wals of Buda.*
maying of all that were in the citie. Which faire opportunitie to haue taken the citie, *Rogendorff* let ſlip, either not well aware thereof by reaſon of the great ſmoke of the artillerie on both ſides, and the duſt ariſing with the fall of the wall which couered all; or els according to his naturall diſpoſition, doing all things leaſurely and ſuſpitiouſly; ſo that a little delay bereft him of the preſent apprehenſion of ſo ſudden a reſolution: and the Germans, vſed more to ſtanding battels than to aſſault, were not to be ſo eaſily brought on to aſſault the breach vpon the ſudden, as were the Spaniards, Italians, or French. The wal was opened in that place almoſt two hundred paces in length, yet ſtanding almoſt the height of a man, which might eaſily haue beene ſcaled with ſhort ladders; but night was comming now faſt on, wherein the Germans
C would not willingly attempt any dangerous matter: ſo that the aſſault was deferred vntil the next morning. Whereas they of Buda in the meane time taking the aduantage of the enemies delay, with incredible diligence & labor in that night raiſed vp a new rampier inſtead of the wall that was fallen, euery man without exception putting his hand to the worke. In the morning the Germans comming to the breach, gaue ſuch a fierce aſſault vnto the new made rampier, that *Otho Fotiſcus* deſperatly entred into a ſhattered houſe, which ioyned vnto the wall; and certaine other companies, one ſouldier helping vp another, had almoſt recouered the top of the rampier, and were there readie to haue ſet vp their enſignes: when they of Buda with *The Germans aſſaulting the breach, are with loſſe repulſed.*
wonderfull conſtancie and reſolution withſtood the aſſailants, *George* the Biſhop encouraging them, and fighting amongſt them; who hauing laid aſide his hood, was now to be ſeen with his
D helmet on his head, running too & fro as need required all alongſt the rampier. At length the Germans ſeeing themſelues to ſtriue in vaine againſt reſolute men, were inforced to retire. In this aſſault *Rogendorff* loſt aboue 800 men. *Perenus* was alſo in like maner, but with leſſe loſſe, repulſed at the other breach he had made at the gate Sabatina. After that, *Rogendorff* attempted by vndermining to haue taken the city, but was by countermines diſappointed of his purpoſe. Yet for all this, they in the citie began to feele the want of many things, ſo that it ſeemed they were not able to indure any longer ſiege; the common people pinched with hunger, crying openly out in mutinous ſort, that it was time to yeeld and make an end of thoſe common miſeries: but ſuch was the authoritie of the Biſhop, with his prouident foreſight of all
E vrgent euents, that once ſhewing himſelfe in the market place as if he would haue preached, he could turne the peeuiſh minded people which way he pleaſed.

After all this, it miſſed but a little, but that this citie which could not by enemies force be woon, had by ſhamefull treaſon bin loſt: there was at that time in Buda one *Bornemiſſa* a lawyer, who had in former time been Maior of the citie: this *Bornemiſſa* exceedingly hated the *Bornemiſſa practiſeth to betray the city of Buda.*
Biſhop for taking part with a banckerout Iew againſt him, and being full of malice, and deſirous of reuenge, promiſed to *Renalius* (Martial in the enemies camp) to deliuer to him blinde poſtern in S. *Maries* churchyard, wherby he might enter the citie: which gate ſerued the citiſens in time of peace to go thorow to the riuer. *Rogendorff* the General made acquainted with the matter, ſo liked thereof, that he in himſelfe thought it not good, in a matter of ſo great importance, to vſe at al the ſeruice of the Hungarians: Quite contrarie to that *Bornemiſſa* had re-
F queſted of *Renalius*, who deſirous to haue the matter brought to paſſe without the ſlaughter of ſo many guiltleſſe people as was by him to be betraied, would haue had it altogether performed by the Hungarians, who he was in good hope would ſhew mercie vnto their countrymen and kinſmen, and vſe their victorie with more moderation than the Germanes, who prouoked with many deſpights, and comming in by night, were like enough to make great

effuſion

effusion of bloud. But *Rogendorff* after the manner of his nation, to be counted politicke, vsing G
to keepe promise with no man, and hoping by excluding the Hungarians, to haue all the glory
of the conceiued victorie wholly to himselfe; made as if he would haue vsed only the Hun-
garians, and glozed with *Revalius*, whose son for the more assurance he tooke as pledge: For
against the appointed houre, which was about midnight, hauing before giuen straight charge
that no man should stir in the camp, he sent foure select companies of Germans with great si-
lence vnto the posterne; at which time his son *Condi* stood with a strong troupe of horsemen,
readie to haue entred, at such time as the Germans (receiued into the city) should breake open
the great gate, as was before agreed. Neither did *Bornemissa* faile to performe what he had as
Bornemissa receiueth in the Germans by a posterne, supposing them to haue bin Hungarians.
a traitor promised: but opening the posterne we spake of, had with great silence receiued in H
most part of those Germ[illegible]panies. But when he still asked softly of them as they came in,
for *Revalius*, and heard them answere nothing but in the German language; although hee was
otherwise a man of a bold spirit, yet then surprised with a sudden feare (as it oftentime
ceth in such actions to men deceiued of their expectation) he stood as a man amased tha[illegible]
not what to do, and forgot to conduct the Germans: who altogether vnacquainted with the
citie, knew not which way first to go; & stealing on softly in the darke, went on with no great
courage, for feare of treason, still asking of them that followed, for him that should direct
them. The Germans could not goe so closely, but that they were by the clattering of their ar-
The Germanes not conducted, are discouered and discomfited
mor and the light of their matches, descried by the watch; who asking for the word, and they
not giuing it, presently raised an alarme; but now all too late, the citie being as good as halfe I
taken, had the Germans well conducted, resolutely gone on with the matter so well begun;
but they ignorant of the way, & now descried & chased with their own feare, ran back again
to the postern, in such hast, that one of them miserably wrong another, in striuing who should
get out first: and their passage out much letted by the pikes and weapons which they which
fled first had cast crosse the way to run the lighter into the campe. The first that set vpon the
Germans was *Bacianus*, who had that night the charge of the watch; and after him *Vicche*, who
kept the court of guard in the market place; & hearing the alarme, came thither with a strong
companie both of horsemen and footmen. Many of the most valiantest Germans, who com-
ming in first, were in flight become last, were slaine or taken, and amongst them many of *Borne-*
missa his familiars and friends (as for himselfe, he was got out among the formost) from whom K
the Bishop by exquisit torture wrong out the whole plot of the treason, and afterwards cau-
sed them to be seuerally executed to the terror of others. *Revalius* in the mean time complai-
ning in the camp, That he was deceiued by the Generall: and *Bornemissa* wofully lamenting,
That hauing worthily got the name of an infamous traitor, he had therby lost all his substance
and vndone his friends and kindred. The Generall *Rogendorff* (condemned euen of the com-
mon soldiers, for his foolish arrogancie and pride) was hardly spoken of, thorow all the camp,
as he that by two much insolencie had ouerthrowne the fairest occasion of a most goodly vi-
ctorie: wherefore from that time he attempted no great matter, but set himselfe downe by
long siege to tame his enemies, and so to win the citie.

Solyman vnderstanding of the Queenes distres in Hungarie, and with what desire *Ferdinand*
(supported by the Emperor his brother) thirsted after that kingdom; consulted with his Bas- L
saes, of the purposes and power of his enemies, both there and elsewhere: and politickly re-
solued at one time, with his diuided forces, to withstand their attempts in diuers places, and
Solyman at one time maintaineth warre in diuers places of the world far distant.
those far distant one from another, whereby the greatnesse of his power is well to be perceiued. First, he sent *Solyman Bassa* an eunuch to Babylon, to defend the countrey of Mesopota-
mia, and the frontiers of his Empire alongst the Riuer Tygris, against *Tamas* the Persian
King: *Mahometes* another of his great Bassaes, hee sent into Hungarie to relieue the besie-
ged Queene: and after him, *Vsref Bassa*, which was the fourth of his chiefe Bassaes, with
another armie to stay at Belgrade, in readinesse to aid the other Bassa sent before him, as occa-
sion should require, if hee should find his enemies too strong. Vnto *Barbarussa* hee commit-
ted his nauie, for the defence of Græcia and Epirus against *Andrea*, who but a little before ai- M
ded by the gallies of Sicilia and Naples, had driuen the Turkes and Moores (which tooke
part with the Turks) out of Clupea, Neapolis, Adrumentum, Vsspina, Tapsus, and all alongst
that coast of Affricke which the Moores call Mahomedia, except the Citie of Leptis, and
caused those Cities to submit themselues to the gouernement of *Muleasses* King of Tunes.

These

A These cities are at this day called Calabia, Susa, Mahometa, Monasterim, Sfaxia, and Africa.
And because *Solyman* vnderstood, that *Maylat* the Vayuod of Transiluania took part with king
Ferdinand, he sent against him *Achomates* Gouernour of Nicopolis, and commanded *Peter* of
Moldauia, Prince of Valachia, to aid him: who afterwards accordingly came vnto him with
30000 horsemen. He himselfe also doubting the purposes of the Christian princes, and es-
pecially of *Charles* the Emperour, more than hee had need, came to Hadrianople, and in the
countries thereabouts raised a third armie, to aid the two Bassaes sent before into Hungarie;
keeping with him his sonne in law *Rustan*, whom he had made one of the foure great Bassaes
of his Counsell, hauing thrust out *Lutsibeius*, whom the Turks call *Lutzis*, his brother in law,
and exiled him into Macedonia for euill entreating and striking his wife, which was *Solymans*
B sister, as is before said, but was at this time done.

Mahometes the Bassa desirous to doe his great Master the best seruice he could, entred into *Mahometes Bassa commeth with the Turks army to relieue Buda.*
Hungarie with his armie about the middle of June in the yeare 1541, taking with him in his
way the other *Mahometes* Gouernor of Belgrade, who gaue the shamefull ouerthrow vnto the
Christians at Exek; ioyning also with him the power of Bosna, now commanded by *Pliamas*
the Persian, for that *Vsref* the old Bassa was lately dead. The captaines of the Christian armie
hearing of the comming of the Turks, entred into counsell, Whether they should continue the
siege, or els go and meet them by the way and giue them battel. But the period of the Hunga-
rian kingdome drawing fast on, and the inuitable Destinie thereof so requiring; the opinion
of *Rogendorff* preuailed against the rest for the continuing of the siege, hee seeming more wil-
C ling to die than to crosse ouer the riuer to Pesth, or to retire to Vicegrade or Strigonium, as
diuers would haue persuaded him: wherfore he remoued from the place where he lay before,
and encamped his army on the further side of the city, at the foot of S. *Gerrards* mount, where *The order of king Ferdinands armies*
the hill lying between Buda and the campe, and departing from the riuer, loaueth a faire plain
toward the East; of purpose that the Turks (which he knew would not go farre from the riuer
and their fleet) should be enforced dangerously to passe by the mouth of his great ordnance,
which he had aptly placed vpon the front of his trenches: for such was the nature of the place,
that the campe lay defended on the right hand with the steepe hill, on the left hand with the
riuer, and behind toward the citie with a strong bulwarke. Vpon the right hand, vpon a little
rising ground, he placed the lesser campe; wherein were the Hungarians which fauoured king
D *Ferdinand*, and then followed his ensignes. He made also a bridge from his campe into a little
Iland which lay in the riuer, and with a fort wel planted with ordnance commanded both the
riuer and the plaine, so to beat the enemies fleet comming vp the riuer, and themselues also
as they should march alongst the plaine. He was about also to haue made a bridge of lighters
and boats quite ouer the riuer, from his campe to Pesth, and in this order to expect the com-
ming of new supplies from king *Ferdinand*, and to repell the enemie who was comming, and
with long siege to wearie them in Buda: for there was such store both of victuall & all other
warlike prouision in Pesth, as would well haue sufficed his armie vntill Winter had bin spent.
As soon as the Turks were come nigh the city, *Valentinus* as an embassador from the queene,
met them with two thousand horse, and fully instructed both the *Mahomets*, what the Chri- *The Bassa entrencheth his armie within halfe a mile of the kings army.*
E stians did; what strength they were of, and how they might most conueniently encampe their
army. Wherfore the Bassa marching on boldly forward, came within halfe a mile of the Chri-
stian campe, where he quickly intrenched himselfe round with a strong trench, filling a great
part of the plaine with his tents. But the other *Mahometes*, Gouernor of Belgrade, a most po-
liticke captaine, tooke the higher ground towards the rising of the hill, neerer vnto the tents
of the Hungarians than of the Germans. Vnto these two armies thus encamped, belonged al-
so two fleets; the Christian fleet consisted of foure and twenty galleots, about fourscore small
pinnaces, and little lesse than 100 ships of burden and other great boats: whereas the Turkes
fleet was not thought to be past halfe so great. Neere vnto the little Iland, ioyned as we haue
before said by a bridge to the Christian campe, beneath in the riuer had the Turks taken ano-
F ther Iland called Cepellia, ouer against their owne campe; where casting vp a great bulwark
in the vppermost end thereof, and planting it with great ordnance, they from thence shot at
the fort which the Christians held in the little Iland, and at their vessels passing too and fro
in the riuer, as the Christians did at them likewise. This Iland of Cepellia lyeth somewhat
more than 40 miles in length in the riuer Danubius, full of country villages, so commodiou-

sly,

fly, that if Regendorff had at the first taken it and fortified it, before the comming of the Turks, as the Hungarians perſuaded him to haue done, the Turks could by no means haue incamped in the plaine, but muſt needs haue forſaken their fleet, fetching a great compaſſe about more toward the Weſt, further off from the riuer: which would haue turned to the Turks great diſ. aduantage. *But no man is ſo wiſe as to foreſee all things, when as the very euill ſucceſſe, be the plot never ſo well laied, ſhall of it ſelfe, beſide the loſſe, leaue vnto the vnfortunat man the note of the want of prouident foreſight and diſcretion.* But *Regendorff* was not willing to diuide his forces, vntill he had ſome new ſupplie from K. *Ferdinand*. Whileſt the armies lay thus neere one to the other, there were ſome light skirmiſhes made euery day, either by the horſemen or the footmen, & ſometime one braue man challenging forth another hand to hand, whom he thought by his armor or ſome other ſigne of his worth, to be like to himſelf: which was ſo pleaſant a fight to behold, that both the armies vpon a military courteſie, as if it had bin ſo agreed, would many times for certain houres forbeare to ſhoot any ſhot, of purpoſe to ſee thoſe gallants, with true proweſſe to proue their valor and manhood one vpon another, with their ſpeares and ſwords only. In which light skirmiſhes the German horſmen were often times put to the worſt; who mounted vpon great lieauie horſes, fitter for a ſet battell, could neither ſo readily charge the enemie, nor purſue him in his flight, as could the Turks with their nimble & ready light horſes, ſo well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about eaſily fruſtrat the firſt charge of the heauy horſmen, & by & by come vpon them again with a freſh charge, & ſo often retire & come on again, vntil they had either wearied or ouerthrown them. But the Hungarians acquainted with that maner of fight as well as they, and alſo better armed, did eaſily incounter the Turks, and foile them, although they were in number moe.

Skirmiſhes betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

Rayſchachius for ſorrow of his ſonne ſlaine by the Turks, ſuddenly dieth.

There was amongſt the Germane captaines a noble man called *Eckius Rayſchachius*, whoſe ſonne (a valiant young gentleman) being got out of the armie without his fathers knowledge, bare himſelfe ſo gallantly in fight againſt the enemy in the ſight of his father & of the army, that he was highly commended of all men, and eſpecially of his father, who knew him not at all; yet before he could cleare himſelfe, hee was compaſſed in of the enemie, and valiantly fighting, ſlain. *Rayſchachius* exceedingly moued with the death of ſo braue a man, ignorant how neere it touched himſelfe, turning about to the other captains ſaid, This worthie gentleman, whatſoeuer he be, is worthie of eternall commendation, and to be moſt honorably buried by the whole army. As the reſt of the captains were with like compaſſion approuing his ſpeech, the dead bodie of the vnfortunate ſon reſcued, was preſented to the moſt miſerable father; which cauſed al them that were there preſent to ſhed tears; but ſuch a ſudden & inward griefe ſurpriſed the aged father, and ſtruck ſo to his heart, that after he had ſtood awhile ſpeechleſſe, with his eies ſet in his head, he ſuddenly fel down dead. From that time the general commanded, That no man ſhould vpon pain of death go out of the army to skirmiſh with the enemy without leaue: wherin he was ſo ſeuere, that he hanged vp one or two that preſumed to tranſgreſſe his commandement: which thing much diſcouraged his own men, & ſo incouraged the enemy, that they would ſometime braue the Chriſtians vpon the top of their own trenches.

Many daies had now paſſed ſince the comming of the Baſſa, the Turks and they of Buda dayly increaſing both in ſtrength and courage: when on the other ſide, faint courage, weake ſtrength, troubled counſell, vncertaine reſolution, the ominous ſignes of an vndoubted ouerthrow, were eaſie to be ſeen; & hope it ſelfe, the ſtay of all human actions, eſpecially of martiall affaires, almoſt loſt: the onely things that held their fainting hearts, was the often letters of king *Ferdinand*, and the firm opinion they had conceiued, That *Charles* the Emperor would not in ſo great a danger faile to aid his brother, both with men and mony: and laſt of all, the firme reſolution of a Generall, which far paſſed all reaſon, the ſooner to draw him to his end. The armies lying in this order, the Turks from the higher ground, and out of Ceppellia, perceiuing the Germans in the little Iſland as careleſſe men to keepe but negligent watch, agreed amongſt themſelues at one inſtant out of both their camps, to aſſaile diuers of their forts: and ſo in the breake of the day landed with their fleet ſo cloſely and ſuddenly to the Iſland, that they had ſlaine almoſt 600 of the Germans, before they were thorowly awake or could wel arm themſelues: wherwith the reſt were put in ſuch a feare, that they fled to the camp in ſuch haſt, that many of them fel beſide the bridge and were drowned in the riuer. All the camp was wonderfully troubled with the ſuddennes of the matter, the Turks with their hideous cries raiſing

The Turks ſuddenly aſſaile the Chriſtians in the Iſland.

A raiſing the alarme in diuers places at once: yet for all that, certain German companies in one of the forts neereſt vnto the riuer, and the ſouldiers in the fleet, well declared their preſent reſolution and valiant courage, in recouering againe of the Iſland. For *Herbeſtulfus* the campmaſter, perſuading them not to ſuffrr the Chriſtian enſignes and great ordnance to bee ſo ſhamefully carried away of the Turks; and *Marius* the Admiral at the ſame time landing diuers companies in the Iſland with his pinnaces and great boats: they ſo couragiouſly charged the Turks, then buſied in the ſpoiling of the dead bodies and drawing away of the great ordnance, that they draue them againe to their boats; leauing vnto them as victors, both the Iſland and the ordnance, hauing before their departure, receiued no leſſe loſſe themſelues than had the Germans before.

B It was reported, that the Turks fleet might that day haue been quite ouerthrowne, if the Chriſtians vſing the victory, and holpen with the courſe of that ſwift riuer, had couragiouſly purſued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is done are eaſily ſeene, which in the very heat and hurle of the danger cannot be foreſeene; forasmuch as ſudden accidents attended with great perill, do oftentimes dazle the minds of right wiſe & valiant captaines: yet foure of the Turks pinnaces were ſuncke, and three taken, and many of the Turks ſlaine or drowned in the riuer. Shortly after, the Turks more and more incouraged with the multitude of themſelues, and the fearefulneſſe they perceiued in their enemies, did at ſundry times ſo inſolently trouble and aſſaile the camp of the Chriſtians on euery ſide, that they left them almoſt no time of reſt, one company ſtill ſucceeding another; ſo that they were almoſt

C in deſpaire, to be able long to defend their campe, the enemie ſtill growing both in ſtrength and courage. For the Baſſa that lay at Belgrade, ſtill taking vnto him the ſicke and wounded ſouldiers, ſent continually freſh men in their ſtead: and *Valentinus* taking vnto him a companie of the Turks Ianizaries harquebuſiers, had driuen *Perenus* with the Hungarian horſmen out of the vpper camp. So that they in the neither camp were now hardly beſet with their enemies on euery ſide: yet were they wel holpen by the great artillerie from Peſth, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his horſemen in aſſailing the campe on thar ſide.

Some report that *Valentinus*, not greatly angry with the Hungarian baniſhed men, but with the Germans, did by the way of priuat courteſie and friendſhip, by a faithfull ſouldier wiſh *Perenus* ſpeedily to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and of the Hungarians with him; for

Valentinus ouerall for the Queene in Buda, certifieth Perenus of the comming of Solyman.

D that there was a great beaſt comming, which would at one morſell deuoure them all. For *Solyman* aduertiſed of the doings of the Emperor and king *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would haue come down to Buda with a puiſſant army, was reſolued to be preſent himſelfe at ſo notable a battell, and was therefore comming thither with his army in all haſt. Wherefore *Perenus* thus forewarned, ſaid plainly to *Regendorff* & the other captains, That except they would preſently riſe with the army & depart, he would now whiles he had yet time, make ſhift for himſelfe and his countrymen. Their opinions diuerſly deliuered, at laſt they all agreed, that it was beſt the next night to paſſe ouer the riuer to Peſth: only the Generall vpon a fatall obſtinacie ſaid, He would not without king *Ferdinands* commandement depart from Buda: and therfore ſent countie *Salma* with a ſwift pinnace vp the riuer to Vienna to know his pleaſure therin. In

E the meane time vrged with feare, *Perenus* fretting at their long ſtay, it was reſolued vpon, that they ſhould the next night after the Moon was down, paſſe ouer the riuer in foure conuoies to Peſth. In the firſt, were to paſſe ouer the Hungarians, with their great ordnance. In the ſecond, the Germane and Bohemian horſemen: and in the other two, the footmen, and the baggage of the armie. For it was not ſo eaſie a matter to make a bridge ouer Danubius, as they had at firſt ſuppoſed: for after they had begun it, and almoſt plancked it, there riſe ſuch a wind and tempeſt, & the violent riuer became ſo rough, that the timber wherwith the bridge was faſtened together was broken, the ioynts vnloſed, & many of the boats wherof the bridge was framed, their cables being broken were carried away by the force of the ſtream. The firſt and ſecond conuoy furtune ſo fauored, that they well paſſed ouer: for although they of Buda and

The Chriſtian army departeth by night from Buda.

F the Turks, ſeeing in the day time from their high places the fleet drawing together into one place might haue ſome ſuſpition of the matter, ſome gheſſing one thing & ſome another; yet could they foreſee nothing of the ſudden departure of the enemy: but that multitude of ſhips and boats now paſſing too and fro, could not long deceiue the attentiue and vigilant enemy; and ſo much the leſſe, for that two fugitiue Hungarians euen then diſcouered to the Biſhop,

the

fly, that if *Rogendorff* had at the first taken it and fortified it, before the comming of the Turks, as the Hungarians perswaded him to haue done, the Turks could by no meanes haue incamped G
in the plaine, but must needs haue forsaken their fleet, fetching a great compasse about more toward the West, further off from the riuer: which would haue turned to the Turks great dis-aduantage. *But no man is so wise as to foresee all things, when as the very euill successe, be the plot neuer so well laied, shall of it selfe, beside the losse, leaue vnto the vnfortunat man the note of the want of prouident foresight and discretion.* But *Rogendorff* was not willing to diuide his forces, vntill he had some new supplie from K. *Ferdinand*. Whilest the armies lay thus neere one to the other,

Skirmishes betwixt the Christians and the Turks.

there were some light skirmishes made euery day, either by the horsemen or the footmen, & sometime one braue man challenging forth another hand to hand, whom he thought by his armor or some other signe of his worth, to be like to himself: which was so pleasant a fight to H
behold, that both the armies vpon a military courtesie, as if it had bin so agreed, would many times for certain houres forbeare to shoot any shot, of purpose to see those gallants, with true prowesse to proue their valor and manhood one vpon another with their speares and swords only. In which light skirmishes the Germain horsmen were often times put to the worst; who mounted vpon great heauie horses, fitter for a set battell, could neither so readily charge the enemie, nor pursue him in his flight, as could the Turks with their nimble & ready light horses, so well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about easily frustrat the first charge of the heauy horsmen, & by & by come vpon them again with a fresh charge, & so often retire & come on again, vntil they had either wearied or ouerthrown I
them. But the Hungarians acquainted with that maner of fight as well as they, and also better armed, did easily incounter the Turks, and foile them, although they were in number moe.

Rayschachius for sorrow of his sonne slaine by the Turks, suddenly dieth.

There was amongst the Germane captaines a noble man called *Eckius Rayschachius*, whose sonne (a valiant young gentleman) being got out of the armie without his fathers knowledge, barg himselfe so gallantly in fight against the enemy in the sight of his father & of the army, that he was highly commended of all men, and especially of his father, who knew him not at all: yet before he could cleare himselfe, hee was compassed in of the enemie, and valiantly fighting, slain. *Rayschachius* exceedingly moued with the death of so braue a man, ignorant how neere it touched himselfe, turning about to the other captains said, This worthie gentleman, whatsoeuer he be, is worthie of eternall commendation, and to be most honorably buried by K
the whole army. As the rest of the captains were with like compassion approuing his speech, the dead bodie of the vnfortunate son rescued, was presented to the most miserable father; which caused all them that were there present to shed teares; but such a sudden & inward griefe surprised the aged father, and struck so to his heart, that after he had stood awhile speechlesse, with his eies set in his head, he suddenly fel down dead. From that time the generall commanded, That no man should vpon pain of death go out of the army to skirmish with the enemy without leaue: wherin he was so seuere, that he hanged vp one or two that presumed to transgresse his commandement: which thing much discouraged his own men, & so incouraged the enemy, that they would sometime braue the Christians vpon the top of their own trenches.

Many daies had now passed since the comming of the Bassa, the Turks and they of Buda dayly increasing both in strength and courage: when on the other side, faint courage, weake L
strength, troubled counsell, vncertaine resolution, the ominous signes of an vndoubted ouerthrow, were easie to be seen; & hope it selfe, the stay of all human actions, especially of martiall affaires, almost lost: the onely things that held their fainting hearts, was the often letters of king *Ferdinand*, and the firm opinion they had conceiued, That *Charles* the Emperor would not in so great a danger faile to aid his brother, both with men and mony: and last of all, the firme resolution of a Generall, which far passed all reason, the sooner to draw him to his end. The armies lying in this order, the Turks from the higher ground, and out of Ceppellia, perceiuing the Germans in the little Island as careless men to keepe but negligent watch, agreed amongst themselues at one instant out of both their camps, to assaile diuers of their forts: and

The Turks suddenly assaile the Christians in the Island.

so in the breake of the day landed with their fleet so closely and suddenly to the Island, that M
they had slaine almost 600 of the Germans, before they were thorowly awake or could wel arm themselues: wherwith the rest were put in such a feare, that they fled to the camp in such hast, that many of them fel beside the bridge and were drowned in the riuer. All the camp was wonderfully troubled with the suddennes of the matter, the Turks with their hideous cries raising

A raising the alarme in diuers places at once: yet for all that, certain German companies in one of the forts neerest vnto the riuer, and the souldiers in the fleet, well declared their present resolution and valiant courage, in recouering againe of the Island. For *Herbestulfus* the campmaster, perswading them not to suffrr the Christian ensignes and great ordnance to bee so shamefully carried away of the Turks; and *Marius* the Admiral at the same time landing diuers companies in the Island with his pinnaces and great boats: they so couragiously charged the Turks, then busied in the spoiling of the dead bodies and drawing away of the great ordnance, that they draue them againe to their boats; leauing vnto them as victors, both the Island and the ordnance, hauing before their departure, receiued no lesse losse themselues than had the Germans before.

B It was reported, that the Turks fleet might that day haue been quite ouerthrowne, if the Christians vsing the victory, and holpen with the course of that swift riuer, had couragiously pursued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is done are easily seene, which in the very heat and hurle of the danger cannot be foreseene; forasmuch as sudden accidents attended with great perill, do oftentimes dazle the minds of right wise & valiant captaines: yet foure of the Turks pinnaces were suncke, and three taken, and many of the Turks slaine or drowned in the riuer. Shortly after, the Turks more and more incouraged with the multitude of themselues, and the fearefulnesse they perceiued in their enemies, did at sundry times so insolently trouble and assaile the camp of the Christians on euery side, that they left them almost no time of rest, one company still succeeding another; so that they were almost
C in despaire, to be able long to defend their campe, the enemie still growing both in strength and courage. For the Bassa that lay at Belgrade, still taking vnto him the sicke and wounded souldiers, sent continually fresh men in their stead: and *Valentinus* taking vnto him a companie of the Turks Ianizaries harquebusiers, had driuen *Perenus* with the Hungarian horsmen out of the vpper camp. So that they in the neither camp were now hardly beset with their enemies on euery side: yet were they wel holpen by the great artillerie from Pesth, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his horsemen in assailing the campe on that side.

Some report that *Valentinus*, not greatly angry with the Hungarian banished men, but with the Germans, did by the way of priuat courtesie and friendship, by a faithfull souldier wish *Perenus* speedily to prouide for the safety of himselfe and of the Hungarians with him; for
D that there was a great beast comming, which would at one morsell deuoure them all. For *Solyman* aduertised of the doings of the Emperor and king *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would haue come down to Buda with a puissant army, was resolued to be present himselfe at so notable a battell, and was therefore comming thither with his army in all hast. Wherefore *Perenus* thus forewarned, said plainly to *Rogendorff* & the other captains, That except they would presently rise with the army & depart, he would now whiles he had yet time, make shift for himselfe and his countrymen. Their opinions diuersly deliuered, at last they all agreed, that it was best the next night to passe ouer the riuer to Pesth: only the Generall vpon a fatall obstinacie said, He would not without king *Ferdinands* commandement depart from Buda: and therfore sent countie *Salma* with a swift pinnace vp the riuer to Vienna to know his pleasure therin. In
E the meane time vrged with feare, *Perenus* fretting at their long stay, it was resolued vpon, that they should the next night after the Moon was down, passe ouer the riuer in foure conuoies to Pesth. In the first, were to passe ouer the Hungarians, with their great ordnance. In the second, the Germane and Bohemian horsemen: and in the other two, the footmen, and the baggage of the armie. For it was not so easie a matter to make a bridge ouer Danubius, as they had at first supposed: for after they had begun it, and almost plancked it, there rise such a wind and tempest, & the violent riuer became so rough, that the timber wherwith the bridge was fastened together was broken, the ioynts vnloosed, & many of the boats wherof the bridge was framed, their cables being broken were carried away by the force of the stream. The first and second conuoy furtune so fauored, that they well passed ouer: for although they of Buda and
F the Turks, seeing in the day time from their high places the fleet drawing together into one place might haue some suspition of the matter, some ghessing one thing & some another; yet could they foresee nothing of the sudden departure of the enemy: but that multitude of ships and boats now passing too and fro, could not long deceiue the attentiue and vigilant enemy; and so much the lesse, for that two fugitiue Hungarians euen then discouered to the Bishop, the

Valentinus Generall for the Queene in Buda, certifieth Perenus of the comming of Solyman.

The Christian army departeth by night from Buda.

the flight of the Germans, who presently certified the Baska, and the other, *Mahometes* thereof, G
which with no smaller delay came almost with all their power to assault the Christians in
their campe: the great ordinance was brought forth, and after the Ianizaries & other footmen,
followed the horsemen, dismounted from their horses to do the better seruice, who all with a
The Turks assaile the Christians in their campe at their departure. horrible crie assailed the trenches. Then began the Germans to quaile, their flight being now
discouered; yet did they with the Bohemians for a while notably resist the enemie. All the
campe was filled with tumult and confusion, and especially at the riuer side, euery man in that
great feare striuing to get aboord, without regard of order or shame: for the dead time of the
night then couered with darke and thicke clouds, made all things more terrible, euen vnto
them which were of best courage: the authority of *Rogendorff* the Generall (in the darknesse of
the night, and so great H
of the ordnance) was as
ded, by a wonderfull and fatall chance: for as he was writing letters to the king, a faulcon shot
out of the enemies campe falling in his tent, and striking in sunder a chest which ste re,
wounded him grieuously in the left shoulder with a splinter of the same. The other c es
of the footmen, enuying that the horsemen were so well escaped, stood as men more carefull
of themselues than of the common danger, faintly resisting the enemy. The vppermost tents,
wherein *Perenus* lay, were first taken by *Mahometes* of Belgrade, and *Valentinus*, & the German
footmen chased al quer S. *Gerrards* mount. They of Buda also sallied out, and entred the camp
on that side which was next vnto the citie, & with wild fire burnt the tents a little before for-
A mischieuous practise of the Bishop. saken by the Germans. And the Bishop at the same time caused a great stack of straw standing I
by the kings stables neere vnto the riuers side, to be set on fire; which gaue such a light, that a
man might haue seen all ouer Danubius vnto the wals of Pesth, as if it had bin light day: wher-
by the great confusion of the Christian army by land, as well as the shamefull flight by water,
was of the Turks plainly discouered. Then was the great artillerie from euery place discharged vpon the flying fleet, as well from Buda as the Turks camp. And to increase the feare, *Caſon*
the Turks Admirall rowing with his light boats against the stream, set vpon the ships crossing
the riuer to Pesth, where he tooke certain boats loded with souldiers, and with his great ord-
Great slaughter of the Christians nance sunck eldiers others: so that the riuer was filled with dead bodies and the miserable
company of soldiers and mariners, laboring to saue their liues by swimming: for at such time
as the Ianizaries hauing slaine the first companies, were broken into the lower camp; and the K
rest of the Germans flying ouer the bridge into the little Island, were there slain without mer-
cie, by the Turks pursuing them, many of them leapt into the riuer and there perished. Three
hundred saile of one sort of ships and other, were so confused and mingled together, that Da-
nubius seemed that night to haue bin couered ouer, as if it had bin with a great bridge. But the
Christian fleet seeing all lost, cleered themselues so soone as they could of the Turks; and so
beating them backe with their great ordnance out of the poups of their ships, got vp the riuer
to Gomora. The rest of the land forces endured the same fortune in the campe, of whom the
Bohemians died most honorably, slaine by the enemy in fight. Many falling into the hands of
them of Buda, were saued or slaine, as was their fortune to fall into the power of a merciful or
mercilesse man. But the Sun rising, plainly discouered the slaughter of the Christians, and the L
victorie of the Turks, not so well before knowne. There was about 3000 men of one sort and
other, who in warlike manner had taken a little hill by Saint *Gerrards* Church, and there stood
vpon their guard, vntill such time as more than two thousand of them were slaine; the rest ca-
sting away their weapons yeelded in hope of life, and were reserued for a spectacle more
grieuous than death it selfe.

At the same time *Caſon* with his victorious fleet comming to the shore of Pesth, brought
such a feare vpon them that were escaped thither, and might easily haue defended the walls,
(only with the crie of his soldiers & the thundring of the artillerie) that the horsmen for hast
to get out, were like to ouerrun one another. The Germans had at that time so much forgot
their wonted valour, & so trembled at the name of the Turks, that as soone as they saw their M
white caps in their ships, they ran away as men dismaied, vnarmed, leauing behind them their
plate, their carriages, & whatsoeuer good thing they had el Yet some of the Hungarian horse-
men more desirous of the spoile than afraid of death, sta ind rifling the merchants shops;
for Pesth was become a very rich mart towne for al kind erchandise, marchants resorting
thither

A thither from all other places of the troubled countrey, as to a strong and commodious citie,
and of more safety than the rest. But *Caſon* now entring without resistance, slew some of those *Pesth taken by Caſon, Admirall of the Turkes fleet.*
greedie Hungarians, and ran thorow the towne with such barbarous crueltie and thirst of the
Christian bloud, that he spared neither man, woman, nor child, except some few, which either
for their beautie or strength of bodie were reserued for the Turks beastly lust, or slauish labor:
so that in this war it is reported, more than 20000 Christians were one way and other by di-
uers chances slaine. There was taken at Pesth, in the campe and in the Island, 36 great pieces
for batterie, of wonderfull beautie; and of lesser field pieces, 150. As for shot, powder, armor,
weapons, and victuall prouided for Winter, such store was found, that the Turks accounted it
for the greatest part of their victorie. *Rogendorff* the vnfortunat Generall, at such time as the
B Turks hauing woon the trenches, were fighting in the midst of his campe, desiring rather to be
slaine in his tent, than to liue after so great an ouerthrow, was against his will by strong hand *Rogendorffe against his will carried away by his physitian & chamberlain, to Comara, there dieth.*
carried aboord a little pinnace by his physitian and chamberlaine, which would not leaue
him as he lay, and was so conueyed vp the riuer to the Island of Comora; where he shortly
after, partly for the painfulnesse of his wound, but more for griefe of minde, died in a little
countrey village called Samarium, leauing vnto the Germans a wofull remembrance of his
accursed obstinacie and pride. *Solyman* still doubting the comming of *Charles* the Emperour
and king *Ferdinand* to Buda, was comming with his armie from Hadrianople in such hast, that
he caused the Ianizaries, his best footmen, contrarie to their manner, to march as fast as his
horsemen: but vnderstanding by the way, of the late victorie obtained by his captaines, he
C tooke more leisure, and came with a great power to Buda in August, and there incamped on the *Solyman commeth to Buda.*
other side of the citie, to auoid the noisome sauour of the dead bodies, which lay yet vnburi-
ed. Where calling vnto him the other armie, and making one huge campe of both, he highly
commended all his captaines, but especially the two *Mahometes*. And vnderstanding that the
victorie was especially gotten by the meanes of *Mahometes*, gouernour of Belgrade, he made
him Generall of all his Europeian horsemen, one of the most honourable preferments of the
Turkish Empire: the other captaines he rewarded according as they had deserued, and with-
all augmented their pay.

After that, he caused the prisoners, in number about eight hundred, to be brought out; who *Turkish cruelties.*
bound in long ropes, were in derision led all alongst the armie, ranged in order of battell, and
D afterward by his commandement slain by his yong soldiers: saying with seuere countenance,
that they were worthie of such death, which by Embassadours dissemblingly entreating of
peace, had in the meane time craftily waged war. Amongst these prisoners was one soul-
dier of Bauaria of an exceeding high stature; him in despight of the German nation he deli-
uered to a little dwarfe (whom his sonnes made great account of) to be slaine, whose head was
scarce so high as the knees of the tall captiue; with that cruell spight to aggrauate the indig-
nitie of his death: when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that
apish dwarfe with his little scimiter, as if it had bin in disport, fell downe, and was with many
feeble blowes hardly at last slaine by that wretch, still heartened on by others, to satisfie the
eyes of the Princes, beholding it as their sport.

E This barbarous and cruell execution done, *Solyman* sent his Embassadors with presents to
the yong king, which were three beautifull horses, with their bridles of gold, and their trap-
pings richly set with pretious stones, and three royall robes of cloth of gold; & vnto the chief
of the nobilitie he sent rich gowns and chains of gold. The embassadors which brought these
presents, in curteous manner requested of the queene, to send the yong king her son, attended *Solyman sends for the young king into the campe.*
with his nobilitie, into the campe, and without all feare, to hope that all should goe well both
with her and her son: for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other kings, not in power and fortune
only, but in vertue and vpright dealing also, was of such an heroical disposition, that he would
not onely defend the childe, whom in the right of his father he had once thought worthie his
protection & fauor, victorie confirming the same, but would also augment his estate, with the
F largest bounds of his antient kingdome. Wherefore he was desirous to see the yong king, and
to behold in him the representation of his father, and with his own hand to deliuer him to be
imbraced of his sons; that of his protection renewed, so happily begun, might be grounded a
firme & perpetuall friendship with the *Othoman* kings: and that he would alwayes account of
her as of his daughter. But the cause why he came not to see her, which he did in curtesie de-
sire,

fire, was for that by antient custom the *Othoman* kings were forbidden that point of courtesie, G
to visit other mens wiues in their houses. Besides that, *Solyman* (they said) was not so forgetful
of his modestie and honour, as to receiue into his pauilion the daughter of a King his friend
and allie, and she the late wife of a King his friend and tributarie, and the faire young mother
of a sonne, growing in the hope of like regall dignitie, for feare he should draw into any sus-
pition the inuiolate name of her chastitie, which in Queenes was to be guarded with an espe-
ciall and wonderfull care. Whereunto the Queene (a manifest feare confounding the tender
sences in her motherly affection) answered verie doubtfully: but the Bishop perswading her,
and instantly requesting her, not to giue the Turks occasion to suspect, that she had them in di-
strust, by her little and unprofitable delay; sent her young sonne in princely swathing cloaths, H
in a rich chariot, with his nurse and certain great ladies vnto the campe, attended vpon with
almost all the Nobilitie to whom *Solyman* had sent Presents. In his comming to the campe,
he was for honours sake met vpon the way by certaine gallant troupes of the Turkish
horsemen: and all the way as he passed in the campe, orderly stood the Ianizaries of his
guard. As soone as he was brought into the campe, *Solyman* curteously looked vpon him, and
familiarly talked with the nurse, and commanded his sonnes there present to take him in their
armes, and to kisse him, in certaine token of the loue they would beare him, whom they were
in time to haue their friend and tributarie, when he was growne to mans estate: these were
Selymus and *Baiazet*, begotten of his faire concubine *Roxalana*, bearing the names, the one of
his grandfather, the other of his great grandfather. As for *Mustapha* his eldest sonne by his I
Circassian wife, he then liued in Magnesia a great way off; who though he was a prince of so
great hope, as neuer any of the Turkish kings had a sonne of greater, and was therefore exceed-
ingly beloued of the men of warre; yet was he not so well liked of his father, brought out
of fauour with him by *Roxalana*, as if he had traiterously gone about to take the Empire from
him, yet liuing, as did *Selymus* his grandfather from *Baiazet*: for which cause *Solyman* secretly
purposed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint *Selymus* for his successour, as
hereafter shall appeare.

The queene sendeth the young king her son to Solyman in the campe, attended with the Nobility.

Solyman curteously receiueth the young king.

Solyman craftily taketh the citie of Buda.

But *Solyman* at such time as the Noblemen of Hungarie were dining merrily with the Bas-
sa's, had commanded certaine companies (to whom he had before giuen instructions what he
would haue done) vnder the colour of seeing the citie, to take one of the gates called Sabatina, K
and the chiefe streets: which was done so quietly and cunningly, that a warie watchman
standing there, and beholding the manner of the Turks comming and going too and fro, could
hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the Turkes
walking faire and softly by great companies into the citie, as if it had beene but for pleasure,
to haue seen it; and other some to colour the matter, walking likewise backe againe, as if they
had sufficiently viewed the citie; by that meanes they without any tumult or stirre quickely
tooke the appointed gate, with the market place and chiefe streets of the citie. Which so fine-
ly done, the captaine of the Ianizaries caused proclamation to be made in all parts of the city,
That the citizens should without feare keepe themselues within their houses, and forthwith,
as they would haue their liues, libertie, and goods saued, to deliuer all their weapons: which L
they seeing no remedie, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the Turks faith for
their securitie, they receiued them into their houses as their vnwelcome guests. But such was
the quietnes and modestie of the Turks, by reason of the seueritie of their martiall discipline,
that no citizen which tooke them into their houses, was by them wronged by word or deed.
Solyman vnderstanding that the citie was thus quietly and without resistance taken, sent the
childe backe againe vnto the Queene, although it was now almost night; but the chiefe noble-
men he retained still with him: these were *George* the Bishop and Treasurer, *Petrus Vicche* the
young Kings nigh kinsman and one of his Tutors, *Valentinus Turaccus* Generall of the queens
forces, *Stephanus Verbetius* Chancellor, and *Bacianus Vrbanus* Gouernour of the citie of Buda.
This sudden and vnexpected change exceedingly troubled all their mindes, and so much the
more, for that the great Bassa's with changed countenance began to picke quarrels with them,
and as it were straightly and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all M
that they had done. The Queene seeing the citie so craftily surprised, and the nobilitie iniu-
riously detained in the campe, troubled with feare and griefe, by humble letters requested
Solyman not to forget the faith he had long before giuen vnto her, and euen of late confirmed
by

Solyman detaineth the Noblemen of Hungarie in his campe.

A by his Embassadors; but mind full both thereof, and of his woonted clemencie, to send backe
vnto her the Noblemen, who for their fidelitie and valiant seruice had well deserued both of
him and her: this she did by *Rustemes Bassa*, whom she had loded with gifts, and amongst other
things of great price, had sent him a faire coronet of her owne, and a goodly jewell set with
rich stone, to send vnto his wife (*Solymans* daughter) for a Present.

After that, *Solyman* consulted with his Bassa's foure dayes, what order to take concerning *The great Bassa's of diuers opinions for the disposing of the Kingdome of Hungarie.*
the kingdome of Hungarie: in discourse whereof his great Bassa's were of diuers opinions.
Mahometes aduised him to carrie away with him to Constantinople, both the young childe
and all the Nobilitie, and to leaue such a gouernour in Buda, as by his wise and moderate go-
uernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of seruitude and bondage,
B by defending them from wrong, and yet by little and little lay vpon them the yoke of the
Turkish gouernment. But *Rustemes Bassa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than
the rest, because he was *Solymans* sonne in law, and therefore further from all suspition of
flatterie; stood altogether vpon tearmes of honour; saying, That nothing could be more dis-
honourable vnto so great and mightie a Monarch, who neuer had at any time with any spot
or staine blemished the glorie of his name, than after victorie, against all right and reason to
breake his faith at once with a weake woman and sillie infant, whom he had before taken vpon
him to protect and defend. On the other side, *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade (an old
mortall enemie of the Christians, of all the rest best acquainted with the state of Hungarie,
and for his great experience and approued valour, then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman*
C into counsel among the great Bassa's) disliked of both the former opinions, as too full
of lenitie: and being asked his owne, deliuered it in this mischieuous manner as fol-
loweth:

The oration of Mahometes of Belgrade, to Solyman, concerning the disposing of the kingdome of Hungarie.

I know (said he) *most mightie* Solyman, *that he which in consultation of matters of so great conse-*
quence is to deliuer his opinion last, shall if he discent from the rest, be subiect to enuie and reprehension,
And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrarie opinion to them that haue before spo-
ken, my speech must also be vnto your eares both vnpleasant and tedious. But I refuse not to be counted
by my selfe, yea and presumptuous, if you will so haue it, rather than a smoother vp of other mens say-
ings, as one of no iudgment; whilest I recount those things, which as the present case standeth, may won-
D *derfully profit your designes and the Imperiall state: for of right I may desire you to yeeld a little to my*
yeares, and (if I may by your good fauour so say) to that I haue already done: when as I, now growne
an old man in wars against these Hungarians, haue by experience learned those things of the state and
strength of this Kingdome, and the disposition of the people, which being here laid downe, may much
auaile for your better determination of this so weighty a cause, as admitteth no repentance if you shall now
be ouerseene therein. You haue now within the space of these twentie yeares come in warres your selfe in
person fiue times into this countrie, when I as no obscure captaine or souldier, was in all those warres and
battels euer present, of purpose, as I suppose, to reuenge your iniuries, to enlarge your empire, and in briefe
to assure you of a good peace, which could neuer be but by force of armes and victorie. And therefore you
E *valiantly won Belgrade, the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of most outragious threates and rob-*
bers, and in former time famous for the vnfortunat attempts of your ancestors: when as from thence the
Hungarians in time of peace had at their pleasure, whilest your father was then occupied in the Persian
warre, spoyled the borders of Seruia and Illyria. The same Hungarians about fiue yeares after, for that
they had in cruell manner slaine your Embassadours, you ouerthrew in battell, and slew their King: and
possessed of Buda, to manifest and make knowne by a notable demonstration, the magnificence of your he-
roicall minde, euen vnto the rewdest enemies of our name, did choose out of the reliques of that van-
quished Nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the regall Crowne, although not borne
of Royall blood, or vnto you knowne for any other desert, than that he was a little before both your pub-
lique and priuat enemie; and comming against you with a strong power out of Transyluania, he had in
the meane time lost his brother, a better man than himselfe, slaine with our sword. After that, rose
F *vp the Austrian King, a new enemie, to expulse this Hungarian, raigning by your courtesie, and so*
you tooke in hand the third warre against the Germanes, which you so effectually prosecuted, that hauing
forthwith restored the King, you carried the terrour of your selfe not onely to the walls of Vienna, but
into the verie heart of Germanie. But two yeares yet scarcely past, the same King (neuer long content
with peace or warres) supported by the power of his brother Charles, and in vaine besieging Buda-
defended,

defended by your garrisons, stirred you vp againe to reuenge the iniurie, slaughter, and spoyle by his sol- G
diers done: for that you thought it to stand with your honour, to protect him with your power, whom you had of your rare bountie made a King; and then desired aboue all things, to fight a noble battell with the two brethren for the Empire of the West. But they at such time as you with fire and sword ran thorow their antient kingdomes, endured not the noise of your comming. After that, ensued a peace betweene the Hungarians and the Germane, your Maiestie permitting and approouing it, at such time as you made haste to go against the Persians: but the German king so broke that peace, that had not I in good time re-uenged his treacherie, by the ouerthrow of a great armie of his at Exek, you must of necessitie haue been sent for from Babylon your selfe, as but now you were glad to come in haste, by long and painfull iournies from Constantinople, to aid vs in time, and as I verily hope, to make an end for all; that all things set in firme order in Hungarie [illegible] inconueniences of so many labours and so great charge, fiue times vn- H
dertaken for another ma[illegible], might now at length take end: except (as I see some wish) you be in minde neuer to giue ouer the protection of the childe and widow, a matter full of infinite labour and pe-rill, not to be counteruailed with that glorious shew of honour, which by these (in my opini[illegible] no wise men is pretended to your haughtie minde, euer desirous of honour and fame. But I as a blu[illegible] man vnderstand not this high point of wisdome, abounding with glorie, which in the verie course thereof cut-teth in sunder the sinewes of victorie, and is neuer by politique Generals admitted into their campes. In which doing, as I wish you more fortunate than your ancestors, who haue united eighteene kingdomes to this your Empire, so would I not haue you more wise than they: for what can be a more vnwise part, than alwayes to play the vnwise man? that is to say, alwayes to be carefull of other mens affaires, and in mean time oftentimes to indanger his owne estate, his health, his wealth, his honor. You haue satisfied, and that I
(in my opinion) plentifully the duties both of charity, fidelity, and if it must needs be so, of honor and glo-ry also; if it be to be gotten rather by courtesie, clemency and lenity, than by the inuincible strength of wise policie, and the constant resolution of a martiall mind: for by those instruments, and none other, hath worthie vertues alwaies promoted and supported the Othoman *kings. Wherfore let those vain shews (as seemeth vnto me) of counterfeit honor delight the minds of idle and sloathfull kings: assuredly they ne-uer pleased your armed ancestors, but after the enemie was quite ouerthrown, the triumph made, and the trophies of victorie erected. But let this be as best pleaseth your high wisdom and iudgement, whereun-to the greatest wits gaue place. Truely I (if I well foresee the chances of war, and the assured euents of things) will not follow that manner of counsell which the pleasure of my mind persuadeth me vnto, when* K
as necessitie, which ruleth all things, presently forceth me and sheweth me a far better course. The Hunga-rians aboue all other things notably warne vs not to trust them, who infamous for their vnconstancie after reuolt and trecherie, are still at variance amongst themselues; and their banished men are conti-nually setting on the Germans to inuade the countrie, and the weake power of the Queene and the child is not such as may withstand so neere and so mightie an enemy: so that another mans kingdome must of necessitie be defended by our helpe, which may not be lesse than a strong armie, without our great perill. To be briefe, euery yeare to take in hand so long an exped[illegible]tion of so great labour and trauell, with an ar-mie furnished with horsemen, footmen, artillerie, and a fleet of ships for defence of another man, as com-monly we doe, seemeth to me meere madnesse: neither doe I thinke it to stand with the maiestie of the Othoman *Emperours, thus to be moued euery yeare at the request of a puling woman, crying for help:*
except you thinke it more profitable and honourably to maintaine a defensiue than an inuasiue warre: L
Wherefore (in my opinion) it is best to turne this kingdome (so often conquered and defended by Law of Armes) after the manner of your ancestors, into the forme of a prouince: the Queene I would haue sent to her father, and the boy her sonne brought vp in your court at Constantinople, and there instru-cted in our religion: the nobilitie of the countrey I wish to be slaine, and their castles rased, and the no-table families which bare the brauest minds, to be caried away out of al parts of the country into Asia: as for the base multitude, I would haue kept vnder with good garrisons, to till the ground, and inhabit the cities. By this onely means (might Solyman) *shal both the Hungarians perceiue themselues conquered, and the Germans glad to forbeare comming into Hungarie, vnlesse they will rashly and vnfortunatly hazard both Styria and Austria.*

Mischieuous counsell.

Solyman en-treth Buda the 30 of August 1541, & there first sacrificeth after the Maho-metan manner.

M

But *Solyman* thinking it good to do sacrifice before he would resolutely determine of so great a matter, entred into Buda with his two sonnes, *Selymus* and *Baiazet*, the thirtieth of Au-gust in the yeare 1541: and there in the Cathedrall church dedicated to the Virgin *Marie* (being before by his priests purified after the manner [illegible] their superstition) sacrificed the first Mahome-

A Mahometan sacrifice in Buda. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his great counsellors, prouided out of them all both for his owne securitie and honour, and publi-shed a decree, the fatall doome of that flourishing kingdome, where vnder it yet groaneth at this day; that Buda should from that day be kept with a garrison of Turks, and the kingdome conuerted into a Prouince of the Turkish Empire; and the queene with her yong son should presently depart the City, and liue in Lippa, in a fertile and quiet Countrey beyond the riuer of Tibiscus, which something to comfort her, was neere vnto the borders of her father *Sigis-mund* his Kingdome, to be safely conducted thither with all her wealth and jewels by his Ia-nizaries. Wherefore the Queene and her Son, according to this Decree, with teares and mourning, detesting in her heart the Tyrants perfideous dealing (which necessitie inforced her then to dissemble) departed from Buda, constrained by the Turks to leaue behinde her all the ordnance in the castle and City, with all other the warlike prouision and store of vi-ctuall. The Noblemen went with her also, who although they went sorrowfull for this wo-full and vnexpected change of things, yet were they very glad of their liberty and safe-tie, whereof they had for the space of three dayes dispaired. Only *Valentinus* was kept in safe custody in the campe, because he was a martiall man of greatest power amongst the Hunga-rians; and besides that, much hated of the Turkes for the hard pursuit of *Casons* and his horse-men, slaine at Storamberg in Austria. Thus the royall city of Buda fell into the hands of the Turks, whereupon not long after ensued the finall ruine of that Kingdome, sometime the strong Bulwarke of Christendome, but lost to the great weakning of the Christian Common-
C weale; which may iustly be imputed to the pride, ambition, and dissention of the Hungari-ans amongst themselues, and the calling in of the common Enemie: the due consideration of whose onely comming, might well haue sufficed to haue set them agreed.

The doome of Hungary.

The Queene de-parteth out of Buda with her Sonne.

Whilest these things were doing at Buda, king *Ferdinand* expecting the euent of this war at Vienna, & hearing of the shameful of losse his Army, & that the Generall deadly wounded was fled to Comara, and that *Solyman* fame increasing the euill newes) was comming towards Vienna; sent *Leonardus Velsius* (who neuer liked of the siege of Buda) to Comara, to stay the further flight of the souldiers, and to gather together so wel as he could the dispersed reliques of the scattered armie, and to comfort againe the discouraged men with the hope of new sup-plies and of pay. And somewhat to stay *Solyman*, who as it was thought would suddenly come
D to Vienna, he sent Countie *Salma* and *Sigismund Litheste.ine*, a noble and graue counsellour, his embassadours, with Presents and new conditions of peace to *Solyman*. The Presents was a hie standing cup of gold after the German fashion, curiously set with stones: and a wonderfull globe of siluer of most rare & curious deuise, daily expressing the hourely passing of the time, the motion of the planets, the change and full of the Moone, the motion of the superiour orbes, euer moouing by certaine wheeles and weights curiously conueyed within the same, and exactly keeping due time and motion; liuely expressing the wonderfull motions & con-uersions of the cœlestiall frame. A most curious and strange piece of worke, deuised and per-fected by the most cunning Astronomers for *Maximilian* the Emperor, whose noble mind ne-uer spared for any cost to obtaine things of rare & strange deuise. The embassadours passing
E downe the riuer of Danubius, were at their landing first receiued by *Casons* the Admirall of *Solymans* fleet, and by him brought into a rich tent, the ground vnder their feet being all coue-red with rich carpets: to whom *Rustan Bassa* sent such good cheere as the campe affoorded, but especially most excellent wine, no lesse forbidden the Turks by their law, than desired of the Germans. The next day after, the great Bassaes feasted the embassadors, *Solyman* himselfe dyning not far off in his pauillion: at which feast the Bassaes for the more courtesie dined with the embassadors, not sitting with their legs gathered vnder them flat vpon the ground, as their maner was, but sitting in chaires at a high table, after the maner of the Christians: onely *Mahomets* Gouernour of Belgrade, for his age and valour an extraordinarie ghest, sat downe vpon a cussion beneath the Bassaes. Their cheere was onely Rice and Mutton, and that so plainly
F and sparingly dressed, as if they had therby noted our gourmandise and excesse; who measure not our cheere by that which nature requireth, but that which greedie appetite desireth, as if therein consisted the greatest nobility: and the drinke for the great Bassaes themselues, right easie to be had, was faire water out of the riuer Danubius. After dinner the embassadors were brought in vnto *Solyman*, each of them led betwixt two Bassaes holding them fast by the armes,

K. Ferdinand sendeth Embassadors and pre-sents to Solyman.

The frugall cheere of the Turks.

enemies, than to make his peace vpon reasonable conditions, and that with as much speed as G
were possible: in which doing, besides that he should well prouide for his owne safetie, hee
should also saue both his wealth and honour; for *Solyman* was comming (as he said) with his
victorious armie; who would with assured death reuenge his vaine hope of holding out the
siege, if he should vpon a stubborne and obstinate mind then refuse to obey his command.
Whereunto *Maylat*, who foresaw that it was better for him to make a certaine peace, than to
endure an vncertaine warre, answered, That he could be content to conclude a peace, so that it
were not vpon any bad conditions; and would not greatly refuse *Solymans* command, which
was wont to be both reasonable and just: wherefore vpon sufficient pledges he would come
into the campe, in presence to agree vpon the conditions of the peace, and demanded to haue
Achomates his son, a valiant yong gentleman, deliuered in hostage. Which thing *Achomates* de- H
nied, for that hee had (as he said) before giuen him to *Solyman*, as the manner was; and there-
fore had ouer him no more power: but he promised for him, that was but one, to giue figure
of his best captains. Which offer *Maylat* (misdoubting no deceit) accepted, & with a gl[illegible] and
gallant retinue attended vpon, came into the enemies camp, where he was courteously & ho-
nourably receiued. But the parly, as it could not be conueniently begun immediatly after the
first salutation, so could it by no means be then ended, but was deferred vntill the next day:
to the intent, that the trecherous Moldauian might take his well acquainted and wel knowne
guest, whom he had against that time inuited to a solemn banquet. By that means, the next day
about the midst of dinner, fortune so fauoured the intended trecherie, *Maylat* (who was of so
proud and cholericke a nature, that he could not wel brooke the least indignitie) was by occa- I
sion of some insolent speech, of purpose ministred by the Moldauian ghests, put into such a
fret, that laying his hand vpon his sword, he in a rage flung from the table: at which time all
the other ghests starting vp also laid hands vpon him and tooke him, fuming, & in vaine cry-
ing out, that he was shamefully betraid. His followers were all forthwith stript of al their bra-
uerie by the needie Moldauians, and their horses and armor taken from them. Whilest *May-*
lat was yet furiously exclaiming of this treason, in came *Achomates*, who to seeme guiltlesse of
the matter, with deep dissimulation sharply reproued the false Moldauian, that he had in doing
so foule a fact shamefully violated the lawes of hospitality, reuerenced of all nations, falsified
the faith which he had giuen him for his safety, & betraid the liues of such notable captains
as lay in hostage for him. Wherunto the Moldauian (as if it had bin in contempt) scornfully an- K
swered, that he had vpon good cause taken *Maylat* prisoner, & so would in safety keep him for
Solyman, vnto whom it onely belonged to iudge, whether he had iustly or vniustly kept him.

Maylat entreth into the Turks campe.

Maylat trecherously taken prisoner by the Moldauian.

Not long after, the strong towne of Fogaris was deliuered, with the hostages, but whether
by feare or by corruption of *Maylats* lieutenant, is vncertaine. So *Valentinus Turaccus*, and *May-*
lat, two of the greatest noblemen of Hungarie, sufficient of themselues to haue restored the
Hungarian kingdome (first rent in sunder with ciuill discord, and afterward with the inuasion
of the Turks) fell into the hands of the enemy, not vanquished in battell, but deceiued by trea-
son. The towne being thus surrendred, almost all the countrey of Transyluania, was by *Soly-*
mans consent deliuered to the young king, vnto whom all the people most willingly submit-
ted themselues, and tooke the oath of obedience, remembring that his father had almost for L
thirtie yeares space with great iustice and quietnesse gouerned that prouince; and with many
presents honoured the young King lying in Lippa, with the Queene his mother, and his two
tutors, the Bishop, and *Vicche*.

Transyluania giuen by Solyman to the young King.

At the same time, *Charles* the Emperor at the importunat suit of his subiects of Spaine, had
prepared a great force both by sea and land for the conquering of Algiers: from whence the
Turkish pyrats did so infest all that coast of the countrey, from Gades to the mountains Pyre-
nei, that the Spaniards (all trade of merchandise being set apart) were glad to keepe a continuall
watch and ward all alongst that coast for defence of the countrey. Wherefore although hee
well knew of the comming of the Turkes to Buda, and how hardly he was by the Lantgraue
and others spoken of, for leauing his brother so hardly bestead, to go against a sort of pirats in M
Affricke, yet persisting in his former determination, he departed out of Germanie into Italie,
where by the way he met *Octauius Farnesius* his son in law, *Alphonsus Vastius* his lieutenant, by
the Venetian embassadours, neere to Verona, and so brought to Millaine, where he was with
great

Charles the Emperor returneth out of Germanie to inuade Affricke.

A Millain, where he was with great solemnitie ioyfully receiued of the citizens, and vnder a ca-
nopie of gold brought vnto the pallace: he himselfe going in a plain blacke cloke, & a monie-
ly cap in mourning wise, when as the women and vulgar people, vpon a curious simplicity, ex-
pected to haue seene so great an Emperor in his royall robes, glistering with gold and preci-
ous stone, and the imperiall crowne vpon his head. His heauie countenance answerable also to
his attire was much noted, as presaging the wofull ouerthrow which was the day before re-
ceiued at Buda, but not yet knowne in Italie. From Millaine he departed to Genoa, where he
was aduertised by letters from his brother king *Ferdinand*, of the ouerthrow of the Germans,
of the victorie of the Turks, and the comming of *Solyman*. Vpon which newes, *Vastius* and
Auria, his two chiefe commanders, the one at land, the other at sea, would haue perswaded him
B to haue deferred his intended expedition for Africa vntill the next Spring: and with such
power as he had alreadie raised in Italie, and brought with him out of Germanie, to stay still
in Italie, so to make shew vnto the Turks as if he would haue returned and holpen his brother:
and in the meane time to assure himselfe of his state in Italie against the French, who (as it was
thought) would be readie to take all occasion of aduantage, if any mishap should befall him,
either by the force of the enemie, or violence of tempest. But he constant in his former re so-
lution, answered them as they sat in counsell, that they had perswaded him for great reasons to
stay in Italie; but that he was for far greater to passe into Africke: for if he should then stay in
Italie, it would be thought, that he was for feare of the Turks fled out of Germanie: which
C disgrace could no otherwise be preuented, but by the present prosecuting of his former de-
termination for Algiers, and satisfying the expectation of his subiects of Spaine; and so by sea
valiantly to proue their better fortune, which had of late not so well fauored them at land, in
hope that Algiers might bee woon before the seas should grow rough and dangerous with
Winter tempests: which if it should fall out according to his mind, he would not, as he said,
greatly care what the French could do. Yet was it thought, that the dissembling friendship
betwixt the French king and him, would not long indure: and the rather, for that there was
a new grudge risen betwixt them about the death of *Antonius Rinuo*, who for certaine years
had lien embassador for the French king at Constantinople, to *Solyman*, and was a few months
before sent backe again by him into France to the king: but returning backe againe with new
instructions from his Master, for the confirmation of a further league betwixt the Turkish
D Sultan and him, hee was by certaine Spaniards of the Emperors old soldiers, who had know-
ledge of his comming, belaied vpon the riuer Padus as he was going downe to Venice, so to
haue passed into Epirus, and slaine, together with *Cæsar Fregosius*: or as the common report
went, first taken and tortured, to get from him the secrets of his negotiation, and afterwards
slaine. Which report so much touched *Vastius* in credit, that in purgation of himselfe, he offe-
red the combat to any man of like qualitie to himselfe, that durst charge him with the truth
thereof. But many were of opinion, that he was well and worthily taken away, for vndertа-
king so odious a charge, as to stirre vp the Turks against the Christians, and to shew vnto them
such opportunities as might best serue their purpose, by discouering vnto them the Emperors
designes, to the great hurt of the Christian common-weale. But were it well, or were it euill;
E as *Paulus* the third of that name then Bishop of Rome, meeting the Emperour at Luca as hee
came from Genoa, could not, or would determine, sure it serued as no small occasion to set
those two great Princes again at ods, whereby the wished vnitie of the Christian state was
more shaken, and a way opened for the Turke. The Emperor at his comming to Luca, was ho-
norably receiued by the Cardinals and Bishops, and lodged in the court; the great Bishop was
before placed in the Bishops pallace, whither the Emperor came thrice to talke with him, and
the Bishop to him once. But the Bishop hauing nothing at all preuailed with the Emperor and
the French embassador, for the appeasing of the troubles euen then like to arise betwixt him
and the French king; did what hee might to perswade him to employ such forces as hee was
about to passe ouer with into Africke, against the Turks in defence of his brother *Ferdinand*,
F and of the countrey of Austria, if *Solyman* should happily pursue his late obtained victorie at
Buda. But he still resolute in that fatall determination of inuading of Africke, reiected that
the Bishops request also. So the great Bishop hauing moued much, and preuailed little, in the
greatest matters which most concerned the common good, taking his leaue of the Emperour,
returned by easie iournies to Rome.

The French kings embassadour slaine by the Emperour.

The Emperour and the Bishop of Rome meet at Luca.

The

The Emperour in the mean time with certain bands of Italians, vnder the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Augustinus Spinula*, and six thousand Germans, came from Luca to the port Lune and there imbarking his souldiers in certain marchants ships prouided for the purpose, and fiue & thirtie gallies, departed thence, commanding the masters of the ships to direct their course to the Ilands of Balcares: but after they had put to sea, they were by force of tempest suddenly arising, brought within sight of Corsica: where after they had been tossed too and fro two daies in the rough seas, and put out of their course, the wind something falling, they put into the hauen of Syracusa, now called Bonifacium. The dispersed fleet once come together into the port of Syracusa, and the rage of the sea well appeased, hee put to sea againe for the Ilands Beleares, now called Maiorca and Minorca: where in his course he met with a tempest from the West, more terrible and dreadfull than the first: wherin diuers of the gallies hauing lost their masts and saile[illegible]re glad with extreame labour and perill in striuing against the wrought sea to get into a harbour of the lesser Island, taking name of *Barchinus Ma[illegible]* famous Carthaginensian, whose name it retaineth vntil this day. From hence the Empe[illegible]rith all his fleet passed ouer to the greater Island, being wonderfull glad that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* his Viceroy in Sicilia was in good time come with the Sicilian gallies and ships of Italie, in number a hundred and fifty saile, wherin he had brought such store of bisket and victual, as might haue sufficed for a long war. *Mendoza* was also expected to haue come thither with his fleete from Spaine; but he by reason of contrarie winds being not able to hold that course, altered his purpose according to the tempest, and so happily cut ouer directly to Algiers. So the Emperour nothing misdoubting the carefull diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed already changed, and the wind now seruing faire, by the persuasion of *Auria* his Admirall hoised saile, and in two daies came before Algiers, and there in goodly order came to anker before the citie in the sight of the enemy. Whilest the fleet thus lay, two of the pyrats which had beene abroad at sea seeking for prize, returning to Algiers, not knowing any thing of the fleet, fell into the bay amongst them before they were aware: the bigger whereof *Viscontes Cicada* stemmed with his gallie and sunke him, the other with wonderfull celeritie got into the hauen. In the mean time *Mendoza* with his gallies had passed the promontorie of *Apollo* now called the cape of Gallineus, and in token of honour saluting the Emperour after the manner at sea, with all his great ordnance, gaue him knowledge that the Spanish fleet was not far behind. In this fleet was aboue a hundred tal ships of Biscay and the low countries, and of other smaller vessels a far greater number. In these ships, besides the footmen, was embarked a great number of braue horsemen out of all parts of Spaine: for many noble Gentlemen had voluntarily of their owne charge gallantly furnished themselues with braue armour and couragious horses, to serue their Prince and countrey against the Infidels. Ouer these choice men commanded *Ferdinand* of Toledo, Duke of Alba, for his approued valor then accounted a famous captaine. These ships going altogether with sailes, were not yet able to double the cape as did *Mendoza* with his gallies, for now it was a dead calme: howbeit the billow of the sea went yet high, by reason of the rage of the late tempest, & did so beat against the plain shore, that it was not possible to land the souldiers, but that they must needs be washed vp to the middle: which thing the Emperor thought it not good to put them vnto, and so to oppose them sea sick and thorow wet against the sudden & desperat assaults of their fierce enemies. He also staied for the comming of the Spanish ships for two causes: first, that hee might with his vnited power more strongly assault the citie, and terrifie the enemie: then, to communicat the whole glory of the action with the Spaniards, at whose request and forwardnesse & greatest charge he had vndertaken that war. Which litel delay of two days, although it was grounded vpon good reason, did not only disturbe a[illegible]affured victorie, but to the notable hurt of the whole armie, opened a way to all the calamities which after ward insued.

The Emperour driuen by tempest into Sicilia

The Emperour commeth to Algiers.

The Emperours fleet out of Spaine and the Low countries.

The Duke of Alba.

Delay in great actions hurtful.

In the meane while the Emperor sent a conuenient messenger to *Asanagas*, otherwise and more truely called *Assan-Aga*, or *Assan* the eunuch; who with a little flag of truce in his hand making signe of a parley, and answered by the Moores with like, as their manner is, went on shore, and was of them courteously receiued and brought to *Assan*. This *Assan* was an eunuch, borne in Sardinia, brought vp from his youth in the Mahometan superstition by *Barbarussa*, a man both politicke and valiant, and by him left for the k[illegible]ping of his kingdome of Algiers in his a[illegible]ence with *Solyman*. This messenger brough[illegible] his presence, & required him forth-

A messenger to Assan Aga gouernour of Algiers for Barbarussa.

A city (first surprised by force & trechery by *Horruccius*, & afterwards to the destruction of mankind, fortified by *Hariadenus Barbarussa* his brother) to *Charles* the mightie emperor, come in person himselfe to be reuenged on those horrible pyrats: which if he would do, it should be lawfull for the Turks to depart whether they would, & for the naturall Moores to abide stil, with their goods and religion wholly reserued vnto them vntouched, as in former time: and for himselfe, he should receiue of the Emperor great rewards both in time of peace & wars, so that he would remember himselfe, that he was borne in Sardinia, & was once a Christian; and accept of the fairest occasion which could possibly be offered for him to returne againe to the worshipping of the true God, and to injoy the fauor and bountie of the most mightie Emperor, and withall to reuenge himselfe of the cruell tyrant *Barbarussa*, for the vnnaturall villany
B done vnto his person. But if he would needs dally on the time, & make proofe of the strength of so great preparation, he should vndoubtedly, with the rest of his followers, receiue the same reward of his obstinacie, which they had to the example of others, receiued at Tunes. Wher-
unto the vngracious eunuch answered, That he thought him altogether mad, that would follow his enemies counsel, & with a grinning countenance askt him, Vpon what hope the Emperour trusted to be able to win the citie? the messenger pointing with his finger directly to the fleet told him, That which you see, with his great artillerie, and valour of his souldiers, both horse and foot: whereat the eunuch scornfully laughing, replied, And we with like force and valor will defend this city, & make this place, alreadie famous for your ouerthrows here
C twice, now the third time, of all others most famous by the Emperors discomfiture. It is reported, That there was in Algiers an old witch, famous for her predictions, who had (as it was said) foretold the shipwracks & misery of *Didaco Verra* and *Hugo Moncada* to them of Algiers, & also prefixed a time when as the Christian emperor aduenturing to besiege that city, should there receiue great losse both by sea & land. The fame of which blind propheeie seruing fitly to confirm the hope of good successe in the minds of the vulgar multitude, *Assan* so feed and augmented (although he himselfe being a craftie wise fellow, beleeued no such vanitie) that he did therewith not onely encourage his owne souldiors, but also strucke a terrour into the minds of the weaker sort of his enemies, seeing themselues cast vpon so dangerous a coast vpon the approch of Winter. There was in garrison in the citie but 800 Turks, & most of them
D horsmen, but such, as whose valor & resolution far exceeded their number. For *Assan* had lost many of his best men, some in fight against *Mendoza*; & other some at sea, slain or taken by *Auria* in Corsica; & in other places by the Rhodian, Neapolitan, & Sicilian gallies; but many more were by his leaue gon to aid the Moors against the Portingals: the other multitude did scarce make vp the number of 5000; which were partly naturall Moores born in that country, and partly such as were born in Granado; to whom were ioined many fugitiues out of the Ilands of Maiorca & Minorca, who in former time hauing entred into rebellion, & fearing condigne punishment, were fled to Algiers, and there reuolted to the Mahometan superstition. But the
E captains of the wild Numidians made vp a great number both of horse and foot, which lying straggling without the citie in the open fields, should night & day vex and molest the Christians. This brutish people, naturally enemies vnto the Christians, had *Assan* with rewards and hope of a rich spoile, allured out of the countries thereabout to aid him: neither was it lawful for any man to carrie his wife or children out of the city, into places of more safety farther off, or to shew any small token of feare, pain of death being by the imperious eunuch proposed to whosoeuer should but look heauily for feare of danger, or speake a word sauouring of cowardise. The Emperour by *Auria* making choice of a most conuenient place for landing his men, layd his gallies so close vnto his tall ships, that his armed souldiers might with ease come out of the high built ships into them, & so out of them into the long boats, to be forthwith set on shore. And such was the speedie diligence of them that had the charge of that matter, and the plentie of boats stil readie to receiue the soldiers as fast as they could come out of the gallies,
F that the footmen were in a very short time all landed. The emperor hauing a little rested and refreshed his soldiers, diuided his armie into three equal battailes, which was in number about twentie thousand footmen, besides horsmen, & others, who of their owne voluntarie wil then followed the emperors fortune. Vnto euery battaile he appointed 3 field peeces, to terrifie the Numidian horsemen, which were stil pricking vp & downe about them, readie to charge

The scornfull answer of Assan the eunuch to the emperours messenger.

The Emperour landeth his armie at Algiers.

if they could take them at any aduantage. And so setting forward a few furlongs, encamped in a strong and conuenient place, neere vnto the citie, betweene two deepe ditches, which the water falling from the mountaines had naturally worne so deep, that neither horseman nor footman could well passe ouer, but by bridge: and fast by vpon the left hand was a hill, from the top whereof it seemed the citie might with great ordnance well be battered.

The description of Algiers.

The citie of Algiers, sometime the royall seat of the great King *Iuba*, called of the Romans Iulia Cæsarea, is in forme of a triangle, scituat fast by the sea towards the North, hauing a hauen, but neither great, neither safe from the North wind. The houses farther off from the sea, stand in seemly order vpon the rising of a steep hill, as it were vpon degrees; in such sort, that the windows of one row stil ouerlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into the sea, most beautifull to behold. The Emperour hauing diuided his campe into three parts, euery nation by themselues, lying on the [illegible] side of the towne, was in great hope to win it; and th[illegible]er, for that whilst he assaulted it on that side, his ships and gallies from the North side, mig[illegible]me of the assault with their great ordnance beat the enemy all alongst the wall: which st[illegible]ing higher and higher according to the rising of the steep hill, could not conueniently be defended with one bulwarke, as we see it may in plaine ground. Neerest vnto the rising of the hils,

The Numidians skirmish with the Spaniards

lay the Spaniards: in the midst, the Germans with the Emperor; and in the plaine neerest to the sea, the Italians. In the mean time whilst the great ordnance was landing, & the horses vnshipping, the Numidians with a hideous outcry shew'd themselues vpon the tops of the mountains aboue the Spaniards, and from thence easily gauled them with their darts and shot: for they nimbly running too & fro in the known paths of the rough mountains, would suddenly and fiercely assaile them, but after the manner of their nation skirmishing a far off, rather than neere at hand. In which maner of light skirmishes, all the day was spent vntil night, with small danger but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, these wild people, one companie still succeeding another in the place they had before taken, neuer left shooting; for whersoeuer they saw any fire in the Spanish camp, thither came arrows, darts, and stones flying as thicke as haile: for remedy whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their fires, and

The Spaniards put the Numidians to flight, and gaine the hils.

with silence to expect the day, that they might come neerer vnto them. Wherefore as soone as the Sun was vp, the Spaniards by the persuasion of *Aluares Sandes*, master of the camp, valiantly climing vp the high mountaines, repulsed and put to flight the Numidians, and tooke the top of the hils, and there lay as it were incamped in the poore sheepheards cottages. But the same day such a multitude of the wild people was flockt about them, that they were compassed in round, and glad to fight on euery side in a ring. Yet this fiercenes of this barbarous people, was by the valour of the Sicilian companies quickly represt, whose pikemen glistering in their bright armour, made small account of the Numidians arrowes and darts, but orderly stepping forwards with their pikes, & the harquebusiers close by their sides, easily repulsed their naked enemies. The Numidian footmen are for most part youths halfe naked, with

The discription of the Numidian footmen and horsemen.

long haire not vnlike the Irish, vsing no other weapons but darts: they fight mingled with their horsemen, trusting the one to the other, and are of a wonderfull swiftnesse and agilitie of bodie. Their horsmen vse long speares, armed at both ends, which they with a maruellous dexteritie vse, to the indangering of their enemy pursuing them: they vse also long and light targuets made of leather, wherwith they so cunningly defend themselues & their horses, both in their charge & retrait, that for a small trifle, in respect of the danger, they will giue a man leaue to cast seuen darts at one of them, which they wil all most surely auoid, either with the speare, or receiue them without harm in their targuet. In the mean time, whilst this wild people thus skirmished al the day, at night a sudde mischance ouerthrew al the emperors hope: for as he stood beholding the vnshipping of his great ordnance, his horses, victual, & other necessaries of the army, a storm of wind & rain began about six a clock in the afternoon, holding on

A terrible tempest.

all the night without intermission, with such rage, as if heauen & earth should haue gon together: wherwith the whole army at land was wonderfully troubled, & a great part of the fleet at sea by force of tempest driuen aground perished. That night 3 companies of the Italians, by the appointment of their generall, lay without the trenches against the sudden assault of so vncertain an enemy, who when they had all the night endured the vehement rain and extreame cold, were so ouercome with the extremity of the weather, that neither was their minds able to relieue their weake bodies, neither their feeble bodies their daunted minds: for they could neither

neither conueniently stand nor lie downe, all the ground being so mirie, that at euery step they sunke vp to the calfe of the legge. Vpon these starued companies, the Turkish horsemen and Moores footmen, who diligently obserued the watch of the Christians, perceiuing their disorder, suddenly sallied out in the dawning of the day, and so fiercely charged them, that their match and pouder being now so wet that they could not vse their pieces, that they all fled except a few pikemen, who made a stand, and were all quickly slaine by the Turks: who so desperatly pursued the rest in chase, that they followed them ouer the trench into the campe. This alarme being heard, *Camillus Columna* the Italian Generall came presently thither, being sent by the Emperor, who with certaine companies issued out ouer the bridge against the enemie: who now in shew discouraged with the comming out of this new supplie, did indeed, or at least-wise made as if they did disorderly retire for feare. At which time *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, viceroy of Sicilia, a man of greatest account in the army next vnto the Emperour, comming in also, and angry with them which had before fled; perswading them as valiant men, to recompence their shamefull flight with a fresh charge, by driuing the enemie home to his owne doore: which thing *Columna* said could not be done without great perill: but *Gonzaga* being a man of a noble courage, desired to haue the disgrace which the Italians had receiued, salued some way, although it were with neuer so great danger; thinking also that it might happily fal out, that the enemy being put to flight, and hastily pursued, they might together with them enter the city, without danger of the artillerie. So without farther delay, the rest of the Italian companies were led forth of their trenches with great cheerfulnes by *Augustine Spinola*, who so valiantly charged the enemies, that they put them to flight, and pursued them so hard, that they came with them to the very gates of the city: where many shut out for feare of letting in the Italians together with them, leaped by known waies, some to another gate, & some into the mountains. But then these barbarous people, with darts and shot from the wals, began to ouerwhelm the Italians which were vnaduisedly come within their danger, & with terrible outcries to terrifie them, & they which before were fled without the wals, returned again to fight. They also, which had shut the gate, sallied out again, & hardly charged the Italians, who already galled with shot from the wals, & rent in sunder with the great ordnance, fled most disorderly; for why, they were but raw soldiers taken vp in hast, little or nothing acquainted with the wars. At which time *Assan* also sallying out, who was easily knowne by his countenance & rich attire, pursued the chase with his troups of Turks & Moores footmen. Only certain knights of the Rhodes fought valiantly, & retired orderly: and *Spinola* with some other gentlemen making a stand at a little woodden bridge, somewhat staid the enemy & saued the liues of many. So the Italians which first charged most valiantly, being in the flight become hindermost, the enemie striking them downe as they fled, couered the fields with their dead bodies by the space of halfe a mile, especially they which fled towards the sea: for there they were circumuented & slain by the mercilesse Numidians, who beholding the shipwreck, were come down to the sea side for prey. But the formost companies of the Italians which first fled into the campe, fled in so much hast & so great feare, that none of the leaders in so great and sudden a perplexity, remembred either the common safety, or performed the dutie of an aduised captaine; so that all seemed at once lost both by sea and land. Only the Emperor, armed with an inuincible courage against all the chances of fortune, & not to be dismaid with any mishap, was both vnto himselfe & others that day the greatest captaine; for when all was almost lost, he in good time staied the matter by comming on with the squadron of Germans, whereof he sent before three ensigns to stay the flight, & with them as a sure & fresh supply to guard his campe beyond the bridge which was ouer the ditch, seruing his armie for a trench as we haue before said. But such a feare had possessed the minds of the flying Italians, and such was the fierce pursuit of the enemy, that those Germans (not before wont to turne their backs) as if they had bin afraid of the Turkes white caps, or not able to abide their sight, or to hold vp weapon against them, by and by turned their backs, and shamefully fled for companie with the Italians. Then the Emperor galloping forth with his horse, and his sword in his hand drawn, reprouing them of cowardise that fled, set forward with the German squadron, and with a stout & manly courage spake to them these few words in their owne language: *When will you (fellow souldiers) shew your faces to your proud enemies; if now when you should fight for the honor of the Christian name, for the glory of the German nation, for the safegard of your owne liues, in the presence of your Emperor, you feare*

The Moores put to flight by the Italians.

The Italians dismaied by the Moores fly, & indanger the whole campe.

The notable courage of the Emperour in staying the flight of his armie.

feare a few disordred and naked Barbarians? Immediatly when he had thus said, the Germanes touched with shame, and disdaining that it should be thought they acceded any exhortation to performe the parts of valiant souldiers, issued out against the enemy: who moued with their comming, and seeing the Italian battell againe restored by the valor and trauell of certain valiant and expert captains, stood still a while and began to retyre; whether it were because they feared the great Artillery and assault of the Germanes, or that they thought they had done enough for that sally: when as for the full accomplishment of the victory they saw the Christian fleet ouercome with a most horrible tempest, miserably to perish before their faces; & many of their men, especially the Moores, hasted to the sea side in hope of a more certaine prey, whereas was no enemy to be feared. For the blustring windes blowing from diuers quarters, as if they had conspired to raise a most horrible tempest, had made such a wrought sea, & the billows went so high, that the ships by the violence of the weather, and rage of the sea, put from their anchors, fel foule one of another, & were so lost; or els driuen vpon [illegible] were there beaten in pieces in the sight of the army: so that all the sea coast Westward [illegible] giers to Cercello, lay full of dead men & horses, and the ribs of broken ships. The Numidians beholding this miserable wrecke, came down by great companies fro the mountaines, & without mercy slew all that came aliue to land. In the space of a few houres was lost about 140 ships, and all the smal boats & caruels, which were in number many. Some of the gallies, when they had from midnight to the next day at noone, by the painfull labour of the mariners, and skilfulnes of the masters, rid it out; being no longer able to endure the rage of the tempest, & fearing to be caten vp with the sea, with sailes and oares ran a ground: but the souldiers and mariners swimming to land in hope to saue their liues, & thinking that the greatest danger had bin now past, were by the Numidian horsmen which ran vp and downe the sea side, slaine. There might a man haue seene free-men of all sorts, with teares commending their liues and liberty to their own gally-slaues, that by the speech & intreaty of them, which by the sudden change of fortune had but euen now shaken off their yrons, & with merry hearts swam out to their liberty, they might be saued from the cruelty of the fierce Numidians. It was a most grieuous and wofull sight for diuers hard extremities, when as euery man according to the disposition of his mind and skill in swimming, standing doubtfull in most assured death, which to receiue or refuse, was by fatall destiny drawne to his end, and either drowned in the sea, or thrust thorow with the enemies lance: yet most made choice to abide the danger of the sea, & to expect the euent of the tempest, rather than to hasten their end by the enemies merciless hand. By that means it came to passe, that that barbarous cruelty of the enemy (as a thing most feared of the mariners & souldiers) saued many gallies, which by the appointment of the fearefull mariners and passengers should otherwise haue bin run on ground. But after that, a notable gally wherein *Iannettin Auria* went, was seene to come neere vnto the shore, and to be driuen vpon the sands by force of weather and the beating of other gallies. The Emperor not enduring to see so valiant a yong gentleman, captaine of many gallies, slaine without helpe by the Moores in the sight of *Auria* his vnkle; sent by and by one of his captaines called *Antonius* of Aragon, with three bands of Italians to the sea side: by whose comming the Moores were put to flight, and he with the rest in the gally saued; but so, that the sauing of him was the losse of diuers other gallies. For many deliuered of the feare of the Numidians, and trusting to the rescue of the souldiers came downe to the sea side, desiring to saue themselues from the rage of the sea, ran their gallies on ground; and had not some bold captains (grieued to see so great a losse) ran vp and downe the banks with their drawne swords in their hands, and by threatening death vnto the gally-slaues and mariners staied their rowing, most part of the gallies had by the example of the others perished. *Auria*, not so angry at himselfe as at the Emperor (who, contrarie to the obseruation of skilfull seamen, could not be dissuaded from taking in hand that great expedition in so suspitious a time of the yere) with an inuincible courage striue against the violence of the tempest, and rage of the sea: insomuch, that being requested by some of his friends to saue himselfe, whatsoeuer became of the gallie; he was so angry thereat, that he commanded them to be bestowed vnder hatches. Foure Gallies also of *Virginius Vrsinus* Earle of Anguillaria, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of their honour exceeding the feare of death. Certaine gallies also of Sicilia, Naples, and Spaine, happily endured all the rage of the tempest: yet was there fifteene great gallies cast away; with the

An horrible tempest.

The Christian fleet perisheth by shipwracke.

A braue choice.

Many gallies lost by sauing of one man.

the losse wherof, besides the losse of so many ships, the tempest still enduring, so great sorrow and desperation in the wofull expectation of the wrecke of all, possessed the whole army, that not only the yong souldiers regarding only their owne liues, but euen the most valiant captains carefull of the common estate, were vtterly discouraged: for neuer was army in any memorie ouerwhelmed with a greater concourse of calamities, when as all their victuals being lost in three daies, nothing was left to relieue them withall, and they wanted tents wherin to shroud and rest the souldiers spent with labor, hunger, cold, and wounds, in such perpetuall raine and so dirty a country. In which so great miseries a wonderfull care heauier than the former fear exceedingly troubled the minds of all men, to think vpon that horrid wreck; when as hauing lost so many ships, and they p[illegible] men landed in Affrick, were in doubt how euer to returne againe into their native countr[illegible] the notable courage of the Emperor still kept the distressed men in hope, which neuer[illegible] neither forsaketh wretched men in the midst of their calamities: for he with a couragious heart and cheerfull countenance performed all the parts of a prouident and curteous Generall. For when he had againe made sure his campe against the assaults of the Barbarians, he commanded the wearied captaines, especially the duke of Alba (wonderfully wearied in the late skirmish, and dung wet) to spare themselues and take their rest: he comforted the wounded men, & caused thē to be caried & cherished in the tents which by chance yet stood (for the tempestuous wind had almost ouerthrowne them all) and so not sparing himself for any pains, being in his armor & thorow wet, won the hearts of all his soldiers the more. In this conflict he lost about 3000 men, amongst whom was fiue of his forward captains, & three Knights of the Rhodes: but many moe were hurt. The greatest losse was thought to be in losse of the ships and of the mariners, which was also increased by the losse of a wonderfull deale of great ordnance, reckoned so much the greater, for that it would come into the hands of the Moores, to the common harme of the Christians, so soone as the sea would giue them leaue to diue for it. Shortly after, *Auria* (as he was to foresee a tempest, a wonderfull obseruer of the sea, of the heauens, & of the clouds) mistrusting that place, departed with the remainder of the fleet to the cape called Metafusium, because it was a place of safer riding for his gallies, and better for the taking in of the souldiers: aduising the Emperor to march thither by land. Which his counsell the Emperor liking well of, to relieue the hunger of his souldiers, commanded first all the draught horses which were first vnshipped for the drawing of the great ordnance, and after them the horses for seruice, to be killed, and diuided for meat among the souldiers. As for wood to make fire of, they had plentie of the planks and ribs of the broken ships, fortune as it were with that one poore benefit recompensing so many calamities. The next day the emperor departed from Algiers, with his army diuided into three battels, the sicke & wounded men being receiued into the middle: and when he had marched seuen miles (the enemies horsmen still houering about him) he came to a heady brooke which the Moores call Alcaraz: which was growne so high with the abundant raine and the checke of the winde and of the sea, that being but a shallow thing before, it was not now to be passed ouer by a good horseman. Wherefore the Emperour of necessity there incamped, in such sort, that lying with his armie in forme of a triangle, two sides of his army was defended with the sea and the brooke, and the other with a strong guard of armed men, for he thought it not good to depart from the sea, a sure defence for his army on the left hand, to seeke a foord farther of. Many aduenturing to swim ouer, were by the violence of the streame carried away and drowned. Wherefore the Emperour caused a bridge to be made ouer it, of the masts & saile yards of the brokē ships, which were by chance there taken vp, and so passed ouer the Italians and Germans. The Spaniards marching higher vp the brooke, found a foord whereby they passed ouer. After which time the Turks pursued them no further, being called backe again by *Assan* their gouernor: as for the Moores and Numidians which still followed at hand alwaies ready to skirmish, they were easily repulsed by the harquebusiers and field pieces appointed to euery nation: but vpon such sicke & wounded men as were not able to keepe way with the army, they exercised all manner of cruelty: for there was none which in that small hope, possessed with feare of their own safetie, was greatly moued with the compassion of their fellows miserie. The next day passing ouer another little riuer, which the souldiers waded ouer vp to the brests, they came in three daies march to the rode where the fleet lay, and incamped in the ruines of the old city Tipasa neere vnto the sea side, which serued them in stead of a fortresse against the Barbarians. The sea was now calme, the

The misery of the Christian Armie.

The cheerefulnesse of the emperour comforteth the whole distressed army.

Horses good meat in the Emperors armie.

The Emperour departeth from Algiers.

He embarqueth his Army.

the wind laied, and the weather ſo faire that all men thought the ſoldiers might now well be G
imbarked and tranſported into Europe: wherefore the Emperor to the great joy of the whole
army commanded euery man to make himſelf ready to go abord, in ſuch ſort, that firſt the Ita-
lians, next the Germans, and laſt of all the Spaniards ſhould be imbarked: but ſo many ſhips and
gallies, as is before ſaid, being loſt by ſhipwrecke, it was thought that thoſe which were left

Horſes of great price drowned by the emperors commaund, to make roome for the common ſoldiers.

were not able to receiue the whole army, although it was crowded together as cloſe as were
poſſible. Wherefore the Emperor commanded the maſters and owners of the ſhips to caſt all
the horſes ouerbord into the ſea, reputing it an vnmerciful part, to prefer the ſafegard of thoſe
horſes (although they were of great worth) before the life of the baſeſt common ſouldier or
horſeboy in his campe. Which thing much grieued the mindes of the noblemen and owners
of thoſe goodly beaſts, namely for that they were (not without extreme neceſſity) for the pre- H
ſent depriued of ſuch an inestimable treaſure, but ſhould for euer, as they ſaid, loſe the moſt no-
table race of horſes in Spain: there with griefe & vain compaſſion, was to be ſeene ... or-
ſes of ſernice, bearing vp their proud heads, ſwimming all about the ſea vnto the ſhips ... reſt
vnto them for ſafegard, as if it had bin to the ſhore, & in the end wearied with long ſwimming
to be there drowned. But ſcarce half the ſoldiers were yet imbarked, when the Eaſt & North-
Eaſt wind, & ſtraitwaies after diuers contrary winds almoſt as great as the firſt, roſe: whereupon
the ſhips which had already taken in the ſoldiers, not expecting any command, for feare of be-
ing driuen vpon the rocks, directed their courſe according as the wind carried them, with full
ſailes alongſt the coaſt: They were quickly out of ſight and diſperſed with the tempeſt, ſome
into one country, ſome into another, carrying the fame of that ſhipwrecke, and the report that

Two Spaniſh ſhips full of ſoldiers driuen by tempeſt to Algiers.

all was loſt, into the Iſlands of the Mediterranean and ports of Italy. The force of this tempeſt
was ſo great, and the billow went ſo high, that ſome of the ſhips were in the ſight of their fel-
lowes ſwallowed vp of the ſea. But amongſt the reſt two Spaniſh ſhips full of ſoldiers were by
wonderfull miſhap by contrary winds driuen againe to Algiers, and there ſet faſt vpon that fa-
tall ſhore, where the Numidian horſemen with a multitude of Moores following them, came
running down to the ſea ſide to kill them as they ſhould come to ſhore: for the barbarous peo-
ple thirſting after Chriſtian bloud, would not receiue them to mercy, although they were rea-
die to yeeld themſelues, and couenanted nothing but the ſafegard of their liues. At which
their cruelty the Spaniards diſdaining, with their weapons in their hands got to ſhore, & ſtan-
ding cloſe together as deſperat men, withſtood them who had with their multitude quickely I
compaſſed them in round: yet in deſpight of what that barbarous multitude (without regard
of humanity or law of armes) could do, they made way thorow the midſt of them, from the
place where they were caſt on ſhore, vnto the very gates of the city. But ſeeing the Turkes
ſally out, they called vnto them, offring to yeeld themſelues priſoners to *Aſſan* without further
reſiſtance, if they would aſſure them their liues, which they were in good hope of, for that he

Aſſan taketh the Spaniards to mercy.

was born of Chriſtian parents in Sardinia, and was attended vpon with many renegate Spani-
ards. So *Aſſan* comming forth of the city, gaue them his faith for their ſafety, & beating away
the Moores & Numidians, curteouſly ſaued them all, wiſely making great account of ſo great
a gain as would redound vnto him by ſo many priſoners, ioined with no ſmall commendation
of his clemency in ſauing them. Of the Germanes the third part neuer returned home, but L
were either loſt with ſhipwrecke, or els dead of the ſicknes enſuing ſo great miſeries. The em-

The Emperor commeth to Buzia.

peror perſuaded (or rather ouerruled) by *Auria*, to auoid the violence of the tempeſt, failed a-
longſt the coaſt of Affricke Eaſtward to Buzia, the caſtle wherof was kept with a ſmall garri-
ſon of Spaniards: where the Emperor landing, found ſome freſh victual, though not much, yet
ſuch as did both him & the other noblemen no ſmall pleaſure. Whilſt the Emperor lay at Bu-
zia expecting fairer weather, a great ſhip of Genoa laded with victuall chanced to come into
the bay, to the great reioicing of the hungry ſoldiers: but ſuch was the violence of the tempeſt,
that her ankers came home, and ſhe driuen vpon the flats was caſt away; yet ſo, as that part of
the victuall driuen to ſhore, and halfe ſpoiled with the ſalt water, well relieued the increaſing
want. In the meane time the Emperor when he had long looked for the aſſuaging of the tem- M
peſt, & was now out of hope of any new ſupply of victuall, ſent away *Gonzaga* with the Sicili-
an and Rhodian gallies: for the winde before at North was now come to Northweſt, and put
them in hope to aduenture again to ſea, rather than to ſtay there longer. So although with a
troubleſome yet a proſperous courſe, they came in ſhort time to the port of Vtica, now cal-
led

A led Farinas: where *Muleſſes* King of Tunes bountifully relieued *Gonzaga* and his fleet with
all kinde of victuall and other neceſſaries. From whence they afterward departed, and landed
all in ſafetie at Drepanum in Sicilia. The bluſtring winds were now at length weary of blow-
ing, and the raging ſea became calme, ſo that the skilfull ſea-men for feare of new dangers, and
wearie of thoſe that were paſt, thought it beſt to aduenture againe to ſea. Almoſt euery houre
they were reaſoning in counceil, What courſe they were for moſt ſafetie beſt to take: when
ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt to beare for Sardinia or Corſica: and otherſome would
haue had them to haue kept alongſt the coaſt of Affrica, and ſo directly for Sicilia. But the
wind comming faire at Eaſt, the Emperor directed his courſe to the Iſlands Baleares, and from

The Emperor arriueth in Spaine.

thence at length arriued at the port of new Carthage in Spaine, greatly commended euen of
B his enemies, for the wonderfull courage and conſtancie in paſſing thorow ſo many extremities,
in ſuch ſort as if he had triumphed ouer the malice of fortune.

1542 About this time the diſſembled friendſhip betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the

The French King the more to trouble the Emperor, ſolicileth Solyman to inuade his countries.

French King brake out into open hatred. The king firſt thinking himſelfe deluded by the Em-
peror, who had long time fed him with the vaine hope of the reſtitution of the duchy of Mil-
lan, when as he meant nothing leſſe; and of late abuſed by the death of *Rinco* his Embaſſador,
ſlaine by the Spaniards in paſſing down the riuer Padus, as is before declared. In reuenge wher-
of he raiſed a great power in France, and at ſuch time as moſt men thought he would haue in-
uaded Italy, ſent *Charles* his ſon with the one part of his forces into the Low-countries, which
were then gouerned by *Mary* Queene of Hungary the Emperors ſiſter; and *Henry* his other ſon
C with the other part of his forces to inuade Spaine; both young Princes of great hope. And
not ſo contented, but deſirous by all meanes to trouble and moleſt the Emperour, as he did in
the Low-countries by ſetting on the Duke of Cleue: ſo by *Antonius Polinus* his Embaſſador, a
man of great diſcretion, he earneſtly ſolicited *Solyman* the Great Turke, with whome he was
then in league, to ſpoile the borders of Spaine with his gallies, at the ſame time that *Henry* his
ſon was beſieging Perpenna in Spain. For which practiſe he was of moſt men diſcommended,
as too much fauouring his owne griefe; and eſpecially by ſuch as affected the Emperor. But
how this matter (which drew vpon the French King no ſmall enuie) was carried in the Turks
court, ſhall not (as I hope) be vnto this Hiſtorie impertinent to declare.

Polinus the French Embaſſadour meeteth Solyman comming from Buda, and offereth vnto him Preſents from the French King.

After the death of *Rinco* ſlain by the Spaniards, *Francis* the French king ſent *Antonius Polinus*
D a man of great dexterity, his Embaſſador to *Solyman*: who paſſing by many by-waies to Ve-
nice, and ſo ouer the gulfe to Sibinicum, croſſing ouer Illyria, met with *Solyman* in Miſia, as he
was comming from Buda; and there firſt offered vnto him the Preſent ſent from the king his
maſter (for with emptie hands no man might preſume to come to thoſe barbarous kings of the
Eaſt) which Preſent was a cupboord of plate curiouſly wrought, in weight 600 pounds: and
500 rich garments of all ſorts of ſilke & skarlet to be beſtowed vpon the Baſſa's & other great
courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French Kings letters, and heard what he had further
to ſay, ſeemed to be greatly moued with the death of *Rinco*, & promiſed *Polinus* not to be wan-
ting vnto the French king, by ſea or land to giue him aid in his iuſt wars againſt *Charles* his ene-
mie, for breaking of the league: but foraſmuch as nothing could be well determined of ſuch

The requeſt of the French embaſſador to Solyman.

E matters in his journy of ſo great haſt, he told him, that as ſoon as he was come to Conſtantino-
ple, he ſhould then haue anſwer by his Baſſa's of all his demands. The Embaſſador aboue all
things deſired that he would ſend *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* with his fleet againſt the next Summer
into Prouince, there to be receiued into the French harbors, & to be imploied againſt the Em-
peror as occaſion ſhould require: & further, That he would requeſt the Venetians, with whom
he was able to do much, to joyn in league with the king his maſter againſt *Charles* the emperor,
whoſe power began now to be dreadful to their eſtate. *Polinus* was not ſlack in his buſines, but
all the way as he went ſought to win the fauor of the Baſſa's, ſtill giuing them one Preſent or
other, & filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to Conſtan-
tinople, in the later end of December, *Solyman* promiſing what he had before ſaid, aduiſed *Po-*
F *linus* to returne to France with his letters, and to bring him certain word back again from the
king, of the determinat time & full reſolution of taking thoſe wars in hand: & that he would in
the mean time ſend *Iunusbeius* his embaſſador to Venice, who had bin there diuers times b
fore, & would prouide to haue ſuch a fleet in readines as he deſired. *Polinus* exceeding glad of
that anſwer, with great ſpeed returned backe again to the King, bringing with him us Preſents

from

He embarqueth his Army.

the wind laied, and the weather so faire that all men thought the soldiers might now well be G
imbarked and transported into Europe: wherefore the Emperor to the great joy of the whole army commanded euery man to make himself ready to go abord, in such sort, that first the Italians, next the Germans, and last of all the Spaniards should be imbarked: but so many ships and gallies, as is before said, being lost by shipwrecke, it was thought that those which were left were not able to receiue the whole army, although it was crowded together as close as were possible. Wherefore the Emperor commanded the masters and owners of the ships to cast all the horses ouerbord into the sea, reputing it an vnmerciful part, to prefer the safegard of those horses (although they were of great worth) before the life of the baseſt common souldier or horseboy in his campe. Which thing much grieued the mindes of the noblemen and owners of those goodly beasts, not only for that they were (not without extreme necessity) for the present depriued of such an inestimable treasure, but should for euer, as they said, lose the most notable race of horses in Spain: there with griefe & vain compassion, was to be seeng ... orses of seruice, bearing vp their proud heads, swimming all about the sea vnto the ... rest vnto them for safegard, as if it had bin to the shore, & in the end wearied with long swimming to be there drowned. But scarce half the soldiers were yet imbarked, when the East & North-East wind, & straitwaies after diuers contrary winds almost as great as the first, rose: whereupon the ships which had already taken in the soldiers, not expecting any command, for feare of being driuen vpon the rocks, directed their course according as the wind carried them, with full sailes alongst the coast: They were quickly out of sight and dispersed with the tempest, some into one country, some into another, carrying the fame of that shipwrecke, and the report that all was lost, into the Islands of the Mediterranean and ports of Italy. The force of this tempest was so great, and the billow went so high, that some of the ships were in the sight of their fellowes swallowed vp of the sea. But amongst the rest two Spanish ships full of soldiers driuen by wonderfull mishap by contrary winds driuen againe to Algiers, and there set fast vpon that fatall shore, where the Numidian horsemen with a multitude of Moores following them, came running down to the sea side to kill them as they should come to shore: for the barbarous people thirsting after Christian bloud, would not receiue them to mercy, although they were readie to yeeld themselues, and couenanted nothing but the safegard of their liues. At which their cruelty the Spaniards disdaining, with their weapons in their hands got to shore, & standing close together as desperat men, withstood them who had with their multitude quickely K
compassed them in round: yet in despight of what that barbarous multitude (without regard of humanity or law of armes) could do, they made way thorow the midst of them, from the place where they were cast on shore, vnto the very gates of the city. But seeing the Turkes sally out, they called vnto them, offring to yeeld themselues prisoners to *Assan* without further resistance, if they would assure them their liues, which they were in good hope of, for that he was born of Christian parents in Sardinia, and was attended vpon with many renegate Spaniards. So *Assan* comming forth of the city, gaue them his faith for their safety, & beating away the Moores & Numidians, curteously saued them all, wisely making great account of so great a gain as would redound vnto him by so many prisoners, ioined with no small commendation of his clemency in sauing them. Of the Germanes the third part neuer returned home, but L
were either lost with shipwrecke, or els dead of the sicknes ensuing so great miseries. The emperor persuaded (or rather ouerruled) by *Auria*, to auoid the violence of the tempest, sailed alongst the coast of Affricke Eastward to Buzia, the castle whereof was kept with a small garrison of Spaniards: where the Emperor landing, found some fresh victual, though not much, yet such as did both him & the other noblemen no small pleasure. Whilst the Emperor lay at Buzia expecting fairer weather, a great ship of Genoa laded with victuall chanced to come into the bay, to the great reioicing of the hungry soldiers: but such was the violence of the tempest, that her ankers came home, and she driuen vpon the flats was cast away; yet so, as that part of the victuall driuen to shore, and halfe spoiled with the salt water, well relieued the increasing want. In the meane time the Emperor when he had long looked for the assuaging of the tem- M
pest, & was now out of hope of any new supply of victuall, sent away *Gonzaga* with the Sicilian and Rhodian gallies: for the winde before at North was now come to Northwest, and put them in hope to aduenture again to sea, rather than to stay ... there longer. So although with a troublesome yet a prosperous course, they came in sho... ue to the port of Vtica, now called

Horses of great price drowned by the emperors commaund, to make roome for the common soldiers.

Two Spanish ships full of soldiers driuen by tempest to Algiers.

Assan taketh the Spaniards to mercy.

The Emperor commeth to Buzia.

A led Farinas: where *Muleasses* King of Tunes bountifully relieued *Gonzaga* and his fleet with all kinde of victuall and other necessaries. From whence they afterward departed, and landed all in safetie at Drepanum in Sicilia. The blustring winds were now at length weary of blowing, and the raging sea became calme, so that the skilfull sea-men for feare of new dangers, and wearie of those that were past, thought it best to aduenture againe to sea. Almost euery houre they were reasoning in councell, What course they were for most safetie best to take: when some were of opinion, that it was best to beare for Sardinia or Corsica: and otherſome would haue had them to haue kept alongst the coast of Affrica, and so directly for Sicilia. But the wind comming faire at East, the Emperor directed his course to the Islands Baleares, and from thence at length arriued at the port of new Carthage in Spaine, greatly commended euen of *The Emperor arriueth in Spaine.*
B his enemies, for the wonderfull courage and constancie in passing thorow so many extremities, in such sort as if he had triumphed ouer the malice of fortune.

1542 About this time the dissembled friendship betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the French King brake out into open hatred. The king first thinking himself deluded by the Emperor, who had long time fed him with the vaine hope of the restitution of the duchy of Millan, when as he meant nothing lesse; and of late abused by the death of *Rinco* his Embassador, slaine by the Spaniards in passing down the riuer Padus, as is before declared. In reuenge wher- *The French King the more to trouble the Emperor, solicieth Solyman to inuade his countries.*
of he raised a great power in France, and at such time as most men thought he would haue inuaded Italy, sent *Charles* his son with the one part of his forces into the Low-countries, which were then gouerned by *Mary* Queene of Hungary the Emperors sister; and *Henry* his other son
C with the other part of his forces to inuade Spaine; both young Princes of great hope. And not so contented, but desirous by all meanes to trouble and molest the Emperour, as he did in the Low-countries by setting on the Duke of Cleue: so by *Antonius Polinus* his Embassador, a man of great discretion, he earnestly solicited *Solyman* the Great Turke, with whome he was then in league, to spoile the borders of Spaine with his gallies, at the same time that *Henry* his son was besieging Perpenna in Spain. For which practise he was of most men discommended, as too much fauouring his owne griefe; and especially by such as affected the Emperor. But how this matter (which drew vpon the French King no small enuie) was carried in the Turks court, shall not (as I hope) be vnto this Historie impertinent to declare.

After the death of *Rinco* slain by the Spaniards, *Francis* the French king sent *Antonius Polinus*
D a man of great dexterity, his Embassador to *Solyman*: who passing by many by-waies to Venice, and so ouer the gulfe to Sibinicum, crossing ouer Illyria, met with *Solyman* in Misia, as he was comming from Buda; and there first offered vnto him the Present sent from the king his master (for with emptie hands no man might presume to come to those barbarous kings of the East) which Present was a cupboord of plate curiously wrought, in weight 600 pounds: and 500 rich garments of all sorts of silke & skarlet to be bestowed vpon the Bassa's & other great courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French Kings letters, and heard what he had further to say, seemed to be greatly moued with the death of *Rinco*, & promised *Polinus* not to be wanting vnto the French king, by sea or land to giue him aid in his iust wars against *Charles* his ene- *Polinus the French Embassadour meeteth Solyman comming from Buda, and offereth vnto him Presents from the French King.*
mie, for breaking of the league: but forasmuch as nothing could be well determined of such
E matters in his journy of so great hast, he told him, that as soon as he was come to Constantinople, he should then haue answer by his Bassa's of all his demands. The Embassador aboue all things desired that he would send *Hariadenus Barbarussa* with his fleet against the next Summer into Prouince, there to be receiued into the French harbors, & to be imployed against the Emperor as occasion should require: & further, That he would request the Venetians, with whom he was able to do much, to joyn in league with the king his master against *Charles* the emperor, whose power began now to be dreadful to their estate. *Polinus* was not slack in his busines, but all the way as he went sought to win the fauor of the Bassa's, still giuing them one Present or other, & filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to Constantinople, in the later end of December, *Solyman* promising what he had before said, aduised *Po-* *The request of the French embassador to Solyman.*
F *linus* to returne to France with his letters, and to bring him certain word back again from the king, of the determinat time & full resolution of taking those wars in hand: & that he would in the mean time send *Iunusbeius* his embassador to Venice, who had bin there diuers times before, & would prouide to haue such a fleet in readines as he desired. *Polinus* exceeding glad of that answer, with great speed returned backe again to the King, bringing with him ... Presents from

Polinus returns into France.

from *Solyman* two goodly Turkiſh horſes and a ſword richly ſet with ſtones of great price. The French king having by his embaſſador receiued *Solymans* letters & preſents, & three days together diſcourſed with him at large of the maner of his proceeding in the Turks court, in ſhort time after ſent him backe againe to *Solyman* with full inſtructions both of the time and places, & other circumſtances of the intended war. *Polinus* comming to Venice, found not *Iunusbeius* there, as he had well hoped: yet to loſe no time in expecting his comming, hee with *Pellicerius* Embaſſador lieger for the French king, and other of the French faction, labored the Senators in the behalfe of the king. For it was thought likely enough, that the Venetians (

Polinus ſent backe againe to Solyman, commeth to Venice and notably ſolliciteth the Venetians to take vp armes with the Frēch king againſt the emperor.

meaſuring all their counſels by their profit, would eaſily conſent to that league, eſpecially i(

ing requeſted thereunto by *Solyman*, and put in hope to haue the port towne Maranus deliuered vnto them in reward therof; which otherwiſe the French, in whoſe poſſeſſion it was, threaten-

ed to deliuer to the Turks; and to make them their euill neighbors, rather than to haue it taken from them by the Germans. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing audience giuen him in th(

bly pleaded the French kings cauſe, grieuouſly lamented the death of the Emba(

oy the Spaniards, and bitterly enueied againſt the ambition of the Emperor, who as he ſaid aſpired to the whole monarchy of Italy, not by true vertue and valor, but by meere craft & deceit, incroching ſtill vpon the liberties of the free States, and by little & little impoſing vpon them the yoke of bondage: In confirmation wherof he produced many examples, to them well known, requeſting them as antient friends and confederats of the French, to ioine their Forces with the Kings; in which doing, they ſhould aſſure themſelues of ſuch reward of the vndoubted victory, as they could not deſire greater. Wheras if they ſhould refuſe ſo to do, and would rather ſit ſtil & look on as neuters, they ſhould vndoubtedly, fortune hauing decided the quarrell, grieuouſly offend both, and might worthily expect of the vanquiſhed, hatred; and of the conqueror, iniurie. Beſides that, in taking vp of armes they ſhould highly gratifie *Solyman*, who prouoked with late iniuries, had determined with a puiſſant army to inuade Hungary, and at the ſame time to ſend *Barbaruſſa* with a great fleet againſt the Spaniards their common enemies: for the imparting of which his deſignes he would ſhortly ſend vnto them *Iunusbeius* his Embaſſadour: As for the euent of the war they needed not to doubt, when as they of themſelues were ſtrong enough quickely to thruſt the Emperor out of the duchy of Millan, being generally hated of the people, feeding his ſoldiers with the ſpoile of the country, and on euerie ſide beſet both by ſea and land by two of the greateſt Monarchs of the world. Whereunto the Senat delaying the time for certain daies, that *Iunusbeius* might in the mean time come thither, gravely anſwered, That the amitie they held with king *Francis*, ought to be vnto them an ornament, but no burthen: the like alſo they held with the Emperor, whom they would in no caſe ſeeme to caſt off, although they had bin by him ouerraught: Wherefore the Senators and all the citiſens in generall were of opinion, to preſerue their peace, as they which in the hard times of warre had endured great extremities, which would hardly be recouered with long peace: But if they did once ſee the enſignes diſplaied, and the wars begun, they would then take further aduice, Whether it were good for them to thruſt themſelues into thoſe warres or not, when as they were in league and friendſhip with three of the greateſt princes of the world. In the meane time *Iunusbeius* arriued at Venice, and was there honorably receiued. He requeſted, That the league before made at Conſtantinople by *Badoerius* their Embaſſador, might by the authority of the Senat be confirmed: and ſo commended the French kings cauſe to the Senat, that he requeſted no more, but that vnto that amity which they already held with the French, they would ioine further curteſies, the rather for that *Solyman* had accounted him for his brother, and had vndertaken to aid him againſt *Charles* king of Spain: but as to ioin in league with him, or in his quarrell to take vp armes, he requeſted nothing. Which was quite beſide the expectation of *Polinus* and *Pellicerius*, who by vrging of the matter, and by telling of al, had thought eaſily to haue perſuaded the Senat to haue granted what they requeſted, and therfore thought the Turk (who had ſo coldly ſpoken in the cauſe) to be ſome way corrupted. But as it afterward appeared, there was ſuch equitie & modeſtie in *Solymans* letters (who was otherwiſe of a proud and inſolent nature) that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which ſhould not ſtand with the good of their eſtate. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing in vaine ſtaied certaine dayes at Venice; was in one of their publique gall(

transported to Raguſium, and from thence trauelled by land to Conſtantinople, where he found all things more difficult than

The craftie anſwer of the Venetians to the French Kings Embaſſador.

Solymans Embaſſadour commeth to Venice

Polinus cōming to Conſtantinople, findeth not the Turk ſo readie to ſend his fleet to aid the

than euer he dreamed of. For the great Baſſaes ſaid, There could no fleet be ſet out that yeare, by reaſon that he was come too late to ſue for ſuch a matter, the Spring of the yeare being now paſt, of all other times moſt fit for to take in hand ſo long a voyage, So that *Polinus* was aboue meaſure vexed with care and griefe, that he had ſo euill ſped, and was come ſo out of ſeaſon both to Venice & Conſtantinople. *Dixius* alſo, one of the maſters of the Rhodian gallies, was come to Conſtantinople, to carrie newes into France of the comming of the Turks fleet: who told *Polinus*, That the kings ſons were with ſtrong power far entred into the Low-countries, and had already inuaded Spaine, expecting nothing more than the comming of the Turks gallies. Wherefore *Polinus* (as it eaſily chanceth to men deceiued by truſt repoſed in any other mens promiſes, and bewailing the euill ſucceſſe of their vaine trauel) wonderfully tormented himſelfe, curſed the froward and vnconſtant manners of the Baſſaes, called vpon the faith of *Solyman*; and beſought the great Baſſaes one by one, that they would not contrarie to their promiſe forſake the King, who vpon the hope of the comming of the Turks fleet, had now inuaded both the Low-countries & the kingdome of Spaine: foraſmuch as by that delay, which was vnto them neither honourable nor profitable, was (as he ſaid) betraied the maieſtie of his King, and a moſt aſſured victorie now as good (

gotten, quite marred. In which his obteſtations, he was ſo importunat and tedious, that he became vnto thoſe proud Baſſaes rather loth ſome than gracious; inſomuch that to end his ſute, they thought it beſt ſharply to take him vp, & for that time to ſhake him off. And therefore ſending for him and the other French gentlemen which followed him, to the court, the great Baſſaes then ſitting in counſell, & *Barbaruſſa* with them for the honour of his place; as ſoone as they were come into the counſell chamber, *Solyman Baſſa* the Eunuch, turning himſelfe about, ſpake vnto them in this ſort.

The ſharpe oration of Solyman the eunuch Baſſa to Polinus the French embaſſadour.

Frenchmen (ſaid he) *this place for diſpatch of moſt waighties affaires, appointed by the graue iudgement of our moſt mightie Emperour to vs his faithfull ſeruants, doth (as it beſt beſeemeth) receiue vs daily comming vnto it, void of loue and hatred: and withall doth notably put vs in remembrance, to ſpeake our minds freely. Neither would I, that this frankneſſe of ſpeech (the meſſenger of truth, and therefore the faithfull keeper of frienaſhip) ſhould be vnto your eares vnpleaſing or troubleſome: for ſithence your king hath been called the friend and fellow of the* Othoman *name, we may not now either forget the duties of loue, or loath your friendſhip: ſeeing that our Emperour doth marueilouſly affect you, and is not a little deſirous to ſtrengthen you with his power, and by ouercomming your enemies to increaſe your power and honour. But in your demaunds is no equitie, no modeſtie, ſo that we tearme you vnmodeſteſt and importunat: and others which fauour you not ſo well, call you plainely by your right names, vnreaſonable and ſhameleſſe men; who as too too forgetfull of your duties, doe moſt fondly trouble the lawes of amitie and friendſhip. For leagues are confirmed by like profit, by making euen the charge and mutuall dangers: but if neglecting your friends kindneſſe and courteſie, you will make no requitall, they will quickely grow wearie of you. So happeneth it vnto you Frenchmen, who euer forgetfull and negligent in our dangers, but in your owne alwayes mindfull and diligent, haue ſhewed your ſelues friends vnto vs when need was, not in deeds and certaine aid, but onely in bare letters, and embaſſages. Tell mee I pray you where euer you ſhewed any ſigne or token of your good will or aid? whereby the minds of our enemies might at the leaſt wiſe haue but beene kept in ſuſpence of ſome doubtfull feare, when as* Charles *with all the power of the Weſt came into Hungarie: And Corone and Patras were in the meane time ſhaken in Græce with the enemies fleet; and laſt of all Turnes taken with ſo great a fleet? But all this we pardon you: yet this it is which is hardly to be endured, that you did not ſo much as once grieue at our ſo great iniuries, as you ought to haue done; but ſent your gratulatorie Embaſſadours vnto the bloudie common enemie; who had but euen then ſlaine ſo many of our people. At length our Emperour came to Aulona to your great profit, about to paſſe ouer into Italie: but neither then in the arrinall of our fleet appeared the good wills of the Apulians towards you, which were of you ſo vainely promiſed, neither did you ſo much as once mooue to inuade the vpper part of Italie; ſo neither ſeruing our turne, nor well fitting your owne, you haue alwaies loſt the occaſion of the good ſucceſſe of your affaires. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards, needed wee your counſell or vnited forces: for the Venetians to their paine felt both our forces and our faith: as for the reſt, warre, the notable reuenger of our wrongs, moſt happily brought to paſſe, at ſuch time as you of your owne voluntaris made peace with the common enemie, to inuade vs; and did as vnkindly as impudently as it were blow wind in his ſailes. But we, without your helpe, haue notably repreſſed*

preſſed ſo great aſſaults of our enemies: when as this ſame Hariaden Barbaruſſa *put to flight the fleet at Ambracia, and happily ſlew the Spaniſh pirats of Caſtrum, and hauing again recouered our cities, tooke alſo from them ſome of theirs: wherefore we are bound vnto you for no deſert, but we hither farget theſe vnkindneſſes, than to faile you whom we haue once receiued into our friendſhip wee performe our fidelitie in deeds: but it is his part to regard the time, to way the danger, to watch occaſion; which will not raſhly commit his actions to the hazard of Fortune. You are come later than you ſhould haue done for the ſetting forth of our fleet: for Sommer now well ſpent followeth the peſtilent time of Autumne, ſo that mariners cannot in conuenient time bee taken to ſafely thruſt into the gallies: for in long ſayling, who would not thinke, but that ſuch a companie of ſailers vſually ſtay at the change of an vnacquainted ayre, would be in danger of their liues? We ſhould not feare ſhipwracke in their returne, when as this ſame* Hariaden *ſo great a Maſter at ſea, driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rockes in the moneth of Auguſt, loſt ſo many gallies? A fleet would be rigged in Winter, furniſhed and ſet forward in the Spring, in Sommer is ſafe ſailing and making warre. Which if it be ſo done, we will for the common wealth's ſake perſuade the Emperour: for the nauie once loſt, cannot by the ſudden be againe reſtored for much gold, whereof the* Othoman *Emperour wanteth no ſtore, heaped vp by many ages. If thou be wiſe take theſe things in good part as friendly ſpoken: but whether the Emperour will pardon thy boldneſſe or not, let himſelfe conſider; truly we haue ſatisfied both him and our ſelues in ſpeaking to thee ſo plainly.*

Theſe things ſeuerely ſpoken by the Eunuch Baſſa, did ſo much the more trouble *Polinus*, for that they ſeemed to haue bin ſent from the mouth of *Solyman* himſelfe, who was thought to haue heard all that was ſaid. For behind the Baſſaes as they ſat in Counſell, was a window with a braſen grate, and a curten drawne before it, that the Emperour when he pleaſed, might vnperceiued heare the complaints and ſutes of all nations, and note the manners of his great counſellors; whoſe care for the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſo much the greater, for feare of his preſence. Yet did not *Polinius* for his repulſe, deteſting the double dealing of the Baſſaes, ſo giue ouer his ſute; but winning by gifts the fauour of the *Capiaga* or chiefe porter, a man euer of great authoritie in the Turks court, laboured by him to be brought to the ſpeech of *Solyman* himſelfe: who faithfully performed what he had vndertaken. So the French Embaſſadour brought by him into the ſecreteſt place of the court, which few Chriſtians had euer bin, and ſo vnto the preſence of *Solyman*, recounted vnto him how all matters had before paſſed, and moſt earneſtly beſought him not to faile the kings expectation of the fleet he had before promiſed, who at that preſent was inuading his enemies in three places. Whereunto *Solyman* courteouſly and expreſſely anſwered, That the opportunitie of ſending out of his fleet was paſt; not by his will, which was alwaies immutable and firme, but by his late comming, & the time of the yeare halfe ſpent: but promiſed the next Spring without doubt to ſend vnto the king his friend and brother, twiſe ſo great a fleet as he had deſired againſt *Charles* their enemy. With which anſwer, the embaſſadour diſpatched away *Dixius* into France, vpon whoſe arriuall, king *Francis* called backe againe *Henrie* his eldeſt ſonne with his army, from the ſiege of Perpenna in Spaine.

Polinus by the meanes of the Capiaga, is brought to the ſpeech of Solyman himſelfe.

Solymans anſwer to Polinus

The Princes and States of Germanie, at the requeſt of king *Ferdinand* and the nobilitie of Hungarie, about this time decreed with one conſent, to take vp arms againſt the Turks, for the recouering againe of Buda, and other the loſt parts of Hungary. For beſides the diſhonor done to their nation at Exek vnder the leading of *Cazzianer*, and againe at Buda vnder the leading of the Lo. *Rogendorff*; they wel ſaw, that if they did not ſpeedily relieue the Hungarians ouerwhelmed with the calamities of the Turkes forces, they ſhould in ſhort time be enforced to fight for their religion, children, wiues, and liues, againſt the ſame mighty enemy, at their own doores. For preuenting whereof, the Princes and free cities of Germanie, ſet out 30000 footmen, and 7000 horſemen: amongſt whom was *Mauritius*, afterwards duke of Saxonie, then a young gentleman about twentie yeares old. But the Generall of theſe German forces, was *Ioachimus* Marqueſſe of Brandenburg, a man more for the honour of his houſe than the valour of himſelfe preferred to that place: yet ſo, that vnto him was ioyned eight others, men of great yeares and experience, by whoſe counſell he was to be directed. When they were come to Vienna, king *Ferdinands* power met them: where, beſide ſixteene were taken vp in Auſtria, *Huganot* Gouernour of Stiria came in with ten thouſand horſemen. Vnto theſe then oble men of Hun-

The Princes of Germanie ioyne their forces with king Ferdinand againſt the Turke in Hungarie.

Hungary, *Gaſper Seredius*, *Andreas Bathor*, & *Petrus Perenus*; a man of the greateſt authoritie, power and experience, amongſt the Hungarians, ioyned themſelues, with fifteene thouſand horſemen; whither alſo *Paulus* the third of that name then Biſhop of Rome, ſent three thouſand choſen footmen out of Italie, conducted to Vienna by *Alexander Vitellius*, a moſt famous captain. The Marqueſſe with this great armie marched from Vienna alongſt the riuer Danubius, but ſo ſoftly, that the Hungarian and Italian captaines ſaid plainely, That the beſt part of the Sommer and fitteſt time for warre, was paſſed ouer in loitering & dallying out the time to no purpoſe: eſpecially *Iacobus Medices*, who had long before perſuaded the king, to be ready to ſet forward his forces with the firſt of the Spring, before the Turks could either augment their garriſons, or put in any new forces; for that by ſuch reſolute and ſpeedie inuaſion, it was like enough he might recouer both Peſth and Buda. Which politique and wholeſome counſell ſo well giuen, king *Ferdinand* too much crediting the great men of his court (liking nothing but [illegible] proceeded of themſelues) reiected, expecting the full aſſembly of all his forces, before ſetting forth of his armie. At length the Marqueſſe was by ſoft marches come to Strigonium (king *Ferdinand* himſelfe ſtaying behind at Vienna) where it was commonly reported, That *Solyman* fearing to loſe Buda, was either in perſon himſelfe comming into Hungarie, or elſe ſending downe the Generall of his European horſemen, who might neuer ſet foot forward to war, without 60000 horſemen. Which newes ſo troubled the Germans, that they made no great haſt forward; doubting how they ſhould returne againe if they chanced not to get the victorie: beſide that, it was thought that the Marqueſſe neuer purpoſed to fight a battell, or indanger himſelfe or his armie for the king ſome of Hungarie, but onely to defend the bounds of Auſtria, and by ſhewing the ſtrength of Germanie, to terrifie if hee could the Turks, if they not contented with Hungarie, ſhould alſo prouoke the Germans. But after it was by certaine eſpialls from Samandria, knowne that all that report of the comming of the Turks great army was but vaine, and that there was ſcarce a thouſand Ianizaries and twice ſo many horſemen come to Buda, and that the Turks fleet was both for number and ſtrength far infe-riour to the Kings, they ſet forward again with more cheerefulneſſe, much incouraged by the forwardneſſe of the Hungarians, eſpecially of *Perenus*; aſſuring them, that if they would without delay march on, and ſpend no more time in vaine, they ſhould not finde at Buda any ſuch number of Turks as was worth the name of an armie: for that *Solyman* vſing but euery ſecond yeare to make war, did that yeare take his reſt, and was not like to vndertake any great expedition. For theſe reaſons all men being readie cheerefully to ſet forward, the Marqueſſe appointed to paſſe ouer Danubius: which this *Perenus*, *Huganot*, and *Medices*, all expert captains liked not of; wiſhing him rather to hold on his way directly ſtill on that ſide the riuer to Buda, the chiefe citie of the kingdome. But it was the mind of the Generall and all his counſellors, firſt to beſiege Peſth, which might be done with leſſe labour and danger, and there hauing made proofe of the enemies ſtrength and purpoſe, to come to the ſiege of Buda: for then would the ſouldiers with much more courage and cheerefulneſſe endure the ſiege of Buda, if they had by good fortune firſt beaten them out of Peſth: Which counſell was both beſt liked and followed, and the armie by two bridges with great and painefull labour made ouer Danubius (which was in that place diuided into two parts) tranſported. At the ſame time *Medices* an Italian captaine, Admirall of the kings fleet, came downe the riuer, and in deſpight of the Turkes tooke the Iſland of Saint *Margaret*, lying in the riuer a little aboue Buda, and by force repulſed the Turks fleet vnto the ſuburbs of the citie. The Marqueſſe to auoid the danger of the great ſhot from Buda, after he was paſſed the riuer, fetcht a great compaſſe about, and ſo came to the North ſide of Peſth; for on the South it was defended with the riuer Dunubius, running betwixt it and Buda; and on the Eaſt and Weſt the great ordnance on the one ſide from the Caſtle of Buda, and on the other from mount Saint *Gerrard*, did ſo ſcoure all alongſt the wals that no man could without moſt manifeſt danger there abide. For Buda ſtanding vpon the hill, and diuided from Peſth onely with the riuer, ſo ouerlooketh and commandeth all the plaine countrey about Peſth, that without perill no man can ſtirre on any ſide of the citie, but Northward towards Agria, couered by the Citie from the ſhot out of Buda. As the Marqueſſe was comming thither, hee was told by certaine fugitiues, That *Balis* Gouernour of Buda (who in that place ſucceeded *Solyman* the Hungarian renegate, lately before dead of the Plague) had in garriſon in Buda two thouſand horſemen: and that *Phimes* the Perſian Gouernour

The Marqueſſe of Brandenburg commeth to Peſth with his armie.

uernor of Bosna, was come vnto him with three thousand more: whereunto *Amurathes* had also ioyned another thousand which he brought out of Dalmatia: and that *Segemenes* was sent thither also with 1000 Ianizaries from Constantinople: as for the rest of the footmen, they were but wild country people, fitter for labor than for seruice in warres. They told also, that the enemies fleet consisted of 60 small pinnaces, ten gallies, and a few other boats: and that *Solyman* had commanded his captains in any case to defend Buda and Pesth to the last man, without regard of any other place. And had proposed vnto them valiant rewards; and to the cowardly, extreame punishment: charging them further, that if occasion they should in time send for *Achomates* the Generall of his Europeian horsemen, to Sophia to aid them. The Turks vpon the approch of the Christians, issued out at one of the gates of the citie, and skirmished with the Hungarians: but after they had sufficiently proued one anothers strength, and some few were on both sides slaine, they retired into the citie, and the Turkes to the campe. The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the campe neere the companies, to chuse a place for planting the batterie, the Turkes at one instant sallying out at two gates of the city, gaue him a hot skirmish, where at the first, the fight was begun with like courage and force: but the Turks still sending forth new supplies both of horse and foot, first the Christian footmen, and after that the horsemen, not able longer to indure the force of the Ianizaries, were constrained disorderly to retire, hauing lost in that retreit foure of their captains and two ensignes; and had not *Vitellius* with one companie of horsemen serred together, valiantly repulsed the insolent Ianizaries, the losse had bin much greater. *Vitellius* exceedingly grieued with this losse, and perceiuing the manner of the enemies fight, encouraged his souldiers, purposing if he could to be fully reuenged: and aboue all others, requested *Perenus* to be readie to ioin with him as occasion should require. *Vitellius* lay incamped in the kings orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally distant both from the great camp & from the city; out of these orchards he went with 12 companies vnder their ensignes, commanding the rest to stand still within the wals, in readinesse at all assaies: and so fetching a great compasse about, marched alongst the riuer side towards the city: neither did the proud enemie (brag of the former daies victorie) make any delay, but brauely sallied out at the East side of the city, & couragiously charged them. But *Vitellius* warned of his former harme, & seeing his enemies come on as he desired, couered his shot with his pikes, & standing close, receiued the enemies charge: his shot still playing vnder the pikes, oftentimes vpon their knees: many of the Turks were there laid on ground, whilest they desperately fought to haue broken the order of the Christians. In the mean time, when many of the Turks horsemen and Ianizaries comming out of the gates, & diuers others beholding the fight were come ouer the riuer from Buda, to be partakers of the victory, had filled the hithermost banke; *Vitellius* in good time, of purpose by little & litle retired, as if he had bin ouercharged: then began the enemy to giue a great shout, and more fiercely to assaile the Christians: their horsmen also clapt behind them, to haue there charged them. Which thing *Perenus* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following of *Vitellius* were drawne a great way from the gates; he suddenly with his light horsemen clapt in betwixt the city & the Turks at their backs, after whom followed also *Mauritius* (afterwards duke of Saxonie) with a strong troup of German horsmen, of purpose to haue shut them in for retiring backe again into the city. But then the Turks perceiuing the danger, & finding themselues shut in, stood as men more than halfe dismaied, bethinking themselues which way to take, & so began to retire. When *Vitellius* comming on couragiously with his pikemen and his harquebusiers diuided into two wings, charged them fiercely; and the Hungarian & German horsmen breaking in amongst them on the other side, made great slaughter of them, & stucke such a feare amongst the flying Turks, that many of them in running to the gate, thrust one another thorow with their pikes: diuers other were also by the horsemen driuen into the riuer and there drowned. That day *Segemenes* lost aboue an hundred of his Ianizaries, and foure hundred others. The chiefest commendation for this piece of seruice was giuen to *Vitellius*, who had so well and so quickly reuenged himselfe of the Turkes: and next him to *Perenus*; who as a skilfull captaine had so well awaited the time to entrap the enemie: Neither is *Adamritius* the young Saxon Prince vnworthie his due praise, who valiantly charging the Turks; and hauing his horse slaine vnder him, was in danger to haue beene there lost himselfe, had not *Nicolas Ribische* one of his followers, couered him with his owne bodie, vntill such

The Turkes sally out of Pesth, & put the Christians to the worse

The Turkes falling out again are discomfited by Vitellius & Perenus.

Mauritius in danger to be slaine.

such time as that he was rescued by others; *Ribische* himselfe presently dying of his wounds. This little victorie so encouraged the Germans, that the Marquesse commanded the great ordinance to be presently brought forth, & the batterie planted, which was at the first placed so far off, that it did little harme, although the wall were both old and thin, not aboue fiue foot thicke: and the ordinance laid either a little too low, or mounted too high, either shot short, or quite ouer the citie into Buda: which fault once perceiued, the batterie was remoued neerer, and a faire breach soone made in the wal, with the continuall beating of 40 great pieces of artillerie. *Vitellius* was the first that offered to assault the breach, so that the Germans would presently second him; which thing they all by holding vp of their hands promised couragiously, but cowardly about by and by to breake that promise: for oftentimes it chanceth, That they which before the danger are readiest to promise their helpe, are in the very danger it selfe of all others most slacke. The Hungarians also for their parts promised not to be behind. The silence of the enemie at the breach and in the citie, was wonderfull, so that many thought hee had bin fled backe ouer the riuer to Buda: for *Segemenes* captaine of the Ianizaries, an old beaten souldier, ordered all things with as little stir as was possible: he had receiued new supplies from *Vlamas*, and had cast a deepe countermure within the wall against the breach, & on the inner side of the same had made a strong barricado, with gabions and wine vessels filled with sand and earth: behind which stood the Ianizaries, & next vnto them the Turkish archers, and last of all the horsemen who had left their horses to serue on foot. The signall for the assault once giuen, foure Italian captaines ran desperatly with their companies by the ruines of the wall to the breach: but whilest they there set vp their ensignes, and wondring at the enemies fortification, were ready betwixt hope and feare to leape downe, they were suddenly ouerwhelmed with a shoure of arrowes and bullets. Yet *Vitellius* still incouraging them, brought them still on, who did what they might to haue entred: but the Germane footmen with their Generall stood still vnder the wals, looking on, as men nothing moued either with the hope of victorie or danger of their friends: and the Hungarians not so much as once looking vpon the enemy retired: two of the Italian captains, *Rufus* & *Fiolla* were there slain, and *Carolus Vitellius* his nephew, shot in the shoulder. The Turks with shot and stones still repulsed & beat downe the Italians, whereof the Germans also standing still, felt part, & were more gauled than a man would haue thought men could haue bin, that did nothing: for there they still stood for shame, lest if they should haue also first retired, they should haue incurred a second infamy as bad as the first: which thing *Vitellius* perceiuing, would in no case depart from the breach, but wished rather to lose his men by whole companies, than to leaue the least colour of excuse to the Germans, or that they should say they staied longest, of whom he with greater anger than griefe complained, that he was forsaken & cowardly betraid. In time of this assault one of the Turks was heard to speake aloud in the Italian tongue, *Why do not you valiant Italians spare your selues, and giue place to those lasie Germans. We all wish to spare you, and to beat the drunkennesse out of their most cowardly heads, that they should no more hereafter prouoke vs.* At length the Germans weary of their hot standing & nought doing, got them farther off, after whom the Italians forthwith retired: but so disorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the enemies shot, that if the Turks had at the same time sallied out at all the gates, it was thought that the whole camp had bin greatly indangered. In this attempt rather than assault, seuen hundred Christians were slain outright, and many moe hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

All this while the Marquesse and *Hugonot* the great commaunders of the army, kept themselues so far from gunshot, that they were no where to be seene, vntill that *Torniellus* and *Fortiscu*, two valiant captains, finding them out, wished them for shame to shew themselues for the comforting of the army. A little before night they consulted with the other captains, whither they should forsake the siege, or continue it still: wherof most of the Germans best liked to be gone, as the safest way: though *Vitellius* and some others spake earnestly to the contrary. At which time a spie comming in, brought news that *Achomates*, *Solymans* lieutenant of the Europeian horsmen, had passed ouer the riuer Sauus at Belgrade, & was cõming to Dranus: whose comming either cunningly fained, or vainly beleeued, caused the Germanes to make a short conclusion, & to resolue flatly to return to Vienna, fearing that if they should longer continue the siege, they should be stayed against their wils by *Achomates*. Which thing made many of the old Germane souldiers to hang their heads for shame, & the Hungarians to curse both the Ger-

A breach made in the wall of Pesth.

The breach assaulted by the Italians.

The Germans standstill & lookers on, whilst the Italians giue the Assault.

The contumelious speech of a Turke against the Germans.

The Germans & the Italians retire with losse

Germanes and the hard fortune of their nation, vainely wishing for a Generall in courage
[illegible] to the strength of that great armie. *Segemenes* perceiuing [illegible] much the Christ
armie was discouraged by the last dayes euill successe, early in the mo[illegible] couragiously
ouerall the horsemen, and after them certaine companies of footmen, [illegible]ue them in
retire; who in many places skirmished with the Hungarians, being [illegible]g inferi[illegible]
them either in courage or skill: and the matter was brought to that pass[illegible]t it had
agreed vpon, that many of the most notable and expert souldiers on eith[illegible]de enc[illegible]ed
together hand to hand in the sight of the Italians and Germanes, the H[illegible]rians ru-
the Turkes, & the Turkes with the Hungarians with such fiditie, that they [illegible]arded no e
enemie but him whom euery one had singled out for himselfe, as if it [illegible]n in a trium
for exercise hand to hand. It hapned, that a notable captaine of the Turkes, [illegible]ed to see *Vi*-
tellius, who being shewed vnto him (for he was easie to be knowne by his armor) the [illegible] man
vnto him to embrace him for his honor, and so departed. About fiue hundred he[illegible]
countered one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were slaine or hur[illegible]
following the batterie was remoued, & the army marched towards the riuer to the [illegible]. The
Turkes perceiuing the Christians to be departed, sallied out of the citie on all hands, & with
a great crie vpbraiding them of cowardise, hardly pursued the rereward of the army. *Vlama*
was come ouer himselfe from Buda, and so eagerly followed the army, that it could hardly
haue escaped without great danger, had not *Vitellius* with his Italians made a stand, and reque-
sted the Hungarian and German horsemen to turne backe vpon the enemie; which they at his
request did, and not onely repulsed the enemie, but also put him to flight, and in the chase slew
many. After which time the army passed on quietly; yet 700 Germans which were sicke and
straggled behind the army, were by the Turkes horsemen miserably slaine in the sight of their
fellows. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turkes, first at Exek, then at Buda, & now at Pesth,
returned full of heauinesse & griefe, as they which were now to forget the subduing of Hun-
garie, and to become carefull of Germanie it selfe. The army comming to Vienna, was there
broken vp, and the Italians sent home into their countrey, who for most part died by the way,
of infection taken in the campe in strange aire, and a most quæsie time of the yeare.

But to couer the shame of this vnfortunat expedition, and to turne mens talke another way
by some notable accident: *Petrus Perenus* the noble Hungarian was the man pickt out for the
purpose to fill mens mouthes. He, belayed with the enuie of the court, was for suspition of as-
piring to the kingdome of Hungarie, by the commandement of king *Ferdinand* apprehended
by *Liscanus*, a Spanish captaine, in the castle of Strigonium, as a traitor, and presently deliuered
to *Medices* the Admirall, to be conueied vp the riuer to Vienna. *Liscanus* at the time of his ap-
prehension most couetously and vncourteously tooke from him his chaine, and a rich cloke li-
ned with Sables: which indignitie done to so noble a gentleman, so much offended the minds
of the rest of the Hungarians, that aboue 12000 of them thereupon presently returned home
to their owne dwellings, cursing the Germans to the diuell. This *Perenus* was one of the grea-
test Peeres of Hungarie, but of a most hautie & magnificent mind, so that he would sometime
haue almost 100 goodly spare horses fit for seruice led before him without their riders; and
would sometime speake too liberally against the bareneſſe of king *Ferdinands* court, who pol-
led by his courtiers, hardly maintained his state: which his surpassing magnificence & prince-
ly port was cause enough for the other great courtiers to enuie at his estate, and to seeke his
ouerthrow; who as men ouercharged with the burthen of another mans vertue, whereof they
neuer bore the least part, and alwaies gaining by the depraying of other mens perfection, con-
spired together his ouerthrow, and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would say,
That he fauoured of a crown. This notable man, as he had many worthy vertues, so was he not
without cause noted of ambition and vnconstancie: for after that king *Lewis* was lost, he disdai-
ning the preferment of *Iohn* the Vayuod to the kingdome of Hungarie, tooke part with King
Ferdinand against him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour vnto himselfe: but after
he saw king *Iohn* againe restored, and his state strongly supported by *Solyman*, & that all things
stood doubtfull and tickle with *Ferdinand*, he with like leuitie sought meanes by *Abraham*
the great Bassa to be reconciled to king *Iohn*; which was hardly obtained of him by the inter-
cession of *Solyman* himselfe (as is before declared) to whom he gaue his sonne as pledge of his
fidelitie. After which time he liued in great honour and loyaltie all the raigne of king *Iohn*:
but

A notable skirmish betwixt the Turkes and the Hungarians

The Christians remouing from Pesth, are assailed by the turkes.

The Christian army broken vp at Vienna.

Perenus the noble Hungarian apprehended vpon suspition of treason.

The vncourteous dealing of Liscanus the Spaniard in the apprehension of Perenus

A but after he was dead, and saw *George* the Bishop the Kings tutor doing what he list, to raigne like a King, he disdained his gouernment, and solicited by King *Ferdinand*, reuolted again vnto him, and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the kingdome. But now falling into the enuie of the court, malice found out matter enough to worke his confusion. First it was giuen out, That his sonne who had many yeares beene detained in *Solymans* Court as a pledge of his fathers faith, was euen then vnder the colour of a feigned escape come into Tranſyluania; when as he had secretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his father being a man much fauoured of the people, should by promising them all possible freedome, allure them to the Turkish subiection: in reward of which good seruice he should be made gouernour of the Kingdome of Hungary, and put in hope also to be made the tributarie King thereof, if it should fortune B the young King to die. Besides that, it was accounted a thing verie suspicious, that he had the Winter before vsed great kindenesse and friendship toward the Turkish Captaines, by sending them great Presents, and receiuing the like againe. And last of all, his letters directed to certaine Hungarian Captaines were produced, wherein he seemed to promise them as his friends and followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his present estate. All which things King *Ferdinand* (of his owne disposition not easily to be perswaded to conceiue euill of the Germanes his countrey-men, were it neuer so apparent or true, but of strangers any thing) quickely beleeued, and therefore caused him (as is before said) to be apprehended. But *Pere-* *nus* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admirall to Vienna, when he was come neere vnto the C gate of the city, and heard that *Philippus Torniellus* with certaine other braue Captaines of his acquaintance, were come to meet the Admirall; he requested that the close Coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might haue leaue to speake to those noble and valiant Gentlemen. Which thing was easily granted, for that the nobilitie and approoued valour of the man seemed vnto them which had the charge of him, vnworthie of such restraint of liber-
tie or imprisonment, yea or of the least suspicion thereof. So he turning himselfe towards them, spake vnto them in this sort:

Matters surmised against Perenus.

The lamentable speech of Perenus to Torniellus and the other Captaines, concerning his apprehension.

Wretched I, noble Gentlemen (said he) *whom despightfull enuie hath circumuented guiltlesse: but much more miserable King* Ferdinand, *whom domest call theeues bereaues of substance, of friends, and honour all at once. For so it commeth to passe, that by this inconsiderat wrong done vnto me, he shall vt-*
D *terly lose the loue and fidelitie of the Hungarian Nation, and may therefore for euer not without cause di-*
spaire for the obtaining of the Kingdome of Hungarie, sithence that it is not lawfull for mee (inferiour
to none of my Nation in birth, and hauing for my good and faithfull seruice wel deserued reward of a suit
King) so much as to reioice for the deliuerance of my sonne from the captiuitie of the Turkes, but that by
my sinister fortune, dreadfull death in stead of incomparable ioy must be presented to mine eyes. For will
these malicious Picke-thanks, guiltie of their owne cowardise, the wicked contriuers and witnesses of my
wrongfull accusation, spare me being laid fast and in durance, which neuer spared the Kings honor? For
euery man of what nobilitie soeuer, be he neuer so guiltlesse, when he is once in hold, must be content to en-
dure, not what he hath deserued, but what his hard fortune assigneth. Yet my vpright minde and cleere
conscience, which thing only God the most iust Iudge leaueth as a comfort to men in miserie wrongfully
E *accused, deliuereth me of this care: and so will the Marquisse our Generall, to whom I before vpon a mis-*
trust foretold, that such a danger would shortly befall me, and that I had rather be slaine guiltlesse, than
to withdraw my selfe from triall: which thing I told him at such time as I was so guarded with mine
owne strength, that I feared no mans force. I beseech you do me this honorable fauor, as to request King
Ferdinand *in my behalfe quickely and honorably to proceed to the triall of my cause, and according to*
his owne princely disposition, and the will of others, to discerne betwixt his faithfull friends and feigned
flatterers. Truly we are too too vnfortunate Captains, if for a little euill successe we shall be so adiudged
as men that had ouerthrowne their fortune. Cazzianer *peraduenture receiued the iust punishment hee*
had deserued, for the shamefull forsaking and losing of the Armie at Exek, when as he possessed with
F *an vncouth feare, forgot the dutie of a Generall, more affraid of death than dishonour: for when he had*
voluntarily committed himselfe to safe custodie, he was so generally condemned of cowardise, that dispai-
ring to defend his cause, he brake prison, and as wickedly as vnfortunately reuolted to the Turkes: But
neither was I of late the Generall, neither were we vanquished, although we preuailed not, but honoura-
bly retiring, valiantly represted the insolencie of the pursuing enemy. As for the Kingdome of Hun-
gary, I might then well haue affected the same, and easily haue deserued it at Solymans *hands, when as*
King

Perenus his request of the Admirall and the rest of the Captaines.

King Ferdinand *after the death of king* Iohn *was making his preparation for that war: at which time my friends and followers at my deuotion, with the loue of the Hungarians towards me, seeming of small importance for the obtaining of the victorie, might haue ministred no reasonable or vnsensible hope to haue drawne a man into courses not altogether beseeming a Christian: wherefore I will so long as I liue fight against the Turks, if King* Ferdinand *shall shew himself an indifferent iudge in this accusation, falsly surmised against me by the malice of mine enemies.*

When he had made an end of speaking, the Admirall courteously persuaded him good hope in the clemency of the most iust King; and shortly after preferred his request: for he and *Torniellus* taking the King as he was hunting, entreated him to be fauorably vnto *Perenus*. For all that, *Perenus* could not obtaine that his cause might be heard, but was committed to safe keeping, there to remaine in perpetuall prison: but whether for the misprision of new treason, or for reuenge of his old vnconstancie, is vncertaine. *Perenus, Valentinus, & Maylat, three of the greatest nobility in Hungary, kept in perpetuall prison.*

the only great Princes left of the Hungarian bloud, equally worthie of the Kingdome, *Valentine, Maylat*, and *Perenus*, snarled almost in like snares of enuie, cut off all hope of raising a King to their seditious and therefore miserable countrymen: when as *Perenus* lay too late bewailing his vnconstancie in perpetuall prison; and the other two fast in chaines neere vnto the Euxine sea, expected death the end of their miseries. This end had the wars taken in hand against the Turks by the generall consent of the Germanes in the yeare 1542; which many thought might worthily be compared with the greatest losses of those times: when as King *Ferdinand* hauing in vaine spent a great masse of treasure (the fittest stay for the imminent war) and lost the opinion before conceiued of the strength of Germany; had now as a weake Prince, and subiect to iniurie, prouoked him against the Turks, bold enough otherwise, but as then insolent for their late victories.

1543 *Polinus* the French Kings Embassadour still following the Turkes Court, ceased not by all meanes to solicite *Solyman*, with his gallies to aid the King his Master in the inuasion of the Dominions of *Charles* the Emperour, in Italie, Sicilie, and Spaine. In which suite he was so crossed by *Solyman* the Eunuch Bassa, then Visier, that he was almost in dispaire of speed: for the Malicious Eunuch being himselfe a great sea-man, and enuying the honour of *Barbarussa* (who was to be employed in that seruice) sought by keeping him out of all honourable actions, to diminish his former glory; and concerning the present, protested openly as he sate in Councell, That he saw no other cause why the Turkish Emperour should to his great charge and the common danger, send out such a Fleet, but to serue *Barbarussa* his owne turne. But *Solyman* hauing diligently heard, and deepely considered of that the Bassa's had said, rejected their opinions who would not he should haue giuen the French King any aid; and honourably decreed according to his promise, whatsoeuer should ensue thereof, to send his Fleet vnto the King by *Barbarussa*. Two dayes after, the French Embassadour before in dispaire, but now reuiued with that Decree, was solemnly feasted by *Rustan Bassa* (*Solymans* sonne in law) and by *Solyman* the Eunuch Bassa: for so it was their great Masters pleasure, both of them ioying of him for the friendship confirmed betwixt the two Princes by sending this Fleet. After which, diuers gifts were bestowed vpon the Embassador and his chiefe followers; and at such time as he was to take his leaue, *Solyman* gaue him great charge of his Nauie, that it might be safely kept, and so after the seruice done, againe returned: and withall deliuered him letters vnto King *Francis*, wherein after the glorious rehearsall of his proud titles, he writ vnto him as followeth.

Solyman granteth to send his fleet by Barbarussa to aid the French king against the Emperour.

Solymans letters to the French king.

We haue vpon a brotherly bountie granted vnto Polinus *your Embassadour, such and so great a fleet as you haue desired, throughly furnished for all assaies: whose direction we haue commanded* Hariaden *our Admirall to follow, and by your appointment to proceed against the Enemie. But you shall do well and friendly, the warres once happily ended, to send backe againe my fleet to Constantinople. All things shall vndoubtedly fall out according to your owne desire and mine, if you shall carefully take heed that* Charles *the Spanish king your perpetuall enemy, do not againe deceiue you with the motion of a deceitfull peace. For then shall you bring him to a most indifferent peace, when you haue brought vpon his Countries all the calamities of Warre.*

Polinus

Polinus taking his leaue of *Solyman* then lying at Hadrianople, returned to Constantinople, where he found *Barbarussa* with an hundred and ten gallies and fortie gallions, readie to put to sea, which hee had with incredible celeritie rigged vp and furnished. And so setting forward the eight and twentieth of Aprill in the yeare 1543, and passing the straits of Helespontus, arriued first at Carystius in Eubœa; and from thence to Malea, where he was by contrarie winds cast into the bay of Lacedemon, and there staied nine daies before he could double the cape of Metapanium, called in antient time Tenarus: After that he came to Methon, and thence crossing the Ionian, came to the strait of Messana: where the Turkish pirats being ioyned with their galliots within the sight of Rhegium, began to land their men. They of Rhegium seeing so great a fleet, and the Turks alreadie landing, fled out of the Citie for feare; but the Castle was still kept by *Didacus Gaietanus* a Spaniard, who refused to haue any parle with *Polinus* the French Embassador, and with shot out of the Castle slew certaine of the Turkes: whereat the rest being inraged, brake into the citie, and finding it desolate, set it on fire, sore against the will of *Polinus* and *Barbarussa*, who sought to haue found out the authors thereof, and to haue punished them accordingly.

After that, certaine pieces of great Ordnance were landed and planted against the Castle, which with a few shot so terrified the Captaine, alreadie troubled with the crying out of his wife, that he without any more ado yeelded himselfe and the Castle with all therein, into the hands of the Enemie: vnto whom with his wife and children, *Barbarussa* at the request of the French Embassador granted both life and libertie: the rest he shut vp in a Church, and gaue the spoile of the Castle to his souldiers. There was in the garrison of the Castle about seuentie Spaniards, but many mo Citisens, which were all carried away prisoners. One of the Captaines daughters, a young gentlewoman of exceeding beautie, had with her good grace so warmed the withered affection of the old Pirat *Barbarussa*, that he (now fitter for the graue than for marriage) became amorous of her person: so that taking her from her father, and entring her into the Mahometan Superstition, he made of her as of his wife: insomuch that certaine moneths after he welcommed and bountifully entertained the Captaine as his father in law, comming to see his daughter at the Port called Portus Herculis in Tuscanie, where the Turks fleet then lay. *Barbarussa* sailing alongst the coast of Italy, came to Ostia, in the mouth of the riuer Tibur, and brought such a feare vpon the citie of Rome, that the Citisens were readie generally to haue forsaken the city; had not *Polinus* by his letters to *Rodolphus* the cardinall, then the great Bishop *Paulus* his Legat in the Citie, in part staied the sudden tumult. The Bishop himselfe was then at Buxetum, a towne betwixt Cremona and Placentia, trauelling (in shew) with the Emperor, to haue made a peace betwixt him and the French King; but laboured in secret to haue bought of him the Dukedome of Millan, for *Octauius* his kinseman the Emperors sonne in law. *Polinus* his letters written to the Cardinall at Rome, and sent by the Gouernor to Tarracina, were to this effect:

Barbarussa amorous of the Captaine of Rhegium his daughter.

The French embassadors letters to comfort Rodolph the Cardinall the Popes Legat in Rome.

This Fleet which is by Solyman *sent for the defence of France by* Barbarussa *his Admirall, is by his appointment at my command: so that it is not to hurt any but our enemies. Wherefore make it knowne to the Romans and others dwelling alongst the coast of the Popes territorie, That they feare of vs no hostility; for the Turks wil neuer violat the faith of their Emperor solemnly giuen vnto me: and you know most assuredly, that the French King desireth nothing more, than that the estate of Rome might not only be kept in safetie, but also flourish most gloriously, and he therefore preserued from all iniury. Farewell.*

In like manner he also comforted vp them of Neptunianum and Ostia, so that they brought vnto the Turks all manner of victuall; and sometimes for foure sheepe or a couple of oxen redeemed a good prisoner taken in some place of the kingdome of Naples. Yet for all this, the Romans did not so much credit the Embassadors promise in the behalfe of the Turkes good dealing, but that many of the weaker sort fled out of the citie into the countrey by night, although the chiefe Magistrates did what they might to haue staied them. When *Barbarussa* had thus lien three dayes in the mouth of the riuer Tibur, and there watered, he passed alongst the coast of Etruria and Liguria, without doing any harme; and so sailed directly to Marseilles. Where leauing him with his fleet for a while, expecting the French Kings further pleasure, we will againe returne vnto *Solyman*, who at the same time that *Barbarussa* was spoiling the frontiers

Solyman commeth with a great army into Hungary.

tiers of the Emperours Dominions in Italie, came with a great arm[y] into Hungary, for G
more assured possession of that Kingdome, whereafter he saw King *Ferdinand* so much lo[ved]
And because he would make all sure before him, he sent *Amurathes* [Gou]rnour of Dal[matia]
and *Vlamas* the Persian Gouernor to Bosna, to besiege Walpo, a strong [to]wne scituate [vp]on
the riuer Dranus, not far from Exek, famous for the ouerthrow of the [Chri]stian Armie [ouer]
Cazzianer: after whom followed also *Achomates* the great command[er] [of] his Europe[an] [hor]se-
men. This towne (part of *Perenus* his possessions) was against all the [ex]ces kept and [or]-
thily defended by *Perenus* his wife (her husband then lying in prison [at] Vienna) and [his]
friends by the space of three moneths; but was at last by the treache[rie] [of] liers deliuered
to the enemy, together with their Generall; whom when they could [not] [per]suade
to consent to the yeelding vp thereof, but that he would needs hold it ou[t] [to] the last, they H
tooke him perforce, and so deliuered him with the Towne to the Turks: wh[o]
with all courtesie, and vsed him honourably: but those traiterous souldiers,
in detestation of their treacherie, or for the spoile of them, were all put to the sword [and cut]
reward of their treason. The rest of the Citisens were taken by the Turks to mercie, and well
vsed. The Bishop and chiefe men of Quinque Ecclesiæ (a famous Citie not far off on the
other side of Dranus) hearing of the losse of Walpo, and terrified with the greatnesse of the
Turks armie, fled for feare, leauing none but the meaner sort of the people in the City, who
willingly yeelded the same vnto the Turks. The next towne of any strength was Soclosia,
belonging also to *Perenus*, which for a while held out against the Turks, for that diuers Gen-
tlemen of the countrey which were fled into the Citie, encouraged the Citisens to stand vp- I
on their defence. But after much harme done on both sides, when they were no longer able
to hold out, they retired into the castle, in hope to haue so saued their liues and libertie by
yeelding: but *Amurathes* was so offended with them, that he would come to no reasonable
composition, or promise them any thing more, than that they should at their pleasure come
forth: and so as they came out at the gate, slew them euery mothers sonne, thereby to terri-
fie others from making like resistance.

The castle of Walpo trecherously yeelded, and the Traitors iustly rewarded.

Solyman commeth with his army to Strigonium.

Solyman vnderstanding of all these things, gaue those towns which were taken to *Amurathes* the Generall: and hauing put all things in readinesse, departed from Buda with all his armie to besiege Strigonium; which was then kept by *Liscanus* and *Salamanca*, two proud couetous Spaniards, with a garrison of 1300 soldiers, whereof some few were Spaniards and Italians, & the K
rest Germanes. *Paulus* Bishop of Strigonium got himselfe out of the city betimes, dispairing of all mercy if he should haue fallen into the power of *Solyman*, by whose intermission he had bin once before reconciled to King *Iohn*, and had again reuolted from him to King *Ferdinand*. The castle of Strigonium was scituat vpon a high hill ouerlooking Danubius running vnderneath it, the walls were built euen without any flankers, after the old manner of building before the inuention of guns: for which cause *Vitellius* and *Tornicllus* two expert captaines (the yeare before sent from the king to view the place, and the manner of the fortification) were of opinion, that the city could hardly be defended, if it were besieged by any strong Enemy; being subiect also vnto a hill not far from the gates of the city. Against which incoueniences the old garrison soldiers which wintred in Strigonium, cast vp new bulwarks and fortificati- L
ons, and after the manner of windie headed men, making great boast before the danger, what they would do, seemed to wish for the comming of *Solyman*. But after that the barbarous enemie had with his tents couered the fields and mountaines round about the city, and withall brought a gallant fleet vp the riuer, all those brags were laid in the dust, & euery man began to grow doubtfull of his owne safety: for that they being but few (although men of good worth) were to withstand the infinite number of such enemies, as oftentimes vsed most desperatly to expose their liues to all maner of dangers. This their feare was also increased by the comming of certain messengers from *Solyman*, who vnderstanding of what nations the garison consisted, sent vnto the city three of his owne gard, one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a German, all renegat Christians; that euery one of them might without an Interpreter speake M
vnto their countrymen in their own language: These men admitted into the city, offered great rewards and large entertainment in the name of *Solyman*, to such as would in time yeeld: denouncing all torture and extremities vnto them which [would] endure the summons of the [city]. Whereunto it was answered by the Captaines, That those faithfull and valiant souldiers

The stout answere of the captaines.

A diers, who had reposed their last hopes in their armes, were neither to be woon by gifts, nor terrified with threats. With which answere the messenger returned, and the same day the Turks great ordonnce was planted vpon the hill before the gate of the city, and the weakest parts of the walls round about the citie, so well pickt out by the Turkes to be assaulted, as they could not more skilfully or commodiously haue bin chosen out of them which had within most diligently viewed euery thing: so that it is to be thought that the Christians vainly boasted. *Achomates* Generall of the European horsemen, laid siege to that part of the
B wall which was next to the Bishops gardens: *Vlamas* the Persian besieged the tower neere vnto the gate towards Buda: The Asapi or common soldiers were by their captains brought on to dig trenches, and cast vp mounts, as was thought most conuenient. It is incredible to be spoken, with what furie the great ordnance was discharged without ceasing; insomuch that the towers with a great part of the wall neere vnto it, shaken with continuall battery, fell downe with such violence, as if all had been shaken with a most terrible earthquake: neither was any man able to stand vpon the walls, but that the Ianizaries with their harquebusiers out of their trenches, and from their mounts, would most certainly fetch him off: and many which stood within farther off, were with the Turks arrowes falling from high as if it had been out of the
C aire, grieuously wounded. But that which most troubled the defendants, and did them greatest harme, was the stones, which beaten insunder with the great shot, and not to be auoided, did with their pieces kill or maime the soldiers neere hand. With which dangers they were enforced to forsake the vttermost wall, and to cast vp new fortifications within, that they might with lesse danger defend the place. Neither in the enemy wanted courage to assaile the breach: thrice they desperatly attempted to haue entred, and were alwaies with losse repulsed. In which assaults, amongst others, *Bultaces* Sanzacke of Selymbria, a man of great account a-
D mong the Turks, was lost. Whilest the defendants were thus busied, many of the soldiers and mariners which came vp the riuer with all things necessary for the army, from Buda, went on shore, and lay in the suburbs of the city in such security, as if there had beene no enemy nigh: which thing they in the city perceiuing, suddenly sallied out vpon them fearing no such matter, and slew many of them before they could arme themselues, & draue the rest to their fleet: so that betwixt fighting and flying there was about two hundred of them slaine. *Zimar* a Persian, Admirall of the Fleet, in rescuing of them which to saue their liues fled vnto the riuer, was shot thorow with a small shot and slaine. Whilest these things were in doing, and the Turks hauing in many places sore shaken the wall, did with greater force daily assaile the Citie, and the defendants with their continuall losse, and out of all hope of relieue, were more and more discouraged; an old Calabrian enginer which had long time serued king *Ferdinand*, fled out of the city to the Turks; who being curteously entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by the Bassa's of many things concerning the strength and state of the city, satisfied them in all
E that they desired; and further, directed them in planting their batteries in places most conuenient for the speedy taking of the towne. In the mean time whilest the Turks were with restlesse labor battering the walls, and working in their mines, it fortuned that a gilt brazen Crosse which stood vpon the top of the steeple of the Cathedrall Church, was by the continual shooting of the Turks thereat, at length beaten downe: at the sight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* after the superstitious manner of that nation taking the chance as a token of good lucke, cried out presently, *Strigonium is won.*

The terrible battery of the Turks at Strigonium.

The Turkes repulsed thrice at the assault of the breach.

A Christian fugitiue discouereth the weakest and state of the citie vnto the Turkes.

Liscanus and *Salamanca* fearfully consulting of the euent of the siege, and secretly conferring together, resolued to saue themselues, and to giue vp the towne. *Liscanus* was no great soldier; and yet by continuall spoile growne exceeding rich, and therefore thought it but folly to buy the name of a resolute captain at too deare a price, with the losse of his life and wealth. The
F like feeling was also in *Salamanca*, who preferred the safety of himself & of that which he had got in long seruice, before al credit & honor were it neuer so great. This their purpose was not kept so secret, but that it was noised abroad amongst the common soldiers, of whome almost the third part was now either slain, or with wounds or sicknes grown weake: yet were they all of opinion generally, that they were still strong enough to defend the towne. But the vnder Captaines and Antients vsing to flatter their Generals, liked well of the motion, to yeeld vnto *Solyman*

Solyman vpon reasonable conditions, rather than to expose themselues to the ... which should nothing better King *Ferdinands* cause. Not long after, ... ment was ... let downe ouer the wall; and hauing by an Interpreter receiued the ... faith, called *Salamanca*, that he might vpon better conditions go thorow with them ... the yeelding the towne. Who without further delay comming out, went to *Achmet* ... before ... commanding them which defended the water tower next to the riuer ... place of ... ger, for safegard of their liues to get them into the city: who terrified ... ran new ... fully retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the siege therof ... ed: he ... ly breaking in, slew such as were not yet gone, and possessed the castle. ... *alamance* brought before the great Bassa's, when he had stood vpon many nice terms ... requested things to haue bin granted, obtained no more, but that they should ... delay yeeld vp the city, and put themselues wholly to the mercie of *Solyman*. So the Spaniard stood, himselfe writ to *Liscanus*, how he had sped, willing him forthwith, if he ... safety, to yeeld the city, without standing vpon further termes. *Liscanus* vpon receit of ... letters comming forth to the souldiers, declared vnto them the necessity of yeelding vp ... the town, and what hope there was to escape with life and liberty. But whilest the souldiers filled with indignation, stood as men in doubt what to do, *Halis* commander of the Ianizaries came vnto the gate, and with cheerful rather than sterne countenance required to haue it opened vnto him, according to the agreement made by *Salamanca* in the campe: which was forthwith opened by *Liscanus*, and the keies deliuered vnto him. The Ianizaries entring peaceably into the city, possessed themselues of the walls & fortresses round about, commanding the Christian soldiers to giue place, out of whom they chose all the beardles youths, & commanded the rest to cast downe their harquebusies & other weapons in a place appointed, which they all for feare did, expecting nothing but some cruel execution to be done vpon them by the barbarous enemy. Which their feare was the more increased by a strange accident then vnluckily chancing: for whilest the soldiers did as they were commanded, with their harquebusies cast their flaskes full of pouder also, one of them suddenly tooke fire of a match which was by chance cast in amongst them with fire in it, which firing the rest, blew about all that heape of weapons among the Turks, which so filled them with anger & feare of some sudden trechery, that they fell vpon the Christians and slew diuers of them: vntill such time as *Halis* (perswaded that it was a thing hapned rather by chance than malice) commanded his Ianizaries to stay their fury. This tumult appeased, *Halis* caused proclamation to be made, That all such Christian souldiers as would serue *Solyman* in his wars, should haue such place in his army as their quality required, with bountifull entertainment: yet of all the Christian soldiers were found only seuentie, which carefull of their liues, accepted the offer, fearing that the Turks would vpon such as refused, exercise their wonted cruelty. *Halis* entertaining them curteously, sent them away with the other youths whom he had before culled out, down the riuer to Buda: the other souldiers he tooke into his protection, and vsed their labor to helpe the Turks to make cleane the castle. But *Liscanus*, who to saue his gold had made shipwracke of his honor & reputation, was glad to giue vnto *Halis* the faire chaine of gold which he had most couetously & insolently before taken from *Perenus*; when as *Halis* (who would otherwise haue taken it from him by force) by way of militarie curtesie now craued it of him, as a strange kind of ornament among the Turks: with which gift he was in hope to haue saued the rest of his coine. But fortune fauored not so much the couetous coward: for when he was about to depart away with his horses of seruice, which he kept very good, & had cunningly stuffed the saddles ful of gold, thinking so slily to haue conueied it; the Turke laughing at him, tooke from him his horses furnished as they were, saying, that he which was to go by water needed no horses. So was the couetous wretch at once quit of the great wealth which he had in long time euill got. The captains with the rest of the soldiers dispoiled of their armes, were conueied ouer the riuer of Danubius, & so trauelled on foot to Possonium, where the County *Salme* by the commandement of the king apprehended *Liscanus*, *Salamanca*, and some other of the captains for suspirion of treason, & committed them to safe custodie, there to answer for their cowardly yeelding vp of the city.

Solyman entred into Strigonium the tenth of August in the yeare 1543, and there conuerting Christian Churches into Temples for the Mahometan superstition, first sacrificed for his victorie (as he had before done in Buda) and after with all speed so strongly fortified the citie,

Salamanca goes out of Strigonium, & parly with the Turks about the yeelding vp of the town.

Strigonium yeelded to the Turks by Liscanus the Spaniard.

Liscanus the couetous Spaniard merrily stript of all his wealth by Halis captaine of the Ianizaries.

Solyman entreth into Strigonium, and there setteth vp the Mahometan superstition.

A as if hee would thereby for euer haue taken from the Christians all hope of recouering the same againe, deriding the slouthfull negligence of the Germans, who possessed of it foureteen yeares, had neglected all that time to fortifie it. Not long after, *Solyman* leauing *Ossainus* a valiant captaine Gouernor of Strigonium, and sending his Tartarian horsemen to spoile the countrey on the left hand, as far as Alba Regalis; went himselfe to besiege the castle of Tatta, called in antient time Theodota. The garrison souldiers terrified with the losse of Strigonium, and the sight of the Turks army, vpon the first summons yeelded the castle without resistance, and were so suffered quietly to depart. That castle after the manner of the Turkish discipline,

B who with few ... those very strong holds keepe their prouinces in subiection) was by *Solymans* comm... ... presently rased downe to the ground. *Torniellus* Generall of the Italians caused *Ha...* ... captaine of the castle, to haue his head strucke off for his cowardly yeelding vp of the ... had taken charge of: thereby to admonish others, which had the charge of ... not to refuse an honorable death in defence of their countrey, for feare of an ignominious death attending their cowardise.

A cowardly captaine worthily rewarded.

Solyman goeth to Alba Regalis.

Tatta thus laid in the dust, *Solyman* marched with his army towards Alba, surnamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungarie by an antient custome vsed there to be crowned, and also buried. Buda, Strigonium, and Alba Regalis, three principall cities of the kingdome of Hungarie stand in maner of a triangle, almost equally distant one from another, about a hundred miles in compasse. Buda and Strigonium are scituate vpon the riuer of Danubius: but Alba standeth more into the land, strongly seated in the middest of a great lake, but not so wholesomely, es-

C pecially in the Summer time, the Winter waters then decreasing, and grosse vapours arising with the heat of the Sunne. From the citie thorow the marrish or lake, vnto the firme land, lie three broad and high causeys (in manner of the strakes of a cart wheele) well built with faire houses and gardens on either side, and a broad way in the middle, whereby men passe in & out of the citie. At the end of euery causey toward the land were cast vp strong bulwarkes, which the citizens vsed not to watch but in dangerous times of war: so that by these bulwarkes, the houses of the suburbes standing vpon these causies, were safe from the danger of the enemie, the lake filling vp all the spaces betwixt the causies: which, what for the depth, what for mud; flags, and bulrushes, growing in it, was not by horse or man to be passed thorow. And the citie it selfe standing in the midst of the lake, compassed round about with a strong wall, and a deepe

D ditch alwaies full of water, was hardly to be besieged: for which causes a great number of the countrie people vpon the comming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their cattell, as vnto a most sure hold. In the citie lay in garrison two companies of Germans, and 200 horsemen, vnto whom were ioyned 500 Hungarian horsemen, such as in time of peace liued by robbing, and are by an infamous name called *Vsarous*: vnto these, the Italian countie *Torniellus*, who with his Italians was come as far as Iauarinum, or Rab, sent foure captaines with their companies, such as were most forward in that seruice: after whome followed *Barcotius*, captaine of the Kings guard, with a companie of horsemen, appointed by the king for Generall. Who was no sooner come into the citie, but newes was brought of *Solymans* approch. Whereupon he in hast called together the other captaines, with *Birrous* then maior of the citie, and other the chiefe citizens

E to consult with them, What was best to be done for the defence of the citie, but especially, Whether the suburbs of the citie, standing vpon those three broad causies, were to be destroyed or not? that so the citie standing in the middest of the great marish, might both with lesse labour and danger be defended. This question was seriously debated, and great reasons alledged: at last the citizens cried out with one voice against the matter, and said, That they would neuer suffer those goodly suburbes, wherein were so many churches and faire buildings as might compare with the citie it selfe, to be so shamefully destroyed, to the vtter vndoing of so many rich citizens: for what could be (said they) more dishonourable or lamentable, than to the encouraging of the barbarous enemy, to shew such a token of extreame feare; and with their owne hands to burne and destroy those stately buildings, which might by strong hand

The description of Alba Regalis.

The citizens of Alba will not suffer the citie to be destroyed.

F bee well enough defended against the enemie, if they did not play the shamefull cowards. Of which opinion with the citizens was also *Octauianus Serosactus* an Italian captain; alledging that both the citie and the suburbes might both with like danger be defended: forasmuch as they were equally fortified with the benefit of the marish, and if the worst should happen, the defendants might yet safely enough retire into the citie. At last standing vp as one thrust forward

ward, both with the publicke hard fortune and his owne, said, *Valiant gentlemen, what shem*
you giue of your valor, or what honor shall you haue of your seruice? if you s[hall] defend so famous a
by deforming of it your selues, and cutting off the suburbs, as it were the arms [the]reof, before the da
vpon too hastie desperation? Verily you shall doe nothing, either in the seruice [of] the king, or the h
of your selues, except this citie (if God so please) be of you whole and sound valia[nt] defended
speech they all arise, the wiser sort and of greatest experience giuing p[lace] to the im[pa]tity
of the ignorant & simple. *Barcotius* himselfe full of care, and ouercome w[ith] the vaine
of the greater parr, yeelded also vnto that fatal resolution of saiuing the [suburbs]. *For it ofte*
teth out, that they who wisely weighing dangers in the ballance of reason, and doe th[erefore] fearefu
solue of the euent of things, and doe thereupon oftentimes giue more hard and [true] iudgemen
things than men of greater [cou]rage; yeeld neuertheless to be partakers of other men [in] yea euen
most assured death, rather [than] maintaining their fearefull opinion, to be deemed co[wards]. So fell it
out with *Barcotius* the G[enerall] who setting a good countenance on the matter [and] nothing
liked him, went out to the souldiers, declaring vnto them the reasons why the suburbs were to
be defended: exhorting them with like valour on their parts to answer that honourable reso-
lution, promising to prouide whatsoeuer should be necessary for the obtaining of the victory;
assuring them of great rewards and preferment, which should by their good seruice deserue
the same. Hereupon the suburbs were by the common labour of the souldiers and the citizens
quickly fortified, the great ordnance in places conuenient orderly planted, and watch and ward
kept by the captains and their companies by their turns day and night. But the Turks drawing I
neere to the citie, bent their forces only against the suburbs of the gate leading towards Buda:
for that they perceiued the marish was in that place drier than the other, and the sandie ground
more vnfit for the making of bulwarks & other fortifications for the safety of the defendants,
than in the other places where the ground yeelded better turfe. *Barcotius* perceiuing the ene-
mies purpose, drew all the Italians and Germanes from the other gates into the suburbs of the
gate of Buda, leauing the country people which were fled into the citie, & the citizens, in their
places. At the first comming of the Turks, the Hungarian and German horsmen, with the Ita-
lian footmen, sallied out of the suburbs, and after certain light skirmishes retired. Which ma-
ner of fight was continued by the space of three daies without any great harme done on either
side: for the captains had warily commanded, That the souldiers should not aduenture out too K
far. But after that *Solyman* himselfe was come, and had with the multitude of his tents beset the
citie far and neere, to the terror of the beholders; the Christians shut vp all the gates, and salli-
ed out no more. Which thing caused the wild Hungarian *Vsarous* (vsed to open skirmishes) to
prouide for themselues in time, and not to suffer themselues to be coupt vp (as they termed)
within the wals of the citie: so for fashion sake, asking leaue to be gone (who were not against
their wils to be staied) they by night departed, beeing not to be entreated by the Generall or
citizens to stay, and by knowne waies escaped thorow the woods from the enemy. In the mean
time the Turkes were come with their winding trenches within shot, and with their arrowes
and small shot so scoured the top of the bulwarke, that no man could there possibly appeare
but hee was straight wounded: and such was the fury of the great artillerie, that it had in L
short time battered in sunder the plankes and timber which kept in the sandie mould, whereof
the fortresse was made, more for shew than for strength; in such sort, that the great shot flying
quite thorow all, slew and wounded many that were a far off: in which distresse of the defen-
dants, the Turks Asapi with small danger filled vp the ditches of the bulwarke, and diuers pla-
ces of the marrish with earth and wood, which they brought continually from a wood therby
with six hundred waggons, so that in the space of twelue daies they had made a firme way for
them to passe ouer vpon, both to the bulwarke and the suburbs; a worke before thought im-
possible to haue beene performed. The ditches thus filled vp, the Turkes valiantly came on,
seeking by plaine force to enter the bulwarke. First came on the Asapi, whom as men of least
worth the Turks captains vse to thrust to the first danger: after whom followed the horsmen,
now on foot, with swords and targuets, or else their horsemens staues, couering the Ianizaries, M
who vpon their knees with their harquebusiers sore gauled the defendants. This hot fight en-
dured aboue three houres with equall hope and courage: but the Turkes still relieued with
fresh souldiers, repulsed the Christians, and gained the vt[ter]most bulwarke: neuertheless the
Italian fort was that day valiantly defended, the very wo[men] and religious helping to defend
it:

The Turks with incredible labor fill vp the ditches & take, and by plaine force assault the bulwark of the suburbs toward Buda.

A ils in which assault a tall Hungarian woman, whose courage far exceeded the weakenesse of her sex, thrusting in amo[ng] the souldiers vpon the top of the fort; with a great sythe in her hand at one blow strucke [off] two of the Turks heads, as they were climing vp the rampier. This as- *A notable act of an Hungarian woman.*
fault was giuen the nine and twentieth of August, on which day the Turks had before taken Belgrade, and also slaine king *Lewis* at the battell of Mohacz; and were therefore after their superstitious manner in obseruation of their fortunate and vnfortunate daies, in good hope to haue then taken the citie: wherein they were much deceiued, being not able at that time fur-
B rage prosecuted the victorie, but cowardly (as he thought) giuen it ouer, being in a manner al- ther to enter, but enforced againe to retire. Wherewith *Solyman* offended, sent for *Abraham*, *Achomates*, and *Hali* (the chiefe captains in that assault) into his tent, and reproued them sharp- ly; for that the bulwarke being so valiantly and fortunatly woon, they had not with more cou- readie woon: and therefore with sterne countenance commanded them to prepare all things readie within three daies for a fresh assault, and neuer to return vnto him, except they did win the citie. Whereunto the captaines answered no more (for were they neuer so guiltlesse, they might not before him stand to excuse themselues) but that they would in short time accom- plish his desire. Wherefore hauing made all readie, and encouraged the souldiers to this last assault, they terribly assailed the rampiers, and brought a great feare vpon the defendants: for taking the benefit of a thick mist (as it oftentimes chanceth in marrish grounds) they were with great silence (contrarie to their manner) got vp to the top of the rampiers, and come to handie blowes, before they were well discouered. The fight was for the time fierce and terrible: but
C the Ianizaries preuailing, at length put the Germans to flight, and after them the Italians also, so that now well was he that could run fastest towards the citie. But that their hastie flight lit- tle auailed, when as they were to passe out by a little narrow gate in maner of a wicket: & they in the citie, without regard of them that fled, had plucked vp the draw bridge ouer the ditch. For naturally it commeth oftentimes to passe, that the feare of the present danger, without blu- shing excuseth our foule dealing. So the barbarous and fierce enemy pursuing the flying Chri- stians at the heeles all the length of those suburbs with most cruell execution, many notable men, some fighting, some flying, were there slaine: amongst whom was *Octauianus Serosactus*, author of the euil counsel wherof insued that calamitie. *Barcotius* the Generall flying on hors- backe to the little gate, which was not to be passed thorow, and crying in vaine to them that
D fled, to haue the great gate opened, was by the comming of the Ianizaries slaine: whose head and right hand full of rich rings, was by the barbarous enemy carried about in derision vpon a launce. The rest of the flying multitude finding the little gate shut vp with the bodies of the dead, & the bridge maliciously drawne vp, desperatly threw themselues into the deepe ditch; where some of them labouring to swim out, were caught by the legs and armes by other that could not swim, and both together drowned. Some hardly crauling ouer, were shot in the head or backe with the Turks arrowes: other some sticking fast in the mud, were as if it had been in sport shot to death by the Turks: some few there was which got ouer, and were saued. *The miserable slaughter of the flying Christians*

There was yet left in the citie the Generall of the German horsemen, and *Vscasades* of Cre-
mona, an Italian captaine; these two gathering the remainder of the souldiers which were left,
E placed them vpon the wals: but the citizens were stricke with such a feare, that they could not tell which way to turne themselues. For now *Birrous* the maior, with the aldermen and other chiefe citizens, seeing the slaughter of the Italians and Germanes, were so ouercome with de- spaire, that they thought no hope of their well doing was to bee reposed in making of any far- ther resistance, but only in the mercie of *Solyman*. Wherfore *Birrous* spake vnto the Turks from the wall, That he might safely send embassadors to *Solyman*, to intreat with him vpon reasona- ble conditions, for the yeelding vp of the citie: which thing *Achomates* easily granted. With these embassadours for the citizens, went also the Generals of the German horsmen, & *Caro-*
lus Rufus an Italian captaine (who of all others had borne himselfe most valiantly in all the as- saults, to the great admiration of the Turks) to intreat for the safety & liberty of the souldiers.
F The embassadors being brought before the great Bassaes, requested, That yeelding the citie, the citizens might inioy their liues & liberty: whereunto they were so answered, as that it see- med they should not all be pardoned; yet was the generall feare wel diminished, for that the pu- nishment respected but some few. *Rufus* was courteously entertained; & easily obtained, that the Italians might in safety depart with bag & bagagge to Vienna: the like grace also had the Gene-

Embassadours sent to Solyman to entreat vpon conditions for the yeelding of the citie.

Generall of the Germans for his ſouldiers. *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa, offered vnto *Rufus* he- G
rable entertainment, if he would haue ſerued *Solyman*: which when he refuſed as bou-
king *Ferdinand* by oath, in honour of his valour he gaue him a rich cloake wrought with
ers of gold. The embaſſadours returning into the citie, and telling how they had ſped,
red the citizens of a great feare. Shortly after the citie being yeelded, *Homares* by pro-
clamation in the market place, commanded the Italians and Germans to make themſel- rea-
die againſt the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarian went with
he alſo ſtraitly charged the citiſens to keepe their houſes, vntill the ſtrange ſouldiers were
parted. At the time appointed, the Italians and Germans ſet forward, conducted by *Homa-*
with a companie of the Turks horſemen, who faithfully defended them againſt the Tartars, H
running vp and downe the countrey after ſpoile: neither was any thing taken from them but
their dags, which the German horſemen after a new faſhon carried at their ſaddles.
the Turks greatly deſired, delighted with the noueltie of the inuention, to ſee them
with a firelocke without a match. But after the departure of *Homares*, they were in the rear
ſet vpon by the Hungarians, with whom they had many hot skirmiſhes, and had hardly eſca-
ped vnſpoiled, had they not beene reſcued by the kings ſouldiers lying in garriſon in the Ca-
ſtles as they paſſed alongſt the countrey. The few which remained, after many troubles came
at laſt to Vienna, more like ghoſts than men.

Solyman entreth into Alba Regalis.

Solyman cauſeth the chiefe citiſens of Alba Regalis to be ſlain.

Solyman entering quietly into the citie, firſt viſited the Sepulchers of the Hungarian kings, I
and gaue out proclamation, That the Hungarians ſhould feare of him no harme; for that he was
not come to conquer them, but to deliuer them from the bondage of the Germans, and ſo to
reſtore againe that entire kingdome vnto *Stephen* the right heire of King *Iohn*. But within three
or foure daies after, he called out the chiefe citiſens into a field not far off, wherein the bodies
of condemned men were woont to be buried, as if he would haue there taken an oath of them
for their fidelitie: whether, after they were all aſſembled in the beſt manner they could, as to
ſome ſolemne feaſt, the cruell tyrant (without regard of his faith or promiſe) cauſed them all
to be ſlaine. Howbeit ſome report, that he cauſed them onely to be put to death which bare
office in the citie, at ſuch time as they reuolted from the obedience of the Queene and the in-
fant king, vnto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German ſouldiers; and that he ſent the reſt
into exile to Buda and Belgrade. So *Solyman* leauing *Balibeius* Gouernour of Alba Regalis; K

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

and *Mahometes* ſometime Gouernour of Belgrade, his Lieutenant Generall for the whole go-
uernement of that kingdome, returned againe toward Conſtantinople (Winter now beginning
to approch) after he had that Sommer woon Strigonium and Alba Regalis, two of the chie-
feſt cities of Hungarie. All this while king *Ferdinand* had raiſed no power worth the ſpeaking
of, to withſtand ſo mightie an enemie; onely at Vienna lay ſeuen thouſand Germans and foure
thouſand Italians, at ſuch time as *Solyman* departed from Alba Regalis, which were ſhortly
after diſcharged.

Whiles *Solyman* thus lay at the ſiege of Alba Regalis, he ſent his Tartarian horſemen which
ſerued him to ſmall purpoſe in the ſiege, to ſpoile the country round about: theſe ſauage peo-
ple doing much harme, were in diuers places circumuented by the Hungarians, & about three
thouſand of them ſlaine: one of them being taken priſoner, had found in his knapſacke halfe a L
childe, of about two yeres old, the loathſome remainder of his barbarous feeding.

Barbaruſſa all this while lying with his fleet (as we haue before ſaid) at Marſeilles, fretted
exceedingly, that he had to his diſhonour vndertaken ſo long a voyage by ſea, to pleaſure him
which was not able (as he ſaid) to direct his own deſignes to any certain reſolution, but ſhame-
fully ſuffered the beſt time of the yeare for ſeruice, negligently to paſſe away without any
thing doing; the blame whereof would (as he ſaid) be imputed to him at Conſtantinople: and
that *Solyman*, who deſired to aid the king his friend and confederat, and by all means to annoy
his enemies, would take in euill part to haue it reported, that hee had with ſo great charge ſet
out ſo great a fleet, and ſo far off, to helpe his friend hardly beſet with his enemies, & to haue
done nothing: beſides that, he tooke on like a Turke, that he who in time of ſeruice neuer vſed
negligently to let ſlip the leaſt opportunitie, ſhould now blemiſh his former credit & eſtimati- M
on, by lying ſtill all that Sommer in the harbour of Marſeilles, where his ſouldiers grew lazie
with doing nothing. Wherefore *Polinus* going to the king, told him of the proud Turkes great
diſcontentment for lacke of employment: and returning to *Barbaruſſa*, brought order from
the

A the king, that he ſhould lay ſiege to Nice a citie of Prouince, then holden by the duke of Sa-
uoy. This city ſtanding vpon the ſea, was by one of the French kings for a great ſum of mony
pawned vnto the duke: which mony, king *Francis* had many times offered to haue repaied,
but could neuer get the citie out of the dukes hands. Vnto which ſeruice, the French king
ſent alſo his fleet of two and twentie gallies and eighteen ſhips, wherein were imbarked eight
thouſand ſouldiers, and victuall for many daies. This fleet departing from Marceilles, keeping
cloſe by the ſhore, came to the port called Monoc; whither two daies after came *Barbaruſſa*
alſo with an hundred and fiftie gallies. From thence *Polinus* by commandement from the king
went vnto the State of Genoa, That they ſhould not feare of that great fleet any hoſtilitie,
which was not to hurt any but them of Nice, and not them neither if they would yeeld them-
B ſelues. For more aſſurance whereof, he obtained of the Turks diuers Genoa captiues, which
had long time lien chained in their gallies, and courteouſly ſet them at libertie, & ſent them
home without ranſome. After that, he friendly exhorted the citiſens of Nice, to yeeld them-
ſelues againe vnto their antient and lawfull Prince, renowned for his bountie and power; ra-
ther than to aduenture their State to all extremities for that poore and diſtreſſed Duke, who
betweene the Emperour and the French king, diſpoiled of the greateſt part of his dominions,
ſaw no other end of his miſeries, but to leaue that little which yet remained, as a prey to the
one or to the other, that ſhould firſt lay hand thereon. Whereunto the magiſtrats of the town
anſwered, That they knew no other Prince or ſoueraigne, but *Charles* their duke: wherefore
he ſhould deſiſt farther to ſolicite them by letters or meſſengers, whom they would make no
C other account of but as of their enemies. Wherefore the Frenchmen and Turks landing their
forces, laid ſiege to the towne in three places. The citiſens had but a little before newly forti-
fied their wals, by the direction of *Paulus Simeon*, captaine of the caſtle, and one of the knights
of the Rhodes, a man of great experience, who long before taken at ſea by pyrats, had ſome-
time ſerued *Barbaruſſa*, and therefore perſuaded the citiſens as reſolute men to withſtand the
Turks. Which, that they ſhould more conſtantly performe, he tooke their wiues and children
and weaker ſort of the people into the caſtle; and from thence furniſhed the citiſens with all
things neceſſarie for their defence. The citie was at once in diuers places battered by the
Turkes & French, both by ſea and land: ſo that at laſt the Turks had beaten downe one of the
new built bulwarks, and made ſo faire a breach, that with their enſignes diſplaid, they attemp-
D ted to haue entred: whoſe forwardnes *Leo Strozza* (then ſeruing the French king with a band
of Italians) imitating, fought to haue entred alſo: but the citiſens ſtanding valiantly vpon their
defence, manfully repulſed both the Turks and Italians, and cauſed them with loſſe to retire.
In this aſſault were ſlaine about 100 Turks; and of *Strozza* his ſouldiers 22. Preſently after,
Nice in Prouince beſieged by the French and the Turk.

Barbaruſſa with all his force began a freſh batterie, in ſuch terrible maner, that the citiſens ſee-
ing their wals in diuers places opened, and the few ſouldiers they had ſore wounded, and no
hope to be in conuenient time relieued, began to parley with the French Generall from the
wall, concerning the yeelding vp of the citie; vpon condition, that they might in all reſpects
liue vnder the French king as they had done vnder the duke: for performance whereof, the
General gaue them his faith. But *Polinus* fearing leſt the Turks ſhould violate this compoſition,
E and for griefe of the loſſe of their fellowes, or for hope of the ſpoile brake into the citie, en-
treated *Barbaruſſa* to recall his ſouldiers, and to cauſe them to goe aboord his gallies. For
which cauſe not long after, the Ianizaries, as men deceiued of their hoped prey, were about to
haue ſlaine both *Polinus* and *Strozza*, as they came from talking with *Barbaruſſa*.
The citiſens crane parley, & after yeeld the citie.

The city thus yeelded, they began to conſult for the taking of the caſtle: the performance
wherof conſiſted firſt in the aſſailing of the caſtle it ſelfe, & then in defending of the city from
the ſudden ſallies of them in the caſtle; & likewiſe in defending of them which beſieged the
caſtle, ſo that no enemy ſhould come to raiſe the ſiege: of which two things, *Barbaruſſa* put the
French to choice which they would take, ſhewing himſelfe ready either to beſiege the caſtle,
or to keepe the field. The French ſtanding in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old
F Turk ſcorning their ſlow reſolution, & them alſo, as men vnfit for the ready accompliſhment
of any martiall exploit; cauſed 7 pieces of batterie, whereof 2 were of wonderful greatnes, to
be placed in a trice in a place moſt conuenient, & the ſame quickly intrenched and fortified, to
the great admiratiō of the French: with which pieces he had quickly beaten down the battle-
ments of the wals, & contincl houſes, ſo that no man was able to ſhew himſelf vpon the wals.
The caſtle beſieged.

The

The Frenchmen likewise on the other side did with their great ordnance continually b… the castle: but with long shooting they came to such want of shot and pouder, that *Polinus* glad to request, that he might either borrow or buy some of *Barbarussa*: whereat the T… fretted and fumed exceedingly, That they should in their owne countrey stand in need … prouision, who at Marceilles had better fraughted their ships with wine, than with nec… for the wars. For the rough and seuere old Turke could not forbeare to taunt them, ar… times complained, that he was deluded with the hope of great matters which *Polinus* … mised at Constantinople; and that in such a rage, that he would threat… to lay han… *Polinus*, who had brought him from Constantinople thither, whereas h… t either lo… honour, or hauing spent his shot & pouder, expose himselfe and his fleet to … ngers. W… fore being exceeding a… v with the French, he suddenly called a Couns… is capta… and other chiefe offic… ing it out, That he would presently returne towa… nstantino… ple, seeing that among these cowardly and vnskilfull men (as it pleased him to te… found nothing ready or according to promise. Yet for all that, when he had chafed … by the faire intreatance and large promises of the French Generall & *Polinus* together, the wayward old man was perswaded to change his minde, and to continue the siege. But he was yet scarcely well pacified, and his mind set againe vpon the siege, but letters were intercepted from the great captaine *Alphonsius Vastius*, to *Paulus* captaine of the castle, wherein he requested him to hold out a while against the enemy, till that he, who had alreadie sent before his light horsmen, might come also himselfe with his men at arms, who were vpon the way alongst the Alps by the sea side, and would in two daies with the slaughter of the Turks put him and his castle out of all feare and danger. Which thing once bruted in the camp, such a great and sudden feare came vpon the Turkes and Frenchmen (the night following the more to terrifie them prouing by chance very rainy and tempestuous) that they all forsooke their trenches and great ordnance, and laying down their weapons, by narrow pathes climing ouer the top of the high mountaine, came downe headlong to the sea side to the fleet. But the day appearing, and no enemie to be seene, they were ashamed of that they had done, and came againe to the siege.

Barbarussa in his rage threatneth to lay hands on Polinus, and to return forthwith to Constantinople.

The Turks and French giue ouer the castle of Nice, and set fire on the city.

Not long after, when as the castle in all mens iudgement was hardly to be battered, and standing vpon a firme rocke, was not but in long time with hard labour and doubtfull successe to be vndermined, it was generally thought good to raise the siege. The Turks vpon their departure brake into the citie, and when they had taken the spoile thereof, set it on fire.

Barbarussa retiring with his fleet to Antipolis, came to anker at the Island Lerina, called of the mariners Margarita; at which time *Vastius* and the duke of Sauoy, with *Auria* his fleet arriued at Villa Franca: in the entrance of which hauen, the gallie wherein *Vastius* went, was like to haue bin lost. Foure other gallies by force of sudden tempest were driuen vpon the rockes, and so suddenly beaten in pieces with the surge of the sea, that the gallie slaues had not leisure to strike off their yrons, but were there all drowned, and all the ordnance lost. *Polinus* vnderstanding this distresse of the enemie, sent one *Petrus Angelus* to *Barbarussa*, to shew him the occasion offered, and to persuade him with al speed to hast thither with his fleet, as to a most assured victorie. *Barbarussa* seemed to like well of the motion, and promised to goe, yet he moued not, letted as it was thought with the contrary wind, which then blew hard at East, & with the roughnesse of the sea. But the wind being fallen, and the sea become calme, and he contrary to his wonted manner making no hast, set slowly forward, & being a little on his way, came againe to anker, and went no further; the Sanzackes and other captaines first maruelling, and afterward laughing thereat, scoffingly said, That *Barbarussa* did but reason to deale kindely with *Auria*, as his brother and friend of his owne profession, for that he had some yeares before receiued the like friendship at his hands, in letting him escape at Hippona, which he now honestly paied him againe. Whereunto *Barbarussa* both then and afterwards at Constantinople answered no otherwise, but, that he being an old commander, and halfe blind, saw more in the matter than all those greene captaines with their sharpe sight. Not long after, hee returned againe to Marceilles, and put into the hauen of Tolon, called in antient time Taurenta. *Vastius* and the Duke comming to Nice, commended the Captaine of the Castle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turkes fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Christians. *Barbarussa* lying with his fleet at Tolon, and by the Kings officers entertained with all possible courtesie, deliuered fiue and twentie gallies to *Salec* the famous pyrat, and *Assanes*

Barbarussa deuided by the Turks captains.

His answer to their taunts.

Assanes, his nigh kinsman; who passing the bay of Narbona, rifled certain towns in Spain standing vpon the sea coast, and about the promontory of *Venus* (called of the mariners, Creum) tooke great p… ; and in the hauen of Palamos tooke one merchant ship and a galley: with which prey they passed ouer to Algiers as they were commanded; there to winter, and with the first of the spring to returne again to *Barbarussa* in Prouince. That Winter *Barbarussa* repairing his fleet, was furnished with many necessaries by the Genowaies, and especially by *Auria* himselfe, who vnder the colour of redeeming of prisoners, willingly furnished the Turke with … things as he wanted: for although he professed himselfe one of the Emperors captaines, … would he not shew an enemies minde, by the vnseasonable deniall of a little sea furniture, … the if… ie to great a fleet so nigh at hand. But leaue we now *Barbarussa* to winter in Prouince, an… with the course of time turne a little out of the way, to see in *Muleasses* King of Tunes, the small assurance the greatest haue in highest place of worldly honour.

Muleasses fearing the comming of Barbarussa, departeth from Tunes into Italy, to craue aid of Charles the emperour.

This Mahometan King, once before thrust out of his kingdome by *Barbarussa*, and restored againe by *Charles* the Emperor (as is before declared) hearing of his comming with this great fleet, and imagining nothing lesse than that he should come to the aid of the most Christian king, doubted (not without cause) lest it was prepared against himself. Besides that, diuers great cities of his kingdome, namely Constantina, Mahemedia, and Mahomera (called in antient time Cyrtha) Leptis, & Adrumentum, were then holden by the Turks *Barbarussa's* fauorits. Wherefore fearing the worst, about the same time that *Barbarussa* was sailing alongst the coast of Italie, he passed ouer into Sicilie to haue met the Emperor at Genoa, and to haue obtained of him greater aid against the Turks. At his departure out of Affricke, he committed the tuition of his kingdome to such valiant men as he supposed would haue bin vnto him most faithfull: First, he he appointed *Mahometes* (then Maniphæt) to gouerne the city, and *Corsus* (otherwise called *Fares*) his old seruant to keepe the castle; leauing *Mahometes* his brother, and *Fares* his sonne, with *Touarres* a Spaniard (captaine of the castle of Guletta) as pledges, the one of his brothers, the other of his fathers faith: but vnto *Amida* his sonne he committed the leading of his men of war for the defence of his kingdome against the Turks and Numidians. As he was passing out of Sicilia to haue met the Emperour at Genoa, he was by contrary windes driuen first to Caieta, and afterward to Naples, where he was by the Viceroy honorably entertained, & a house appointed for him richly furnished: the Neopolitans wondering at the strange attire of the people, with the manner of their feeding, and curious plentie of all manner of sweet perfumes; for into euery dish they put in odors of exceeding price, so that it was well known, that a peacocke and to pheasants dressed after the maner of the kings kitchen, cost aboue an hundred duckats: so that not only the dining chamber, when they were carued vp, but all the house was so filled with the strange and fragrant smell, that all they that dwelt neere thereabouts were partakers of that vnusuall and delicate perfume. From Naples he was about to haue trauelled by land vnto the Emperor, being then in conference with the Pope at Buxetum (fearing to aduenture the sea, possessed by the enemies fleet) had not the Emperor by his letters willed him to stay still where he was. But whilest he made his abode at Naples, and carefully attended what course *Barbarussa* would take, (who furnished with so great a fleet, was departed from Nice disappointed of his purpose) he was by certaine messengers aduertised out of Affrica, That *Amida* his sonne was risen vp against him, and possessing himselfe of the kingdome, had slaine his captaines, polluted his wiues, and taken the castle of Tunes. With which newes he being exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to passe ouer into Affricke, & though late, yet as he might to remedie his domesticall troubles, in hope to oppresse that rebellion in the beginning, and his sonne also, before he could gather any strength to rest vpon. Wherfore he with all the haste he could opened his coffers and entertained soldiers, the Viceroy giuing leaue to all such banished men as would, to come and giue their names to passe ouer as souldiers into Affricke: vpon report whereof, such a number of malefactors and condemned persons came flocking to Naples, that it was thought a sufficient army might haue beene made of such kinde of men; euery one of them chusing rather to enter into pay, and blot out the infamie of banishment, and proue the fortune of wars, than to liue wandring vp & down the woods and in danger euery houre to be hanged. Of these infamous men, one *Ioannes Baptista Lofredius* (a man well borne, but of a fierce and couetous disposition) vndertooke the leading: he co-

costly dishes.

Amida riseth against Muleasses his father, & vsurps the kingdome of Tunes.

Muleasses returneth into Affricke to Guletta.

uenanting with *Muleasses* to haue three moneths pay before hand, leuied 1800 men; which G
he presently shipped, and keeping the greatest part of their pay to himselfe, ...ssed ouer with
the King into Affricke, and landed at Guletta. But how *Amida* rose vp again... father, and
what was the end of that bloudie rebellion, shall not be amisse briefly to reh... There were
certaine Noblemen of great authoritie about *Amida* when *Muleasses* departed, ...hich ...eir
pleasure ruled the young Prince, who easily hearkened vnto their counsell, and follow...
same: the chiefe of these was one *Mahometes* sonne of *Bohamer*, who in the raigne of ...
metes, *Muleasses* his father, was Maniphæt, whom *Muleasses* (possessed of the kingdome) ...t
shamefully to death by cutting off his priuities, because he had by hastie marriage deceiued
him of *Rhahamana* a maiden of incomparable beautie, the daughter of *Abd*... Captaine of H
the Castle, whom he most passionatly loued: for which cruell fact, *Mahom*... ...ne ha...
long time conceiued a deadly hatred against *Muleasses*, which he had many yeare... ...:
that he might as occasion serued be the more cruelly reuenged. Next vnto him was ...nothe...
Mahometes surnamed *Adulzes*, whom *Muleasses* was wont commonly to call his worst seruant.
These two with a few others conspiring together, gaue it out, that *Muleasses* was dead at Na-
ples, and before his death had most irreligiously (as they accounted it) reuolted to the Chri-
stian religion. With which report they perceiuing *Amida* mooued, came vnto him and persua-
ded him quickely to enter into his fathers seat, left *Mahometes* his yonger brother (then lying
in hostage with the Christians at Guletta) should by the fauour and helpe of *Touarres*, whose
garrison was euer readie, be preferred before him. For *Mahometes* was eighteene yeres old, I
resembling his grandfather in name, fauor, and disposition, and therefore of the citisens of Tu-
nes best beloued. Wherefore *Amida* came in post hast out of the campe to Tunes, to lay first
hand vpon his fathers kingdome. The people which as yet had heard nothing of the Kings
death, receiued him with doubtfull countenance: and as many stood maruelling that hee was
so rashly come into the city without his fathers commandement, *Mahometes* (appointed by
Muleasses to gouerne the city) came out and sharpely reproued him as guiltie of high treason,
Amida thrust out of Tunes. persuading him to returne againe into the campe: and seeing him stay, by force of multitude
thrust him out of the city. *Amida* deceiued of his expectation, got him out of the way into the
pleasant country of Martia betweene Vtica and the ruines of old Carthage. But *Mahometes*
gouernor of the city, after he had repulsed *Amida*, got him with all speed by water to *Touarres* K
at Guletta, to know of him more assuredly, if any such euill newes were brought from Sicilie
of the death of the King; and to complaine of the rashnesse and intollerable presumption of
Amida. Where staying somewhat long in discoursing with the Captaine, and afterwards re-
turning to the citie, he was suspected to haue practised with the captaine, to make *Mahometes*
(the pledge in Guletta) King in his fathers stead; for so the common voice went. The Moores
are by nature a faithlesse people, hastie, suspicious, desirous of newes, which true or false, they
for the time interpret as serueth best their factions, whereunto they are exceedingly giuen. So
at the first there rose in the city a doubtfull rumor of the making of a new king; the suspicion
whereof more and more increasing, set all the city on an vprore. By occasion whereof, cer-
taine of the citisens to whom the very name of *Muleasses* was odious, speedily certified *Ami-* L
da (then in the gardens of Martia, sighing and grieuing at his hard fortune) how all stood, and
that now was the time to do himselfe good. He reuiued with that vnexpected newes, and en-
Amida returneth, and possesseth the kingdome. couraged by the persuasion of *Bohamar* and *Adulzes*, and other his followers; resolued to take
hold vpon that good offer of fortune, which would not alwaies frown, and to follow his good
hap. So in hast returning to Tunes, and entring in at the gate, which he then found open, ran
presently to the gouernors house, and finding him not at home, cruelly slew all his houshold,
and with his bloudie company went presently to the castle: where *Fares* the Captaine seeking
to haue kept him out, and boldly laid hands vpon his horses bridle to haue thrust him backe,
was by a desperat Æthyopian one of *Amida* his followers, thrust thorow with a sword and
slaine: ouer whose bodie yet sprawling, *Amida* forcing his horse, brake into the castle with his
friends, and finding *Mahometes* gouernor of the City, presently slew him also. And so by this M
meanes *Amida* in the space of an houre (a little before, a man in dispaire) obtained the city, the
castle, and the kingdome togither. After that, he murthered his yonger brethren, and embrued
with ... without shame polluted his fathers concub... *Muleasses* landed (as we haue be-
fo... ...uletta, with such forces as he had brought ...th him out of Italy; was aduised
by

A by *Touarres* the Spaniard, not to aduenture with such a handfull of men to go to Tunes, before
he were well assured of the good disposition of the Citisens towards him: and was the more
earnest with *Lofredius* not to go, because the Viceroy had expresly written, That he should in
no case go any further than Guletta, except the King according to his promise had a good
strength of the Numidians to ioyne with him. But certaine of the Noblemen amongst the
Moores, which vnder the colour of friendship were fled out of the Citie, and had after the so-
lemne manner of their nation put their swords vnto their throats, and sworne to be faithful vn-
to him; wonderfully prickt forward both the King and *Lofredius* (too hastie of themselues to
their owne destinie) bearing them in hand, That *Amida* vpon the first sight of his father would
B forsake the city, and betake himselfe to flight. So without more staying, *Muleasses* with En-
signe displaied set forward towards Tunes, *Lofredius* cheerefully following him; *Touarres* re-
questing them in vaine to beware of the Moores trecherie. *Muleasses* marching still forward, *Mu'easses going to Tunes, by the way ouerthrowne.*
was come so nigh the citie, that they might from the walls descrie him; when suddenly a
strong troupe of Moores sallied out of the gate with a terrible crie, and fiercely assailed him:
whom the Kings horsemen valiantly receiued, many falling on both sides. *Muleasses* in this
hot skirmish fighting couragiously against his enemies, was wounded in the face, and bled ex-
dingly; which so discouraged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their
backes and fled: when presently a wonderfull number of horse and foot suddenly issuing out
of the oliue gardens, had beset *Lofredius* and his souldiers round: vpon whom the Italians dis-
charged certaine field pieces: but after they had once discharged them, they had no leisure to
C charge them againe; for the barbarous enemy came on so thicke and so fast, that the Italians
seeing themselues too weake, and compassed in round, let fall their weapons as men discoura-
ged, and cast themselues into the lake, so by swimming and taking hold of the little boats, to
saue themselues from the enemies sword: which boats stood those distressed men in great
stead; for being furnished with small pieces, they did beat backe the Moores, who eagerly
pursued them euen into the lake with their horses. *Lofredius* as a man amased with the sud- *Lofredius slaine*
den comming of the enemy, tooke the lake with his horse, and was there vnhorsed by the ene-
mie and slaine, as were diuers with him. Some few there were that fought couragiously, chu-
sing rather honorably to die in the midst of their enemies, than shamefully to be strangled in
the stinking lake. *Muleasses* soiled with his owne bloud and with the dust, flying amongst the *Muleasses taken.*
D rest, was knowne and taken: nothing more bewraying him than his odoriferous perfumes. In
this conflict 1300 Italians were lost; the rest which escaped *Touarres* relieued, and shortly af-
ter shipped them ouer into Sicilie, from whence they trauelled home to Naples, but so poore,
as well shewed the miserie of their fortune. *Amida* hauing thus obtained the victory, was more
carefull of nothing than to make his father vnfit for gouernment, which he did by cutting the *Amida put out his fathers and brethrens eies.*
sight of both his eyes with a hot penknife: the like crueltie he vsed vpon *Nahazar* and *Ab-*
dallas his brethren, then taken with his father. After that, he certified *Touarres* Captaine of
Guletta, That he had taken a few youths prisoners, which hee would deliuer vnto him; and
that he had bereft his father of his sight, who had deserued a worse punishment, as he that had
long before done the like to his brethren; but had yet left him his life, as an example to other
E tyrants, and to shew that he dealt not altogether vnmercifully with so perfideous a father: Last
of all, he confirmed (vpon certaine conditions) the same league which his father had with
him: which he well saw was to great purpose, especially in the newnesse of his kingdome.
Neither did *Touarres* refuse the same, as standing with his present profit: for vpon this agree-
ment, *Amida* was to giue him certaine money to pay his souldiers, and to deliuer him the pri-
soners he had taken, with the ensignes and bodie of *Lofredius*. For more assurance whereof he
gaue *Sebites* his son then nine yeres old, in hostage, yet vpon condition, that if an assured peace
could not be agreed vpon, but that they must needs enter into war, then *Touarres* should forth-
with restore him his sonne *Sebites* in safetie. These capitulations, although they seemed not
vnreasonable, and were of them well liked; yet *Touarres* thought it not altogether agreeing
F with the honour of the Emperor, that he should enioy the kingdome, who by most horrible
treason and detestable villanie had thrust himselfe thereinto without the Emperours leaue.
Wherfore he entred into a new deuice to call in the rightfull heire, who might at the Empe-
tors pleasure (offended with the iniurie done by *Amida*) raigne in Tunes.

There was an exile amongst the Numidians one *Abdamaleeh*, euer since the time that *Rof-*

Touarres sends for Abdamelech Amida his elder brother.

cetes fled to *Barbarussa*. Him, becauſe he was *Muleaſſes* naturall brother, *Touarres* ſent for, [illegible] ting him in hope of the kingdome, ſupported by *Anemſeha* a great Prince a[illegible] the Numidians, who had all that long time curteouſly entertained him. Neither wa[illegible]*melech* ſlow to accept the occaſion preſented, eſpecially incouraged thereunto by the [illegible]ian prince his good friend, and the predictions of the Aſtrologers, who had foretold hi[illegible] he ſhould d- king of Tunes. Which vain kinde of diuination hauing in it no manner of aſſu[illegible]ce, yet great mindes oftentimes to vndertake great attempts beyond reaſon, which falling [illegible] more hap than they were with reaſon foretold, giueth ſome credit to that vanitie, and cau[illegible]h thoſe cold prophets to be of ſome accounted as great wiſards. And to wor[illegible] this feat, ſi- time was offered, as a better could not be wiſhed: for *Amida* hauing ſet all [illegible] he pleaſed in the city, and caſting no perill, was gone to Biſerta, to take [illegible] ſtomes, which was there great vpon fiſhing. Wherefore *Touarres* to keepe h[illegible] backe *Sehites*, *Amida's* ſon, in a boat to Tunes, and receiued *Abdamelech*: who t[illegible]acilling a part by night, was ſecretly come to Guletta, and there reſting himſelf & his horſes a few how- ers, to preuent the fame of his comming, poſted in haſt with a troupe of his Numidian follow- ers to Tunes, and paſſing thorow the city, went directly to the caſtle, which he entred without reſiſtance of the warders, ſuppoſing him to haue bin *Amida* come from Biſerta: for *Abdamelech* had after the manner of the Moores couered his face with a skarfe, as if it had bin to haue kept him from the Sun & the duſt, and by that happy ſlight got into the caſtle before it was known who he was. The warders perceiuing their errour, began as men amaſed now too late to be- take themſelues to their weapons, for in making reſiſtance they were quickly ſlain by the Nu- midians which came in with *Abdamelech*; who thus poſſeſſed of the caſtle (the chiefe ſtrength of that kingdome) let in his friends, which were many in the city, by whome he was preſently ſalute d king: the reſt of the Cuiſens either well liking of the matter, or at leaſt not daring for feare to ſtir. But as in theſe worldly things, for which men ſo vainly toile, is no aſſurance, ſo this new king ſhortly after fell ſicke and died, when he had raigned but 26 daies, and was afterwards roially interred. After whoſe death, his mightie friends, with the chiefe of the citiſens (per- ſuaded & incouraged by *Touarres* the Spaniard) choſe *Mahometes* his ſon (a child ſcarce twelue yeres old) to raigne in his fathers place; appointing *Abdalages* Maniphæt (brother to him who *Amida* ſlew) *Abdelchirinus* Meſuar, *Schyriffus* (a great man in their Mahometan ſuperſtition) and *Perellus* a Chriſtian knight, to be his directers and gouernours: which toure ſwaied all at their pleaſure. But *Abdelchirinus* tendring the welfare of his country, and deuiſing out of ſeaſon how to ſet vp one of the roiall bloud that were of himſelfe able to gouerne the kingdome (ſaying, That it was not for the common good to be ruled by a child) was for his labour by his other three fellows ſuddenly ſlain, with all his kindred and knowne friends. After whoſe death the other three erected a manner of Triumvirat gouernment, euery one of them laying hand vpon one part of the ſtate or other, as liked him beſt. *Amida* thus ſhut out of Tunes, and hauing loſt his kingdome, wandred vp and down to Leptis, Cyrapolis, and many other places, craning aid of euery man to recouer his kingdome, miſerably rent in ſunder (as he ſaid) by moſt wicked men who inſolently triumphed ouer the boy king. Which they of Tunes knew wel to be true, and daily complained of the death of *Abdelchirinus*, whom they called the faithfull Counſel- lor and father of his country. Whileſt *Amida* is thus trudging vp and downe, craning helpe of this and that prince, prouing his friends, and ſounding his ſubiects affection towards him; *Mu- leaſſes* grown miſerable with his long impriſonment & the calamity of his diſaſter fortune, ob- tained of the yong king his nephew ſo much fauour, as that he might ſometime go out of the caſtle to the church: vnder colour wherof he tooke ſanctuarie, a place in Tunes holden in ſuch reuerence amongſt the Moores, as that it was a moſt inuiolable refuge to all ſuch as fled there- unto. Not long after, at ſuch time as *Bernardinus Mendoza* the Admirall of Spain came to Gu- letta with the Spaniſh fleet, *Muleaſſes* at the requeſt of *Touarres* was conueyed out of the San- ctuarie to the Lake, and ſo by water to Guletta, there to be preſent at the conſultation there holden for the vtter ſubuerſion of *Amida* and the driuing out of the Turks out of ſuch cities as they yet held alongſt the ſea coaſt in Affrica. *Muleaſſes* had hardly before eſcaped the hand[illegible]traine of his enemies in Tunes, who ſough[illegible]after his life; preſerued by an old wo- ma[illegible]mooued with pitty, hid him from their fu[illegible]nder a great heape of garlike: and he[illegible]ow in good time eſcaped to Guletta, [illegible] againe fallen into the hands of his merci-

Abdamelech by policy obtaineth the Kingdom of Tunes.

Abdamelech dieth, and Mahometes his ſonne is choſen King in his place.

Muleaſſes at the requeſt of Touarres is ſent to Guletta.

A mercileſſe ſonne *Amida*, who ſhortly after recouered againe his kingdome, and would not as he ſaid himſelfe, haue ſpared him for the reuerence of any Sanctuarie. For the citiſens of Tu- nes wearie of the euill gouernment of ſuch as were in authority about the yong king, and not a little offended with the King himſelfe, for eſpouſing *Meluca* his couſin one of *Muleaſſes* his daughters, ſecretly encouraged *Amida* by letters, to repaire to the city, promiſing to aid him in recouering his kingdome. Whereupon he came in ſuch haſte, that the yong king had ſcarce time to get out of the citie: and *Amida* entring without reſiſtance, and holpen by his friends, eaſily obtained againe the kingdome, and exerciſed moſt exquiſit cruelty vpon his enemies: of whom he cauſed ſome to be torne in pieces and deuoured of fierce maſtiues kept hungrie for that purpoſe: *Perellus* he cauſed to be tortured, his ſecrets to be cut off, and himſelfe after- B wards burnt to aſhes in the market place.

Amida recouereth the Kingdome of Tunes, and taketh sharp reuenge vpon his enemies.

But *Muleaſſes* ſtaied not long at Guletta, offended with the couetouſneſſe of *Touarres*, who (as he ſaid) had not faithfully reſtored ſuch things as he had before put him in truſt withall, but had fraudulently in his miſerie deceiued him of part of his rich houſhold ſtuffe, with certaine notable precious ſtones, and ſome of his treaſure: whereof the blinde king ſo grieuouſly com- plained to *Charles* the Emperor, that for deciding the matter, they were both commanded to repaire vnto him into Germany: where in concluſion to end the ſtrife, *Touarres* was diſcharged of his gouernment, and *Muleaſſes* ſent into Sicilie, there to be kept of the common charge of that rich Iſland. *Muleaſſes* by the way comming to Rome, was honourably feaſted by Cardi- nall *Farneſius*: at which time he ſhewed himſelfe both in his apparell and behauiour not for- C getfull of his better fortune: and being brought vnto the preſence of *Paulus* the great Biſhop, would do him no greater honor but to kiſſe his knee, accounting it too great an indignitie to haue kiſſed his foot. He was of ſtature tall, and of a princely diſpoſition, vnworthie of ſo hard a fortune, had he not in the like manner before vnmercifully dealt with his owne brethren.

Muleaſſes diſdaineth to kiſſe the Popes foot.

1544

Barbaroſſa wearie of his long lying to ſo ſmall purpoſe in Prouince, requeſted the French king either thorowly to imploy him, or elſe to giue him leaue to depart: offering if he ſo plea- ſed, to ſpoile all alongſt the coaſt of Spaine, from the mountaine Pyrænei to Cadiz. But he not ignorant what hard ſpeeches ran of him alreadie in all parts of Chriſtendome, for bringing in the Turks, was loath to leaue vnto the memorie of all poſterity the foule remembrance of ſo wofull a ſlaughter: beſides that, he was adaiſed to diſburden his country of ſuch trouble ſome D gueſts, who rouing about, did much harme in the prouince where they lay, and as it was re- ported, now and then ſnatcht vp one country peaſant or other, and chained them for ſlaues in their gallies. Wherefore in ſupply of the Turks that were dead, the king gaue vnto *Barbaroſſa* all the Mahometan ſlaues in his gallies, to the number of about foure hundred, and furniſhing him with all kinde of prouiſion, and beſtowing great gifts vpon him and his captaines, ſent him away; and with him *Strozza* with certaine gallies, his Embaſſador to *Solyman*. So the Turkes departing out of Prouince, kept alongſt the coaſt vntill they came neere vnto Sauona, whither the Germans ſent diuers preſents and freſh victuals to *Barbaroſſa*; which he tooke ſo thankful- ly, that he proteſted not to hurt any of their territorie. From thence he kept a right courſe to the Iſland of Elba belonging to the duke of Florence, ouer againſt Populona; where vnder- E ſtanding that one of the ſonnes of *Sinan* his old friend was there kept priſoner, hee writ vnto *Appianus* gouernor of the Iſland, for his deliuerance, to this effect:

Barbaroſſa his letters to Appianus Gouernor of Elba.

I know that a young man a Turke ſerueth thee, the ſonne of Sinan *ſirnamed the Iew (a famous Cap- taine) taken of late at Tunes: him I would haue thee friendly to reſtore: which gift I will make thee to vnderſtand to be vnto me moſt acceptable: for this our great fleet in paſſing by you ſhall faithfully for- beare to vſe any hoſtilitie. But if thou ſhalt in this ſo ſmall a matter refuſe to gratifie me, expect vpon the coaſt of thy country all the harmes that an angrie enemie can do.*

Whereunto *Appianus* (ſhewing his men vpon the wals, in token that he was not affraid) an- F ſwered, That the yong man was become a Chriſtian, and therfore might not in any caſe be de- liuered to the Turks: but that he would in any other thing gratifie him in what he could, and for his ſake vſe the yong man as his ſon. And to mollifie the vnkindeneſſe of his anſwer, he ſent him freſh victuall with other preſents. But *Barbaroſſa* offended with the anſwer, landed his men round about the Iſland, and commanded them to make what ſpoile they could: which they

performed accordingly, hunting the Iſland people vp and downe the rockes and mountaines like hares; vntill that *Appianus* not without cauſe doubting the vtter ſpoile of the Iſland, redeemed his peace by deliuering the young man to *Salec* the pyrat, who brought him to *Barbaruſſa* gallantly attired after the Italian manner; of whome he was ioyfully receiued as the ſonne of a moſt valiant Captaine his old friend: and thereupon *Barbaruſſa* ſtaied his ſouldiers from doing any further harme vpon the Iſland, and gaue *Appianus* great thanks for him. This young man *Barbaruſſa* honored with the command of ſeuen gallies, and afterwards ſent him to his father then lying at Suetia a port of the red ſea, Admirall againſt the Portingals, who greatly troubled thoſe ſeas. But the old Iew ouerioyed with the ſudden and vnexpected returne of his ſonne, whom he had for many yeares before giuen as loſt, in embracing him ſo preſently for ioy died.

Appianus glad to redeeme the captiue whom *Barbaruſſa* required.

Sinan the Iew dieth for ioy.

This man for valour was accounted little inferiour to *Barbaruſſa*, but for diſcretion and dealing far beyond him, nothing of ſo furious and waiward a diſpoſition as was he. *Barbaruſſa* departing from Elba, came into the bay of Telamon in Tuſcany, and in ſhort time tooke the city, which he ſpoiled and burnt, but eſpecially the houſe of *Bartholomeus Telamonius*; whoſe dead bodie but a little before buried, he cauſed to be pluckt out of the graue, and his bones to be ſcattered abroad, becauſe he being Admiral of the Biſhop of Rome's gallies, had in the Iſle of Lesbos waſted *Barbaruſſa's* fathers poore poſſeſſion: and marching by night eight miles farther into the land, ſurpriſed Montenum, and carried almoſt all the inhabitants away with him into captiuitie. The like miſchiefe he did at the port called Portus Herculis, but purpoſing to haue taken Orhatello, and there to haue fortified, he was by *Luna* & *Vitellius* (two valiant captaines before ſent thither, the one by the State of Siena, & the other by the duke of Florence) repulſed. So though diſappointed of his purpoſe, yet hauing done great harme, and put the whole country of Tuſcany in exceeding feare, he departed from thence and landed againe at Igilium, now called Gigio, an Iſland about twelue miles diſtant from Portus Herculis, where he quickly battered the towne, and carried a wonderfull number of all ſorts into miſerable captiuitie: keeping on his courſe, he paſſing the cape Linar, and comming ouer againſt Cantumcelle, had burnt that city for the ſame reaſon he did Telamon, had he not been otherwiſe perſuaded by *Strozza* the French Embaſſador, fearing to draw the French king into further obliquie. From thence he came with a direct courſe to the Iſland of Ischia; where landing in the night, he intercepted moſt part of the Inhabitants of the Iſland, as they were flying into the mountaines: and in reuenge of the hatred he had conceiued againſt *Vaſtius* at the ſiege of Nice, he burnt Forino, Panſa, and Varranium, three chiefe townes of that Iſland; but Pithacuſa the dwelling place of *Vaſtius*, ſtanding vpon a broken rocke ſomwhat diſtant from the ſea, he durſt not aduenture vpon. Then ſcraping along the Iſland Prochita with leſſe hurt, becauſe moſt part of the inhabitants were before fled to Pithacuſa, he put into the bay of Puteoli, and ſent *Salec* the pirat with part of his fleet, to make proofe if the citie of Puteoli might from ſea be battered. *Salec* drawing neere the citie, ſhot into it with his great ordnance, and by chance ſlew one *Saauedra* a valiant Spaniard, vpon the walls, and put the Citiſens in a great feare leſt the whole fleet ſhould haue landed, they themſelues as then vnprouided: but the Viceroy came preſently with a power both of horſe and foot from Naples: which *Barbaruſſa* diſcouering from ſea as they came downe the mountaines, called backe *Salec*; and leauing the Iſland of Capri, and paſſing by the promontorie Atheneum, was about to haue ſeiſed vpon Salernum, when a tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing diſperſed his Fleet, and draue him beyond the promontorie Palinurus vpon the coaſt of Calabria, where he did exceeding much harme, eſpecially at Carreato. From thence he departed to the Iſland of Lipari, betwixt Italie and Sicilie, which Iſland he miſerably ſpoiled, and with fortie great pieces ſo battered the Citie, that the citiſens were conſtarined for feare to yeeld, whom he carried away all priſoners about the number of ſeuen thouſand, of one ſort of people and other, and burnt the Citie. So loaded with the rich ſpoile of Italie and the Iſlands vpon the coaſt, he returned towards Conſtantinople with ſuch a multitude of poore Chriſtian captiues, ſhut vp ſo cloſe vnder hatches amongſt the excrements of Nature, that all the way as he went almoſt euery houre ſome of them were caſt dead ouer boord: euerie man deteſting the endleſſe hatred betwixt the Emperor and the French King, the verie ground of all that and many thouſand other moſt wofull [illegible] deſerued calamities of the poore ſubiects. With this rich prey and an infi-

Barbaruſſa in his returne toward Conſtantinople doth much harm vpon the coaſt of Italy.

A finit number of captiues, *Barbaruſſa* arriued at Conſtantinople in the beginning of Autumne, in the yeare 1544: where he was honourably receiued of *Solyman*, and highly commended for his good ſeruice both by ſea and land.

Barbaruſſa arriueth at Conſtantinople.

Solyman triumphing at Conſtantinople of the good ſucceſſe he had in Hungarie; in the mideſt of all his glorie, was aduertiſed of the death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, whom of all his children hee held deereſt: whoſe dead bodie was ſhortly after brought from Magneſia, and with wonderfull ſolemnitie, and no leſſe mourning, buried at Conſtantinople. How entirely *Solyman* loued this his ſonne, well appeared by the great ſorrow hee conceiued of his death; and not contented to haue built him a ſtately tombe, erected alſo in memorial of him a Mahometan Church, called the Church of *Mahomet* the Leſſer: for the difference of *Mahomet* the B the Great who woon Conſtantinople. Where unto hee alſo annexed a monaſteric and a colledge, with many things moe after the groſſe maner of their ſuperſtition, for the health of his ſoule, as he vainely ſuppoſed. After that, *Solyman* according to his wonted manner, which was but euery ſecond or third yere to take in hand ſome notable expedition, ceaſed from wars by the ſpace of two yeres: in which time many of the great princes and worthie men of that age died; amongſt whom was *Francis* the French king. *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* that famous Turke of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken, who being of great yeares and no leſſe fame, left this life in the yeare 1547, and was buried at a houſe of his owne called Beſictas, neere vnto Boſphorus Thracius on Europe ſide, not farre from the mouth of Euxinum, about foure miles from Pera, where he had but few yeares before at one time ſold about ſixteene thouſand Chriſtian C tiues, taken out of Corcyra: and to make famous that place appointed for his buriall, he of his owne coſt built there a Mahometan Temple, there yet with his ſepulchre to be ſeene: That place was in antient time called Iaſonium. About which time alſo, died of conceit that famous captaine *Alphonſus Daualus Vaſtius*, taken away by vntimely death when he had liued but fortie fiue yeares. At which time, *Charles* the Emperour by his embaſſadour *Gerardus Veltunich*, concluded a peace with *Solyman* for fiue yeares, wherein King *Ferdinand* was alſo included: which peace was afterwards before the expiration thereof, by *Solyman* (at the requeſt of *Henry* the French king) broken.

The death of the famous pyrat Barbaruſſa.

Vaſtius dieth.

1548

Solyman had now almoſt three yeares taken his reſt, when it fortuned that *Ercaſes Imirza*, king of Siruan, moued with the often iniuries of *Tamas* his brother the great Perſian king, fled D to *Solyman* at Conſtantinople, to craue aid of him againſt his brother. *Solyman* glad of ſuch an occaſion to worke vpon, entertained him with all courteſie, and promiſed to take vpon him his quarrell, & to protect him againſt his vnnaturall brother. And when he had made al things readie for ſo great an expedition, paſſed ouer into Aſia, and after long and painfull trauell entred at laſt with a puiſſant armie into Armenia, & there in the borders of the Perſian kingdom, firſt beſieged the citie of Van, which after ten daies ſiege was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, that the Perſian ſouldiers there in garriſon, might with life and libertie depart with their armes as ſouldiers: which was at the firſt by *Solyman* granted, and ſo the citie ſurrendred. From thence *Solyman* ſent his chiefe commanders with a great part of his army, to burne and ſpoile the the enemies countrey, which they for a time cheerfully performed; and running far E into the countrey, ſtriue as it were amongſt themſelues who ſhould doe moſt harme: where *Imirza* among the reſt, for whoſe ſake *Solyman* had vndertaken this war, was as forward as the beſt to waſt & ſpoile his brothers kingdome, ſparing nothing that came to hand; the beſt and richeſt things he got, he preſented to *Solyman*, to draw him on ſtill in that war. But that ſerued not his turne to recouer again his kingdome of Siruan: for *Tamas*, without ſhewing any power to withſtand the Turks, had after his wonted maner, cauſed his people to withdraw themſelues far into the mountain country, leauing nothing behind them in that waſt country to relieue thē but the bare ground: ſo that the farther the Turks went, the more they wanted, without hope of better ſucceſſe than ſuch as they had before to their loſſe made proofe of, in their former expeditions into that great kingdome. The conceit whereof ſo much pierced not the F common ſouldiers onely, but euen the captains themſelues; that to make an end of that long and vnprofitable warre, taken in hand for another mans good, they conſpired amongſt themſelues either to kill *Imirza*, or elſe to diſgrace him with *Solyman*: Which they ſo cunningly wrought; ſome ſuggeſting falſe ſuſpitions of his trecherous dealing in the proceeding of that war; and others with like craft, vnder colour of friendſhip giuing him warning in ſecret of the

Van yeelded to the Turkes.

danger

danger he was in: the one filling *Solymans* head with distrust, and the other *Imirza* with feare; bribde to shut the matter vp in the howne termes. *They perswaded the hare to flie, & the hounds to follow. Imirza* doubting some sudden mischiefe, fled for succour to an old acquaintance of his one of the princes of Chaldea, who most treacherously sent him in bonds to his brother his most cruell enemy, who glad to haue the author of all his troubles with the Turks, deliuered into his hands, caused him in prison, and that *Solyman* nor any other should in his behalfe turther prosecute the warre, by his meanes hope for victory, caused him to be in prison murthered. In this expedition against the Persian king, *Solyman* was occupied a yere and nine month all which time the Turkes endured great troubles, and were oftentimes hardly distressed by the Persians: vntill at last *Solyman* himselfe wearie of that tedious warre, where neither honour nor profit was sought it best so to make an end, and thereupon concluded a truce with the Persian king, and returned to Constantinople in the yeare 1549.

Imirza murthered in prison.

Solyman returneth to Constantinople.

1550 In the meane time it fortuned, that one *Dragut Raises* a notable pyrat of the Turks, had priuily surprised the citie of Affrica in the kingdome of Tunes (called in antient time Aphrodisium) and also Leptis Parua (and now of the Moores called Mahamedia) and there setling himselfe, as in a place both commodious and of good assurance, exceedingly troubled the Christians both by sea and land, especially such as traded in the Mediterranean. So that the Emperor, moued as wel with the manifold iniuries don by that arch-pyrat vpon the frontiers of his dominions, as by the daily complaint of his poore subiects, commanded the Viceroy of Sicilie, and *Auria* his Admirall, to leuie a sufficient power in time to represse that pyrat, before he grew to farther strength. Whereupon, they with a strong fleet well manned and thorowly appointed for that purpose, and aided by the knights of Malta, passed ouer into Affricke, and landing their forces, by the space of three moneths besieged the citie before possessed by the pyrat, which with continual batterie they had at length made saultable. And hearing that *Dragut* was comming with a new supply to relieue it, they with all celeritie assailed it both by sea and land, & in the space of a few hours took it by force the 10 day of September in the yere 1550 in which assault many of the enemies were slaine, and the rest taken. *Auria* hauing thus dispossessed the pyrat, and aduisedly considering that the citie was not without an infinite charge to be holden by the Christians, among so many of the Infidels, rased it down to the ground, carrying away with him 7000 captiues, and all the spoile of the citie. And not so contented, did all the harme he could with fire and sword all alongst the coast of Affrica, to the intent that the Turks should there find no relefe; and tooke 22 prisoners out of Monasterium, a town not far from the citie of Affrica: and so hauing done what he came for, returned againe into Sicilie. *Dragut* thus at once thrust out of all he had, with a few of his friends fled to *Solyman* to Constantinople, and so incensed him with the grieuous complaint of the wrong done vnto him by the Christians; that in reuenge thereof, he resolued to make war both vpon the Emperor and king *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding that the fiue yeares league hee had before taken with him at his going into Persia, was not yet expired. So with cheerfull words and courteous entertainment comforting vp the desperat pyrat, the Spring following (which was in the yeare 1551 1551.) he furnished him with a great fleet in most warlike manner appointed, to reuenge the iniurie done to him by *Auria* in Affricke. With this fleet in number 140 saile, *Sinan* one of the Turks great Bassaes, accompanied with *Dragut* the pyrat, by the appointment of *Solyman*, departed from Constantinople: and cutting thorow the seas, arriued at length in Sicilie, where they suddenly surprised the towne and castle of Augusta, which they presently sacked. Departing thence, they came to the Island of Malta, and there landed their men in the port of Marza, otherwise called Moxet, neere vnto the castle, which they battered with certain pieces of great ordnance, but so as was to no great purpose. At which time diuers companies of the Turks running further into the Island, made bauocke of whatsoeuer came in their way. After they had thus few daies in vaine battered the castle, and saw themselues both there valiantly repulsed, and in other places by ambushes and such like meanes cut off by the souldiers and inhabitants of the Island, they remoued thence to the road of S. *Paul*, where they landed their ordnance with purpose to haue besieged the citie: but perceiuing by a little, what small hope there was to preuaile, and seeing diuers of their men dying thorow the extremitie of the heat, they forsooke the Island and went to Gaules now called Gozo, a little Island about 30 miles in compasse, fiue miles distant from Malta Westward, subiect vnto the knights of the Religion at

1551

Malta attempted by the Turks

and there landing their men, miserably spoiled the Island; and whatsoeuer they light vpon, and carried away with them of one sort of people and other six thousand and three hundred captiues into most wofull bondage. With which bootie they put againe to sea, and framed directly to Tripolis in Barbarie, called of old Lepris Magna: which citie *Charles* the Emperour had before giuen to the knights of Malta, and was at that time by them kept. This citie was the marke whereat the Bassa and the pyrat shot; for taking whereof they landed their forces, and by long and winding trenches approched as neere the same as they could: Which they did not without great losse of their people; for they of the castle hauing good store of great ordnance, and most expert canoniers, did with continuall shot so annoy the Turks, that they were oftentimes inforced to retire; yet with much troublesome labour and no lesse perill, they came at last within eight hundred paces of the wals: where the Bassa caused his gabions made of thicke plankes, to be placed in the night; and his batterie planted. And the next day (which was the eighth of August) the cannon began to play, which was againe answered from the castle with like, and euery houre some of the Turkes slaine, the great shot still flying into their trenches, so as that day foure of the best canoniers in the armie were slaine, with certaine other men of good account also: and the clerke generall of the armie, a man of great estimation and wel beloued of the Bassa, had his hand shot off, and many other of the Ianizaries and common souldiers either slaine or hurt: moreouer they brake one of their best pieces, and dismounted foure others, which for that day made them to leaue the batterie. The next night the Turkes approched yet neerer vnto the castle, vpon whom the Christians in the breake of the day sallied out euen vnto their very trenches, and afterwards retired. With the rising of the Sun (which the Turks haue in great reuerence) they renued their batterie with greater force than before; yet with such euill successe, that the Bassa was almost mad for anger: for about the euening the fire by mischance got into their pouder, wherewith thirty of the Turks were burnt, many hurt, and one piece broken. At length the Turkes were come so neere, that they had planted their batterie within 150 paces of the wall; which they continued with such furie, that they had made a faire breach euen with the ditch: but what was beaten downe in the day time, the defendants repaired againe by night, in such sort, as that it was not to be assaulted. Yet in conclusion, a traiterous souldier of Prouince, before corrupted by the Turkes, found means to flie out of the castle into the campe, where he declared vnto the Bassa the weakest places of the castle, by which it might be most conueniently battered and soonest taken: and especially one place aboue the rest which was against the Gouernors lodgings; which standing towards the ditch, and hauing vnderneath it sellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once batred, well be repaired againe or fortified. Which the Bassa vnderstanding, caused the batterie there to be planted, laying the pieces so low, that they did easily beat the sellars and vaults in such sort, that in short time the wals were so shaken, that the rampiers aboue thorow the continuall batterie, began greatly to sinke: which so amazed the souldiers, seeing no conuenient meanes to repaire the same, that setting all honour aside, they requested the Gouernor, That sithence the matter began now to grow desperat, and that the place was not longer to be holden, hee would in time take some good order with the enemie for their safetie, before the walls were further endamaged. With which motion, *Vallier* the Gouernor (an antient knight of Daulphinie, and one of the Order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Peisieu* another of the knights, perceiuing, he as a man of great courage, & of all others there present most antient, in the name of the other knights declared vnto them, That the breach was neither so great, nor so profitable for the enemy, but that it was defensible enough, if they would as men of courage repaire the same; saying, That it was more honourable for worthy Knights and lustie souldiers, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting against the Infidels for the maintenance of their law and Christian religion, than so cowardly to yeeld themselues to the mercie of those, at whose hands nothing was to be looked for but most miserable seruitude, with all kind of cruëltie: and therefore perswaded the Couernour to hold it out to the last. For all that, he ouercome with the importunitie of such as would needs yeeld, who with all vehemencie vrged the imminent danger wherwith they were all like to be ouerwhelmed, and finding himselfe bereft both of heart and fortune, and forsaken of his souldiers, without farther consideration, consented that a white ensigne should bee displayed vpon the Walls, in token that they desired parley: When a Turke presenting himselfe, they requested him to vnderstand of the

The Turks fleet arriueth at Tripolis in Barbarie.

Tripolis battered by the Turkes.

the Bassa, if he could be contented that some of them might come to intreat with him of some good order to be taken for the yeelding vp of the castle. Whereunto the Bass[illegible] ingly consenting, two of the knights were forthwith sent out, to offer vnto him the caste[illegible] th the artillerie and munition, so as he would furnish them with ships to bring them wit[illegible] & baggage safely to Malta. Whereunto the Bassa briefely answered, That (forasmuch as [illegible] y had as yet deserued no grace, presuming to keepe so small a place against the army of the greatest prince on earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the armie, he would condiscend to their request; or if they would not thereunto consent, that for recompence, all they within the castle should continue his slaues & prisoners: notwithstanding if they incontinently and without delay did surrender the pla[illegible]e would exempt out of them 200. Wherupon the me[illegible] turning in despaire, were [illegible] by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flatting words a[illegible] that they would so much [illegible]y in them, persuade the Bassa to condiscend to [illegible]ratious composition; fearing indeed that the besieged through despaire would resolue (as their extreme refuge) to defend the place euen to the last man. Wherefore they went presently to the Bassa, to declare vnto him his ouersight in refusing them who voluntarily would haue put themselues into his hands, whom reason would he should with all courtesie haue receiued: for that after he had the castle and the men in his power, he might dispose of them as he should thinke good. The Bassa liking well of his counsel, caused the messengers to be called again, & with fained & dissembling words told them, That at the instance of *Dragut* & *Salla Rais* there present, he did discharge them of all the costs & charges of the army, swearing vnto them (the better to deceiue them) by the head of his lord & his own, inuiolably to obserue all that he had promised vnto them: which they too easily beleeued, & forthwith went to declare the same to the Gouernor, & others within the castle. The Bassa, the better to come to the effect of his desire, after these messengers sent a craftie Turke, whom he charged expresly to persuade the gouernor to come with him into the camp, for the ful conclusion of the giuing vp of the castle, and for the appointing of such vessels as should be needful for their safe conduct to Malta; and that if he made any doubt to come, he should make shew as if he would there remaine in hostage for him; but aboue all things, to consider of the strength & assurance of the besieged, and of the disposition of all things there. Which the subtile Turke so finely handled, that the Gouernor by the counsell of those who had persuaded him to yeeld (notwithstanding the reasons of wars & duty of his office forbad him in such maner to abandon the place of his charge) resolued vpon so small an assurance of the Bassa, & gaue eare to the miserable end of his fortune. So taking with him a knight of his houshold (to send backe vnto those of the castle, to declare vnto them how he sped in the campe) vnder the conduct of the Turke that was come to fetch him, he went straight to the tent of the Bassa: who by the Turke that went first in, was aduertised of the small courage of the defendants, which hee assured him to be no better, but that if he thought it good, he might bring them to such order & agreement as he would himselfe. Vpon whose persuasion calling in the Gouernor *Vallier*, after he had rigorously reproued his rashnes, said vnto him, That forasmuch as he had once giuen his word, if he would pay the charges of the army, he was content to let them go with bag & baggage, otherwise he would discharge but two hundred. Whereat the Gouernor greatly moued, answered, That that was not according to his last promise vnto the knights before sent. But when he saw it would bee no better, he requested him that he might again returne to the castle to know the minds of the rest: which the false Bassa would by no means grant, but only permitted him to send back the knight that he had brought with him, to make report of these hard news to the besieged: as for the Gouernor, he was sent to the gallies with yrons on his heeles. When they of the castle vnderstood what had passed betwixt the Bassa & the Gouernor, they began exceedingly to feare the mischiefe then at hand: yet took no other resolution, but to return the said knight to the Bassa, to know whether they should expect from him no better answer. Who as soone as he was come before him, the captain of the castle was brought in, of whom the Bassa asked, Which of the two he would chuse, either to pay the expences of the army, or els both he & all the rest to remain his prisoners? Wherunto the Gouernor answered, That a slaue had no other authority than that which by his master was giuen him; & that hauing lost (besides his libertie) the power to command, if any thing were yet reserued in hi[illegible]id not counsel him to command others to agree vnto any thing, but that which was conclud[illegible] with them which were before

Hard conditions offered by the Bassa to the besieged.

More safe conditions offered by the Bassa, which he confirmeth by his oath.

The warie answer of the gouernour to the Bassa.

sent. Which thing the Bassa hearing, for feare that such a resolute answer should come to the knowledge of the besieged, & cause them to become desperat; hauing taken counsell with his other captains, he tooke the Gouernour by the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance told him, That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promised; and that therfore without fearing any thing, he should cause them all to come out of the castle. But the Gouernour, because he had bin before deceiued, would not trust to his word, but said vnto him, That he might command him that was come from the castle, for that he knew they would now doe neuer a whit the more for him. So the Bassa turning towards the other knight, commanded him forthwith to goe vnto them in the castle, and to cause them to come forth, swearing againe as before, by the head of his great lord, and his owne, That they should all be deliuered and set at libertie, according to the conuentions first agreed vpon. Which the knight beleeuing, went to report to them this good newes: which they receiued with such ioy, that without further care or consideration of their mishap so neere, they ran in preasse with their wiues, children, and best mooueables, striuing who should first get out. But they were no sooner issued, but they were by the enemies spoiled of all they had, and taken prisoners; part of the knights were sent to the gallies, and the rest to the Bassa. Who being by the Gouernour put in remembrance of his faith twise giuen, answered, That there was no faith to be kept with dogs, and that they had first violated their oath with his great lord, vnto whom at the giuing ouer of the Rhodes, they had (as he said) sworne neuer more to beare armes against the Turks. The castle was forthwith taken and spoiled, and about two hundred Moores of that countrey that had serued the knights, cut in pieces, and thereupon, a great peale of ordnance discharged, with great cries and shouts in signe of their victorie. Thus the strong castle and antient citie of Tripolis in Barbarie was deliuered vnto the Turkes the fifteenth day of August, in the yeare 1551. Whilest the Bassa lay at this siege, the Lord of Arramont, who had many yeares lien embassadour from *Francis* the French king at Constantinople, and was now sent again by *Henry* the second, came to the Turkes campe, being requested so to doe by the great Master of the Rhodes, to haue dissuaded the Bassa from that siege: wherein he nothing preuailed. Yet now grieued to see how the faithlesse Turk, contrary to his oath, most villanously intreated the Gouernor and the other Knights, lying at his feet as men halfe desperat; was so bold as to put him in mind of his promise, confirmed by his oath; which if hee would not keepe, that yet at the least according to his owne voluntarie offer, he would release two hundred of them: but hee excused himself as before, saying, That no faith was to be kept with dogs, which had first broken their owne faith. Yet afterwards he condiscended, that two hundred of the eldest and such as were most vnfit for seruice (amongst whom was comprehended the Gouernour and certain other old knights) should be set at libertie; who were forthwith sent aboord the French Embassadours gallies, and by him transported to Malta: where they were but hardly welcome, for that they had so cowardly surrendred a place, which they might much longer haue defended. The next day after the castle was deliuered, which was the 16 of August, the proud Bassa for ioy of this victorie made a solemne dinner, whereunto he inuited the French embassadour, and *Vallier* the late Gouernor: which they refused not to come vnto, in hope to recouer some moe prisoners. This great feast for the more magnificence was kept in the castle ditch against the breach, where were set vp two stately pauillions, the one for the Bassa, and the other for the embassadour and his companie, where he was honourably feasted with wonderfull plentie both of flesh and fish and good wines, which they had found in the castle; which seruice was done with musicke of diuers sorts, and officers in number aboue a hundred, apparelled for most part in long gowns of fine cloth of gold, tuffed or fringed; and the other of veluet or damaske. The Bassa was no sooner set downe, but all the ordnance of the fleet was discharged with such a noise and thundering, that it seemed the heauens and skies did shake. The table being taken vp, the embassador and the late Gouernour *Vallier*, entred into the pauillion of the Bassa, and beside the two hundred men which he had promised, obtained twentie moe, vpon the embassadours promise, That he should for them cause to be released 30 Turks taken at Malta, at the landing of the armie there. The Turkes hauing in their hands an antient gunner of the castle, called *Iohn de Chabas* borne in Daulphine (to the end that this triumphant feast should not be vnfurnished of some cruell sacrifice of the Christian bloud) for that hee had in time of the siege shot off the hand of the clerke generall of the armie, brought him into the towne,

The castle yeelded.

The shamelesse answere of the faithlesse Bassa to the French Embassadour.

The Turkes triumph for the winning of Tripoli.

A shamefull cruelty of the Turkes.

towne, and when they had cut off his hands and his nose, put him quicke i[n] the ground [to] the waſt, and there for their pleaſure ſhot at him with their arrowes, and a[t] [la]ſt ard to make an end of him cut his throat. The Baſſa ſhortly after departing out of Barbari[a] left *Dragut* the pyrat Gouernor of Tripolis, honouring him with the title of the Sanzacke of [that] place, from whence hee many yeares after grieuouſly moleſted the Moores neere vnto him by land, and the Chriſtians by ſea. The ſame yeare 1551, *Solyman* notwithſtanding the fiue yeares peace before taken with king *Ferdinand* at his going into Perſia, ſent *Achomates* his lieutenant in Europe with a great power into Hungarie, who with *Haly* the Baſſa of Buda inuaded the vpper part of Hungarie, and firſt tooke the city of Temeſware, and contrary to their faith giuen the garriſon ſouldiers [ſlay]ter that, they tooke alſo the caſtle of Zolnok, forſaken by the Chriſtians, and certaine other ſmall caſtles. But laying ſiege to Erſam, they were partly by the va- II liantneſſe of the defendants, and partly by the comming on of Winter inforced to [for]ſake the ſiege, and to get themſelues into their Wintering places.

Temeſwar and Zolnok taken by the Turkes.

Queene *Iſabel*, king *Iohn* his widdow, ſeeing the Turkes dayly encroching vpon that little they had left her, and that ſhe was not able by any means to defend Tranſiluania againſt them, by the aduice of *George* Biſhop of Veradium her old counſellor, agreed with king *Ferdinand* to deliuer vnto him the gouernment of the countrey, with all the royall dignity of Hungarie, for which ſhe was to haue of him Caſſouia, and a yerely penſion of an hundred thouſand ducats. Which agreement made and thorowly concluded by *Baptiſta Caſtalius* an Italian) whom *Charles* the Emperor had but a little before ſent to aid king *Ferdinand*) the Queene returned into Polonia, her natiue countrey: and ſo king *Ferdinand* by that means obtained almoſt al the I prouince of Tranſyluania, and what elſe the queene had in Hungarie. But the Biſhop a little before made a Cardinall, being ſuſpected by *Baptiſta* the Italian, that he fauoured the Turkes faction more than king *Ferdinand*, and by that meanes ſought to get the gouernment to himſelfe, was by the Italians deuice ſuddenly murthered in his owne houſe at Veradium: an end good enough for ſo troubleſome a Prelat.

George biſhop of Veradium murdered in his owne houſe.

Haly the Baſſa of Buda proud of the good ſucceſſe he had the yeare before, vnderſtanding
1552 that diuers of the chiefe Hungarians had withdrawn themſelues into the caſtle of Agria, purpoſed in himſelfe with all his power to beſiege it, and there to take them. So aided by *Achomates*, *Chaſan*, and other of the Turks Sanzackes and captaines by *Solymans* appointment readie at his call, he came with an army of 35000 Turks, and the 10 of September in the yere 1552, K encamped round about the caſtle: where after he had placed his artillerie, he began a moſt furious batterie. But doubting to preuaile that way, he attempted alſo to vndermine the caſtle, omitting nothing that could be deuiſed for the taking thereof: but all in vaine, for the Hungarians by the good direction of *Stephanus Dobo* their captaine, couragiouſly endured the ſiege, and very manfully repulſed the enemie. At length, the 29 of September the enemie with 28 enſignes of ſelect ſouldiers gaue a freſh aſſault to the caſtle, and were by the defendants enforced ſhamefully to retire: at which time foure and twentie barrels of gunpouder by miſchance caught fire, and beſides that it blew vp diuers captaines and ſouldiers, did much harme in the caſtle, to the great diſmaying of the defendants. After that, the Turks with incredible pertinacie the twelfth of October fiercely aſſaulted the caſtle from morning vntill night, and for deL ſire of reuenge and hope of ſpoile left nothing vnattempted for the gaining of the place; but were by the greater valour of the Hungarians beaten backe, and with great loſſe enforced at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault. Thus the Baſſa nothing preuailing by force, attempted by great promiſes and large offers to haue brought them out: which he vnderſtanding to bee nothing regarded, and his letters ſcornfully burnt, brought on his ſouldiers again, & gaue vnto them in the caſtle a moſt furious aſſault, but with no better ſucceſſe than before: for hauing loſt many of his beſt ſouldiers, he was inforced to retire. So after he had in vaine ſix weekes beſieged the caſtle, he was glad to raiſe his ſiege, and to retire to Peſtum. After whoſe departure there was found twelue thouſand great ſhot, wherewith he had battered the wall. In this ſiege ſix thouſand Turks were ſlaine, and of the Hungarians but three hundred. King *Ferdinand* glad of this M victorie made *Stephanus* the worthie captaine, Vayuod of Tranſyluania, and bountifully rewarded [the] other captaines and ſouldiers as they had well deſerued.

Agria beſieged by the Turkes.

The Turkes giue ouer the ſiege of Agria.

1553 *Henry* the French king, who together with his kingdo[me] had (as it ſeemed) receiued the hereditary quarrels of *Francis* his father againſt *Charles* the Emperor, had by his embaſſa[dors] the

A Lord of Aramont ſo wrought the matter with *Solyman*, that the more to trouble the Emperor, he ſent a great fleet into the Tyrrhenum or Tuſcan ſea, which in the yeare 1553, and the yere following, did great harme vpon the coaſts of Calabria, Sicilia, Sardinia, as alſo in the Iſlands of Elba, Corſica, Cerbe, and Maiorca, and ſuch like places on the frontiers of the Emperours dominions: yet were the Turks in moſt places notably againe repulſed by the people of thoſe Countries. The ſame yeare *Solyman*, ſeduced by *Roxolana* (ſomtime his faire Concubine, but then his imperious wife) and *Ruſtan Baſſa* his ſonne in law, moſt vnnaturally murthered his eldeſt ſonne *Muſtapha*, the mirrour of the *Othoman* Familie: Which tragicall fact (the like B dible Writers of that time reported.

Solyman after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings (who to auoid the participation of their ſouereaigntie, vſe not oftentimes to marrie, but otherwiſe to ſatisfie their pleaſure with ſuch beautifull Concubines as it pleaſeth them to make choice of out the faireſt captiues of all Nations, moſt daintily brought vp for that purpoſe in the Court) had by a Circaſſian bondwoman a ſonne called *Muſtapha*, who for his wonderfull towardlineſſe and rare perfection, was amongſt the Turks had in ſuch expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted themſelues more happie, than in the hope laid vp in him: whoſe noble carriage was ſuch, as thereby he ſo poſſeſſed the mindes of all men in generall, (but eſpecially of the men of war) that he was reputed the glorie of the Court, the floure of chiualrie, the hope of the ſouldiers, C and ioy of the people. Whileſt he thus grew, increaſing both in yeares and fauour, it fortuned with *Solyman* as it doth with men delighted in change, that he became amorous of *Roxolana*, of ſome called *Roſa* (but more truly *Hazathya*) by condition a captiue, but ſo graced with beauty and courtly behauiour, that in ſhort time ſhe became miſtreſſe of his thoughts, and commandreſſe of him that all commanded: and that which more eſtabliſhed her in poſſeſſion of his loue, ſhe had in time made him father of foure faire ſonnes, *Mahomet*, *Selymus*, *Baiazet*, and *Tzihanger*, and one daughter called *Chameria* married to *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtemes* the great Baſſa. In this height of worldly bliſſe nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Muſta*pha *Solymans* eldeſt ſonne by the Circaſſian woman; who honoured of the greateſt, and beloD ued of the reſt, ſtood only in her light, imbarring her and hers (as ſhe thought) of the hope of the Empire, which ſhe now aboue all things ſought to bring to one of her owne ſonnes: which the better to compaſſe, ſhe vnder the colour of great good will and loue, procured that *Muſtapha* the young Prince and his mother ſhould as it were for their greater honour and ſtate, with a princely allowance be ſent into Caramania to gouerne that great countrey, farre from E the Court. Which was no great matter for her to bring to paſſe: for that the Turkiſh Emperours vſually ſend their ſonnes after they come to any yeares of diſcretion, vnto ſuch prouinces as are far from the Court, attended vpon with one great Baſſa and ſome graue Doctor of their Law, ſo to acquaint them with the manner of gouernment; the Baſſa inſtructing them in matters of ciuile policie, and the Doctor in matters concerning their ſuperſtition: and yet by ſending them a far off, to keepe them from aſpiring to the Empire by the fauor of the Court: (a thing of the Turkiſh Emperors not vnworthily feared euen in their owne and beloued children. *Roxolana* hauing at once thus cunningly rid the Court of the great competitors both of her loue and of the Empire (things of all others enduring no partners) reſted not ſo, but began ſtraitway to plot in her malicious head the vtter deſtruction of him, to whom all others wiſhed all happineſſe. This ſhe ſaw was not to be brought to paſſe without ſome complices: wherefore after ſhe had in her ſecret conceit diſcarded many, of whom at firſt ſhe had reaſonable good liking; at laſt ſhe made choice of *Ruſtan Baſſa* her ſonne in law; vpon whome ſhee would ſet vp her reſt. This *Ruſtan* was a man baſely borne in Epirus, altogether compoſed of diſſimulation and flatterie, euer ſeruing his owne turne, were it neuer ſo much to the hurt or grieuance of others: by which meanes he, although none of the beſt ſouldiers, was yet by F many degrees growne vp to be the greateſt man in the Court, and *Solymans* ſonne in law: him ſhe probably thought to wiſh the ſucceſſion of the Empire to one of her owne ſons, his wiues full brethren, rather than to *Muſtapha* her halfe brother. Beſide that, ſhe was not ignorant how that *Ruſtan* as one carefull of the Emperors profit (the readieſt way to preferment) had abridged the penſions and fees of the officers and ſeruitors in court: which he perceiuing to pleaſe the

Muſtapha Solymans eldeſt ſon in great eſtimation with the people.

Solyman becommeth amorous of Roxolana.

Muſtapha ſent to gouerne Caramania.

The malice of Roxolana againſt Muſtapha.

the Emperour, proceeded so far therein, that he attempted to haue cut off, if it had been possible, some part of *Mustapha* his princely allowance: for which doing, she knew how odious he was to all the Courtiers (whereof he made small reckoning) but especially *Mustapha*, in somuch that it was thought he would not forget so notorious an iniurie, if euer he should obtaine the Empire. Hereupon she brake with *Rustan* vpon the matter, whom she found readie ynough of himselfe to do what in him lay to further her mischieuous desire.

Roxolana conspireth with Rustan Bassa her son in law, against Mustapha.

To begin this intended tragedie, she vpon the sudden became very deuout, and being by the fauour of *Solyman* growne exceeding rich, pretended as if it had been vpon a deuout zeale for the health of her soule, after the manner of their Turkish superstition, to build an Abbey, with an Hospitall and a Church: which so godly a purpose she imparted to the Muphti or chiefe Mahometan Priest, demanding of him, if such workes of charitie were acceptable vnto God, and auaileable for her soules health. Whereunto the Muphti answered that those workes were no doubt meritorious in the sight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her soules health, being a bondwoman; yet very profitable for the soule of the great Emperour *Solyman*, vnto whom as vnto her Lord, both she and all she had appertained. With which answer of the great Priest she seemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderfull pensiue and melancholie, her cheerefull countenance was replete with sadnesse, and her faire eyes flowed with teares, her mirth was mourning, and her ioy heauinesse. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, and sorie to see his loue vpon conceit so to languish, sent her word to be of good cheere, and to comfort her selfe; promising in short time to take such a course as should ease her of all her griefes: which he forthwith did, solemnly manumising her from her bond estate. So great a fauour obtained, *Roxolana* with great cheerefulnesse began those meritorious workes by her before intended, as if she had thought of nothing but heauen, whereas indeed her thoughts were in the depth of hel. When she had thus a good while busied her selfe in pauing the way to heauen, as was supposed; *Solyman* not able longer to forbeare the companie of her, in whom his soule liued, after his wonted manner sent for her by one of his Eunuchs, who should haue brought her to his bed chamber. To whom shee with her eyes cast vp to heauen, demurely answered, That her life and whatsoeuer els she had was at her dread Soueraignes command, but againe to yeeld her bodie vnto his appetite she might not in any case do, without the great offence of the high God, and manifest breach of his sacred Lawes, which permitted her not now voluntarily to yeeld him that, being free, which he before without offence might command of his bondwoman: and because she would not seeme to vse this as an excuse, she referred her selfe in all things to the graue iudgement of the learned and reuerend Muphti, with whom she had before at full conferred. This she did, presuming of the soueraigntie she had ouer that great Monarch, whome she right well knew she had so fast bound in the pleasing fetters of his affection towards her, as that she was sure ynough of him without a keeper. *Solyman* rauished with her loue, and well the more for her deniall, sent for the Muphti, requiring his iudgement in the matter: who before instructed in all points, agreed with that *Roxolana* had said, aggrauating the heinousnesse of the fact, if hee should proceed to enforce her as his slaue, who being now free, he might not without great offence touch vnmarried. Whereupon *Solyman* more and more burning in his desires, became a fresh suter to her for marriage, whom he had so often before commanded: which his suite easily obtained, (as the marke she had all this while aimed at) he with all speed to the great admiration of all men, and contrarie to the manner of the Mahometan Emperours, solemnly married her, appointing for her yearely dowrie fiue thousand Sultanyns. But here before we proceed any farther, stay a while, and take the view of that faire face whereon this great Monarch so much doted, as it is by the skilfull workemans hand most liuely expressed.

Solyman sends for Roxolana.

She excuseth her selfe, and refuseth to come.

Solyman marrieth Roxolana.

ROXO-

Frontis nulla fides, nulla est fiducia formæ:
Pectore dum sæuo dira venena latent.
Philtra viro miscet fallax miserúmque coegit
Sanguine natorum commaculare manus.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

To faireſt lookes truſt not too farre, nor yet to beautie braue:
For hatefull thoughts ſo finely maskt, their deadly poyſon haue.
Loues charmed cups the ſubtill dame doth to her husband fill;
And cauſeth him with cruell hand his childrens bloud to ſpill.

Roxolana plaieth the confusion of Mustapha.

This woman of late a slaue, but now become the greateſt Empreſſe of the East, flowing in all worldly felicitie, attended vpon with all the pleasures her heart could desire, wanted nothing she could wish, but how to finde means that the Turkish empire might after the death of *Solyman* be brought to some one of her owne sons. This was it that had (as is before said) long troubled her aspiring mind; and in the midst of all her blisse, suffered her yet to take no rest. Noble *Mustapha*, *Solymans* eldest son, and heire apparant of the Empire, although far absent, was yet still before her eyes present; his credit, his valour, his vertues, his perfections were all bars to her desires: he was the only cloud that kept the sunne from shining on her; if he by any

any means might be taken away, then wanted nothing that she desired. Which to bring to passe, the wicked woman laboured cunningly by little and little to breed in *Solymans* head no small suspition of *Mustapha*, That he being a yong man of a hauty spirit, desirous of Soueraignetie, generally beloued, and swelling with the immoderat fauor of the men of war, which were all at his deuotion, left nothing else to be expected from him, but when he should (as did his grandsier *Selymus*) lay hand vpon the Empire, and worke his aged fathers destruction. This

Rustan the great Bassa furthereth the deuises of Roxolana.

mischieuous plot by her deuised, was not a little furthred by *Rustan* the great Bassa, by whom passed all great matters: who nothing omitted, that could be slily deuised for the disgrace or confusion of the yong Prince. For he as a great secret, craftily told all them that were sent gouernors into Siria, that *Mustapha* was secretly suspected by his father, of aspiring to the empire, and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to obserue all his actions, with the manner of his life and gouernment, and by their letters diligently to aduertise him of whatsoeuer they should see or heare; bearing them in hand, that the more suspitiously or cruelly they should write of him, the more gratious and acceptable it would be vnto the great Tartan. Wherfore he by these men oftentimes certified of the princely disposition, courage, wisdom, valor and bountie of *Mustapha*, wherby he had woon all mens hearts, doubted that he would at length be preferred to the Empire: yet durst he not for all that aduenture to temper with *Solyman* about that detestable conspiracie against the innocent Prince, but still deliuering the letters to the malicious woman, left the rest by her vngratious head to be wrought. And she still as occasion best serued her purpose, ceased not with pleasing allurements and flatterie (wherin she was most excellent) to infect *Solymans* mind, that whensoeuer he should chance to haue any speech of *Mustapha*, she might take the fitter occasion to bring forth those Letters. Neither was she in her drift deceiued, but hauing found a fit opportunitie, with tears trickling down her cheeks (which to serue their turnes subtill women seldome want) she told the Emperor in what danger he stood: recounting amongst other things, how *Selymus* his father had by such means depriued *Baiazet* his grandfather, both of his life & Empire together: & therefore most instantly besought him, as if it had altogether proceeded of a carefull loue, by that example warned to looke to himselfe. But these light arguments of suspition seemed as they were indeed, vnto *Solyman* scarce probable; so that she little preuailed thereby. Which thing she well perceiuing, and inwardly grieued thereat, conuerted her cruell minde to other mischieuous deuices, and sought by all meanes how to poison the yong Prince: neither wanted there wicked men, as it were vowed to all kinde of mischiefe and villanie, readie to haue performed what she desired, had not Gods prouidence withstood so horrible a practise. For

Mustapha in danger to haue beene poysoned Roxolana.

whereas certaine rich apparell was by her sent vnto him in his fathers name, he fearing the worst, would not touch it before he had caused it to be worn by one of his seruants: by which curious warinesse (as it was thought) he for that time preuented the treason of his wicked stepdame, and made her malicious practise manifest to the world. Yet rested shee not so, but was still plotting new deuices, tending all to one purpose: for being growne to that height of honour and power as neuer was woman in the *Othoman* court, and by the means of *Trongilla* a Iew (as it was thought) hauing bewitched the minde of the Turkish Emperor, she still grew more and more in fauor, and obtained that her sons might by turnes be still present in Court: of purpose, that by their daily presence and continual flattery, they should more & more procure their fathers loue; and if by chance *Mustapha* should come thither, she might haue the better means to dispatch him: if not, to expect some other fit time, when she might by some one or other meane take him away. But *Mustapha* neuer comming (for why, the Emperors sons vse not without their fathers leaue to go out of the prouinces assigned vnto them, or to come to Constantinople, but after the death of their father to receiue the Empire, attended vpon with a number of soldiers) she easily deuised another practise, that her sons should wait vpon their father, not in the city only, but in the Prouinces also; so that *Tzibanger*, syrnamed *Crouchbacke*, alwaies followed his father in the campe. Certain yeres thus spent, and she still hammering her mischieuous deuices, at length fortune fauoring her wicked desire, got from the Bassa which had the gouernment of *Mustapha* and the prouince of Amasia (for as we haue said, euery one of the Kings sons hath with him one Bassa, which as it were his lieutenant in administration of justice and martiall affaires) certain suspicious letters, wherein was contained, that there was a speech of a marriage to be made between *Mustapha* and the Persian Kings daugh-

ter; which thing he thought good to giue knowledge of to the Counsell, that if any harme should ensue thereof, he might be out of all suspition. These letters being brought to *Rustan*, he thought he had now as good as halfe brought to passe the long desired ruin of *Mustapha*: so making no stay, he opened the matter to *Roxolana*, & afterwards both together went to the court, and declared all the matter to the Emperor: in doing wherof, they forced both their vngratious wits to fill his head, yet doubtfull, with suspicion, and to possesse his minde with the feare of his owne most dutifull son: saying, That he as a proud and ambitious young man, rauished with the desire of so glorious an empire, sought against the laws both of God & nature, to take his father out of the way, that so he might with more speed satisfie his aspiring mind. And to giue the more credit to this their most false suggestion, they warned him of the alliance by him purposed with the Persian king the antient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors: wishing him to beware lest *Mustapha* supported by the strength of Persia, and the fauor of the Sanzacks and Ianizaries, whose loue he had by bountie purchased, should in short time when he feared least, together depriue him both of his life and empire. With these and such like accusations they so preuailed with the aged man, whom they neuer suffered to rest in quier, that he at length resolued to worke his safetie (as he supposed) by the death of his owne sonne; in this sort:

Roxolana and Rustan together put Solyman in feare of his son Mustapha.

In the yeare 1552 he caused proclamation to be made almost in all the prouinces of his Empire, That forasmuch as the Persians without resistance with a great army inuaded Syria, burning and destroying the countrey before them, he to represse that their outragious insolence, was inforced to send thither *Rustan Bassa* with an army: which according to his appointment was in short time raised. Now when all things were in readinesse, as if it had beene for such a war as was pretended, he commanded *Rustan*, with as much secrecie and as little tumult as was possible, to lay hands vpon *Mustapha*, and to bring him bound to Constantinople: which if he could not conueniently effect, then by any other means to take him out of the way.

Solyman sends Rustan Bassa with an army to take Mustapha.

With this wicked and cruell charge *Rustan* with a strong armie marched towards Syria. *Mustapha* vnderstanding of his comming, without delay with 7000 of the best horsemen in all Turkie made towards Syria also: whereof *Rustan* hearing, and perceiuing that he could not (as he desired) conueniently execute the cruell command of the vnnaturall father, forthwith turned his backe, and treading the same steps he came, returned with his armie to Constantinople with such speed, that he endured not to behold the verie dust raised by *Mustapha's* horsmen, much lesse his presence: giuing it out, That he certainly vnderstood that the prouince was in quiet, (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But vnto *Solyman* he told another tale in secret, which he maliciously had deuised, That he by most apparant signes and manifest presumptions had perceiued the whole armie so inclined towards *Mustapha*, that if he should haue attempted any thing against him by plaine force, he should haue been vtterly forsaken, and had therefore in so dangerous a case left the matter as it was to his graue further direction. This tale suspiciously told, raised in the wicked and vnnaturall father (nothing degenerating from the naturall crueltie of his ancestors) new and great suspicions, whereof to disburden his disquicted mind, he conceiued with himselfe a most horrible deuice. Wherfore the yere following, which was the yeare 1553, he raised a great armie; giuing it out, That the Persians had with greater power than before inuaded Syria, and that therefore he for the loue of his Countrie, and defence of his empire, was determined to go thither with his army, and in person himselfe to represse the attempts of his enemies. Wherfore the army being assembled, & all things necessary orderly prouided, he commanded to set forward, and in few daies after followed himselfe: who comming at length into Syria, presently by trusty messengers commanded *Mustapha* to come vnto him at Aleppo, for there he lay incamped. And yet for all these shadowes, the matter was not so closely by *Solyman* conueied (although he was exceeding carefull thereof) but that his mortall and deadly hatred against his son was perceiued by the Bassa's & other great men about him: insomuch that *Achmat Bassa* by a secret and trustie messenger gaue him warning thereof, that so he might in time the better prouide for the safegard of his life. Neither could *Mustapha* himselfe but maruell, that his aged father without any apparant reason should come so far with so great an army: yet trusting to his owne innocencie, though wonderfully troubled and perplexed in mind, he resolued (although it were with the extreme danger of his life) to obey and yeeld to his fathers command: for he thought it more commendable and honorable to incurre the danger of death, than liuing to fall into the foule suspition of

The malitious deuice of Rustan.

Solyman goeth himselfe with an army to kill his sonne.

He sendeth for Mustapha.

Mustapha perplexed in mi

disloyaltie.

disloyaltie. In so great a peplexitie of mind, after he had with himselfe mu[illegible]courſed too and fro, what courſe he were beſt to take, at length he boldly and reſolute[illegible]ed the doctor whom (as we haue before ſaid) he had alwaies with him in his court, Whether the Empire of the world, or a bleſſed life were of man more to be deſired? to whom the doctor frankly anſwered, That the empire of the world, to him that would enter into the due conſideration thereof, brought with it no felicitie, more than a vaine ſhew and vtter apparance of good, nothing being more fraile or vncertaine than worldly honor, bringing with it feare, vexation of mind, tribulation, ſuſpition, murder, wrong, wickedneſſe, ſpoile, ruin, and captiuitie, with infinit miſchiefes of like nature, not to be deſired of him that would attaine to true felicitie, by which means the bleſſed life was to be loſt and not gained: But they vnto whome God had giuen the grace rightly to conſi[illegible]and weigh the fragilitie and ſhortneſſe of this our eſtate (which the common ſort deeme[illegible]to be the only life) and to ſtriue againſt the vanities of this world, and to embrace and follow an vpright kind of life, had vndoubtedly a place aſſigned for them in heauen, and prepared by the great God, where they ſhould at length enioy life and bliſſe eternal. This anſwer of the great doctor wonderfully ſatisfied the troubled mind of the yong Prince, foreſeeing as it were the approch of his owne end: and ſo ſtaying not any longer diſcourſe, forthwith ſet forward towards his father, and making great haſt, came at length to his fathers campe, and not far off pitched his tents in the open field. But this his ſo haſtie coming the more increaſed the ſuſpition in the mind of his wicked father: neither ſpared *Ruſtan* in the meane time with his craftie and ſubtile deuices to augment the ſame: for by a ſigne giuen he cauſed the Ianizaries and chiefe men in the armie to go as if it had bin for honors ſake to meet *Muſtapha*; which they all without delay preſently did at his command, and ſo all together ſet forward. In the meane time he the moſt craftie varlet, with troubled countenance (for he could notably diſſemble) as a man halfe diſmaied came in haſte into *Solymans* pauilion, and falſly told him, That the Ianizaries and almoſt all the beſt ſoldiers of the army were of themſelues without leaue gon to meet *Muſtapha*, and that he feared what would enſue thereof. Which news ſo troubled the old tyrant, that he became pale for feare, and going out of his tent, and finding them gon, eaſily beleeued all to be true that the falſe Baſſa had told him. Neither wanted *Muſtapha* ſtrange warning of his end ſo neere at hand, for the third day before his ſetting forwards toward his father, falling aſleepe in the euening, he thought he ſaw his Prophet *Mahomet* in bright apparell to take him by the hand and lead him into a moſt pleaſant place, beautified with moſt glorious and ſtately palaces, and moſt delicat and pleaſant gardens; and pointing to euery thing with his finger, to ſay thus vnto him, *Here reſt they for euer, which in this world haue led an vpright and godly life, following vertue, and deteſting vice:* and after that turning his face to the other ſide, to haue ſhewed him two great and ſwift riuers, whereof the one boiled with water blacker than pitch, and in them appeared (as he thought) numbers of men wallowing and tumbling, ſome vp, ſome down, crying horribly for mercie: *And there* (ſaid he) *are puniſhed all ſuch as in this fraile life haue bin the malicious workers of iniquity*: the chief of whom (as he ſaid) were Emperors, kings, princes, and other great men of the world. *Muſtapha* awaking, and troubled with this melancholie dreame, called vnto him his doctor: and hauing told him all the matter, asked him what the ſame might ſignifie? who ſtanding a great while in a muſe (for the Mahometans are exceeding ſuperſtitious, attributing much to dreams) full of ſorrow and griefe at length anſwered, That this viſion (for ſo it pleaſed him to terme it) was vndoubtedly to be feared, as preſaging vnto him the extreame perill of his life, and therefore requeſted him to haue great care both of his life and honor. But *Muſtapha* as he was of a notable ſpirit and courage, regarding nothing that anſwer, ſtoutly replied, What, ſhall I ſuffer my ſelfe to be terrified and ouercome with childiſh & vain feares? why rather haſte I not courageouſly & reſolutely to my father? and ſo much the more boldly, becauſe I know aſſuredly I haue alwaies (as reaſon was) reuerenced his Maieſtie, that againſt his will I neuer turned mine eyes or foot againſt his moſt roiall ſeat, much leſſe affected his empire, except the moſt high God had called him to a better life, neither then without the generall good liking & choiſe of the whole army, that ſo I might at length without murder, without bloud, without tyrannie, wel & iuſtly raigne, and in loue & peace inuiolate liue with my brethren: for I haue ſet down with my ſelfe, and choſen, if it be my fathers pleaſure ſo, rather to die in his obedience, than raigning many yeares, to be reputed of all men, eſpecially my competitors, a rebell or traitor.

His talke with his Doctor.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers campe.

The exceeding treacherie of Ruſtan againſt Muſtapha.

The melancholy dreame of Muſtapha in comming to his father.

Hauing thus ſaid, he came vnto his fathers campe, & pitching his tents (as we haue before ſaid) ſuted himſelfe all in white, in token of his innocencie, and writing certaine letters (which the Turks when they are about to go to any place of danger, vſe to write, and alwaies to carry with them, for they are wonderfull fooliſh in their ſuperſtition) and putting them in his boſome, attended vpon with a few of his moſt truſtie followers, came with great reuerence towards the tent of his father, fully reſoluing to haue kiſſed his hand, as their vſuall manner is. But when he was come to the entrance of the tent, remembring that he had yet his dagger girt to him, hee entred not vntill he had put it off; becauſe he would not come into his fathers ſight with any weapon, if happily ſo he might cleere himſelfe of his fathers needleſſe ſuſpition. So when he was come into the more inward roomes of the tent, he was with ſuch honour as belonged to his ſtate cheerfully receiued by his fathers Eunuchs. But ſeeing nothing elſe prouided but one ſeat whereon to ſit himſelfe alone, hee perplexed in mind, ſtood ſtill a while muſing; at length asked where the Emperor his father was? Whereunto they anſwered, That he ſhould by and by ſee him: and with that caſting his eye aſide, he ſaw ſeuen Muts (theſe are ſtrong men bereft of their ſpeech, whom the Turkiſh tyrants haue alwaies in readineſſe, the more ſecretly to execute their bloudie butcherie) comming from the other ſide of the tent towards him: at whoſe ſight ſtrucken with a ſudden terrour, ſaid no more, but *Lo my death*; and with that, ariſing, was about to haue fled: but in vaine, for he was caught hold on by the eunuch and Muts, and by force drawn to the place appointed for his death: where without further ſtay, the Muts caſt a bowſtring about his necke, he poore wretch ſtill ſtriuing, and requeſting that he might ſpeake but two words to his father before he died. All which the murtherer (for no addition is ſufficient ſignificantly to expreſſe his vnnaturall villanie) both heard and ſaw by a trauers from the other ſide of the tent: but was ſo far from being moued with compaſſion, that thinking it long till he were diſpatched, with a moſt terrible and cruell voice he rated the villains enured to bloud; ſaying, *Will you neuer diſpatch that I bid you? will you neuer make an end of this traitor, for whom I haue not reſted one night theſe ten yeares in quiet?* Which horrible commanding ſpeeches, yet thundering in their eares, thoſe butcherly Muts threw the poore innocent Prince vpon the ground, and with the helpe of the Eunuches forcibly drawing the knotted bow ſtring both wayes, by the commandement of a moſt wicked father, ſtrangled him. With like barbarous crueltie, hee ſhortly after cauſed *Mahomet* his nephew (*Muſtapha* his ſonne) to be ſtrangled alſo.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers tent.

Muſtapha moſt cruelly ſtrangled in his fathers ſight.

Mahomet Muſtaphaes ſonne ſtrangled alſo.

This vnnatural & ſtrange murther committed, he preſently commanded the Baſſa of Amaſia *Muſtaphaes* Lieutenant to be apprehended, and his head in his owne preſence to be ſtrucke off. Which done, he ſent for *Tzihanger* the Crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in ſporting wiſe, as if he had don a thing worth commendations, bid him go meet his brother *Muſtapha*: which thing *Tzihanger* with a merrie and cheerefull countenance haſted to doe, as one glad of his brothers comming. But as ſoone as he came vnto the place where he ſaw his brother lying dead vpon the ground ſtrangled, it is not to be ſpoken how he was in mind tormented. Hee was ſcarcely come to the place where this deteſtable murther was committed, when his father ſent vnto him certain of his ſeruants to offer vnto him al *Muſtaphaes* treaſure, horſes, ſeruants, jewels, tents, and withall, the gouernment of the Prouince of Amaſia: but *Tzihanger* filled with extreame heauineſſe for the vnmercifull death of his welbeloued brother, ſpake vnto them in this ſort. *A wicked and vngodly* Cain, *traitor (I may not ſay father) take thou now the treaſures, the horſes, the ſeruants, the iewels, and the Prouince of* Muſtapha. *How came it into thy wicked, cruell, and ſauage breaſt, ſo vngratiouſly and contrarie to all humanitie, I will not ſay the reuerence of thine owne bloud, to kill thy worthie, warlike, and noble ſonne, the mirrour of courteſie, and Prince of greateſt hope, the like of whome, the* Othoman *Familie neuer yet had, nor neuer ſhall? I will therefore my ſelfe prouide that thou, nor none for thee ſhall euer hereafter in ſuch ſort ſhamefully triumph ouer a poore crooked wretch.* And hauing thus much ſaid, ſtab'd himſelfe with his owne dagger into the bodie, whereof hee in ſhort time died: Which ſo ſoone as it came to the old Tygres eares, it is hard to ſay how much hee grieued. His dead bodie was by his fathers commandement carried from Aleppo in Syria, to Conſtantinople, and afterwards honourably buried on the other ſide of the hauen at Pera. For all this bloudie tragedie, his couetous minde was not ſo troubled, but that hee could forthwith commaund all *Muſtaphaes* treaſures and riches to be brought to his tent: which his ſouldiers in hope to haue the

Solyman offereth to Tzihanger all Muſtaphaes treaſure and wealth.

Tzihanger for ſorrow killeth himſelfe.

the same giuen them for a prey, willingly hasted to performe. In the meane time the souldiers G
which were in *Mustaphaes* campe, not knowing what was become of their [illegible]r, seeing such
a multitude of souldiers thrusting into their campe without all order; to repulse their tumul-
tuous insolencie, stept out in their armour, and notably repulsed them, not without much
bloudshed.

A bloudie tumult betwixt the souldiers of Solyman and Mustapha.

At length, the noise of this stir was heard by the rest of the kings souldiers, who seeing the
tumult to increase more and more, ran in to helpe their fellowes; so that in short time there be-
gan a hot skirmish and cruell fight on both sides, insomuch that two thousand were slaine, and
mo wounded: neither had the broile so ended, had not *Achomat Bassa* a graue captaine, and for
his long experience of no small authority amongst the souldiers, kept backe the Ianizaries, and H
staied their furie; and turning likewise to *Mustaphaes* souldiers, by gentle and mild words and

The tumult appeased by Achomet Bassa.

courteous persuasions, in this manner appeased their rage. *What say my brethren* (said hee) *will you
now (degenerating from your antient loyaltie, for which you haue beene for so many ages commended)
impugne the command of the great Sultan our dread soueraigne? Truely I cannot sufficiently marueil
what thing should mooue you, whom I haue hitherto prooued to haue beene most worthie and valiant sol-
diers, in this ciuill conflict to draw those weapons against your fellowes and brethren, which you haue
most fortunately vsed against the enemies of the* Othoman *Kings: except you meane thereby to make
your selues a ioyfull spectacle vnto your enemies, who grieuing to see themselues ouercome by your victo-
rious weapons, may yet reioyce among themselues to see you turne the same one vpon another. Wherefore
my sonnes, for your antient honours sake, be carefull that you doe not by this your insolencie lose the repu-* I
*tation of your wisedome, loyaltie, and valour; for which you haue hitherto beene aboue all others com-
mended: reserue these your weapons which you haue now too too much vsed among your fellowes, against
your enemies, of whom you may get more praise and honour.* This speech of the old Bassa, so mollified the stout souldiers, that they freely permitted all that was in *Mustaphaes* tents to be carried to *Solymans*: but so soone as the death of *Mustapha* was blowne into the eares of the Ianizaries and the rest of the armie in *Solymans* campe, another tumult rise among them worse than the first. They were quickly all vp in armes againe, and with a great noise confused with teares and lamentation, as they were in rage and furie, brake violently into *Solymans* pauilion with their drawne swords: which strucke the tyrant into such a feare, that destitute of all counsell in himselfe, he was about with the extreame perill of his life to haue fled: but being holden K
by his friends, and making a vertue of necessitie, vpon the sudden aduentured to do that which
at better leisure hee would scarcely haue thought vpon: for going forth out of his tent, but
with a pale and wan countenance, he spake vnto the enraged souldiers thus: *What broile is this?
what sturre? what so great insolencie? what meane your inflamed, fierce and angrie lookes? know you
not your Soueraigne? and him that hath power to command you? Haue you so resolued to staine the
antient and inuincible honour of your selues and your ancestours, with the bloud of your Lord and Em-
perour?* Whilest he was yet thus speaking, the souldiers boldly answered, That they denied
not, but that he was the man whom they many yeares before had chosen for their Emperour:
but in that they had by their owne valour got for him a large and mightie Empire, and in like
manner preserued it; that was therefore of them done, that hee should for the same gouerne
them vertuously and iustly, and not to lay his boudy hands without discretion vpon euery iust L
man, and most wickedly embrue himselfe with innocent bloud: and that they came thither
armed, they did it (as they said) moued with iust cause to reuenge the vnworthy death of guilt-
lesse *Mustapha*; and that for that matter, he had no iust cause to be angrie with them. Wherfore
they required, that they might publickly cleere themselues of the treason whereof they were
accused by *Mustaphaes* enemies, and that the accuser might be brought forth to iustifie his ac-
cusation: protesting, that they would neuer lay downe their weapons, vntill the accuser made
his appearance in iudgement, and commenced his accusation iudicially, vpon paine to endure
the like punishment if he failed in proofe. Whilest these things were in doing, the hainousnesse
of the late committed fact caused euery man to shed teares, so that *Solyman* himselfe seemed
to be sorie for the murther so lately by himselfe committed: wherefore he promised vnto M
the souldiers whatsoeuer they required, and did what he could to appease their angrie minds.
For all that, they in the meane time, lest he should craftily slip away and deceiue them of that
he had promised, and of the expectation of such things as they had required, with a marueil-
lous care and diligence al l kept watch and ward.

The Ianizaries vp in armes against Solyman for the vnworthy death of Mustapha.

The stout speech of Solyman to the Ianizaries.

The fierce answere of the Ianizaries to Solyman.

Solyman yeeldeth vnto the Ianizaries.

Solyman

A *Solyman* to appease this fury of the Ianizaries, depriued *Rustan Bassa* of all his honours, and tooke from him his seale whereof he had the keeping, and deliuered it to *Achomates Bassa*. But *Rustan* worthily stricken with feare and horrour, seeing himselfe now in no safetie in his own tents, fled secretly to *Achomates*, asking his counsell what were best for him to doe, and what course to take in so doubtful and dangerous a case? To whom the Bassa answered, that it were best for him to vse the great Emperors aduise, and to do what he commanded. Which answer well satisfied *Rustan*: and so he which of late gaue other men accesse vnto the Emperor at his pleasure, was now glad by his old acquaintance and friends to preferre this poore suite, To know his pleasure what he would haue him to do: from whom he receiued this answer, That he should incontinently without further delay get him out of his sight, and out of the campe:
B which the Bassa said he could not conueniently do, being by his displeasure and the souldiers rage disfurnished of all things necessarie for his departure. Whereunto *Solyman* sent him answere againe, That he could giue him neither longer time nor delay, and that it were best for him without more adoe to be gone for feare of further harme. Whereupon *Rustan*, guiltie in conscience of most horrible villanie & treacherie, accompanied but with eight of his most faithfull friends in stead of his late world of followers; posted in hast to Constantinople, and there (not without danger of his head) with *Roxolana* and other the complices and contriuers of the treason against *Mustapha*, in great feare expected the euent of his fortune.

Rustan disgraced by Solyman, flyeth to Constantinople.

This yong prince *Mustapha* thus shamefully murthered by his own father, was for his rare
C vertues generally beloued of the Turks: but of the souldiers most for his martiall disposition, and readines for the effusion of Christian bloud. The opinion they had conceiued of him was such, and their loue so great, that they neuer thought there was any in the *Othoman* family, of whom they expected so much for the enlarging of their empire: insomuch, that euer since, when in their priuate or publicke actions they faile of any great hope, they vse this prouerbe euen at this day taken from him, *Gietti Sultan Mustapha*, Sultan *Mustapha* is dead: as who should say, our hope is all lost, *Achomates Bassa* the great champion of the Turks, a man of exceeding courage, not ignorant of the smal assurance of the great honors of that state, at such time as he receiued the seale from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then frankly bestow it vpon him, so he would at one time or other to his no lesse disgrace take it from him: to whom *Solyman* solemnly promised with an oath, not to displace him so long as he liued. For all that, hee
D had not long enioyed that honor, but that *Solyman* falling in dislike with him, & willing againe to promote *Rustan Bassa* to that great honour, greater than which there was none in the Turks court, which by reason of his oath hee could not doe so long as *Achomates* liued: To saue his oath, and to preferre his son in law (whom he had indeed displaced only no please the tumultuous Ianizaries) resolued to haue *Achomates* put to death. Of which his purpose *Achomates* altogether ignorant, and one morning after his wonted manner comming into the Diuano in al his honour, vpon the sudden receiued word from *Solyman*, that he must presently die, & forthwith was the hangman readie to haue strangled him, as was giuen him in charge: whom the stout Bassa thrust from him with his hand, with countenance and cheere in shew no more trou-
E bled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about him, espied at last an honest man whom he had before many times pleasured, whom hee most earnestly requested for all the kindnesse shewed vnto him, to do him that last fauour as to strangle him with his owne hand, which should be vnto him the greatest good turne that he could possibly deuise, detesting nothing more than to die with the hand of the executioner. Which thing, when he after much intreatie had vndertaken to performe, *Achomates* willed him, that he should not at one twitch strangle him outright, but letting the bow string slacke again, giue him leaue once to breath, & then to dispatch him: which his request was by his friend accordingly performed, and he in that sort strangled: wherein it seemeth, that he was desirous, first to tast of death, and not to die all at once. Immediatly after whose death, *Rustan Bassa* was again
F restored to his place of chiefe Visier, and had the great seale deliuered vnto him: which honor he enioyed about six yeares after, and so at last died of the dropsie. This was the end of these two great Bassaes *Achomates* and *Rustan*, who in that time swaied that great Empire, vnder *Solyman*, and of whom we haue so much spoken. It is reported, that *Solyman* hauing appointed *Achomates* to die, should say, It is better for his great heart once to die, than to die a thousand times, in seeing his honour taken from him and bestowed vpon another.

The miserable end of Achomates the great Bassa.

The

1554 The Turks gallies by the solicitation of the French before brought d[illegible] the Tuscan sea, did much harme vpon the coasts of Calabria and Sicilia in this yeare [illegible], as they had the yeare before, and so did diuers yeares after. At which time also *Pandulph[illegible] Pontarenus* the Venetian Admirall scouring alongst the seas, carefully looking to the frontiers of the Venetian estate, chanced to meet with the Bassa of Callipolis, who in the yere before had rifled certaine Venetian Merchants; in reuenge of which iniury he set vpon him, and after a great spoile made both of the Turks and their gallies, he ransacked Dirrachium then one of the Turks port townes in Dalmatia.

1555 The next yeare 1555, the same Bassa recouered his strength, but not daring to be too busie with the Venetians, surprised the Islands of Blumbis and Elba, subiect to the Duke of Florence, and withall sent le[illegible] to *Solyman*, to persuade him to take vp armes against the Venetians, as they which had [illegible]en the league.

1556 At the same time, *Haly* the Bassa of Buda by policie surprised the strong castle of [illegible]za in Hungarie: and was in good hope by the like fineneſſe to haue taken the towne and [illegible]le of Zigeth, a place of great importance: but failing of his purpose, he came the next yere 1556, with a great armie, and the thirteenth day of Iune incamped before the towne, wherein was Gouernor *Marcus Horwath* a valiant captaine, with a garrison of notable souldiers. Shortly after he began a most terrible batterie: during which time the Christians sallying out diuers times, slew many of his men; who for all that vsed such diligence, that the twentith of Iune they woon the vttermost wall, and after fiue hot assaults were in hope at the sixt to haue woon the castle also: but the Christians perceiuing the danger, resolutely sallied out, and hauing slaine eight hundred of them, draue the rest againe from the wall. Yet the Turks gaue it not so ouer, but with a great number of carts labored to haue filled vp the marrish and ditches about the towne: which their attempt was by the industrie of the defendants also defeated. The Bassa perceiuing how hardly the towne would be woon by force, attempted to haue persuaded them to haue yeelded it vp by composition: but failing therein of his purpose, began againe the twelfth of Iuly to assault the citie, which assault he maintained fiue dayes together without intermission, still sending in fresh men in stead of them that were wearied or slaine: yet was the citie for all that by the valour of the Christians notably defended. So when he had in vaine proued the vttermost of his forces, he raised his siege the one and twentieth day of Iuly and departed: but within six dayes after, he returned from the city Quinque Ecclesiæ, and assaulted the citie afresh; but was at length glad to giue ouer the siege and be gone, when he had lost of his best souldiers aboue two thousand, and of the defendants slaine but a hundred and twentie. After his departure there was ten thousand great shot found, wherewith he had battered the towne and the castle, which was for this time thus worthily defended. The Turks in the meane time after their wonted manner ceased not to do what harme they could in the Tuscane sea, and had againe miserably spoiled the Island of Corsica: for withstanding of whom the Bishop of Rome exacted of his people a great subsidie, and finely stript the Iews of their money, and seised vpon their rich merchants goods in his territorie. At whose earnest suit *Solyman* in their behalfe writ vnto the Bishop as followeth:

Zigeth besieged by the Bassa of Buda.

A terrible assault.

Zigeth notably defended.

Sultan *Solyman*, most mightie Emperour of Emperours, the sonne of *Selym*, Emperour of Emperours, to whom God giue eternall victorie: to Pope *Paulus* the fourth, greeting.

Solymans Letters to the Pope in behalfe of the Iewes merchants.

Most excellent and most mightie Lord of the Professors of the Messias Iesu, and Lord of Rome, the Almightie keepe thee. At such time as thou shalt receiue our Seale, thou shalt vnderstand by our Letters, that certaine Hebrewes haue come vnto vs, complaining that they are oppressed of thee with too grieuous exactions, when they come to traffique at Ancona: This burthen I request thee to take from them, and to restore againe vnto them their goods, that thereby they may be able to pay to vs our Tribute: which if thou (as I hope thou wilt) shalt doe, thou shalt feele our fauour. Farewell. From Constantinople the last of the blessed moneth Rambeluch*, in the yeare of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *nine hundred threescore and foure.*

* The ninth of March, anno 1556.

Haly Bassa beſieged Zigeth againe.

Haly Bassa grieued with the late repulse he had receiued at Zigeth, came againe the next

A yeare, and besieged it, at which time king *Ferdinand* sent *Nicholaus Polwiler* and the county *Serinus* with a power raised in Sueuia and Austria, to recouer Baboza, a castle betwixt Zigeth and Stiria, before surprised by the Turkes: of whose comming the Bassa hauing intelligence, rise with his armie and departed from Zigeth, which he had for certaine moneths hardly besieged, and not far from Baboza met with *Polwiler* and *Serinus*; who ioyning battell with him, after a hard and sharpe fight ouerthrew him and put him to flight. This victory with the coming downe of young *Ferdinand*, king *Ferdinands* sonne, Archduke of Austria with new supplies, so terrified the Turkes in that part of Hungarie along the riuer Dranus, that they for feare forsooke Baboza, Sammartin, San-Laurence, and diuers other smal castles which they had before taken, and fled to Quinque Ecclesiæ.

Haly Bassa ouerthrowne.

B The Gouernour of Zigeth encouraged herewith, sallying out with his garrison, slew many of the Turkes in their flight towards Quinque Ecclesiæ, and meeting by chance with a troupe of horsemen which were bringing the Turkes pay, ouerthrew them, tooke the money, and so with an exceeding rich prey returned to his castle. At which time also *Adam* the Gouernour of Rab, otherwise called Iauarinum, hauing burnt the suburbes of Alba Regalis, and driuen away many thousands of cattell, at a towne called Sian ouerthrew fiue hundred Turkes, and as many fugitiue Christians, and so with a great prey and little or no losse at all of his men returned.

Henry the French king at the same time in warres with *Philip* king of Spaine, and troubled with the losse of his armie ouerthrowne not farre from S. Quintins (at which time the duke

Henry the French king solliciteth Solyman to inuade the king of Spaine his territories.

C *Montmorencie* Constable of France and Generall of the armie, with his sonne and diuers other of the nobilitie of France were taken prisoners) by his Embassadour *Michael Condignas* solicited *Solyman* to haue by sea inuaded Naples and Sicilia, so to haue withdrawne the Spanish forces out of France, to defend their owne frontiers. Which thing *Solyman*, offended with the insolencie of the Embassadour, refused to doe: yet neuertheless commanded his aduenturers all alongst the coast of Affricke, to infest those seas, and to doe what harme they could vpon the coast of Italie and Sicilia; which they so diligently performed, that the Viceroy of Sicilia was faine for defence of those countries to lie in readinesse with his gallies in the ports of Caieta and Naples.

The Guise, Lord Grand Prior in France, Admirall of Malta, taketh certaine of the Turkes gallies.

In the meane time the *Guise*, Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of S. *Iohns* in France (and

D brother of *Francis* the duke of *Guise*, Generall of the French Kings armie in Italie, who vpon the ouerthrow receiued at S. Quintins, called out of Italie, shortly after tooke Calais) Admirall of the gallies of Malta, went out toward the East with foure gallies well appointed, to lie in wait for the Turkes, and by fortune met with two great ships laded with the Turkes merchandise, which he tooke, and by and by after, light vpon foure of the Turkes gallies, with whome he had a great fight: yet at length hauing sunke one of them and burnt another, he tooke the other two. After which victorie returning towards Malta to haue repaired his gallies and cured his wounded men, he was met with foure other great gallies of the Turkes: who desirous to reuenge the losse of their fellowes, set vpon him, and he seeing now no remedie, but that he must needs fight couragiously, encountered them. But forasmuch as he had in the two fights

E before lost some of his men, and 72 of the knights in the gallies lay sore wounded, he, by the counsell of the captaines retired towards Malta: but by the way one of his gallies was taken by the Turkes, with 52 knights of the Order: yet with the rest and the prizes before taken, he recouered the Island of Malta, where hee staied that Winter; and the next Spring sailed into France to be partaker of those troubles, which beginning shortly after, haue but of late taken end.

Solyman in nothing more vnfortunate than in the proofe of his children.

The immoderat fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrarie to his desire, than in the proofe of those his children, of whom the world held the greatest expectation: *Mustapha* his eldest son, the mirrour of courtesie, and rare hope of the whole Turkish nation, the suspitious tyrant had most vnnaturally caused to be murthered in his own presence,

F to the griefe of all his subiects in generall, as is before declared: poore *Tzihanger* was dead for sorow: and *Mahometes* his eldest sonne by his best beloued the faire *Roxolana*, was departed this life also. So that now remained vnto him onely *Selymus*, the vnworthie heire of so great an empire, and *Baiazet* his youngest brother, the liuely image of his father, both men growne; and the sonnes of the same *Roxolana*: but so far differing the one from the other both in feature

of

of bodie and disposition of mind, as if they had not bin of the same kinde and line. *Selymus* the elder brother most like vnto his mother, was in the secret determinatio[n] of the aged Emperor his father appointed heire of that most mightie empire. *Baiazet* much resembling his father, was on the other side strongly supported by the care and entire loue of his mother: which whether it proceeded of a secret commiseration of his inuitable destiny, or that hee had by loyaltie or other means so woon her fauor, is not knowne; but euery man saw, that if it had lien in her power, she would vndoubtedly haue preferred him before his elder brother *Selymus*, & haue placed him in the empire: but she must needs giue way to her old husbands will, firmly and irremouably set downe, that the Destinies so permitting, none should raigne after him but his eldest son *Selymus*. Of which his purpose and resolution *Baiazet* being not ignorant, began most circumspectly to look about him, if he could by any means frustrat that forcible necessitie, and exchange his certaine destruction with an empire: in which his deep and dangerous cogitations he was not a little comforted by the fauor & loue of *Roxolana* his mother, & of *Rustan* the great Bassa his brother in law; who together had in any other matter bin able [to] ouerruled the aged Emperor. Whereupon he resolutely set downe himselfe, rather to end his daies by making proofe of his good or bad fortune, than vpon the death of his father (which by course of nature could not now be far off) to be as a sacrifice basely butchered by some vile hangman of his brothers. *Baiazet* so resolued, and now already fallen out with his brother *Selymus*, tooke occasion vpon the generall discontentment of the people & others, for the vnworthy death of *Mustapha* their late ioy, to begin those stirs which hee had before with himselfe plotted, & so to make a head, whereunto he might afterward ioine the body also: for why, that worthy *Mustapha* had left behind him so great desire of himself, that now it wearied many to liue after him, they had so placed al the hope of their good fortune in him, vnto whom nothing was more desired than to reuenge the wrong don vnto him, or els to run the same hard fortune with him: other some guilty of the immoderat affection they had born vnto him yet liuing, & fearing to be called to giue an account thereof, thought any state better and more assured than that wherein they presently stood, & therefore sought all occasions of new stirs, and how to set all on a hurly burly: onely a captaine was wanting, *Mustapha* could not be again reuiued, yet might he be strongly supposed to liue. This deuice pleased *Baiazet*, as best fitting his purpose, being not ignorant of this disposition of the people. Wherefore by certaine of his most faithfull and trustie followers he found out a certaine obscure fellow of a notable audacitie, which should take vpon him the name & person of *Mustapha*, whose stature also & countenance and proportion of bodie differed not much from *Mustapha* himselfe: hee, as if hee had by chance escaped, first began to shew himselfe in that part of Thracia, which is aboue Constantinople, & lieth toward Danubius, not far from the countries of Moldauia & Valachia, & was for that cause both fittest for rebellion, & also best stored with horsemen, who of all others most honored *Mustapha*. Hither he comes as if it had bin from a long iourney, slenderly accompanied, and as if he had bin desirous at the first not to haue bin known; his followers being demanded (as it chanced) who it was, did rather fearefully giue them that asked occasion to gheese, than plainly to tell them, that it was *Mustapha*: neither did he himselfe much denie it: whereby the people became more and more desirous to know him. Which beginning thus laied, he afterward began to reioice of his fortunat comming thither, & to giue God thanks for his safe arriuall there amongst his friends: he tels them, That at such time as he was sent for by his father, hee durst not come into his sight, or commit himselfe vnto him in his furie, but by the counsell of his friends to haue with great promises persuaded one that was maruellous like vnto himselfe to go in his stead; by whose danger he might make proofe of his fathers minde towards him: who before he was admitted to the speech of his father, was without hearing miserably strangled, and so cast out before his pauilion: at which time there was many (as he said) which perceiued the deceit, but the greater part remained in errour, deceiued with the lineaments and countenance of the miserable dead man, who was much altered with the terrible paines of death, and supposing it to haue been him indeed that was slaine. Which thing as soone as hee vnderstood, he thought it not good longer to stay, but presently to flie and to prouide for his owne safetie: and so flying with a few of his owne folowers, thereby the more secretly and safely to escape; and hauing passed aboue Pontus by the people of Bosphorus, was now come thither, where hee was in good hope to finde much helpe and comfort

Baiazet Solymans younger sonne seeketh to aspire vnto the Empire.

The crafty dealing of the supposed Mustapha to deceiue the people.

A counterfeit Mustapha set vp to make a head of rebellion.

fort in the fidelitie of his friends, whom he requested not now to forsake him, or to make lesse account of him disgraced by the malice of his stepmother, than they had before in time of his prosperitie. For that he was minded to reuenge the iniurie done vnto him, and by force of armes to defend himselfe: for what els he now lefte being by no other meanes preserued, but by the death of another man: that he had sufficiently proued how his father stood affected towards him, and that he now liued by his mistaking, not by his kindnes. The cause of all which his troubles was his stepdame, who (as he said) with her inchantments led the silly old man (now almost doating for age, and mad for loue) whither she would at her pleasure, and by her agent *Rustan Bassa* forced him forward headlong into all kinde of mischiefe: but that God be thanked he wanted not his friends, by whose help he would finde a way out of these miseries, & take reuenge of his enemies: for why, he had as yet courragious hearts, & the Ianizaries with the greater part of his fathers family on his side, & that great multitudes of people would flock vnto him vpon brute of his name: so that they which did now mourn for him as dead (in number many) would by heaps run to help him being aliue: so that they there present would only curteously receiue him as a guest, & protect him now distressed, til such time as his welwillers & friends might repaire vnto him. And this at last he gaue out not in secret, but openly to all men whersoeuer he came. The same things did they also report, whom he made the people to beleeue to haue been the companions of his flight: which was also confirmed by diuers of good account & authority, whom *Baiazet* had before dealt withall to that purpose. So that a great number of men altogether vnknown to *Baiazet*, were by that means seduced: for this matter was so cunningly wrought, that many of them that had known *Mustapha* aliue, & seen him laid dead before his fathers pauilion, yet listed not greatly to beleeue that which they knew, but easily suffred themselues to be persuaded that this was the true *Mustapha*. But the companions and followers of *Mustapha* (in whose mindes the liuely countenance and remembrance of him was thorowly ingrauen) nothing could deceiue: yet blinded partly with feare, partly with griefe & desire of reuenge, & wishing rather to aduenture any thing, than longer to liue without *Mustapha*, were the first men that came to offer their seruice to this counterfeit *Mustapha*: & would not suffer other men to doubt but that this was the very *Mustapha*, which it was falsly reported to haue bin slain. As for the deceiuer himselfe, he either kept with him, or entertained them that came, some with faire promises, some with curteous speeches, & many also with mony & rewards, which he made them beleeue he had reserued of the relicks of his better fortune: for *Baiazet* had before notably prouided, that nothing should in this behalfe be wanting vnto him for the countenancing of his credit. So within the space of a few daies such a multitude of men was resorted vnto him, as might almost haue made a whole army. When *Solyman* vpon the sudden was aduertised by the fearefull messengers & letters of the Sanzacks therabouts, what a danger was like to ensue by the concourse of so great a multitude of people to this counterfeit *Mustapha*: he presently suspecting (as the truth was) that this was not done without the priuity of one of his sons, thought it not a thing to be neglected, & therefore by his letters reproued the Sanzacks therby, that they had suffred the matter to run so far, & had not in the beginning as their duty was suppressed the fame; grieuously threatning them, if they did not with all speed send vnto him in bonds that counterfeit companion with the rest of his complices. Which that it might be the easilier by them performed, he promised to send one of the chief Bassa's, namely *Partau Bassa* (who had maried the widow of *Mahometes* the eldest son of *Roxolana*, of whom we haue before remembred) & with him a strong power of the souldiers of the court: but if they would haue themselues excused, that they should of themselues dispatch the matter before the comming of that aid. This *Partau* led after him certain squadrons of soldiers, not so many in number, as notable for their fidelity: for *Solyman* had caused the most faithful of his colonels, captains, & corporals, to be culled out; wisely doubting lest his soldiers, either led with affection, or corrupted with reward, might take part with him against whom they were sent. For the common sort of the Ianizaries standing in suspence at the fame of *Mustapha*, & expectation of some great nouelty, fauored that broile, & wished all on a hurly burly: neither was the matter indeed without danger. The Sanzackes after they had receiued this strait charge from *Solyman*, considering how much it stood them vpon to make a speedie dispatch, began now to incourage one another to bestir themselues, to make all the speed possible, and with all their power on euery side to oppose themselues against the attempts of this

Solyman angrie with the Sanzackes, for not suppressing the supposed Mustapha, sendeth Partau Bassa against him.

new found *Mustapha*, laboring to stay such as were comming vnto him, and dispersse such as were already come, by shewing them the greatnes of the danger, & threatning them with all extremities. In the meane time *Rustan Bassa* came out with his army, & was not (as in like case it oftentimes falleth out in things more yet sufficiently confirmed) by celeritie prevented) the souldiers of the contrerie *Mustapha* seeing themselues beset on euery side, began to feare, and at first some few to slip away; but afterwards all, without regard of shame or of their promist, to forsake their captaine and flie euery man whither he thought best. The captain seeking likewise to haue made shift for himselfe, was with the chiefe of his counsellors and followers taken by the Sanzacks and deliuered to the Bassa, who with a strong guard sent them all in bonds to Constantinople: where *Solyman* by most exquisite torments drew from them all the secret deuices of his yong son *Baiazet*, and that he had purposed after such a head made by this supposed *Mustapha*, as he thought conuenient to haue vpon the sudden ioyned himselfe with a great power, and to as should best serue for his purpose, to haue gone directly to Constantinople, as he did against his brother *Selymus*. But whilst he goeth somwhat slowly about his businesse, his yonger counsels were by his fathers celeritie oppressed. Of which matter *Solyman* now throughly allured, caused the supposed *Mustapha* and his companions at midnight to be drowned in the sea, thinking it not good to haue these things commonly knowne, and to haue his domesticall wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of his neighbor Princes. Neuerthles hee mightily offended with *Baiazet* for so great an insolencie, hee ceased not to cast in his mind how to be reuenged vpon him; which his wife *Roxolana*, a woman of great wisdome, was not ignorant of. Who after a few days, at such time as the old mans fury was ouerpast, talking of purpose into talke with him about the matter, she laid together in her sons behalfe, and alledged the indiscreetnesse of youth, the necessity of the fact, and the example of his ancestors in like case, that it was so prouided for by nature, that euery man should be carefull of himselfe and his, and that all men did indifferently shun death, that young men were by euill counsell easily seduced and made to forget their dutie. That it were reason hee should forgiue him this first fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gain for the father to haue saued his son: but if he should again fall into a relapse, there would not want time to punish him for both faults: And that it so be he would not pardon him for his own sake; yet he would vouchsafe to pardon him for hers, entreating now for him for whom she had before groaned, and not to be cruell vpon him, one of the pledges of their loue, in whome rested the blood of them both: for in what wofull case should she be, if of those two sons (all that God had left her) the fathers seuerity should bereaue her of the one? Wherfore she requested him to moderat his anger, & to prefer his clemencie before his iust indignation: forasmuch as God himselfe of all power and might, did not alwaies deale with sinners in seueritie, but for most part in mercie; whereas otherwise all mankind would not suffice his wrath. And would mercie in any place be more fitting, than in the father towards his child? Shee promised further, that *Baiazet* should from thenceforth remain in most dutifull obedience towards his Maiesty; & vpon his so great clemencie, to conuert the feare wherin he now liued, into a world of dutie and deuotion. Honorable minds (she said) were retained with nothing more than with kindenesse and curtesie, that the remembrance of that his fatherly forgiuenesse should be a stay vnto him, for euer doing the like againe: at last, that she would promise for him, and take vpon her, that he should for euer afterwards satisfie his fatherly expectation in all kind of dutie & loyaltie. Which words mingled with teares and other womanly gestures, so wrought with *Solyman*, being otherwise too much in her power, that he resolued to forgiue the fault: yet so, that hee should come and submit himselfe, and receiue from him his charge. This carefull mother foreslowes no time, but by letters secretly aduertised *Baiazet* not to feare to come vnto his father at such time as he should be sent for: assuring him that there was no danger; for that his father was by her means appeased; and he againe brought into his fauor. With which good news *Baiazet* well comforted, resolued to go at such time as he was sent for: yet full of feare, and often times looking backe vnto his brother *Mustapha*, whose dreadfull example sufficiently warned him what a danger he aduentured himselfe vnto. Yet he came to the place appointed for the parley, which was in a common Inne at a place called Carestran a few miles from Constantinople: for such is the suspicious manner of the Turkish Tyrants of these times, not to suffer any of their sonnes that be men growne, to set their foot within the gates of Constantinople,

Mustapha and his companions drowned by night.

Roxalana intreateth Solymã for Baiazet her yonger son, and obtaineth his pardon.

Baiazet goeth to his Father in feare.

people, as dangerous for soliciting the soldiers of the court, and so consequently for the altering of the State. *Baiazet* was no sooner lighted from his horse, but his fathers gard was presently readie to receiue him, commanding him to lay aside his sword and dagger: which thing though it be a vsuall matter in others that are admitted to the presence of the Turkish Emperour, yet might it then in the mind of his guiltie son raise a great feare. But his kind mother (who had before foreseene in what feare and perplexitie he would come) had conueied her selfe into a chamber fast by the entrance of the same house as *Baiazet* was to passe, where out at a little casement couered with a thin linnen cloath, shee called vnto him in passing by, in these few words, *Corcoma oglan, corcoma*; which is as much to say, *Feare not my son, feare not*: with which short speech *Baiazet* was not a little both comforted and encouraged. But as soone as he was come into his fathers presence, and had done his dutie, *Solyman* commanded him to sit downe by him: then began the grim sire grieuously to reproue him of rashnesse and want of discretion in taking vp armes, which he could not otherwise conceiue of but as taken vp against himselfe. And admit they were as he would haue it, and the best that he could make of it, taken vp against his elder brother, yet was it neuertheless a great presumption and most wicked fact. Neither was there any want in him, but that the whole state of the Mahometan religion (which at this day resteth vpon the *Othoman* Family) had by his domesticall discord bin sore shaken, and brought in perill of vtter ruine, to the great iniurie, reproch, and contempt of his Maiestie, a most detestable and horrible crime, which could not with condigne punishment be reuenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, & to shew himselfe rather a kind father, than a seuere judge; so that he would from thenceforth leaue the care of future things to God: forasmuch as none of these things are done by our appointment, but that kingdomes and monarchies are bestowed as best pleaseth him: so that if it were his destinie to enioy the Empire after his death, he should be sure thereof as of a thing that would of it selfe come vnto him, and was not by any mans power to be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him: but if it were otherwise appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labor in vain to striue against the will of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherfore he should now as one well warned, cease to rage and storme, and not to molest his quiet brother, or trouble him his aged father: for that if he should againe fall and raise new stirs, it would assuredly fall vpon his owne head, neither would any place of mercie be found for his second offence, and that he should then find him not as now, his gentle father, but a most seuere and reuenging judge. Which when he had said, and *Baiazet* had therunto briefly answered as the time would permit, rather crauing pardon for his trespasse, than excusing that was not to be excused, and promising from thenceforth to liue most loyally at his command; *Solyman* according to the manner of that nation called for drinke, which he commanded to be giuen to *Baiazet*, who not daring to refuse it, although he had rather haue so done, dranke thereof what he thought good, doubting lest that should haue bin his last: of which feare his father forthwith deliuered him by drinking a good draught of the same cup. So *Baiazet*, though guiltie, hauing with better successe spoken with his father than had his brother *Mustapha*, returned againe to the former place of his charge.

Roxolana comforteth her Son Baiazet.

Solyman reproueth Baiazet of disloyalitie, and afterward pardoneth him.

Baiazet returneth to his charge.

This hapned in the yeare 1555, from which time *Baiazet* so long as *Roxolana* his mother liued, behaued himselfe with all dutifull & brother kindnes both towards his father & his brother; and that rather for to keepe her fauor, and not to cut off the hope which he had onely in her affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his fathers kindnes, or for any loue he bare to his brother; the regard of her being the onely thing that kept his fierce nature in quiet. But she dead about two yeres after, he as a man bereft of all hope of long life, & discharged of all bonds of dutie, fell to his former course, & began more grieuously than before, to reuiue the old grudges betwixt him and his brother, sometime seeking by secret practises to haue him made away, and other somtimes by open force entring into his prouince, which was not far off, there euil intreated some of his brothers followers as he light vpon, for their masters sake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the disgrace of him whom of all other he wished dead. He had also certain of his fauorits at Constantinople, by whom he cunningly wrought by al means to gain the loue of the soldiers of the court, & doubted not as occasion serued to passe ouer thither himself, and there to lurke in secret with such as were of his faction, and priuie to his designements. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledge, but especi-

especially by letters from *Selymus*, wherin he was also aduised to haue e[illegible]is own safety; G
for that he was far deceiued, if he perceiued not, that these preambles of *Ba[illegible]* wicked intentions, would at last turn vpon his head, who regarded neither God nor man, so that he might alone raigne: vnto whose vnruly desires his fathers welfare was no lesse a bar, than was his brothers, and therfore through his sides was his life shot at. which treason had (as he said) been of long time plotted, and now occasion sought to haue the same performed: wherfore he should take heed that he were not by such trecherie ouerwhelmed before he were aware therof: That for himselfe he could easily beare with the iniuries of his brother *Baiazet*, yet could not chuse but be moued with the greatnesse of his fathers dangers. By which meanes *Solymans* hatred against *Baiazet* was still [illegible]e and more increased, Wherfore he by letters put him in remem- H
Solyman admonisheth Baiazet of his dutie. brance of his dutie, how [illegible]reously he had vsed him, and again what he had on his part promised; that there would not alwaies be place for forgiuenes; that he should therefore cease to wrong his brother and trouble his father; that he had but a short time to liue, and that after his death God would assigne each of them their fortunes. But all this was to no purpose [illegible] *Baiazet*, fully set down to hazard whatsoeuer, rather than as a beast to haue his throat cut by his brother: which thing he as plainely saw would betide him in the raigne of *Selymus*, as if it had bin euen then in execution. Yet he answered to his fathers commands not impertinently, but his deeds agreed not with his sayings, neither did he alter any thing of his intended purpose. Which thing as soone as *Solyman* perceiued, he thought it best to take another course, and to
Solyman remoueth his two sonnes farther asunder. remoue his sons both farther from himselfe, and also farther the one from the other. Where- I
fore he gaue them to vnderstand, That it was his pleasure that both of them within a certaine prefixed time should depart out of their gouernments (*Baiazet* being then gouernor of Cutai, and *Selymus* of Magnesia) and that now *Baiazet* should remoue to Amasia, and *Selymus* to Iconium. *Selymus* was without imputation, and altogether in fauor with his father: yet because no occasion should be giuen *Baiazet* to fall into extremities if he should haue been remoued alone, *Solyman* to seeme indifferent, commanded them both to remoue: vnto which command it was adioined, that the farther they were off one from another, they should be so much the neerer in mind and brotherly loue: forasmuch as neerenesse of dwelling of the Great, did manie times hinder their good agreement, whilest by forwardnesse of officers many things are on both sides done to the grieuing of their masters: and that they should in any case doe as they K
were commanded, and that he which staied longest should not be free from the suspition of contempt. *Selymus* made no long stay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be done for his
Baiazet vnwilling to go to Amasia, seeketh delaies. sake: but *Baiazet* hung backe, and being gone a little on his way, staied, complaining of the vnlucky prouince of Amasia, stained with the bloud of his late brother the noble *Mustapha*, to be assigned vnto him as ominous, and that he could be better contented with any prouince whatsoeuer, than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miserable end of the neerest to him in bloud, should be euer before his eies, to the wounding of his heart: Wherefore he requested that he might at least Winter in those places, or els there from whence his brother was now departed: but *Solyman* would in no wise hearken vnto him. Now *Selymus* gon before certaine daies journies with such troups as his father had sent him beside his owne, for feare of *Baiazet*, L
who yet staid loitring and trifling on the time, suddenly returning and fetching a compasse about, shewed himselfe at his brothers backe, marching towards Prusa in Bythinia, the antient seat of the Turkish kings; which he did not without the priuitie of his father, who liked not of the lingring of *Baiazet*: for what if he, hauing gained the good will of the Ianizaries, should haue gon either to Prusa, or directly to Constantinople? what a danger might haue growne therby to *Selymus*, yea vnto the whole state in general? In this common feare, *Solyman* thought it best for *Selymus* there to stay, from whence they might most conueniently help one another, if *Baiazet* should (as was feared) turne himselfe vpon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* so strong as to aduenture to ioine battell with his brother, whom he knew readie to put all to the hazard of one day. But when *Baiazet* (contrary to his expectation) saw *Selymus* behind him, and that he had got nothing by his long delay, but that his brother should be the vndoubted M
heire of the empire if his father should die, which was then by reason of his sickly constitution of bodie daily more and more feared: he writ vnto his [illegible]ther, accusing his brother, That he could not more manifestly in any thing declare how mal[illegible]ously he was affected towards him, than by taking that indirect course, to no other purpose but to aspire vnto the Empire, and to
haue

[illegible]aued a short cut ouer to Constantinople, if he should haue any news of his fathers death, which he still gaped after: which his longing, if his fathers longer life should delay, then by the secret ministers of his treason to dispatch him, and by the murdering of him to possesse himselfe of the empire: and yet neuertheless, this man as a most dutifull and obedient sonne, to be of him much made of, and as it were put in his bosome. Wheras he on the contrary part meaning wel, into whose conceit neuer any such thought came, but was euer at command, was not had in any regard, but cast off and contemned, whose greatest request was but to shun an vnfortunat ominous prouince. After that, he conuerted his stile to prayers, requesting againe of his father, to gratifie him with some other prouince, if it were but that from which his brother was depar-
B ted, or with any other whatsoeuer, so that it were more luckie than that of Amasia: for answer whereof he said he would stay where he was, to the end that finding fauour in his request, hee should not haue need further to retyre: but if he should not obtaine his request, that then he was readie to go whithersoeuer his father should command. It was not altogither for nought that *Baiazet* found fault with Amasia; being the manner of the Turks, of the smallest things of all to diuine vpon the greatest. But *Solyman* vnderstood the matter otherwise; who not ignorant of his sons teares, knew right well, that he in them sought for nothing els but a more commodious place for him to raise new stirs in, than was Amasia, so far distant from Constantinople. So *Baiazet* by many delaies did what he could to frustrat his fathers appointment, ceasing not in the meane time to augment his strength with new soldiers, to prouide armor, mony, and whatsoeuer els seruing for defence of himselfe, and the impugning of his brother. Which *So-*
C *lyman* tooke in no other part, than as intended against his owne person: yet would he seeme as not to haue any such vnderstanding of the matter: for why, the warie old sire would not by taking knowledge thereof, driue headlong his son, who was alreadie running too fast of himselfe. Besides that, he was not ignorant that the eyes of all nations were bent vpon this discord of his two sons; and therefore he desired by all means, that these grudges might be with as little stir as was possible, appeased. Wherfore he answered *Baiazet* curteously, That concerning his gouernment of Amasia, he could not alter it, as resolutely set downe as well for his brother as himselfe, and that therefore they should do well to go both to their appointed places, as he had before commanded. As for the rest, they should be of good comfort, for that hee would take such order, as that neither of them should haue iust cause to complaine. *Partan Bassa* the *Solyman to bee sure that his two sons should goe to their appointed Prouinces, sendeth Partan and Mehemet, two of the Vizier Bassa's, to see the same brought thither.*
D fourth of the great Bassa's of the court was appointed to go with this message to *Baiazet*, and *Mehemet* third of the same great Bassa's with like charge to *Selymus*, because the matter should seeme to be done with all indifferencie: and both of these great men commanded not to depart from them they were sent vnto, before they were both come vnto the places of their gouernment whereunto they were assigned. Which *Solyman* wisely did, to keepe them both within the compasse of dutie by the presence of such two graue counsellors. Which thing *Selymus* tooke in good part, but *Baiazet* not so: who hauing resolued with himselfe to set all on a hurly burly, thought nothing more vnfit for his designes, than to haue one of his fathers greatest counsellors still at his elbow as Censor of all his speeches and doings: wherfore hauing curteously entertained him, and rewarded him according to his abilitie, he dismissed him (though
E vnwilling to depart) making this excuse, That he would vse him as his patron and defender *Baiazet sendeth Partan Bassa backe againe to his father.* with his father, forasmuch as he had no other in court to defend his cause, promising not to be vnto him an vnworthie or vnthankfull client: and to carry word backe againe vnto his father, That he would aboue all things haue care of his command, if he might so do for his brother *Selymus*, whose iniuries and trecheries he had much adoe to brooke. *Partan* the great Bassa so sent away, assured *Solyman* what the very mind and purpose of his yonger son was. And albeit that *Baiazet* to make it seeme as if something had been done by that embassage, made shew as if he would haue presently gone towards Amasia: yet *Solyman* neuertheless fearing the worst, *Solyman makes preparation against Baiazet, and sendeth aid to Selymus.*
made al the preparation he could against him, commanding the Beglerbeg of Græce, although then sicke of the gout, to make hast, and with his horsemen to passe ouer with all speed to aid
F *Selymus*: and *Mehemet* Bassa but lately returned, he sent forthwith backe again for the same purpose to *Selymus*, with certain of the most trustie companies of the Ianizaries; and the old man in readinesse, made semblant as if he would himselfe in person haue gone ouer also. But the Ia- *The Ianizaries vnwilling to go against Baiazet.*
nizaries and other soldiers of the court came with euill will together, detesting that warre be-
tweene the brethren, as altogether abhominable: for against whom should they draw their
swords?

swords? was it not against the Emperors son, and happily the heire of the [illegible]ire? Wherfore this war might (as they said) well enough be let alone, as altogither vnnecessa[illegible], and not they to be inforced to imbrue their hands one in anothers bloud, & to pollute themselues with such impietie: as for that which *Baiazet* did, was to be holden excused, as proceeding from necessitie. Which speeches of the Ianizaries being brought to *Solymans* eares, he forthwith declared them to the Muphti (who in all matters of doubt they flee vnto as vnto a most sacred Oracle) demanding of him, how he was to be intreated, who of himselfe presumed whiles he yet liued, to leuie soldiers, raise an armie, ransacke townes, and trouble the state of the whole Empire? and what also he deemed of them that were his followers and tooke part with him? and last of all, of them also that refused to beare armes against him, and said that he had in so doing nothing offended? Whereunto the Muphti answered, That both the man and his part-takers were all worthy of death, & that such as refused to take vp arms against him, were as prophane and irreligious men, to be accounted intestable. Which the great priests answer was published vnto the people, and by the chiefe Chiaus sent to *Baiazet*, to see if he might be therewithmoued. Within a few days after, there came to Constantinople one of the Chiaus (whom *Baiazet* had intercepted, being sent from *Solyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Baiazet* gaue his father to vnderstand, That he was in all dutie his, and that he had not taken vp armes against him, neither refused to be vnto him in all things obedient; but that he had only to do with his brother, and with him to fight for his life, by whose sword he must die, or els he by his, for that a mischief was to be by one of them performed: which quarrel he was resolued to trie whiles he yet liued, and that therefore he should do best not to meddle in the quarrell, or giue aid to either. But if so be he would needs (as the report was) passe ouer the sea to aid *Selymus*, he should not thinke easily to get him into his hands, for that he knew right well, if the worst came, how to escape and saue himselfe; and would before he could get ouer into Asia, make such spoile with fire and sword, as neuer had *Tamerlane* or other the cruellest enemy of the Turks that euer was. Which message did not a little trouble *Solyman*. And withall it was reported, That the towne of Axuar, where one of *Selymus* his sons ruled as Sanzacke, was alreadie taken by *Baiazet* and shamefully sacked. But *Selymus* hearing that his brother was gon toward Amasia, and now on his way as far as Ancyra, being out of all suspition of danger which he feared vpon the way so long as his brother was yet lingring in those quarters, hasted now towards Iconium, which was with a strong garison kept for him: for amongst other cares wherwith *Solyman* was vexed, it was not the least, That *Baiazet* intercepting Iconium, should get into Syria, and from thence into Ægypt, an open countrey, and not yet thorowly established vnder the Turkish gouernement, neither forgetfull of the old gouernment of the Mamalukes, and therefore desirous of change: from whence it would haue been an hard matter to haue driuen *Baiazet*, especially the Arabians being alwaies readie and at hand at euery light stir, where any hope of prey was: out of which prouince also in case of extremitie he might easily transport himselfe into any of the Christian kingdomes. *Solyman* therefore tooke great care, that this passage, which might seem the last refuge of *Baiazets* deuices, might be stopped vp; and concerning the same, had giuen commandement vnto most of his commanders in Asia, to be alwaies in readines to aid *Selymus* whensoeuer he should call. With them *Selymus* lay incamped vnder the walls of Iconium, attending euery stirring of *Baiazet*, resoluing there to expect further aid from his father, and not by vntimely fight to commit his safetie to the hazard of one doubtfull battell. But *Baiazet* on the other side not vnmindfull what a matter he had taken in hand, slept not thereupon, but first entertained a valiant sort of horsemen which the Turks call Chiurts, and are supposed to be of that people which were somtimes called Gordij, men for their knowne valour famous. He yet lay in the plain and open fields by Ancyra, of the commodities of which city (which were indeed great) he made great vse: In the castle thereof he bestowed his concubines & children; of the rich merchants he tooke vp mony to be repaid with the vse vpon the good successe of the war; and from thence he tooke whatsoeuer was needfull for the arming and furnishing of his men. Besides his own family, which was very great, and those Chiurts which we spoke of, many repaired vnto him which had bin in former time beholden to his mother, his sister, and *Rustan* the great Bassa; many also of the reliques of the valiant *Mustapha* and *Achomates* the great Bassa, valiant men and expert souldiers, who desired to reuenge the vnworthie death of their Lords and Masters, euen with their owne. Neither was there wanting an exceeding

Baiazet his message to his Father, requesting him not to meddle betweene him and his brother.

Selymus departeth towards Iconium.

Baiazet taketh at Ancyra, and there raiseth his Power.

A rablement of such as wearie of their present state, desired some new innouation & change. The commiseration also of the state of the vnfortunat *Baiazet*, easily drew many to take part with him, whose whole trust was in his valor: they fauored the yong prince, liuely resembling his father: when as in *Selymus* appeared no likenesse of himselfe, but the expresse lineaments of his mothers face and bodie, a woman whilest she liued generally hated of all the people: hee went heauily as ouercharged with his greasie paunch, blub cheeked, and exceeding red faced; so that the souldiers in sport would say, he was fed with greene mault: he was altogether giuen to his ease, and spent his time in drunkennesse & sleep, neither was he courteous of speech nor willing to deserue well of any man; for he would not (as he said) offend his father by being popular, so was he only of his father beloued, & of all other men hated: of all kind of men B he most misliked of them that set all their hope in a bountifull & couragious prince. The same soldiers were also wont to call *Baiazet*, *Softie* (that is to say) a man giuen to quietnesse & study: but after they saw him take vp arms, & for the safegard of himselfe and his children ready to aduenture any thing, they began to admire him as a man of valor & courage: and to aske among themselues, Why his father should reiect him of such worth, the expresse image of himselfe, and preferre before him that gorbellied sluggard, in whom no sparke of his fathers valour was to be seen? This his entring into armes was no fault, being thereunto by necessitie enforced, for, had not *Selymus* their grandfather don the like? wherof no better example could be found; whom the force of necessity constrained not only to take vp armes against his brother, but also to hasten the death of his father; and by so doing, purchased vnto himselfe and his posterity C the empire: which so gotten, if *Solyman* did not vniustly possesse, why might not his son vse the same course? why should he so rigorously reuenge that in his son, that was so lawful in the grandfather? Although there was (as they said) great difference betweene that *Selymus* & this *Baiazet*; for that this man intended no harme against his father, but wished him long to liue; neither yet against his brother, if he might by his leaue but liue, if he would but once cease to do him wrong: that it was alwaies accounted lawfull to repell force by force, & to shun present death, if the Destinies would so permit. By such affections and motiues, *Baiazet* his power increased daily: which being now growne almost to the greatnesse of a full armie, he thought it not best to vse longer delay, but to march forthwith against his brother to fight with him D one battell for his life, state, and empire: accounting it some commendation (although in vain) to haue attempted so great an enterprise. His purpose was (as *Solyman* feared) to get into Siria, which if he could bring to passe, he then doubted not of the rest. *Selymus* strengthned with his fathers power, lay waiting for his comming before Iconium, wel appointed of all warlike prouision: his army was excceeding strong, and in it many notable commanders, martiall men of great experience, whom his father had ioined vnto him; who all lay couered with their great ordnance planted in places most conuenient. But *Baiazet* nothing terrified therewith, as soone as he came within sight of his brothers army, exhorted his souldiers in few words to play the men, for that now was come the time they wished for, and place for them to shew their valour in: wherefore they should shew themselues couragious and valiant, and he would make them E all rich and fortunate: he told them, that their fortune was now in their owne hands, to frame it euery man as hee would himselfe; so that if any of them were wearie of their present state, there was the field wherein they might exchange it with better and therein lay downe the miseries of their former liues: that of him they should if they ouercame, expect riches, promotion, honours, and whatsoeuer else, the rewards of valiant men: that with the victorie of one battell, all their desires should be satisfied, were they neuer so great: which victorie was by the valor which rested in them to be gotten, and his brothers army, the heartlesse followers of a heartlesse captain, ouerthrowne, for as his fathers souldiers that were with his brother, they were in bodie present, but in mind altogether on his side: that it was onely *Selymus* that withstood his welfare and their felicity, whom they should therefore valiantly seeke for in field as F their common enemie; and not to be a fraid of his multitude, forasmuch as victorie was to be gained, not by number, but by valour: and the most mightie God of heauen and earth was still present, not with the most, but with the bee: Besides that, he willed them to remember with what a cruell enemie they were to fight, who thirsted after nothing more than their bloud: And to conclude, he willed them all, not to looke vpon his words, but his deeds; and said, If as you shall see me fighting for your profit, you shal likewise fight for mine honor, I dare then assure

The description of Selymus.

Baiazet and his quarrell generally fauoured of the souldiers.

Baiazet his purpose.

Baiazet goeth against his brother.

The battell betweene Baiazet and Selymus.

sure you of the victory. Which said, hee with great courage charged the e[illegible] and fighting himselfe long time amongst the formost, and there performing all the parts of a valiant souldier, and worthie captaine, was for his notable valour no lesse commended of his enemies, than of his owne souldiers. The battell was bloudy and terrible, and many fell on both sides. But after that they with wonderfull obstinacie had a great while fought with doubtfull victorie, so

Forty thousand Turks slaine.

that fortie thousand Turks lay there dead vpon the ground; at length the victory began to encline to that side whereon stood the greater strength, the iuster cause and better counsell. Many of the enemies being slaine, and many of his owne people also lost, *Baiazet* was enforced to retire; which he did so leisurely, and without shew of any feare, that he seemed to the beholders, he had welneere as well gained as lost the field: neither durst *Selymus* pursue him, but stood still fast in the same place, neuer more glad of any thing, than to see his brothers backe. But *Baiazet* after he had in contempt of his fathers command thus run his owne course, and satisfied his owne desire, though disappointed of his purpose, and not able to performe the iourney by him intended into Syria, turned now his course, and began in good earnest to go to

Baiazet goeth to Amasia.

Amasia his appointed prouince.

Solyman speedily aduertised of the euent of this battell, forthwith passed ouer into Asia: for as the great Bassaes his counsellors thought it not conuenient for him to go ouer the strait before the victory; so after it was certainly knowne, they thought it not good longer to stay, lest the ouerthrow of *Baiazet* might giue occasion to such as secretly fauored his quarrel, to shew themselues, and so to raise greater troubles. Besides that, the fame of his passage ouer, would (as they said) much auaile both to the discouragement of *Baiazet*, and the terrifying of his friends: and therefore it was by them thought good, hastily to pursue him, now ouerthrown, and not to suffer him to gather courage by the example of his grandfather *Selymus*, *Solymans* father; who had bin more terribly vanquished than when he stood in his whole strength, and might seeme by that meanes to haue especially preuailed, for that he was at first vnfortunatly ouerthrowne. Neither were these things without reason foreseene; for it is almost incredible, what admiration and loue this battell (although vnfortunat) did get to *Baiazet*; men wondred that he durst with so small a power, and as it were but a handfull of men, encounter with his brother far better appointed, and also supported by his fathers strength: not fearing either the disaduantage of the place, or the furie of the great artillerie, and to haue behaued himselfe in the battell not like a young souldier, but like an old and expert commander. *Selymus* might at his pleasure boast of himselfe as they said (to his father) for the victory; but *Baiazet* was the man that deserued to haue ouercome: and that *Selymus* might to any thing ascribe the victorie, rather than to his owne valour.

These and such like speeches, as they made *Baiazet* gratious amongst the people generally; so doubled they his fathers cares, and increased his hatred, to wish him the rather dead. For why, he was resolutely set downe, not to leaue any other heire of his empire than *Selymus* his eldest son, alwaies loiall & obedient vnto him: whereas the other hee abhorred as stubborne and rebellious, gaping after the empire whilest he yet liued: of whom he was therfore so much the more to stand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valor, & for the aid he had now so openly giuen to *Selymus*. For these causes he passed ouer the strait into Asia, with purpose not to goe farre from the sea coast, but as it were a far off with his fauorable aspect to countenance *Selymus* his proceedings: doubting by comming too neere with his armie, to endanger himselfe by the sudden reuolt of the Ianizaries, which he aboue all things feared.

Angerius Busbequius Epist. 3. legationis Turcicæ.

I my selfe (saith the author of this historie) saw him departing out of Constantinople the first of Iune in the yere 1559, when as within a few daies after, I my selfe was also sent for thither: for the Bassaes thought it not amisse to haue me in the campe, and to vse me courteously as their friend, for which cause I was assigned to lodge in an Inne in a village neere to the campe, where I lay very well. The Turks lay in the fields round about: but lying there three months I had good leisure and opportunitie to see the manner of their campe, and in part to know the order of their martiall discipline. So I attiring my selfe in such apparell as the Christians commonly vse in those places, went vp and downe with one or two companions at my pleasure vnknown. First I saw the souldiers of all sorts most orderly placed, and that, which he would scarcely beleeue that knoweth the maner of our war, there was in euery place great silence, &

The order of the Turks campe.

as a man may say, dumbe quietnesse, no brawling, no insolencie, no not so much as a word or laughter passing in sport or drunkennesse. Besides that wonderfull cleanlinesse, no dunghils, no excrements that might offend either the eyes or nose, for all such things the Turks doe either bury or carry them far out of sight. They themselues so oft as they are inforced to discharge the burthen of nature, dig an hole with a spade and bury it, so is all their camp without filth. There was not to be seene any drinking or feasting, no dicing (the great shame of our wars) the losse of mony or time at cards or dice, the Turks know not. I met only with a rough Hungarian and his companions, a souldier, who heaule himselfe, to the Lute rather houled than sung a doleful dittie, containing the last words of a fellow of his dying of his wounds vpon the greene banke of Danubius, wherein he requesteth the riuer, because it ran to the place where he was borne, to carrie newes to his friends and countrymen, that he died an honorable death, and not vnreuenged, for the increase of his religion, and honor of his country: whereunto his fellowes sighing, bare a foot, *O happie and thrice happie wight, would Fortune with thee change we might.* For the Turks are of opinion, That no mens soules go more speedily to heaueh, than of such valiant men as die in battell, for whose welfare their maidens daily make prayers and vowes. I would also needs go through their butcherie, where their beasts were killed, to see what flesh was to be sold; where I saw but foure, or at most fiue weathers hanging ready dressed, and that was the butcherie for the Ianizaries, which I deemed to be in that camp not fewer than foure thousand. I maruelled that so little flesh should suffice so many men: but I was answered, That few of them did eat flesh, for that most part of them had their victuals transported from Constantinople. Then I demanding what it was, they shewed me a Ianizarie sitting by, who in an earthen dish had killed a turnep, an onion, a head of garlike, a parsenep, and a cucumber, all sauced with salt and vineger, or more truly to say, with hunger; whereon he fed as sauorly, as if they had bin feasants or partridges: his drinke was the common drinke of all liuing creatures, euen faire water. By which frugall kind of diet, they prouide both for the health of their bodies, and the sparing of their purse: and that I maruelled the more at, it was the time that their great fast, or to speake after our fashion, their Lent was at hand: at which time with vs Christians, euen in well ordered cities, much more in camps, all rings with playing, dancing, singing, crying, quaffing, carousing; and in briefe, with madding and phrensie. So that it is not vainely reported, That a Turke sent about that time embassadour into Germanie, comming home, reported, That the Christians on certaine daies did riot, and became mad, vntill they, besprinckled with a certain kind of ashes in the church, came to themselues again, and so recouered; and that it was a wonderful thing to see, how much they were changed by the efficacie of that remedy, that they seemed not to be the same men: meaning indeed the disordered maners of the Christians at Shrouetide, and the ceremonies vsed on Ashwednesday: Which thing they to whom it was told, so much the more maruelled at, for that the Turks haue many medicines which cause madnesse, but few or none which presently easeth the same. And they vpon those daies that goe before their great fasts, change nothing of their woonted manner of life to the worse: but rather contrariewise prepare themselues to abstinence, by taking somewhat from their vsuall fare, the better to indure the sudden change of their fast: which they so precisely obserue, that vpon their fasting dayes they will not so much as taste a cup of water, or wash their mouthes with water all the day long, before the stars appeare in the skie: which maketh their fasts, especially in Summer when the daies be long & hot, to be vnto them very tedious.

The opinion the Turkes haue of them that die in their warres.

The spare diet of the Ianizaries.

The precise maner of the Turkes in their fasts.

Whiles I thus lay in the campe, there came vnto me one *Albertus* a learned man with certaine Presents from the Emperor to *Solyman*, which were, certaine gilt plate; & a most curious clock, which was caried vpon an Eliphant like a castle; & some crowns to be dispersed among the Bassaes: which *Solyman* would needs haue presented vnto him in the campe in the sight of the whole armie, to make it the better knowne what friendship was betweene him and the Emperour, and that he needed not to feare any danger from the Christian Princes.

Presents sent from the emperor Ferdinand to Solyman.

But to returne againe to *Baiazet*, from whom we haue a while digressed: he after the battell at Iconium had retired himselfe to Amasia, the place of his gouernment, as though he would haue now there quietly liued, if his father would so giue him leaue. He had now satisfied his youthfull desires & griefe, and seemed willing from thenceforth to satisfie his fathers better expectation: and therfore ceased not by letters & fit men to prooue his fathers mind. Neither did *Solyman* shew himselfe strange from such a reconciliation: at first he easily gaue the messengers audience, read his sons letters, & courteously returned answer; so that it was commonly reported

Baiazet goeth to Amasia, and seeketh for his fathers fauour.

reported in the camp, that the father and the son would agree, and that the o[illegible]n would par- G
don the youthfull pranke alreadie past, so that he would from thenceforth [illegible]ame dutifull.
Solyman dissembleth with Baiazet. But al this was by the counsel of the Bassaes, nothing but deep dissimulation in the craftie old sire, vntill he had shut vp *Baiazet*, and so got him aliue into his hand: for it was feared, lest he despairing of pardon, should with such a power breake into the borders of Persia (now the only place left for his refuge) as might preuent the watchfull diligence of his lieutenants vpon those frontiers; whom *Solyman* charged by continuall letters so to stop all the passages into Persia, as that there should not be any crany for *Baiazet* to flie out by. In the mean time, if any came within his reach that were suspected to haue taken part with *Baiazet*, or fauored his proceedings, those he caused to be tortured & secretly made away, and among them some whom *Baiazet* had of purpose sent to excuse themselues. For *Solyman* fearing lest *Tamas* the Persian H
king (more mindfull of h[illegible]d quarrells than of the late inforced peace) should hardly with much adoe suffer his sonne to be got out of his hands if he should flie thither, and [illegible]ine raise a long and dangerous war; did therefore what he possibly might to oppresse him [illegible]re he should come thither. Which his purpose although it was coueted with al secrecie, yet was it not hidden from some of *Baiazet* his friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to trust his father, but to beware of treason, and in any case speedily to prouide for his owne safety. But *Solyman* thinking he had now so prouided as that he could by no means escape, and happily the more to deceiue his son, appointed to returne with his army to Constantinople the day after their Easter day. But *Baiazet*, vpon the very feast-day hauing performed the so-
Baiazet departeth into Amasia, with purpose to fly into Persia lemnities thereof, commanded all his things to be trussed vp at Amasia, and so set forward vp- I
on his vnfortunat iourney towards Persia; knowing right well, that he went to the antient enemie of the *Othoman* Family, but yet fully resolued to make proofe of any mans mercie, rather than to fall into the hands of his angrie father. Now were they all set forward, except such weake soules as were not thought able to indure the labour of so long a iourney, among whom was left *Solyman*, *Baiazet* his yongest sonne, but then newly borne; which guiltlesse babe, with his mother, *Baiazet* thought better to leaue vnto the mercie of his grandfather, than to take him with him, a poore companion of his wofull and miserable flight: whom *Solyman* as yet vncertain of his fathers fortune, commanded to be nursed at Prusa. *Baiazet* so gone from Amasia, vsed such celeritie in his trauell, that almost in euery place he preuented the fame of his comming, & light vpon many that were appointed to haue staid his passage, before they were K
Baiazet deceiueth the Bassa of Sebastia. ready or aware of his comming. The Bassa of Sebastia he thus deceiued: There was two waies, whereof the one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his iourney, and that the Bassa had already taken: wherefore he sent certain, as if they had bin fugitiues, to tell the Bassa that he was alreadie gone the other way. Which the Bassa beleeuing, left the place he had before taken, and rising with all his power to pursue him the other way, whereby it was told him he was gone, left that way free and open for him to passe by.

The Bassa of Erzirum deceiued by Baiazet. The Bassa of Erzirum he deceiued also by another not much vnlike shift: from whom when he was not farre distant, and knowing that in passing through his countrey, he was to endure great danger, he set vpon him with a wile, sending vnto him certain of his followers with com-
mendations: who afterwards lamentably complaining of the yong princes calamity, to moue L
the Bassa to pitty, at last requested that he would giue him leaue to shoo his horses in his territorie; telling him, that he came vnprouided of all things, & therefore desirous in that fruitfull country to refresh his horses a day or two, and to new shoo them. Whereunto the Bassa courteously answered, That he would not let him to take whatsoeuer he needed. But whether it was for the compassion that he had vpon the state of *Baiazet*, or for the secret loue he bare him, or that he thought by that means the easilier to entrap him, is doubtful; & happily preuented by *Baiazets* quick speed, had not as yet sufficient time to draw together his souldiers. He sent also vnto *Baiazet* certain small Presents, seeming to be glad of his welfare & comming: who neuertheless kept on his way, resting no part of the day, and but a little of the night. The Bassa of
Erzirum vnderstanding that *Baiazet* came still on, made what hast hee could also, and ioyned M
his power to the rest of the Bassaes which followed after: for many Bassaes and Sanzackes hearing that *Baiazet* was fled from Amasia, pursued fast after him, being charged by *Solyman* vpon pain of their heads to bring him back either aliue or dead: but all in vaine, by reason of his speedy departure, & for that he made more hast to flie, than they did to follow. Yet it [illegible] no
man

A man deerer than this Bassa of Erzirum, of whom we haue now spoken, whom *Solyman* for this cause displaced: and *Selymus* afterwards slew, with two of his sonnes, young stplings whom he had before in despight shamefully abused against nature. Yea *Selymus* himselfe and *Mahomet* the great Bassa, with the Berglerbeg of Grecia, followed also at [illegible]*Baiazet*, thought were a far off. This his departure grieued *Solyman* aboue measure, assuring himselfe as the truth was) *Solyman much grieued with the flight of his sonne.*
that he was fled into Persia: wherewith he was so much moued, that he could scarcely contain
B himselfe, but would needs haue gone with all his power in all hast against the Persian, to haue terrified him at hand from relieuing his rebellious son. But these his raging fits his graue counsellors moderated, by declaring vnto him what danger hee should aduenture himselfe vnto, by reason of the doubtfull faith of his best souldiers. And what if *Baiazet* (as he was a desperat and sudden man) should in the meane time turne about aboue Pontus and the fens of Moetis, and so fetching a compasse come to Constantinople, and proclaiming a generall libertie in his absence; possesse himselfe of the empire. By which wholsome persuasion *Solyman* staid his so hastiea iourney: but *Baiazet* all the way as he went, writ vpon the the gates and doores, That he would giue double pay to all such as should follow him: which caused *Solymans* captaines to haue their owne souldiers in distrust, and the more for that they might oftentimes heare amongst them, speeches of great good will and loue towards *Baiazet*.

After long flying, hee was at length come to the Riuer Araxis, which separated the Turkes *The eager pursuit of the Bassaes and Sanzackes.*
kingdome from the Persian; which hauing passed ouer, and yet not so in safetie, he left cer-
C taine of his followers vpon the banke of the riuer to keep the Sanzacks (who still eagerly pursued him) from passing ouer: whom the Sanzacks easily repulsed, & so passing the riuer, entred a great way into the Persian kingdome, vntill such time as that they were met withall by certain of the nobilitie of Persia with great troupes of horsemen; who demanding of them what they meant, and what they sought for in another mans kingdome, were answered by the Turkes, That they pursued their kings fugitiue sonne. To whom the Persians replied, That they did not well, contrarie to the league with their Lord and Master, to come in armes beyond the bounds of their owne kingdome; and that there was a strong league betweene king *Tamas* and *Solyman*, which it behoued them to regard: as for *Baiazet*, their king would consider what was conuenient for him to do, and not in that point forget himselfe: in the meantime they should
D do well to get them out of that countrey wherein they had nothing to doe. Whereupon the Turks forthwith left this pursuit and retired.

But by and by came messengers from the Persian King to *Baiazet* to salute him, and to demand the cause of his comming, and also to see what strength he brought with him; which as some account was about 20000. To whom *Baiazet* declared, That he by his brothers iniuries and fathers hard dealing, driuen out of his countrey, was fled vnto the sacred maiestie of the Persian king, as his most assured refuge, who, as he wel hoped, in compassion of mans instabilitie, would not reie& him so distressed, & otherwise destitute of all helpe. Whereunto the Persian replied, That he had done very vnwisely to come vnto him that was in league and amity with his father; wherof one condition was, That they should account the enemies of the one, the enemies of the other; and the friends of the one, the friends of the other. Which law to
E breake, he accounted a thing vtterly vnlawful: neuertheless seeing the matter was so falne out, *Baiazet wel entertained by the Persian king.*
he was welcome as vnto his friend, who in his behalfe would leaue nothing vnattempted to reconcile him to his father, which he despaired not to bring to passe. So *Baiazet* meeteth with the Persian king, but in an euil houre, although at their first meeting there was great welcome, friendly countenance, cheerfull lookes, mutuall kindnesse, often conference, and great feasting one of another; things whereby the secret thoughts of hollow hearts are best concealed: there was also a motion made of a straighter bond of alliance, & one of the Persian kings daughters promised to *Orchanes* one of *Baiazets* sons; and he put in hope that the Persian king would neuer rest in quiet, vntill *Solyman* had made him Gouernour either of Mesopotamia, Babylon, or Erzirum (which Gouernments were by the Persians greatly extolled) and that he might there
F liue without feare of his brother, farre from him and his father also; where if any thing should fall out otherwise than well, he might haue his brother the Persian king a sure refuge to retire vnto, and so safe from all danger. Which speeches were happily giuen out, of purpose to auert *Baiazet* his thought from the feeling of the present danger; who seemed vnto himselfe so assured of the loue and friendship of *Tamas* the Persian King, that at such time as hee sent
his

his embassadors to Constantinople, for a reconciliation to be made betwe[en] *Solyman* & him (as was commonly supposed) he willed the same embassador to tell his fa[ther] that he had lost a father at Constantinople, and found another in Persia. But whether the Persian dealt sincerely in this behalfe for *Baiazet* by his embassadors, which were many, may well be doubted. Like it is, that there was more fained shew of double diligence, than of true meaning there in, and the rather to feele the mind of *Solyman*, than to do any good to the poore distressed prince: & the rather, for that in the meane time all things were seriously plotted that might tend to his destruction. Which were no sooner growne to their full ripenesse, but there was of purpose a motion made, That such a multitude as followed this young Prince lay so close together, that there was not in one place victuall sufficient for them, and that it was therefore more conuenient to haue them billited in the countrie thereabouts; which would be more commodious, as well for the better victualling of them, as for diuers other purposes also. Truth was, that *Tamas* the Persian king, far vnlike his noble father *Ismael*, stood in doubt lest he brought vp a serpent in his bosome. Yet there were many which thought, that it was not the Persians mind at first to haue destroied *Baiazet*, but to haue bin thereunto enforced by the practise of some of his familiars and followers; who not regarding the courtesie of the Persian king, nor the lawes of hospitalitie, persuaded *Baiazet* to thrust him out of his kingdome: whereof there was many euident tokens. And among other things it was told king *Tamas*, that one of *Baiazets* chiefe captains should say, What meane we? why stay we to kill this hereticall king, and to possesse his kingdome? for we shall no doubt by his trecherie all come to destruction. And that vpon such occasion the king was constrained to condiscend to a deuise more necessarie than honourable. *Baiazet* had no great power, but most of them were valiant men, and souldiers of great experience, ready to aduenture vpon any thing: of whom the Persian not without cause stood in some feare. He knew his kingdome to be neither antient nor yet well assured, as gotten by his father by the counterfeit shew of a reformed religion: and who could assure him, but hat amongst so many nations ouer whom he lorded, but that there were many wearie of the present state, and so desirous of nouelties? vnto whom nothing could chance more fitting than the comming of *Baiazet*, a noble and valiant young gentleman; and that more was, desperatly set: that as yet he himselfe might of right rather seeme in the power of his guest, than he in his: and that therefore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertain him as his guest, but to coupe him vp as a most dangerous wild-beast. Which to do, the easiest way was to disperse his power, and so to take him vnawares; for that he could not without much bloudshed be openly taken in the midst of his strength, especially by the dainty Persian, of long time not vsed to war, and as yet not come together, against *Baiazets* souldiers, men of great actiuitie and experience. So was the matter cunningly imparted vnto him for the dispersing of his forces, and all the commodities to ensue thereof alledged: which *Baiazet* might not well gainsay, although many of his wise followers (men of great reach) did shrewdly suspect the sequell. But what could he refuse, vpon whom necessitie lay so heauie? where no other hope was left? where he liued as it pleased another man; and that again too, where once to doubt of the fidelitie of his hoast, might be imputed to him for the greatest trecherie? So these most valiant souldiers, the poore princes faithful followers, neuer again to see one another, are dispersed into diuers countrey villages, and bestowed where the Persians thought good. Not many daies after, at a time pickt out for the purpose, they in number few, & dispersed in a strange country, were inclosed by many and slaine: their horses, armor, apparell, and whatsoeuer els, became a prey vnto the murtherers. At the same instant was *Baiazet* and his sonnes cast in bonds also; and that to his greater griefe as many report, taken as he was sitting merrily at dinner at the kings table. The Persian king seemed to haue foreseene much in this his hard dealing with *Baiazet*: as if that he, being a valiant and couragious young prince, and much better soldier than his brother, should haue succeeded his father in his empire, much trouble and perill might haue grown thereby, both to himselfe and his kingdome: and that it stood far better with the safetie of his estate, that *Selymus* (a man wholly giuen to voluptuousnesse and ease) should raigne ouer the Turks; in whose time he might as it were promise vnto himselfe all peace and securitie: and therfore it was thought that he would neuer let *Baiazet* goe aliue out of his hand, but rather make him away in prison, as if he had there died for melancholy and griefe. Well he was assured, that after he had slaine his followers, and imprisoned himselfe and his sonnes, hee would neuer be friends

Tamas the Persian king in feare of Baiazet.

Baiazet his followers dispersed and slaine

Baiazet imprisoned.

friends with him that had so notably wronged him. *Baiazet* thus shamefully imprisoned, messengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two old Princes *Solyman* and *Tamas*. Amongst the rest, the Persian King sent a solemne Embassadour vnto the Turke with Presents, namely curious tents, costly carpets, an Alcaron containing the mysteries of their superstition, and certaine strange beasts. The cause of his comming was pretended to be for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* and his Sonne; which Embassador was honourably entertained and feasted by the great Bassa's. Now was poore *Baiazet* in small hope of life, his cruell father still craiuing to haue him deliuered into his hands to be slaine: and the Persian yet denying to deliuer him, and seeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogether faithfully. *Solyman* left no meanes vnattempted to haue wrung him from the Persian; sometimes he spake him faire, putting him in mind of his league, wherein it was agreed, That they should both haue the same friends and the same enemies: otherwhile he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of war, except he would deliuer him his sonne: he furnished with strong garrisons all the frontiers of his dominion towards Persia; he filled all Mesopotamia and the bankes of the riuer Euphrates with soldiers, especially with them of his owne guard, and such as hee had before vsed in the battell against *Baiazet*; ouer whom commanded *Mehemet Bassa* the third of the Visier Bassa's, and *Selymus* the Beglerbeg of Græce (for *Selymus* was soone wearie of the field, and so betime returned home:) he also incited the Georgian people to take vp armes against the Persians: who wisely answered, That they had not such confidence in their owne strength, as to prouoke king *Tamas*; but let *Solyman* himselfe come with his armie, and when they saw him present in the field, then they knew what they had to do, & that he should then well see that they wanted neither discretion nor valour. And because he would leaue nothing vnproued, he made shew as if he would in person himselfe haue gon to Aleppo in Syria, and so haue on that side inuaded the Persian: neither was the Persian king altogether out of feare, hauing to his cost many times prooued what *Solyman* was able to doe. But the vnwillingnesse of the souldiers, and their mindes altogether estranged from that warre, easily staied the raging Turke: they detested that warre, and forsooke their ensignes, a great number of whom (especially horsemen) without leaue of their Captaines returned to Constantinople: and beeing commanded againe to the campe, went indeed, but with such countenance and cheere as well declared how they were affected, & what they would do if occasion serued for them to reuolt.

The Persian king sendeth Embassadors with presents to Solymã.

For which cause, after that *Solyman* perceiued that *Baiazet* could not aliue be got from the Persian (excusing himselfe by feare of reuenge by him whom he had so grieuously offended, if he should by any meanes escape) he thought it best to follow that which was next, and to haue him there slaine; which he was in good hope to compasse, and the rather, for that the Persian had but lately written vnto him, That he could not but much maruell to see him deale so slenderly in a matter of so great importance: That he on his part had sent him diuers embassadors; & that he on the other side had sent him nothing but common messengers with papers, which caused him to thinke that he made no great account of the matter: wherefore he should doe well to send vnto him men of account and place, with whom he might confer and conclude also according to the weightinesse and exigence of the cause: besides that, he was (as he said) not a little in his debt, for that *Baiazet* and his followers had beene vnto him no small charge before he could get him into his power: all which it were good reason he should haue consideration of. Whereby *Solyman* perceiued, that mony was the thing the Persian king sought after; and therefore rather than he would in an vnfit time of his life intangle himselfe in a dangerous and vnnecessarie war, he determined by the counsell of his Bassa's, rather with money than with the sword to fight with the Persian king. Herupon was *Hassan Aga* (one of the chiefe gentlemen of his chamber) appointed embassador into Persia, with whom was ioined the Bassa of Maras, a man both for his age and place, reuerend: who departing with a large commission almost in the depth of Winter, with great speed and wonderfull toile by those long and difficult waies, arriued at last at Casbin the seat of the Persian king, hauing by the way lost diuers of their seruants and followers. Being come to the Court, the first thing they desired was to see *Baiazet*, whome they found shut vp in a close prison, pale and wan as a man forlorne, with his haire and beard so long and ouergrowne, as that he was not to be knowne before he was new trimmed; which done, then appeared the liuely resemblance of his wonted countenance and fauor, so that *Hassan* verily knew him to be him: for he had beene brought vp with him of a childe

The cause why the Persian King would by no means let Baiazet get out of his hand.

The miserable estate of Baiazet

childe in the Court, and for this cause especially had *Solyman* sent him thither to be assured that it was he. At length after long discourse and conference betweene the King and the Embassadors, it was agree vpon, that the King should receiue from *Solyman* full recompence of all the charges he had been at, and of the harmes by him sustained since the comming of *Baiazet* into Persia, with such further reward as so great a good turne deserued: which things performed, that then it should be in *Solymans* power to haue *Baiazet* made away. With this news *Hassan* posteth to his master at Constantinople, who forthwith caused the promised reward, together with such charges as the Persian King demanded, to be made readie, and with a safe conuoy to be sent vnto the borders of Persia, where they were of the Persians receiued. Presently after returneth *Hassan* the appointed executioner of the vnfortunat *Baiazet*: for so *Solyman* had straitly charged him to strangle him with his owne hands. Which thing this new made hangman accordingly performed, and with a bow-string strangled the vnfortunate Prince; who is reported to haue requested of the executioner, that he might but see his children before he died, and take of them his last farewell: which poore request could not be granted, but he forthwith commanded to die. This was the wofull end of the vnluckie attempts of *Baiazet*, a Prince of far more worth than was *Selymus* his brother, who in seeking to shun the death he feared, hasted the same before his time. Such as was the fathers end, was also the end of his foure sons, *Omer*, *Amurat*, *Selym*, and *Muhamet*: of whom the three eldest were strangled at Casbin with their father, whose dead bodies together with his, were solemnly brought to Sebastia and there buried. The yongest but new borne left at Amasia, and sent by his grandfather to Prusa (as is before said) to be there nursed, was now vpon the death of his father commanded by his said grand father to be strangled also. The Eunuch sent by *Solyman* to haue done the deed, and loth to do it himselfe, tooke with him one of the Porters of the Court, a desperate and otherwise a hard hearted Ruffian, a man thought fit to haue performed any villanie: he comming into the chamber where the childe lay, and fitting the bow-string to the childes necke to haue strangled him, the innocent babe smiled vpon him, and lifting it self vp as well as it could, with open armes offered to haue embraced the villaine about the necke and kissed him. Which guiltlesse simplicitie so wounded the stonie hearted man, that he was not able to performe the intended butchery of the poore simple child, but fell downe in a swoune and there lay for dead. The Eunuch standing without the doore maruelling at his long stay, goes in, and finding the ruffian lying along vpon the ground, with cruell hand performed that the other could not finde in his heart to do, and so strangled the guiltlesse childe as had bin giuen him in charge. Whereby it euidently appeared, that it was not the mercie or compassion of *Solyman* that so long caused the guiltlesse infant to be spared, but rather the opinion generally receiued amongst the Turks, who measuring all things by the good or bad successe, refer all things that fall out well, vnto God as the author thereof, be they neuer so vngraciously begun: and therfore so long as it was yet vncertain what successe the attempts of *Baiazet* would haue, *Solyman* spared the infant, lest vpon his fathers good hap he might seem to haue striuen against the will of God. But now that his father was dead, and his quarrell by the euill successe therof condemned as it were by the sentence of the Almighty, he thought it not good longer to suffer him to liue, lest of an euill Bird might come an euill Chicke. I had sometime (saith the reporter of this Historie) great reasoning with my Chiaus about this matter: for falling into talke with him of *Baiazet*, he began bitterly to inueigh against him for taking vp armes against his brother. Wherunto (saith this Author) I replied, That in mine opinion he was worthie both to be pitried and pardoned, for as much as he was of necessitie inforced either to take vp arms, or else shortly after to yeeld himselfe to the slaughter. But he still exclaiming against him, I said vnto him, You blame poore *Baiazet* of great wickednesse for bearing armes against his brother: but *Selymus Solymans* father you blame not, who vpon like occasion tooke vp armes both against his father and his brethren; yet he therein did nothing amisse, nor in your iudgement blame worthie. And rightly, (saith the Chiaus) for the euent of the matter sheweth sufficiently, that that which he did was done by the appointment of God, and that he was from Heauen predestinated thereunto: whereas in *Baiazet* the euent sheweth the cleane contrarie. So that which falleth out well, be it by neuer so wicked means compassed or brought to passe, they take it as done according to the will of God; but if it fall out otherwise, they iudge it as a thing condemned by God himselfe; depending wholly vpon the good or bad euent of things,

The agreement betweene the Persian king and Solyman for the destruction of Baiazet.

Baiazet and his foure sonnes strangled.

The rare force of innocencie.

things, and therefore iudging them to be well done, or otherwise.

This yeare 1558, *Charles* the fift that noble Emperor (of whome we haue in the course of this Historie so often spoken) who wearie of the world, had two yeares before deliuered all his hereditarie kingdomes and principalities to his sonne *Philip*, did now the 24 of Februarie, on which day he was borne, by his Embassadours solemnly sent for that purpose, resigne that Empire with all the honors and titles thereof vnto his brother king *Ferdinand*, requesting the Princes Electors to confirme the same vnto him, which they did the thirteenth of March next following. So liuing as a priuat gentleman in that solitarie life whereunto he had to the wonder of the world certaine yeares before retyred himselfe from all worldly affaires, the 21 day of September following died of a feauer, when he had liued 58 yeares, and thereof raigned 39: a man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongst the greatest Christian Emperors that liued before him. About which time also died his two sisters, *Mary* the Queene of Hungarie, and *Elenor* the French Queene, both Ladies of great honour.

1558 *Charles the emperour resigneth the Empire to his brother Ferdinand, and shortly after dieth.*

The Knights of Malta, who of long had beene suters to the great Bishop and the King of Spaine, for the recouerie of Tripolis in Barbarie, about nine yeares before taken from them by the Turkes; at which time they also surprised the Island of Zerbi vpon the coast of Barbarie betwixt Tripolis and Tunes, from whence they much troubled the Christians trauelling by those seas: had now at length so much preuailed, that the King commanded a great fleet to be now forthwith made readie in September in the yeare 1559, to meet together in Sicilia, and from thence to go directly against the enemie by Malta. Vnto which fleet, the great Bishop, the Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, with many other valiant men out of diuers parts of Christendome, joined their forces also; so that at length there was a hundred gallies and ships met together vnder the conduct of *Andreas Gonzaga* the Generall. But whilst this fleet from diuers places was long in comming thither, the Duke of Medina Cœli came before with part of the fleet to Malta, and in the hauen of Marza Moxet expected the comming of the rest, who about the end of the yeare came thither. But whilest they were wintered expecting the Spring, many of the souldiers fell sicke and died. At length the time of the yeare fit for their setting forward being come, the Captaines consulted among themselues, Whether they should first set vpon Tripolis, or the Iland of Zerbi, otherwise called Mening. The Knights of Malta being of opinion, that it were better first to besiege Tripolis, and that with all speed, before *Dragut* should come thither to furnish it with souldiers and prouision. Others thought it better first to inuade the Island of Zerbi, where the armie might be relieued with plentie of all things necessarie, and from whence they might at all times of danger in safetie retyre; and from thence afterwards as time should serue, to go to Tripolis. Which vnfortunate counsell was by the greater part agreed vpon. Wherefore in Februarie the yere following they departed from Malta, and sailed directly to Zerbi. In the meane time *Dragut* the most famous pyrat of that time amongst the Turks, and gouernor of Tripolis, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Ianizaries, and had notably strengthned the citie with men, victual, and new fortifications; and presently sent messengers to *Solyman* at Constantinople, to certifie him of the arriual of the Christian fleet in Affrick. But the Christians comming to the Island of Zerbi, were at the first landing incountred by the Moores, whom they repulsed, and so at pleasure landed. This Island is not far from the maine, here and there ful of bogs and marishes, other riuer hath it none, and in the middest is somewhat hilly. It was inhabited with about 30000 men, which dwelt in low cottages, simply apparelled: yet is the Island reasonable fertile, yeelding dates, oliues, barley, mill, and such like. When the Christians were there landed, they sent for *Caraunus* a poore King amongst the Moores (from whome *Dragut* had before taken that Island) to vse his counsell for their better proceeding in that war. In the meane time they agreed with 8000 men to besiege the strongest castle in the Island: in going whereunto, the Spaniards went foremost, the Germans next, and last of all the Italians. By the way as they went they light vpon 10000 Moores which lay in ambush in a wood, to haue vpon the sudden set vpon them vnawares; but being discouered, and 700 of them slain in skirmish by the Spaniards, the rest fled. So comming to the castle they planted their batterie, and laid hard siege vnto it. The Captaine of the castle finding himselfe too weake long to hold out, fled secretly with his Turks, leauing the castle for the Moores to defend; who vpon condition that they might in safetie depart, yeelded the Castle to the Spaniards: for keeeping whereof,

1559 *The Christian Princes set out a fleet for the recouery of Tripolis in Barbary*

1560 *The Christian fleet arriueth at the Island of Zerbi.*

The castle of Zerby taken by the Christians.

which time *Solyman* himselfe was come downe into a gallerie neere vnto the hauens mouth, adioining vnto his garden, the better to see the comming in of the fleet, and the Christian captaines set there to shew vpon the poupe of the Admirall gallie, namely, *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, *Don Billingerus de Requesenes*, all of late great commanders: as for the Christian gallies all disarmed and vnrigged, so to seem the more contemptible in comparison of the Turks, they were towed at the taile of the Turks gallies. They which then saw *Solymans* countenance, perceiued not in him any signe at all of any insolent ioy. I my selfe (saith * *Busbequius*, then the Emperour *Ferdinands* embassadour there) saw him two daies after going to the church with the same countenance he had alwaies, with the same seueritie and grauitie, as if this victorie had nothing concerned him, nor any thing chanced strange or vnexpected: so capable was the great heart of that old sire, of any fortune, were it neuer so great; and his mind so setled, as to receiue so great applause & reioycing without mouing. Within a few daies after, the Christian captiues (for almost starued with hunger) were brought to the court: many of whom could scarce stand vpon their legs. some others for weaknes fell down and died, and othersome died outright: they were all scornefully led in triumph, with their armes reuersed and scornfully put vpon them: the Turks in the meane time insulting round about them, promising vnto themselues the empire of the whole world: and vainly asking, What enemie they were to feare, now that the Spaniard was ouercome. *Aluarus Sandes*, as chiefe of al the prisoners, being brought into the Diuano before the Visier Bassaes, and demanded by *Rustan Bassa*, What his master meant, being not able to defend his own, to inuade other mens? answered, That it beseemed not him to iudge theron; and himselfe to haue done but his dutie, with such faithfulnes as was meet to put in execution what he was commanded by his lord, although he had no good fortune therein. After that, he besought the Bassaes vpon his knee, to speake for him vnto *Solyman*, for that he had at home a poore wife, with certain small children, for whom he requested him to spare him. Whereunto *Rustan Bassa* (contrary to his manner) courteously answered, his soueraigne to be of a mild and gentle nature, and that he was in good hope his pardon might be of him obtained: so was he commanded away vnto *Caradines* his castle, towards the blacke sea. But he was not gone far, but that he was called backe againe; for that the great Chamberlain, a man in great credit with *Solyman*, had not as yet seen him: for which cause he was sent for backe again; wherewith he was not a little troubled, fearing lest the Bassaes hauing changed their minds, would haue put him to death. The rest of the captiues of the better sort were committed to the castle of Pera, and amongst them, *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, with his two base sonnes, and also *Don Billingerus Requesenes*: which two great men, with *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, were neuertheless afterwards with much ado and almost beyond all hope, at the request of the Emperour, and by the dexteritie of his embassador, by *Solyman* set at libertie, although he had before denied them vnto *Saluiat* the French kings embassador, wo had bin an earnest intercessor for them. Yet before they were deliuered out of prison, the Muphtior Turks great priest was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawfull, for a greater number of Turks to exchange a few Christian captiues (for the embassadour beside the rewards he had promised vnto the Bassaes, to further the matter, had also vndertaken, that fortie common prisoners of the Turks should be set at libertie for them) whereunto the Muphti answered, That the Doctors of their law were of diuers opinions concerning that question, some saying that it was lawfull, and some not; howbeit as then it was by him resolued vpon vnto the more fauorable part, and the exchange allowed.

There were among the prisoners taken at Zerbi, besides these noblemen of whom we haue before spoken, two other noble gentlemen right honorably borne, *Don Iohn* of Cardona *Don Billinger* his son in law, and *Don Gasto* the duke of Medina his sonne, to whom yet but a youth his father neuertheless had giuen an honorable place in the armie. Of these two *Don Iohn* had wisely taken order for a great summe of money to be left in the Island of Chio, by the way as the Turks fleet went to Constantinople, from whence he afterwards in safetie got into Spain. But *Gasto* was by *Piall Bassa* (vpon hope of a great ransome) purposely hid out of the way, which had like to haue wrought his destruction: for *Solyman* hauing gotten an inckling thereof by the instigation of *Rustan*, laboured for nothing more than to haue *Gasto* found out, so to haue a more iust occasion for the putting of *Piall* to death: being taken tardie in so manifest a fault. But all that labour was spent in vaine, *Gasto* being by death taken away, but whether by the

Augerius Busbequius Epist. 4. legationis Turcicæ.

The miserie of the christian captiues.

the plague (as some reported) or by *Piall* his means (as it were more like) lest the truth should be found out, is vncertaine. But certaine it was, that being with great care sought for by the Duke his fathers seruants, he could neuer be heard of more: So that it was thought *Piall* for the safegard of his owne life, not to haue spared *Gasto* his prisoners life. Who neuertheless for a long time liued in great feare, and not daring to come to Constantinople, tooke occasion with a few gallies to wander about amongst the Islands of Ægeum, as if he had there some-thing to do: but indeed so shunning the sight of his angrie lord, for feare he should haue been compelled in bonds to haue answered the matter. Vntill at length he appeased at the request of *Suleiman Bassa* (the Eunuch and *Solymans* great Chamberlaine) and of *Selymus*, *Solymans* son, granted him his pardon in these words well worth the marking, out of the mouth of an Infidell Prince: *Well haue hee from me pardon and forgiueneſſe for ſo great an offence: but let God the moſt iuſt reuenger of all villanies take of him due puniſhment after this*. So fully he seemed to be persuaded that no euill deed ought to remaine without punishment, either in this life or in the life to come.

Piall in disgrace with Solyman, shunneth to come to Constantinople.

There was in this expedition a Colonell of the Turks well acquainted with *Busbequius* the Emperours Embassadour, then lying at Constantinople: into whose hands (in that discomfiture of the Christians) by chance was come the Imperiall ensigne of the gallies of Naples; wherein within the compasse of an Eagle, were contained the armes of all the Prouinces belonging to the kingdome of Spaine. Which faire ensigne the embassadour vnderstanding him to purpose to giue for a Present vnto *Solyman*, thought good to preuent the matter, and to get it from him: which he easily obtained, by sending him two sutes of silke (such as the Turkes make reckoning of) for it: so prouiding that one of the Imperiall ensignes of *Charles* the fift, should not to the eternall remembrance of that ouerthrow, remaine still with the enemies of the Christian Religion. This so miserable a calamitie receiued by the Christians at Zerbi, made that Island, before little or nothing spoken of, to be euer since famous.

One of the imperiall ensignes of Charles the fift redeemed frō the Turke.

About this time to end this vnfortunat yeare withall, the 25 day of Nouember died *Andreas Auria* (that second *Neptune*) being nintie foure yeares old: a man in his time of great fame, and of the greatest Princes of that age had in no small reputation, but especially of *Charles* the fift, in whose seruice he did much for the benefit of the Christian common weale, being for most part imployed in his greatest warres against the Turks and Moores. Yet amongst all the notable things done to his immortall glorie, the kindnesse by him shewed vnto his natiue countrey was greatest; which oppressed by the French, he set at libertie: and when he might haue taken vpon him the sole gouernment thereof (as had diuers others before him) moderating his desires, and respecting the onely good thereof, appeased the great dissention that had of long raigned therein; and established such a forme of gouernment, confirmed with so good and wholesome lawes and orders (no mans libertie infringed) as that it hath euer since to his eternall praise, in great wealth, state, and liberty, thereby flourished. Vnto whose remembrance (for that we haue before of him much spoken in the course of this Historie) I thought it not amisse to ioyne the liuely counterfeit of his reuerend aged countenance, by nature framed answerable vnto his noble vertues.

The death of the noble Andreas Auria.

ANDREAS

hostilitie or friendship with King Iohns sonne, forasmuch as belongeth to his hereditarie countries whether they bee in the hither part of Hungarie, or on the further side of Teisse: All which for all that, by law of armes belong vnto vs. And the same King Iohns sonne in time of this eight yeares league shall bee also bound in such sort to performe vnto vs his obedience, as that from henceforth it shall not be lawfull for him to vse any warre or hostilitie against you, neither to trouble your subiects with fire or sword, nor to surprise your Cities, Castles, or Townes; or by violence to take away or exact of your people or subiects, their sheepe, their cattell, their goods, money or reuenewes. Wee also our selues shall haue no right, nor take occasion to driue away your people, to burne your countries, or carrie away any captiues: but rather in this eight yeares space religiously keepe peace and concord with you. And vnder these conditions of peace shall also be comprehended Michaell Balaschus, Nicholas Bathor, with all their goods and territories, and diuers other such like, which shall bee subiect vnto you and King Iohns sonne. To be briefe, if happily any of yours or King Iohns sonnes subiects shall haue now before in time of warre thrust one another out of his goods, lands, or possessions, whereof new quarrels or discord may arise; wee will and decree, that all such controuersies, quarrels, and claims shall bee deferred vntill this definite time of the league expired. Beside, if by chance any dissention shall hereafter arise betwixt vs about our iurisdiction, which can by no meanes be composed and ordered; we will that yours shall in the mean time remaine as yours, and ours as ours; all contention and enmitie set apart: also many townes scituate heere and there by Danubius and Tatta, shall be suffered to vse the same law which they did in former time; so that the souldiers which are yet in garrison in the castle of Tatta, shall haue no right to infest or vexe those townes scituate neere vnto Danubius. Furthermore, if after this peace concluded, any of your noblemen or gentlemen shall fortune to haue any of our noblemen by revolt or other occasion whatsouer, captiues, they shall dismisse them and set them at libertie, to returne vnto their friends freely without hurt or ransome; that so the concord and peace begun betwixt vs, may bee the more firmely kept, and our subiects liue in more securitie. All and euery one of these things we grant and promise to bee of vs from henceforth vntill the end of the aforesaid eight yeares, without all fraud or guile religiously obserued and kept: and for that purpose haue caused these our letters of this peace and confederation to be published from our royall pallace: and moreouer, haue not onely prouided, that the coppie of the same should together with our edict be proclaimed to all and euery the Generalls, Captaines, Lieutenants, of our armies both by sea and land, in all the parts of our empire, and to all our mercinarie souldiers, but haue also straightly commanded, that it shall bee firmely and sincerely kept. We will also, that this agreement of peace and amitie shall comprehend and concerne our two chiefe Gouernours or Vayuods of Vallachia and Moldauia, so that none of your people of Hungarie, Crabatia, Sclauonia, or other your countries or Islands whatsoeuer, shall in any sort bee molested or grieued by our subiects. And if it shall fortune that some shall on your part out of their Castles set vpon our subiects, or by force take away their goods, the same men shal in any case be bound to make thereof restitution. Also if any shall flie from vs, and carry away with them the money or goods of their masters whome they serued, or if the like shall be done by any of yours flying to vs, then the same goods on both parts are to be of right demanded and recouered againe, and the fugitiues to the example of others to be corrected and punished: forasmuch as fugitiues goods of right appertaine vnto their Lords and masters. Furthermore it shall bee lawfull for your Captaines and Commanders to fortifie or build Castles, Cities, or Townes, in the borders of Hungarie, and to put into the same victuall, armour, and such like; but so, that they doe none of these things out of their owne limits. And during the time of this league, it shall not be lawfull to take or carrie away any of your subiects prisoners either in Hungarie or in other place of your iurisdiction: which for all that, if it shall by any chance happen, that then such captiues without delay be suffered) safely to returne home againe. Furthermore, whatsoeuer Christian shal haue any businesse to doe in our magnificent court or any part of our dominions, as are Embassadours, officers, seruants and such others: vnto all these we not onely grant and permit, that they may come and goe about their businesse, and so againe depart from our court or prouinces, but also haue willed and commanded, them to bee well and courteously entreated by our subiects, and furthered with the interpretation of our language. And if it shall fortune any contention or discord to arise betwixt our subiects on either side, about the bounds and limits of Lands, or other such like causes: such controuersies we wil to be decided and determined by discreet and indifferent men on both parts, and the authours of such discord and variance, to be punished as suspected persons and breakers of the league. Wee also prohibite those skirmishes or combats, which were woont to be sometimes on both sides made vpon the borders. And desire, that the forme of this league and peace, and euery article thereof, may bee publiquely

publiquely read and set vp in sundrie places of your Dominions; and commandement giuen, that they may with due obedience and reuerence be obserued and kept. Which we likewise haue now before promised faithfully and assuredly to performe: and your Embassador whom a few moneths agone you sent vnto vs, in your name requested the same of vs, and hath with earnest prayers mooued vs, by Imperiall oath and these Letters of credence to witnesse, that we did ratifie and confirme the same; as if wee our selues should speake to you in presence. Wherefore we haue giuen to him these our letters of Pacification to you directed, that your Generals, souldiers, and subiects, may be bound also to obserue and keepe all these things: wherefore, so long as nothing contrarie to this league shall be done on your part; so long in like manner all these articles of peace shall be of me accepted and assured. For witnesse and confirmation whereof I sweare this oath; By the true and liuing Creator of heauen and earth, by the true signes of our great and reuerend Prophet, by my Imperiall power, and by my true faith; that nothing contrary or repugning vnto the aforesaid articles, conditions, and promises of the eight yeares league agreed vpon betwixt vs, shall be attempted or done by any our Gouernours, Generals, or Vaynods, &c. Commanding moreouer, all our sworne Gouernors of our most mightie Empire in Walachia and Moldauia, and king Stephen himselfe, and others which haue the gouernment of our Empire confining vpon you, That they all and euery of them as well as our selues, shall iustly, faithfully, and religiously accept, reuerence, and keepe these conditions of peace, towards your subiects, cities, castles, townes, and other things appertaining to you; and in the least thing not to hurt, iniurie, or wrong any your subiects. In briefe, we shall as far as our part concerneth vs, giue vnto this most mightie and great new made loue and friendship, so great honour, reuerence, and authoritie, that that which may euen in the least things be had, shall not on our part be wanting. In token whereof, we haue suffered certaine Christian captiues, whom by your Embassador you requested to haue set at libertie, franckly to returne vnto you without ransom; out of which captiuitie they could neuer haue been redeemed, if in regard of this our amitie and friendship we had not granted them libertie: trusting that you will in like sort set at libertie such of ours as you haue captiues. Giuen at our Imperiall Palace and seat in the most mightie citie of Constantinople, the first day of September, in the yeare of our great and reuerend Prophet 969.

Presents from Solyman to the Emperor Ferdinand.

The same Embassador after he had deliuered these letters, presented vnto the Emperor the gifts he had brought from his great Master: which was two great cups of naturall Crystall curiously wrought and set with stones of great price; a couragious Turkie horse with a saddle and trappings wrought with gold, and set with pretious stones, and garnished with chaines of pure gold; and foure of the fairest camels that were to be got in all Constantinople. In deliuering of which Presents the Bassa made his excuse, that the horse and camels had lost their beautie, being with foure moneths trauel from Constantinople, growne somewhat leane and wearie.

1564 This peace thus concluded betwixt the Emperour *Ferdinand* and *Solyman*, held firme vntill the death of *Ferdinand*, who about two yeres after in the yere 1564 vpon S. *Iames* his day died, being sixtie yeres old: whereof he raigned as Emperor not full seuen yeares. In whose place succeeded *Maximilian* his son, before chosen King of the Romans. But immediatly after the death of *Ferdinand*, the Captaines on the frontiers of that part of Hungarie which was holden for the Emperour on the one side, and the Turkes Captaines with the Vayuod of Transyluania on the other side, wearie of their ease, began contrarie to the forme of the League, to surprise strong holds and townes one in anothers confines, whereof ensued much trouble: The authour whereof was *Melchior Balas* the Emperours lieutenant in that part of Hungarie which bordereth vpon Transyluania, who first surprised certaine townes vpon the frontiers thereabouts: in reuenge whereof, the Vayuod suddenly set vpon Sackmar a towne in the Emperors Territorie, which he tooke, and therein *Balas* his wife and children. In despight whereof *Balas* ransacked and burnt Debrezin a great Towne of the Vayuods. But not long after, the Vayuod *Solymans* Vassall, and aided by him with foure thousand Turkes and three thousand Moldauians, did much harme vpon the frontiers of that part of Hungarie which belonged vnto the Emperour; and first tooke Hadad, and afterwards besieged Vngar. In requitall whereof, *Maximilian* the Emperour sent *Lazarus Suendi* a valiant Captaine; who with an Army of eight thousand besieged the strong Castle of Tokay, which he tooke the fift of Februarie, in the yeare 1565; and after that tooke the rich Towne of Erden. In the meane time *Solyman*, who had in himself fully purposed to be reuenged of all these iniuries (as well appeared by

The death of the Emperor Ferdinand.

New troubles in Hungarie.

1565

by that he did the yeare following) to ſtay the Emperour from proceeding farther, vntil ſome time as he were at better leiſure to be reuenged, (for as then he was making great preparation for Malta) ſent *Marcus Lilineſius* a renegat Tranſiluanian of Cibinum, his Embaſſador to *Maximilian*, to put him in remembrance of the league made with his father, and to wiſh him to haue regard how he further proceeded to the breach thereof. Whereupon the Emperour, becauſe he would not ſeeme vnwilling to hearken to peace, commanded his lieutenants and captaines no more to inuade Tranſyluania or that part of Hungarie which the Turkes held. Howbeit that whileſt this Embaſſadour was thus entreating of peace at Vienna, the Baſſa of Temeſware in the borders of Tranſyluania, made diuers incurſions into the borders of Hungarie, and with ſix thouſand ſouldiers beſieged the ſtrong caſtle of Iula, and the Turks in great number came daily into Tranſ[illegible]nia. At which time alſo *Suendi* Generall of *Maximilian* his Forces vpon the frontier[illegible] meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe, wiſhed him not to giue any credit vnto the Turks Em[illegible]ſadour, who meaning nothing but warre, vnder the colour of peace ſought nothing els but to take him vpon the ſudden vnprouided. Neither ceaſ[illegible] theſe troubles thus, but dayly grew from euill to worſe: for in Iune the Tranſyluanians [illegible]ged Eaden, before taken by the Imperials, and after two moneths ſiege had it yeelded vnto them. In the meane time *Chernouich* the Emperours Embaſſador to *Solyman*, returned from Conſtantinople, aſſuring him, that the great Turke for all his faire ſhewes of peace, meant indeed nothing but warres, for which he was (as he ſaid) making great preparation both by ſea and land. Whereupon the Emperour began to raiſe new forces: which thing diuers Noblemen both of Germanie and other places hearing of, came vnto him with their followers: and amongſt other *Romerus* one of the Knights of Malta, and diuers others of his brethren, with fiue companies of ſouldiers well appointed, ſent thither by *George Hochenheime* grand Prior of that Order in Germanie, and then confirmed one of the Princes of the Empire. At the ſame time alſo, the Turkes being buſie vpon the borders of Styria, and the places thereabouts, were many times cut off by *Charles* the Archduke: who taking them at an aduantage, ſlew at one time three thouſand of them. Yet for all this, the Turkes Embaſſadour was ſtill at Vienna treating for peace, and ſo cunningly handled the matter, that whereas *Eccius Salma* a valiant Captaine, had corrupted the chiefe Iudge with certaine others of Alba Regalis, to haue betraied the Citie vnto him; for performance whereof they had deliuered their wiues and children as hoſtages, and he was now vpon his way from Rab, which is but eight miles off, in an aſſured hope to haue ſurpriſed the Citie; he was ſuddenly by letters in poſt from the Emperour, called backe againe, for corrupting the hope conceiued of peace: and ſo was that notable deſignement vnfortunately diſappoined: of which practiſe the Turkes hauing knowledge, afterwards moſt cruelly executed fortie of the conſpiratours, impaling ſome of them vpon ſharpe ſtakes, and hanging others vpon yron hookes by the jawes vntill they were dead. Shortly after the Turkes tooke Neoſtat, which was not long after againe recouered by the Emperour.

The Turk purpoſing warre, craftily ſueth for peace.

At the ſame time one of the Turks ſpies was taken at Zigeth, who but thirteen daies before was ſent from Conſtantinople, of purpoſe to view the ſtrength and ſcituation of that place: he being brought before *Charles* the Archduke, and examined, ſaid, That *Solyman* would aſſuredly the next Spring come in perſon himſelfe into Hungarie, to beſiege the ſtrong caſtles of Zigeth and Iula. At which time alſo Countie *Serinus* tooke certaine other of the Turks Spies, by whome he was certainly aduertiſed of *Solymans* comming the next yeare; and amongſt others, *Scaphir Vayda* the Baſſa of Buda his chiefe Counſellor. Beſide this, the countrey men contributors both to the Imperials and the Turkes, were now ſtraightly commanded by the Turks, to pay no more contribution money vnto the Imperials: whereupon it was eaſily gathered, that all that talke of peace was as *Suendi* had oftentimes written, nothing els but to delay the time, and to put them in ſecuritie. Beſide that, the Turks made incurſions daily into one place or other of the Emperors territories, ſhewing their antient hate, and ſowing by thoſe light skirmiſhes, as it were the ſeed of a greater war againſt the next Spring: which the Emperour now out of doubt of (being alſo warned thereof by many letters from his friends) put ſtrong garriſons into his frontier towns, eſpecially into Rab and Zigeth. But knowing that to be but a poore helpe againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie, he reſolued as his father and vncle had done before, to reſt vpon the ſtrength of the Empire, and againſt the next yeare to call a generall aſſembly

aſſemblie of the Princes of the Empire at Auguſta, for the better withſtanding of the common enemie. The wars thus beginning againe in Hungarie, *Solyman* at the ſame time in reuenge of the manifold harmes done vnto his ſubiects by the Knights of Malta, (whoſe hand he found euer againſt him in all his dealings with the other Chriſtian Princes) made great preparation both by ſea and land; purpoſing, as ſeemed by the manner thereof, to haue raſed the memorie of all of thoſe worthie men from off the earth. Whereunto, beſide the naturall hatred which he bare againſt all Chriſtians in generall, and them aboue the reſt in particular, he was much incited by *Caſſanes*, *Barbaruſſa* his ſonne King of Algiers, and *Dragut* gouernor of Tripolis: by whoſe perſuaſions he cauſed a ſtrong fleet to be rigged vp, commanding the Lieutenants and Gouernors of his ports and hauens all alongſt the ſea coaſt, to put to their helping hands, and to be readie againſt the next Spring. And not long after, vnderſtanding partly of his own certaine knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardneſſe things were; he calling together a great aſſemblie of his chiefe Princes and men of warre, deliuered vnto them his minde as followeth:

Solyman maketh preparation againſt the Knights of Malta.

Solymans oration to his Captains for the inuaſion of Malta.

What thing I haue this fortie yeares alwaies wiſhed, which was to haue ſo much leiſure from other warres, as to plucke out of their neſts, and vtterly to root out theſe croſſed Pyrats, which vaunt themſelues to be the Bulwarke of Chriſtendome: that ſame me-thinks I haue by the fauour of God and Muhamed his Prophet, at this time obtained. For wee haue ſo repreſſed the attempts of the Perſians, that they cannot let vs: and in Hungarie, from whence certaine dreadfull motions were reported, we our ſelues will ſhortly do thoſe things which ſhall inforce our enemies to hide their heads in the heart of Germanie, and to ſue to vs for peace. You your ſelues daily heare the pitifull complaints of our ſubiects and merchants, whome theſe Maltaſes, I ſay not ſouldiers, but pyrats, if they but looke into thoſe ſeas, ſpoyle and make prize of: whoſe iniuries to reuenge, all lawes both of God and man require. Neither can any thing happen vnto me more pleaſing or more honorable, than if I may before I die accompliſh thoſe things, that is, to win Malta, and to leaue all things in order in Hungarie and Polonia: except perhaps ſome man thinke it a harder matter for vs to thruſt theſe Croſſed companions from the rockes of Malta, than for our Anceſtors to haue driuen them from Ieruſalem, and ſo quite out of Syria: and for our ſelues to haue forced them out of the ſtrong Iſland of the Rhodes. But this ſome will ſay is neerer vnto Italy, from whence aid may eaſily be ſent, and the place defended by a Fleet. Beleeue me, they will neuer aduenture to fight with vs at ſea, who remember themſelues to haue been there by vs ſo often ouerthrowne: beſide that, ſo little a place cannot containe any great garriſon; neither if it could, could it long feed them. Wherefore vnto this expedition we haue determined with the firſt of the Spring to ſend a moſt ſtrong Fleet: and euen now we haue alreadie commanded all our ſea Captaines and Aduenturers which acknowledge our commaund, to be there preſent with their Ships. The King of Algiers will be there, the garriſons of Alexandria are in readineſſe, ſo alſo is Dragut *with his appointed Fleet: as for our owne it is by mine owne appointment rigged vp: vnto which Fleet I doubt not but that all the ſtrength of the Weſt will giue place. Which thing (worthie Captaines) we ſpeake, truſting vpon the helpe of Almightie God and Muhamed his great Prophet, with your knowne and approued valour: Now remaineth onely, that euerie one of you thinke with vs, how this warre may beſt be managed, and ſo to referre your deuiſes vnto vs: which that you may the better doe, Lo, I here deliuer vnto you the ſcituation of the whole Iſland, and proiect of all their Fortifications, which we haue receiued of moſt expert and skilfull men.*

Solymans purpoſe thus made knowne, and the matter well conſidered, after that they which beſt knew the ſtrong places and maners of the Maltæſes, had declared their opinions what they thought to be moſt expedient; it was decreed, That they ſhould with all ſpeed ſet forward: wherefore victuall and other things neceſſarie for ſuch an expedition being with wonderfull celeritie prepared, they expected but winde. Of theſe things *Io. Valetta* a Frenchman, Grand maſter of Malta and of the Knights of the Order, being both by letters and meſſengers aduertiſed (for he had alwaies fit men his intelligencers at Conſtantinople, who warily noted the purpoſes and actions of *Solyman*) was not affraid, but knowing that of God depended the victorie, and that men were to watch, labour, and foreſee; he aſſembled a Councell of his Knights, and in few words ſpake vnto them in this ſort:

Valetta the Grand maſter aduertiſed of Solyman his purpoſe.

Solyman his Oration vnto his Knights.

What Solyman *prepareth (most Noble and valiant Knights) and what a great warre he prouideth against vs, you with me of late right well vnderstand, wherefore it is needlesse for me to vse any long speech with you concerning that matter. The enemie is knowne, his insatiable ambition is knowne, his strength is knowne, and his mortall hate against vs and the Christian name is sufficiently knowne. Wherefore let vs all as one first reconcile our selues to God, and then prouide all such things as shall be needfull for the warre. In briefe, noble Knights, to reconcile our selues vnto God, and to appease his displeasure two things are of vs to be performed: whereof the one consisteth in amendment of life, with a holy conuersation: the other in the religious worshipping of him, with a firme and constant trust in his helpe, with prayer, which is called godlinesse. By these meanes our Auncestors obtained many victories against the Infidels in the East. Neither is it to be doubted, but if we shall in these things ioyne together, we shall also frustrat all the force and fury of this proud Tyrant. But forasmuch God vsually helpes them which labour and take pa[ins] and not the negligent and sloathfull, we must of necessitie ioyne vnto them those helpes, which both our profession and the course of warre requireth: which partly consist[s] in our selues and partly in the other Christian Princes. For victuall, armour, money, and other s[uch] things as in warres are requisite, we will so prouide, that no man shall iustly complaine, that wee spare either cost or paines. I will poure out all my store, neither will I for desire of life refuse any danger. As for the Christian Princes, I cannot persuade my selfe that they will lie still in so fit an opportunitie, and in so great a danger, not of our estate onely, but much more of their owne. Verely I will not spare to exhort euery one of them both by Letters and by Messengers, which in part we haue alreadie done: and I doubt not but we shall haue aid enough from the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of Spaine (such is their Christian zeale) and they I hope shall moone the rest. As for you, the Princes and verie light of this sacred Order, and the rest of our brethren, most valiant Knights, I am well assured you will so fight for the most holy Christian Religion, for your liues and goods, and for the glorie of the Latine Name, against a most cruell Tyrant, the rooter out of all true Religion, of all ciuilitie and good learning, the plague of the world, hated of God and man; as that he shall feele the sting of the Crosse which he so much contemneth, euen in the citie of Constantinople, yea in his houses of pleasure. For we shall not haue now to do with him in the Island of the Rhodes, far from the helpe of our friends, (from Asia, from Europe, from Ægypt inclosed with our enemees both by sea and land) but in the eyes of Italy and Spaine, in place strongly fortified, from whence the enemie may easily be circumuented: which that it may so fal out, let vs not cease to pray vnto Almightie God, and to craue his readie helpe.*

The Knights make preparation for the Turks coming.

When the Grand master had thus said, all that were present promised with one assent rather to lose their liues, than in any part to faile the Common cause, or to come into the power of *Solyman*. After that, publique prayer and supplication was made in euerie Church thorough the Isle, and three Colonells chosen out of all the Knights: one an Italian syrnamed *Imperator*, another *Borneas* a French man, and *Quatrius* a Spaniard the third, all aduised men, and most expert Souldiours, who should with all diligence prouide all things necessarie for the Warre. By whose appointment the suburbs and trees which might any way be hurtfull to the fortified places, were ouerthrowne, the fortifications were thoroughly viewed, the Garrisons strengthened, and all manner of prouision most plentifully distributed: and Letters from the Great Master sent vnto the Great Bishop and other Christian Princes, requesting their aid against the Common Enemie. Messengers were also dismissed into diuers places, to certifie both the Knights of the Order and others, of the Turkes great preparation.

Solymans fleet departeth from Constantinople.

Solymans fleet departing from Constantinople the two and twentieth day of March, in the yeare 1565, kept a direct course towards Peloponesus, and so came to Methone: where *Mustapha Bassa* one of the Turks greatest captaines, a man of 75 yeares, and Generall of the land forces, mustered the armie, wherein were numbred seuen thousand horsemen of them which are of the Turks called Spahi: out of the lesser Asia, conducted by the gouernor of that countrey, and two Lieutenants of Cilicia, fiue hundred: and of the Island of Lesbos, now called Metylene, foure hundred: hee had of the Ianizaries foure thousand fiue hundred led by two Colonels appointed by *Solyman*; for that the chiefe Captaine of the Ianizaries, which they call the Aga, neuer departeth from the citie but when the Sultan goeth himselfe. Besides these was a certaine kind of men amongst the Turks, who [li]ue of the reuenues of the Church; of them there was in the Armie thirteene thousand, [w]ho had at Constantinople vowed their

A their liues for their superstition. Out of Thracia and Peloponesus were come two Colonels and one Lieutenant, with twelue hundred horsemen and three thousand fiue hundred voluntaries out of diuers countries. There also *Piall Bassa Solymans* Admirall tooke view of the fleet, wherein were found a hundred and thirtie gallies, two and twentie ships for burthen, some greater, some lesser; besides one that was cast away neere vnto Methone, where was lox six thousand barrels of pouder, thirteene thousand great shot, and foure hundred Spahi: besides these, there were ten gallies from the Rhodes commanded by *Halyport* a man of 70 yeres; two gallies from Mitylene, and about seuenteene galliots and other small pyrats ships. With this strong fleet the Turks departing from Methone the thirteenth of May, arriued at Malta the eighteenth of the same moneth, and put into a hauen in the Northeast part of the Isle, which the inhabitants call Marzasiroc: but perceiuing themselues not to be there in safetie, they remoued to another port called Maior.

The Turks fleet arriueth at Malta.

The Iland of Malta lying betwixt Affrica and Sicilia, might be doubted whether it were to be accounted in Affricke or Europe, but that the antient Cosmographers, and the Moores language, which the Maltæses haue alwaies vsed, claime it for Affricke: it is in length from the Northeast to the Southwest twentie miles; and in the broadest place twelue. It regardeth Affricke Southward, ouer against Leptis Parua; and Sicilia towards the North, but more towards Pachinum than Lilybeum; and is in circuit about threescore miles. It seemeth to haue taken the name of Melita, of *Mel* or Honey, whereof it yeeldeth plentie. The trees there beare fruit twice a yeare, and they haue oftentimes twice haruest, especially of barley and cot-
C ten wooll; yet is the Isle in some places stonie, grauellie, and bare of wood: neuertheless it beareth figs, apples, almonds, grapes, and other fruit trees planted by the industrie of man, date trees also, but not fruitfull: it beareth thistles of such bignesse that the inhabitants vse them for wood: fresh water is there wonderfull scarce, and such Wels as they haue are filled with raine in Winter, for in Summer they are either cleane drie, or els the water becommeth brachie. The inhabitants are so burnt with the Sunne, that they differ little in colour from the Æthyopians: they are of a wholesome constitution of body, spare of diet, industrious, rather painfull than warlike, dying more for age, than of sickneesse: their buildings, except it be in the citie, which is in the midst of the Island, and in the suburbs, are long and low (like vnto the Moores) coueredwith turfe or reed. It is commonly supposed, that S. *Paul* was by shipwreck *Acts 27 & 28.*
D cast vpon this Island: but it is with greater reason to be thought that it was the other Melita in the Adriaticke betwixt Corcyra and Illyria, and better agreeth with that which *Luke* writeth of the Apostles trouble and shipwrecke in the Adriatique, out of which sea, it is not to be gathered by the text, that *Paul* and the rest were driuen. But againe to our purpose: That side of Multa which respecteth Sicilia, hath in it many good harbours and commodious hauens fit for shipping; where besides the port Marzasiroc towards the East, where the Turkes fleet first landed, and the port of S. *Thomas*, with another called Scala not farre off, it hath two other notable hauens, the one called Maior, and the other Marzamoxet, diuided the one from the other by a narrow piece of ground: which with a ridge runneth in length from the South to the North almost in manner of an Island, hauing the hauen Maior on the East Marza Moxet
E the West. Vpon the head of this high ridge standeth the castle of S. *Elmo*, of great strength both by nature and art. As a man entreth into the hauen Maior, vpon the left hand are foure promontories pointing farre into the hauen on that side, almost in manner of Islands, making so many bayes: Vpon the first standeth the gallowes, whereof also it taketh name: vpon the verie point of the second, on a rough and high rocke standeth a most strong Castle, called the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, whereunto adioineth the Towne, seperated from the Castle onely with a wall and a ditch, and is placed in a hollownesse cut out of the maine rocke, strengthened also with the sea and the industrie of man; and is of some called the Burg, of others the new Citie; in this Castle resideth the Grand master, and the souldiers in the Burg: vpon the third promontorie standeth another strong Castle, which they call also the Burg of S. *Mi-*
F *chael*: the fourth promontorie is not inhabited, from whence the sea runneth alongst the winding banks almost into the midst of the Island, vnto a place called Aqua Marsia. Againe, after the port Marza Moxet, Westward is the harbor of S. *George*; and after that another called Bennorrat: then followeth the port of S. *Paul*, no lesse than the port Marzasiroc: after which commeth the port called Salinarum Sinus: but on that side of the Island towards Affricke, is onely

onely one port called Milliaria: neere vnto the Iſland of Malta lie certaine other little Iſlands, G
as Gauloſo, now Goza, two other called Cuminia, and another called Piper, all ſubiect to the Maltæſes.

Thus much I haue thought good to ſet downe concerning the Turks fleet, and for the deſcription of thoſe places wherein this great action was performed, the brute whereof then filled the world. Now ſhall it not be amiſſe, in like manner to declare vpon what ſtrength, next vnto God, *Valetta* the Grand maſter ſtood againſt ſo mightie and puiſſant an enemie. Firſt, there was in the Iſland 1300 mercinaries, ſome Spaniards, ſome French, ſome Florentines, and the reſt of Naples: there was alſo 1000 ſea men of the Knights fleet, and 500 in the town of S. *Angelo*: and of the country people which were fled into the ſtrong places fiue thouſand, men not altogether vnskilfull of the wars: there was alſo fiue hundred Knights of the Order, H
beſides Prieſts and Squires, for of theſe three ſorts of men are they which are called Brethren of the Order. This was the number of them which defended the caſtles and towns of S. *Angelo*, and S. *Michael*, whereunto they were proportionably diuided: and in the city it ſelfe, which is called Melita, being in the middle of the Iſland, was 200 ſouldiers and as many citiſens, with three hundred of the countrey people all horſemen, commanded by *Io. Vagno* a valiant captaine. Beſides this, euery place was furniſhed with plentie of victuall, armor, weapons, artillerie, and whatſoeuer els was needfull for the enduring of a long ſiege, and a warre that ſhould want many things: and that which paſſed all the reſt, minds armed with inuincible courage againſt whatſoeuer ſhould chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquiſhed, victors. All theſe things being in readineſſe and orderly diſpoſed, as ſoone as they vnderſtood that ſeuen and twentie of the Turks gallies had put into the hauen Marzaſiroc, and were there landing their men; *Gyon* Admirall for the Order, a valiant and couragious Knight, marched thithither with 500 harquebuſiers, to haue skirmiſhed with them: but as ſoone as the Turks ſaw them comming, they retired againe to their gallies. On the other part where the other fleet lay, two hundred of the Turks going on ſhore, met by chance with *Riuerius* a Frenchman, and eight Knights moe, who hauing his horſe killed vnder him, and one of his companions ſlaine, fell with the reſt into the hands of the enemie. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, a certaine Chriſtian mariner fled out from the Turks to the Citie Melita; who diſcouered the enemies purpoſe, telling them, That the Turks by the appointment of *Muſtapha* had determined to haue landed the greateſt part of their forces, preſently to haue beſieged ſome ſtrong place; had not K
Piall Baſſa the Admirall exclaimed againſt it, doubting to be left too weake at ſea: ſaying plainly, That he would attempt nothing before the comming of *Dragut*, who was euery houre expected. For *Solyman* had expreſly commanded, that they ſhould doe nothing without his counſell; ſo great an opinion had he of his policie and valor. But whether this his report was true or otherwiſe, the Turks for all that returning with their fleet to the port of Marzaſirock, landed 20000 ſoldiers & fiue field pieces, and ſo intrenched themſelues. This done, *Piall Baſſa* with 7000 went to view the caſtle of S. *Michael*, but for feare of the great ſhot durſt not to come nigh it: neuertheleſſe they of the towne ſallying out, couragiouſly skirmiſhed with the Turks, in which conflict, *Curfelinus*, ſirnamed *Parda*, accompanied but with one Spaniard, ſo furiouſly aſſailed the enemy, that he tooke from him one enſigne, and ſlew one of the Sanzacks L
a great commander, with diuers others. When *Piall* was come againe into the campe, the Generall began to conſult with the other captaines, whether it were better to lay ſiege to the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*, or to the towne of S. *Michael*: in concluſion it was agreed vpon, that they ſhould with all their forces beſiege the caſtle of S. *Elmo*. And going vp the hill to view the caſtle, they were incountred by the gariſon ſoldiers, in which fight ſome few were loſt on both ſides. Thus by degrees things growing hoater and hoater, the Grand maſter thought it good to certifie *Garzias* of Toledo Viceroy and Sicilie, how things ſtood, that he might the ſooner rig vp his fleet to come to their reſcue. Wherefore he commanded one galley to put out of the hauen by night, and to paſſe ouer into Sicilie, with *Saluagus* one of the Knights ſent thither on meſſage. In the meane time the Turks caſt vp a mount to haue battered the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, and beaten the gallies in the hauen Maior, and ſo to haue opened a way for their fleet to haue entred: but they were not able long to keepe that mount, for they had ſcarcely well ended the worke, but it was forthwith by the continuall thundring ſhot out of the caſtle beaten downe againe: which thing greatly abated the Turks courage. About that time, *Ochial* came to

Riuerius with other Knights taken of the Turks.

The Turks land

They of the Caſtle of S. Michael kirmiſh with the Turks.

A to the fleet with ſix ſhips, drawne out of them which were left for the defence of Alexandria, and in them 900 ſoldiers. The Turks beaten from their firſt mount, caſt vp another on a higher ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of ordnance, wherewith they annoied not only the hauen wherein the fleet of Malta rid, but the caſtle of S. *Angelo* alſo, the Great maſters ſeat, and with a rolling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*: which although they had at firſt in vaine attempted, hindred by them which were in the caſtle; yet at laſt with much labor and trauell they brought it to perfection: for the Turks in that kinde of worke, ſtill performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others. Wherefore in ſhort time they planted their great ordnance in ſuch ſort, as that they might batter both the Caſtles
B of S. *Elmo* and S. *Michael*. There was in the Turks campe a gentleman of Spaine, but then a ſlaue vnto a Turke, who vnderſtanding the enemies purpoſe for the beſieging of the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, by a Chriſtian fugitiue aduertiſed the Great maſter thereof: whereupon hee forthwith ſent *Cerda* and *Miranda* with two companies of Spaniards into the caſtle, who were afterwards a great ſtrength vnto the caſtle, and hinderance vnto the enemie. At length came *Dragut* gouernor of Leptis, long looked for of the Turks, with 13 gallies, and in them 1600 ſouldiers: after whom followed ten galliots from Bona, and in them two companies. In the mean time *Saluagus* the worthie Knight (ſent before into Sicilia) came to Meſſana, and hauing certified the Viceroy of the ſtate of Malta, was by him commanded to returne to Malta in a Galliot, conducted by two gallies of the great Maſters; which hauing brought him neere vnto the Iſland, returned againe into Sicilia: but hee with his galliot (not without moſt manifeſt
C danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne thorough the middeſt of the enemies fleet, with the loſſe of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the Great maſter what he had in charge from the Viceroy, he was the ſame night ſent backe againe by the Great maſter into Sicilia, to certifie the Viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him ſome ſupplie, whereby he might the better hold out againſt the force of ſo great an enemie. *Saluagus* diſcouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, preſently committed himſelf againe to ſea, and in ſhort time arriued in the port of Siracuſa, where finding the two gallies we before ſpake of, he ſent them to Malta, as he had in charge, with 400 ſoldiers, among whom were diuers Knights of the Order, & certain skilful canoniers: willing them to ſhun the Weſt part of the Iſland, whereas they muſt needs come into the enemies
D ſight, and to paſſe by the Eaſt end therof, which was further about, but ſafer; & turning Southward, to land in the port Miliare, and from thence by the low places of the Iſland to conuey the ſoldiers by night to the citie Melita, which was but foure miles off; from whence they might eaſily paſſe to the caſtle S. *Michael*. This order taken, he went to Meſſana, and there declared to the Viceroy the danger of the war, with the ſmall number of the defendants, requeſting of him a thouſand footmen, which with thoſe alreadie ſent, he thought would ſuffice to hold out the ſiege vntill he with his whole fleet might come to relieue them. But whileſt theſe things were ſlowly prouided (which with much difficulties and delay could hardly be brought to paſſe, the Chriſtian Princes as it were ſleeping in ſo great a danger) the Turks vpon the ſudden the third of Iune aſſaulted the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, in hope with ſhort ſcaling ladE ders to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neereſt vnto the bulwarke of the Caſtle. But the defendants, in the ditch which before had no flanker to ſcoure the ſame, had of earth and faggots made a large ſtrong flanker, from whence the caſtle alſo helping them, they valiantly reſiſted the enemie, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, truſting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valor, they obtain ſo manie victories) thruſt ſtill on vntill they had by obſtinate force (although long firſt) gained the flanker: whereby they commanded all that part of the ditch towards the port Marza Moxet. In which place they with wonderfull celeritie ſo fortified themſelues, that they could not be hurt by the defendants: wherin they were much holpen by their own great ordnance planted on the other ſide the hauen Marza; for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat
F down the corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwarke, whoſe hight & greatneſſe troubled the enemie, but was not ſo commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without any flankers. But night comming on, 5000 of the 9000 Turks which gaue the aſſault, tarried there: wherefore the Chriſtians conſtrained to forſake the place, retired themſelues into the caſtle. The Turks in the meane time couered with the darkenes of the night, with

The Turks beſiege the Caſtle of S. Elmo.

Dragut commeth to aid the Turks.

The Turks aſſault the caſtle S. Elmo.

S. Elmo againe assaulted.

with sackes filled with tow and earth, filled vp the ditch which was vnder the bulwarke, but neither of any great wideneſſe or depth: which done, they gaue a freſh aſſault, wherein aboue 800 of them were ſlaine, part Ianizaries, and part Spachi, and beſides them many wounded, of whom the moſt part remained halfe dead in the ditch, where they periſhed, and could not be relieued. Of the Chriſtians was loſt fiue and fortie, amongſt whom was fiue knights of the Order, *Guardampes* an Auergnois, *Maſius* a Colonell of Narbona, *Contilia* a Spaniard, *Somaia* a Florentine, and *Neinec* a German. The ſame night the Great maſter thinking, as reaſon was, that they in the Caſtle of S. *Elmo* might want helpe, ſent two hundred of his Knights and as many other ſouldiers into the Caſtle; who if they had been moe, together with the foure hundred which were before in the Caſtle, might happily haue driuen the Turks both from the Rampers and the flanker, and [illegible] kept the place longer. But for as much as the Great maſter wanted ſouldiers, and had therefore ſent *Saluagus* into Sicilie for new ſupplies, (as we haue before ſaid) he in the meane time couragiouſly expected their comming, refuſing no labor o[illegible]ine: yet bewailing ſometime with himſelfe the vnfortunateneſſe of the Chriſtian Prin[illegible] by whoſe negligence ſo fit an occaſion for the ouerthrow of the barbarous enemie was let ſlip: But aboue all things, he maruelled exceedingly that no helpe yet came, eſpecially thoſe two gallies, which (as we haue ſaid) were in all haſte ſent by *Saluagus*: but they by the maſters default kept not the appointed courſe; for firſt whereas they ſhould haue ſhunned the Weſt part of the Iſle, and haue turned towards the Eaſt, they ſhaped their courſe Weſtward to the Iſland of Gaulos, the maſter vainly affirming, that he ſaw certaine of the Turkes Galliots lying before port Mileria: which was afterwards wel knowne not to haue beene ſo; for the truth was, that he for feare (whereby notable deſignes are many times fruſtrated) durſt not go forward. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the Great maſter was diſappointed of ſo neceſſarie a ſupplie: which thing much grieued both the Viceroy and others, but eſpecially *Saluagus*. For he ſaw it would come to paſſe, that if the Turks ſhould take the Caſtle of S. *Elmo* (the moſt aſſured bulwarke and defence of the Iſland of Malta) the other places muſt of neceſſitie be brought into extreame danger, all the way to relieue them being thereby ſhut vp. And that it might be taken, ſeemed not to him impoſſible, the enemie hauing alreadie taken one fort, and laying hard ſiege almoſt on euery ſide of that little pile. The due conſideration of theſe and ſuch like things grieued the minds of skilfull men, eſpecially ſeeing ſuch ſlacke preparation in a caſe requiring ſuch preſent reliefe. Yet in the meane time ſouldiers were taken vp at Rome by the commandement of *Pius Quartus* then Biſhop, to be ſent to Malta: and by his example to ſtirre vp other Princes to ſend aid vnto this ſacred warre, hee gaue a hundred pound of gold to *Cambianus* Legat for the Order, and commanded gunpouder and other neceſſaries for that warre to be taken out of his Caſtle S. *Angelo*, that ſo he might ſeeme to be wanting in nothing that was in him to performe. Ouer theſe ſouldiers, in number ſix hundred, he appointed *Pompeius Columna* Generall, and commanded *Camillus Medices* his Legat to accompanie him. With theſe went many voluntarie men, of purpoſe to lay downe their liues for the eterniſing of their names in ſo religious a warre, and that with ſuch an ardent deſire, as that euerie little delay ſeemed vnto them a yeare. Wherefore comming to Naples, they there found *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eleuen ſhips, the Prince of Populonia with nine, *Lanicius* with three, and three others ſet forth by other priuate Gentlemen. In theſe ſhips were embarqued all thoſe footmen which came from Rome, and ſo tranſported to Meſſana, where the kings fleet was prouiding. But whileſt the Chriſtians make ſlow preparation, conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger, the Turkes not ignorant thereof, reſolued to proue the vttermoſt before the ſtrength of the Chriſtians were readie or drawne together. For the Caſtle of S. *Elmo* once taken, they aſſured themſelues with more eaſe to carrie the reſt: for that thereby they ſhould firſt haue the hauen Marza Moxet in their power, where their fleet might in ſafetie ride ſo long as they pleaſed; and the riſing ridge betwixt the two hauens was commodious for them both to batter the towne of Saint *Michael*, and to keepe the hauen Maior, ſo that none could without their leaue paſſe in or out thereat. Wherefore vpon theſe and other ſuch like conſiderations they began againe to batter the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, as it had beene with thunder: which furious batterie they continued by the ſpace of foure dayes together without intermiſſion. The night following they ſuddenly with great force gaue an aſſault, and with their ſcaling ladders had almoſt gained the top of the wall; when the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing

New ſupply ſent into the Caſtle S. Elmo.

The Great maſter diſappointed of a ſupplie by the fearefulneſſe of the ſhip-maſter.

S. Elmo againe aſſaulted.

nothing more than to come to handie blowes, draue them downe againe with ſuch violence, that neuer after they durſt ſet ladder to the wall, vntill the very laſt conflict. Whileſt things were thus hot at the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, *Dragut* his ſouldiers vpon a brauerie, as if they had been the onely men, went to a place called Martia Scala, which is betweene the gallows and S. *Thomas* rode, as if they would haue done more than the reſt: which the Chriſtians beholding out of the town of S. *Angelo*, to repreſſe their inſolencie, ſallied forth vpon them, and ſo welcommed them, that they were glad after they had receiued a great loſſe, forthwith to retire to the place from whence they came. Of the Chriſtians were ſlaine *Bonnemius* a Frenchman, one of the Knights, and ſeuen others.

The Turkes repulſed.

The ſame time *Monferratus* was by the Great maſter ſent into the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, to command there as Gouernor in ſtead of *Brolia*, for that he with watching and pains taken in defence thereof, was fallen ſicke. The ſame *Brolia* had many times before written to the Great maſter, That the caſtle was ſo well fortified and furniſhed of all things needfull, as that he thought it impoſſible to be won by the enemy: and had with cheerfull ſpeech and braue behauior, ſo encouraged the knights, and other the defendants, that they fought againſt their enemies with more than mens ſtrength, and greater courage than is to be beleeued. Neither were the Turks for that diſcouraged, although they were with great loſſe ſtill repulſed: but for certaine daies battered the caſtle with greater fury than before, and immediatly gaue an aſſault; for they had made a bridge ouer the ditch, of maſts and ſaile yards, of ſuch [illegible] breadth, that ten men might go thereon in rank; and had placed about the ditch 4000 harquebuſiers, and brought all their fleet vnto S. *Georges* ſhore, not far from the caſtle. And when they had by the ſpace of 18 daies ſore ſhaken it, and torne the wals with 13000 great ſhot, and were now in hope euen preſently to win the caſtle: ſee, *Beragamus* a Biſcane, one of the knights, and *Medranus* a Spaniſh captaine, with certaine other valiant men, ran to the bridge, and to the great admiration of the beholders, oppoſed themſelues againſt the multitude of the miſcreants. The fight hand to hand was on both ſides both fierce and terrible: and now one of the Turkes had aduanced a Turkiſh enſigne vpon the bulwarke, which whileſt *Medranus* layeth hand vpon, and the Turke on the other ſide ſtrugleth to cleare himſelfe from him, in ſtriuing together, they fell downe both dead, ſhot thorow with one bullet by one of the Turkes. At which time the 400 which we ſaid were but a little before ſent thither by the Grand maſter, ſtood in good ſtead: for ſeeing all brought to ſo great a danger, ſome of them (whileſt otherſome fought with the enemy) thruſt barrels of gunpouder vnder the bridge, ſome caſt downe wildfire, ſtones, and whatſoeuer elſe came to hand, vpon the enemie, and others farther off with their harquebuſiers ſore gauled the Turks; ſo in ſhort time the bridge was burnt and blowne vp, which in the fall thereof, ouerwhelmed eight hundred Turks: the reſt (as they might) retired, few whole, but moſt part wounded. In this conflict the Chriſtians pluckt downe two enſignes; the one *Muſtaphaes*, the other *Draguts*, which the Turkes had ſet vp vpon the very battlements of the wals. On the other part toward the Southweſt, a band of the Turkes had got to the top of the higheſt rampier, which as ſoone as they in the caſtle of S. *Angelo* perceiued, thinking to haue beaten them off with a great ſhot, ſlew by miſchance ſeuen of the defendants vpon the ſame rampier, as they were going too and fro: but to recompence that errour, at the next ſhot they rent in ſunder foure of the Turks captains, with twelue other of their moſt forward ſoldiers. Whileſt they were here fighting, other Turks in the meane time had caſt vp a trench on that ſide of the caſtle toward S. *Angelo*; out of which they were quickly driuen with fire, ſtones, & other ſuch like things throwne downe vpon them by the defendants. The Turks valiantly on euery ſide repulſed, retired into the camp, when they had in this aſſault loſt two thouſand of their beſt ſouldiers, and of the Chriſtians ſlaine almoſt a hundred, and wounded as many moe. The ſame day, *Valetta* the Grand maſter, perceiuing the port Marza Moxet not to bee very ſtraitly kept by the Turks, commanded a light Brigandine to be carried out of the hauen, ouerland to the place called Martia Scala, that from thence he might ſend into Sicilia: for hee (as reaſon was) conſidering in what danger the caſtle S. *Elmo* ſtood, by letters certified the Viceroy and the Biſhop of Rome thereof, and of ſuch things as were there done; requeſting them of ſpeedie reliefe. The copie of the letters ſent to the Viceroy, I haue here ſet downe: as for thoſe which were ſent to the great Biſhop, becauſe they were almoſt of the ſame purport, I haue purpoſely omitted.

The Turks make a bridge ouer the caſtle ditch.

A horrible batterie.

Medranus a valiant captaine.

Eight hundred Turks ſlaine with the fall of the bridge.

The Turks retire.

To

To *Garzias* of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the fleet, greeting.

The Great maisters letters to Garzias Viceroy of Sicilia.

Since the time that I sent Saluagus, *I haue sent vnto you two letters, which I caused to bee sent by Melita into Gaulos; which I pray God be come to your hands. After that, when as neither messengers nor letters came vnto vs from you, I commanded a man with instructions to haste to Messana, who when hee had certaine nights attempted to goe out, and was at last got out; hee was scarcely gone two miles, but hee saw the Turkes with might and maine making after him; whom to escape, hee was glad to runne his pinace on [illegible]nd: And casting his letters into the sea, to forsake his boat, and by flight to saue himselfe. No[illegible] Turkes hauing remooued their fleet out of the port Vulturnus, I considering how much it conce[illegible]s to certifie you of those things which are heere done, commanded a Brigandine to be carried to Martia Scala; for seeing that the Turkes fleet is gone to anothe[illegible] of the Island, I hope my letters will without let in short time come vnto you. And the things I [illegible]a haue you to know, are these: The fifteenth of this moneth, all the enemies fleet (a little before night) passed by this port; the comming on of the night letted, that wee could not well perceiue the weaknesse thereof; whilest the gallies almost vnarmed were with much difficultie towed forth: want of water, caused them chiefly to depart out of the port Vulturnus, and peraduenture feare of your fleet. For, as I haue heard, they haue intelligence, that an hundred and fiftie saile lie at road in the port of Messana, for which cause also, they haue not put themselues into the port of Saint* Paul, *but haue placed their fleete aboue the port Marza Moxet; yet a good part of their gallies lie at the port Saint* George, *so to bee neerer vnto their land fortes: yet is not the neerenesse such, but that if your fleete come vpon the sudden, they will with the same feare retire to their fleete, that they would if they were farther off. No man is now to bee seene at Vulturnus, for they haue left their first campe at Saint* Katharines *and Saint* Iohns, *hauing burnt all the countrey villages, and now lie with their fleete as I haue saide: and with their armie at the castle Saint* Elmo, *which God hath as yet kept, and as I hope will: which thing is euen for this to bee hoped for, which was but yesterday done; when all our most valiant souldiers (by the helpe of God) for the space of foure houres couragiously endured a most terrible assault. The Turkes hauing also made a bridge Westward toward the port Marza Moxet, wee haue foure times repulsed them to their great losse; yet not without some losse also on our part, amongst whome* Medranus, *a worthie Captaine was to my great griefe slaine. With this victorie our men are so encouraged, that I am in hope the Castle may bee defended vntill your comming, especially the enemies batterie not so furiously now as before maintained. If I were relieued with certaine companies of fresh souldiers, or at least with those our two gallies, I would neuer thinke that this castle could bee taken from vs: In defence whereof, whilest wee euery houre looke for helpe, wee haue spent both our men, and whatsoeuer warlike prouision wee had else. Wee are resolued although it cost vs all our liues, to goe thither, relying vpon you: who, as wee hope for your deuotion and noble courage, will not be vnmindefull of our health and welfare; but knowing the danger whereinto wee must needs fall, if you shall deferre to ayde vs, will send vs out of hand certaine bands of men, especially when they may so easily bee sent: for now that the Turkes are departed from the East part of the Island our souldiers may bee landed at the Blacke Rocks. our liues lie in your hands, on whom (next vnto God) resteth all our hope: Wherefore wee most instantly request you not to forsake vs: committing our selues, and all that ours is, to your compassion and protection. Fare you well from Malta the 17 of Iune.*

These letters receiued, and the distresse of the besieged castle perceiued, the Viceroy was (as of right he ought) greatly moued, and made semblance as if he had been desirous to haue brought forth his whole fleet against the Turkes. But forasmuch as the supplie of ships from Genoa and Spaine was not yet come, and that without them he thought it not good to aduenture the fortune of a battell; he forthwith sent *Ioh. Cardona* with foure gallies, wherof two were of Malta: and with *Cardona* ioyned one *Robles* Campe-master, with a select companie of Spaniards; with whom went also about eighty knights of Malta, who stayed at Messana, awaiting some fit occasion to passe ouer: Amongst whome w[illegible]e these chiefe men of the Order, *Parisot* the Great masters nephew, *Vincentius Caraffa*, *Bon[illegible]ana* and *Maldonatus*, both Spaniards, *Centius* of Aquitania, and some others: Who although letted by tempest and other occasions,

Foure gallies sent to the great maister for the reliefe of Malta

A casions, they came too late to Malta, as shall bee heereafter declared, yet serued they in great stead; and had they come in time, before the castle S. *Elmo* was lost, happily it might haue been still kept.

The Turks making no more account of so great a slaughter of their men, than of so many sheepe, desperatly renewed the fight, as men resolued to indure all extremities. And first they most horribly thundered day and night with their great ordnance vpon the castle: afterwards they assaulted the breaches with such a multitude and force, that if true valor and hope of immortalitie had not excluded all feare out of the hearts of the defendants, the terrour of the assault had inforced them either to haue fled or yeelded. Dreadfull was the fight, and had they not been obstinatly set downe on both sides, the one to win the castle, the other to defend it, B that day had ended the quarrell. Fiue houres endured that most terrible assault, at length the Turks repulsed by the valour of the Christians, retired: yet did they not for all that passe the night following in quiet, but with their great ordnance did so beat the defendants, that they had much ado to keep the Turks from scaling the wals: which, that they should not then dare to attempt, was with exceeding indeuour prouided for by the Christians: of whom in this assault was lost two hundred, and of the Turks an infinit number. And *Dragut* himselfe, whilest he there performed the dutie both of a Generall, and most valiant souldier, got a blow on the head with a stone, whereof he in two daies after died: his dead body was afterwards carried to Tripolis, and there honourably buried.

A most terrible assault.

Dragut slaine.

The commanders of the Turks army, stil more & more enraged with this valor of the Chri- C stians, and the slaughter of their men, gathering all their fleet together, commanded them to compasse about the castle, of purpose to giue thereunto their last assault, with all their forces both by sea and land; and to send new supplies of fresh souldiers one after another, vntill they had taken the castle. And therfore they with great industry prepared bridges, ladders, engins, armor, weapons, shot, and whatsoeuer things else was needfull for the assault. Which *Valetta* perceiuing out of his castle S. *Angelo*, and fearing (as meet was) lest they in the castle should not be able longer to indure so great a fury, called together in counsell his knights, two daies before the Turkes gaue their last assault: and told them, That they all as well as he, saw in what danger they which defended the castle S. *Elmo* were; and that he doubted not, but that euerie one of them (vpon a godly zeale and compassion) was no lesse moued with the slaughter and D danger of their fellowes and other their Christian souldiers, than with their owne: wherefore he requested them, to declare what they thought best to be done for their safety: yet so, as that they should not hastily determine any thing, that agreed not with the antient valor and honor of their sacred militarie profession. Which motion once made, & their opinions in briefe deliuered, a decree was made, That forasmuch as the castle could not longer be holden, regard should be had for the safegard of them that were therein: for which purpose it was agreed, that 12 pinnaces should be sent to fetch them away. But before, three knights were chosen, who should in hast the night following goe thither, & tell them what was in the counsel agreed vpon, and carefully to consider in what state the castle was, which if the defendants thought was to be abandoned, they should poison the water, & cloy the great ordnance, that it might not afE terwards stand the Turks in stead. The three knights sent thither, was *Medina* a Spaniard, *Rocca* a Frenchman, & *Constantinus Castriot* an Italian; who not without danger of their liues (being oftentimes shot at by the Turks) got into the castle, and declared vnto them that were there in garrison, how carefull the Great master and the rest were of them. And they on their side, first of all gaue thanks to the Grand master and the rest, for the regard they had of them: and afterward concerning the castle, said, That if they considered the straightnes of the place, the small number of the defendants, & multitude of the enemy, they should well perceiue in what danger they were, if the Turks should often with such obstinacy renew the assault: yet forasmuch as they had euer hitherto felt the helpe of God so present, who had still mercifully defended them against the rage of the enemy, & wanted nothing needful for the defence of the place; the F keeping wherof they had requested of the grand master as an honor, although they knew right wel it could not without most manifest danger of their liues be holden: yet they would for al that keep it to the last man: for, that perhaps the like honorable occasion for them to shew themselues in, should neuer again be offred: wherfore they had (as they said) resolued in that place to spend their liues for the glory of God & the Christian religion. The course of this life (they said)

Three knights sent to view the state of the castle S. Elmo.

The resolute answere of them in the castle to the knights

said) was but short, but that honor and fame was for euer: and whereas death is to all men pre- G
fined, it were to be wished, that the life which is to nature due, should rather seem to be by vs
franckly giuen to God and our countrey, than reserued as natures debt: which if it should so
happen, they would so vse the matter, as that the barbarous enemie should haue neither plea-
sure nor ioy, which should not cost him much bloud euen of his best souldiers. This they wil-
led the knights to tell the Great Master, and to request him not to be too careful of them, but
to promise to himself those things of them which best beseemed resolute men, especially of
them who had vowed themselues to that sacred war. This answer of greater resolution than
fortune, receiued, the three knights, when they had diligently viewed the castle, returned to
the Grand master: who calling to counsell his knights, and hauing heard the answer of the be- H
sieged, would needs hear to what opinion the three knights themselues were of concerning
the keeping of the castle: whom *Castriot* was of opinion, That the place was stil to be defen-
ded, and that if he were there to command, he would vndertake to performe it; and rather
to lose his life than to forsake it, after he had once taken vpon him the charge there. But
Rocca the French knight was far of another mind, and said plainly, that the place could not pos-
sibly be holden against so strong an enemie; and that if *Iulius Cæsar* himselfe were aliue, & saw
to what straight the place was brought (especially all the rampiers being either beaten downe
or sore shaken, & such a power of obstinate enemies lying round about it) he would neuer suf- I
fer so many valiant soldiers to be lost, but quit the place, & reserue his men to further seruice:
for why, it was the part of valiant men to performe so much as was of men to be performed;
but to striue to do more, was no manhood at all: wherefore he thought it best to do that which
men vse with members mortified, whose recouerie is desperat; in which case we doubt not to
make a separation, so to saue the rest of the bodie with life. The Spanish knight in most part
agreeing with *Castriot*, said, That he thought it not good, that the place should so easily be for-
saken; first, for that the ditches and bulwarks were yet defencible; and then because he saw so
great a consent among the defendants, and such a cheerfulnesse to withstand the enemy, which
thing (as he said) presaged victorie.

The three knights of diuers opinions concerning the keeping of the castle S. Elmo.

These opinions of the knights thorowly in counsell debated, and euery particular well
weighed, it seemed good to the greater part, that they which were in the castle should for cer-
tain daies yet hold it out, especially because it was not the manner of the knights of the Order
easily to abandon their strong holds, but rather to keepe them to the last, that euen therein the K
barbarous enemie might perceiue with whom he had to do, and so see his pride abated. For if
they should haue forsaken the place, they might haue been thought to haue done it for feare:
whereby the enemies insolencie might haue bin increased, and the honorable Order of those
sacred knights disgraced.

But the Turks intentiue to that they had before determined, the 23 day of Iune assembling
all their forces both by sea and land round about the castle, in the dead time of the night on
euery side set vp scaling ladders, made bridges, wrought mines, and with 32 great pieces of
artillerie battered the rest of the walls yet standing, and presently gaue a most terrible assault.
The defendants on the other side beat down some, repulsed other, slew many, euer more care-
full how to wound the enemy, than to saue themselues: and where he pressed fastest on, there L
to shew their greatest valour. Great were the outcries made on both sides, mixt with exhorta-
tion, mirth and mourning; the face of the whole fight was diuers, vncertain, cruell, and dread-
full: and now it was the third houre of the day, when still the victorie stood doubtfull; and
had not the fury of the great ordnance been so terrible, that it now had beaten downe all the
wals vnto the very rocke wheron the castle stood, the defendants might for some longer time
haue endured the enemies force. But the very rock bared both of wals & defendants, & more
than foure hundred slain, a man could now scarcely shew himselfe, but he was presently struck
in pieces. *Monserratus* Gouernour of the castle, and *Garas* of Euboea, men of equall valor, in-
tegritie, and honour, were both slaine with one shot; for a short and transitorie life made per-
takers of immortality together. Yet the rest which stood in defence of the castle, nothing ter- M
rified with so great a losse and slaughter of their fellowes, but augmented rather as it were
with new courage from aboue, fought with greater force than before, ouerthrew the Turkes'
ensignes now set vp in the castle, slew the ensigne-bearers, captaines, and colonels; now respe-
cting nothing more, but honourably to lay downe their liues for their religion and the obtai-
ning

The Turkes furiously assault the citie.

A ning of immortall fame. By this time the sunne was mounted to the middle of heauen; great was the heat, and men exceeding wearie; the murthering shot neuer ceased, and such was the multitude of the enemy, that he sent in fresh men in stead of them that were wearied or wounded. On the other side, the small number of the Christians, and those weakened with labor, watching, thirst and wounds, did what men might; yet at length were ouercome by a greater force, and so the castle by the Turks woon, but with such slaughter of their men, that it was a wonder that so many should be slaine of so few. The defendants were all slain, euery man, in valiant fight.

The castle of S. Elmo taken by the Turks.

Here may I not in silence passe ouer the inhumane and more than barbarous crueltie of the
B Turks against the dead bodies of the slaine knights, that thereby may appeare, that crueltie ne-
uer wanteth wheron to shew it selfe mercilesse, yea euen after death. The Turks after they had
taken the castle, finding certain of the knights yet breathing; and but halfe dead, first cut their
hearts out of their breasts, and then their heads from their bodies; after that, they hanged them
vp by the heeles in their red clokes with white crosses, (which manner of attire they after an
antient custome vse in time of war, as they do black in time of peace) in the sight of the castles,
S. *Angelo* and S. *Michael*. And yet *Mustapha* the Turks Generall not so contented, commanded
them afterwards to be fast bound together, & so cast into the sea, whose dead bodies were in
few daies after by the surge of the sea cast vp in the hauen Maior, and known by their friends,
were by the commandment of the sorrowful Great master honorably buried. With which the
C enemies most barbarous cruelty he was so moued, that hee commanded that no Turke should
from that time be taken prisoner, but to be presently slaine. And therupon all that were before
taken, were forthwith put to the sword, and their heads cast ouer the wals on that side towards
the enemie. From the beginning of the siege to the taking of the castle, of the Christians were
slain a thousand three hundred, amongst whom were a hundred & thirtie of the sacred knights
of the Order, all worthie to be registred in the Booke of euerlasting Fame.

Barbarous crueltie exercised by the Turkes vpon the dead bodies of the Knights.

The castle of S. *Elmo* thus lost, *Valetta* although his mind (as he had good cause) was inward-
ly attainted with exceeding griefe, yet made semblant otherwise, because he would not daunt
the minds of his souldiers: telling them, that nothing was hapned vnprouided for or vnfore-
seen. *This was* (as he said) *the will of God, and the chance of war, that sometimes one, sometimes ano-*
D *ther should be ouercome: and that cowardise, not such valor as was in them that were gone, gaue occasi-*
on to liuing friends to lament: yet that the enemie was not for that to be feared, who had also receiued
such a losse, as he might therby rather seem conquered, than a victorious conqueror: wher as the losse of his
knights was recompenced with honor and immortality, things of themselues sufficient to inflame al noble
minds to behaue themselues valiantly. As for himselfe (he said) *that trusting not in his owne strength,*
but in the help of Almighty God, he had not yet cast off the hope of victorie ouer the relicks of the discom-
fited enemy; and that he well hoped, they were all of the same mind, wherein hee most earnestly requested
them to persist vnto the end. When he had thus said, he being a man armed against all fortunes,
withdrew himselfe a little aside: where casting many things in his troubled mind, he determi-
ned to send letters to *Petrus Mesquita*, Gouernour of the citie of Melita, to certifie him and the
E knights of the Order that were at Messana, and the Viceroy, of the losse of S. *Elmo*: the copie
wherof, because that in them euidently appeareth the Christian mind of him the Great master,
I haue thought good here to set downe as followeth:

Valetta encourageth his souldiers after the losse of the castle S. Elmo.

Whilest these Knights are setting forward, in the meane time chanced the miserable misfortune of
the Castle Saint Elmo: *which although it brought vnto vs that griefe you may easily imagine, we for*
all that, as if it had happened by some secret appointment of God, haue taken it in that part, that hee
as a most mercifull father purposeth thereby to warne vs, but not vtterly to destroy vs. Neither doe
I thinke it lawfull to doubt of his mercie and power. Yet for all that, I may neuertheless complaine, that
wee are of them forsaken of whome it least beseemed. So that in the space of seuen and thirtie dayes,
F *wherein our most valiant souldiers endured all the force of the enemie (which truely was done rather*
by the power of God than of man) we were holpen of our owne (which owe so much vnto vs) not so much
as with the least helpe, which they might oftentimes haue sent vs. But I list to ascribe it, whatsoeuer it
is, to God, of whom alone as we haue hitherto receiued so many good things, so rest we in hope hereafter
to receiue also. For, for any thing that I can see, wee must not now trust to mans helpe: forasmuch as
wee could by no Letters, no diligence, no prayers, no admonitions, and to bee briefe, by no commands
moue

Valetta his letters to the Gouernor of Melita.

mone them, who of all others ought most to haue obeyed it. The shortnesse of the time suffereth vs not to write to the Viceroy of these things, it shall be your part to certifie both him and other our friends thereof: who if they had obeyed our command, or aided vs with neuer so small a supplie of souldiers, happily we had not lost the castle Saint Elmo: *in defence whereof we haue spent the best part of our souldiers. Wherefore except the Viceroy make hast to deliuer vs from this siege, I feare that he cannot in time come, but especially if we be here besieged before the comming of those our small helpes which we as in a dreame haue promised vnto our selues, and which we now scarce hope will be in time present. For all that, we doe not distrust of God his loue and prouidence: by whose diuine inspiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being in short time stirred vp, will hasten hither to relieue vs. For all our welfare consisteth in celeritie. Our enemies haue drawne all their fleet into the hauen Marza Moxet, are busied in cleansing the castle, and repairing the breaches, that they may afterward the better vse them against vs. Wherfore vpon the sight of our letters, send vnto vs the captains* Catherin, Belcacar, Belmesi, & Zoricius, *with their companies, that we may vse their faithfull and valiant seruice. God of his mercie send vs aide from some place, and keepe you. Fare you well, from our Castle Saint* Angelo, *the* of *Iune*, 1565.

Mesquita hauing receiued these letters, commanded a galliot forthwith to be launched, and therein imbarked *Masius Codonellus*, one of the knights; to whom he deliuered both the letters of the Grand master to him, and others of his owne, almost of the same purport, directed to the Knights of the Order which lay at Messana, requesting him with all speed possible to passe ouer with them into Sicilia.

Mustapha Bassa sendeth messengers to the great master.

In the mean time *Mustapha* the Turks Generall sent a messenger to *Valetta*, and with him an old Spanish captiue, with promise of liberty if he would goe with his messenger to the towne, to talke with *Valetta* concerning the yeelding vp thereof, and to try if he would by any means come to agreement: who comming to the towne, the Turke still waiting at the gate, the Christian was let in, and brought to the Great master, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Bassa. But as soon as *Valetta* heard of the name of composition and yeelding, he was so filled with indignation, that had he not bin a Christian, he would presently haue commanded him to haue bin hanged. Wherefore he gaue him choice either to tarry still in the towne, if he thought so good, or els forthwith to returne and tell his companion, that if he got him not packing quickely, he would send him farther off with a great shot. With this short answer the Turke suddenly returned into the campe. Whereupon *Mustapha* fell into such a rage, that he openly protested, neuer from that to forbeare any kind of cruelty against the Christians. There was then with *Mustapha* one *Philip*, of the most noble Græcian Familie of *Lascaris*, who of a boy taken prisoner by the Christians in Patras, a city of Achaia, and by them honestly & courteously vsed, was therefore euer after well affected toward the Christians: he priuie to many of *Mustaphaes* designes, by a certaine diuine motion thought hee should not a little profit the Christians by reuolting vnto them: wherefore he resolued to flie vnto the castle of S. *Michael*. Which thing when he had oftentimes attempted, at length the first of Iuly he cast himselfe into the sea (for by land he could no way escape) and swum to the castle, not without danger of his life; for discouered by the Turks, he was many times shot at both with their arrowes and small shot. He, brought to the Great master, reuealed vnto him many of the enemies secrets, and also aduised him what was to be done at the point of S. *Michaels*, to frustrat the enemies purpose for the assailing of that place; with many other things, which were vnto the defendants no small helpe: and afterwards as often as need was, during the siege, fought valiantly against the Turks.

The answer of the great master to the Turkes messengers.

Philip Lascaris flieth from the Turks to the castle S. Michael.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Codonellus* sent as we haue before said into Sicilia, came in safetie to Messana, where he found the Christian fleet not yet readie to relieue the distressed Malræses; for the Spanish ships were not yet come, and *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eight and twentie ships was ready to returne to take in foure thousand footmen, taken vp in Etruria by *Capinus Vitellius*. Which backwardnesse the knights of the Order considering, and what danger was in delay, after they had well debated the matter amongst themselues, they resolued by the power of God by all meanes possible to helpe their brethren. And for this expedition chose two most fit Generalls of their owne fellowes, the Commanders of Messana and Baroli) who forthwith went to *Garzias* the Viceroy, declaring to him what things the sacred knights

Knights of their Order had done, not for the king of Spaine only, but for the Christian commonweale, and also what great charge they had been at the yeare before in the Pitionian expedition, wherein they had neither spared ships, victual, nor munition, neither their own liues, to profit the King and the Christian commonweale. Besides this, they besought him well to consider, that the losse of Malta concerned not the sacred knights only, but all Italie, and especially Sicilia, for the neerenesse of so troublesome and puissant an Enemie. For these and other like reasons, which the shortnes of the time suffered them not to rehearse, they requested of him 4000 footmen, with whome all the Knights of the Order which were there, and many other noble and voluntarie men would make all possible speed to relieue the besieged, which they had before in vaine attempted; with which strength they were in good hope, if not to repulse the enemie, or to recouer that was alreadie lost, yet at least to stop and stay his farther proceeding, vntill such time as he hauing rigged vp and brought forth all his fleet, might set vpon the Turks, and (as was to be hoped) vanquish and disperse them. But whilst the Viceroy hauing heard their request, considereth what answer to make, a messenger came vnto him from Spaine (but with what command from the king (although men guessed diuersly) could not be knowne. But vpon his comming, the Viceroy gaue the knights this cold answer, That he could not grant what they requested, for that in so doing he should disfurnish his fleet, & not be able afterwards to relieue them as he desired: but if it pleased them to transport the Knights with part of the Bishops souldiers into the Island, they might so doe with their owne two gallies they had alreadie, whereunto he would also ioyne another of his owne. The Knights when they could obtaine no more, accepted of that which was offered.

The Knights of Malta craue aid of the Viceroy.

The cold answer of the Viceroy to the Knights.

Whilst these gallies were setting forward, those foure gallies whereof we haue before spoken, wherein were imbarked 80 knights and 600 other soldiers, hauing at sea suffered many troubles by the space of twentie dayes, could not as yet arriue at Malta: and because the Viceroy had commanded that they should not land, except they first knew whether the Castle S. *Elmo* were still holden by the Christians, they sent out a frigot to land, promising that day and the next to tarrie in the sea for her returne. In the meane time a great tempest suddenly arising, it so fell out, that the frigot could not at the appointed time returne: wherfore the gallies which expected her comming, fearing lest she had been either by tempest lost, or by the enemie intercepted, retired vnto Pozalo a port vpon the coast of Sicilia, neerest to Malta, there to expect some good newes: where as soone as they had put in, they vnderstood that S. *Elmo* was yet defended: whereupon they put to sea againe, with purpose to haue arriued at Malta. But when they were within two leagues of the place where they thought to haue landed, they saw a fire there, which caused them to mistrust that the place was possessed of the enemie, and that he lay thereabout to intercept them: wherefore they returned againe to Pozalo; where now vnderstanding of the French knight come from Malta, that that fire was made by his commandment, as a signe that they might without feare come forward; they with all speed made againe for the same place, and at the length the 29 day of Iune about midnight landed at the Blacke rockes on the South side of the Island toward Affricke, and vnseene of any, got in haste to the citie Malta, where they were ioyfully receiued, and there staid to expect what the Great Master should command. In the meane time it fortuned, a great foggie mist (which seldome times there chanceth) to arise so thicke, that a man could hardly see for it: at which time a boy of about twelue yeares old looking by chance out of a window in the castle of Melita, suddenly as one afraid cried out, that he saw a Turke going from the citie to the castle of Saint *Michael*. Which thing some of the knights hearing, ran presently out that way, and found a Greeke of the citie Melita, who brought backe and examined (for that without the Gouernors passe it was not lawfull for any man to goe out of the citie) confessed, That his purpose was to haue aduertised the Turks of the comming of those souldiers, that so they might haue intercepted them as they should haue come from Melita to the Grand master: for which treason he was as he had well deserued cut in foure pieces. Three dayes after, this new supplie come from Sicilia, in the first watch of the night came all in safetie from Melita to the Grand master, except two or three boyes, who ouercharged with armor and other baggage, were not able to keepe way with the rest. It is not to be told, how much the besieged reioiced at the comming of these their friends; and especially *Valetta*, who seeing the floure of his Knights and other souldiers, as it were by diuine prouidence come into him; with teares trickling downe

A traitor taken and executed at Melita.

The souldiers new come out of Sicilia, come to the Great Master.

moue them, who of all others ought most to haue obeyed it. The shortnesse of the time suffereth vs not to write to the Viceroy of these things, it shall be your part to certifie both him and other our friends thereof: who if they had obeyed our command, or aided vs with neuer so small a supplie of souldiers, happily we had not lost the castle Saint Elmo: *in defence whereof we haue spent the best part of our souldiers. Wherefore except the Viceroy make hast to deliuer vs from this siege, I feare that he cannot in time come; but especially if we be here besieged before the comming of those our small helpes which he as in a dreame haue promised vnto our selues, and which we now scarce hope will be in time present. For all that, we doe not distrust of God his loue and prouidence: by whose diuine inspiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being in short time stirred vp, will hasten hither to relieue vs. For all our welfare consisteth in celeritie. Our enemies haue drawne all their fleet into the hauen Marza Moxet, are busied in cleansing the castle, and repairing the breaches, that they may afterward the better vse them against vs. Wherfore vpon the sight of our letters, send vnto vs the captains* Catherin, Belcacar, Belmest, & Zoricius, *with their companies, that we may vse their faithfull and valiant seruice. God of his mercie send vs aide from some place, and keepe you. Fare you well, from our Castle Saint* Angelo, *the* of *Iune*, 1565.

Mesquita hauing receiued these letters, commanded a galliot forthwith to be launched, and therein imbarked *Masius Codonellus*, one of the knights; to whom he deliuered both the letters of the Grand master to him, and others of his owne, almost of the same purport, directed to the Knights of the Order which lay at Messana, requesting him with all speed possible to passe ouer with them into Sicilia.

Mustapha Bassa sendeth messengers to the great master.

In the mean time *Mustapha* the Turks Generall sent a messenger to *Valetta*, and with him an old Spanish captiue, with promise of liberty if he would goe with his messenger to the towne, to talke with *Valetta* concerning the yeelding vp thereof, and to try if he would by any means come to agreement: who comming to the towne, the Turke still waiting at the gate, the Christian was let in, and brought to the Great master, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Bassa. But as soon as *Valetta* heard of the name of composition and yeelding, he was so filled with indignation, that had he not bin a Christian, he would presently haue commanded him to haue bin hanged. Wherefore he gaue him choice either to tarry still in the towne, if he thought so good, or els forthwith to returne and tell his companion, that if he got him not packing quickely, he would send him farther off with a great shot. With this short answer the Turke suddenly returned into the campe. Whereupon *Mustapha* fell into such a rage, that he openly protested, neuer from that to forbeare any kind of cruelty against the Christians. There was then with *Mustapha* one *Philip*, of the most noble Græcian Familie of *Lascaris*, who of a boy taken prisoner by the Christians in Patras, a city of Achaia, and by them honestly & courteously vsed, was therefore euer after well affected toward the Christians: he priuie to many of *Mustaphaes* designes, by a certaine diuine motion thought hee should not a little profit the Christians by reuolting vnto them: wherefore he resolued to flie vnto the castle of S. *Michael*. Which thing when he had oftentimes attempted, at length the first of Iuly he cast himselfe into the sea (for by land he could no way escape) and swum to the castle, not without danger of his life; for discouered by the Turks, he was many times shot at both with their arrowes and small shot. He, brought to the Great master, reuealed vnto him many of the enemies secrets, and also aduised him what was to be done at the point of S. *Michaels*, to frustrat the enemies purpose for the assailing of that place; with many other things, which were vnto the defendants no small helpe: and afterwards as often as need was, during the siege, fought valiantly against the Turks.

The answer of the great master to the Turkes messengers.

Philip Lascaris flieth from the Turks to the castle S. Michael.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Codonellus* sent as we haue before said into Sicilia, came in safetie to Messana, where he found the Christian fleet not yet readie to relieue the distressed Malræses; for the Spanish ships were not yet come, and *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eight and twentie ships was ready to returne to take in foure thousand footmen, taken vp in Etruria by *Capinus Vitellius*. Which backwardnesse the knights of the Order considering, and what danger was in delay, after they had well debated the matter amongst themselues, they resolued by the power of God by all meanes possible to helpe their brethren. And for this expedition chose two most fit Generalls of their owne fellowes, the Commanders of Messana and Baroli) who forthwith went to *Garzias* the Viceroy, declaring to him what things the sacred knights

Knights of their Order had done, not for the king of Spaine only, but for the Christian commonweale, and also what great charge they had been at the yeare before in the Pinionian expedition, wherein they had neither spared ships, victual, nor munition, neither their own liues, to profit the King and the Christian commonweale. Besides this, they besought him well to consider, that the losse of Malta concerned not the sacred knights only, but all Italie, and especially Sicilia, for the neerensse of so troublesome and puissant an Enemie. For these and other like reasons, which the shortnes of the time suffered them not to rehearse, they requested of him 4000 footmen, with whome all the Knights of the Order which were there, and many other noble and voluntarie men would make all possible speed to relieue the besieged, which they had before in vaine attempted; with which strength they were in good hope, if not to repulse the enemie, or to recouer that was alreadie lost, yet at least to stop and stay his farther proceeding, vntill such time as he hauing rigged vp and brought forth all his fleet, might set vpon the Turks, and (as was to be hoped) vanquish and disperse them. But whilst the Viceroy hauing heard their request, considereth what answer to make, a messenger came vnto him from Spaine (but with what command from the king (although men guessed diuersly) could not be knowne. But vpon his comming, the Viceroy gaue the knights this cold answer, That he could not grant what they requested, for that in so doing he should disfurnish his fleet, & not be able afterwards to relieue them as he desired: but if it pleased them to transport the Knights with part of the Bishops souldiers into the Island, they might so doe with their owne two gallies they had alreadie, whereunto he would also ioyne another of his owne. The Knights when they could obtaine no more, accepted of that which was offered.

The Knights of Malta craue aid of the Viceroy.

The cold answer of the Viceroy to the Knights.

Whilst these gallies were setting forward, those foure gallies whereof we haue before spoken, wherein were imbarked 80 knights and 600 other souldiers, hauing at sea suffered many troubles by the space of twentie dayes, could not as yet arriue at Malta: and because the Viceroy had commanded that they should not land, except they first knew whether the Castle S. *Elmo* were still holden by the Christians, they sent out a frigot to land, promising that day and the next to tarrie in the sea for her returne. In the meane time a great tempest suddenly arising, it so fell out, that the frigot could not at the appointed time returne: wherfore the gallies which expected her comming, fearing lest she had been either by tempest lost, or by the enemie intercepted, retired vnto Pozalo a port vpon the coast of Sicilia, neerest to Malta, there to expect some good newes: where as soone as they had put in, they vnderstood that S. *Elmo* was yet defended: whereupon they put to sea againe, with purpose to haue arriued at Malta. But when they were within two leagues of the place where they thought to haue landed, they saw a fire there, which caused them to mistrust that the place was possessed of the enemie, and that he lay thereabout to intercept them: wherefore they returned againe to Pozalo; where now vnderstanding of the French knight come from Malta, that that fire was made by his commandment, as a signe that they might without feare come forward; they with all speed made againe for the same place, and at the length the 29 day of Iune about midnight landed at the Blacke rockes on the South side of the Island toward Affricke, and vnseene of any, got in haste to the citie Malta, where they were ioyfully receiued, and there staid to expect what the Great Master should command. In the meane time it fortuned, a great foggie mist (which seldome times there chanceth) to arise so thicke, that a man could hardly see for it: at which time a boy of about twelue yeares old looking by chance out of a window in the castle of Melita, suddenly as one afraid cried out, that he saw a Turke going from the citie to the castle of Saint *Michael*. Which thing some of the knights hearing, ran presently out that way, and found a Greeke of the citie Melita, who brought backe and examined (for that without the Gouernors passe it was not lawfull for any man to goe out of the citie) confessed, That his purpose was to haue aduertised the Turks of the comming of those souldiers, that so they might haue intercepted them as they should haue come from Melita to the Grand master: for which treason he was as he had well deserued cut in foure pieces. Three dayes after, this new supplie come from Sicilia, in the first watch of the night came all in safetie from Melita to the Grand master, except two or three boyes, who ouercharged with armor and other baggage, were not able to keepe way with the rest. It is not to be told, how much the besieged reioiced at the comming of these their friends; and especially *Valetta*, who seeing the floure of his Knights and other souldiers, as it were by diuine prouidence come into him; with teares trickling downe

A traitor taken and executed at Melita.

The souldiers new come out of Sicilia, come to the Great Master.

downe his cheekes, and his eyes cast vp to heauen, said:

The prayer of Valetta.

I thanke thee, ô heauenly Father, which hearest my prayers, and forsaketh not this thy little Flocke, beset rownd with most rauening Wolues: these are the workes of thine euerlasting goodnesse, mercie, and prouidence. G

These new come souldiers requested of the great master, as a rewatd of their paines, That they might be put in garrison into the Towne S. *Michael*, a place now most laid vnto by the Turks: which thing he (commending their forwardnes) easily granted; yet for all that remoued not the old garrison. These fresh and couragious soldiers desirous of nothing more than to fight with the enemy, the next day sallied out, and hauing slaine 200 of the Turks, & wounded as many more, without losse of a man returned, euery mans sword imbrued in the bloud of his enemie. Which thing *Mustapha* the Turks Generall hearing, knew it was they which H lately came into the tow[illegible] and thereupon fell in rage with his captains, as that they had by their negligence entred. But the suspicion grew most vpon them which were appointed for the keeping of the vttermost part of the Island: which was the more increased, for that th[illegible]al-liots of Algiers had withdrawne themselues away; so that he neither trusted them no[illegible] negat Christians, who as occasion serued fled daily from him. For which cause he gaue out proclamation, That none of them should lie by night out of the gallies, and that such as did otherwise, should therefore be burnt, or impaled vpon sharpe stakes: and changing his warders, appointed *Salec* with his galliots, whom he thought to be more faithful, for the keeping of the Island. And that neither they nor the Christians should be able to attempt any thing, he chained togethet diuers gallies in the entrance of the hauen Marza Moxet, and caused the rest of I the fleet to ride neerer together thã before. But because exceeding many were at that time sick in the Turks campe, of the flix and other diseases; three places were assigned for them; one for the wounded men neere vnto Aqua Martia, garded with 2000 Turks; another in the poups of their ships & gallies for the Turks voluntaries; and the third amongst the bulwarks, where the inforced Christians were cured. At the same time, *Mustapha* appointed *Ochiall Bassa* Go-uernor of Tripolis, in stead of *Dragut* before slaine: who going thither with fiue gallies, and hauing set all things in order there, returned againe vnto the campe. With him the Bassa had sent two ships loaded with corne to Tripolis, there to make bread, wherof they began to feele some want in the campe. He also sent *Zaloch* one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certifie him of the winning of the castle S. *Elmo*, and to deliuer vnto him the description of the Island of Mal- K ta as they found it at their arriuall: and further to declare vnto him, That he found the Maltæ-ses stronger and better prouided, than was at his setting forth supposed: wherfore if it were his pleasure longer to continue the siege, he should send a new supplie of men, victuall, and other warlike prouision: which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other strong places of the Island also, though not so soone as was at the first supposed: and that in the mean time whi-lest he expected answere, he would not faile to do what he possibly might. And because he would not seeme to haue written an vntruth, he began his batterie in fourteene places with 70 great pieces of artillerie, amongst which was three most huge basilisks: for from the Gal-lows promontorie to Aqua Martia, and from thence to the castle S. *Elmo*, wherein he had pla-ced 300 Ianizaries, the Turks had inclosed all that compasse with sundrie bulwarks, trenches, L and mounts, from whence they with their thundering shot day and night incessantly battered the townes and castles of S. *Michael* and S. *Angelo*, ouerthrew the walls, beat downe the bul-warks, and brake down the houses in such terrible manner, that scarce any could be safe there-in: which of all others most troubled the feareful women and children. But the Turks in their trenches rested in far more safetie: yet so, as they durst not stray far out of the campe, but tru-sting vpon their multitude, and not that many times without their losse, being cut off by the horsemen of the garrison of Malta, who were euer readie at their heeles.

Ochiall Bassa made gouernor of Tripoli.

A terrible batterie.

When the losse of the castle S. *Elmo* was knowne at Rome, the citie was filled with mour-ning and heauines: some were sorie for the dishonour, other some feared lest the calamities of the Maltæses should redound vnto themselues. There was also amongst others, a certain enui- M ous and foule mouth'd kinde of men, altogether ignorant and vnacquainted with martiall af-faires, who shamed not to lay the blame of the losse of S. *Elmo* vpon the Grand master: whom both his owne valour, with the worthy testimonie of so many famous and valiant men as were there present with him, as also this historie gathered out of the true light of things then done, shall

A shall both for the time present and for all posteritie sufficiently acquite of so false a slander. *But he will easily blemish another mans name, that spareth not his owne: neither can Ignorance rightly iudge of the counsels of the Skilfull, or cowardise, of valiant deeds.*

But to returne againe to our purpose: we said before, that three gallies were made ready at Messana; in setting forth whereof, they which had the charge vsed such diligence, that the se-uenth of Iuly they departed out of harbour. In them (besides the Knights of the Order) was imbarqued 600 Spaniards, and 300 of the Great Bishops souldiers, conducted by *Pompeius Columba*: the mariners were part hired, part slaues, to whom libertie was promised, if they would lustily do their endeuour to get into the hauen, and to be accounted of as the rest of the souldiers were. And because they would relieue the besieged not with men onely, but with B victuall also, they put into the same gallies fiue hundred bushels of wheat, beside gunpouder, salt-peeter, and lead for shot. And although it was thought a most hard matter, by the hauen it self to enter into the Island, the Turks possessing it and all the places therabouts; neuerthe-lesse there was in the Knights such an earnest desire to relieue their Brethren, that they pro-mised both to themselues and others, all things easie & safe. But when they began to approch the Island, they sent a scout before, to vnderstand by signes from the castle of S. *Angelo*, whether they were to proceed forward or not: who comming so far that they might discouer the signe, perceiued thereby that they should retyre. Which thing the Turks perceiuing also, presently with the smoake of their great ordnance and other things, they so obscured the aire as with a C thicke cloud, in such sort as that those signes were no more to be discerned: but all in vaine: for why, our men had alreadie discried them: so those three gallies returned againe into Sici-lia. For, *Valetta* that good Prince thought it not meet to bring so many of the sacred knights, so many noble gentlemen and valiant soldiers, into a most manifest danger: for he saw certaine of the Turkes gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the hauen Marza Moxet, at a place called the Little sands, to impeach the going in or out of the hauen Maior. About the same time, they which lay in garrison in the citie Melita, hearing of the notable sallie made by the souldiers lately come, and taking heart thereupon, at such time as the Turks were fetching in a certaine boorie of cattell, the horsemen pursued them, and hauing slaine diuers of them, recouered the prey; and yet not so contented, chased them euen to their campe. But the other Turks seeing their fellowes flying in such haste towards them, raised an alarum, ran to their Generals tent, D and for that time ceased their batterie.

Three gallies depart from Messana with aid towards Malta.

The gallies vpon a signe giuen returne backe.

The Great master probably coniecturing, that the Turkes would in short time assault both the towne and castle of S. *Michael*, thought good by his presence to encourage and strengthen the garrison; and therefore was about to haue gon thither by a bridge made of boats from the one point of the land to the other, betweene S. *Michaels* and S. *Angelo*: but quickely vnderstan-ding the certaintie thereof, returned againe into his castle. Some there be that thinke, For him to haue so done, had been a venturous part, and full of danger, and therefore to haue beene dis-commenned: for that great things are performed, not so much by strength of bodie as of mind, by politique counsell and direction, wherwith a Generall (although absent) may yet with his E forces be alwaies present; but the Generall once lost (which may easily happen if he will pre-sent his person to the danger) we see most commonly all fall together with him, no otherwise than doth all parts of the bodie when the soule departeth. But other some are of contrarie opinion, That the Generals presence, especially in great dangers, is both praise-worthy and most necessarie; for that he, as the soule, cannot prouide for or rule the bodie, except it be present, yea placed therein: and that *Valetta* in so doing, followed the examples of the grea-test kings and most famous Generals; as of *Alexander* the Great, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Themistocles*, *Ma-rius*, and others: whose words vnto their souldiers were these, *I my selfe will be your conducter in the field, in the battel partaker of the danger with you, you shalbe in all things as my selfe.* Besides that, who knoweth not, that as in other things, so most of all in martial affaires, all things are better, F more orderly, and more easily done when the master is present; neither was the learned Poet his meaning any thing els, when in the wars betwixt the Latines & the Rutilians, he saith, *Vr-get præsentia Turni?* whereupon they concluded, that the Great Master in going had done both valiantly, wisely, and according to his dutie. But this we leaue for martial men to determine.

The king of Algiers commeth to aid the Turke.

At the same time the king of Algiers came to aid the Turks with 7 gallies and ten galliots, and in them 2200 souldiers; who sorie that he was not there at the begining, and desi-rous

rous to do some notable act, and withall to make proofe of the valor of his soldiers, request the great Bassa to bestow vpon him the first place in the besieging the castle S. *Michael*: which he not only granted, but joined to his forces 2000 of his own best soldiers. These things obtained, he commanded ninetie small vessels by deuises to be carried ouer land out of the port Marza Moxet to Aqua Martia, for that he purposed on that side to besiege the castle by water. But *Valetta* perceiuing the enemies purpose, both by seeing that was done, and also aduertised thereof before by a Christian fugitiue; presently called vnto him two faithfull and skilfull shipmasters of Malta, and imparting the matter vnto them, demanded what they thought best to be done to keep the Turks from landing, as it seemed they purposed at the walls foot. They quickly perceiuing the matter, answered, That in their opinion, if a chaine were made of masts and saile-yards as spars joined together with iron rings, and so drawne all alongst from the corner of the castle of S. *A*[illegible], to that place where the enemy thought to land, their purpose might be so defeated. This deuice so pleased the Great master, that the night following such a chain was made, and fast mored in the appointed place. The Turks so soone as it was [illegible] perceiuing this bar, stood as men doubtfull, not knowing how by any means to land their men, as they had before purposed. Whilest they stood so abashed, a Christian fugitiue a most desperat villaine (in which kind of men foolish hardinesse is accounted a vertue, and desperation, constancie) came to the king, and promised him to breake the chaine, and so with a hatchet in his hand cast himselfe into the sea; after whom followed two or three mo to helpe him: who swimming to the chaine, got vp vpon it, and began to hew apace with their hatchets. Which the Christians beholding, suddenly fiue or six of the Maltæses swam thither with their drawne swords in their hands, and hauing slaine two of them, caused the other to flie: after which time none of the Turks was so hardie as to attempt the same. The barbarous king for all that gaue not ouer his purpose so, but with wonderfull diligence prepared for the siege, which the fifteenth day of Iuly began both by sea and land. But the defendants turning their great ordinance vpon that place from whence the galliots came, with the furie thereof (in the space of three houres, which the assault endured) slew two thousand Turkes, and sunke twelue of the Galliots: the rest comming as far as the chaine, when they could get no farther, nor land their men, turned their prows vpon the corner of the castle, but were glad at last to retire and leaue that they came for vndone. The assault by land also endured fiue houres, wherein many of the Turks were slaine: and of the defendants 200, amongst whom was *Fredericus* the Viceroy of Sicilia his son, strucke in sunder with a great shot, *Gerdius* a Frenchman, *Franciscus Sanoghera* and his nephew *Iohn*, Spaniards, all Knights of the Order: *Medina* was also wounded, whereof he afterward died. But *Valetta* considering into what danger the state of Malta was like to fall, if he should be constrained to fight many such fights, where his soldiers wearied day & night without rest, were still to incounter with fresh men, and heard nothing of any aid or new supplie; the 17 day of Iuly he sent a messenger into Sicilia, who swam from the castle to the farthest part of the bay to Aqua Martia, and from thence escaped vnknowne thorow the midst of the enemies, vnto the citie of Melita, and so in a little frigot came to Messana. By him the Great master sent letters to the Viceroy, requesting him to send him his owne two gallies with those Knights which were at Messana, and such other souldiers as might in them be transported: willing them, that as soone as they came to the Island, they should houer off aloof before the hauen, readie vpon a signe giuen to thrust in. The same time that this messenger arriued at Messana, came thither also the fleet from Spaine, wherein were many of the Knights of the Order from diuers nations. The Viceroy desirous to send these two gallies to *Valetta*, sent letters before vnto him in secret characters by two frigots, wherein he certified him that he would send the gallies, requiring to haue from him some signe wherby they might at their comming know whether they should enter or retire: which frigots taking diuers courses, one of them laded with medicines, as was afterwards knowne, was intercepted by the enemy: the other although she came in safetie to Melita, yet for as much as all the passages betwixt the castle of S. *Michael* and the citie Melita, were certaine dayes before by the diligence of the enemie shut vp, and three which had vsed to passe too and fro, intercepted and most cruelly executed; and besides that, the hauen straightly kept: the Knights of Messana could haue no further direction from the Great master, for the safe [illegible]ing of the two Gallies: yet neuertheless because he had requested them, and they themselues were of the same opinion (as he

A desperat fugitiue.

The king of Algiers notably repulsed both by sea and land.

A hard shift to escape nawes.

A he had before written) that where all is in question, the aduenture of a little part is lesse to be feared; they thought it good to aduenture them, yet with this regard, not to expose all those knights to so great a danger, but of them all to send onely fortie, with a conuenient number of other soldiers, and with them *Salazar* a Spanish captaine was sent by the Viceroy to be landed in the Island Gaulos, who should afterwards from thence in a boat (for that purpose towed along by the gallies) passe ouer into the Island of Malta as a Spie, to take view both of the citie and enemies campe.

In the meane time the Turks mindfull of the losse receiued in the assault of the castle S. *Michael*, and desirous of reuenge, did so violently batter the castle with their great ordnance, that what the defendants repaired by night, that they still beat downe againe by day: and in time
B of batterie made a bridge, which the 20 day of Iuly before the Sun rising they laied ouer the ditch, that they might as if it had bin vpon euen ground, come to fight hand to hand with the Christians. Which seen, and quickly perceiued what danger it might bring, by and by *Parisot* the Great masters nephew, and *Agleria*, both knights, with certaine mercinarie soldiers sallied out to haue burnt the bridge, but were so receiued of the Turks, that they were almost all slain together with *Parisot* and *Agleria*, and yet the exploit vnperformed. The Turks without ceasing continued their furious batterie vntill the eight and twentieth of Iuly, which day in the afternoone they in diuers places assaulted the castle, thrice they with fresh and new supplies relieued their repulsed and wearied soldiers, and so fiercely maintained the assault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the Castle. But the defendants with no lesse resolution
C withstood them, repulsing them with their weapons, with shot, fire, and force, and at length inforced them with no small losse of their men to retire from the wals. This victorie so incouraged the besieged, that now they made small reckoning of the enemie: but forasmuch as our men alwaies spared their great ordnance but in time to fight, and sallied not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the garrison was but weake, and that shot & pouder grew scarce in the Castle. Yet deceiued in both, for that it was rather of purpose, than for want, so commanded by the Great Master; who hearing nothing of the comming of any aid, and seeing the enemy to giue daily more fierce assaults, would not vainly spend his most necessary helps. The Turks perceiuing what little good they had done with their often assaults, determined now to proue what might be done by vndermining the castle; and had almost brought one of their
D mines to perfection before it was by the Christians discouered: and to the intent they should the lesse marke it, they caused two gallies to come as neere as they could to the wals, & to batter that place; in hope that whilest our men gazed vpon that was done openly, they should the lesse regard what they were working in secret, that so they might in the meane time more easily get into the castle. But the besieged carefull of all that was to be cared for, perceiuing their purpose, with a countermine defeated their mine, & by the couragiousnesse of certain of their soldiers, but especially of one Ancient, draue out the enemy, who hauing cast certaine pots of wild-fire before him into the mine, and following presently after with a piece of fire-woike in his hand, forced him out. For which good seruice he was by the Great master rewarded with a chaine of gold of fiue pound weight. And because of vertue springeth vertue, which stil re-
E steth vpon difficulties, the next day, which was the first of August, the bridge which wee said the enemie had made ouer the ditch, was by a sally made by the defendants burnt downe with fire and gunpouder cast vpon it: which was in good time done, for the next day, the Sun now declining, the Turks again assailing that part of the castle where *Carolus Rufus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulsed. This assault endured 3 houres, in which time 300 of the Turks were there slain: and of the knights, *Rufus* himselfe and *Baresius*, with certaine mercinarie soldiers. At this time the Christians were by the enemie so shut in with the multitude of great ordnance, that they could not so much as looke into the ditch or shew themselues, much lesse sally out, but they were presently set off. Yet did they not for all that make spare of their liues when occasion was giuen them to performe any notable exploit: as appeared by *Calderonius* a
F Spaniard, who seeing some viewing that part of the wall which the enemy had most battered and shaken at the castle bulwarke, doubted not to sally out, but was presently taken with a bullet and slaine: which mischance when it might seeme of right to haue terrified the rest from attempting the like, did indeed the more incense them; so that when they saw the enemy exceeding busie in filling the ditch, they, resolutely set downe to offer themselues to most assured

A bridge made ouer the Castle ditch by the Turks.

The Turkes repulsed.

A mine of the Turks defeated.

The bridge made by the Turks burnt.

sured death, rather than to fall into the hands of the mercileſſe enemie, agreed to ſallie ou[t] G
night, and to meet with his deſignes. Whereupon an hundred, part Knights, part other ſouldi-
ers, ſallying forth, cauſed the enemie to forſake the ditch and betake himſelfe to flight, of
whom they ſlew about foureſcore, and loſt of their owne, ten men: amongſt whom were *Io-*
annes and *Manicrinus* two Knights, whoſe heads the Turks the next day ſet vp vpon two ſpears
vpon their trenches, that they might be ſeene by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day, they of the citie of Melita at night made at one inſtant a number of fires, and
as if it were in triumph diſcharged great vollies of ſmall ſhot, with many other tokens of ioy:
which as wel the beſieged as the Turks thought verily to haue bin done vpon diſcouerie of
the Chriſtian fleet, or els the landing of ſuch forces as were come to remoue the ſiege: wheras H
indeed it was neither, but done only to ſhew their cheerefulnes, and to keepe the Turks in ſu-
ſpence with the noueltie of the matter: who for all that were not ſlacke in their buſineſſe, but
with earth filled vp the ditch at the caſtle bulwarke, wherby it came to paſſe that they could
not be hurt by the flankers made in that place to ſcoure the ditch, but might thereby, vpon
plaine ground, without ſtay paſſe vnto the wall, now opened and ouerthrowne with the con-
tinuall batterie, and with two great pieces (which they had planted vpon a high mount which
they had newly caſt vp on the right hand the bulwarke Sauoire) they began to play vpon the
caſtle, and at the firſt ſhot, ſhot into the loupe where *Franciſcus Caſtilia* commanded. *Ioannes*
Bernardus Godinetius a Spaniſh knight was there ſlain with a ſmall ſhot. The ſame day *Franciſ-*
Aquilates a Spaniard fleeth to the Turks. *cus Aquilates* a Spaniard one of the garriſon ſoldiers, perſuaded by feare and hope (in dangers I
two euill counſellors) fled out of the town S. *Michael* to the enemie; perſuading the Turks Co-
lonels to giue a freſh aſſault, aſſuring them that they ſhould without doubt win the towne, be-
cauſe there was but 400 ſoldiers left aliue in it, and they (as he ſaid) almoſt ſpent with labour
and wounds, all the reſt being dead. Which the Turks hearing, and ſeeing faire breaches both
in the wals of the new city and of the caſtle of S. *Michael*, wide enough for carts to go thorow,
they determined with all their forces to aſſault both places at once, and to proue if there were
The Turkes at one time aſſault the new city and the caſtle S. Michael. yet ſo much ſtrength left in thoſe holds, as again to repulſe them: ſo the 7 day of Auguſt at one
inſtant they aſſaulted the new city at the caſtle bulwark, and the caſtle S. *Michael* at the breach,
with ſuch a multitude, that all the earth ſeemed to be couered with men round about. The
thundring of the great ordnance, the noiſe of the ſmall ſhot, with the clattering of armour, and K
noiſe of trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, with the cry of men on both ſides was
ſo confuſed and great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue been confounded together. Which
when the Knights in the city Melita heard, and ſaw the heauens obſcured with ſmoake, fearing
that the Turks (as at the caſtle S. *Elmo*) would neuer giue ouer the aſſault vntill they had woon
both the towne and the caſtle; preſently all the garriſon horſemen iſſued out of the citie, and
The garriſon ſoldiers of Melita ſallying out ſanſe the Turks to giue ouer the aſſault at Saint Michaels. to auert the Turks from the aſſault, ſet vpon thoſe Turks which lay at Aqua Martia: who all
ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, fled, the Chriſtian horſemen hardly purſuing them with bloudy
execution, and they in their flight pittiouſly crying out vpon their fellows for helpe. Where-
by it came to paſſe, that they which were aſſailing the citie and caſtle, to reſcue their diſcomfi-
ted fellowes, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault: ſo with great ſlaughter foiled on both ſides by
the Chriſtians, they returned to their trenches, when they had loſt about fifteene hundred at L
the aſſault, beſide them which were ſlaine in the chaſe by the horſemen of Melita. Of the de-
fendants of both places were ſlaine aboue an hundred, and almoſt as many wounded. This
fight endured about fiue houres. *Valetta* deliuered of ſo great a danger, that day and certaine
others cauſed publique prayers to be made, and went himſelfe with the multitude of the citi-
zens to the Church, to giue thanks to Almightie God for that victorie.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Garzias* the Viceroy was aduertiſed from Calabria, that
certaine ſhips laded with men, victuall, and other prouiſion neceſſarie for the wars, were com-
ming from Conſtantinople to Malta: wherefore he forthwith ſent *Altamira* and *Gildandrada*
two noblemen, with fiue gallies to meet them: who being come within thirtie miles of Malta,
met with no ſuch ſhips, but only one frigot and a galliot; the frigot they tooke, but the galliot M
eſcaped to the enemies fleet at Malta.

Muſtapha the Turks General now thinking no man ſo ſtrong which might not with continu-
all labour and watching be wearied and ouercome, reſolued not to giue vnto the beſieged any
time of reſt, but commanded his ſouldiers againe to aſſault the breach at the Caſtle of Saint
Michel,

A *Michael*; where they were by the valour of the defendants, with no ſmall ſlaughter quickly re
pulſed: neither did the Baſſa giue ſo many aſſaults, for the hope he had to win thoſe places, but
rather to perform the duty of a valiant Generall, and to ſatisfie *Solymans* pleaſure, who had ex-
preſſely commanded, either to win that Iſland, or there all to loſe their liues. He alſo ſent a
Muſtapha ſendeth a meſſenger to Solyman. galliot in haſt with letters to *Solyman*; wherein he ſhewed him the ſtate of the fleet, with what
difficulties the army was diſtreſſed, what ſmal hope there was of winning the places beſieged,
how well the Chriſtians were prouided, with many other ſuch things.

In the meane time thoſe two gallies of Malta (which we haue before ſpoken of) departing
from Meſſana, came to Syracuſa, where they ſtaied a day. The next day after, in going out of
the hauen, they met with one of Malta in a ſmall boat comming from Pozalo ſore wounded:
B he being demanded how hee was ſo hurt; told them, That landing by night with his boat and
one companion, he was requeſted by two Sicilians which dwelt there, to reſt there that night:
which they doing, about midnight fiue Turks brake into the houſe vpon them, killed his com-
panion, carried away the Sicilians, and he wounded as he was, hardly eſcaped by the benefit
of the night: moreouer he ſaid, That the Sicilians had told the Turkes, that two gallies were
come into that port, with ſouldiers and other warlike prouiſion bound for Malta, Wherby the
knights perceiued, that their comming would be diſcouered vnto the enemie, and that it was a
moſt dangerous thing, or rather impoſſible to get into the hauen of Malta, as they had before
purpoſed: neuertheleſſe, to conduct *Salazar* with his little boat, they kept on their courſe. But
as they were ſailing, they deſcried two gallies and one galliot going before them, who ſeeing
C the gallies comming after them, made with all ſpeed to Malta: and were no doubt thoſe gal-
lies, from whence thoſe fiue Turkes came, which had done thoſe things which the wounded
Maltæſe reported. For all that, theſe gallies kept on their courſe as far as Pozalo, from whence
they certified the Viceroy by letters, all that had happened: and not daring to put to ſea, the
South wind blowing with a ſtiffe gale againſt them, they returned backe againe to Syracuſa,
expecting there farther direction from the Viceroy. For which cauſe, they forthwith ſent one
of the knights to him to Meſſana; by whom they receiued anſwere, That they ſhould goe no
farther, but to ſtay for the comming of the whole fleet, ready in ſhort time to paſſe ouer to
Malta. But *Salazar* brought by the gallies to Pozalo, reſolued with his little boat to go on: &
although the day he departed thence, the aire was troubled with great wind, thunder & rain,
D yet the dayes following proouing more calme, he in ſhort time arriued in the Iſland of Malta,
Salazar a Spaniſh captaine ouerthroweth the Turks camp. and came in ſafetie to the citie Melita; and there diſguiſed himſelfe in Turkiſh apparell, and ta-
king with him one companion, who could alſo ſpeake the Turkiſh language, by night got into
the enemies camp: where diligently marking all things, they perceiued that there was in al the
Turks army of land ſoldiers ſcarce 14000, and of them many wounded and ſicke; and that the
reſt was but an vnſeruiceable and feeble multitude, for that the courſe of warres had (as com-
monly it doth) conſumed their beſt ſouldiers. When they had thus viewed the camp, they re-
turned again to the citie; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Paccius* a Spaniard, a venturous
and valiant man, went to a certaine place neere vnto the watch tower of Maleca: which when
they had curiouſly viewed, *Paccius* was there left, that obſeruing the ſignes from the Iſland of
E Gaulos and the citie of Melita, hee might giue knowledge of all things to the Viceroy at his
approch, as he was by *Salazar* inſtructed. As for *Salazar* himſelfe, he in his little boat (which
at his comming into the Iſle hee had there left) happily returned to Meſſana, and there decla-
red vnto the Viceroy all that hee had ſeene: conſtantly affirming amongſt other things, That
the Turkes fleete was but weake, lame, and diſfurniſhed both of men and munition, farre vn-
able to encounter with 10000 Chriſtians. About which time alſo, one of the two frigots
which were before ſent to Malta, returned with another Spaniard, & a fugitiue from the Turks
campe: and foure gallies before gone from Meſſana, were alſo come in with fourteene Turks
taken about the Iſland of Malta, who all confirmed the ſame that was by *Salazar* reported:
F Which was, That the Turkes armie was with often aſſaults wonderfully weakened, both in
number and ſtrength; ſo that they could not with ſtripes be enforced to the aſſault, for which
the Baſſa had with his owne hands ſlaine diuers of them: and that which more encreaſed
their feare, they ſaw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof: Beſides that,
they ſaw the Chriſtians with inuincible courage to defend their ſtrong places, and not to ſpend
one ſhot in vaine: Wherefore they were ſorie, and repented that they euer tooke in hand

that

that expedition; they deteſted ſuch a war, ſhrinking as much as they could from the aſſault, and as they might ſtealing quite away, which many of them did, ſpecially ſuch as had before abiured the Chriſtian Faith. For which cauſe diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandement giuen by the great Baſſa, that they ſhould reſolue with themſelues either to winne the towne, or there all to lay vp their bones, for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had ſo commanded, whom to gainſay, was in it ſelfe death. Theſe and ſuch like perſuations, cauſed the Viceroy ſomwhat the ſooner to thinke of the bringing forth of his fleet: the beſieged in the meantime did what men might for defence of the place & themſelues. There was in the caſtle one *Franciſcus Giuara* captain of the vauntgard, a noble & valiant gentleman, of a great conceit, he about ten foot from the towne wall which the enemie had with their great ordnance beaten down, cauſed a curtain to be drawn ſo foot long, & 5 foot thicke, with flankers at both ends, which in two nights was brought to perfection, & was afterwards a great help to the beſieged. The enemie in the meantime began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch, where *Bo[illegible]ſegna* a Spaniard and a moſt valiant knight had the charge: which the beſieged perceiuing, a countermine defeated the ſame. It hapned in the meantime, that as a fugitiue was ſwimming to the towne, he was taken by the enemy, which much grieued the beſieged, deſirous to haue vnderſtood ſomething of the ſtate of the enemies camp, and of their purpoſes. Now when the former mine had taken ſo euill ſucceſſe, part of the Turkes aſſailed the caſtle S. *Michael*, & part with gunpouder thought to haue blowne vp the caſtle bulwarke: but by the carefulneſſe and courage of the defendants, al their attempts were diſappointed; for many of the Turks were in both places ſlaine, and certaine bags of pouder taken from them in the mine. With theſe and other ſuch difficulties, *Muſtapha* and *Piall* the Turks Generals diſappointed of their hope, conſulted with the other great captaines of the army, Whether they ſhould there ſtill continue that deſperat ſiege, or depart? Where moſt were cleere of opinion, That it was beſt betime to depart. Yet for all that, the old Baſſa ſaid, He would there ſtay, vntill the galliot which he had before ſent to Conſtantinople, were returned with anſwer from *Solyman*, and in the meantime both by force and policie to ſeeke after victorie: which thing he oftner did, than ſtood with the broken eſtate of his armie, or of the beſieged; neither reſting himſelfe nor ſuffering others to take reſt: for one while he battered the wals, another while he wrought mines or els made bridges, ſometime he caſt vp mounts, and then again filled the ditches; and euer and anon gaue one aſſault or another. In all which doing he vſed ſuch induſtrie, that whatſoeuer he tooke in hand, was in ſhort time brought to ſuch perfection as might haue carried a ſtronger place, had not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his ſtrong and politique deuiſes.

The Turkes mines defeated by the Chriſtians

Robles gouernor of the caſtle of S. Michael, ſlaine.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the Camp-maſter, and Gouernour of the caſtle S. *Michael*, was by night viewing the ruins of the wall, he was ſtrucke in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlain; leauing behind him to his fellowes, the great deſire of himſelfe: for why, he was a man for many his good parts (wherewith he had many times ſtood the defendants in great ſtead) worthily beloued. In whoſe ſtead the Great maſter ſent one of the Colonels that was with himſelfe, a moſt expert and reſolute captaine, to take charge of S. *Michaels* caſtle; who by his valiant care and prouidence ſo well diſcharged the charge committed vnto him, that as often as the Turks attempted the place, ſo often they were with loſſe repulſed.

The two gallies with the galliot, deſcried by the gallies of Malta (as we haue before ſaid) told *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall, that the Chriſtian fleet was ready to come forth: wherefore hee fearing the ſudden comming thereof, cauſed ſeuentie gallies to be in readineſſe: beſides which forty others lay in the hauen Marza Moxet vnſeruiceable, as wanting both men & other equipage; for that was ſpent in making bridges, mines, & other ſuch things neceſſarie for the ſiege: as for the men, they were part with ſickneſſe, and part with often aſſaults conſumed. Wherefore *Piall* for certaine daies kept himſelfe by day in the port Maior neere the ſhore, and by night put forth to ſea, expecting the comming of the fleet. But after long looking, when he ſaw no man appeare, hee againe landed his ſouldiers: and becauſe at land the Baſſa began to want pouder, of euery thirtie barrels of pouder in euery gally, hee tooke out twentie, and of ſome twentie fiue, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turks began with greater fury than at any time before, to batter the walls of both townes, eſpecially with thoſe great pieces which they call Baſiliskes, whoſe ſhot of two hundred pound weight was ſeuen hands about; whereby the walls of the caſtle of S. *Michael* were beaten flat. And at the ſame time,

time, the Baſſa at the caſtle S. *Angelo*, had with continual batterie ſo ſhaken the caſtle bulwark, that it was almoſt fallen quite downe. Theſe breaches thus made, when the Turks ſaw both townes bared of wals and other defendants, and laid ſo open, that nothing ſeemed now to let them to looke vpon their enemies, they made no longer ſtay, but the 18 day of Auguſt (the Sun being now at the higheſt) with all their power fiercely aſſaulted both the towns. Thrice they were repulſed, and ſtill came on afreſh; yet at length beaten downe on euery ſide with greater ſlaughter, they were glad ſhamefully to giue ouer the aſſault, and againe to retire to their trenches. In this moſt cruell fight (which endured fiue houres) the inuincible courage of the Great maſter notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to behold, was ſtill valiantly fighting in the face of the breach; whoſe preſence incouraged not the ſouldiers only, but euen boyes and women to fight: for ſo it is, that men are more moued with example, than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turkes, part ſtood ſtill in the towne ditch, and to ſaue themſelues from the ſhot of the caſtle bulwarke, had with wonderful celeritie caſt vp a defence of earth, fagots, and other like matter, which they did of purpoſe to approch and to vnderminethe wals, and had therefore incloſed the ſpace of fifteen elnes: which when the beſieged perceiued, they bent certaine pieces of artillerie vpon it, and ſlew many of them, and with fire conſumed what was left. The next day the aſſault was at the ſame places by the enemie renewed, who by reaſon of his number of ſoldiers might eaſily ſend freſh men in ſtead of them which were wounded or wearie: and firſt, after their wonted manner they battered both the townes all that day vntill night; afterwards the Moone ariſing, about midnight with a horrible crie they began a moſt terrible aſſault, which at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians, who yet ſtill mindfull of their wonted valor, did ſo much with their weapons and fire-workes, that the enemie euill intreated, was glad after three houres fight to retire to his trenches. The ſame day a mine was by the defendants perceiued, at the caſtle bulwarke, wherein a hundred Turks there found, were almoſt all ſlaine, and the mine deſtroied. Yet for all this did not the enemie reſt at all, but the next day ſeuen times aſſaulted the ſame breaches, vſing now not weapons only, but fire-workes alſo; wherewith *Boſninſega* had his face ſo burnt, that he loſt one of his eies. At the ſame time alſo, the Turkes at a place called the Spurre, laboured mightily to haue gotten into the caſtle: where *Centius* a knight of an inuincible courage, got vp vpon the rampier, and with a pike couragiouſly thruſt them downe that were climing vp, and thruſting thorow one, diſcouraged the reſt, but was himſelfe wounded in the arme with a ſmal ſhot: yet when he had a little withdrawn himſelfe to haue his wound bound vp, he came againe to the rampier, and neuer departed from the fight, vntill he had (as a valiant conqueror) preſerued the place So the Turks with great ſlaughter on euery ſide repulſed, left the victory to the Chriſtians, of whom were ſlaine almoſt an hundred, and moſt of them (as at other times) with ſhot: amongſt whom were theſe moſt valiant knights; at the caſtle *Angelo*, *Fragus*; at the caſtle of S. *Michael*, *Scipio Piatus*, *Ioh. Baptiſta Soderinus*, *Paulus Bompertus*, *Marius Fagianus*, *Raffinus*, and certaine others, men worthie of longer life. The Turkes had alſo at the ſame time wrought a mine at the caſtle S. *Michael*, which was at once both diſcouered and deſtroied.

The Turkes at once aſſaile the townes S. Angelo and S. Michael, and are at both places repulſed.

Another aſſault

With theſe ſo many and ſo great aſſaults, certain of the knights (and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort) fearing leſt that which was ſo often attempted by the enemy, ſhould at length be effected, told the Great maſter, That they thought it conuenient and neceſſarie, to remoouc all the records, all the pictures and reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the caſtle S. *Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more ſtrength and aſſurance. The Great maſter, although he well knew that they which thus ſaid, ſpake it of a good mind, was for all that with that ſpeech exceedingly moued: wherfore he ſhortly anſwered them, That ſo to do, were nothing els but to applaule & diſcourage the minds, not of the Maltæſes only, who had hitherto valiantly behaued themſelues, & don more than any man could haue hoped for, but alſo of the mercinarie ſouldiers, if they ſhould perceiue it: wherefore he was reſolued, either together to keep all, or loſe all: and becauſe none ſhould from thenceforth repoſe any hope in the ſtrength of the caſtle S. *Angelo*, he ſaid he would bring all the garriſon out of the caſtle into the towne, that there they might together with others withſtand the enemy; & that he would leaue in the caſtle none but gunners, who ſhould as need required ſhoot at the enemy: an anſwer truly well beſeeming a man of his place, & to be to al poſterity commended: for how can the ſouldier hope, which ſeeth his captain deſpaire of aduenture, where the chieftain ſeemes to be ſtrucke

The reſolute and ſweet of the Great Maſter.

with

The Turkes assault both the townes the fourth time.

with feare? Whilest the Grand master with this answer doth both ashame them and also encourage their quailing minds; the Turks (that this day as the other three before should not passe without assault) with the dawning of the day assailed the very same places with the greatest fury possible, especially at the ruins of the castle: where *San Romanus* an Auergnois, which had the charge of that place, lost this short and transitorie life, winning thereby immortall fame: and at S. *Michaels*, *Adornius* one of the knights, and *Fagio* with certain others, were grieuously wounded: for the enemy suddenly retiring from the assault, presently so thundred into the breaches with their great and small shot, that all the Island seemed to tremble, the heauens to burne, and the aire to be darkned with smoke. In the mean time *Valetta* thorowly wearied with the mornings fight, had withdrawne himselfe a little to breath himselfe: when sud-

The Turkes enter the new citie.

denly a Spanish priest, with his hands cast vp to heauen, came running to him, roaring and crying out, That all was lost and forlorne, and that three or foure ensignes of the enemies were by the castle breach broken into the towne. Which the great master hearing, suddenly clapt his helmet vpon his head, and with a pike in his hand, said vnto them that were about him,

The comfortable speech of the Great master when the Turks were entred.

Fellow souldiers, the houre is come wherein you may shew your selues the most valiant Champions of the Christian religion, if it be so, that you now also retaine the same valour which you haue in other battels shewed. There is no cause wherefore you should doubt of this last, for the enemie is the same; and the same God which hath hitherto preserued vs, will not now forsake vs: wherefore follow mee, valiant hearts.

This said, he hasted to the place where most danger was, and with him all the souldiers, all the citisens men and women, old and yong, yea the very children, all against the common enemy. There was fought a most dreadfull & dangerous battell: some kept the enemie from entring, some set vpon them that were already entred, whom they wounded, chased, and slew, although they notably resisted. Within, without, all was couered with weapons, darts, dead bodies, and bloud. The Great master was careful of al, and in euery place present, commending, exhorting, directing, as occasion required, performing at once all the duties of a most valiant souldier & worthie Generall. At length the Turkes with the setting of the Sun retired, and so the assault ceased. Thus was the Great master the vndoubted victor, but not without much bloud of his people, considering his small number: for in this fight he lost aboue 200 men, whereas of the enemies, beside them which were entred, whereof not one escaped, were slaine aboue 2000. These are those foure terrible assaults, presently giuen one after another vnto the besieged.

The Turk with great slaughter again repulsed.

Garzias the Viceroy in the meane tarried for nothing else to transport his armie to Malta, but for the comming of *Io. Cardona*, who with twelue gallies was gone to Panormo, to conduct thence foure ships laded with prouision: but when he saw him stay long, he sent to him in post, That if he could not with such speed as was required tow forth those ships, hee should spend no longer time, but take out the prouision into his gallies, and with speed to come away, So the Viceroy with a fleet of 72 gallies the twentieth day of August set forward from Messana to Syracusa, wherein he carried ten thousand select souldiers, amongst whom were aboue two hundred knights of the Order of S. *Iohn*, and aboue fortie of the Order of S. *Stephen*, which is an Order of knights instituted by *Cosmos Medices*, Duke of Florence, to the imitation of the knights of Malta in the yeare 1561, and haue their residence at Cosmopolis, a new built city in the Island of Elba in the Tuscane sea, ouer against Piombino. Besides these Knights, in this fleet were diuers noble and valiant gentlemen of Italie, Sicilie, and other countries. The fleet being arriued at Syracusa, the Viceroy sent *Auria* with one gallie and a boat to Malta, to land a man, to know of *Paccius* (left, as we haue before said, for a watch in the Island at Maleca) what newes, or what he had seen. By whom it was vnderstood, That no ship was seene at sea, but one galliot, which the one and twentieth day of August in the morning made towards Gaulos, & the same day towards night as hee was informed by the watchmen of Maleca, sixteene gallies came to water at Saline, but what became of them afterwards, by reason of the comming on of the night could not be descried

In this while the besieged had notably repaired the breach at the castle bulwarke, & had in sundry places aptly placed certain great pieces to flanker the ditches, & to beat the mount cast vp by the enemie at the bulwarke of Boninsegna, that they might from thence annoy all the plain of the castle with their smal shot. But the Turks hauing determined with all their forces at once to assault both the townes as before, brought an engine made of spars and boords, able to couer thirty men, vnder the breach at S. *Michaels*: whereby it came to passe, that none of the defen-

defendants could without danger shew themselues in the breach: which when they could by no means endure, they suddenly sallied out, & putting them to flight which were there couered, set fire on the engine and burnt it. In like manner, they which besieged the new city, were repulsed at the castle breach, & another like engine burnt. The next night, certain of the watch of the castle issued out, and hauing destroied the Turks engines prepared for the assailing of that place, and slaine them that were set for the keeping thereof, returned in safety into the castle. But when the enemies both that day and others following rested not, but repairing their mines, mounts, and engines, laboured in both places ro haue beaten the Christians from the wals; all their endeuour and labour was by the industry and valor of the defendants made frustrate. The besieged had at the castle breach made a mine, and laid in it eight barrels of pouder, that if the enemie should againe assault that place, he might there be blown vp: but whilst the Turks were for like purpose working a mine in the same place, they chanced vpon the mine before made, which they spoiled, and carried away all the pouder. Thus whilest they labour both on the one side and the other, *Mustapha* the Generall, a most expert and famous commander, considering that Summer now so far spent, he was not to vse longer delay; and withal, that resolute perseuerance oftentimes in war findeth out a way to victory; determined with all his power once againe to assault the castle S. *Michael*. Wherefore displaying the stately standerd of the Turkish Emperor, vpon the point whereof was fastened a globe of Gold, he commanded his souldiers to enter the breach; who now like desperat men attempted to haue performed his command, and were by the Christians valiantly encountred: so that in the breach was made a most terrible & doubtful fight. But when the Turks had now bin twice reiected & beaten downe; *Mustapha* perceiuing his souldiers as men halfe discouraged, but faintly to maintain the assault, came himselfe to the places, praying and exhorting them not to be discouraged, but that day to confirme their former labors and victories; and not to suffer their vanquished enemies to triumph ouer them: hee told them that the enemie had now no defence left wherewith to couer himselfe, that all was beaten downe flat, and that there remained only a few wearie & maimed bodies, which were not able long to indure the edge of their swords; that with such resolution they had before won the castle S. *Elmo*: last of all, hee by promising to some mony, to some honor and preferment, threatning some, & requesting others, incouraged some one way, some another, euery one according to his quality and disposition: who moued either with their Generals presence, promises, or threats, gaue a fresh and fierce assault. The fight was on both sides terrible, yet at length the Turks were again inforced to retire: for the defendants had cast vp a rampier, wheron they had fitly placed two field-pieces, wherwith they sore troubled the enemie, and at the first shot strucke in sunder one of those wooden engines, which the enemie had made stronger than the rest, couered with raw hides to keep it from burning, and rent in pieces fortie souldiers which were vnder it: and the same night they which were in the other towne and the castle bulwarke, sallying couragiously out, destroied all the enemies defences, and draue them from a mount which they had made vpon the fortifications of the Christians: whereby they perceiued plainly, what small courage the Turks had to fight, for vpon that mount they were almost 300, wheras of our men was but 25, with which smal number for all that, they had no mind to deale. The defendants had for like purpose as before, made another mine at the castle bulwarke, but perceiuing that it was in danger to be found by the enemie in repairing his fortifications without, they suddenly put fire vnto it, by force whereof threescore Turks which were within the danger of the place, were blowne vp and slaine.

A mine of the Christians found by the Turkes.

The Turkes desperatly assaile the towne of S. Michael.

The Turkes inforced to retire

Garzias the Viceroy, in the mean while that these things were in doing, departing with his fleet from Syracusa, with a prosperous wind kept on his course toward Pachynum, where they descried a tall ship at sea, driuen thither (as was afterward knowne) by tempest: shee out of the Island Mening was carrying a great supply of shot and pouder vnto the Turkes campe at Malta; but now ouertaken by the Christian fleet, easily yeelded, and was by the Viceroy sent by other mariners to Syracusa. And now the Christian fleet carried with a faire gale towards Malta, suddenly arose such a tempest from the East, that they were driuen to the Island Ægusa, two hundred and twentie miles West of Malta, from whence the first of September letters were brought from the Viceroy to the Great master, certifying him, That hee would in short time come with his fleet and relieue him. The same day also a Christian fled out of the Turks gallies, wherein he was captiue, to the city S. *Angelo*; who reported, That in the Turks camp were

The Christian fleet driuen by tempest to the Island Ægusa.

were few men able to fight, moſt of the armie being with wounds, famine, ſickneſſe, and other miſeries brought to extreame weakneſſe: and beſides that, that infinit numbers of them died daily: yet for all that he ſaid moreouer, that they were determined to beſiege the citie of Melita, and had already for that purpoſe mounted fiue great pieces of artillerie for batterie; and that they had but a few daies before taken twelue, & the laſt day of all fourteene horſemen of the garriſon ſouldiers of that citie. In the meane while the fleet which was driuen (as we ſaid) to Æguſa, the rage of the ſea being now well appeaſed, came to Drepanum, and from thence toward Gaulos, as was before intended: where by the way the two gallies of Malta light vpon two of the Turks galliots, and tooke them.

The Chriſtian fleet commeth to Gaulos.

The fift day of September the Chriſtian fleet came to Gaulos, where the Viceroy perceiuing not the appointed ſigne from Malta, whereby he might ſafely land, returned forthwith backe againe to Pozalo. Another *Auria* immediatly following him, told him, That he had ſeen the ſignes, and aſſured him of ſafe landing in the Iſland of Malta: wherewith the Viceroy encouraged, the next day towards night returned againe to Gaulos.

A fugitiue diſcouereth the enemies purpoſes to the Great maſter.

The ſame day a Chriſtian captiue fled from the Turks to S. *Angelo*, and told the Great maſter, That hee was come to bring him good newes, how that the Turkes had determined to proue their laſt fortune in aſſaulting the Caſtle S. *Michael*, which they would do the next day: where if the ſucceſſe were anſwerable to their deſire, they would then tarrie, but if not, then forthwith to be gone: and that *Muſtapha* the more to encourage his ſouldiers, had promiſed fiue talents of gold to the enſigne bearers, that ſhould firſt aduance their enſignes vpon the wals and farther to promote them to greater places of honor; as for the reſt, he would reward euery one of them according to their deſert, either with mony or preferment. *Valetta* thinking all theſe things to be by Gods appointment diſcouered vnto him by ſuch men, as they had from time to time been: firſt gaue thanks vnto Almighty God; and after that, with all diligence prepared ſuch things as he thought moſt neceſſary for the repulſing of the enemy. But the Turks all that day with their great ordnance battered the new citie, and the ſhipping in the hauen, in ſuch ſort that one of the great ſhips was there ſunke.

The Viceroy arriueth at Malta, and landeth his forces.

In the morning *Garzias* the Viceroy with his fleet arriued at the Iſland of Malta, and there quickly and quietly landed his forces, and whileſt his gallies watered at Gaulos, went forward with the armie about halfe a mile, inſtructing the Generalls and Colonells, what he thought needful to be done, commanding all proclamations and commands to be made in the name of the king of Spaine, vntill they came to the Great maſter, and then in all things to obey him as their Soueraigne: and charged *Aſcanius Cornia* the Generall, in all his actions to follow the counſell of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men, hee left them marching towards Melita. About noone he retired to his gallies, and ſailing Eaſtward, came with all his fleet within the ſight of the citie of Melita, about 3 miles diſtant from the South ſhore. They of the citie vpon ſight of the fleet, in token of ioy diſcharged all the great artillerie, which was anſwered from the fleet, by diſcharging all their great ordnance twice. After that, he returned as he had before determined into Sicilia, to take into his gallies the Duke of Vrbins companies, which were come to Meſſana, and certaine bands of Spaniards at Syracuſa, and ſo forthwith to return to Malta, to attend the departing of the Turks fleet, being now euill appointed, and already as good as halfe ouerthrowne.

The Turks, who (as is before ſaid) had purpoſed to proue their laſt fortune vpon the towne of S. *Michael*, had now certaine daies before the comming of the fleet, begun to truſſe vp their baggage: but as ſoon as they heard that the fleet was come, and the army landed, there ſuddenly aroſe a wonderful tumultuous confuſion amongſt them, ſome cried, Arme, arme, and other-ſome as faſt to be gone: and being generally all afraid, euery one according to his diſpoſition, betooke himſelfe to his weapons or to his heels; the greateſt number thruſt together into their trenches as neere as they could vnto the great ordnance: and ſo burning the engines and fortifications, with all the ſpeed they could imbarked their great ordnance and baggage. Which they in the town of S. *Angelo* perceiuing, not expecting the commandement of the Great maſter in ſo ſudden an opportunity, courageouſly ſallied outto Burmola, where certain Turks kept a huge great piece of ordnance; who now hauing no minde to fight, betooke themſelues to flight, & forſooke the piece; which they of the town preſently drew within their wals: and if the new come forces had that day charged the enemy as they diſorderly ran to their gallies, happily

A pily they had either found an occaſion of victory, or at leaſtwiſe taken from them the greateſt part of their artillerie. But it may be, that they followed the old militarie ſaying, That vnto the fl ing enemie a man ſhould make a bridge of ſiluer. Beſides that, they thinking it not conuenient to depart from the prouiſion and things which they had brought for the reliefe of the beſieged, which for the roughneſſe of the way and want of horſes were hardly carried, would not prouoke the enemy with any skirmiſh: wherby it came to paſſe, that the Turks without let imbarked their great ordnance, their baggage, and moſt part of their army. The 11 of September, whileſt the Turks fleet was brought out of the hauen Marza Moxet, a fugitiue of Genoa came in haſt to the Great maſter, & told him, that 10000 Turks were marching toward Melita, to meet with the Chriſtians vpon the way. Which thing the Great maſter hearing, preſently

The Turks forſake the ſiege.

B ſent a ſufficient number of good ſoldiers to the caſtle S. *Elmo*, there to ſet vp one of the enſigns of the ſacred Order: who comming thither, found there foure and twentie great pieces, ſome for batterie, ſome for the field, which they could not in ſo great haſt remoue thence.

The Turks fleet departing out of the hauen Marza Moxet to the port of S. *Paul*, there landed ſeuen thouſand men, with *Muſtapha* their Generall, who was falſly informed, That the Chriſtians were not aboue three thouſand ſtrong: and from thence incouraged with the ſmall number of the enemie (as they ſuppoſed) they marched directly toward Melita. The Chriſtians alſo marching orderly & ready to giue battell, held on their way to meet them: and at the riſing of an hill both armies meeting together, they gaue a great ſhout, and withall the formoſt began the battell, where ſome few were at the firſt ſlain on both ſides. But the Chriſtians ſtill

The Turks ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians, flie to their gallies.

C growing vpon them both in number and ſtrength, the Turks finding themſelues ouercharged, fled, the Chriſtians purſuing them and killing them vntill they came to their gallies; where in ſtriuing who ſhould get in firſt, about foure hundred of them were drowned in the ſea, beſides eighteen hundred ſlaine in the battell at land: and had the Chriſtian ſouldiers wel known the country, they had ſlain them euery mothers ſonne. The Turks thus driuen to their gallies, lay there in the hauen all the next day, and moſt part of the night following: but a little before day, vpon the ſhooting off of a great piece, the ſigne of their departure, they al hoiſed ſaile for Gercia, leauing the Iſland of Malta ſore impoueriſhed and waſted. In this ſiege the Turkes loſt about foure and twentie thouſand, whereof moſt part were of their beſt ſouldiers: and of the Chriſtians were ſlaine about fiue thouſand, beſides two hundred and forty knights of the Or-

The Turkes depart from Malta.

D der, men of diuers nations, but all worthie eternall fame, whoſe dead bodies the Great maſter cauſed to be honourably buried. The Turkes in their batterie during the ſiege, ſpent as is accounted, threeſcore and eighteen thouſand great ſhot.

If a man doe well conſider the difficulties and dangers the beſieged paſſed thorow in this fiue moneths ſiege, the manifold labors and perils they indured in ſo many and ſo terrible aſſaults, the ſmall reliefe to them ſent in ſo great diſtreſſe, with the deſperat obſtinacie of ſo puiſſant an enemy; he ſhall hardly find any place theſe many yeres more mightily impugned, or with greater valor and reſolution defended. The late beſieged, and now victorious prince, honorably acquited of ſo great an enemy, firſt commanded publique prayers with thankſgiuing to be made vnto the Giuer of all victory: after that, he rewarded the valiant, commended the reſt, and gaue thanks to all; he charitably relieued the ſicke and wounded, bewailed the ſpoile

The carefulnes of the Great maſter.

E of the Iſland, and carefully prouided for the repairing of the breaches and places battered: & yet in all this doing, diligently inquired after the enemies courſe and purpoſe, and was not in any thing remiſſe or ſecure, as in victorie moſt men are. But becauſe ſo great harmes could not without great helpes in ſhort time be repaired, and the returne of the proud enemie, not without cauſe the next yeare feared; he by letters to diuers great princes, & eſpecially to the grand Priors of the Order, in diuers countries, requeſted help; amongſt whom *George*, grand Prior of Germanie, and founder of the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, was one of the chiefeſt. The copie of which letters, becauſe they briefly containe what we haue before in this Hiſtorie at large written, I haue thought good here to ſet down, that the ſame may in ſuch order be read, as it was by the

F Great maſter himſelfe reported.

Brother *Valetta*, Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem, to the reuerend and religious our welbeloued brother in Christ, *George* of Hohenheim, called *Bombast*, Prior of our Priorie in Almaine, greeting.

The letters of the great master to the grād prior of Almaine, Concerning the manner of the Turkes proceedings in the siege of Malta.

Although wee doubt not but that by the letters and relation of many, you alreadie vnderstand of the comming of the Turkes to inuade these Islands, or rather vtterly to subuert our Societie: And the happily and heauenly victorie by vs obtained of it: yet if the same things shall by our letters also bee brought vnto you, wee haue thought the same will be vnto you a thing much more pleasing. For seeing that wee are certainly perswaded, that you in this no lesse happie than wholesome successe will giue most heartie thanks to Almightie God, and that the fruit of this good shall most of all redound vnto you, for the honour which you beare in our Order; wee haue willingly determined to participate this our ioy with you, and plainely and openly to protest, That we attribute this so notable and wonderfull a victorie to our Lord Christ Iesus, the greatest King of all Kings, and authour of all good things. Which that you may the more worthily and willingly doe, we will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an historie) but briefly and in few words. Sultan Solyman *the most mortall enemie of the Christian name, and especially of our Societie, not contented to haue spoyled vs of the most famous Island of the Rhodes, the castle of Tripolis, and almost whatsoeuer we had else; commanded a great and strong fleet to be made readie against vs; which departing from Constantinople the one and twentieth day of March, arriued heere the eighteenth day of May: Which fleet consisted of almost two hundred and fiftie gallies, galliots, and other ships. The number of the enemie that bare armes, according to the truth, was about fortie thousand more or lesse: Generall of the land forces, was* Mustapha Bassa; *and of the fleet,* Piall Bassa *was Admirall: who hauing spent a few dayes in landing their forces, viewing the places, pitching their tents, and setting things in order (as the manner of warre is) they began first to assaile the castle of S.* Elmo (*scituat in the mouth of the hauen, with great force, & a most furious batterie. Which when they had many dayes done without intermission, and had opened a great part of the wall, and with all kind of weapons assaulted the breach: yet was it by the valour and prowesse of our Knights, and other worthie souldiers, kept and defended by the space of thirtie fiue dayes, with the great losse and slaughter of the enemie: although the Castle it selfe, in the iudgement of many, seemed not possible to be but a few daies defended against so great a force. At length the foure and twentieth day of Iune, when our men could no longer indure the multitude and furie of the enemie, enuironed and shut vp both by sea and land, and destitute of all helpe, the castle was taken by the Turkes; those few of our men which were left, being all slaine. Of which victorie they being proud, began to besiege the castle and towne of S.* Michael, *and this new citie, especially at the castle and Portingall bulwarke: and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great Artillerie and warlike engines, they began in diuers places at once to batter and beat downe the walls. Which siege, the dreadful armie of the Turks by sea and land, made to bee most fearefull and terrible, with such huge great ordnance, as the like for bignesse and force was in no place to bee seene; day and night thundering out their yron and stone shot, fiue and seuen hands about; wherewith not the thickest wals, but euen the very mountaines themselues might haue beene beaten downe and ouerthrowne: by furie whereof, the wals in many places were so battered, that a man might easily haue entered as on plaine ground. Where, when the barbarous enemies had with wonderfull force and hideous outcries oftentimes attempted to enter, so often were they with great slaughter and dishonour repulsed and beaten backe, many of their men slaine or wounded. Their Generalls, as well at sea as land, after that they had in so many places, with all their forces in almost foure moneths siege and assault, with exceeding furie in vaine attempted the breaches, and lost the greatest part of their old souldiers, especially Winter now comming on, wherein all warres by law of nations ought to cease; thought of nothing else but of departure, or rather of flight: which the comming of* Garzias *of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the King of Spaine his fleet, with ten thousand select souldiers (amongst whom was at the least two hundred and foureteene of our knights, and many other noble and valiant Gentlemen; which onely with a Christian zeale, voluntarily met together from diuers parts of the World to helpe and relieue vs) caused them to hasten. So haue you summarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turkes fleet, and the victorie by vs (by the power of God) thereof obtained. It shall be your part to consider and coniecture, in what state*

state our Order and this Island now standeth, into what poore estate we are brought, how many things we want; wherein except we be relieued by the helpe and aid of our Brethren, especially such as you are, as we well hope, and assuredly beleeue we shall, our State will quickely take end. Fare you well.

From Malta the ninth of October, 1565.

The Great master thus deliuered of so great a siege, and bountifully relieued by the Christian Princes, and the great Commanders of his Order; speedily repaired the breaches and places battered, and with new fortifications strengthened those places as hee had by the late passed dangers perceiued to be most subiect to the enemies force.

1566

After the returne of the Turks fleet to Constantinople, *Solyman* being exceeding angry with the gouernor of the Island of Chios his tributarie, as well for that he had during the late siege of Malta, had intelligence with the Great master, and reuealed vnto him many of the Turkes designes; as also for detaining of two yeares tribute, which was yerely ten thousand duckets, and had also neglected to send his wonted Presents to the great Bassa's, who therfore the more incensed the Tyrant; commanded *Piall Bassa* his Admirall to make readie his fleet, and by force or policie to take that fruitfull and pleasant Island wholly into his own hand. Who without delay, with a fleet of eightie gallies the fifteenth day of Aprill in the yeare 1566, being then Easter day, arriued at Chios. The chiefe men of the Island vpon sight of the fleet, forthwith sent Embassadors to the Bassa with presents, curteously offering vnto him the hauen, and whatsoeuer els he should require. *Piall* with great kindnesse accepted their offer, and presently possessed himselfe of the hauen in three places: and afterward landing, sent for the gouernour of the city and twelue of the chiefe citizens to come vnto him, as if hee had had some speciall matter to confer with him about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for Malta or Italie. Who hauing a little conferred together, went to him with great feare; and that not without cause; for as soone as they were come before him, he commanded them to be layd hold vpon and cast fast into yrons: which done, the souldiers forthwith tooke the towne hall, and without resistance pulling downe the townes ensigne, (wherin was the picture of S. *George* with a red Crosse) in stead thereof set vp one of the Turks: the like whereof was done with great reioicing of the Turks, thorow the whole Island. After that, they rifled the Churches, and againe consecrated them after their Mahometan manner. The gouernour of the citie, and the Senators, with their families, the Bassa sent in fiue ships to Constantinople: as for the vulgar people, they were at choice, either there to tarrie still, or depart, as best stood with their liking. And so the Bassa, when he had there placed a new gouernour, one of the Turks, with a strong garrison, and set vp the Mahometane superstition in that most fertile Island, departed thence for Italie: where sailing alongst the coast of Apulia, he did exceeding much harme in burning and destroying the country villages, and carrying away of the poore people into captiuitie; and so returned.

The Island of Chios taken by the Turkes.

At this time the kingdome of Hungarie was most miserably rent in pieces by the lieutenants and captains of *Solyman* and *Maximilian* the Emperor, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Transiluania *Solymans* vassall: who grieued with the harmes done vnto him by the Emperors captaines, whereof himself was the cause, and vainly hoping to haue obtained at *Solymans* hands the greatest part of the kingdome of Hungarie, as had somtime king *Iohn*; ceased not continually to solicite him to come himselfe in person to make a full conquest of the reliques of Hungarie, yet holden by the Emperor and some of the Hungarian nobilitie: and flattering himselfe in that vaine hope, called himselfe the king of Hungary: and increasing his strength by letters vnto the nobilitie and burgesses of the cities of Hungarie, summoned them, as if it had bin by the appointment of *Solyman* his great Patron, that they should all the ninth of March meet together at Thorda, to determine with him of matters concerning their common good. Which thing as soone as *Lazarus Swendi* the Emperors lieutenant vnderstood, he forthwith by other letters countermanded those of the Vayuods; perswading the Hungarians not to listen to the charms of the Vayuod and the Turke, tending to their destruction, but rather to yeeld their obedience to *Maximilian* the Christian Emperour, whose purpose was by the aid of the Christian Princes, to protect and preserue them in peace. And hereby it came to passe, that the remainders of this sore shaken Kingdome, diuided into factions, and diuersly carried, according to their affection, some to the one side, some to the other, began afresh to worke one anothers confusion,

confusion, which fitly serued the Turks to incroach more and more vpon them: Who at the same time surprised the towne of Ainatsch (the captain whereof, with certaine of the garison soldiers being gon about their busines to Agria) and put to the sword all them that they found in the towne. They thought also to haue taken the strong town of Sigeth, but were by the valiant Countie *Nicholaus Serinus* gouernor thereof, couragiously encountred, and after foure houres hard fight ouerthrowne and put to flight. Not long after, they ranged vp and down the country, and set in booties as far as Iula and Rab, and did the country people much harme. For which cause, *Maximilian* the Emperor about the latter end of May brake vp the assembly of the Empire then holden at Augusta, and began carefully to prouide things needfull for the war: appointing his commings for the raising of such forces in Germany, as were but a little before granted vnto him by the Princes and States of the Empire; in their late assemblie; but went himselfe to Vienna. For it was told him (as the truth was) that *Solyman* now in his extreame age was with a mightie army set forward from Constantinople, and marching through Bulgaria and Seruia, was come directly to Belgrade; where *Iohn* the Vayuod of Transyluania met him, and kissing his hand, had commended himselfe and all his state vnto his protection. At which time *Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant laid hard siege to the towne of Husth in the borders of Transyluania. The Bassa of Buda at the same time on the other side, by commandement of *Solyman*, with 8000 Turks and 25 pieces of great ordnance besieging Palotta (a strong towne about eight miles from Rab) had with continuall batterie by the space of eight dayes brought the same into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Thuriger*. But hearing of the approch of *George* Countie of Helffenstein, sent by the Emperor with certaine companies of Germans to relieue the same, he rise in such hast from the siege, that he left certaine of his great ordnance and a great part of his baggage behinde him, and retyred towards Alba Regalis. The Countie hauing relieued the town, caused the breaches to be forthwith repaired, and with a new supplie strengthned the old garrison. Thus was a most lamentable war at once begun in diuers places of Huugarie. After that, the Countie of Helffenstein, strengthned by the comming of the Countie *Salma* with certaine companies from Rab, departed from Palotta, and came to Vesprinium a citie about two miles off, then holden by the Turks: which citie he tooke by force the last of Iune, and left not a Turke aliue therein, because that they a few dayes before had cruelly slaine certaine Christians whome they had taken prisoners. So leauing strong garrisons both in Vesprinium and Palotta, they returned to Rab. Shortly after, the Countie *Salma* laid siege to Tatta a strong towne, otherwise called Dotis, betwixt Rab and Comara, which at length he tooke by assault the eight and twentieth day of Iuly, and slew all the Turks, except fiftie, which flying into one of the towers of the castle, yeelded vpon composition: amongst whom was the late gouernor of Vesprinium, and the gouernor of this place, with the Bassa of Buda his nigh kinseman, who were all presently sent prisoners to Vienna. So the Countie following the course of his victory (the reason of his former good fortune running before him into the Turks strongest holds) was on his way to haue besieged Gestes a town neere to Palotta: when the Turks there in garrison vpon the first sight of his Armie, left all and fled out at the farther side of the Towne to Strigonium. After whose example other of the Turkes garrisons in Witha, Tschokiku, and Sambok, castles thereabouts, set fire on that they could not carrie, and followed their fellowes to Strigonium also. The Emperor vnderstanding of the good successe of his Captaines, caused publique prayers with thankesgiuing to Almightie God to be made thorow all the Churches thereabouts. Also Countie *Serinus* Gouernour of the strong towne of Sigeth and the Countrey thereabout, certainly aduertised of the comming of *Solyman*, sent *Casparus Alapianus* and *Nicholas Cobeck*, two of his Captaines, with a thousand foot and fiue hundred horse, to lie in wait for the forrunners of the Turkes Armie: who drawing neere vnto the place where these Turkes lay, not farre from Quinque Ecclesiæ, suddenly in the shutting in of the next day set vpon them, doubting no such matter, and put them in such feare, that they disorderedly fled, some one way, some another, and were most of them slaine or wounded by the Hungarians in their flight. *Hali Beg* one of the Turks great Sanzackes and leader of that compañie, sore wounded, and seeking to saue himselfe by flight in the Marishes, there perished: his sonne and many other notable men amongst the Turks, were there taken and caried prisoners to Sigeth. The spoile the Hungarians there tooke was exceeding great: for beside plate and coine, whereof they found.

The Turks surprise townes in Hungarie.

Great troubles in Hungarie.

The good successe of the emperours enterprises.

found good store, they tooke eight Camels, fiue Mules, threescore horses, and six carts laden with all manner of spoile, and many garments of great price; wherein the Gentlemen attired, returned to Sigeth in great brauerie, with two faire red ensignes of the enemies. *A great prey.*

Maximilian the Emperor long before aduertised of *Solymans* purpose for the conquest of the remainder of Hungarie; to withstand so mightie an enemy, had beside the forces raised in his owne Dominions, procured great aid both of the States of the Empire and other Christian Princes, which about this time met together at Rab. First there repaired thither foure legions of German footmen, and vpwards of twentie thousand horsemen, with foure thousand Hungarians: the Duke of Sauoy sent thither foure hundred Argoletiers, and many noble gentlemen out of diuers parts of Europe reserted thither, to serue the Emperor in those warres, of their owne charge; especially the Knights of Malta: and out of Italie, *Prosper Columna* and *Angelus Cæsius*: out of France, *Guise* the graund Prior, *Brissack*, and *Lansack*, who but a little before were going to Malta, of purpose to haue serued there if the Turks fleet had come thither againe, as it was reported it would; but vnderstanding that it came not, returned directly into Hungarie, with certaine other Knights of the Order. Many also of the Princes and free cities of Italie declared their good will toward the Emperor in this war; some sending him men, as did *Cosmus Medices* Duke of Florence, who sent thither of his owne charge three thousand footmen: some money, as Mantua, Genoa, and Luca. Thither came also *Alphonsus* duke of Ferrara with a gallant companie of noble gentlemen, and other his followers. Beside which land forces, the Emperour had also prouided vpon the riuer of Danubius twelue gallies, and thirtie other ships for burthen, so made, as that the men could not be hurt with the Turkes arrowes: wherein was imbarqued three thousand souldiers, most part Italians, vnder the conduct of *Philippus Flachius* a German and one of the Knights of Malta, who was afterward receiued into the number of the Princes of the Empire.

Solyman comming to the riuer Dranus, commanded a bridge to be made ouer that great Riuer, and the deepe tens on the farther side of the riuer towards Sigeth, for the transporting of his great armie; a worke of such difficultie, that being thrice vnfortunately begun, it was again giuen ouer, as a thing almost impossible. Wherwith *Solyman* was so moued, that in his rage he swore to hang vp the great Bassa that had the charge of that worke, if he did not with as much speed as were possible, bring it to perfection. Whereupon the worke was againe begun, all the boats that were to be found in the riuer taken vp, and timber for the purpose brought from far, for the making of that bridge. In this worke were imploied not the vulgar people onely, of the countrey which was tributarie to the Turks, but the gentlemen themselues also, were by the imperious Turke (now commanding for his life) inforced to lay their fingers to worke day and night without ceasing, vntill the bridge (which before was thought scarce possible to haue beene made) was by the restlesse industrie and labour of such a multitude of men, in the space of ten daves brought to perfection. Wherein the seuerity the barbarous Tyrant vseth towards his subiects, is worth the noting; whereby he extorteth from them more than is almost possible for men to performe: so that it is not to be maruelled, that he hath so good successe in whatsoeuer he taketh in hand. Ouer this bridge (a mile in length) passed *Solyman*, and incamped at a place called Muhatchz, where he stayed certaine dayes, vntill his armie was all come ouer. The last of Iuly, ninetie thousand Turks (the vauntgard of *Solymans* army) came before Sigeth, and incamped within a mile of the towne: after whom shortly after followed a hundred thousand more out of *Solymans* campe; of whom many in approching the town, were slain with great shot out of the castle: the rest for all that incamped themselues as neere vnto the towne as they could, and began the siege. *The Turkes with much labour make a bridge ouer the great riuer of Dranus.* *The Turkes encampe before Sigeth.*

The towne of Sigeth is strongly scituate in a marish on the North side of Dranus vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, commanding all the countrey round about it, which of it taketh name; and was at that time a strong bulwarke against the Turks, for entring farther into the country that way toward Stiria. In this town was gouernor *Nicholaus Serinus*, commonly called the Countie, a valiant man, and a mortall enemie of the Turks, with a garrison of two thousand three hundred good souldiers: who seeing the hugie armie of the Turks, called together into the Castle, the Captaines of the garrison, and the chiefe of the Citizens; where standing in the midst of them, he spake vnto them as followeth:

Countie Serinus his comfortable and resolute speech to his souldiers.

You see (said he) *how we are on euery side beset with the multitude of our enemies, wherein resteth their chiefe hope: but let not vs be thereof affraid or discouraged; for that victorie dependeth not of a confused multitude of heartlesse men, but of the power of our God, who hath by a few at his pleasure many times ouerthrowne the mightie armies of the proud; and will not in the middest of these dangers now forsake vs, if we putting our trust and confidence in him, do what beseemeth valiant and couragious men. Besides that, our iust cause, with the strength of the place we hold, our owne valour, and the helpe of our friends, who I assure my selfe wil not faile vs at our need, counternaileth their confused multitude, forced together by their imperious commanders out of far countries, and whatsoeuer els the proud tyrant hath brought with him into the field. Wherefore let vs all as becommeth valiant men, for the truth of our Religion, and for the honour of our Prince and Countrey, liue and die together; knowing whatsoeuer befall, that to a life so lost belongeth a most assured hope of ioy and felicitie. As for my selfe, I am resolued, and so I hope are you also, that as I am a Christian, and free borne, so will I (by the grace of God) in the same faith and freedome end my dayes. Neither shall the proud Turke, so long as I am able to hold vp this hand, haue euer power to comand ouer me, or the ground whereon I stand.*

This said, he first tooke himselfa solemne oath to perform what he had promised, and perswaded the rest to take the like: which done: euery man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman commeth into the camp at Sigeth.

The fift of August *Solyman* incamped within a mile of the towne, and the next day after came himselfe into the campe, at whose comming the great ordnance and small shot so thundred out of the Turks campe, as if heauen and earth should haue gon together, the Turks after their wonted manner crying aloud their *Alla, Alla, Alla*, and the Christians answering them with the name of Iesus. The seuenth of August the Turks cast vp a great mount, and thereon planted certain great pieces of ordnance. The next day following they began most terribly to batter the new towne in three places, and with incredible labor cast vp a mount in the midst of the marish, as it were in the towne ditch, from whence they the next day with certaine pieces of great artillerie day & night battered the inner castle of the town without any intermission, & did great harme both to the castle and the defendants. The Countie perceiuing the new citie to be now so laid open with the furie of the Turks batterie, as that it was not possible to be de-

The defendants burne the new towne.

fended, caused his souldiers to set it all on fire, and to retire into the old. The tenth of August the Turks furiously battered the old towne in three places, & brought their ordnance into the new town: and with timber, earth, and rubbish, made a bridge, the more commodiously to goe ouer the marish. For the speedier accomplishment whereof, all the Turkes were compelled to lay to their hands, and to carrie wood, fagots, earth, and such like things without ceasing. There might a man haue seen all the fields ful of camels, horses, and of the Turks themselues, like emmets, carrying wood, earth, stones, or one thing or other to fill vp the marish: so was there with wonderfull labor two plaine waies made thorow the deepe fen, from the towne to the Castle: where the Ianizaries, defended from the great shot with sacks of wool and such like things, did with the multitude of their small shot so ouerwhelme the defendants, that they could not a-

The Turks win the old towne.

gainst those places without most manifest danger shew themselues vpon the walls. So that what by their vigilant industrie, and the furie of the great artillerie, the Turkes (though not without great losse) by force entred the old towne the nineteenth of August, vsing in their victorie such celeritie, that they slew many of the most valiant defendants before they were able to recouer the safegard of the castle. Both the townes thus lost, and so many worthy men slain, not without cause brought great heauinesse vpon the rest which were in the Castle with the Countie. The Turks possessed of the old town, the next day planted their batterie against the castle in foure places, and with fagots, rubbish, and earth, made two plaine waies vnto it, still filling vp the marish: and hauing with continual batterie made it saultable, the nine and twentieth day of August they began fiercely to assaile the breaches: but when they had lost many of their men, & done what they could, they were inforced with shame to retire. In this assault, amongst many other of their best souldiers, was lost one of their great Bassa's also.

Solyman dieth of the bloudie flix.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Solyman* far spent with yeres, and distempered with his long trauell, fell sicke of a looseues of his bellie, and for the better recouerie of his health, retired himselfe (the siege yet continuing) to Quinque Ecclesiæ a citie neere to Sigeth, where shortly after he died of the bloudie flix the fourth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1566, when he had liued 76 yeares, and thereof raigned 46. He was of stature tall, of feature slender,

A slender, long necked, his colour pale and wan, his nose long and hooked, of nature ambitious & bountifull, more faithfull of his word and promise than were for most part the Mahomerane kings his progenitors, wanting nothing worthie of so great an empire, but that wherin all happinesse is contained, faith in Christ Iesus. *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa (who all commanded in *Solymans* absence) fearing the insolencie of the Ianizaries, and lest some tumult should arise in the camp, if his death should be known, concealed it by all means: and to be sure of them that were of all others best able to make certain report therof, caused his Physitions and Apothecaries to be secretly strangled, & by a trusty messenger, sent in post, certified *Selymus* (*Solymans* only son, and his father in law, then lying in Magnesia) of the death of his father, willing him in haste to repaire to Constantinople, to take possession of the empire; and that done, forthwith to

Muhamet Bassa concealeth the death of Solyman.

B come to the armie in Hungarie. But this could not be so secretly done, but that the Ianizaries began to mistrust the matter: which *Muhamet Bassa* quickly perceiuing, caused the dead bodie of *Solyman* in his wonted apparel to be brought into his tent sitting vpright in his horse-litter, as if he had bin sicke of the gout his wonted disease, and so shewing him to the Ianizaries, both deceiued and contented them, and so went forward with the siege.

The great bulwarke undermined & set on fire by the Ianizaries.

The Ianizaries hauing in the last assault lost many of their fellows, began now to vndermine the greatest bulwarke of the castle, from which the defendants with their great ordnance, did most annoy them: wherein they vsed such diligence, that the fift of September they with gunpouder and other light matter prouided for that purpose, had set all the bulwarke on a light fire; and by that means possessed therof, with al their force assailed the bulwark next vnto the

C castle gate, from whence they were with great slaughter twice repulsed by the Countie. But the raging fire stil increasing, he was inforced with those which were yet left aliue, to retire into the inner castle, wherein was but two great pieces, and 14 others of small force. Thus the Turks still preuailing, and taking one place after another, the seuenth of September they furiously assaulted the little castle, whereinto they cast such abundance of fire, that in short time it caught hold on the buildings, and set all on fire. The countie thus assailed by the enemy without, & worse distressed with the fire within, which still increasing, left no place for him in safetie to retire vnto, went into his chamber, where putting on a rich new sute of apparell, came presently out again with his sword & targuet in his hand; and finding his souldiers with cheerful countenance & their weapons in their hands, attending his comming, spake vnto them these

The little castle set on fire.

D few his last words: *The hard fortune of this sinful kingdome hath together with our own ouertaken vs: but let vs, noble hearts, with patience indure what is to vs by God assigned. You know what we haue before promised, which hitherto God be thanked we haue accordingly performed, and now let vs with like resolution performe this last. The place you see is not longer to be kept, the deuouring fire groweth so still vpon vs, and we in number are but few: wherefore let vs as becommeth valiant men breake out into the vtter castle, there to die in the middest of our enemies, to liue afterwards with God for euer; I will be the first that will go out, follow you me like men.* This said, with his sword and targuet in his hand, without any other armor, calling thrice vpon the name of Iesus, he issued out at the castle gate, with the rest following him: where valiantly fighting with the Ianizaries vpon the bridge; and hauing slaine some of them, he was first wounded in two places of his bodie with small shot, and

The last speech of countie Serinus to his souldiers.

E at last strucke in the head with an vnluckie shot, fell downe dead; the Turks for ioy crying out their wonted word *Alla*. The rest of the souldiers in flying backe againe into the castle, were all slain by the Turks, except some few, whom some of the Ianizaries in regard of their valor, by putting their caps vpon their heads, saued from the fury of the rest. In this siege, the Turks (as they themselues reported) lost seuen thousand Ianizaries, and twentie eight thousand other souldiers, beside many voluntarie men not enrolled in their muster-bookes, and three of their great Bassaes. *Serinus* his head was presently cut off, and the next day (with the heads of the other slaine Christians) set vpon a pole, for all the armie to gaze vpon. After that, it was taken downe, and by *Muhamet* the great Bassa sent to *Mustapha* the Bassa of Buda his kinsman, who by two country men, sent it wrapped in a red scarfe couered with a faire linnen cloth, to coun-

Serinus slaine.

Serinus his head sent to countie Salma.

F ty *Salma* in the Emperours campe at Rab, with this taunting letter thus directed.

The Bassaes quipping letter to county Salma.

Muhamet Bassa to *Eccius Salma*, greeting.

In token of my loue, behold, here I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant Captaine thy friend

friend, the remainder of his bodie I haue honestly buried, as became such a man. Sigeth biddeth thee farewell for euer.

The death of this noble and valiant captain was much lamented of all the Christian army, and his head with many teares by his sonne *Balthasar* honorably buried amongst his ancestors in Tschacaturna, his owne castle. *Solyman* at his comming with this mightie armie into Hungarie, had purposed before his returne, if he had not been by death preuented, to haue conquered both the remainder of the kingdome of Hungarie, and to haue againe attempted the winning of Vienna. For the accomplishing of which his designes, he at his first comming sent *Parthaus Bassa*, with fo[illegible] thousand Turks to helpe the Bassa of Temesware and the Tartars, in the behalfe of the V[illegible] to besiege the strong towne of Gyula, scituate vpon the lake Zarkad in the confines of Transyluania, not farre from whence *Suendi* had but in August before ouerthrowne the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the ayd of the Vayuod, and slaine [illegible]m ten thousand. And at the same time hee sent *Mustapha Bassa* of Bosna, and *Carambeius*, [illegible] a great power to Alba Regalis; who ioyning with the Bassa of Buda, should keep the Emperor *Maximilian* busie, whilest he in the meane time besieged Sigeth, as is before declared. *Parthaus Bassa* comming to Gyula, and laying hard siege to the towne, was still notably repulsed by *Nicholas Keretschen*, Gouernour of the Towne: insomuch, that in a sallie hee had certain pieces of his great ordnance taken from him by the defendants, & the rest cloied. But this braue captaine, not to haue been constrained by all that the Bassa could doe, was at last persuaded by his kinsman *George Bebicus* (from whom *Suendi* had a little before taken certaine castles, for reuolting from the Emperour to the Vayuod) for a great sum of money to deliuer vp the towne to the Bassa: which he did, couenanting beside his reward, That the soldiers should with bag and baggage in safety depart; all which was franckly granted: who were not gone past a mile out of the towne, but they were set vpon by the Turkes, and all slaine except some few which crept into the reeds growing in the marrish fast by, and so escaped. The traitor himselfe expecting his reward, was carried in bonds to Constantinople: where afterward, vpon complaint made how hardly he had vsed certain Turks whom he had sometime taken prisoners, he was by the commandement of *Selymus*, who succeeded *Solyman*, thrust into a hogshead strucke full of nailes with the points inward, with this inscription vpon it, *Here receiue the reward of thy auarice & treason. Gyula thou soldest for gold: if thou be not faithfull to* Maximilian *thy Lord, neither wilt thou be to me*: and so the hogshead closed fast vp, he was therin rolled vp and downe vntill he therein miserably died.

Nicholas Keretschen corrupted for money, betrayeth Gyula to the Turks.

A traitor well rewarded.

The Emperors campe then lying at Rab, and the Bassa of Buda and Bosna with thirty thousand Turks not farre off at Alba Regalis, and many hot skirmishes passing betweene them: it fortuned that the fift of September the Turkes in hope to haue done some great piece of seruice vpon the Christians, came forth of the campe in great number, and by chance light vpon a few forragers of the army, of whom they slew some; the rest flying, raised an alarme in the campe: whereupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with some others issuing out, pursuing the Turks, slew diuers of them: in which pursute *George Thuriger* descrying the Gouernor of Alba Regalis, a man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whilest he liued, fiercely pursued him in the middest of the flying enemies, and neuer left him vntill he had taken him prisoner: and at his returne presenting him to the Emperour, was for that good seruice knighted, and rewarded with a chaine of gold. There was by chance then present a Spaniard, who had heard him say openly at Constantinople, That he alone with his owne power was able to vanquish the Germane King (by which name the Turkes commonly tearme the Emperour:) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the presence of the Emperour, still vrging him as it were to say something for himselfe, the Turke answered him in these few words following: ***Such is the chance of war, thou seest me now a prisoner, and able to doe nothing.***

The Gouernour of Alba Regalis taken.

The Turkes sharp answere to the Spaniard.

All these troubles, with many moe like in short time to haue insued, were by the death of *Solyman* within a while after well appeased. *Muhamet Bassa* after he had repaired the breaches, and placed a Turke Gouernour of Sigeth, with a strong garrison for the defence of the place and commanding of the Countrey, called backe his dispersed forces; and rising with the armie, retired toward Belgrade, carrying *Solymans* dead bodie all the way sitting vpright

The Turkes armie returneth with the bodie of Solyman to Belgrade.

A right in his horselitter carried by mules, giuing it out that he was sicke of the gout: which thing the Ianizaries easily beleeued, knowing that he had beene many yeares so carried: yet still wishing his presence, as alwaies vnto them fortunate, although that he were able for to do nothing.

Christian Princes of the same time with Solyman.

Emperours of Germany		Charles the fifth.	1519.	39.
		Ferdinand.	1558.	7.
		Maximilian the second.	1565.	12.
Kings	Of England,	Henrie the eighth.	1509.	38.
		Edward the sixth.	1546.	6.
		Queene Mary.	1553.	6.
		Queene Elizabeth.	1558.	45.
	Of France,	Francis the first.	1514.	32.
		Henry the second.	1547.	12.
		Francis the second.	1559.	1.
		Charles the ninth.	1560.	14.
	Of Scotland,	Iames the fifth.	1514.	29.
		Queene Mary.	1543.	
Bishops of Rome.		Leo the X.	1513.	8.
		Hadrian the VI.	1522.	1.
		Clement the VII.	1523.	10.
		Paulus the III.	1534.	15.
		Iulius the III.	1550.	5.
		Marcellus the II.	1555	22 dayes.
		Paulus the IV.	1555.	4.
		Pius the IV.	1560.	5.
		Pius the V.	1566.	6.

friend, the remainder of his bodie I haue honestly buried, as became such a man. Sigeth biddeth thee fare-well for euer.

The death of this noble and valiant captain was much lamented of all the Christian army, and his head with many teares by his sonne *Balthasar* honorably buried amongst his ancestors in Tschacaturna, his owne castle. *Solyman* at his comming with this mightie armie into Hungarie, had purposed before his returne, if he had not been by death preuented, to haue conquered both the remainder of the kingdome of Hungarie, and to haue againe attempted the winning of Vienna. For the accomplishing of which his designes, he at his first comming sent *Parthaus Bassa*, with fortie thousand Turks to helpe the Bassa of Temeswar and the Tartars, in the behalfe of the Vayuod to besiege the strong towne of Gyula, scituate vpon the lake Zarkad in the confines of Transyluania, not farre from whence *Suendi* had but in August before ouerthrowne the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the ayd of the Vayuod, and slaine [illegible] ten thousand. And at the same time hee sent *Mustapha Bassa* of Bosna, and *Carambeius*, [illegible] a great power to Alba Regalis, who ioyning with the Bassa of Buda, should keep the Emperor *Maximilian* busie, whilest he in the meane time besieged Sigeth, as is before declared. *Parthaus Bassa* comming to Gyula, and laying hard siege to the towne, was still notably repulsed by *Nicholas Keretschen*, Gouernour of the Towne: insomuch, that in a sallie hee had certain pieces of his great ordnance taken from him by the defendants, & the rest cloied. But this braue captaine, not to haue been constrained by all that the Bassa could doe, was at last persuaded by his kinsman *George Bebicus* (from whom *Suendi* had a little before taken certaine castles, for reuolting from the Emperour to the Vayuod) for a great sum of money to deliuer vp the towne to the Bassa: which he did, couenanting beside his reward, That the soldiers should with bag and baggage in safety depart; all which was franckly granted: who were not gone past a mile out of the towne, but they were set vpon by the Turkes, and all slaine except some few which crept into the reeds growing in the marrish fast by, and so escaped. The traitor himselfe expecting his reward, was carried in bonds to Constantinople: where afterward, vpon complaint made how hardly he had vsed certain Turks whom he had sometime taken prisoners, he was by the commandement of *Selymus*, who succeeded *Solyman*, thrust into a hogshead strucke full of nailes with the points inward, with this inscription vpon it, *Here receiue the reward of thy auarice & treason. Gyula thou soldest for gold: if thou be not faithfull to* Maximilian *thy Lord, neither wilt thou be to me*: and so the hogshead closed fast vp, he was therin rolled vp and downe vntill he therein miserably died.

Nicholaus Keretschen corrupted for money, betrayeth Gyula to the Turks.

A traitor well rewarded.

The Emperors campe then lying at Rab, and the Bassa of Buda and Bosna with thirty thousand Turks not farre off at Alba Regalis, and many hot skirmishes passing betweene them: it fortuned that the fift of September the Turkes in hope to haue done some great piece of seruice vpon the Christians, came forth of the campe in great number, and by chance light vpon a few forragers of the army, of whom they slew some; the rest flying, raised an alarme in the campe: whereupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with some others issuing out, pursuing the Turks, slew diuers of them: in which pursute *George Thuriger* descrying the Gouernor of Alba Regalis, a man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whilest he liued, fiercely pursued him in the middest of the flying enemies, and neuer left him vntill he had taken him prisoner: and at his returne presenting him to the Emperour, was for that good seruice knighted, and rewarded with a chaine of gold. There was by chance then present a Spaniard, who had heard him say openly at Constantinople, That he alone with his owne power was able to vanquish the Germane King (by which name the Turkes commonly tearme the Emperour:) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the presence of the Emperour, still vrging him as it were to say something for himselfe, the Turke answered him in these few words following: ***Such is the chance of war, thou seest me now a prisoner, and able to doe nothing.***

The Gouernour of Alba Regalis taken.

The Turkish sharp answere to the Spaniard.

All these troubles, with many moe like in short time to haue insued, were by the death of *Solyman* within a while after well appeased. *Muhamet Bassa* after he had repaired the breaches, and placed a Turke Gouernour of Sigeth, with a strong garrison for the defence of the place and commanding of the Countrey, called backe the dispersed forces; and rising with the armie, retired toward Belgrade, carrying *Solymans* dead bodie all the way sitting vpright

The Turks armie returneth with the bodie of Solyman to Belgrade.

A right in his horselitter carried by mules, giuing it out that he was sicke of the gout: which thing the Ianizaries easily beleeued, knowing that he had beene many yeares so carried: yet still wishing his presence, as alwaies vnto them fortunate, although that he were able for to do nothing.

Christian Princes of the same time with Solyman.

Emperours of Germany		Charles the fifth.	1519. 39.
		Ferdinand.	1558. 7.
		Maximilian the second.	1565. 12.
Kings	Of England,	Henrie the eighth.	1509. 38.
		Edward the sixth.	1546. 6.
		Queene Mary.	1553. 6.
		Queene Elizabeth.	1558. 45.
	Of France,	Francis the first.	1514. 32.
		Henry the second.	1547. 12.
		Francis the second.	1559. 1.
		Charles the ninth.	1560. 14.
	Of Scotland,	Iames the fifth.	1514.
		Queene Mary.	1543.
Bishops of Rome.		Leo the X.	1513
		Hadrian the VI.	15
		Clement the VII.	15
		Paulus the III.	15
		Iulius the III.	1
		Marcellus the II.	
		Paulus the IV.	
		Pius the IV.	
		Pius the V.	

Dissimilis Patri, Selymus *regalia Sceptra*,
Corripit : & dira concutit arma manu.
Fœdus cum Venetis frangit (Quid fœdera prosunt ?)
Armataque manu Cypria regna rapit.
Instruit tumidum numerosis classibus Æquor :
Vt Naupactiacas nobilitaret aquas.
Moldavum fœda mulctavit morte Dynasten :
Et magni fines prorogat imperij.
Obruit Hispanos multa vi : Punica regna
Destruit : & regnis adjcit illa suis.
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinoque sepultus,
Extremum properat præcipitare diem. R. KNOLL.

Vnlike his father, *Selymus* the royall Scepter takes :
And shaking armes with cruell hand, exceeding stirs he makes.
With Venice State his League he breakes (With Turks what league can stand ?)
And Cyprus kingdome takes from them by force of mightie hand.
He couered the swelling seas with hugie fleets to see :
That vanquished, vnto those seas he might an honour be.
The Vayuod of Moldauia he brought to wofull end,
The borders of his kingdome great so that he might extend.
In Gulet he the Spaniards ouerwhelm'd with mightie power ;
And thereby Tunes kingdome did the selfe same time deuour.
But wholly giuen to venerie, vnto excesse and play,
He posteth on before his time to haste his fatall day. *R. K.*

THE

THE LIFE OF SELYMVS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, FIFT EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

C *Elymus*, the only son of *Solyman* then left aliue, by letters from *Mahamet Bassa* vnderstanding of the death of his father, hasted from Cutai, a citie of Galatia not far from Ancyra, towards Constantinople ; and comming to Scutarie, was from thence by *Bostanges Bassa* of the Court, conducted ouer the Strait to Constantinople : where by him and *Scander Bassa* (*Selymus* his sonne in law, and then *Solymans* Vicegerent) hee was conueyed into the Imperiall Pallace the three and twentieth of September, in the yeare 1566, and there possessed of his fathers seat, was by the Ianizaries there present, saluted Emperour. He was about the age of fortie two yeares when he began to raigne, a man of an vnconstant and hastie disposition, wholly giuen to wantonnesse and excesse : so that he neuer went to wars himselfe, but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrarie to the charge of *Selymus* his grandfather, giuen by him to his father *Solyman*, whereof he was neuer vnmindful. *Selymus saluted Emperor of the Turks in the yeare 1566.*

D The next day he came abroad, and shewed himself in his maiesty ; and in the temple of Sophia, after the manner of the Turkish superstition, caused solemne praiers and sacrifices to be made for his father : which done, he gaue vnto the Ianizaries a largious of 100000 Sultanines, with promise to augment their wages. And all things being now in readinesse for his intended iourney, hee with a goodly retinue set forward from Constantinople the seuen and twentieth of September : and the twentieth of October a little from Belgrade met the army comming from Sigeth, gallantly marching vnder their ensignes, with the dead bodie of *Solyman*, whom the souldiers generally supposed to haue been yet liuing, but troubled with the gout, to haue kept his horse-litter, as his manner was to trauell. *Selymus* alighting, came in his mourning attire to

E the horse-litter, looked vpon the dead bodie of his father, kissed it, and wept ouer it, as did all the other great Bassaes also. And that the death of *Solyman* might then be made knowne to all men, the ensignes were presently let fall, and trailed vpon the ground, a dead march sounded, and heauie silence commanded to be kept through all the campe. Shortly after, *Selymus* was with the great applause of the whole armie proclaimed Emperor, his ensignes aduanced, and euery one of the great commanders of the army, in their degree admitted to kisse his hand. So marching forward, he returned againe to Constantinople the two and twentieth of November : but thinking to haue entered his palace (which they commonly call the Seraglio) he was by the discontented Ianizaries but now come from the wars, prohibited so to doe ; they with great insolencie demanding of him a greater donatiue, together with the confirmation both of their antient and new priuiledges, before they would suffer him to enter. Against which their

F great presumption, the Visier Bassaes, together with the Aga, opposing themselues, and seeking by all meanes to appease them, were by them fowly entreated, and well rapped about the pates with the stocks of their calliuars ; but especially the two great Bassaes, *Muhamet* and *Partau*, as the chiefe authours that their Lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which so sudden and vnexpected a mutinie of his best souldiers, *Selymus* not a little troubled, and calling

ling vnto him the Aga(or captaine of the Ianizaries)demanded of him the cause thereof:who G
with teares trickling downe his cheekes for griefe; told him, That it was for money. Which
by *Selymus* now promised vnto them, together with the confirmation of their liberties;& the
Aga with faire words and heauie countenance most earnestly intreating them, not to blemish
the antient reputation of their wonted loyaltie with so foule a disorder, nor to oppose the life
of him their louing captaine, vnto the heauie displeasure of their angrie Sultan; and farther as-
suring them, that he would not faile them in the least of his promises, but content them to the
full of their desires; th[illegible]tinie was at length appeased, the insolent Ianizaries againe quieted,
and *Selymus* into the Se[illegible]io receiued. Howbeit *Muhamet*, chiefe of the Viſier Bassaes, for cer-
tain daies after went no[illegible]t of his pallace, neither came (as he was wont) into the Diuano, but
kept himselfe close, for f[illegible]re of some greater mischiefe from them. This tumult thus ouerpas- H
Selymus buried sed, and all againe well quieted, *Selymus* with all royall solemnitie buried his father in a chap-
pel which he after the manner of the Mahometan kings, had in his life time most state[illegible]ilt,
with a colledge and an hospitall. Where fast by his side is to be seene the tombe of *Ro[illegible]s*
his best beloued wife, and of certaine others his murthered children: and by him hangeth his
scimitar, in token that he died in wars; an honor not otherwise granted to the Mahometa prin-
ces. The reuenues arising of the country about Sigeth, of late woon from the Christians, at the
time of his death, were giuen to the maintenance of the houses by him built of deuotion;
which for the magnificence thereof, exceed all the rest before built by the Mahometan kings
and Emperors, except those which were the buildings of *Mahomet* the Great, and *Baiazet* the
second. It was by many thought, that *Solyman* was in good time by death cut off, as purposing I
that yeare to haue wintered in Hungarie, and the yeare following to haue done great matters
against the Christians both by sea and land.

1567 The great army of the Turks thus drawn out of Hungarie by the death of *Solyman*, in some
part asswaged, but altogether appeased not the endlesse troubles of that vnfortunat kingdom.
Troubles in Hungarie. *Maximilian* the Emperor on the one side, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Transyluania with the Turks
captaines on the other, renting it in pieces, as if they had sworne the destruction thereof. The
Vayuod desiring to recouer the strong castle of Tockay, in the frontiers of his countrey, but
lately taken from him by *Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant, laid hard siege to it, & had brought
it to great extremitie, although it was notably defended by *Iames Ramınger* the captain there-
of: when suddenly newes was brought vnto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into K
his country to haue aided him against the Emperor) did with all hostility after their barbarous
manner, burne and destroy his country before them, making hauocke of all things, so that the
country people were glad in defence of themselues, to take vp armes against them. Where-
vpon he forthwith left the siege, & went to aid his distressed subiects against the Tartars, with
whom he had many an hot skirmish; and after much bloudshed, at last ouercame them, and with
much adoe rid himselfe of such bad guests. Now in the meane time, *Suendi* strengthened
with new supplies sent vnto him from the Emperour, had taken the castle of Zackmar in the
borders of Transyluania, and with like good fortune had the castle of Muncatz yeelded vnto
him, and after that besieged the towne of Husth: so that the Vayuod was glad to craue aid of
the Turkish Emperour *Selymus*, vnder whose protection hee was: who presently commanded L
Partaw one of his chiefe Bassaes, and then his great Lieutenant in Romania, to goe with his
forces into Transyluania, to relieue them. But hearing that Embassadours were comming
from *Maximilian* the Emperour, hee called him backe againe, vntill he had heard the effect
The Bassa of Buda desirous to further the peace. of that embassage. At which time also the Bassa of Buda enclining vnto peace, sent Presents
to the Emperour, requesting him to remoue certaine Hungarian captaines from off the fronti-
ers, lest happily they should interrupt the treatie of peace, then on both sides purposed; pro-
mising for his part, to punish with death all such Turks as should make any further inuasion, or
raise any new troubles. He writ letters also to county *Salma*, That he could not but maruell, to
what end *Maximilian* the Emperor was about to intreat with his lord & master of peace, whilst
Suendi in the meane time was raging in Transyluania, then vnder the Turks protection; which M
if he proceeded still to do, *Selymus* would thereof take o[illegible]sion (as he said) to turne all his for-
ces that way: wherefore he requested him to persuade t[illegible]Emperour to take some more easie
course in that behalfe; promising also, that hee would fo[illegible]is part effectually trauell with his
master, to haue better li[illegible]g of peace than of warres, wishing him also to doe the like. Which
thing

A thing as soone as the Emperour vnderstood, he commanded *Suendi* to giue ouer the siege of
Husth, and to keepe himselfe quiet vntill he might by his Embassadours vnderstand what the
Great Turke purposed, and how he was affected towards peace.

Now indeed these two great Princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably dis- *Maximilian & Selymus both desirous of peace*
sembled the matter) were both of them in heart desirous of peace, and that for diuers great and
vrgent considerations. *Maximilian* for want of mony saw it was not possible for him to send in-
to the field such an armie the next yeare as he had the yeare before. And *Selymus*, besides his
other troubles, was to take order for the appeasing of a great & dangerous rebellion in the far-
thest part of his dominions in Arabia Fœlix; where the people rising vp in arms, and hauing
B slaine the Bassa's and Sanzacks their gouernors, were readie to haue cast off the Turkish obedi-
ence: neither was he out of feare of the Persians, readie (as was reported) to make war vpon
him. For which causes he wished rather for peace with the Emperour *Maximilian*, than wars:
and so much the more, for that it was impossible for him to send an armie of any puissance in-
to Hungary, for want of many necessarie prouisions for the maintenance thereof, in a countrey
so much impouerished by reason of his late wars, wherein no victuals were to be found for the
relieſe of such a multitude of men as he was to send, if he would do any good there. And truth
it was (as the Turks themselues afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with halfe the power he
had in field the last yere, might haue easily recouered the greatest part of that kingdom before
lost: but well knowing his own wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether inclining to peace;
C and by Countie *Salma* aduertised from the Bassa of Buda, That if he would send Embassadors
to Constantinople, with the tribute woont to be there paid for Hungary, a peace vpon reaso-
nable conditions might be easily obtained; he resolued vpon that point. And so certain mes-
sengers being sent vp and downe to Constantinople to the same effect, it was concluded, That
if the Emperor would send Embassadors to Constantinople with the tribute yet behind, and a
large commission for the treatie of peace, *Selymus* should giue them his safe conduct, with li-
bertie at their pleasure to returne in case either of peace or war. Which agreed vpon and faith-
fully promised on both sides, *Selymus* set at libertie the lord *Albert de Vuis*, who six yeares Lie-
ger in Constantinople, first for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now been
straitly imprisoned in his owne house by the space of 22 moneths; in such sort that neither he
D nor any of his household could go abroad, watch and ward being kept both day & night about
his house, and his windowes also boorded vp, to the end that he should not so much as looke
out into the citie or any whither els more than the court of his house only. So the Emperour
Maximilian now resolued to send Embassadors to Constantinople with the tribute money and
diuers other rich gifts and Presents, as wel to the Great Turke himselfe, as the Viſier Bassa's his
Counsellors: and considering with himselfe, whom to be most fit, with wisedome and honor
to bring this so weightie a matter about, hauing to do with so barbarous, couetous, and migh-
tie a people, made choice of the lord *Anthonius Varantius* of Agria (of his Councell for the
kingdome of Hungarie) a Prelat of great estimation, who being a man of 63 yeares old, besides
his great learning, had the experience of 27 embassages; wherin he alwaies so discreetly bare
E himselfe, as well contented his Prince, and purchased vnto himselfe the reputation of a most
graue & wise man: and about ten yeres before this embassage, being sent by the Emperor *Fer-*
dinand Embassador to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian*, to *Selymus* at Constantinople, returning
with good successe, was by the Emperor created a Prince of the Empire, and Bishop of Agria.
Vnto which so honorable a personage, hauing the charge of this so weighty a matter, the Em-
perour the more to ennoble this embassage, as also to purchase the greater credit to his embas-
sador, ioyned vnto him a most honorable Baron called the lord *Christopher Teusenbatch* of Sti-
ria, one of his Counsellors also for the warres: who with full instructions both taking their
leaue of the Emperor (then holding a Parliament at Presburgh) departed, and being attended *Maximilian the emperor sendeth Embassadors to Selymus.*
vpon with a great and honourable Retinue, set forward the first of Iuly 1567, and so came to
F Comara a strong towne in Hungarie not past a league from the Turks frontiers. In which place
the Embassadors staying vntill the seuenth of Iuly; in the meane time gaue knowledge of
their comming vnto the gouernour of Strigonium, demanding for their securitie in the ene-
mies countrey, to be met and receiued by some of his garrison: which granted, they tooke
their barkes brought from Vienna and Possonium, sufficient for their greatnesse to haue carri-
ed them downe the riuer to Belgrade, with horse and waggon and their whole furniture: and
so

ling vnto him the Aga(or captaine of the Ianizaries)demanded of him the cause thereof:who with teares trickling downe his cheekes for griefe; told him, That it was for money. Which by *Selymus* now promised vnto them, together with the confirmation of their liberties; & the Aga with faire words and heauie countenance most earnestly intreating them, not to blemish the antient reputation of their wonted loyaltie with so foule a disorder, nor to oppose the life of him their louing captaine, vnto the heauie displeasure of their angrie Sultan; and farther assuring them, that he would not faile them in the least of his promises, but content them to the full of their desires; the [illegible]tinie was at length appeased, the insolent Ianizaries againe quieted, and *Selymus* into the S[illegible]llo receiued. Howbeit *Muhamet*, chiefe of the Visier Bassaes, for certain daies after went not [illegible] of his pallace, neither came (as he was wont) into the Diuano, but kept himselfe close, for [illegible]e of some greater mischiefe from them. This tumult thus ouerpassed, and all againe well quieted, *Selymus* with all royall solemnitie buried his father in a chappel which he after the manner of the Mahometan kings, had in his life time most stately [illegible]t, with a colledge and an hospitall. Where fast by his side is to be seene the tombe of *R[illegible]s* his best beloued wife, and of certaine others his murthered children: and by him hangeth his scimitar, in token that he died in warres; an honor not otherwise granted to the Mahometa princes. The reuenues arising of the country about Sigeth, of late woon from the Christians, at the time of his death, were giuen to the maintenance of the houses by him built of deuotion; which for the magnificence thereof, exceed all the rest before built by the Mahometan kings and Emperors, except those which were the buildings of *Mahomet* the Great, and *Baiazet* the second. It was by many thought, that *Solyman* was in good time by death cut off, as purposing that yeare to haue wintered in Hungarie, and the yeare following to haue done great matters against the Christians both by sea and land.

Selyman buried

1567

The great army of the Turks thus drawn out of Hungarie by the death of *Solyman*, in some part asswaged, but altogether appeased not the endlesse troubles of that vnfortunat kingdom, *Maximilian* the Emperor on the one side, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Transyluania with the Turks captaines on the other, renting it in pieces, as if they had sworne the destruction thereof. The Vayuod desiring to recouer the strong castle of Tockay, in the frontiers of his countrey, but lately taken from him by *Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant, laid hard siege to it, & had brought it to great extremitie, although it was notably defended by *Iames Ramінger* the captain thereof: when suddenly newes was brought vnto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into his country to haue aided him against the Emperor) did with all hostility after their barbarous manner, burne and destroy his country before them, making hauocke of all things, so that the country people were glad in defence of themselues, to take vp armes against them. Whereupon he forthwith left the siege, & went to aid his distressed subiects against the Tartars, with whom he had many an hot skirmish; and after much bloudshed, at last ouercame them, and with much adoe rid himselfe of such bad guests. Now in the meane time, *Suendi* strengthened with new supplies sent vnto him from the Emperour, had taken the castle of Zackmar in the borders of Transyluania, and with like good fortune had the castle of Muncatz yeelded vnto him, and after that besieged the towne of Husth: so that the Vayuod was glad to craue aid of the Turkish Emperour *Selymus*, vnder whose protection hee was: who presently commanded *Partau* one of his chiefe Bassaes, and then his great Lieutenant in Romania, to goe with his forces into Transyluania, to relieue them. But hearing that Embassadours were comming from *Maximilian* the Emperour, hee called him backe againe, vntill he had heard the effect of that embassage. At which time also the Bassa of Buda enclining vnto peace, sent Presents to the Emperour, requesting him to remooue certaine Hungarian captaines from off the frontiers, least happily they should interrupt the treatie of peace, then on both sides purposed; promising for his part, to punish with death all such Turks as should make any further inuasion, or raise any new troubles. He writ letters also to county *Salma*, That he could not but maruell, to what end *Maximilian* the Emperor was about to intreat with his lord & master of peace, whilst *Suendi* in the meane time was raging in Transyluania, then vnder the Turks protection; which if he proceeded still to do, *Selymus* would thereof take [illegible]sion (as he said) to turne all his forces that way: wherefore he requested him to perswade t[illegible] Emperour to take some more easie course in that behalfe; promising also, that hee would f[illegible]s part effectually trauell with his master, to haue better l[illegible]g of peace than of warres, wishing him also to doe the like. Which thing

Troubles in Hungarie.

The Bassa of Buda desirous to further the peace.

A thing as soone as the Emperour vnderstood, he commanded *Suendi* to giue ouer the siege of Husth, and to keepe himselfe quiet vntill he might by his Embassadours vnderstand what the Great Turke purposed, and how he was affected towards peace.

Now indeed these two great Princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably dissembled the matter) were both of them in heart desirous of peace, and that for diuers great and vrgent considerations. *Maximilian* for want of mony saw it was not possible for him to send into the field such an armie the next yeare as he had the yeare before. And *Selymus*, beside his other troubles, was to take order for the appeasing of a great & dangerous rebellion in the farthest part of his dominions in Arabia Fœlix; where the people rising vp in armes, and hauing slaine the Bassa's and Sanzacks their gouernors, were readie to haue cast off the Turkish obedience: neither was he out of feare of the Persians, readie (as was reported) to make war vpon him. For which causes he wished rather for peace with the Emperour *Maximilian*, than wars: and so much the more, for that it was impossible for him to send an armie of any puissance into Hungary, for want of many necessarie prouisions for the maintenance thereof, in a countrey so much impouerished by reason of his late wars, wherein no victuals were to be found for the reliefe of such a multitude of men as he was to send, if he would do any good there. And truth it was (as the Turks themselues afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with halfe the power he had in field the last yere, might haue easily recouered the greatest part of that kingdom before lost: but well knowing his own wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether inclining to peace; and by Countie *Salma* aduertised from the Bassa of Buda, That if he would send Embassadors to Constantinople, with the tribute woont to be there paid for Hungary, a peace vpon reasonable conditions might be easily obtained; he resolued vpon that point. And so certain messengers being sent vp and downe to Constantinople to the same effect, it was concluded, That if the Emperor would send Embassadors to Constantinople with the tribute yet behind, and a large commission for the treatie of peace, *Selymus* should giue them his safe conduct, with libertie at their pleasure to returne in case either of peace or war. Which agreed vpon and faithfully promised on both sides, *Selymus* set at libertie the lord *Albert de Vuis*, who six yeares Lieger in Constantinople, first for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now been straitly imprisoned in his owne house by the space of 22 moneths; in such sort that neither he nor any of his household could go abroad, watch and ward being kept both day & night about his house, and his windowes also boorded vp, to the end that he should not so much as looke out into the citie or any whither els more than the court of his house only. So the Emperour *Maximilian* now resolued to send Embassadors to Constantinople with the tribute money and diuers other rich gifts and Presents, as wel to the Great Turke himselfe, as the Visier Bassa's his Counsellors: and considering with himselfe, whom to be most fit, with wisedome and honor to bring this so weightie a matter about, hauing to do with so barbarous, couetous, and mightie a people, made choice of the lord *Anthonius Varantius* of Agria (of his Councell for the kingdome of Hungarie) a Prelat of great estimation, who being a man of 63 yeares old, beside his great learning, had the experience of 27 embassages; wherin he alwaies so discreetly bare himselfe, as well contented his Prince, and purchased vnto himselfe the reputation of a most graue & wise man: and about ten yeres before this embassage, being sent by the Emperor *Ferdinand* Embassador to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian*, to *Selymus* at Constantinople, returning with good successe, was by the Emperor created a Prince of the Empire, and Bishop of Agria. Vnto which so honorable a personage, hauing the charge of this so weighty a matter, the Emperor the more to ennoble this embassage, as also to purchase the greater credit to his embassador, ioyned vnto him a most honorable Baron called the lord *Christopher Teufenbatch* of Stiria, one of his Counsellors also for the warres: who with full instructions both taking their leaue of the Emperor (then holding a Parliament at Presburgh) departed, and being attended vpon with a great and honourable Retinue, set forward the first of Iuly 1567, and so came to Comara a strong towne in Hungarie not past a league from the Turks frontiers. In which place the Embassadors staying vntill the seuenth of Iuly; in the meane time gaue knowledge of their comming vnto the gouernour of Strigonium, demanding for their securitie in the enemies countrey, to be met and receiued by some of his garrison: which granted, they tooke their barkes brought from Vienna and Possonium, sufficient for their greatnesse to haue carried them downe the riuer to Belgrade, with horse and waggon and their whole furniture: and so

Maximilian & Selymus both desirous of peace

Maximilian the emperor sendeth Embassadors to Selymus.

so entring vpon the Turks dominion about a league or a little more from Comara, being so far wasted by the soldiers and gallies of Comara, they were met by an Aga of the Turks, with a Chiaus called *Becrams* (sent by the Bassa of Buda) in certaine gallies armed with Turkish soldiers. To whom the Embassador at his landing deliuered his mind, and afterward his person, giuing them to vnderstand, that they were with all safetie to conduct both him and all his to the Bassa of Buda: which they answered they were ready to accomplish; and so curteously inuited by the Embassadors, they came aboord their barke, and there dined together. Here they that were sent with them, leauing them in the hands of the Turks, hauing licence to depart, returned to Comara: and they that day after fiue leagues sailing arriued at Strigonium, where they were by the gouernor of the citie denied landing: for which so dishonorable a part he was afterward sharply rebuked by the Bassa of Buda. Yet as they lay that night vpon the water, certaine Turkish instrels, to do them honor, and to get a largesse, with their barbarous bawling instruments played them vp many a homely fit of mirth: and diuers others with sundrie sorts of vauting and tumbling, sometime leaping one vpon anothers shoulders, and sometime doing their trickes on the earth, all the euening shewed them great sport and pastime.

The Embassadors come to Buda.

From Strigonium they with fiue leagues sailing came to Buda, leauing behind them the castle of Vicegrade, two leagues distant from Strigonium. In this citie of Buda lieth the great Bassa by whom all Hungarie, with the prouinces thereto belonging (in the Turks power) is gouerned. This citie, sometime the regall seat of the Hungarian Kings, is scituate vpon a little hill on the South side of Danubius, hauing in the South point thereof a castle, much higher than the citie, and of a most braue prospect: in which castle lieth a captaine with a garrison of fiue hundred souldiers (as the Turks say) howbeit it is thought that they are not altogether so many: it is the losse of his head to stir out of his charge; and beside, he hath commission to denie the Bassa himselfe entrance, vnlesse he come very sleighrly accompanied: so jealous are the Turks of that castle, as if the state of Hungarie depended thereon. Herein standeth the kings Palace, which taketh vp most part of the place, greatly beautified by *Matthias*, and shewing outwardly to haue been a verie stately thing: for there are in it both large halls and faire Galleries, and chambers built in most royall manner; where amongst other roomes, the Embassadors found a decaied Librarie, full of pictures and Latine titles of bookes: all which things when they present themselues to the eyes of the Christian beholders, offer a iust consideration of noble and reuerend antiquitie, and withall, strike into their hearts a certaine compassion joyned with horror, to see the renowned glorie of so many great Kings all wasted & brought to nothing. The next morning the Embassadors went to speake with the Bassa: whose house was reasonable faire (considering their guise and custome, not much delighting in the beautie of their priuat buildings) scituat vpon the riuer side at the bottome of the hill whereon the City standeth. Vnto this Bassa the Embassadors presented two great gilt cups, a clocke all curiously wrought in gold, and a thousand dollars: which Present the Bassa receiued in his Diuino (being a large hall) where he sate with his counsellors, officers, and other Turks in their places and order; some on his right hand, and some on his left, all richly attired in garments of silke of diuers colours and fashions, reaching downe to their anckles after their manner: their heads couered with their passing white and well made turbants: in which assemblie nothing beeing then to be seene but goodly order and graue silence, they seemed to the strange beholders so many counsellors of exceeding grauitie and reputation. Round about the Hall wherein the Embassadors had audience, were many seats couered with Turkie carpets; the rest of the roome being all vacant. The Bassa in a place more apparant than the rest, sitting in great maiesty: before whom was set two little chaires, on which (after he had stood vp a while and embraced the Embassadors) he caused them both to sit downe. Whose speech deliuered in the Italian tongue, after they had discharged themselues of the Emperours letters and greetings, was to effect this, *viz.* That his Imperiall maiestie (for the common benefit of their subiects in Hungarie) requested him to continue in his good purpose and dealing for peace: and further, to giue safe conduct vnto them his Embassadours with their retinue, vntill they were come vnto the Turks court, where they were to entreat and conclude a peace, to the ending of all troubles, and the publique benefit of their subiects in generall. Which speech with cheerefull and friendly countenance ended, many of the Embassadors followers were admitted to kisse the Bassa's hand, accounted no small fauour amongst those Barbarians. The Interpreter

Presents giuen by the emperors Embassadours vnto the Bassa of Buda.

A pretor of these things was a Iew of Padua, who declared all that was spoken, in the Turkish language vnto the Bassa, and in the Italian vnto the Embassadors. And although (if it had been their pleasure) they might haue told their mind each to other in the Crouatian tongue without an Interpretor; yet the Bassa standing more vpon his reputation, and for some other respects beside, would haue the matter propounded and likewise answered in the Turkish. In which sort they also conferred continually afterward with the Bassa's at Constantinople, vnles it were in some particular and priuat talke of small importance, or els in some point beside the matter; for then the Interpretor spake in the Crouatian or Sclauonian tongue, which is familiar to most of the Turks, but especially to the men of war. Before this hall where the Embassadours

B were entertained by the Bassa, in the base court stood all the Ianizaries in goodly array, and his slaues with their red zarcul on their heads, and other souldiers with high and long plumes of feathers standing vpright: all which made a beautifull shew, and gaue all great grace to the Bassa's court. These men stir not one foot in their standings, and if the consultation do last foure houres long, so long are they to continue standing without moning. The Embassadors hauing staied two daies at Buda, were by the Bassa dismissed, sending with them his Checai (the Stewward or gouernor of his house) a man of great reputation, and *Becrams* the Chiaus (the same that came to meet them at Comara, with a sufficient guard and certain Ianizaries, sent for their more safe trauelling, and to prouide for them from place to place, of all things necessarie for their diet, as also for their horses, at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied, they imbarqued the

C tenth day of the aforesaid moneth, towed vp the Turks gallies, which holpen by the swiftnes of the riuer, carried them downe in eight days to Belgrade, where they arriued the eighteenth of Iuly. So hauing staid at Belgrade, & there leauing their boats, and taking their coaches, they set forward by land the twentieth of the said moneth, and with great paines trauelling thorow Rascia, Bulgaria, and Thracia, and passing a part of the great mountaine Scardus, and after that, the mountaine Rhodope, so by the way of Philippopolis and Hadrianople, the two and twen-

The Emperours embassadors honourably receiued by the Turks at Constantinople.

tieth of August gathered fast vpon Constantinople: where many of the Spahies and Chiausais of the court, with a number of the Ianizaries and other souldiers, for their greater honour came to meet them a great way without the citie. By whom the Embassadors honourably mounted

D on horseback, were by them conducted to their lodging appointed for them about the midst of the citie; where the Lord *Albert de Wuis* the Emperors Embassador Lieger (not long before inlarged) hauing long looked for their comming, now most ioyfully receiued them. It was then Fryday the Turks Sabaoth, and a day of them aboue all other dayes in the weeke regarded, and about ten of the clocke two houres before noone; at which time the Embassadors were no sooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to heare the ceremonies of his religion, in the Moschie of his father *Solyman* (as his manner was sometime to do) passed along before the gate where the Embassadors lay, with the whole traine of his Court; and peraduenture somewhat more than ordinarie, to shew the magnificence of his power and state, to the end that the Embassadors (aboue the former opinion by them conceiued) might hold him in the reputation of a most puissant and mightie Monarch. He passing by, vouchsafed not once to giue them a re-

E gard, or so much as to cast his eye aside vpon them, although they were strangers, and but euen then arriued: but with a countenance as if hee had knowne not so much as any thing of their comming, held on his way as it lay. But *Muhamet* the chief Visier Bassa, with the other Bassa's and great Courtiers, in most gratious manner as they passed by cast their eyes vpon them; all the curtesie they could then shew them. Six dayes after, being the eight and twentieth of August, the Embassadors all three went to visit and salute *Muhamet* (or as the Turks call him *Mehemet*) the chief Visier Bassa, as the manner was, presenting him from the Emperor, with foure

Presents giuen by the Emperours Embassadors to the great Bassa's.

cups of siluer all gilt, of most faire and curious workemanship; of which, two of them being greater than the other, were three spans high, the other two being not so high by a span, but hauing in them two thousand duckets of gold: beside which, they gaue him also a clocke, being

F a most curious piece of worke, and all ouer double gilt. After which greetings and presents deliuered, beside the contents of his Maiesties letters, they declared vnto him in generall points, the cause of their comming, and the mind of the Emperor well disposed to a peace; and what great benefit would arise thereby to both parties: and lastly turning ouer the blame of the late wars, and laying the fault therof to the charge of others, sweetned thereby the sowre of their former dealings. Neither was the Bassa likewise for his part to seeke of good words, but answered

swered them in Turkish by the mouth of *Hibraim* the chiefe Dragoman, who deliuered his mind to them in Latine or Italian, according as the Embassadours had before vttered theirs: which parle so ended, certaine of the chiefe of the Embassadors followers were admitted into the Diuano to kisse the proud Bassa's hand. The same day the Embassadors also saluted *Partan* the second Bassa, and *Ferat* the third in order and authoritie. To *Partan* the presented two cups of siluer all gilt, beside a clocke of the same making with the afore named, and two thousand dollars: and the like to *Ferat*. The next day they went to visit the other three Bassa's, *Achomat*, *Piall*, and *Muhamet*, presenting euery one of them with two faire cups and a thousand dollars. These were the six Visier Bassa's to *Selymus*, then lying at court with him, men that for wealth and authoritie [illegible] before all other in the Turkish empire, as in the course of this Historie may appeare. A[illegible] hauing visited them in generall, the Embassadors to set their affaires on foot, the four[illegible] September closed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of Estate-matters was especially committed. Yet after this first conference, because it was necessarie before so weightie affaires were broached, first to do the Turke reuerence, and to deliuer [illegible]presents, with the Emperours letters to him written; for some few dayes there was not any point at all of the Embassadors businesse handled.

Selymus not long after the Embassadors were arriued, went out for his disport and pleasure on hunting: so that in the mean time, after the presents were giuen to the Bassa's, matters stood still altogether vnaduanced, vntill the 21 of September: and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his disport) it was appointed that the Embassadours should haue audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their followers, of those that should attend vpon them, which were not in all aboue twelue persons: for they to whome this charge was committed, said it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great traine should come before so great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them aboue that number: whereupon they appointed but six a piece to attend them; and of fifteen cups of siluer and gilt, being most curiously and cunningly engrauen, one of the faire st among the rest was giuen to each of those twelue to carrie, and they ordered to go by two and two before the rest that came after in order with the rest of the Present; which was two exceeding pretious clocks, like in bignesse to them before giuen to the Bassa's, but far aboue them in value; & 45000 dollars for the tribute behind and yet vnpaied. The greatest of those cups was six spans and a halfe, and the least two spans in height: some of them being double cups, after the high Dutch manner. The Embassadors (whose comming a great multitude of the Ianizaries attended below at the gate of their lodging; beside many of the Spahi's and Chiausi's, and others of good sort (which were come to honor them with their presence to the palace) putting themselues in readinesse betimes in the morning, and taking horse set forward toward the court. The formost were they that did beare the Present in their hands, the people of the citie in euery street flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they passed: and verily there had beene seldome times seene the like embassage in those parts: for besides the fame that was blowne abroad in euerie quarter, That they were men sent from one of the greatest Princes in Christendome; the diuersitie of their attire (so few as they were) more than any thing beside, did represent the Maiestie of the Christian Emperor to them that gazed vpon his Embassadors and their traine, the people conceiuing thereby, that he was lord and ruler ouer many prouinces & countries. For they that were Hungarians belonging to the Bishop of Agria (the chiefe Embassador) being attired in long & sober garments of very fine purple cloath, hauing their shooes pieced ouer the soles with yron plates, and halfe their heads shauen, seemed to differ from them but little: but on the other side, the high-Dutch attired in blacke, with their veluet caps, & short cloaks laied with siluer lace, & long breeches little lesse than Rutter wise, and chaines of gold about their necks, appeared very strange & vncouth to the Turkish people: so accompanied in this honorable wise, the Embassadors entred the first gate of the Great Turks palace. This gate is built of marble in most sumptuous maner, & of a stately hight, with certain words of their language in the front thereof ingrauen & gilt in marble. So passing thorow the base court, which hath on the right side very faire gardens, & on the left, diuers buildings seruing for other offices, with a little Moschy; they came to the second gate, where all such as come in riding, must of necessitie alight: there so soon as they were entred in at this secõd gate, they came into a very large square court, with buildings & galleries round about it, the kitchins standing on the right hand, with other

Presents sent to Selymus by the Emperour.

The Emperours embassadors honorably conducted by the Turks vnto the Court.

The first gate of the great Turks Palace.

The second gate.

other lodgings for such as belonged to the court, and on the left hand likewise roomes deputed to like seruices. There are moreouer many halls and other roomes for resort, where they sit in counsel, handling and executing the publike affaires either of the court or of the empire, with other matters, where the Bassa's and other officers assemble together. Entring in at this second gate, in one part of the court, which seem'd rather some large street, they saw the whole companie of the Solaches set in a goodly ranke, which are archers keeping alwaies neere vnto the person of the great Turke, & seruing as his footmen when he rideth: they vse high plumes of feathers, which are set bolt vpright ouer their foreheads. In another place there stood the Capitzi in like array, with black staues of Indian canes in their hands: they are the porters and warders of the gates of the palace, not much differing in their attire from the Ianizaries; who stood in ranke likewise in another quarter. And beside all those, with many more that were out of order; as well of the court as of the common people, those Knights of the court which accompanied the Embassadors thither, with other great ones also of like degree, were marshalled all in their seueral companies. And among the rest, the Mutfaracha's, men of all nations and all religions (for their valor the only freemen which liue at their owne libertie in the Turkish empire) stood there apparelled in damaske veluet and cloath of gold, and garments of silke of sundrie kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbants that they wore vpon their heads, being as white as whitenes it selfe, made a most braue and goodly shew well worth the beholding. In briefe, whether they were to be considered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their sumptuous presence, altogether without noise or rumor; they made the Embassadors and the rest of their followers there present, eye-witnesses both of their obedience, and of the great state and royaltie of the *Othoman* court. Passing through them, the Embassadors were led into the hall, where the Bassa's & other great men of the court were all readie to giue them entertainment: they of their traine being at the same time brought into a roome that stood apart vnder one of the aforesaid lodgings all hung with Turkie carpets. Soone after (as their vse & manner is) they brought in their dinner, couering the ground with table-cloathes of a great length spred vpon carpets, and afterward scattering vpon them a maruelous number of wooden spoons, with so great store of bread, as if they had bin to feed 300 persons: then they set on meat in order, which was serued in 42 great platters of earth, full of rice pottage of three or foure kinds, differing one from another, some of them seasoned with hony, and of the colour of hony; some with soure milke, and white of colour; and some with sugar: they had fritters also, which were made of like batter; and mutton beside, or rather a daintie and toothsome morsell of an old sodden Ewe. The table (if there had any such bin) thus furnished, the guests without any ceremonie of washing, sate downe on the ground (for stooles there were none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen dishes, water prepared with sugar, which kind of drinke they call Zerbet. But so hauing made a short repast, they were no sooner risen vp, but certaine yong men, whom they call Giamoglans, with others that stood round about them, snatcht it hastily vp as their fees, and like greedie harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The Embassadors in the meane time dined in the hall with the Bassa's. And after dinner certaine of the Capitzies were sent for the twelue of the embassadors followers, before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence: by whom (their Presents being alreadie conueied away) they were remoued out of the place where they dined, & brought on into an vnder roome, from whence there was an ascent into the hal, where the Bassa's were staying for the Embassadors: who soone after came forth, and for their ease sat them downe vpon the benches, whilest the Bassa's went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of dinner, and was remoued in all his royaltie, into one of his chambers, expecting the comming of the Embassadors. All things now in readinesse, and the Embassadors sent for, they set forward with their traine, and came to the third gate, which leadeth into the priuy palace of the Turkish Emperor, where none but himselfe, his eunuchs, & the yong pages his minions, being in the Eunuchs custodie, hath continuall abiding: into which inward part of the palace none entreth but the Capitzi Bassa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) and the Cesigniers (that serue in the Turks meat) with the Bassa's and some few other great men; and that only when they haue occasion so to do by reason of some great busines, or sent for by the Sultan. Being entred in at this gate, which is of a stately & royal building, the Capitzi by who they were conducted suddenly caused them to stay, and set them one from another about

A homely feast giuen to the embassadors Followers in the Turkes Court.

The third gate.

five

fiue paces, in a little roome, which neuertheleſſe was paſſing delicate, all curiouſly painted ouer with diuers colours, and ſtood between the gate and the more inner lodgings. On both ſides of which roome, when all things els were whiſt & in a deep ſilence, certain little birds only were heard to warble out their ſweet notes, and to flicker vp and downe the green trees of the gardens (which al along caſt a pleaſant ſhadow from them) as if they alone had obtained licence to make a noiſe. *Selymus* himſelfe was in great maieſtie ſet in an vnder chamber, parted only with a wall from the roome wherein the Embaſſadours followers attended, whereinto he might looke through a little window, the portall of his ſaid chamber ſtanding in counterpoint with the third gate aboue mentioned. The Embaſſadors entring in, were led ſingle, and one after another, to make their reuerence vnto the Great Turke. And in the mean time certain of the Capitzi with the Preſents in their hands fetching a compaſſe about before the window, muſtered them in his ſight. All this while not the leaſt ſound in the world being raiſed, but a ſacred ſilence kept in euery corner, as if men had bin going to viſit the holieſt place in Ieruſalem. Yet for all that, the Embaſſadors followers placed one from another (as is aforeſaid) were not aware that the great Sultan was ſo neere, looking ſtil when they ſhould haue bin led on forwards all together: howbeit they were ſet in one after another, neither did they that were ſo ſet out, return again into the roome, but hauing ſeuerally done their reuerence, were all (except the Embaſſadors, that ſtill ſtaid in the chamber) by one and one ſent out another way into the court; neither could he that came after, ſee his fellow that went before him, after he was once taken in to do his reuerence: but ſuddenly as the former was let out, the next was aduanced forward to the doore, where *Iſman* the Capitzi-Baſſa and the Odda-Baſſa, taking him by both arms and by the necke, the one at the right hand, and the other at the left, & ſo leading him apace, by the way ſoftly felt his wriſts with their hands, leſt peraduenture he might haue ſome ſhort weapon in his ſleeue. Yet were they not all thus groped, as *Marc. Antonio Pigafetta* (the reporter of this negotiation) ſaith of himſelfe and ſome others alſo. Howbeit this hath bin, and yet is the manner of giuing of acceſſe vnto the perſon of the Great Turke, euer ſince that *Amurath* the firſt was after the battel of Caſſoua murdred by one of *Lazarus* the Deſpots men; who admitted to his preſence, in reuenge of the wrong done vnto his maſter, with a ſhort poinard that hee had cloſely hidden about him, ſo ſtabbed him in the bellie, that he preſently died. And thus like men rather carried to priſon by ſergeants, than to the preſence of ſo mightie a Monarch, they were preſented vnto his Maieſtie: he ſitting vpon a pallet, which the Turks call Maſtabe, vſed by them in their chambers to ſleepe and to feed vpon, couered with carpets of ſilke, as was the whole floore of the chamber alſo. The chamber it ſelfe being not very great, was but darke, altogether without windows, excepting that one whereof we haue before ſpoken, and hauing the walls painted and ſet out in moſt freſh and liuely colours by great cunning, and with a moſt delicat grace: yet vſe they neither pictures nor the image of any thing in their painting. The ſix Viſier Baſſa's before mentioned, were ſtanding at the left hand as they entred in at the chamber dore, one by another in one ſide of the chamber, and the Embaſſadors on the right hand on the other ſide ſtanding likewiſe, & vncouered. The Dragomans were in another part of the chamber, neere the place where the Sultan ſat gorgeouſly attired in a robe of cloath of gold all embroidred with jewels: when as the Embaſſadors followers by one & one brought before him, (as is aforeſaid) and kneeling on the ground, a Turke ſtanding on his right hand, with all reuerence taking vp the hem of his garment, gaue it them in their hands to kiſſe. *Selymus* himſelf all this while ſitting like an image without mouing, and with a great ſtate and maieſty keeping his countenance, dained not to giue them one of his looks. This done, they were led back again, neuer turning their backs towards him, but going ſtill backwards vntill they were out of his preſence. So after they had all thus made their reuerence, & were departed out of the chamber, the Embaſſadors deliuered vnto *Selymus* the Emperors letters, and briefly declared vnto him their meſſage: whom he anſwering in foure words, as, That they were to confer with his Baſſa's; preſently they were diſmiſſed. And ſo comming out of the two inner gates, they mounted on horſeback, & tooke the way leading towards their lodging, being at their returne accompanied with the whole order of the Ianizaries, with their Aga & other captains: among were certain of their religious men called Haagi (which vſe to follow the Ianizaries) who continually turning about, and in their going, ſinging or rather howling certaine Pſalmes and prayers for the welfare of their Great Sultan; gaue the Embaſſadours and their followers occaſion to wonder,

The Embaſſadors brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of the and their followers.

The ſtatio Dr. Marc Antonio Pigafetta ca. 5.

A wonder, that they either left not for wearineſſe, or fell not downe like noddies for giddineſſe. All theſe were ſent, the more honourably to accompanie the embaſſadors to their lodging: and beſide theſe, many more on horſebacke than attended them at their forth comming: in regard wherof, the embaſſadors when they were come to their lodging, to requite their greedie courteſie, franckly diſtributed amongſt them aboue foure thouſand dollars, and yet well contented them not.

The embaſſadours after this entertainment at court, had diuers times conference with the great Baſſaes concerning peace, as *Selymus* had commanded: wherein by reaſon of the Turks vnreaſonable demands (as their manner is at their firſt meetings) nothing could be as then concluded: ſo that *Selymus* himſelfe being ſhortly after to depart for Hadrianople, where he was B to continue for ſome moneth (but rather as it was thought for that they could not agree vpon a point of great conſequence) the treatie for peace was intermitted, vntill ſuch time as a meſſenger diſpatched in poſt, might returne vnto the Turks court, with ſome reſolute anſwer concerning that matter. So it was, that during the raigne of the late Emperour *Ferdinand*, that the Turke his ſubiects in Hungarie payed all their taxes and tributes vnto their old Lords and maſters, abiding and liuing in the Emperors iuriſdiction, as did the ſubiects of *Ferdinand*, to their lords that dwelt in the Turkes dominion and territories: now in this treatie for peace, the Turks (amongſt other their vnreaſonable requeſts) demanded to haue their ſubiects freed, & yet the ſubiects of the Emperor to pay as they were before accuſtomed. Which as it was a re- C queſt nothing indifferent, ſo was it no leſſe preiudiciall and hurtfull vnto the Emperor his ſubiects in Hungarie: for which cauſe the embaſſadors would not by any meanes conſent thereunto, before they knew the Emperors farther pleaſure concerning the ſame. Whereupon they diſpatched one *Sig. Odoardo* a gentleman of Mantua, verie skilfull in the Turkiſh language and in ſuch like affaires, by reaſon that as well about this buſineſſe as at diuers times before about other the like, he had been employed from Vienna to Conſtantinople in the Emperours ſeruice. So *Selymus* ſhortly after, *Viz.* the twentieth of October, departing from Conſtantinople, in great magnificence paſſed by the gate where the embaſſadours lay, with his whole court in armes, and in the ſame order that is vſually kept when he goeth to warre or taketh any great iourney. After whoſe departure the embaſſadors hauing ſufficiently viewed the citie of Con- D ſtantinople, and then at good leiſure, to paſſe the time and to ſee the countries they had ſo often both heard and read of, together with the ports and hauens on both ſides that narrow ſea which diuideth Europe from Aſia, embarking themſelues, and croſſing the mouth of the hauen betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, paſſed all alongſt the coaſt on Europe ſide, vnto the Euxine or blacke ſea, and ſo backe againe by the other ſide of that ſtraight ſea: curiouſly noting the great ruins of the antient cities of Bythinia, with ſome others alongſt the Aſian ſhore, together with the pleaſant ſcituation they in former times had, whileſt they yet flouriſhed in their glory, but now for moſt part (or rather altogether) laid in the duſt & brought to nought: and ſo returned againe to Conſtantinople. But whileſt they thus deceiued the time, and lay long expecting the returne, as well of their owne meſſenger ſent vnto the Emperour, as of *Selymus* E himſelfe: they were aduertiſed in all haſte to repaire vnto him to Hadrianople, whether the aforeſaid meſſenger was now come with full inſtructions of all things concerning the treatie for peace. For which cauſe they with great ſpeed making themſelues ready, and taking their leaue of *Piall Baſſa* (who for that he was *Selymus* his great Admirall, then lay at Conſtantinople) ſet forward the firſt of Ianuarie in the yeare 1568, and ſo after nine daies trauel, at length arriued at Hadrianople about an hundred fiftie three Italian miles diſtant from Conſtantinople. Here they ſtayed vntill the peace was concluded, which was the ſeuenteenth of Februarie: the chiefe capitulations whereof were, That either of thoſe great Princes ſhould ſtill hold what they had got each from the other in the late wars: That the Emperour ſhould yerely pay thirtie thouſand duckats to the Turkiſh Sultan, as a tribute for Hungarie, the tribute to F begin in the beginning of Ianuarie laſt paſt this yeare 1568: That the ſubiects of the Turke ſhould pay nothing to the ſubiects of the Emperour, neither the Emperours any thing to the Turks, but to be both of thoſe paiments free. And that vpon theſe conditions there ſhould be a firme and ſure peace betwixt theſe two great monarchs for eight yeares next following: wherein the Vayuod of Tranſyluania was (as the Turks tributarie) to be alſo comprehended. Neuertheleſſe, al things at this time thus agreed vpon, the Turks after their ſubtile manner find-

The principall point vpon the embaſſadors differring was the treaty of peace.

1568

The chiefe capitulations whereon a peace was concluded betwixt Maximilian the Emperor, & Selymus.

ding

ding sundry cauillations, and raising many doubts about the aforesaid capitulations, did what they might to haue in some part altered what they had before agreed vpon, to the bettering of themselues and the hurt of the Christians: and so with many their vnreasonable demands stayed the departure of the embassadors vntill the twentieth of March following. At which time hauing their dispatch, and taking their leaue of the Great Turke and the Bassaes, accompanied with *Hebraim-Beg* (*Selymus* his embassador vnto the Emperour) they by land returned towards Vienna; where they with the ioyfull newes of peace the tenth of May arriued, being there two daies after at the court most honourably receiued. And fiue daies after, audience was giuen vnto the Turks embassador, who well heard and better rewarded, shortly after returned with a full conclusion of peace from the Emperou, to Constantinople.

Embassadours sent from Tamas the Persian king, to Selymus

But whilest this peace was thus in concluding, and the embassadors yet resident at Hadrianople, the sixteenth of Februarie came an honourable embassage from *Shach Tamas* the Persian king, vnto the great Sultan *Selymus*, to intreat a peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude the same, being before agreed vpon the controuersies, for which they afterwards fell in war. Which embassage for that it is no lesse truly than plainely set downe in a letter sent from Erzirum (a citie then in the confines of the Turkes dominions towards the Persians) written by a Chiaus to *Muhamet* chiefe of the Visier Bassaes; which Chiaus was of purpose sent from Constantinople, to meet the said Persian embassador: I thought it not amisse for the better vnderstanding thereof, to set downe the effect of the same letter as it was translated out of the Turkish into the Italian by the Emperors embassadors interpreter.

The effect of the letter written to *Muhamet Bassa*, the chiefe Visier, by a Chiaus sent of purpose to meet the Persian Embassadour.

After due salutations, this is the effect of that which we thought good to make knowne vnto your Lordship. Now at this present (to wit in the beginning of the moneth Giuma Sulacchir) is in good health arriued the Embassadour of Persia, the Kings chiefe counsellour, called * Schach Culi Soltan, *attended vpon with a hundred and twentie Gentlemen, with guilt Turbants on their heads, and well furnished with spare horses led in mens hands. Besides whom he was accompanied also with two hundred knights all apparelled in cloath of gold, with foure hundred Persian merchants, in all aboue seuen hundred persons; with a thousand nine hundred beasts, Camels, Mules, and Horses; fiue couple of drums, euery couple being placed vpon a seuerall Camell, fiue Nacars, three trumpets, fiue flutes, and other instruments, in all about thirtie musitions, playing vpon these instruments: There were also two queristers or chaunters of the Alcoran, one Organist, one playing vpon a Turkish instrument like a Lute, two players vpon Sagbuts, with two other Musitions, eight in all. There were also foure bondwomen seruing in the Embassadours owne chamber. Who when hee was with all this magnificent pompe come within one dayes tourney of Erzirum, the* * Sayms *and Spahies assembling themselues together to the number of eight thousand men, went to meet him: amongst whome were an hundred and more, all apparelled in cloath of gold and Sattin: two thousand men with guilt morrions on their heads: in which brauerie wee marching forward, the Persian Embassadour amazed to see so great maiestie and pompe, said that all the armie of Constantinople was come to meete him: and so being come into the Citie, caused all the instruments to bee played vpon, euen from morning vntill night. The next morning, the Embassadour inuited the Bassa with all the Lords and officers; who being come, hee entreated them to heare his musicke: and in like manner the Lord Bassa inuited the Persians. But as the Embassador was going to the banquet, came another Sultan of the Kings, who brought vnto the same Embassador a guilt Turbant, and a rich gowne wrought with gold, which he caused him to put on by the way. By this Embassadour the Persian King hath sent all the armour of Sultan* Baiazet, *with all his Camels and other wealth. The causes of the long stay of this Embassadour were specially two: the one for that the Persian King had caused to bee made two pauilions of one peece, the curtaines being interlaced with gold, and the supporters imbroidered with the same: Besides this, he sent two bookes of Histories, and two Pearles, which in weight weighed ten* * Mescali: *one Balasso as big as a little Pearle; fourescore and two times an hundred* * Tumenlich *of stuffe, amounting to foure score and two summes of Aspers, and sortie Falcons: all which the Persian King hath sent vnto the great Sultan, as to the onely Monarch and Patron of the World. This* Schach Culi *is the next in authoritie to the King, and so was in the time*

* Schach Culi Soltan, was not the proper name of this embassador, but a title of honour, and signifieth as much as a prince seruant to the King.

* Sayms are soldiers of greater honour than the Spahi, hauing for their stipend yearely 2000 Aspers at the least, out of the reuennes of certaine Townes and Villages.

* A Mescali is foure drams.
* Tumenlich is in value as much as the Turkish asper.

time of great King Hysmael. *These two Persian Sultans are the Kings chiefe Sultans and courtiers, and therefore set themselues forth with all the pompe they can. Yet notwithstanding all their brauerie, being come to Erzirum within the view of our armie, the Persians were amazed to behold the goodly order of the* Othomans. *One part of these Persians are returned againe into Persia. And if it please God, at the comming of my messenger vnto you, your Lordship shall vnderstand of what condition and state these two Princes and Sultans are. They haue each of them yearely six Tumeni: which maketh after the computation of the* Othomans, *six thousand Aspers. Your Lordship after this account may iudge of the rest. The other cause of the long stay of this Embassador, was for that in Syruan the people were vp in rebellion, wherein many of them were slaine: to the appeasing of which sedition, this* Schach Culi *was sent, and now at last is come. From Erzirum in the beginning of the moneth of* * Giuma Sulacchir, *in the yeare of the Prophet* Mahomet, 975. * December.

This the Persian embassador was with the greatest pompe that might be entertained by the Turks at his first comming to Hadrianople, all the braue courtiers with the Ianizaries & other souldiers of the court going forth in most seemely order to meet him. Who now entred the citie, and come before the house where the Emperours embassadors then lay, and seeing certain of their retinue before the dore, asked of *Isnam* the Capitzi Bassa, what people they were; who told them that they were the followers of an embassador that there lay, sent from one of the greatest Princes of the Christians, namely the Emperour, who was desirous to make peace with the great Sultan his master. Whereunto the embassador replied, That he would willingly salute them: which *Isnams* hearing, straight way turned his horse towards the place where they stood. Now the Emperors embassador being secret within a lattise, and seeing him come towards them, went forth & stood vpon the dore threshold, and so with signes and words saluted one another. Among the others the Persian embassador said vnto the Emperors, That he would gladly talke with him, if it might so please the grand Seignior: *Hebraim* the Dragoman who then was with the Emperors embassadors, being interpreter. So hauing courteously saluted one the other, they departed, but neuer after came together. Two daies after, the Persian embassadors (according to the maner of those barbarous nations, who with empty hands salute not one another) by his Checaia or steward of his household, presented all the Visier Bassaes with diuers rich gifts and Presents, euery one of them according to their degrees & places: and the day after went himself to visit them; where by the way fel out a strange matter, like enough to haue cost him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the embassador was going to visit *Muhamet* the chiefe of the Visier Bassaes for the first) meeting him, shot at him with an harquebush, with purpose to haue slain him; but as God would, missed him, & hurt but one of his chiefe followers in the arm. Wherwith the embassador not a little dismaid, as supposing himselfe to haue bin betraied, turning his horse, was about to haue gone to his lodging: but the great Bassa in the meantime hauing knowledge therof, presently sent out men to guard him, and to excuse himselfe of the fact. Whereof the embassador being assured, held on his way. In the meane space, the fellow who shot the harquebush, being apprehended, was brought before the embassadour and the Bassa; who asking him for what cause he discharged the shot against the embassadors he without change of countenance boldly answered, That he did it for no other cause but for that the embassador was an heretick, and sent from an hereticall king, and an enemy to their religion: and therefore that it was not conuenient hee should come to intreat of peace with his lord; adding further, that he was not worthie of any peace. Which the Bassa hearing, adiudged the desperat villain the next day to be drawn at an horse taile through the city, & then to haue his right hand cut off, and afterward his head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this, the Persian embassador the 22 of the same moneth went to deliuer the Presents sent from his master vnto the grand Seignior, and to kisse his hand: sending first before him the Presents vpon 44 Camels, whereof 34 were the Kings of Persia, and the other ten his owne. The Kings Present was an Alcoran, with the authoritie of *Ali*, as they hold. For this is their custome, alwayes to present one such Alcoran vnto the Princes to whome they send their Embassadours. It was couered with gold, and garnished with most precious stones. Hee presented also a booke of Histories, couered as the other: he gaue also a box, wherein was a verie faire precious stone called Balasso, and two pearles of a wonderfull greatnesse, with two purses of an handfull long, full of Iewels. Besides these, he presented also 8 Firuari or Porcellane dishes

The Persian embassadour honourably entertained by the Turks at Hadrianople

The Persian embassadour going to visit Muhamet the Visier Bassa, in danger to haue been slaine.

The which present sent by the Persian king vnto Seignior.

ding ſundry cauillations, and raiſing many doubts about the aforeſaid capitulations, did what they might to haue in ſome part altered what they had before agreed vpon, to the bettering of themſelues and the hurt of the Chriſtians: and ſo with many their vnreaſonable demands ſtayed the departure of the embaſſadors vntill the twentieth of March following. At which time hauing their diſpatch, and taking their leaue of the Great Turke and the Baſſaes, accompanied with *Hebraim-Beg* (*Selymus* his embaſſador vnto the Emperour) they by land returned towards Vienna; where they with the ioyfull newes of peace the tenth of May arriued, being there two daies after at the court moſt honourably receiued. And fiue daies after, audience was giuen vnto the Turks e[illegible]baſſador, who well heard and better rewarded, ſhortly after returned with a full concluſ[illegible] peace from the Emperou, to Conſtantinople.

Embaſſadours ſent from Tamas the Perſian king, to Selymus

But whileſt this p[illegible] was thus in concluding, and the embaſſadors yet reſident at Hadrianople, the ſixteenth [illegible]ebruarie came an honourable embaſſage from *Shach Tamas* the Perſian king, vnto the great Sultan *Selymus*, to intreat a peace betwixt them, or rather to c[illegible]ude the ſame, being before agreed vpon the controuerſies, for which they afterwards fell [illegible]n war. Which embaſſage for that it is no leſſe truly than plainely ſet downe in a letter ſent from Erzirum (a citie then in the confines of the Turkes dominions towards the Perſians) written by a Chiaus to *Muhamet* chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes; which Chiaus was of purpoſe ſent from Conſtantinople, to meet the ſaid Perſian embaſſador: I thought it not amiſſe for the better vnderſtanding thereof, to ſet downe the effect of the ſame letter as it was tranſlated out of the Turkiſh into the Italian by the Emperors embaſſadors interpreter.

The effect of the letter written to *Muhamet Baſſa*, the chiefe Viſier, by a Chiaus ſent of purpoſe to meet the Perſian Embaſſadour.

*After due ſalutations, this is the effect of that which we thought good to make knowne vnto your Lordſhip. Now at this preſent (to wit in the beginning of the moneth Giuma Sulacchir) is in good health arriued the Embaſſadour of Perſia, the Kings chiefe counſellour, called** Schach Culi Soltan, *attended vpon with a hundred and twentie Gentlemen, with guilt Turbants on their heads, and well furniſhed with ſpare horſes led in mens hands. Beſides whom he was accompanied alſo with two hundred knights all apparelled in cloath of gold, with foure hundred Perſian merchants, in all aboue ſeuen hundred perſons; with a thouſand nine hundred beaſts, Camels, Mules, and Horſes; fiue couple of drums, euery couple being placed vpon a ſeuerall Camell, fiue Nacars, three trumpets, fiue flutes, and other inſtruments, in all about thirtie muſitions, playing vpon theſe inſtruments: There were alſo two queriſters or chaunters of the Alcoran, one Organiſt, one playing vpon a Turkiſh inſtrument like a Lute, two players vpon Sagbuts, with two other Muſitions, eight in all. There were alſo foure bondwomen ſeruing in the Embaſſadours owne chamber. Who when hee was with all this magnificent pompe come within one dayes iourney of Erzirum, the** Sayms *and Spahies aſſembling themſelues together to the number of eight thouſand men, went to meet him: amongſt whome were an hundred and more, all apparelled in cloath of gold and Sattin: two thouſand men with guilt morrions on their heads: in which brauerie wee marching forward, the Perſian Embaſſadour amazed to ſee ſo great maieſtie and pompe, ſaid that all the armie of Conſtantinople was come to meete him: and ſo being come into the Citie, cauſed all the inſtruments to bee played vpon, euen from morning vntill night. The next morning, the Embaſſadour inuited the Baſſa with all the Lords and officers; who being come, hee entreated them to heare his muſicke: and in like manner the Lord Baſſa inuited the Perſians. But as the Embaſſador was going to the banquet, came another Sultan of the Kings, who brought vnto the ſame Embaſſador a guilt Turbant, and a rich gowne wrought with gold, which he cauſed him to put on by the way. By this Embaſſadour the Perſian King hath ſent all the armour of Sultan* Baiazet, *with all his Camels and other wealth. The cauſes of the long ſtay of this Embaſſadour were ſpecially two: the one for that the Perſian King had cauſed to bee made two pauilions of one peece, the curtaines being interlaced with gold, and the ſupporters imbroidered with the ſame: Beſides this, he ſent two bookes of Hiſtories, and two Pearles, which in weight weighed ten** Meſcali: *one Balaſſo as big as a little Pearle; foureſcore and two times an hundred** Tumenlich *of ſtuffe, amounting to [illegible]foureſcore and two ſummes of Aſpers, and ſortie Falcons: all which the Perſian King hath ſent vnto [illegible]reat Sultan, as to the onely Monarch and Patron of the World. This* Schach Culi *is the next in authoritie to the King, and ſo was in the time*

* *Schach Culi Soltan, was not the proper name of this embaſſador, but a title of honour, and ſignifieth as much as a prince ſeruant to the King.*

* *Sayms are ſoldiers of greater honour than the Spahi, hauing for their ſtipend yearly 2000 Aſpers at the leaſt, out of the reuenues of certaine Townes and Villages.*

* *A Meſcali is foure drams.*

* *Tumenlich is in value as much as the Turkiſh Aſper.*

time of great King Hyſmael. *Theſe two Perſian Sultans are the Kings chiefe Sultans and courtiers, and therefore ſet themſelues forth with all the pompe they can. Yet notwithſtanding all their brauerie, being come to Erzirum within the view of our armie, the Perſians were amazed to behold the goodly order of the* Othomans. *One part of theſe Perſians are returned againe into Perſia. And if it pleaſe God, at the comming of my meſſenger vnto you, your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand of what condition and ſtate theſe two Princes and Sultans are. They haue each of them yearely ſix Tumoni: which maketh after the computation of the* Othomans, *ſix thouſand Aſpers. Your Lordſhip after this account may iudge of the reſt. The other cauſe of the long ſtay of this Embaſſador, was for that in Syruan the people were vp in rebellion, wherein many of them were ſlaine: to the appeaſing of which ſedition, this* Schach Culi *was ſent, and now at laſt is come. From Erzirum in the beginning of the moneth of** Giuma Sulacchir, *in the yeare of the Prophet* Mahomet, 975. * December.

The Perſian embaſſadour honourably entertained by the Turkes at Hadrianople

This the Perſian embaſſador was with the greateſt pompe that might be entertained by the Turks at his firſt comming to Hadrianople, all the braue courtiers with the Ianizaries & other ſouldiers of the court going forth in moſt ſeemely order to meet him. Who now entred the citie, and come before the houſe where the Emperours embaſſadors then lay, and ſeeing certain of their retinue before the dore, asked of *Iſmam* the Capitzi Baſſa, what people they were; who told them that they were the followers of an embaſſador that there lay, ſent from one of the greateſt Princes of the Chriſtians, namely the Emperour, who was deſirous to make peace with the great Sultan his maſter. Whereunto the embaſſador replied, That he would willingly ſalute them: which *Iſmam* hearing, ſtraight way turned his horſe towards the place where they ſtood. Now the Emperors embaſſador being ſecret within a lattiſe, and ſeeing him come towards them, went forth & ſtood vpon the dore threſhold, and ſo with ſignes and words ſaluted one another. Among the others the Perſian embaſſador ſaid vnto the Emperors, That he would gladly talke with him, if it might ſo pleaſe the grand Seignior: *Hebraim* the Dragoman who then was with the Emperors embaſſadors, being interpreter. So hauing courteouſly ſaluted one the other, they departed, but neuer after came together. Two daies after, the Perſian embaſſadors (according to the maner of thoſe barbarous nations, who with empty hands ſalute not one another) by his Checaia or ſteward of his houſhold, preſented all the Viſier Baſſaes with diuers rich gifts and preſents, euery one of them according to their degrees & places: and the day after went himelf to viſit them; where by the way fel out a ſtrange matter, like enough to haue coſt him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the embaſſador was going to viſit *Muhamet* the chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes for the firſt) meeting him, ſhot at him with an harquebuſh, with purpoſe to haue ſlain him; but as God would, miſſed him, & hurt but one of his chiefe followers in the arm. Wherwith the embaſſador not a little diſmaid, as ſuppoſing himſelfe to haue bin betraied, turning his horſe, was about to haue gone to his lodging: but the great Baſſa in the meantime hauing knowledge therof, preſently ſent out men to guard him, and to excuſe himſelfe of the fact. Whereof the embaſſador being aſſured, held on his way. In the meane ſpace, the fellow who ſhot the harquebuſh, being apprehended, was brought before the embaſſadour and the Baſſa; who asking him for what cauſe he diſcharged the ſhot againſt the embaſſadors he without change of countenance boldly anſwered, That he did it for no other cauſe but for that the embaſſador was an heretick, and ſent from an hereticall king, and an enemy to their religion: and therefore that it was not conuenient hee ſhould come to intreat of peace with his lord; adding further, that he was not worthie of any peace. Which the Baſſa hearing, adiudged the deſperat villain the next day to be drawn at an horſe taile through the city, & then to haue his right hand cut off, and afterward his head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this, the Perſian embaſſador the 22 of the ſame moneth went to deliuer the Preſents ſent from his maſter vnto the grand Seignior, and to kiſſe his hand; ſending firſt before him the Preſents vpon 44 Camels, whereof 34 were the Kings of Perſia, and the other ten his owne. The Kings Preſent was an Alcoran, with the authoritie of *Ali*, as they hold. For this is their cuſtome, alwayes to preſent one ſuch Alcoran vnto the Princes to whome they ſend their Embaſſadours. It was couered with gold, and garniſhed with moſt precious ſtones. Hee preſented alſo a booke of Hiſtories, couered as the other: he gaue alſo a box, wherein was a verie faire precious ſtone called Balaſſo, and two pearles of a wonderfull greatneſſe, with two purſes of an handfull long, full of Iewels. Beſides theſe, he preſented alſo 8 Firuari or Porcellane diſhes

The Perſian embaſſadour in going to viſit Muhamet the Viſier baſſa, in danger to haue been ſlaine.

The rich preſent ſent by the Perſian king vnto Seymus.

dishes (which we call China dishes) made of most pure earth, kept aboue fiftie yeres buried vn- C
der the ground, to the end so to be fined and purified, which (as some say) wil melt and dissolue
if any poison be put into them. Hee gaue also two most stately pauilions, 20 great carpets of
silke, and many other lesser of silke and gold; also nine faire canopies to hang ouer the ports of
their pauillions, things not vsed among the Christians. He gaue also nine verie faire carpets of
camels haire, nine saddles set with stone after the Persian fashon, seuen staues of siluer, seuen
scimitars with red scaberts, seuen bowes with arrowes and quiuers, all wrought with gold and
precious stone; he presented also many other carpets called Teftich, made of the finest lawne,
and so large, that seuen men could scarcely carry one of them. All the Faulcons were dead by
The embassadors present to Selyman. the way. The presents which the Embassadour gaue vnto the great Turke in his owne name, H
were also these: an Arran, a pauilion faire and large, certaine scimitars, bowes and arrowes
richly garnished, with certain carpets of silk, & Camels haire. After which Presents so deliue-
red, & reuerence don vnto the great Sultan by the embassador, and thirty of his follow[illegible]l in
cloth of gold, he returned to his lodging, very honorably accompanied, as wel by the [illegible]as
them of his owne retinue. First besides many others, there were a great companie of the Spa-
hies and Chiausies, and other courtiers mounted vpon goodly horses, well furnished & in de-
cent order: here might a man haue seen store of cloth of gold, veluet, damaske, & other kinds
of silke. After these, there followed about three hundred Persian horsemen, apparelled after
their manner, some with gowns made of diuers little pieces of taffata of sundry colors, repre-
senting the pictures of men, women, horses, and other beasts; and some of them imbroidered I
with flowers and fruits of sundry sorts; some had also gowns of cloth of gold, but not so faire
as the Turks; and some of veluet, but very few of cloth; for that the Persians haue no great plen-
ty either of veluet or yet of cloth, except such as they haue from the Portingals that trauel in-
to those Eastern countries; yet of silk & wooll it appeareth they haue great plenty, most part of
their gowns being of wooll quilted with bombast. After these horsemen followed many Per-
sian footmen, peraduenture all seruants; after whom came the Turkish horsemen: and last of al
came a horse of the embassadors led by a Persian; after which horse followed 200 Ianizaries:
and in the rereward of all came the embassador alone, gorgeously attired both himselfe & his
horse. He himself was inuested with crimosin veluet, mingled with some other colors: his sad-
dle and bridle were all bedeckt with iewels: the capariſon of his horse, was all imbroidered K
with Turquoies and other precious stones: the horne vpon the top of his Turbant (which the
Turks call Meteuenchia) was altogether wrought with gold, and set with precious stones: in
briefe, vpon euery part of his bodie hanged iewels of great price. After the embassadour, fol-
lowed about 140 Persian horsemen, and others of his court apparelled as before, some well,
some ill, according to their abilitie. Now although the Persians (as is to be thought) shewed all
their pompe, yet they made nothing so faire a shew as did the Turks; neither are they so faire
men of complexion, being for the most part of a swart and browne color, and rather little men
than otherwise, not much vnlike to the Spaniards. The embassadour being departed, the Pre-
An honourable allowance. sents were all brought & shewed to *Selymus*; who allowed for their ordinary charges 500 du-
cats a day, for that indeed their number was great, and their beasts many. These expences be- L
stowed vpon the embassadors, do presently begin as soone as any of them enter into his domi-
nions; and end, so soone as the businesse for which they come is finished. But long it was not,
but that this embassador hauing concluded a peace betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamas* and
Selymus, & dispatched such matters as he came for, returned home again into Persia. The Ve-
netians also now at this same time, by their embassadors sought to renew the league they had
made with the great Turke, now expired: which as it was easily obtained, so was it of final af-
surance; *Selymus* the next yeare quarrelling with them, and raising new wars, to the great hurt
and disturbance of that State, as shall forthwith appeare.

1569 *Selymus* now at peace with all the world (a thing of the Turks not much desired) began to
thinke of workes of charitie: and purposing to build a magnificent temple at Hadrianople
for his owne sepulture, with a Monasterie, a Colledge, and an Almes-house (as had his M
father, and other his ancestours before him at Prusa and Constantinople, led thereunto with
a vaine and superstitious deuotion) was troubled with nothing more, than how to endow the
same with lands and reuenues sufficient for the maintenance of so great a charge: for that the
Mahometan Kings, are by their superstition prohibited to conuert any lands or possessions
to

A to such holy vses, other than such as they haue with their owne sword won from the enemies
of their religion, which they may (as they are persuaded) as a most acceptable sacrifice, offer
to their great Prophet: which deuilish persuasion, serueth as a spur to pricke forward euery of
those ambitious Princes to adde something to their empire. This his deuout purpose once
knowne, wanted not the furtherance of many ripe heads, deuising some one thing, some ano-
ther, as they thought best fitted his humour. But amongst many things to him presented, none
pleased him so well, as the plot laid for the taking of the rich Iland of Cyprus from the Vene-
tians: a conquest of it selfe sufficient, both for the eternizing of his name, and performance of
his owne charitable workes intended; with a large ouerplus, for the supplying of what soeuer
wanted in his fathers like deuout workes at Constantinople. But that which moued him most
B of all, was the glory of such a conquest, which as his flatterers bare him in hand, might make
him equall with any his predecessors; who in the beginning of their raigne, had vsually done
or attempted some notable thing against the Christians. Hereupon the matter was by *Selymus*
propounded to the great Bassaes to be considered of; without whose aduise and counsell, the
Turkish Emperors seldome or neuer take any great wars in hand. Amongst these graue coun-
sellors, *Muhamet* the chiefe Visier Bassa, a man of greatest authoritie (vnto whom *Selymus* was
beholden, that he had so quietly obtained the empire) and a secret friend vnto the Venetians, *Mahamet Bassa dissuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus.*
seemed much to mislike of that motion, persuading *Selymus* not to yeeld thereunto: alledging
beside the danger and vncertaintie of the expedition, that his father *Solyman* at the time of his
death had charged him straitly, that the league with the Venetians should be religiously kept,
C and that he could not with his honour without iust cause so quickly breake the league, which
he himselfe had but a little before most solemnly confirmed. But *Mustapha* the second Bassa,
sometime *Selymus* his tutor, and therfore of him much honored, with *Piall Bassa* the Admirall
(both enuying at the great honor of the Visier Bassa) so mightily impugned that he had before
said, and so importuned *Selymus* with the shew both of honor and profit attending that action,
as also with the easinesse thereof (a great part of the Venetian Arsenall being but a little before
burnt, and their forces much weakned) that he reiected the counsell of *Muhamet*, calling him in
his choler, Christian (which among the Mahometans is a word of no smal disgrace:) and yeel-
ding wholly to the persuasion of *Mustapha* and *Piall*, presently caused preparation to be made
both by sea and land, for the performance of that his resolution. Which was not so couertly
D carried in the Turkes court, but that it was discouered by *M. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian
embassador; and not without cause suspected by the Venetian merchants, whom the barbarous
Turks began now to cut short in their trafficke, looking big vpon them, as men suddenly chan-
ged, and euill intreating them with hard speeches, the vndoubted signes of greater troubles to
ensue. The Venetian Embassador now out of doubt of the Turkes purpose for the inuasion of
Cyprus, came vnto *Muhamet* the chiefe Bassa, complaining of the breach of the league: and
putting him in mind of the fidelitie of the Venetian State towards the Turkish Emperour; re-
questing him, that *Selymus* might not make too much hast to begin that war, which would set
all Europe on a broile; but rather by his embassadors first to declare his mind to the Senat, for
that so it might haply come to passe, that al might be quieted, to the good of both parties with-
E out war. Which the politick embassador requested not of the Bassa for any hope he had to a-
uert the war, for which the Turk had now al things in a readinesse, but only by such an hope of
composition, to hinder the Turks endeauors, and to win time, vntill that the State (being fully
certified of al these matters) might make ready their fleet & forces, and so in armes be ready to
answer their armed foes: Neither did he euer leaue the Bassa, vntill he had by his means pro-
cured, That one *Cubates* should be sent Embassadour to Venice, to proue the mindes of the
Senators, whether they would willingly deliuer the Island, or aduenture to haue it taken from
them by force. These things and such like as were then done at Constantinople, beeing by
letters sent in post from the Embassadour, made knowne at Venice, brought a generall heaul-
nesse vpon the citie: for why, that vnderstanding and prouident State, warned by their former *Selymus sendeth Cubates his embassadour to Venice.*
F harmes; of all others most dread the Turks forces. *Cubates* the embassadour accompanied with
Aloysius Barbarus the Embassadours sonne, and *Bonricius* his Secretarie, departing from Con-
stantinople, came by long iourneyes to Ragusium, where *Angelus Surianus* sent from Venice
to meete him, was readie to receiue him, who beeing taken into his gallie, brought him
to Venice.

In

In the meane time the Senators sitting oftentimes in counsell were diuided in opinions concerning the chiefe matter they consulted vpon: some there were, that thought it not good to wage war against such an inuincible enemie, nor to trust vpon a vaine and idle hope, neither to commit all vnto the hazard of such fortune as was vnto them in that war by the enemie pounded: they alledged, That they had alwaies vnfortunately taken vp armes against the Turks, and that therefore they should set before their eyes, what harmes they had suffered, and how that beside the losses already sustained, they had alwaies in the winding vp of the warres lost something more: that it were better to depart with Cyprus, so that they might quietly inioy the rest, rather than to enter into armes: Time they said, would at length giue them some one fit occasion or other to recouer that they had lost, and to restore their state vnto their former honour; which for the present, was aboue their power to maintaine: To put their trust in their confederats (they said) was but to deceiue themselues: they should remember how often euen small causes of false suspition, or hope of profit, or feare of harme, had vtterly frustrated and broken in sunder the most solemne capitulations of the strongest leagues: how often true succion had come thence from whence ayd was alwayes to haue bin hoped for, they need not to seeke further for examples, than from their owne domestical affaires. Others were of a contrary opinion, as that the Island was by force of armes to be defended: saying, That nothing could be more dishonorable, than without fight to depart with so notable a part of their seignorie; neither any thing more commendable, than to proue all things for defence of their honour; neither would the proud Turks, with whom no assured league could be made (as they said) hold themselues content with this yeelding vp of the Island, but by intreating of them and giuing them way, become more insolent: and when they had taken Cyprus from them, would also seeke after Creet & Corcyra, and so yeelding them one thing after another, spoile themselues of all together: Ambitious and greedie Princes (they said) grew more bold and insolent by other mens feare: and that no great or notable matter was to be don without danger: that hard beginnings had oftentimes merrie endings: that the fauor and good will of that insatiable and greedy nation, was not to be gained but with so great losse and charge as that such a costly peace would be much more hurtfull than war it selfe: beside that, it much concerned other Christian Princes to haue the Venetian State preserued, and that therefore it was to be hoped, that they would to the vttermost of their power giue them aid. The matter thus debated too and fro, it was in the end resolued vpon, to take vp armes in defence of their honour, and by plaine force to withstand the Turke.

Hard to trust vpon confederations.

So when *Cubates* the Turks embassadour came to Venice, neither did any man of courtesie meet him, neither was any honor done vnto him, or so much as common courtesie shewed vnto him: but being afterward admitted into the Senat house with his two interpretors only, he deliuered *Selymus* his letters, inclosed in a little bag wrought with silke & gold; and so whilest the same letters were in breaking vp, and translating out of the Turkish language into Italian, deliuered also his message by word of mouth, as followeth:

The Turks embassador homely entertained at Venice.

Cubates the Turks embassadors speech in the Senate at Venice.

What great account the mightie Sultan my dread Soueraigne hath alwayes made of your most honourable friendship, is therein right well declared, That in the verie entrance of himselfe into his Empire, hee foorthwith and without any hard or new conditions renewed his league with you: which hee hath on his part alwayes kept most faithfully and vnuiolate; worthily grieuing the like kindnesse not to bee shewed on your behalfe, neither the like care of keeping your faith to appeare in you; who by harbouring of Pyrats in your hauens, and murthering of his subiects, haue oftentimes broken the league. Which iniuries, although they were by war to haue beene reuenged; yet hath hee, so mightie a monarch, hitherto beene alwayes more mindfull of your honour and friendship, than of his owne maiesty and profit. But for somuch as there is no end of these iniuries & wrongs, and that it is now come to that point, That longer to forbeare, might be imputed vnto him rather for cowardise than courtesie, as also that it much more concerneth your state than him, and that therefore you ought no lesse than hee to desire, that all cause of vnkindnesse might bee cut off, and order taken, that in so great and mutuall goodwill, there should bee no falling out by new quarrells dayly arising: the onely remedie thereof is, if you shall deliuer vnto him the Island of Cyprus, the cause of all these grieuances. Now it beseemeth you for your great wisedome, to make small reckoning of [illegible] small a matter, in comparison of the fauor of so great a Prince; which if you willingly of your [illegible] yeeld vnto him, you shall right wisely prouide

A prouide for your affaires, and haue him so great a monarch alwaies your friend and confederat: where if you shall shew your selues obstinate, and not to yeeld to this his so small a request, his purpose is, by strong hand not only to take from you the Island, the cause of the war, but also to prosecute you with most cruell war both by sea and land. And thereupon I take God to witnesse, all the blame of the calamities to ensue of so mortal a war, to be imputed vnto your selues, as the worthy reward of your wilfulnesse and breach of faith.

Which said, he in the name of *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa told the Senatours, That he was right sorie that this breach was fallen out betwixt the Emperor *Selymus* & them; and that although he doubted not but that they would right wisely consider of all things; yet he could not for the good will he bare vnto them, but admonish them of such things as he deemed for them both profitable and wholesome: and therefore did most instantly request them, and withall aduise them, not to enter into armes against so mightie a Prince, neither wilfully to plunge themselues into such dangers, as they could hardly or neuer find the way out; for that their strength was nothing answerable vnto his, and that the euent of that war would be vnto them deadly: and therefore he tooke God and the loue that he bare vnto them to witnesse, that he had in friendly sort forewarned them of their harms, and aduised them for their good. Giuing them further to vnderstand, that *Selymus* did nothing but thunder out most cruell threats against their State; which his indignation was raised of the manifold complaints brought against them to his court at Constantinople.

The effect of Selymus his letters to the Venetians.

Selymus his letters answerable to his Embassadours speech, was also full of false surmised grieuances; he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike maner entred into the frontiers of his Empire in Dalmatia, and there had done great harme; that they had put to death certain Turkish pyrats whom they had taken aliue: that their Island of Cyprus was an harbor for the pyrats of the West; and that from thence they robbed his peaceable countries, and surprised his subiects trauelling that way for deuotion vnto the Temple of Mecha, or otherwise about their affaires. And that therefore those causes of discord might be taken away, and the hinderance of traffique remoued, he required them to yeeld vnto him the Island of Cyprus: which if they refused to do, he would by force of arms take it from them; and by force of strong hand cause them to do that which they might the better haue done frankly and of their owne accord; and further, to make them vnderstand how far the Turks did excell all other men in martial prowesse. As for the league before made betwixt his father and them, he said he had renewed the same, not becaus he had any liking thereunto, but becaus he had as then set downe with himselfe, for a while in the beginning of his Empire peaceably to endure all things.

The answer of the Venetians to the Turkes demands.

The Venetians, for that they knew the Embassadours errand before his comming, hauing now read his Letters, gaue him such answere as they had before resolued vpon: which was, That the Venetians had at all times inuiolably kept their leagues with the *Othoman* Emperors, and had in regard thereof let slip many opportunities and fit occasions for them to haue augmented their dominions in: That they could without any danger to themselues, haue destroyed the Turks fleet both at the Rhodes and Malta, and other places also; but that they more regarded their honour; and alwaies thought, that nothing better became great and magnificent Princes, than to performe their faith once giuen, and in all their actions to be like themselues. And therefore had dissembled and put vp many grieuous & bitter indignities, lest they might be thought to haue first broken the league: That they had neuer passed their owne bounds, or inuaded the Turks; only to haue taken order, that no pyrats should at their pleasure roame vp and downe the seas. Now whereas all duties being on their part sincerely and most religiously kept, *Selymus* complained himselfe to be wronged, whereas he himselfe had done the wrong, and had contrary to the league, denounced war against them, expecting nothing lesse: sithence that they could not by the power of the league, they would by force of arms defend that Kingdome, which they by antient and lawfull right possessed, deliuered vnto them by their Ancestors. That God, in whose helpe they trusted, would weigh in indifferent balance, all mens words and deeds; whom they tooke to witnesse, that they were the authors of peace, and *Selymus* the cause of war: and that the same God would be now present vnto their iust complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take reuenge on them, which falsifying their faith and promise giuen, and violating the sacred league, had enforced them to take vp most

iust and necessarie armes, which they would with the same courage manage, that they had taken them in hand. G

The Turks Embassadour sent away in secret from Venice.

With this answer the Embassador departed, let out by a secret postern, for feare of the people; who hauing got knowledge of the matter, were in great number assembled to the Court gate, muttering among themselues, that it were wel done to rend in pieces that accursed Turke, the messenger of his faithlesse Master. Which outrage it was thought they would in their furie haue performed, had not such as by the commandement of the magistrats garded him, better assured him of his safetie, than either regard of dutie or the law of nations; he by the way as he went still storm[ed] and swearing by his *Mahomet* to be of that so great an indignitie reuenged. This answer [of the] Senat vnto the Turks Embassador concerning warre, was of some well liked and highly [com]mended, as full of honour and valour. Others deemed too sharpe, liking of nothing that w[as] said or done to the further incensing of the Turkish Emperor: being of opinion, that they might haue of him obtained a more indifferent peace by curtesie than by rigor. As for the decreed warre, they vtterly disliked, forasmuch as all wars were wo[rse] but especially those that were to be maintained against them that are too strong for vs. In such diuersitie of opinions it appeared, That the Senat should of that so honorable a decree reap such commendation, as the euent thereof should afford (than which nothing is more vnreasonable:) if things fell out well, then was it wisely and worthily done; if otherwise, then was it like to be reputed a foolish, a rash, and wofull resolution. H

The resolution of the Senat for war diuersly liked and disliked of others.

The greater the danger was now feared from the angrie Turke, the more carefull were the Venetians of their State: wherefore they forthwith sent messengers with letters vnto the Gouernors of Cyprus; charging them with all carefulnes and diligence to make themselues readie to withstand the Turke, and to raise what power they were able in the Island, not omitting any thing that might concerne the good of the state: and at the same time made choise of their most valiant & expert captains both by sea and land, vnto whom they committed the defence of their dispersed Seigniorie, with the leading of their forces. *Hieronimus Zanius* was appointed Admirall, *Lucas Michael* was sent into Crete, *Franciscus Barbarus* into Dalmatia, *Sebastianus Venerius* into Corcyra, all men of great honour, experience and valour. Other meaner captaines were also sent with lesse charge into the aforesaid places, as *Eugenius Singliticus* a noble gentleman with 1000 footmen into Cyprus, who had also the leading of all the horsemen in the Island: after whom Countie *Martinengus* promised to follow with 2000 foomen moe. The strong cities were now by the Venetians in all places new fortified, armor, ordnance, and victual prouided, and whatsoeuer els they thought needful for defence of their State. And for as much as they well knew they had to do with too mightie an enemie, they by their Embassadors sent for that purpose, earnestly solicited most of the Christian princes to ioine with them in league, and to giue them aid against the common enemie, who as he was too strong for any one of them, so were he not able to stand against their vnited forces. But the Emperor *Maximilian* excused himselfe by the league he had not long before made with the Turke for eight yeares, which he said he might not breake: yet he had before his eyes a most pregnant example, what small reckoning the Turke maketh of his faith and league, which he without any iust cause had broken with the Venetians. The like excused vse also *Charles* the French king, and *Sigismund* king of Polonia; who both seemed to be verie sorie for that the Venetians were fallen out with the Turke, but could not help them for that they were in league with the Turkish Emperor. Neuertheless the French king did them the courtesie, to offer himselfe to be a mediator, if they so pleased, betwixt them and *Selymus*. The yong king of Portingal *Don Sebastian* pretended also for his excuse the great plague which had but a little before raged in his kingdome, & much diminished his people; as also that he was to maintaine wars by sea against the Turkes in the East-Indies, to the no lesse benefit of the Christian commonweale, than if he should aid the Venetians in the Mediterranian. Only *Pius Quintus* then Pope, and *Philip* king of Spaine, with certaine of the Princes of Italie; namely *Philibert* duke of Sauoy, *Guido Vbaldus* duke of Vrbin, *Cosmus Medices* duke of Florence, & the knights of Malta, promised them aid, which they afterward most honorably performed. I K L M

The Emperour, the French king and the King of Polonia entangled with their leagues, refused to aid the Venetians against the Turks.

What Christian Princes promised to aid the Venetians.

Selymus of himselfe angrie with the Venetians, and [more] in his resolution for the conquest of Cyprus, was vpon the report of *Cubates* his Emb[assador] bad entertainment at Venice, further inraged: he deemed the Maiestie of the Turkish Emperor contemned, and himself in the person

A person of his Embassador disgraced: seeing that they whom he had thought would haue yelded vnto any thing, rather than the league should haue bin broken, had sent him such a shorr answer, and so contemptuously vsed his Embassador, vnto whom they had not afforded so much as common curtesie. It did not a little moue him also, that the Venetians had in their letters sent by his Embassador, omitted the glorious titles vsually giuen the Turkish Emperors: wherfore in some part to satisfie his angrie mood, he caused *Marcus Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian Embassadour, and all the Christian merchants of the West thorowout his Empire, to be clapt vp in prison, and their ships stayed vnder an arrest. And setting all other things apart, set himselfe wholly for the preparing of such things as should be needfull for the intended war.

But forasmuch as the Island of Cyprus was the prey whereafter the greedie tyrant so much B gaped, and for which the bloudie wars betwixt the Turke and the Venetians with their Christian confederats, presently ensued; it shal not be from our purpose to spend a few words in the describing thereof, as the stage whereon the bloudie tragedie following was as it were acted: as also, how it came first into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them so long possessed (although it be in some part before declared) vntill it was now by *Selymus* the Great Turke, against all right iniuriously demanded, & at length by strong hand by him wrested from them. This Island lieth in the farthest of the Cilician sea: it hath on the East Siria, on the West Pamphilia, Southward it regardeth Ægypt, and Northward Cilicia, now called Caramania. It is worthily accounted amongst the greatest Islands of the Mediterranian, containing in circuit 427 miles, and is in length (after the description of *Strabo*) 175 miles, and in bredth not C aboue 65. It aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, cotton wooll, saffron, hony, rosin, turpentine, sugar canes, and whatsoeuer els is needfull for the sustentation of man, whereof it sends forth great abundance to other countries, of whom it craueth no helpe againe. It was in antient time called *Macaria*, that is to say, Blessed. The people therein generally liued so at ease & pleasure, that thereof the Island was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there especially worshipped, & thereof called Cypria. *Marcellinus* to shew the fertilitie thereof, saith, That Cyprus aboundeth with such plenty of all things, that without the helpe of any other foraine country, it is of it self able to build a tall ship from the keele to the top saile, and so put it to sea furnished of all things needfull. And *Sextus Rufus* writing thereof, saith, *Cyprus famosa diuitijs, paupertatem populi Romani, vt occuparetur solicitauit, ita vt ius eius insulæ auarius magis quam iniustus simus assecuti, &c.* Cyprus famous for wealth, allured the pouertie of the people of Rome to lay hold vpon it, so that D we haue rather couetously than iustly got the rule thereof. In the heart of the Island standeth Nicosia, sometime the regall and late metropoliticall citie thereof. And in the East end thereof Famagusta, sometime called Tamassus, a famous rich citie, the chiefe and only port of all that most pleasant Island. Other faire cities there be also, as Paphos, Amathus (now called Limisso) and Cyrene. This Island of it selfe long time maintained the maiestie of a Kingdome, as then when *Richard* the first, King of England, passing that way with his fleet for the reliefe of the Christians then distressed in the Holy land about the yeare 1191, was prohibited there to land, and certain of his people by force of tempest there cast on shore, were by the Cypriots either cruelly slaine or taken prisoners: which barbarous violence king *Richard* tooke in so euil part, E that he there by force landed his armie, and rested not vntill he had taken *Isaac* the king prisoner, and subdued the Island. The king he sent in chaines of siluer to Tripolis, there to be kept in close prison; the kingdome he kept a while in his owne hand, which not long after he gaue, or as some say, exchanged with *Guido* the titular King of Hierusalem: for which cause the Kings of England for a certain time afterwards were honored with the title of the Kings of Ierusalem. This kingdome by many discents came at length to *Ianus* son of king *Peter*, who in the yeare 1423, was by *Melechel* a Sultan of Ægypt taken prisoner; but afterwards for the ransome of 115000 Sultanins was set at libertie and restored to his kingdome, paying vnto the Sultan and his successors a yerely tribute of 4000 crownes. This *Ianus* left a son called *John*, who after the death of his father maried the daughter of the Marquis of Mont-Ferrat: after whose death M he married one *Helena* of the most noble house of the *Paleologi* in Græcia, by whom he had one only daughter called *Carlotte*; but by another woman a base son called *Iames*. This King *John* was a man of no courage, altogether giuen to pleasure, & according to the manner of his effeminat education, shewed himself in al things more like a woman than a man: which *Helena* his wife, a woman of a great spirit, quickly perceiuing, tooke vpon her the soueraignty and whole gouern-

The description of Cyprus.

King Richard in England.

How the Kingdome of Cyprus came to the Venetians.

gouernment of the Realme, gracing and disgracing whom she pleased, and promoting to the Ecclesiasticall dignities such as shee best liked; abolishing the Latine ceremonies, and bringing in them of the Greekes, and tooke such further order as pleased her selfe in matters of state concerning both peace and warre; her husband in the meane time regarding nothing but his vaine pleasure: wherby it came to passe that all was brought into the power of the Greeks the queenes friends. Now the queene her selfe was much ruled by the counsell of her nurse, and the nurse by her daughter: so that the people would commonly say, The daughter ruled the nurse, the nurse the queene, and the queene the king. The nobilitie ashamed and wearie of this manner of gouernment, by generall consent of the people, sent for *Iohn* the king of Portingals cousin german (some call the king of Portingal) to whome they gaue *Carlotte* the kings daughter in marriage, with full power to supplie that want of gouernment which was in king *Iohn* his father in law. He taking the authoritie into his hands, quickely reformed the disordred kingdome, as well in matters concerning religion, as ciuile policie. The Latine Ceremonies were againe restored, and the gouernment of the daughter, the nurse, and the Queene, brought to an end. But the mischieuous daughter doubting the countenance of the yong king, perswaded her mother, as she tendred her owne life, to poison the king. Which thing the wretched woman (by the consent of the queene mother, as was reported) in short time performed, and so brought that noble prince, wel worthie longer life, vnto his vntimely end: whereby the gouernment was again restored to the Greeke queene, who in the name of her weake husband commanded again at her pleasure. But aboue all, the nurse and her daughter insulted vpon the yong queene *Carlotte*: which she not well brooking, grieuously complained thereof to *Iames* her base brother, requiring his helpe for redresse thereof: who not long after slew the nurses daughter, not so much in reuenge of the wrong by her done vnto his sister, as to prepare a way for himselfe for the obtaining of the kingdome: grieuing inwardly, that shee or her husband should be preferred before himselfe. Which thing *Helena* the queene quickly perceiuing, perswaded the King her husband to cause his base son to enter into the orders of priesthood, and so to become a Church-man, thereby to cut off all his hope of aspiring vnto the kingdome: which the king at her instance did, and made him Archbishop of Nicosia. In the meane time *Carlotte* by the perswasion of her mother and the nobilitie of the country, married *Lewis* son to the duke of Sauoy: who being for that purpose sent for, came with all speed to Cyprus. After that, the queene mother and the old nurse (desiring nothing more, than to reuenge the death of the nurses daughter, vpon *Iames* now Archbishop) deuised first how to thrust him out of all his spirituall promotions, which were great; and afterward quite banish him the kingdome. Hereupon the queene wrot letters against him to the Pope, to haue him disgraded, for that he being a man base borne, with his hands imbrued with guiltlesse bloud, was vnworthie of holy orders. Which letters by chance came to *Iames* his hands: who inraged therewith, accompanied with a number of his friends and fauorits, suddenly entred the court, slew such of his enemies as he found there, diuided their goods amongst his followers, and as king possessed himselfe of the regall citie. In this broile the Greeke queen *Helena* died, and shortly after her husband also. All things being thus in a hurley and out of order, certaine of the nobilitie for redresse thereof, sent for *Lewis* the husband of *Carlotte*, as for him to whom that kingdome in the right of his wife most iustly belonged: who vpon his arriuall was of all sorts of men ioyfully receiued & welcommed as their king. *Iames* the vsurper vnderstanding before of the comming of *Lewis*, and perceiuing the inclination of the people towards him, fled with diuers of his friends to Alexandria to craue aid of the Ægyptian Sultan: in whose court he found such fauour, as that he was by the Sultans commandement royally apparelled and honored with the title of the king of Cyprus; which he promised for euer to hold of the Sultans of Ægypt as their vassal and tributary. At which time the Sultan also by his embassadors commanded *Lewis* to depart the Isle: who by all means sought to haue pacified the Sultan, declaring vnto him his rightfull title, yet offering to pay vnto him the wonted tribute, and to allow vnto *Iames* a yerely pension of 10000 duckets during his life. But all in vaine; for *Iames* still present in the Sultans court, and wisely following his owne suit, at last concluded with the great Sultan (who thought it more honour to make a king, than to confirme a king) and receiuing of him a great armie, returned into Cyprus: where in short time he so dispossessed *Lewis*, that he was glad to forsake the Island, with his wife, and to returne into his country, leauing the kingdome of Cyprus againe

again to *Iames*: who now by the supportation of the Ægyptian Sultan possessed therof, yet liued not without care of *Carlotte* & her husband *Lewis*, whom he knew the Cipriots wondefully affected. Wherfore for the more assurance of his estate, he thought it best to ioyne in league and friendship with the Venetians, whom he knew to be of great power at sea, and of all other fittest to crosse whatsoeuer *Lewis* should in the right of his wife attempt against him. Which league he afterwards made, and the better to confirme the same, tooke to wife *Catharin Cornelia*, the daughter of *Marcus Cornelius* a Magnifico of Venice, being before adopted to the Senat, and euer after their reputed daughter. Not long after this marriage, *Iames* died in the yere 1470, leauing the queene great with child, who in due time was deliuered of a faire son; vnto whom with the mother the Venetian State became tutors, as their adoptiue fathers, & in their behalfe tooke vpon them the gouernment of the realme. This childe shortly after died also, not without some suspition of poison; after whose death great troubles arose in the kingdom, insomuch that *Andreas Cornelius* the queens vncle, a most graue counsellour, and gouernor of the Realme vnder the queene, was by the conspiracie of certaine noblemen slaine, and all the Island readie to reuolt from the queene. For appeasing of which troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to send their admirals with their gallies into Cyprus, to take order in the matter, and to aid the queene: who at length perswaded by *George Cornelius* her brother, whilest it was yet in her power, as a louing daughter to yeeld vp the kingdom vnto her adoptiue fathers, which she destitute both of counsell and power, could not long hold so far from her friends, beset on the one side with the Great Turke, and on the other with the mightie Sultan of Ægypt. She I say thus perswaded by her brother, came to Venice, where she was with the greatest honor that could be deuised, receiued by the Duke & whole State at sea in their great and goodly ship the Beucentaure, and so with all royall triumph brought thorow the midst of the citie vnto the place most richly for the time appointed for the receiuing of her: where shortly after attired in all her royal habiliments she came in great maiestie vnto the Senat house, and there before the tribunal seat of *Augustinus Barbadicus* then duke of Venice, laied downe her crowne and scepter, and as a most louing daughter resigned vp her kingdome, to the great honor and profit of her country. Thus the kingdome of Cyprus was deliuered into the hands of the Venetians in the yeare 1473; which they peaceable held from that time, paying vnto the Sultans of Ægypt such tribute as had the late king *Iames*: which yearely tribute they in like manner payed vnto the Turkish Emperors, after that the kingdome of Ægypt was by *Selymus* the first conquered in the yeare 1517, as due vnto him by law of armes: with which yearely tribute both *Selymus* himselfe, and *Solyman* after him, held themselues well contented. But now this Turkish Emperor *Selymus* the second, of whom we speake, desirous both of the honour of such a conquest, and of so rich a prey, made no account of the accustomed tribute, but of the fruitfull Island it selfe: whereof he, as is before declared, hath by his Embassadour made a proud demand, but is thereof denied by the Senat.

Sabellic. Ennead. 10. lib. 8.

1570

Selymus throughly furnished with all things necessarie for the inuasion of Cyprus, in the beginning of Februarie sent a great power both of horse and foot into Epirus, and the fontiers of Dalmatia, to forrage the Venetian territorie, especially about Iadera; of purpose by that war so neere at home, to withdraw them from the defence of Cyprus so far off. About the middle of April following he sent *Piall Bassa* with fourescore gallies and thirtie galliots to keepe the Venetians from sending aid into Cyprus. This *Piall* was an Hungarian, borne of base parents, but turning Turke, and giuing himselfe to armes, was first preferred for his valor shewed against the Christians at Zerbi, and afterward by many degrees rise to the honor of one of the greatest Bassa's. He departing from Constantinople, and cutting through Peloponesus and Hellespontus, came to Euboea, and there for certaine dayes lay in such order, as if he should haue presently giuen the enemie battell: but vnderstanding by his espials, that the Venetians grieuously visited with the plague, and slowly relieued by their friends, were not like in haste to come out, he tooke his course to Tenos an Island of the Venetians, to haue taken it from them. This Island is one of the Cyclades, and was by nature strong, but stronger by the industrie of the defendants; who liuing far from the Christian countries, and compassed about with such cruell and warlike enemies, as people far distant stood in dread of, could neuer for any feare or danger be remoued from the Christian religion, or induced to submit themselues to the Turks gouernment, as most of the other Islands had. *Piall* here landing his forces, fought both

Selymus inuadeth the Venetians.

Piall Bassa sent against the Venetians.

by meanes and foule to haue perſuaded the Inhabitants to haue yeelded vp their Towne: G
but when he could get nothing of them but foule words againe, he began by force to aſſault
the ſame. Two dayes the Towne was valiantly both aſſaulted and defended: but at length
the Turkes perceiuing how little they preuailed, and that the defendants were reſolutely ſet
downe for the defence of themſelues and their Countrey; ſhamefully gaue ouer the aſſault,
and abandoning the Iſland, directed their courſe toward Cyprus. For *Muſtapha* authour of
that expedition (for his antient hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall by *Selymus*)
had before appointed *Piall Baſſa* at a time prefixed to meet him at the Rhodes, and that
he that came firſt ſhould tarrie for the other, that ſo they might together ſayle into
Cyprus.

Muſtapha hauing before ſent a great part of his armie by land into Pamphilia, embarqued H
the reſt with *Haly Baſſa* General of the forces at ſea, who yet ſtaied for him with the reſt of the
fleet at Conſtantinople. This *Haly* was one of the chiefe Baſſa's, a man of great account and
ſometime an eſpeciall and noted follower of *Muhamet Baſſa*; but now (as it is oftentimes elſe-
where ſeene, that men together with the change of fortune, change their mindes and affections
alſo) was become a great fauorite of *Muſtapha*. Now to colour ſo manifeſt a wrong & breach
of the Turks faith, *Muſtapha* the Generall, according to the Turkiſh manner, a little before his
arriuall in Cyprus, gaue the Venetians there to vnderſtand by letters of his comming, as alſo
of his purpoſe for the taking of that Iſland from them: for that without ſome ſuch ſlender de-
nouncing of war vnto them againſt whom it is intended, the Turks generally account their ex-
peditions not to be altogether ſo lawfull or fortunate as otherwiſe; and therefore writ vnto I
them in this ſort:

Muſtapha Baſſa vnto the Venetians.

Muſtapha Baſſa his Letters vnto the Venetians.

That the kingdome of Cyprus by antient right belongeth vnto the kingdome of Ægypt, you are not ignorant; which being conquered by the Turks, is together with it become of right a part alſo of the Othoman *Empire: that Iſland we come to challenge, leading after vs two hundred thouſand valiant ſoldiers, vnto which power, and the wealth of the* Othoman *kingdomes (all which, the moſt mightie Emperor is about, if need ſhall be, to ſend thither, and to bend his whole ſtrength thereon) all the vnited forces of the Chriſtian kings are not comparable; much leſſe the Venetians, ſo ſmall a part of Europe, forſaken* K *of their friends, can ſuffice. Wherefore we will and exhort you, for the antient amitie which hath beene betwixt your State and the victorious* Othoman *Familie, to yeeld this kingdome vnto the moſt puiſſant Emperour, whoſe verie name is become dreadfull vnto all the nations of the world; and quietly and without reſiſtance to leaue the Iſland, with the loue and friendſhip of ſo great a Monarch to be for euer inuiolably kept betwixt him and you. Whereas if you ſhall before ſuch wholeſome counſell, fondly prefer your vaine hopes, you are to expect all the calamities of war, with ſuch dreadfull examples as the angrie Conquerors vſe to make of their vanquiſhed enemies. For reſolution whereof, we yet giue you haiſe a moneths ſpace to bethinke your ſelues in: and ſo fare you well.*

Muſtapha Baſſa goeth for Cyprus.

All this being now in readineſſe, and a moſt royal gally of wonderfull greatneſſe and beauty L
by the appointment of *Selymus* prepared for the great Baſſa the Generall; he together with
Haly Baſſa and the reſt of the fleet departed from Conſtantinople the ſix and twentieth of May,
and at the Rhodes met with *Piall*, as he had before appointed. The whole fleet at that time
conſiſted of two hundred gallies, amongſt whom were diuers galliots, and ſmall men of war,
with diuers other veſſels prepared for the tranſportation of horſes: with this fleet *Muſtapha*
The Turks fleet deſcried in Cyprus. kept on his courſe for Cyprus. They of the Iſland in the meane time carefully attending the
enemies comming, from their watch-towers firſt diſcouered their fleet at the Weſt end of the
Iſland, not far from Paphos: from whence the Turks turning vpon the right hand, and paſſing
the promontorie Curio, now called Del Le Gate, landed diuers of their men, who burnt and
ſpoiled certaine villages, and with ſuch ſpoile and priſoners as they had taken, returned againe M
The Turks land in Cyprus. vnto the fleet; which holding on their former courſe, came at length to a place called Salinæ
(of the abundance of ſalt there made) where they knew the beſt landing, and there in an open
roade came to an anchor, where the Baſſa's without any reſiſtance vpon a plaine ſhore landed
their armie.

Now

A Now all the hope of the Chriſtians, was to haue kept the Turks from landing, which they
ſhould with all their ſtrength and power haue done; neither was it a matter of any great diffi-
culty, for had the defendants but kept the ſhore, and from the drie and firme land valiantly re-
pulſed their enemies, they might vndoubtedly with their ſhot and weapons haue kept them
from landing, or els haue done them greater harme: knowing in the mean time, that in all the
Iſland was no good harbour for them to put into, and that riding in an open road ſubiect to all
wind and weather, they could not long without danger of ſhipwracke ride it out: but they ei-
ther terrified with the greatneſſe of the fleet, or preuented by the celeritie of the enemie, to
their great hurt omitted ſo faire an opportunitie, as the wofull ſequell of the matter declared.
It exceedingly incouraged the Turkes that they had ſo eaſily footed the Iſland, which they
B thought they ſhould not haue done without a bloudie fight.

The Baſſa now landed, preſently intrenched his army, and forthwith ſent the fleet to tranſ-
port the reſt of his forces out of Pamphilia into the Iſland. And at the ſame time ſent out certaine ſcouts to take ſome priſoners, of whom they might learne the ſcituation of the country,
the beſt waies to paſſe them with his army, the ſtrength of his enemies, & what they did, and
many other ſuch like things which it concerned him to know. But the greateſt queſtion among
the Turks themſelues was, Whether they ſhould firſt let vpon Famaguſta or Nicoſia? Fama-
guſta ſtandeth low, altogether ſubiect to the ſcorching heat, which was then great, according
as the time of the yeare, and nature of the countrey required: wherefore the Baſſa for feare of
diſeaſes to ariſe in his army of the immoderate heat and vnwholſome ſcituation of the place,
C thought it better to begin his wars with the ſiege of Nicoſia, and to make that city the ſeat of
the warre, for the conqueſt of the reſt of the Iſland. So hauing put all things in order, and well
viewed the countrey, and finding nothing he needed to ſtand in doubt of, he ſet forward with
his armie toward Nicoſia, which was about thirtie miles diſtant, being the chiefe and richeſt
citie of all the Iſland. Which way ſoeuer the army marched, it ſpread a great deale of ground,
and the neerer it came, the greater was the ſlaughter of the countrie people, and the number of
priſoners taken of al ſorts. But when newes of the enemies approch was brought into the city,
a generall feare preſaging future miſerie poſſeſſed the hearts of all men. There was not in the
citie any valiant or renowned captaine, who as the danger of the time required, ſhould haue
taken vpon him the charge: neither any ſtrong army in the Iſland to oppoſe againſt the ene-
D my: the Gouernour of the city was one *Nicholaus Dandulus*, a man too weake for ſo great a bur-
then; who alwaies brought vp in ciuile affaires, was to ſeek how to defend a ſiege. Of the citi-
ſens and country people he had taken vp foure thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſemen, all
raw ſoldiers, commanded by the gentlemen of the country, men of all others moſt courteous:
but as well the captaines as the ſouldiers, as men brought vp in a plentifull countrey, fitter for
pleaſure than for war. The greateſt hope and ſtrength of the city, was repoſed in twelue hun-
dred Italian footmen, and ſix hundred horſemen. The whole number of the ſouldiers in garri-
ſon for defence of the city, was deemed about 8000 horſe and foot: too weake a companie
againſt ſo fierce and ſtrong an enemy; and the more, for that the Baſſa an old and moſt expert
Generall was there in perſon himſelfe preſent, a moſt ſeuere and abſolute commander, whom
E it would haue beene a hard matter to haue withſtood with equall power. The Venetians hauing
euer had great care of the Iſland of Cyprus, as lying far from them, in the midſt of the ſworne
enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to haue fortified
the ſame: yet fearing thereby to ſeeme to diſtruſt or dread the Turks, and ſo giue them occa-
ſion of offence, left it ſtill vndone. This citie of Nicoſia ſtandeth in the middeſt of the Iſland,
in a plaine and champaine country, compaſſed round with a wall, as it it had been drawne with
a compaſſe, and is in circuit about fiue miles: for the manner of the ſcituation, and magnificent
buildings, as well publicke as priuat, many haue compared it vnto the beautifull citie of Flo-
rence in Italie: and was for the wholeſome and commodious ſcituation thereof notably peo-
pled. This citie had the Venetians of late fortified with new wals, thicke rampiers, and eleuen
F ſtrong bulwarkes, according to the manner of the fortification of our time, and had raiſed three
great fortreſſes for defence of the wall, which they furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon, great ſtore
of artillerie, and other warlike prouiſion. Neuertheleſſe, they found by experience in this war,
That fortifications are ſtrengthened by the defendants, rather than the defendants by the for-
tifications.

Muſtapha Baſſa marcheth towards Nicoſia.

Nicholaus Dandulus Gouernor of Nicoſia.

The deſcription of Nicoſia.

The

The Turks before Nicosia.

22 of Iuly, the Bassa with his army incamped within a mile & a halfe of the city, when presently the Turks by troups issuing out of the campe, rid contemptuously before the walls and gates of the citie, and with often & lowd outcries vpbraided the defendants: which by them being answered with silence, was taken as a token of their feare. And *Mustapha* himselfe comming as neere as he might without danger, tooke full view of the wals and situation of the citie. Shortly after, the enemy drew neerer vnto the citie into a more open plaine, and with their tents filled the lower part of the hil, which they called Mandia: but the Bassaes tent they set aloft vpon the hill to the terrour of the defendants and incouragement of the Turks. The campe being fortified [illegible] Turkes with incredible labour and celeritie brought their trenches from far, and at the fir[illegible] vp some few forts, but afterwards, as their armie increased, many mo, which they raised [illegible]gh, that they ouertopped the wals of the citie, and made the place more dangerous for the Christians to defend. There hauing placed 70 great pieces of batterie, they began to batter the citie both day and night without intermission; with such a horrible thundring, that the earth trembled, the houses shooke as if they would haue falne down: at which time many were slaine; both with the deadly shot, and the broken pieces of stones beaten out of the wals: neuer was such a feare as then within the citie of Nicosia: euery day the enemie brought his trenches neerer and neerer, and rested not vntill he had with restlesse labour brought them vnto the verie brim of the towne ditch, which the citizens before the comming of the Turks had not well scoured. Being come so nigh, they first skirmished a farre off with their smal pieces: but afterwards, they not only battered the wals with their great artillerie, but with small shot, arrowes, and stones, ouerwhelmed the defendants, as if it had bin a shower of haile; so to haue driuen them from off the wall & rampiers. In few daies, not onely all the curtaines betwixt three of the bulwarks, was by the furie of the great ordnance beaten downe, but all places thereabout lay full of the dead bodies of the assailants & defendants. For although the Christians fought at great disaduantage, both for the number of men, and indifferencie of the place: yet desperation ioyned with extreme necessitie, of all other the greatest weapon, gaue them such courage, as with shot, stones, timber, and such like, to keep down their enemies, and defend their wals; and oftentimes to make great slaughter of them, with their artillerie & murthering pieces, bent vpon them as at a certain marke, who the thicker they stood the greater was their harme. They also oftentimes dismounted many of the great pieces and made them vnseruiceable; and with featherbeds and sacks of cotten wool, made vp their breaches: which the Turks labored again to burn with pitch barrels, and earthen pots full of wild fire. After long fight the Turkes entring the ditch, made themselues two wayes to the walls, which they fortified on both sides with fagots & earth; in such sort, as that they were safe from the loupes of the bulwarks which flankered the ditch. All this quickly performed, some presently set vp scalling ladders: others filled the ditches with rubbish, wood, fagots, & earth; and others in the mean time with mattocks and leauers were digging down the foundations of the bulwarkes Constance and Podocatera, taking name of them that had the chiefe charge in the building thereof. The Christians right valiantly indured the first assault of the enemie, and strucke downe dead into the ditches many of them that were climing vp the ladders: & had in short time slain mo than they were themselues in number, & inforced the rest to giue ouer the assault. These things were done in the beginning of the siege, whilest yet both parties were strong: in which hard conflicts a great number of souldiers were lost, & most of the canoniers slain. After this assault, both parties for a while busied themselues & spent the time in their ingenious deuises: wherein it appeared, that the Turks were much cunninger in deuising of means to take cities, than were those Christians in defending the same.

Nicosia battred and assaulted, & by the Christians valiantly defended.

Now had the Venetians in the first motions of these warres, prayed aid of diuers Christian Princes, from most part of whom they receiued but cold comfort, as is before declared: yet now at length (though somewhat late) they had drawn into the confederation of this war, the Pope & the king of Spain: by whose example some other princes of Italie moued, put to also their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter most concerned, had in good time put their fleet to sea; but knowing themselues too weake to encounter the Turks, they lay still vpon the coast of Dalmatia, about Iadera, expecting the [illegible]ming of the Spanish Admirall with his gallies. Two moneths (wherein much might haue been done) were now past in this expedition, and yet no newes [illegible] his comming: so that what the speed and industrie of the Venetians

A Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingering of the Spaniard, marred. Besides that, the plague began to arise in the fleet, lying so long in one place; which at length grew so hot, that many of the gallies had neither mariner nor souldier left in them: neither did this mortality so cease, vntill there were twentie thousand dead thereof; amongst whom were many noble gentlemen of great account, which might haue done their country good seruice, had they been in time imployed.

The Venetian fleet of an hundred and seuenteene saile at Corcyra.

Sommer now almost halfe spent, and the plague well ceased, the Venetian Admirall weary of expecting of the comming of *Auria* the Spanish Admirall; gathering together his fleete which he had before dispersed to auoid the infection, sailed to Corcyra, where he met with *Venerius*, another of the Venetian commanders, who there staid for him, hauing but a little be-
B fore taken from the Turks Cestria, now called Suppoto, a town vpon the sea coast ouer against Corcyra. The whole fleet of the Venetians beeing assembled together, was an hundred and seuenteene saile, amongst which were 12 great galeasses; but all too weake to giue battell to the Turks, as being themselues stronger in shipping than in men. Neuertheless, the Admirall sorie and wearie to see the spoile of the Venetian territorie, & moued with the distresse of the besieged in Nicosia, rather than for any hope he had with that strength to do any good against the Turkes fleet, departed from Corcyra towards Crete, and the twelfth of August landed at Suda, a port of that Island. In the latter end of this month, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and *Auria* Admirall for the king of Spaine, arriued there also, whom the Venetian Admirall welcomed with great ioy and triumph. The whole fleet of the confederat Princes now at length
C met together, consisted of an hundred ninetie two gallies, and twelue galeasses, beside victuallers and other small vessels, laded with munition and other necessarie prouision for the fleete. Of these gallies the Pope had set forth twelue, the king of Spaine fortie two, the rest with the galeasses were the Venetians. In this fleet were imbarked thirteen thousand six hundred threescore souldiers: of whom the Pope sent eleuen hundred, the king of Spaine three thousand nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thousand six hundred and sixty. These three great commanders entring into counsell, what course to take in their proceedings in this war, after long discourse too and fro, at length by the persuasion of *Zanius* the Venetian Admiral, resolued to go directly for Cyprus, and to giue the Turks battell, in hope thereby to raise them from the
D siege of Nicosia. About the middest of September, this great fleet furnished with all things needfull for such an expedition, loosed from Crete, and with a faire gale of winde set forward for Cyprus; in all their course keeping such order, as if they should presently haue met with the enemie. In the middest of these troubles died *Petrus Loredanus*, Duke of Venice, leauing the rest of the care of that warre to *Aloysius Mocenicus*, who succeeded him in the Dukedome.

The Christian fleet setteth forward toward Cyprus.

Whilst the Christians thus slowly proceed in their so weightie affaires, *Mustapha* in the meane time laid hard siege to Nicosia: and diuiding his armie into foure parts, assaulted foure of the bulwarkes of the citie, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the siege. The assault was both long and terrible: furie, and the very sight of the warlike Generall,
E who was there a present witnesse, and beholder of euery mans forwardnesse or cowardise (a matter of great moment) besides their natural fiercenesse, carried the Turks headlong without any perill or danger. And on the other side, the greatnesse of the danger, the feare to lose both life and libertie, with the hope of reliefe, encouraged the defendants to dare any thing: so that the Turks could not approch the wals, or mount the scaling ladders, but they were presently slain, or together with the ladders thrown to the ground. Many of the Turks were there slain, but especially such as were most forward: and of the defendants were also more lost than stood with the safetie of so small a number: and forasmuch as few or none escaped out of that fight vnwounded, the poore defendants were brought vnto a small number. Many skilful men were of opinion, that the citie might haue bin that day taken, if the assault had by the Bassa bin longer maintained, by bringing still on fresh men: but such was his losse, as that he was glad for
F that time to giue ouer the assault, and so with dishonour to retire.

The christians sally out of the citie vpon the Turks.

After this assault, it was by some of the captaines thought good, that they should (whilest they were yet of some reasonable strength in the city) sally forth vpon the enemie: so to make shew, that they had yet some good hope in themselues; and withal by so sudden an eruption to performe something vpon the secure enemie. Of which motion, *Dandulus* the Gouernor in no

case

caſe diſcouraged, as loath by ſuch a dangerous piece of ſeruice to diminiſh the number of the defen- G
dants, and ſo to giue the enemie an eaſier means to take the citie. Yet ſeeing all the captaines
generally of another mind, he yeelded vnto their deſire. So in the hoteſt time of the day, when
as the Turks leaſt thought that the Chriſtians would haue ſallied out, certaine Italian compa-
nies vnder the conduct of *Cæſar Plouianus* of Vincentia, and *Albertus Scotus*, iſſued out by the
gate that leadeth to Famaguſta, and vpon the ſudden brake into the enemies trenches: where
they found the Turks ſome playing, ſom ſleeping, but fearing nothing leſſe than that the Chri-
ſtians, whom they daily braued, durſt to haue aduentured to come forth. At the firſt entrance
the Italians preuailed, brought a great feare vpon that quarter of the Turks army, and ſlew
many. But when the Turks awaked with the alarme, came running in on euery ſide, the Italians
oppreſſed with the multitude, were glad to retire: in which retreat diuers of them were ſlain, H
and amongſt them their two leaders *Cæſar* and *Albertus*: ſo that this ſally ſerued to no other
purpoſe than to weaken the defendants themſelues, & to cauſe the Turks to keep better watch
and ward againſt ſuch ſudden eruptions.

Scouts ſent out of the citie, taken by the Turks and executed.

All hope of long defending the citie now almoſt loſt, and that the defendants could hardly
ſtand vpon the wals, or ſhew their heads without preſent danger, they for want of better coun-
ſell, rather than for any hope of good ſucceſſe, ſent out certain ſcouts, men skilful of the waies
and paſſages of the country (whom they had for great reward induced to vndertake the mat-
ter) to craue aid of the country people, that were in great multitude fled into the ſafety of the
mountains: and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their reliefe, their wiues & chil-
dren, whom they had before ſent into the citie, muſt needs in ſhort time fall into the enemies I
hand, or periſh with hunger: but theſe meſſengers were by the vigilant enemy intercepted, &
in the ſight of the beſieged tortured to death.

Letters ſhot into the citie.

About the ſame time diuers letters were ſhot with arrows into the city, to perſuade the beſie-
ged Chriſtians to yeeld themſelues, for that in ſo doing they ſhould find the Baſſa a mild and
mercifull conqueror: wheras otherwiſe if they ſhould by wilfull holding out delay his victo-
ry, they were ſure to indure whatſoeuer could be indured or ſuffered. But when *Muſtapha* had
thus in vaine with hope and feare tried the minds of the defendants, he called forth to parley

Muſtapha Baſſa in vain perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld

certaine ſouldiers that were ſtanding vpon the bulwarke called Conſtantius, of whom ſome
were by the conſent of the Gouernor ſent forth vnto him: vnto whom *Muſtapha* by his inter- K
pretor complained, That no anſwer was giuen vnto his letters; he ſet forth vnto them the glo-
ry, power, and greatneſſe of the Turkiſh empire; and debaſed the ſtrength of the Venetians:
then he perſuaded them to yeeld, propounding vnto them the miſeries that would fall vpon
them if the city ſhould by force be taken; which he threatned would be far greater than the
danger the Turks were to vndertake for the winning thereof; and that therefore it concerned
none ſo much as themſelues, whether the city were giuen vp by compoſition, or els woon by
ſtrong hand: he ſhewed vnto them the profit that ſhould ariſe vnto them by yeelding of it vp,
& offered to them large entertainment, if they would ſerue him: and to conclude, told them,
that they ſhould neuer afterwards find at his hands ſo great grace as was at that inſtant offered
them. The crafty Baſſa did what he might to haſten the winning of the city, both for that hee
doubted the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, & that his great armie was exceedingly troubled L
with contagious & grieuous diſeaſes, ariſing of the immoderat heat and drought in that ſo hot
a country. But the ſouldiers thinking any thing more aſſured than the Turkiſh faith; anſwered
him, That they did not as yet doubt their own ſtrength, & that they were ready to indure any
thing that could happen, rather than to prefer the vncertain friendſhip of an vnknowne prince,
before the gracious fauour of ſuch worthie princes as they had ſo good experience of.

This anſwer cut off all the Baſſaes hope for taking of the citie by compoſition: wherewith
being both grieued & enraged, he commanded all things to be made ready for the aſſault: and
the more to encourage his ſoldiers, promiſed vnto them great rewards & honors that ſhould
firſt or ſecond mount the wals. After that, he gaue a general aſſault vnto the city with all his po-
wer: wherein both he as a moſt worthie captaine, and his ſouldiers, fought moſt fiercely. You M

Muſtapha encourageth his ſouldiers.

haue to do (ſaid he) with the ſmall and laſt remainders of our enemies, which are ſcarce able
to ſtand or hold their weapons in their hands, rather than enemies indeed: ſhall you not
then eaſily ouercome them, being both few & feeble, haue vanquiſhed them when they
were many & luſty? The end of al your labors is at hand, your hoped rewards approch; onely
play

A play you the men, and faint not in this aſſault; the ſpoile of this rich city ſhal be the worthy re-
ward of your labours; the fruit of all your trauell conſiſteth in this one moment. While he
thus incourageth ſome, and reproueth others, they mindfull of his promiſes, and theſe of the
diſgrace, altogether with their thick ſhot ſuffer no man to ſtand in ſafety vpon the wals, & out
of their forts alſo with their great ordnance greatly annoied the defendants. This done, they *Nicoſia moſt terribly aſſaulted by the Turks*
attempted by the ruines of the wall, and in other places by ſcaling ladders to haue entred the
citie. Which terrible aſſault was by the cruel enemy maintained, not for ſome few houres, but
for diuers daies together without any intermiſſion, freſh men ſtil comming on in ſtead of them
that were wounded or ſlain. Yet did the defendants valiantly indure all that ſtorm, and in ſuch
B weake caſe as they were, worthily performed what was poſſible for ſo few to doe: yet ſtill in
hope (the poore comfort of men in miſery) that reliefe might come by the approch of the
Chriſtian fleet. At length, when the matter was brought to this point, that the Turks were in
great hope to haue gained the wals, & *Muſtapha* himſelfe probably gueſſed, That the Chriſti-
ans were now weary of the long aſſault, and ſore weakned with wounds & other infinit mife-
ries, not to ſeeke in a city ſo hardly diſtreſſed, and was in that his opinion alſo confirmed by
certain fugitiue Chriſtians: he neuertheleſſe vpon the ſudden cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, &
ſo retiring into his trenches, lay ſtil all the next day without any thing doing. The defendants
thinking that he had giuen ouer the aſſault, becauſe of ſome aid that was comming to their re-
liefe, became more careleſſe of the enemy, & vpon the vain hope of ſuch aid, with leſſe dili-
C gence repaired their breaches and prouided for the repulſing of their enemies. But the Baſſa
in the mean time had choſen out of his whole army about 200 of his beſt captains & ſoldiers,
all men of approued valour and agility of body, whom the next day after, he ſent early in the
morning, to make proofe if they could with ſcaling ladders ſecretly and without any noiſe get
vp, get into the foure bulwarkes which hee had before ſore ſhaken with his great ordnance.
Theſe reſolute men leading the way, got firſt vp, after whom followed diuers others, and ſo *The Turks gain the bulwarkes and walls of Nicoſia.*
tooke the aforeſaid bulwarks: when preſently after, other companies of their fellowes which
ſtood ready for the purpoſe, comming on forward, did with their ſcaling ladders in diuers pla-
ces recouer the top of the wals: for now the matter was not done by ſecret ſurpriſe, but by
open force. In euery one of theſe bulwarkes were 70 Italians and as many Epirots, who there
D kept watch and ward; theſe men part aſleep, as fearing no ſuch danger, and part lying laſily vp-
on the ground, were there ſurpriſed on the ſudden and ſlain: otherſome of them awaked with
the ſtrange and vncouth noiſe, betooke not themſelues luſtily to their weapons, but forſaking
their ſtations leapt down out of the bulwarks at ſuch places as were next vnto them, ſome for
feare ran vnawares into the middeſt of their enemies. Vpon this alarme ſome of the Chriſtian
captains came ſpeedily to the walls with their companies, as did *Eugenius*, who whileſt hee in
vain crieth out to ſuch fearefull ſouldiers as he met, that they ſhould not ſo cowardly flie, and
ſtaieth others that were flying, was himſelfe ſhot thorow with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. Other
captains in other places likewiſe labored in vain to haue ſtaid the flying ſouldiers, whoſe per-
ſuaſions, requeſts, and authoritie in ſo generall a feare, nothing at that time preuailed.

Nicoſia taken by the Turks.

E The defendants thus beaten from the wals & bulwarks, gathered themſelues into the mar-
ket place: but the citiſens ſtealing home to their owne houſes, there ſtood in the entrances of
the ſame, fearefully expecting the deſtruction of the country, together were their owne. In the
meane time the Gouernor of Aleppo with his regiment ſcoured the wals of the city round a-
bout, as he had in charge from the Generall: and without reſpect put to ſword all that he met,
armed or vnarmed. At the bulwarke called Barbatus, it fortuned him to light vpon a compa-
nie of Italians, who for a while fought deſperatly, but were in the end ouerthrowne and ſlain.
When he had thus cleared the wals, & left ſuch companies as he thought good in places con-
uenient for the keeping of them, he came downe into the more open places of the city: & ſee-
ing them that were gathered together into the market place to haue caſt themſelues into a ring
F and to fight as men altogether deſperat, he cauſed certain murthering pieces to be bent vpon
them: which they perceiuing, layed downe their weapons, and yeelded themſelues vnto the
mercy of the enemy. By and by all the gates of the city were ſtrongly guarded by the enemy,
to the intent that no man ſhould go in or out. *Dandulus* the Gouernor, & *Contarenus* the Biſhop
of Paphos, with the reſt of the nobilitie, & better ſort of the citiſens, had got themſelues into
the towne hall, and there ſtood vpon their guard: vnto whom *Muſtapha* ſent word, that hee
would

take them all to mercie, if they would without further resistance yeeld themselues. But G
messengers run too and fro, the Turkes violently brake in vpon them, and there slew
euery man. After the death of these noblemen, the cruell enemy spared none: and ha-
main such as they found abroad in the streets, brake into the houses, where they made ha-
of all things: yong babes were violently taken out of the armes of their mothers, vir-
gins were shamefully rauished, and honest matrons before their husbands faces despightfully
A great slaugh-ter. abused, churches were spoiled, and all places filled with mourning and dead bodies: the streets were in all places filled with bloud, for in the city was slain that day fourteen thousand eight hundred threescore persons. Neither was there any end of the spoile, vntill the greedie enemy had carried away the wealth that long peace had heaped vp. It is reported, that the prey there taken, amounted to twentie hundred thousand millions of duckats: 200 of the most H goodly and beautifull youths were chosen out of purpose to be sent to Constantinople for a present for *Selymus*. In the city were taken also 250 pieces of great ordnance: wher me were by the enemie carried away, and the rest left for defence of the citie. Thus th us citie of Nicosia, sometime the regall seat of the kings of Cyprus, fell into the hands of the Turks, the ninth day of September in the yeare 1570, in whose power it still remaineth.

Mustapha hauing as he thought best disposed of all things in Nicosia, with the very terrour of his name, rather than by any force, brought most part of the rest of the townes in the Island vnder his obeisance; and by faire intreaty and promise of good vsage, brought backe again vn-
Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turks. to their wonted dwellings the rude country people, who vp the comming of the Turks were fled with all that they had into the mountaines: them as men not to be feared, he commanded I to till and sow their land as they were woont. The city of Cyrene is strongly scituated, not far from the sea, and was then well furnished of all things needfull for the induring of a long siege. Hither the Bassa sent one of the Sanzackes to summon the citie, more to proue the courage of the defendants, than for any hope he had to haue the citie deliuered vnto him. But *Alphonsus Palacius* then Gouernor of the city, terrified with the losse of Nicosia, no sooner saw the enemie, but that without any further deliberation or force vsed against him, he deliuered vp the towne vnto the Sanzacke; couenanting only in reward of his cowardise, That he might in safetie depart from thence with all his garrison souldiers: which was easily granted, and the citie surrendred.

Famagusta be-sieged. Not long after, *Mustapha* leauing a thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot in garrison K in Nicosia, marched with the rest of his armie to besiege Famagusta. And the more to terrifie them of the citie, he by a poore countrey fellow, whom he had for that purpose set at libertie, sent vnto them in a basket the head of *Nicholaus Dandulus*, late Gouernour of Nicosia, and at the same time sent before him diuers horsemen, who vpon their horsemens staues carried the heads of many of the noblemen slaine at Nicosia, wherewith they rid as in triumph about the wals of the citie. Which thing he did, in hope that they of Famagusta terrified with such a spectacle, and the late ouerthrow of Nicosia, would for feare of like misery yeeld themselues. But
Mustapha raiseth his siege. deceiued in this his expectation, he encamped his armie about three miles from the citie. Afterwards hauing taken view of the citie, and well considered of the scituation thereof, he with wonderful celeritie cast vp diuers mounts against the same, and at the same time caused batte- L rie to be laid against the great tower which defended the hauen: he himselfe also in the meane while battering the gate that leadeth to Amathus. But perceiuing by the desperat sallies of the defendants, their great courage, and that it was like to haue much more to do in this siege than he had in the winning of Nicosia, and Winter also now drawing fast on (being about the latter end of September) he thought it best betime to prouide, that by lying there he hazarded not the honour he had with so much labor and danger before gained: and the rather, for that it was commonly reported, that the Christian fleet was at hand: wherefore he rise with his armie, and retired himselfe further off into the countrey, where he shortly after bilited his souldiers in the villages round about for that Winter.

The Turkes at sea aduertised of the comming of the Christian fleet, prepare themselues for battell. The Bassaes at sea, *Haly* & *Pial*, lying before Famagusta, doubting the comming of the Chri- M stian fleet, which then lay at Creete, sent out six galliots to discouer the doings of the Christians: who returning with certaine prisoners taken in the iland of Creete, declared vnto the Bassaes what they had learned concerning the Christian fleet, and that it was already vpon the way to Cyprus. Vpon which intelligence the Bassaes put their fleet in order of battell, and set

forward

A forwards towards Limisso to haue met with the Christians: who with a prosperous winde were comming betwixt the Islands of Caprathos and the Rhodes: but there vnderstanding by their espials, that Nicosia was lost, and that the Turks were come to besiege Famagusta; they called a Councell of all the chiefe commanders in the fleet, to consult what were best to do in so dangerous a case. *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and then chiefe commander in the fleet, with *Zanius* the Venetian Admirall, were of opinion, That it were best to hold on their course for Cyprus, and to relieue Famagusta: for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late victorie, were for desire of prey, for most part gon ashore into the Island, and so left their fleet but slenderly manned. Beside that, they alledged, That the Venetian Senat had expresly
B decreed, That they should giue the Turks battell. But *Auria* the Spanish Admirall thinking it, as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficultie and danger, was quite of another mind, saying, That he could not but maruell, how the Venetian Senators sitting at their ease in counsell, could before they knew their own strength, and power of the enemie, the nature of the countrie, and purpose of their foes, determin what were fit for martial men to do; vnto whose actions no certaine rule could be prescribed. All the shores (he said) were kept with the enemies garrisons; so that what need soeuer they should haue, they could neither come by water or wood, or put into any harbor. Besides that, the enemie would giue them battell at his owne pleasure, & not at theirs: for that they were not of so much power, as to inforce him to fight: And that if the Senate, which vsed to do all things warily, and with great aduisement, did but
C see the weakenesse of their gallies, wanting both soldiers and mariners, they would be of another mind. He alledged further, That they were to wage war in the enemies countrey, where there was no port to receiue their fleet, no peaceable place, no confederate Citie, nor King to friend: whereas the time of the yeare grew euery day worse and worse, when as they had neither harbor to put into, neither were able to abide the sea. And now that Nicosia was lost, for the reliefe whereof they were come so far, there was no reason longer for them to stay, the enemie so strongly possessing the Island with his great armie, as that there was not any hope to do any good against him. And that to keepe him from victuall, and so to distresse him, was not possible, lying in a most fertile Island, and in the midst of his owne dominions: whereas they, who were to be still relieued from far, should sooner feele the want than the enemie. He was
D victualled (as he said) when he came from home, but for three moneths, in hope to haue made a short dispatch, and had now two thousand miles home. He said moreouer, that he had expresse commandement from the King, to returne to Messana before Winter, and that therefore so soone as the moneth was out he would depart. The Venetian Admirall desiring nothing more, than by battell at sea to ouerthrow the Turkes, and so to relieue the distressed Cypriots, vrged the Spanish Admirall to proceed in the voyage; saying, That so great aid was not sent from the Pope and the King, onely for the reliefe of Nicosia, but to deliuer the whole Island from the danger of the Turke. Of the same opinion with the Spanish Admirall were diuers other great captaines in the fleet; namely *Sfortia*: who said, That nothing was to be so done, as might rashly expose vnto casualtie or power of the enemie, the publique fortune and majestie
E of the Christian commonweale, which was in that fleet greatly hazarded: That longer stay might bring further danger: that in that fleet consisted the whole welfare of the commonweale, wherin more might be lost, if any mishap should chance thereunto, than was good to be gained by the relieuing of Famagusta. The great commanders thus differing in opinions, the Councel was in a heat dissolued, and nothing concluded. Vpon which so foule a disagreement the fleet began now to returne backe againe, but so, that it was not now as before, one, but three Fleets, euery admiral by himself drawing after him his fleet. *Auria* the Spanish Admiral, who first returned, after he had been two days wonderfully with tempest tossed at sea, came at last to Carpathos, and departing thence, with much ado ariued with his fleet in the Island of Crete: from whence he by a messenger sent of purpose, requested leaue of *Columnius* the Popes Admirall,
F that he might with his good will presently returne home. Whereunto *Columnius* answered, That he would giue him no such leaue: but rather charged him, in the dutie he owght to the good of the Christian commonweale, not to depart, but to keepe companie with the rest of the fleet vntill it were past Zacynthus, that so with their vnited forces they might more safely passe by the enemies countries: whereas otherwise, if any thing should by his hastie departure fall out otherwise than well, it should be imputed to the dishonour of him that had for-

The commaunders of the christian fleet of diuers opinios for giuing of the Turke battell.

The christian fleet returneth vpon the foule disagreement of the commaunders.

saken

his friends, and not of them that were so by him forsaken. But vnto this *Auria* answe- G
red, that the welfare of the kingdoms of Sicilie and Naples consisted in the safety of this fleet:
and that therefore hauing hast home, he could not stay to keepe companie with their heauie
galleyes and other ships of burthen, which must oftentimes be towed forward. This he open-
ly pretended for his departure; yet secretly sought (as it was deemed) to finde an occasion
whereby to withdraw himselfe (being as he accounted the better man at sea) from the com-
mand of *Columnius*, whereunto he was full sore against his will subiect.

After they had thus a while spent the time with reasoning the matter to & fro, *Auria* of him-
selfe without turning hoised saile, & so at length came to Messana in Sicily: neither did
Columnius & *Zanius* in those quarters long after him, but hauing endured much trouble at
sea, arriued at last, *Columnius* in Italie, and *Zanius* at Corcyra. Thus this mightie fleet, which H
had all this Sommer filled the Mediterranian with all the countries thereabout, with the expe-
ctation of some great matter, was by the discord of the Generals dissolued, hauing done no-
thing at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thousands of riguant
men lost their liues, being dead of diuers diseases proceeding of change of diet, and vnseasona-
blenesse of the weather in that hot climat; amongst whom was the valiant Countie *Hieroni-
mus Martinengus*, sent by the Senat with three thousand souldiers for the defence of Famagu-
sta; who also most of them perished in that voyage. The Venetian fleet was no sooner arriued
at Corcyra, but *Augustinus Barbadicus* was sent from the Senat to discharge *Zanius* the Admi-
rall of his office, and to send him prisoner to Venice: in whose roome was placed *Sebastianus
Venerius* Gouernor of that Iland.

Zanius the Venetian Admiral discharged of his office, and sent in bonds to Venice.

The Turks Bassa's at sea certainly aduertised of the departure of the Christian fleet, were I
not a little proud thereof; as by the confession of their enemies, their betters. Yet forasmuch
as the seas began then to grow rough, and no enemie appeared, they thought it to no purpose
to keepe the seas with so great a fleet, and therefore resolued to leaue *Mustapha* with his army
in Cyprus, the next yeare to make an end of his conquest so happily begun; and seuen gallies
at sea before Famagusta, that no reliefe should that way be brought into the citie, and so to de-
part themselues with the rest of the fleet to Winter in more safer harbours: *Piali* with the
greater part of the fleet to Constantinople, and *Haly* with the rest to the Rhodes. And because
they would for their greater credit prepare some worthie present for their great Lord & Ma-
ster *Selymus*, they fraughted a great gallion of *Muhametes* the chiefe Bassa's, and two other tall K
ships, with the richest of the spoile of Nicosia, and the choice of the prisoners there taken. But
when they were now readie to hoise saile and depart, as they were carrying out of the galli-
on, certaine barrels of gunpouder which *Mustapha* the Generall had commanded for his bet-
ter prouision to be landed, a noble gentlewoman captiue in the gallion, wishing rather to die
with honor, than to liue dishonored, secretly fired the pouder; by force whereof the said gal-
lion with the other two ships, were suddenly rent in pieces, and all that was therein blown vp
into the aire. Of all that were in those three vessels, none escaped with life but the master of
the gallion, and two Christian captiues, but there perished together with the rich spoile. But
the Bassa's following their former resolution, departed from Cyprus, and afterwards in safetie
arriued at Constantinople: where both then and all the Winter following, such preparation L
was in making, as if *Selymus* had the next yeare purposed some far greater matter than the con-
quest of Cyprus.

A desperate fact of a woman.

Whilest *Sebastianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admirall) yet lay at Corcyra, the rude A-
croceraunian people, more famous for nothing than for their theft and want of all things; by
trustie messengers promised to deliuer into his power the strong castle of Chymera, kept by a
garrison of 300 Turks, if he himselfe with a few gallies and a conuenient number of footmen,
would come into the bay of Ambracia: offering him good hostages for the better assurance of
their promise. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed
place with a companie of horsemen, three thousand footmen, and certaine gallies; who were
no sooner landed, but that presently a thousand of those rough mountaine people came vnto M
them: with which power taking the hill, and repulsing the Turkes garrison comming to the
reliefe of the castle, he so discouraged them that were [illegible] Hold, that the next night they
let themselues downe with ropes into the valley below, but being descried, were there all ei-
ther taken or slaine. And so in a verie short time was that strong castle taken by the Admirall,
and

The strong castle of Chymera taken by Venerius.

A and a strong garrison of Christians put into it in steed of the Turks.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Viceadmiral a man of great courage, landed with 24 gallies in Peloponesus neere the bay of Maine, and there vpon the sudden both by sea and land besieged a strong castle, which the Turks but two yeres before had built to trouble the Christians passing that way. Which castle he tooke in fiue houres, and put to the sword fiue hundred Turks which lay there in garrison; and razing it downe to the ground, carried away with him foure and twentie great pieces of Artillerie into the Island of Zacynthus.

Quirinus taketh a castle of the Turkes in Peloponesus.

At such time as *Mustapha* before lay at the siege of Famagusta, *Bragadinus* gouernour of the towne, and *Balconius* a most expert captaine, from out of the high places of the citie beholding
B the great armie of the Turks (which couered the ground almost as far as they could see, with the cunning manner of their fortification, were therwith much moued: and therefore thought it good betime to giue the Senat knowledge thereof, and in so great a danger to craue their aid. And that their request might be of more weight, and haue the better hearing, they intreated *Hieronimus Ragazonius* Bishop of the citie, a reuerend and deuout man, to take vpon him that charge; vnto whom they ioyned *Nicholas Donatus* a noble gentleman of Cyprus. The Bishop at the first was very vnwilling to go, as loth in so great danger to leaue his flocke: but at length ouercome with the intreatie of the gouernour, and teares of the besieged, suffered himselfe to be intreated: and embarked in a gally about the going downe of the Sun, loosing out of the hauen, and hoising saile, with a faire gale of wind passed through the Turks fleet, which
C then lay at anchor before the city; and by the comming on of the night, and by the great way he made, got him quickly out of sight. After foure dayes sailing he came to Crete, & so at last to Venice: where, as he had before vnto the Admirall, so there vnto the Senat he declared the dangerous estate of the citie, the strength of the enemie, the weakenes of the defendants against so great a multitude, and the want of many things needfull for the holding out of the siege: and to be briefe, that except they sent speedie reliefe, the citie could not be kept. *Zanius* at that time Admirall, carefull for the besieged, caused foure tall ships to be laded with all manner of victual and a great quantity of gunpouder, and put into them 1700 select soldiers, all which he sent from Crete to the reliefe of them of Famagusta; appointing *M. Antonius Quirinus* with twelue of the best gallies in all the fleet, to conduct the same thither. This *Quirinus* was a
D most valiant and expert captaine, meanely discended, but by seruice growne to be a man both of great reputation and wealth: and therefore *Zanius* at his departure to Venice, although hee knew the matter required haste, yet presuming vpon his wisedome and carefulnesse, left it to his discretion, when and how to performe that piece of seruice. *Quirinus* (not without cause) doubting to set forward, the seas as then full of the Turks gallies, staied vntill Winter was wel spent, and then setting forward the seuenteenth of Ianuarie, kept aloofe from the ships, which with a prosperous wind came directly before Famagusta; in hope that the Turks gallies which lay in the mouth of the hauen, might so be drawne farther into the sea, in hope of some good bootie, he himselfe staying with his gallies in place conuenient out of sight. Neither had the euent deceiued his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindered the same: for the Turks vp-
E on the dawning of the day descrying the ships, made hastily toward them: but *Quirinus* not able longer to stay himselfe, and before desirous to fight with them, shewed himselfe too soon in the open sea, before the enemie was come neere the ships: whom as soone as the Turkes had seene, and that there was no hope to withstand him, they staied their oares, and with all speed retired. But *Quirinus* following faster vpon them, they were glad for safegard of their liues, with all the power they could to run three of their gallies aground, and to run to shoare themselues: which three gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great ordnance beat all to pieces, and sore gauled the other foure. The hauen thus cleered, he returned againe vnto the shippes, and brought them with the supplie in safetie to Famagusta: vpon whose arriuall was great reioycing both amongst the garrison soldiers and the citizens: for the Turks thought nothing lesse,
F than that the Christian gallies durst at that time of the yere haue put into those dangerous seas: which *Quirinus* well knowing, came forth againe with his gallies, and roaming vp and downe at his pleasure, tooke two of the enemies ships richly laded comming to the camp; with which booty he inriched his soldiers: & further incited by occasion, landed his men in diuers places alongst the sea coast in Pamphilia, and there did great harme. So hauing filled the Countrey with the terrour and fame of his name, he returned againe to Famagusta; where he notably encou-

Quirinus a valiant gentleman

1571

encouraged the garrison soldiers, persuading them to remember their wonted valor: and fil- G
led them with hope that the Christian fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next
Summer, to deliuer them from their enemies, and to raise the siege. So hauing in twenty days
dispatched that he came for, and done what good seruice els he could, he departed from Fa-
magusta: and within fiue daies after arriued at Crete.

Negligence severely punished by Selymus.

Not long, but *Selymus* had knowledge of this late supplie put into Famagusta, and of the hauen done by *Quirinus*; wherewith he was so highly displeased, that he commanded the gouernour his head to be strucke off, and the gouernour of the Rhodes to be disgraced, whose charge was to haue kept those seas, so that nothing should haue been conueied into Famagusta. Neither spared he *Piali Bassa*, but depriued him of his Admiraltie, and placed *Partau Bassa* Admirall in his steed, for that he had not the yeare before discomfited the H
Christian fleet at the Island of Crete, as it was supposed he might haue done.

From the beginning of this war, the Venetians, with *Pius Quintus* then Pope, who greatly fauored their cause, had most earnestly from time to time solicited *Philip* king of Spaine to enter with them into the participation and fellowship of this war; which their request standing indeed with the good of his State, he seemed easily to yeeld vnto: and therefore sent *Auria*, his Admirall the last yeare, with his fleet to aid them, but with such successe as is before declared. As for to ioine with them in perpetuall league and confederation (as it was termed) against the common enemy, that he referred vnto the discreet consideration of the two Cardinals, *Granuellan* and *Pace*, and *Io. Zunica* his Embassador, sent for that purpose to Rome: promising to performe whatsoeuer they should on his behalfe agree vpon or consent vnto. At the same time, I
and for the same purpose lay also *Surianus* the Venetian Embassadour at Rome: vnto whome the Pope ioined Cardinal *Morone*, *Aldobrandinus*, and *Rusticucius*, with certain other of the chief Cardinals, as men indifferent to both parties, to moderat and compose such differences & difficulties as should arise betwixt the aforesaid Commissioners for the King and the Venetians, concerning the intended league. But these gentlemen, sent from so great Princes about so great a matter (as well there could not be a greater) were no sooner met together and set in consultation, but that forthwith they began to jar about the capitulations of the league. Necessarie it was thought that a league should be agreed vpon against so puissant and dangerous an enemie, but to find the way how the same might be concluded to the contentment of all parts, seemed a matter almost impossible. Oftentimes these commissioners sat, but the oftner the farther off: K
if one difficultie were by the discretion of some appeased, in stead therof at the next meeting arise three others. The chiefe command of the army to be raised, the proportion of the forces, the manner of the war, with many other like circumstances incident to so great actions, made great differences among them: but most of all, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spanish commissioners seeking to turne the greatest part thereof vpon the Venetians, & the Venetians vpon them: which was done with such earnestnesse & study of euery man towards his own part, as if they had all there met for the bettering of the particular state from which they were sent, rather than for the common good: For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keepe the frontiers of his large dominions in Italie, Sicilie, Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, Minorca, yea and of Spaine it selfe, with strong garrisons for feare of the Turke; now that the war L
was risen betwixt the Venetians & him, & the danger therof translated far off into other mens territories; enioied now in his own an vnwonted quietnes, to the great content of his subiects, and easing of his owne charge in maintaining of so many garrisons as before: whereof many were now thought needlesse. Besides that, he by the Indulgence of the Pope raised such great summes of money vpon his Clergie, as was thought by many, sufficient to discharge the charge of the war: For which causes he cared not for entring in any further league with the Venetians, but as it were in courtesie to send them a yearely aid, to maintaine a defensiue lingering warre, and so to keepe the Turkes busied vpon the Venetian, a farre off from his owne Territories. But the Venetians, in whose Dominions the fierce Enemie dayly raged, as well in Dalmatia as in Cyprus, were euen for the same reasons mooued to hasten and shorten the war, M
that the Spaniard was to protract it: for beside the neerenesse of the danger, and the infinite calamities by them sustained, their yerely reuenues arising for most part of their customes, were greatly impaired, and their traffike (the maintenance of their state) almost quite cut off: which caused them more earnestly to confederate themselues with the Spaniard. But hard it was

to

A to ioine in one, States so far differing in respect of their particular profit, and almost by nature contrarie. Thus was all the last yeare, and a great part of this also, spent by the aforesaid Commissioners in turbulent and fruitlesse conferences, but nothing was as yet concluded concerning the league: which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themselues too weake for so mightie an enemie as was *Selymus*, and yet no other certaine strength from their friends to rest vpon. But whilest they stood thus doubtfull of the league with Spaine, and quite out of hope of any attonement with *Selymus*; vpon the sudden when they least expected it was by good fortune laied as it were in their laps, to make choice whether they would (as they had before most earnestly desired) ioine in league with the Pope and the King of Spaine, or els fall to agreement with *Selymus*: and that by this meanes.

B *Muhamet* the chiefe Bassa, a secret friend vnto the Venetians, of whom he had been of long time honored, had no great liking of the prosperous successe of *Mustapha* in Cyprus, & therefore deuised night and day, how to crosse the rising of him, the competitor of his honor; and withall to helpe the Venetians, vnto whom he was much beholden. He by secret messengers had before oftentimes sounded the mind of the Venetian Embassadour, and put him in hope, that if suit were made vnto *Selymus* for peace, it would vndoubtedly be granted; and further promised, to be himselfe a helper and intercessor for the same. But finding the Embassadour to cast many perils, and to giue small credit vnto their talke, who had before by trusting them deceiued him: he did not so giue ouer the matter, but referring the further tempering with him vnto a more fitter time, for the present he tooke opportunitie to enter into discourse with *Se-*
C *lymus* himselfe concerning the Venetians; and told him that it was reported, That they weary of the long altercation they had had with the Spaniards concerning the league, & now destitute of all hope & aid, would now haply of their owne accord grant him that which they had before to him denied. And perceiuing him not vnwillingly to heare so of them, he proceeded further in the matter, to know his pleasure what he would haue done therein; cunningly by the way of good counsel persuading him vnto that which he most wished himself to be done. Immediatly after, he secretly aduertised *M. Antonius* the Venetian Embassador, That there was great hope of peace, & that therefore the Senat should vnder the colour of exchanging of prisoners, and redeeming of merchants goods, send some fit man to Constantinople, with whome he would in secret confer of al such matters as might farther the pacification. This vnexpected
D newes from the Embassador brought to Venice, was wel heard of the Senat: for they thought it much to concerne their State, to haue a way opened whereby vpon tolerable conditions to make peace with the mightie tyrant, if that the league betwixt them and the king of Spaine could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choice of one *Iacobus Ragazonius* to goe about the matter to Constantinople. This *Ragazonius* was a man of great spirit and dexterity of wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deepe iudgement in the managing therof; and withall exceeding rich, and of so good carriage of himselfe, as that he was therefore famous: all which things were thought of great moment to win the fauor of that couetous and barbarous nation. The Senat, although they had not yet made proof what men thought of the matter, yet doubted they not, but that vpon the report of the sending of this notable man, men
E would thereof diuersly diuine, euery man according to his owne fantasie; and that many of the wiser sort would indeed surmise, as the truth was, that he was sent for to intreat of peace, although the exchange of prisoners, and redemption of merchants goods, were the only things were openly pretended: & the Senat, although they thought it not amisse to haue it so vnderstood, because such a suspition was like enough to stirre vp both the Pope and the Spaniard to accept of such conditions of the desired league, as they had before reiected; yet left the hope of the league (which they for many causes thought good to cherish) therby cut off, might cause the Pope and the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other Christian Princes, of the sending of *Ragazonius*; yet of purpose concealing the secret drift of his going. *Ragazonius* thorowly instructed by the Senate, was in a gallie conducted to Ragusi-
F um: which *Cassan-beg* (the great Bassa *Muhametes* son, gouernor of Liburnia) vnderstanding, met him vpon the frontiers, & told him, That he was sent by his father, both to meet him and safe conduct him: which the martial man, contrary to the manner of the Turks, courteously performed, honorably entertaining him, and afterward sending him with a safe conuoy vntill he was out of all danger. *Ragazonius* comming to Constantinople, was there by night secretly receiued

Muhamet Bassa a secret friend vnto the Venetians, puts them in hope of peace.

The Venetians send an Embassadour to Selymus to intreat with him of peace.

Ragazonius the Venetian Embassadour commeth to Constantinople.

The conference betwixt Muhamet the Great Bassa, and Ragazonius.

to the city, and at first is brought into a little base lodge, and a guard set ouer him that he G
speake with no man. But after three dayes he was removed to a much better place, and
ted with diuers kinds of dainty dishes of sundrie kinds of meats. The effect of his mes-
as, to try the Turks minds, and after conference had with the Embassador, to entreat of
at length hauing accesse to the great Bassa *Muhamet*, after he had deliuered vnto him
(as h charge) his message concerning the exchange of prisoners and merchants goods;
Muhama n, If he had nothing in charge from the Senat concerning a pacification to
be made? answered, that he had, but that he must first speake with the Embassi-
dor, without whom e and counsel he was not of himselfe to do any thing. At that first in-
counter, the Bassa to terrifie the messenger, declared vnto him the innumerable multitude of
the Turks horsemen and footmen, which no nation (as he vainly boasted) was able by force or H
policy to withstand: also his great and inuincible fleets at sea, with whom all the power of the
Christians ioined together, was not able to encounter; and much other such like strength and
wealth of his: and that the Venetians were now no more able to withstand *Selymus*, y
were in times past to resist his father and his ancestors. Yet he discoursed of this matter in such
sort, as not thereby to cut off the hope of the pacification: but said, That the Venetians should
best haue prouided for the safetie of their state, if at the first they had listned vnto him, friend-
ly & faithfully aduising them not to haue entred into armes, in which doing they shewed more
courage than power: and that yet, as the case now stood, and that *Selymus* was in a most assured
hope, in short time to become lord and master of the whole Island, it should be to their great I
good, to prefer the fauor and good will of the Turks before war, & by the voluntary yeelding
vp of Cyprus, gaine vnto themselues perpetuall peace and tranquilitie. As for the Isle it selfe,
it was not now worth the hazarding of so many dangers, being destitute of inhabitants, which
were almost all either slaine or fled, the cattel driuen away, the townes ransackt and burnt, and
the whole countrey, of late most pleasant and beautifull, now so spoiled & vnpeopled, that it
could not of long time yeeld vnto him that should haue it, any profit or commodity. *Ragazo-*
nius being a coole and aduised man, and without perceiuing that the Bassa was not to be contra-
ried in his talke, so tempered his answer, as that he shewed no token of feare, neither let any
word fall that might offend his eares, saying, That he was right glad that he had found so much
fauor in his sight, as to haue accesse and leaue to talke with so great a prince, who for wisdome K
and grauitie excelled all the rest of the princes of the great Emperours court: who so far as he
might with his loyalty towards his soueraigne, had alwaies most graciously fauored the Vene-
tian state: who also not ignorant of the vncertaintie of worldly things, knew of all others best,
that on both sides were both men & armes, and that most mighty princes had oftentimes with
small forces bin ouerthrowne, the euent of things neuer deceiuing men more than in matters of
warre: no power vpon earth being sure, which could not within some bounds containe the
strength of it selfe: and that therefore he was in good hope, that he so worthy a man knowing
best what belonged both to peace and war, would deuise some such course as might sort to the
good and quiet both of the Venetian State and Turkish empire; in which doing hee should
find sufficient matter for his eternall praise and glory, if by his discreet wisdome a pacification L
might be made. Such talke hauing passed at their first meeting, *Ragazonius* had leaue to speake
with the Embassador, who then lay at Pera vnder safe keeping. In passing ouer to Pera, *Raga-*
zonius might see a fleet of Turkish gallies encountring one with another in manner of a fight at
sea, which the Turks had of purpose prouided to shew vnto him as a strange sight. Wherat *Ra-*
gazonius smiling, said vnto the Turks that were present with him, That it was a pretty childish
sport for him that had neuer seen the like before: but not to the Venetians, who were acquain-
ted with these matters in earnest; as the Turks should wel know whensoeuer they had a mind
to make proofe what they were able to do at sea. *Ragazonius* comming to the Embassador, had
conference with him at large, & resolued with him what to do in his negotiation. And so retur-
ning to *Mahamet*, easily dispatcht with him for the exchange of prisoners & merchants goods:
but when they came to talke of the capitulations of a pacification to be made, at the first they M
were so far off, as if they would neuer haue met: but after much and often conference, somtime
the one yeelding, and somtime the other, the matter w ought to some conformity, so that
there was no such great difference betwixt them, b at they were like enough to haue
agreed. *Pius* the Pope d *Philip* the king of Spaine, adu tised of the sending of *Ragazonius*
to

A to Constantinople, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was sent about some treatie of peace, what colour soeuer the Senat pretended to couer the same. And therefore doubting lest the Turkish Emperor hauing once made peace with the Venetians, should turne his great forces already prepared, vpon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that peace, now with all speed to hasten the league, which they had so long before delayed. For which purpose the Pope sent the noble *Columnius* to Venice: who admitted into the Senat, declared at large how matters had passed at Rome concerning the league: and afterwards, what profit might arise of such a league concluded, & what harmes might ensue of the same, neglected. And to hasten the matter, set as it were before their eies, how much it concerned the B common good, but them especially, to haue the same with speed confirmed. As for to giue any trust vnto the Turks, was (as he said) not beseeming their deep wisedome & iudgement, seeing they so often had bin by them rather deceiued than vanquished. In conclusion, he requested them, That for his Holinesse sake, moderating in some part their hard demands, they would with speed ioyn with him & the king in a most firm & Christian league. Although this speech of *Columnius* had much moued the minds of the Venetians, so that many inclined to the league, yet were there many doubtfull thereof, and could not be resolued whether it were better to embrace peace with the Turke, or the league with the Pope and the king. Peace pleased them, neither did the league displease them: it seemed a matter most difficult, whether to resolue vp- on. They were fearefull of the league either receiued, or reiected: the hope of victory, the in- C constancie of the Turks, their owne strength at sea, the large promises of the Christian Prin- ces, the certain hope of the league, & vncertainty of the peace, perswaded them to embrace the league. On the other side, the bad successe of the yeare before, their forces shaken, and almost spent in Cyprus, the suspected & doubtful faith of their confederats, with the vncertaintie of the successe, induced them to prefer the hoped peace before the league. So the Venetians in suspence betwixt both, gaue the embassador daily more doubtful answers than other: neither by promise binding themselues, neither by flat denial cutting off the hope of the league, by ex- amples and arguments rather retelling what was by others alleadged, than any way declaring what they themselues thought. Somtime they alledged such things as might make a man be- leeue, that they were willing to ioyne in league, and by & by again they would seem neither to reiect nor accept of the same. In which doubtfulnesse many daies passed. At length the matter D being propounded in the Senat, there found not vnlike disposition of minds that it had among the meaner sort: for some of the Senators inclined to the league; whose reasons were groun- ded not vpon profit only, but vpon credit and honor also, which they wished to be chiefly re- garded: declaring also, what great security, honor & glory, should redound vnto them, by en- tring into such an honorable league. But the remembrance of former losses, the strength of the Turke possessing a great part of the world, compared vnto their own, the terror of the enemies name, the feare of euill successe, the small hope of preuailing, induced others to like better of peace: whose opinion was also confirmed by this, That the confederation with those Christi- ans, was of no more assurance or continuance than the Turks peace: beside that, they alledged, E That leagues were therfore of lesse assurance, for that confederations & amities were seldome or neuer sincerely & faithfully kept on both sides, euery man commonly seruing his own turn, without care of other men. They also set as it were before their eys what great occasions, euen small suspitions might giue princes to breake their leagues, what strange effects the feare of losse of goods, or some part of their territory might worke. After this so weighty a matter had bin thus with great contention thorowly debated on both sides in the Senat, it was at last put to voices: & so by the consent of the greater part, the league was as more honorable receiued, and the Turks peace reiected; and a decree of the Senat to that effect made. *Ragazonius* by se- cret letters from the Senat vnderstanding of al these matters, began to deale more warily with *Muhamet* the great Bassa in matter concerning the pacification, & more hardly to yeeld to his F demands, and propounding many difficulties of purpose deuised, requested of him, That hee might by his good leaue returne to Venice, to be resolued of many things by the Senat, wher- of he was not able himselfe to iudge, and so to return to him again with more certaine instru- ctions: assuring him, that the Senat would vpon knowledge of the conditions of the peace doe and deuise many things for the furtherance of the same: which could not so well be done by letters, as if he were there himselfe present to resolue them vpon euery particular. This his re-

The Pope and the K. of Spaine fearing lest the Venetians should make peace with the Turke, stirre the confederation.

The Venetians resolue to accept of the League with the Pope and the King.

queſt

obtained, he with great speed got him out of Constantinople: but was scarcely got out G
the gates, when report of the league which the Venetians had made with the Pope and the
K. of Spaine, was brought vnto the court, and had in short time filled the citie: which made
a new way as he trauelled more troublesome, and frustrated that also which was before con-
cluded concerning the exchange of prisoners and merchants goods. *Ragazonius* being come to
Venice declared at large in the Senat the drift and purpose of the Turke, and what conference
he had had with the great Bassa, and in what forwardnesse the peace was: for which his discreet
carriage of the matter his wisedome was highly by the whole Senat commended, and he him-
selfe afterward honourably rewarded.

A perpetuall league concluded betwixt the Pope, the K. of Spaine, and the Venetians.

In the meane time the Commissioners at Rome after long consultation concluded a league, H
which they would haue to be perpetuall, as well for inuasiue as defensiue warres against the
Turke: and was by solemne oath confirmed by the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the Venetian
Senat the 24 day of May, in the yeare 1571. For the execution of which league, it was agreed
vpon, That the sea and land forces should consist of two hundred gallies, an hundred ships,
tie thousand footmen, and foure thousand fiue hundred horsemen; with a proportionat quanti-
tie of great artillerie, victuals, and other things necessarie, to be euery yeare ready in March, or
at fartheast in Aprill, to meet together at such place in the East, as should be vnto them for that

The proportioning of the charge of the warres against the Turke: and the other capitulations of the league.

purpose appointed; to be imploied as the Admirals saw cause, & as the present state of things
should require. For maintenance of which charge it was agreed, That the king of Spain should
defray the one halfe, and the other halfe to be diuided into three equal parts; whereof the Ve-
netians should beare two parts, and the Pope the third; which if it should be too heauie for
him, then that remained by him vndischarged, to be diuided into fiue parts; whereof the king I
was to discharge three, and the Venetians two. The charge thus proportioned, they tooke or-
der also for the prouision of victuals, to be at a reasonable price taken vp in any the confederats
dominions, where the army or fleet should chance to stay: yet so, that it should be at the King
of Spaine his discretion, out of his kingdomes of Naples and Sicilie, first to take his prouision
for the victualling of Guletta, Malta, and his owne armie. It was also agreed, That if the king of
Spaine should at any time, when as the confederats had no common war, inuade Algiers, Tri-
polis, or Tunes, that then the Venetians should of their owne charge, aid him with fiftie gal-
lies well appointed: as also, that the king should in like manner and with like forces aid them
as oft as they should by the Turks be inuaded. But if it should fortune the Roman territorie to K
be inuaded, that then the aforesaid princes should be bound with all their forces, to the vtter-
most of their power, to defend those places, and the person of the Pope. And that in managing
of the confederat war, the three Admirals should conferre together of all matters, and what so-
euer the greater part should agree vpon, that to be reputed as agreed vpon by them all: That
Don Iohn of Austria, *Charles* the fifth his naturall sonne, and brother to the king, should haue
the chiefe command of the forces both at sea and land: but not to display his owne ensigne,
but the common ensigne of the confederats: Also, that such places as should be gained from
the Turke by the confederat armie, should be diuided amongst the confederat princes, except-
ting Tunes, Algiers, and Tripolis, which should remaine onely to the king of Spaine: That all
controuersies arising amongst the Generals should be decided by the Pope, vnto whom the L
Venetians should lend twelue gallies, furnished of all things sauing men and victuals, which the
Pope should of his owne charge supplie: Which gallies at the end of the warre hee should
againe deliuer, in such case as they then were: That an honourable place should bee left
for *Maximilian* the Emperour, the French King, the King of Polonia, and the King of
Portingall to enter into this league, whome with the rest of the Christian Princes, it should
beseeme the Pope to stir vp in so good a quarrell: and that it should not be lawfull for any the
aforesaid confederat Princes to intreat of peace, or enter into league, without the knowledge
and consent of the other confederats. And for the better proceeding of al things, it was agreed,
That euer in Autumne the confederate Princes should by their Embassadours at Rome con-
sult of the next yeares warres, and according as the time and occurrents should require, to M
determine, whether their forces were to bee increased or diminished. This League thus at
length with much adoe concluded, was not long after in Iune with great pompe and triumph
openly proclaimed in Rome, Venice, and Spaine, to the great ioy of the greatest part of Chri-
stendome.

The league proclaimed.

Whilest

A Whilest these things were in doing, the Venetians the more to intangle the Turke, thought *The Venetians the more to trouble the Turke, seeke to stir vp Tamas the Persian king to take vp armes against him.*
it good to make proofe, if they might by any meanes stir vp *Tamas* the Persian king to take vp
armes against him: who as he was a prince of great power, so did hee exceedingly hate the
Turks, as well for the difference betwixt the Persians and them about matters of their vain su-
perstition, as for the manifold iniuries hee had oftentimes sustained. There was one *Vincent*
Alexander, one of the Secretaries for the State; who hauing escaped out of prison at Constanti-
nople, was but a little before come to Venice, a warie wise man, and of great experience, who
for his dexteritie of wit, and skilfulnesse in the Turkish language, was thought of all others
most fit to take in hand so great a matter. He hauing receiued letters and instructions for the
Senat, and furnished with all things necessarie, trauelling through Germanie, Polonia, and the
B forrests of Mœsia, in Turkish attire, came to Moncastron, a port towne vpon the side of the
Euxine or blacke sea, at the mouth of the great riuer Boristhenes: where he embarked him-
selfe for Trapezond, but was by a contrarie wind driuen to Sinope, a citie of great traffique;
from whence hee trauelled by rough and broken wayes to Cutay, keeping still vpon the left
hand, because he would not fall vpon any part of the Turks army (which was then marching
towards Cyprus through all those countries) neuertheless he fell vpon a part thereof, from
which he with great danger rid himselfe, being taken for a Turke, and by blind & troublesome
wayes, through rocks and forests, arriued at length at Erzirum, a strong city of the Turks, then
vpon the frontiers of the Turks dominions toward the Georgians. This iourney of *Alexan-*
ders was not kept so secret, but that it was vented at Constantinople by a spie, who vnder the
C color of friendship, haunting the Venetian embassadors house at Pera, had got certain know-
ledge of the going of *Alexander* into Persia. Whereupon certaine courrors were sent out with
all speed to beset the three straight passages into Persia, whereby it was supposed he must of
necessitie passe, with certain notes also of the fauor of the man, of his stature, and other markes,
whereby he was best to be knowne. But he in so dangerous a country doubting all things, and
fearing such a matter, leauing his company behind him, with incredible celeritie posted from
Erzirum to Tauris, and was a great way gone before the Turks currors came into those quar-
ters: who yet hearing of him, followed after as far as they durst, but could not ouertake him.
Alexander comming to Tauris, vnderstood that the court lay at Casbin, about twelue dayes
iourney farther vp into the countrey; comming thither, the fourteenth of August of this yere
D 1571, he chanced to meet with certaine English merchants, with whom he had before beene
acquainted: by whose help he not onely got to speake with *Ayder Tamas* the kings third son,
but learned of them also the manners and fashions of the Persian court, and how to beare him-
selfe therein. The Persians by reason of the intollerable heat do most of their businesse at that
time of the yeare by night. Wherefore *Alexander* about midnight brought in to *Aider*, declared vnto him the cause of his comming: and the next night admitted vnto the speech of his aged father, deliuered his letters of credence, and in the name of the Senat declared vnto him, with what perfidious dealing *Selymus* the Turkish Emperour was about to take away Cyprus from the Venetians, with what greedinesse and pride he had set vpon the Christians, and that discharged of that war, he would of all likelyhood set vpon the Persians; hauing the selfesame
E quarrell vnto the Persians that he had vnto the Venetians, that is, an ardent and insatiable de-
sire of soueraignetie: a sufficient cause for the greedie Turke to repute euery King the richer
that he was, the more his enemie. After that, setting forth to the full the prowesse of the Chri-
stians, the wonderfull preparation they had made both at sea and land, he perswaded the King
with all his powet to inuade the Turke, now altogether busied in the wars of Cyprus; and to
recouer again such parts of his kingdom as *Solyman* the father of *Selymus* had taken from him.
Warres he said were more happily managed abroad than at home: that sithence he alone (the
Christian princes all then at quiet) had withstood the Turks whole force and power, he nee-
ded not now to doubt of his most prosperous successe, the Christian princes now ioining with
him. That he was much vnmindful of his former losses & wrongs, if he thought he inioyed an
F assured peace; which he should find to be nothing els but a deferring of war vnto more cruell
times: and that the Turke if he should ouerrun Cyprus, would forthwith turne his victorious
armes vpon him: The end of one warre was (as hee said) but the beginning of another: and
that the Turkish Empire could neuer stay in one state: and that hee would obserue not the
Turkes wordes, but his deeds; and how that the *Othoman* Emperours according to the oppor-

Alexander the Venetian Embassadour hath audience with the Persian king.

tunitie

...ie of the times, vſed by turnes, ſometime force, ſometime deceit, as beſt ſerued their pur- G
...poſes: That no princes had at all times by diſſembled peace and vncertaine leagues more de-
...ceiued ſome, vntill they had oppreſſed others. He wiſhed alſo, that at length this his cunning
...dealing might appeare vnto the world: and that Princes would thinke, that being combined
...together, they might more eaſily ouercome the Turk, than being ſeperated, defend their own:
That in former times ſometime will, ſometime occaſion, was wanting to them to vnite their
forces: That therefore they ſhould now combine themſelues for their common good againſt
the common enemy: That it concerned no leſſe the Perſians than the Chriſtians, to haue the
power of the Turke limited: and that this taking vp of arms, ſhould be for the good of the Per-
ſian king howſoeuer things ſhould fall out; if well, he ſhould then recouer what he had before
loſt, with much more that was the Turks: if otherwiſe, yet by voluntarie entring into arms to H
countenance himſelfe, and to giue the Turks occaſion to thinke that he feared him not: which
was (as he ſaid) the onely way to preſerue their common ſafety, which would be vnto all the
confederat princes eaſie enough, if they themſelues made it not more difficult than it were
of the enemy. The ſpeech of the embaſſador was willingly heard: wherunto the King anſwe-
red, That he would conſider therupon what he had to do: and in the mean while, a faire houſe
was appointed for the embaſſador and his followers, & bountiful allowance appointed of the
kings charge. He was alſo many times ſumptuouſly feaſted by the noblemen, whom he ſtil re-
queſted to be mediators to the king, to take that honorable war in hand. The king had at that
time a ſon called *Iſmael*, a man of a great ſpirit, whom he then kept in durance, for that he with I
too much inſolencie made roads into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, to the diſturbance
of the league his father had before made with the late Turkiſh Emperour *Solyman*: vnto him
Alexander hauing acceſſe, was of him courteouſly heard; who fretting & languiſhing for verie
griefe of reuenge vpon the Turks, wiſhed, that either the king his father had his mind, or hee
himſelfe the power of a king: and ſaid, That if euer it were his good fortune to obtaine the
kingdome, he would indeed ſhew what he then ſtood and thought. But of him more ſhal be ſaid
hereafter. Whileſt this matter went more ſlowly forward in the Perſian court than the Em-
baſſador would haue had it, newes was brought vnto the court, of the great victory which the
Chriſtians had much about that time obtained of the Turks at ſea: vpon which occaſion the
embaſſador ſolicited *Tamas* more earneſtly than before, to make himſelf partaker of the victo- K
rie of the Chriſtians, by entring into confederation with them, & by taking vp of arms, rather
than to hold vncertain friendſhip with the Turks in their miſeries, by whom he had bin ſo of-
ten wronged. This he ſaid was the only time for the Perſian king to recouer his former glory,
the like offer wherof would neither often chance, neither long ſtay: & that if he ſuffered ſo fit
an oportunitie to ſlip away, he ſhould afterwards in vaine wiſh for the ſame, when it were too
late. This ſo wholeſome counſell was well heard, but preuailed nothing to ſtirre vp the aged
king: who then troubled with rebellion in Media, or weary of the former warres he had had
The anſwere of Tamas the Perſian king vnto the Venetian Embaſſadour. with the Turke, & glad of ſuch peace as he had then with him; anſwered the embaſſador, That
foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Princes had made a perpetuall league amongſt themſelues, hee
would for two yeares expect the euent, and afterward as occaſion ſerued, ſo to reſolue vpon L
peace and war. This improuident reſolution of the king, brought afterward vnprofitable and
too late repentance vnto the whole Perſian kingdome; when as within a few yeares after, all
the calamities which the Senat had by their embaſſadour (as true prophets) foretold, redoun-
ded vnto the great ſhaking thereof. For the Cyprian war once ended, & peace concluded with
the Venetians, *Amurath* the ſonne of *Selymus*, ſucceeding his father in the Turkiſh Empire,
inuading the Perſian king, tooke from him the great countrey of Media, now called Siluan,
with a great part of Armenia the Great, and the regall citie of Tauris, as ſhall be hereafter in
due place declared. At which time the Perſian, who now refuſed to take vp armes, or ioyne in
league with the Chriſtian princes, repented that he had not before hearkened vnto the whol-
ſome counſell of the Venetians: and taught by his owne harmes, wiſhed in vain, that the Chri-
ſtian Princes would againe take vp armes and ioyne with him againſt the Turke.

Muſtapha Baſſa returneth to the ſiege of Famaguſta. *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa and Generall of the Turks armie, furniſhed of all things that could M
bee deſired for maintenance of his ſiege; and ſouldiers in great number dayly repairing vn-
to him out of Cilicia, Syria, the Leſſer Aſia, and the countries thereabout, beſide great
ſupplies brought vnto him by *Haly Baſſa* from Conſtantinople; inſomuch, that it was
thought

A thought he had in his army two hundred thouſand men: began now that Winter was paſt, in the latter end of Aprill, to draw neerer vnto Famaguſta, and with incredible labour to caſt vp trenches and mounts againſt the city, of ſuch height, that the defendants from the higheſt places of the citie could ſcarcely ſee the points of the Turks ſpeares, or tops of their tents, as they lay incamped: which was no great matter for the Baſſa to performe, hauing in his campe fortie thouſand pioners alwaies ready at his command.

The deſcription of Famagoſta. The citie of Famaguſta is ſcituat in the Eaſt end of the Iſland, in a plain and low ground be-
twixt two promontories, the one called S. *Andrews* head, and the other the head of Græcia. It
is in circuit two miles, and in forme foure ſquare; but that the ſide toward the Eaſt, longer and
B more winding than the reſt, doth much deforme the exact figure of a quadrant: it is almoſt on
two parts beaten vpon with the ſea, the other parts toward the land are defended with a ditch
not aboue fifteen foot broad, a ſtone wall, and certaine bulwarks and parapets. Vpon the gate
that leadeth to Amathus ſtandeth a ſix cornered tower: other towers ſtand out alſo in the wal,
euery of them ſcarce able to containe ſix pieces of artillerie. It hath a hauen opening toward
the Southeaſt, defended from the iniurie of the weather by two great rockes, betwixt which
the ſea commeth in by a narrow paſſage about fortie paces ouer, but after opening wider gi-
ueth a conuenient harbor to ſhips, whereof it cannot containe any great number, and was now
ſhut vp with a ſtrong chaine. Neere vnto the hauen ſtandeth an old caſtle with foure towers,
after the antient manner of building. There was in the citie one ſtrong bulwarke, built after the
C manner of the fortification of our time, with paliſadoes, curtaines, caſemets, and ſuch like, in
ſuch manner, as that it ſeemed almoſt impregnable. All which, although they made ſhew of a
ſtrong and well fortified citie, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought too weak
long to hold out againſt the great power of the Turke: but what wanted by reaſon of the ſci-
tuation and weake fortification, that the Gouernor and other noble captaines ſupplied in beſt
ſort they might, with a ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſouldiers, the ſureſt defence of ſtrong
places. There was in the citie two thouſand and fiue hundred Italians, two hundred Albanois *The number of the defendants of Famagoſta.*
horſemen, before entertained by the Gouernor; and of the Cypriots themſelues were muſte-
red two thouſand and fiue hundred moe, all men reſolutely ſet downe to ſpend their liues in
defence of their countrey.

Muſtapha with wonderfull celeritie hauing brought to perfection his fortifications, planted
D his batterie of 64 great pieces; amongſt which were foure great baſiliskes of exceeding big-
neſſe, wherewith he continually without intermiſſion battered the wals of the city in fiue pla-
ces, but eſpecially that part of the wall that was between the hauen and the gate that leadeth
to Amathus. And with great morter pieces caſt vp huge ſtones, which from high falling into
the city, with their weight brake down the houſes they light vpon, & fell oftentimes through
their vaults, euen in the bottom of their ſellars, to the great terror of the beſieged. The wals in *Famagoſta aſſaulted & notably defended by the Chriſtians.*
diuers places ſore ſhaken, and the houſes beaten down, he began to aſſault the city: which the
detendants (their forces yet whole) valiantly repulſed, and not only defended their wals and
draue the Turks from the breaches, but furiouſly ſallied out vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and
wounded many, wonderfully diſturbed their fortifications, & abated their courage: neither did
E the enemy with greater fury maintaine the battery or aſſault, than did the Chriſtians the de-
fence of the city, ſtil ſending their deadly ſhot into the thickeſt of that great multitude; inſo-
much that in few daies the Baſſa had loſt 30000 of his men: and the captains themſelues won-
dering at the valour of the defendants, as if they had not now to doe with ſuch Chriſtians as
they had before ſo oftentimes ouerthrown, but with ſome other ſtrange people, began to de-
ſpaire of the winning of the city. The Turks thus doubting, and almoſt at a ſtand, the Chriſti-
ans in the mean time made vp their breaches with earth, baskets, wool ſacks, and ſuch like, not
ſparing their very beds and bedclothes, cheſts, carpets, & what ſoeuer els might ſerue to fill vp
the breach. Among many wants they feared, the greateſt was the want of pouder, which with
continuall ſhooting began greatly to be diminiſhed: wherefore to reſerue ſome part thereof
F againſt al extremities, they thought it beſt whilſt yet ſome ſtore was left, to vſe the ſame more
ſparingly, and to ſhoot more ſeldome. But the Turks ſtill drawing neerer and neerer the city,
and caſting vp mounts higher than the wals of the city, with earth & fagots filled vp the ditch: *Famagoſta againe aſſaulted by the Turkes.*
which done, they of the broken ſtones made wals on either ſide, to ſaue themſelues from the
flankering ſhot of the Chriſtians, then giuing a freſh aſſault, they vſed not only their ſhot and

other

...missiue weapons, but came foot to foot, and notably fought in the breach hand to hand. C
...manner of fight (as if it had been so agreed vpon) they euery day maintained for the
...six houres. And although the Turks by reason of their multitude were diuided into
...parts, and fresh men still succeeded them that were wearie; yet such was the courage of
...dants, that euery man requested to haue the places of most danger, and from thence
...ious hand repulsed the Turks with exceeding great slaughter. But for all that, the
...maintaining the assault, not only by day, but by often alarmes in the night also,
...kept the Chri... ...inually in doubtfull suspence and readinesse, as if they should haue re-
ceiued a present a...: and as soone as it was day, with fresh men that had slept their fill, des-
perately assailed the Christians almost spent and maigre for lacke of sleepe and rest. Force not
preuailing, the restlesse enemie leauing nothing vnattempted, by a queint deuise was like to H
haue taken one of the gates of the citie: there was growing in the Island great plentie of a kind
of wood much of the nature of the Firre or pitch tree, easie to be set on fire, but hard to be
quenched, but differing in this, that in burning it gaue forth such a noysome smell, as is not
by any man well to be indured: of this kind of wood the Turks brought a wonderful quantity
to one of the gates called Limosina, which once set on fire, could not by the defendants by any
means be quenched, although they cast whole pipes and tuns of water at once into it, but most
terribly burning close vnto the gate by the space of foure daies, with the vehemencie of the
heat and loathsomnesse of the smell, so troubled the defendants, that scarce any of them could
indure to stand vpon the wall, but forsaking the same, were euer and anon like to haue giuen I
the enemie leaue to enter.

Bragadinus encourageth the defend...

Bragadinus the Gouernor, more carefull of the common safety than of his own danger, ceased not still to be going about from one place to another; telling the Italians, That now was giuen the fittest occasion they could desire, for them to shew their valor in, & to gaine great honor of their barbarous enemies: that it would be to their eternall glory, if by their only means without any other help, the city so far off from ... reliefe of the Christians might be defended, and the great power of the Turks defeated: this (he said) was the onely time wherein it stood them most vpon to play the men; for if they could keep that little was left, the rest of the Island would be easily recouered: and although the Turks armie exceeded far in number, yet did they ex... ell them in prowesse and valor; whereby a few, and as it were but an handfull of K
men, had oftentimes preuailed against most infinit multitudes: now all the eyes of the world, as well friends as foes to be fixed vpon them, so that if they held out against so great a power, both their enemies would admire their valour, and all Christendome extoll their inuincible courage and prowesse; and that they themselues should thereby reape both great profit & honour: neither that any thing could be alledged, why they should not be compared with the worthy knights of Malta, who to their eternal fame had deliuered themselues out of the mouth of the Turke, & left vnto the world a most faire example for men valiantly to stand in so good a quarrell vpon their owne defence: Nicosia (he said) was lost rather by the cowardise of the defendants, than by the valour of the enemie. He also praised the fidelitie and courage of the Græcians, who for any feare or danger could neuer be remoued from the Venetians, or induced to submit themselues vnto the Turks gouernment: and persuaded them, with the same resolution to defend their owne city, that they saw in the Venetian souldiers, fighting for them, and for their owne honour to striue with the Italians, in defence of their State, their countrie, their wiues, and children, against the tyrannie of the Turks; forasmuch as aid would in short time come, and set them free from all danger. The Senat also in like manner had sent letters to Famagusta, willing them to be of good cheere, and yet a while to hold out the siege, and that they should be in short time relieued. *Baleonius* also Generall of the garrison souldiers, himselfe in armes was present at euery skirmish, carefully foreseeing what was in euery place and at all times to bee done; and by incouraging of his souldiers, and aduenturing of his person, shewed himselfe to be both a worthie commander, & valiant souldier. Neither did the soldiers alone, but euen the women also what they might, striuing aboue the power of the strength M
both of the minds and bodies; some bringing meat, some ... weapons vnto the defendants, and others stones, beds, chests, & such like stuffe to make vp the breaches. But victuals beginning now to wax scant, 8000 of the vulgar sort of people were turned out of the citie, who all in safetie were suffred to passe thorow the midst of the Turks army, to seeke their liuing in the country.

Baleonius a valiant captaine.

Thus

A Thus whilest open force preuailed not according to the Turkes desire, they began in foure places to vndermine the citie, in hope to haue found entrance: but the defendants doubting such a matter, by diligent listening, and great vessels set full of water neere vnto the walls, and drums laid vpon the ground, by the mouing thereof discouered their workes, and with counter mines frustrated those of the enemy: yet in so great a stir and hurly-burly all things were not possibly to be discouered; wherby it came to passe, that whilest the defendants were altogether busied in defending the walls, a mine not perceiued was suddenly blowne vp ... ere vnto the tower standing vpon the hauen; by force whereof a great part of the wall thereabout was in a moment with a most horrible noise ouerthrowne. With the fall thereof the Turkes thinking the city as good as taken, with an horrible shout and outcrie mounted the wall, and in
B the breach set vp their ensignes; Countie *Peter*, who had the charge of that part of the wall, being not now able to defend the same, so suddenly ouerthrowne: which *Nestor Martinengus* quickly perceiuing, came speedily from his owne station, to repulse the enemy now readie to haue entred. The fight became there most fierce and terrible, on the one side hope, on the other desperation, enraged their minds: the Turks were in hope, that if they forced themselues but a little they should forthwith win the city; and the defendants propounding nothing vnto themselues but shamefull death and torture, fought as men altogether desperat. The Turkes trusted to their multitude, and the Christians to their valour: In the meane time, *Andreas Bragadinus* with certain great pieces aptly placed, out of the castle slew a number of the Turkes as they were comming to the breach. *Baleonius* hearing of the danger, came in haste with a com-
C panie of couragious soldiers, to relieue them that were fighting at the breach, and cheering vp his followers, thrust himselfe with the formost into the face of the breach; and there not only appointed what was to be done, and with cheerefull countenance encouraged his soldiers, but with his owne hand hauing slaine many, tooke one of the Turks ensignes, when as he had before slaine the bearer thereof, and tumbled him headlong into the ditch. With the sight wherof others incouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable battell, ... men fighting for their last hope. In fine the Turkes were glad to retire, leauing behind them foure thousand carkases of their slaine fellowes in the towne ditch, with fourteene of their ensignes, which were brought into the city. Neither was this victorie gained without some losse of the Christians; about a hundred were slaine, among whom were *Robertus Maluetius*, *Dauid*
D *Nocius*, *Celsus Feto*, *Erasmus Firmo*, all captaines.

The Turkes seeke to vndermine the citie.

The breach is notably defended.

For all this, they in the citie tooke small rest, the Turks great shot still thundring in amongst them; and that in such furious sort, as that in one day (which was the eight of Iune) were numbered about fiue thousand great shot, shot into the citie. With which continuall batterie, one of the round bulwarkes of the towne was so shaken, as that a part of the front thereof was fallen downe into the ditch, and another part stood leaning readie to fall, in such sort as that it was not longer to be defended: which the Christians perceiuing, presently vndermined the same bulwarke, and in the mine placed certain barrels of gunpouder. The Turks comming to assault the place they had so sore battered, the defendants after some small resistance, feigned themselues to retire for feare, so to draw the enemie the faster on; who was no sooner come to the
E place desired, but that fire being put to the mine, blew vp the bulwark with all them that stood thereon; of whom some were ouerwhelmed with the earth it selfe, other some were blowne vp into the aire, and falling downe againe, miserably perished; and other some, shot as it were out of a gun, fell downe a great way off, and so were rent in pieces: which was vnto the defendants a most pleasant sight. About six hundred of the Turkes perished at this assault, amongst whom were *Mustapha* Generall of the voluntarie soldiers, and *Feregates* a man of great marke amongst the Turkes. But by the hastie firing of the mine, there perished also about an hundred of the Christians, ouertaken in their owne deuice, amongst whom were also some of great account.

They of Famagusta blow vp one of their owne battered bulwarks, with six hundred Turkes thereon.

The Turks inflamed with their losses, were more inraged with the speeches and persuasions
F of *Mustapha* their Generall; who most earnestly exhorted them, with one consent to assaile their enemies, now driuen into a corner of the Island, spoiled of all their country, trusting more vnto the strength of the place, than of themselues, entreating for nothing more, than with their liues to depart thence. But what place (said he) is there impregnable for the Turks? Nicosia, Zigeth, and such other strong Townes woon, what are they but the monuments and testimonies

rise of the cowardise of the Christians, and the prowesse of the Turks? This day (said he) will C
confirme your former labors and victories; which you before vndertooke for honor, but here
you haue honor mixt with gold, and prey sufficient to make you all rich. The Turks en-
couraged with this speech of their General, as men forgetful of al dangers, began a more terri-
ble than euer before; & hauing with incredible labor made three great mines, & blowing
them vp, ouerthrew a great part with the wall of the castle, the notable defence of the hauen:
whilst time, they with all their force oftentimes assailed the city, as if it should haue bin their
last labor; neither ceased they so to do night or day. At which time also that part of the city
which is beaten vpon with the sea, was assaulted by them in the gallies also.

Famagusta hardly assaulted.

The poore Christians spent with deadly wounds, continual labor, perpetual watching both H
night and day, and now brought to smal number, hardly withstood the furious enemy, assailing
them in so many places at once, and held out that tempest rather with courage than strength. In
the meane time the enemies armie increased daily, the Turks in hope of the like fr[illegible] they
had at Nicosia, continually repairing out of the countries round about, vnto the can[illegible] The
Christian captaines seeing their men with continuall assaults sore spent, (insomuch, that how
many soeuer they seemed to be, there was not aboue three hundred sound men left) but seuen
barrels of pouder remaining, want of all things daily increasing, hope of aid still decreasing, and
the Venetians (their onely comfort) so far from them; the captaines (I say) themselues began
to quaile in courage: and the rather, for that such reliefe as was sent from Venice, could not
possibly be brought vnto them, but staied at Crete; the Turks gallies still lying before Fama- I
gusta, so that nothing could in safetie be brought thither. This feare of the captaines them-
selues could not long be hid or dissembled, but that it was by the citizens perceiued: who ha-
uing neither power to hold out the siege, neither place left to flie vnto, ouercome with necessi-
tie, came flocking to the Gouernour, crauing of him aid and comfort, and with aboundance of
teares besought him in this common desperation to take compassion on them, their wiues, and
children, a people that had alwaies so well deserued of the Venetian State. Their walls (they
said) were beaten downe, their bulwarks ouerthrowne, the few souldiers that remained, spent
with wounds, watching, and famine; the enemies strength increasing daily, so that they must
needs in short time all perish with the sword, if the citie were by force taken: wherefore they
besought him, that yeelding to necessity, which no power was euer able to withstand, he would K
at last, while time yet serued, prouide for the safetie of so faithfull and kinde a people, and not
to refuse any conditions, how hard soeuer.

The citizens of Famagusta require the gouernour in time to yeeld vp the citie.

The requests and teares of the citizens of Famagusta, with the due consideration of the de-
sperat state of the citie, moued *Bragadinus* to compassion; who comforting them in best sort
he could, perswaded them to be of good cheere, for that he had care both of them & their state,
& would so prouide for them, as that they should neuer repent themselues of their fidelity and
loialty to the Venetian State. He in the meane time considering the greatnesse of the danger
which presently hung ouer all their heads, propounded the matter in a generall counsell called
together for the same purpose: wherein after a little debating of the matter, they all agreed to
yeeld: only *Baleonius* at the first dissenting, as doubtfull of the Turkes faith; but afterwards L
yeelding vnto the opinion of the rest. So an herauld being sent vnto the Bassa, a truce was taken
for certain days to parley in, and hostages on both sides giuen, during which time not so much
as a dart was throwne, or an arrow shot from either side. After a few days parley the conditi-
ons were agreed vpon, whereupon the city should be yeelded into the power of the Bassa,
which were these: First, That the inhabitants of the city yet aliue, should in safetie enioy their
liues, libertie, and goods, with the free exercise of the Christian religion: That the Gouernor
with the rest of the captains and soldiers might in safetie depart with bag and baggage, and
their departure to take with them fiue great pieces of ordnance, and three horses, which soeuer
it should please them to make choice of, and that the Turkes should safely conduct them into
Crete, finding them both victual and shipping. All which things were with more kindnes pro-
mised, than with fidelitie performed. Yet all these matters agreed vpon, and conceiued into M
writing, as also by solemne oath on both sides confirmed; the Gouernour sending a messen-
ger before, requested that he might haue leaue to come to see the Bassa, and to deliuer vnto
him the keyes of the citie. Leaue being granted, *Bragadinus* the Gouernour, *Baleonius*, *An-
dreas Bragadinus*, *Laurentius Theupolus* Earle of Paphos, *Io. Antonius Quirinus*, *Aloysius Mar-
tinengus*,

A parley betwixt them of Famagusta and the Turker.

A *tinengus* with a great sort of other captaines came into the campe: but before they entred into
the Bassa's pauilion, they were commanded to deliuer their weapons, which they all did. At
the first meeting *Mustapha* entertained them courteously, and with many glorious words, as if
it had been in admiration, extolled their worthie valor and courage: saying, That he was glad
now to know them by face, whose valiant minds he had before knowne by their most valiant
deeds. Now prowesse and valour seemed not only in safetie, but also honored of the enemie:
when after a long discourse the false Bassa reuolued vnto the mischiefe and treacherie he had
before resolued vpon; complaining that certaine of his men taken at the siege, had been after-
ward against all reason and order slaine. Which the gouernor and the rest vtterly denying, he
start vp as in a rage, and with high words and sterne countenance vrging the fact, commanded
B them all to be forthwith cast in bonds; and so bringing them out of his pauilion, in the sight
of the army, contrary to his oath and promise, caused them all to be slain. At which time *Bra-
gadinus* & *Theupolus* were oftentimes commanded to lay down their heads, to haue had them
strucke off: yet was their execution deferred, and their liues reserued, not to saue them, but
with more exquisit punishment and torture to satisfie the barbarous cruelty of the faithles and
vnmerciful tirant. The next day after, *Bragadinus* hauing his ears before cut off in despight, was
brought forth to be wondred at, and tortured with the most extremest kind of torture that ty-
rannie it selfe could haue deuised: for dispoiled of his jewels and attire, and a basket laid vpon
his shoulders filled with earth, he was inforced oftentimes to cary the same, to repaire the ram-
piers that were ouerthrowne; and euer as he passed by, the proud Bassa insulting vpon him to
C fall downe and to kisse the ground at his feet: and so buffetted with the Turks fists, and spurned
as a dog with their feet, was in great derision & despight asked, Whether he hoped that Christ
his God would come to help him or not? Which indignitie of it selfe bitter & miserable, the
dignitie of the man made much more miserable: whose comely and stately countenance, with
his long and reuerend beard, euen in that extreame miserie added vnto him a certaine majestie
and grace. In this so foule a sight of vertue troden vnder foot, the poore Christians could nei-
ther wel stay their tears, nor let them fall, for feare of the displeasure of the Turks. But the for-
sworne Bassa, not only forgetfull of all humanity, but inraged rather with extreme cruelty, cau-
sed that noble and worthie *Bragadinus* to be set in a chaire, & his skin to be flaine off from him
quicke: a punishment vnworthie of him that suffered it, but most worthie him that inflicted the
D same. Yet in so great & horrible a torture he was not heard to let fall any word not beseeming
a faithfull Christian and the honor of his country: only he called vpon God for mercie, & de-
tested the Turks perfideous trecherie, and so breathed out his life. But the tirant, worthy eter-
nal infamie, not satisfied with the torture of the liuing man, caused the head to be cut off from
the dead bodie, and vpon the point of a speare to be set vp on a high place for all men to looke
vpon. His skin also stuffed with chaffe, he caused to be hanged vp at the yards arme, and so to be
carried about; not so true a trophy of his victory, as a testimonie of his perfideous and Turkish
cruelty. Two dayes after, Countie *Theupolus* after he had bin most shamefully intreated, full of
the marks of the Turks cruelrie, was (to make an end withall) shamefully hanged in the market
E place. With what cruelty the Bassa had tyrannised vpon the nobility, with the same he also ra-
ged vpon the meaner sort of the citizens, of whom some he slew, some he chained in the gallies,
& carried away the rest into bondage. Three hundred Christians, some soldiers, some citizens,
which came forth with the gouernour to see the Turks campe, were there also all slaine. *Nestor
Martinengus* a famous captaine escaped the tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the Bassa's
Eunuchs, who by the helpe of a Greeke fisherman got to Leptis, and from thence to Crete, and
so afterwards to Venice, where he faithfully reported to *Aloysius Mocenicus* the duke, the whole
processe of that war, with the losse of the city; and that in the space of threescore and ten days
there was aboue a hundred and forty thousand great shot discharged against the city. Such no-
blemen and gentlemen as escaped out of this so general a slaughter, banished their country, and
in miserie, dispersed without hope of returne, led afterward a miserable & vagrant life, though
F some of them euen at this day (as I haue bin credibly informed) are by the Venetian State right
well maintained. The countrey people and artificers were generally by the Turkes spared, for
the peopling of the Countrie. This was the fatall ruine of Cyprus, one of the most fruitfull
and beautifull Islands of the Mediterranian: the losse whereof, not without cause, grieued ma-
nie Christian princes, as sometime a kingdome of it selfe, but now a prouince of the Turkish
Empire:

The forsworne Bassa tyrannizeth vpon the dead bodie of Bragadinus.

Theupolus hanged.

Nestor Martinengus by good fortune escapeth.

Cyprus lost.

re: our sinnes, or the euill agreement of Christian Princes, or both; the cause thereof, G
w not; neither if I did, durst I so say.

hileſt *Muſtapha* yet lay at the ſiege of Famagusta, the other two great Baſſa's, *Partaw* and
he, one the Admirall, and the other Generall of the ſouldiers (appointed by *Selymus* for
ing of the ſea, that no reliefe ſhould be ſent by the Venetians to Famagusta; and further
as o ſerued to infeſt their dominions) about the midſt of May arriued in Eubœa with
two hu and thirtie gallies; whither *Vluzales* Viceroy of Algiers, with diuers other the
Turks not rts, reſorted vnto them with their gallies. With this fleet departing from
Eubœa, and ſai ngſt the coaſt of Myſia, Ionia, Caria, and ſo directly toward the Rhodes,
they were met wi thirtie gallies moe of the Turks aduenturers. After that, hauing left cer-
tain galies for to lie before Famagusta, they directed their courſe for the Iſland of Crete, & the H
13 of Iune put into the bay of Amphimalea, now called Suda, and there landed 12000 men.

The Turke arriue in Crete with a great fleet.

The deſcription of Crete.

The Iſland of Crete, now called Candia, is greater than Cyprus, but leſſer than ia or
Sardinia: but for fertilitie comparable with any of the Iſlands of the Mediterranian. s in
antient time famous for many things, but eſpecially for an hundred cities which therein ſtood,
as witneſſeth amongſt others, *Seneca: (Vrbibus centum ſpecioſa Creta)* but at this time it hath
only three; Candia a Colonie of the Venetians, whereof the Iſland now taketh name, Canea,
and Rhetimo. The circuit of the Iſland is fiue hundred & twenty miles, full of hils; for which
cauſe the people of the countrey are much delighted in hunting. In it is no nauigable riuer, or
venomous beaſt. It is now moſt famous thorow a great part of the world, for the good Malm-
ſey which there groweth, and is from thence in great abundance ſent into many far countries. I
Therin alſo growes great plentie of Cypreſſe trees, ſeruing for the vſe of ſhipping. It is at this
day ſubiect to the Venetians. The Turks being landed, and ranging vp and down the country,
did what harme they poſſibly c , burning and ſpoiling all as they went; vntill that at laſt
they were vpon the ſudden en ed by *Franciſcus Iuſtinianus*, who but a little before their
landing was come into the Iſland wit diers; and now joining with the Iſland
people, notably charged them, being a gether diſperſed and ſeeking after prey; and hauing
ſlaine many of them, inforced the reſt to retire to their gallies. The next day the Turkes lan-
ding againe in great number, burnt diuers townes, and ranſacked Setia and Rhetimo, where
they tooke a rich prey, and carried away many priſoners: but loded with their bootie, diſper-
ſed and fearing nothing leſſe than to beat that time ſet vpon, they were aſſailed by *Lucas Mi-* K
chael a valiant captaine, two thouſand of them ſlaine, and with the loſſe of their bootie and
priſoners, glad to retire vnto their gallies. Thus repulſed from Crete, they tooke their courſe
to Cythera, Zacynthus, and Cephalenia, Iſlands ſubiect to the Venetians: where beſide other
harmes by them done, they carried away with them ſix thouſand poore Chriſtians into moſt
miſerable captiuitie.

The Turkes driuen out of Crete

Departing thence, and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Epirus, they came to Suppolo an hauen
towne in Epirus, which *Venerius* in the beginning of theſe wars had taken from the Turks, but
was now againe by them recouered. After that, they came to Dulcigno, which the Turks had
but a little before beſieged by land, for that the Gouernour thereof, and of Antiuari (another
towne of the Venetians vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia) had compacted with three hundred L
Epirots, to ſtirre vp the countrey to rebellion, and to reuolt to the Venetians: for the effecting
whereof, the Epirots requeſted of the Venetians ſix thouſand ſoldiers to make head, which the
Venetians promiſed to ſend them. Whereupon the aforeſaid Epirots forthwith tooke arms,
and raiſed moſt part of Epirus into rebellion: vnto whom was ſent at the firſt one captain with
an hundred Italians from Catora. But when the Epirots vainly expecting the promiſed aid, ſaw
themſelues on euery ſide hardly beſet with their enemies; deſpairing of any good ſucceſſe,
they yeelded themſelues to the mercie of *Achmetes Baſſa*, *Selymus* his great lieutenant in Græ-
cia (who to repreſſe that ſo dangerous a rebellion, was come thither with an armie of foure-
ſcore thouſand Turks:) ſo was a moſt faire occaſion loſt, whenas the reſt of the Epirots, infla-
med with the hope of libertie, were readie to haue come vnto their friends, alreadie in armes, M
and by their example like enough to haue raiſed all Græcia into rebellion. But now deceiued
of their expectation, bewailed their miſery, and truſting t the promiſes of the Venetians, they
had caſt themſelues and all theirs into moſt manifeſt dan They of Dulcigno ſeeing them-
ſelues hardly beſet both by ſea and land, ſent to *Partaw Baſſa*, and couenanting with him, that
they

A faire occaſion loſt.

A they might in ſafetie depart, deliuered vnto him the towne: and ſo *Sara Martinengus* Gouer- *Dulcigno, Antiuari, & Budua, ſtrong townes of the Venetians vpon the coaſt of Epirus and Dalmatia, yeelded to the Turk.*
nor of the towne, with the garriſon ſouldiers, were in foure ſhips conueyed in ſafetie to Ragu-
ſium: as for the citiſens, promiſe was kept with them after the Turkiſh manner. In the ſame
hurley the Turks tooke alſo the townes of Antiuari and Budua. Antiuari was both by ſitua-
tion and fortification ſtrong, and furniſhed with a good garriſon: neuertheleſſe *Alexander Do-*
natus Gouernor thereof, a man of no experience in martial affaires, ouercome with the preſent
feare, and deſpairing to be able to hold the towne, cowardly yeelded the ſame vnto the enemie. Which his beaſtly cowardiſe the Senat ſuffered not vnpuniſhed, but confiſcating his *Cowardiſe puniſhed.*
goods, and remouing him from the Senat, caſt him into exile. From Antiuari, the Turks follo-
B wing their good fortune, departed with their fleet into the bay called Rizonicus, but now the
bay of Catharo, and both by ſea and land laid hard ſiege vnto the ſtrong towne of Catharo,
called in antient time Aſcriuium: againſt which they caſt vp two great bulwarks, and planted
thereon nine great pieces of artillerie, wherewith to haue battered the towne and the caſtle:
but the defendants as reſolute men ſallying out, put them from their ordnance, and inforced
them againe vnto their gallies.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Vluzales* and *Caracoza*, both men of great account and
name among the Turks, got leaue for ten dayes of the Admirall, with 60 gallies to ſpoile the
Iſlands neere thereabouts ſubiect to the Venetians. Who comming to the Iſland of Curzola,
about eightie miles Eaſtward from Raguſium, landed their men, with purpoſe to aſſault the
towne of Curzola, of the ſame name with the Iſland. Which *Anthonius Contarenus* the gouer-
C nor thereof perceiuing, in the dead time of the night fled for feare out of the towne, into the
rocks and places of more ſafetie, after whome the townesmen followed alſo: ſo that in the *Curzola forſaken by the men, is defended by women.*
towne were not left aboue 20 men, and about 80 women, who with weapons in their hands,
after the reſt were fled, came to the walls, as wiſhing rather there to die, than to fall into the
hands of the barbarous enemie. But at ſuch time as the Turks began to approch the town, and
the women with ſtones, fire, & ſuch weapons as they had were beating them off, & with grea-
ter courage defending the place, than was to haue bin in their ſex expected, by the goodnes of
God a great tempeſt aroſe ſuddenly out of the North, which ſo outragiouſly toſſed the gallies,
that *Vluzales* & *Caracoza* were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, & to get them thence into a place
of more ſafetie. Sailing alongſt the coaſt, they by the way ſpoiled Lyſna, Bracia, and Liſſa,
D little Iſlands vpon the coaſt of Dalmatia, out of which they carried away with them 1600
poore Chriſtians into captiuity. Theſe arch pirats at their pleaſure roaming vp & downe the
ſea, fortuned to light vpon a ſhip of the Chriſtians, bound from Meſſana to Corcyra; which
they tooke, and in rifling thereof found certaine letters directed to the gouernour of Corcyra, *Selymus aduertiſed of the league lately concluded betwixt the chriſtian Princes.*
certifying him of the league, then but lately concluded among the Chriſtian Princes: which
letters they ſent in poſt to *Selymus*, to giue him knowledge thereof: who thereupon writ to his
Admirals, with all hoſtilitie to infeſt any of the dominions of the Chriſtian confederats.

The Turks fleet thus raging and raigning in the Adriatique, brought a great feare not onely
vpon the coaſts of Dalmatia, Iſtria, and the Iſlands thereabouts, which were by them moſt af-
flicted; but alſo vpon the ſea coaſts of Apulia, and all alongſt that ſide of Italie; yea and vpon
E the citie of Venice it ſelfe: inſomuch that they were glad to fortifie as well the Citie as the
frontiers of their dominions, with new fortifications and garriſons; as did alſo the King and
the Pope in Italie: for why, no ſhip or gallie could now looke out of any port, but it was pre-
ſently ſurpriſed and taken by the Turks: which with the ſundrie calamities before receiued,
ſo confounded the Venetians, that they in their aſſemblies and conſultations ſeemed rather to
quake for feare, than after their wonted manner, grauely to conſult how the enemie was to be
repulſed. Yet for the more ſafetie of their citie, and for feare leſt the Turks fleet ſhould forci-
bly breake in vpon them, they ſtrongly fortified the paſſages through the rock or banke which
defendeth the city from the ſea, and kept continually twelue thouſand men in readineſſe in the
citie for the more aſſurance thereof.

F All the Turks fleet being againe met together, *Partaw* and *Haly* departed from Aulona the
26 of Auguſt, and ſailed directly to Corcyra: which little Iſland ſeemed to be compaſſed in
round with the great enemies fleet. *Partaw Baſſa* at his firſt arriuall there, landed 800 horſemen
and a thouſand foot, who ranging vp and downe the Iſland, did great hurt and burnt the verie
ſuburbs of the citie: at which time the garriſon ſoldiers ſallying out vpon them with a thou-
ſand

horsemen and fiue hundred foot slew a great number of them, and amongst the rest one *Rays* a man of great name. Thus the Turks fleet hauing done wonderfull harme in the territorie, as well in the Islands, as vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, inriched with the spoile of those countries, and carrying away with them fifteene thousand most miserable captiues, departing from Corcyra, arriued all in the bay of Corinth (now called the gulfe of Lepanto), where we will for a while leaue them to ride in safetie.

The Turks put into the bay of Lepanto.

The Forces of the confederat Princes meete together at Messana.

At the same time as this great fleet (the terrour of that part of Christendome) first put into the Adriatique, the Venetian Admirall then lying with fifty gallies at Corcyra, and fearing if he stayed any longer, to be inforced with so small a power to fight against so strong an Enemie, or els so to be shut vp, that he could not ioine his forces with the Spanish fleet, which was dayly expected; vpon the comming of the fleet departed thence to Messana, there more commodiously and more safely to attend the comming of *Don Iohn* of Austria General of the Spanish forces. At his comming, *Columnius* met him with twelue gallies (which the Great duke of Florence had sent in the aid of the Confederats) and three gallies of Malta, who onely were yet come thither, and with great honor receiued him. Not long after, *M. Antonius Quirinus* and *Antonius Canalis* came thither also with sixty and two gallies, before appointed by the Venetians for the reliefe of Famagusta, but now called backe againe to ioyne with the rest of the fleet: and in short time the gallies of Sicilie arriued there also. At last after long expectation, in the latter end of August came *Don Iohn* with the Spanish fleet, a man then about foure and twentie yeares old, in whom wanted no honorable parts, his mothers blemish only excepted: who although he was most deere vnto his father *Charles* the fifth, yet left he him nothing by his will, but only at his death commended him vnto his son *Philip*, as his brother. The Venetian and the Popes Admirals hearing of his comming, went to meet him, and that with such triumph and ioy, that all the former beaumes before conceiued of his long staying, was turned into gladnesse, with most assured hope of triumphant victory: their doubled forces, and two great fleets ioined in one, encouraged their enterprise, filling all the West with the expectation of some great matter. The Venetian fleet consisted of an hundred and eight gallies, six galleasses, two tall ships, and a great number of small galliots. Vnto them were ioined twelue gallies of the Popes, of whom *Columnius* was Admirall. And with *Don Iohn* the Generall, and *Auria* the Spanish Admirall, came fourescore and one gallies, of whom three were from the knights of Malta. In this fleet, beside mariners, were reckoned to be twenty thousand fighting men: an army not onely beautifull for shew, as consisting of most choice bodies; but indeed most strong and puissant, old beaten souldiers almost throughout it, in euery place intermixed with others of lesse skill: many knowne to be men of great experience, rich and lustie bodies, were by name called forth to this so honorable seruice; and diuers other of great nobilitie, as well old men, as young and lusty gallants, for the naturall hatred they beare vnto the common enemie, came, and as voluntary men cheerfully thrust themselues into that religious war: euery of which noblemen, as they were greater by birth or power, so had they drawne after them a greater number of their fauorits and followers, strong and able bodies, of their owne charge brauely armed; who fought for no other pay for their paines and danger, but by some norable victorie to eternise their names, or honorably to spend their liues in so iust a quarrell, as for the defence of the Christian faith and religion. Amongst these most honourable and resolute men were three of greatest marke, *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of Parma, in time to be the honor and glory of Italie his natiue country, whose vntimely death in the Low-countries euen his honorable enemies lamented; and being dead, is not without cause and worthy desert accounted amongst the most politique and famous leaders of our age. The second was *Franciscus Maria* Prince of Vrbin, a yong man honorably discended and of an inuincible courage: and the third *Paul. Iordanus Vrsinus*, an honorable gentleman of the familie of the *Vrsini* in Rome.

Don Iohn of Austria.

Alexander Farnesius Prince of Parma.

All the power of the confederat Princes thus met together at Messana, and all things now in readinesse, a counsel was called by the General, to resolue what course to take in those most dangerous wars against so puissant an enemy: vnto which counsel were admitted only *Don Iohn* the Generall himselfe, and *Aloysius Rechezenes*, of some called *Requisenius* great Commendor of Castile, the Generals Lieutenant, or rather director of his actions; *Sebastianus Venerius* the Venetian Admirall; and *Augustinus Barbadicus* Generall Proueditor, of equall authoritie and reputation with the Admirall; and one Secretarie: *Marius Anthonius Columnius* the Popes Admirall,

Admirall, with *Pompeius Colonna* his kinsman. The chiefe point whereon these great commanders were to resolue, was, Whether they should aduenture the generall fortune of a battell against so strong an enemy, or onely seeke to defend the frontiers of their owne dominions? Which question (as all other of like sort) was of diuers diuersly phantasied; euery man pleasing himselfe with his owne reasons. *Requisenius* (*Don Iohn* his chiefe counsellor, without whom he willingly did nothing, and vndoubtedly a man of great valor and experience) speaking first, said, That the enemies strength was necessarily to be knowne, before they committed all to the fortune of a battell: and that therfore delay was to be vsed, lest improuident hast ouerthrew all. Matters of war that were to be decided by the sword, were (as he said) with great & sound aduise to be administred, for that the errors of battel, whereby al was to be put in hazard, were not to be againe amended. He highly commended the aduise of *Scipio Africanus*, who counselled great commanders, not to fight with the enemie but vpon some great aduantage, or else thereunto forced by necessitie. But as things now stood, what opportunitie could be ministred, or aduantage taken; the enemie keeping himselfe close within the bay of Corinth, and no apparant means how to draw him out from thence? Neither that he for his part was of so great spirit, as within the harbor in place of disaduantage, without hope, to set vpon an enemy in common estimation stronger than himselfe: for what dishonour should they incurre, if hauing receiued some notable losse, they should be inforced with shame to giue ouer the enterprise begun? And to besiege Oricus, Dirrachium, or Castrum Novum, frontier townes of the Turks, so to draw them out to battell; what were this other than to shew a certaine feare and distrust in themselues, and to discourage the minds of the souldiers? for as well the enemy, as the common souldier, would forthwith deeme such a poore attempt to proceed of a meere feare, as to make a vain shew of something doing, when as they durst not incounter the enemy in his full strength. As for the other reason drawne from Necessitie: what necessitie had they, so desperatly to set vpon the enemie: who vpon the approch of Winter must needs in short time lay vp his gallies; and being already in safe harbor, would neuer be drawn to the hazard of a battell, especially like hope, like strength, and like danger appearing on both sides? Wherfore, it were best (in his opinion) only to make a great shew of their forces, so to terrifie the barbarous enemy: but in no case to hazard the hope of the whole Christian common-weale, vpon the fortune of a battell. He farther also propounded vnto them, the vncertaine euents of things, the common chance of war, the strength of the enemie, as wel by sea as by land; with whom they themselues were not (as he said) indeed comparable: then, what an infinit heap of miseries was like to ouerwhelme the Christian common-weale, if they should in any thing miscarrie: and that therefore, safe aduise was in this case to be preferred before that which was attended vpon with greater danger.

The Venetians vrge battell.

On the other side, the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to their State, were farre of another opinion. Wherefore *Venerius* and *Barbadicus* not onely vehemently persuaded, but most instantly requested the Generall & the rest of the great commanders, that so soone as opportunity serued, they would commit the matter to the trial of a battel, & not to make that counsell, which their couragious minds might make most glorious & fortunat, by declining of battell to become dishonourable or frustrat. If desire of honour (said they) moue vs not, shall neither these things moue vs? the losse of so great and chargeable a preparation, the spoiling of our frontiers, & the insolencie of our enemies, which we encrease by delay? We defend our selues and ours, we inuade not them: we go not about to driue the Turke out of his empire; but that we our selues be not by him driuen out of our owne countries. Wherefore we ought so much the more readily & speedily to thinke of battell, by how much the necessity of him is greater that repulseth a danger, than of him that offreth the same. What, are our weapons blunt, or our hands benummed? shall the Turkes so often prouoke vs, and we still be vnreuenged? shall we alwaies shew our weapons, & neuer fight? one fortunat battell is able to blot out the infamie of former time, and to fil vs with the hope of future happinesse: if nothing elfe, let the verie indignitie of the matter stirre vs vp to battell. And what doubt is there, but that the enemy swelling with pride, will come forth with his fleet, and giue vs battell? Thinke you that a small discredit will insue to our honour & reputation, if contented with a vain brag, hauing not once skirmished with the enemy, or so much as seene him, we shall return home, to the general shame of all Christendome? See how many pestilent inconueniences

...iences will enſue, if we ſhall take this courſe. This manner of proceeding will fill all mens
...ds with deſpaire: the people will murmure, That they are to no purpoſe oppreſſed with
...ctions and tributes: the confederat princes (carefull of this war) will ſay, that they haue in
vain wearied themſelues with often embaſſages and care therof: the proud enemy will de-
...ur departure, or declining of battel, for a manifeſt victory. The next yere we may look
for him again with a greater and a ſtronger fleet, which will not only make a more heauie war,
but doth ouerbeare downe all before it: at which time, who can aſſure vs that the Chriſti-
ans ſhall haue the like preparation, if we ſhall now delay to fight? What labour is to be taken,
what coſt to be beſtowed, to ſet forth again ſo great a fleet? Vnto theſe cauſes which impoſe
vpon vs a neceſſitie and force to fight, is adioined not onely a ſingular regard of our honor, but
a moſt notable opportunity alſo offered: we neuer had a greater fleet, nor better furniſhed with
men, munition, & all things elſe to be required for the gaining of a notable victory: and who
knoweth not, that the Chriſtian gallies are far ſtronger than the Turks? beſides that, the ...a-
teſt part of their beſt ſouldiers are in hope of prey gone into Cyprus, who there ſeeking after
the ſpoile, and forgetfull of the enemy, without controlment glut themſelues with the plea-
ſures of that rich Iſland; whereby their fleet is ſo much the weaker. All which things, as they
promiſe no hard victory, ſo do they propound vnto vs honor, glory, fame, and moſt honorable
rewards; and open vnto vs the way both for the defence of the preſent, and recouerie of that
hath been before loſt. What then ſtand we ſtill looking for? or why do we not in Gods name
ioyne that battell, which is vnto vs not onely neceſſary, but profitable alſo.

Thus much ſaid; they began to intreat and beſeech the Generall and the reſt, not longer to
ſuffer the Chriſtian common-weale to receiue loſſe vpon loſſe, but to repoſe their onely hope
in the good ſucceſſe of one worthy battel: and neuer to look for the like opportunity, if they
let ſlip the preſent. This matter of ſo great conſequence, thus throughly debated amongſt the
greateſt commanders, they thought to heare alſo the opinions of other notable cap-
taines, of no leſſe experience than ...he fleet) before they would conclude
any thing. Amongſt the reſt, *Anthonius Cornea*, and *Gabriel Serbellio*, both Spaniards, & for their
great wiſedome and valour had in generall reputation of all men; being demanded their opini-
ons; with moſt ſubſtantiall reaſons, declared the neceſſitie of giuing battell, and that it was not
ſo dangerous, as to be therefore ſhunned or delaied: forſomuch as that violent enemy was far
eaſier to be dealt withall at ſea than by land; where he muſt fight without his huge multitude
of men, the Turks chiefe hope, and only means wherby they haue obtained ſo many victories
againſt the Chriſtians. And ſo concluded their opinions, with an effectual perſuaſion to ſet for-
ward to Corcyra, and without delay as occaſion ſerued to giue the enemy battel. Which their
opinion being generally well liked, was ſhortly after by the Generall and the reſt approued, &
a reſolution ſet downe for the giuing of battell: which was no ſooner known, but there was a
general reioicing through the army, euery man cheerfully preparing himſelfe to lay down his
life in the publicke defence of the Chriſtian common-weale, and that with ſuch an earneſt de-
ſire of battell, that euery day ſeemed now nothing elſe, but a delay of a moſt aſſured victorie.

Yet before they ſhould come into the ſight of the enemy, the three Admirals thought it
good to bring forth the fleet into the ſea, and there to martiall the ſame, in ſuch ſort, as if they
ſhould euen then preſently haue ioyned battel: to the intent, that by ſuch orderly diſpoſing of
their fleet, & by appointing vnto euery man his place he was to keep, they might ſo acquaint
them with the order of the battell, as that they ſhould when time ſerued, of themſelues with-
out farther direction, martiall themſelues, and ſo more readily enter into battell. The next day
the Admirals brought forth their fleets into the open ſea: in the right wing (which conſiſted of
three and fifty gallies) was *Auria* placed: in the left wing was *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* with
the like number of gallies alſo: and in the middle battel ſtood the Generall with ſeuenty gal-
lies: on the right hand of the Generall ſtood *Columnius*, and on the left *Venerius*, his aſſociats.
Thus with equall front the fleet ſet forward, as if they ſhould euen preſently haue ioyned bat-
tell. Betwixt the wings and the middle battell, was left no more ſpace but for three gallies to
row: in the rereward behind the Generall, followed *Requiſenius*, the great Commendor of
Caſtile, with his gallies: after *Columnius* followed the ...mirall gallie of Genoa, wherin was
Alexander Farneſius prince of Parma: and behind *Venerius* came the Admirall gally of Sauoy,
and in her the Prince of Vrbin: in the ſpace betwixt the ...iddle battel and the left wing, was
placed

Cornea & Serbellio perſuade the giuing of battell.

The confederats put their fleet in order of battell.

placed *Paulus Iordanus*: and betwixt the middle battell and the right wing, was *Petrus Iuſtinianus* with the gallies of Malta: vpon the left wing attended *Anthonius Canalis*: and *Quirinus* on the right. About halfe a mile behind all the reſt, followed *Aluarus Bacianus* Marqueſſe of Sancrace, and Admirall of the Neapolitan fleet, with thirtie gallies; a man of great experience in matters at ſea; and now ſo placed, to be at all times readie to relieue this or that part of the fleet, as the fortune of the battel, or impreſſion of the enemie ſhould require. The Chriſtians had repoſed great hope in ſix galeaſſes; which furniſhed with great ſtore of ordnance & certain ſelect companies of moſt reſolute ſouldiers, ſeemed rather like caſtles than ſhips. Theſe galeaſſes conducted by *Franciſcus Dodus*, a moſt expert captaine, were placed about a mile before the fleet; two of them before each wing, and the other two before the middle battell: ſo farre diſtant one from another, as that with equall ſpace they anſwered the whole breadth of the front of the fleet, which was almoſt the ſpace of fiue miles, & ſerued the ſame in ſtead of moſt ſtrong bulwarkes. The gallies throughout the fleet kept not cloſe together, but ſuch a conuenient diſtance one from another, as might ſerue for them at libertie to diſcharge their ordnance when time ſhould require. In the wings, as alſo in the maine battell, were the Popes, the Kings, and the Venetian gallies indifferently intermixed; that by the equalitie of the danger they ſhould haue more care to relieue one another, than if they had ſerued apart. *Ioannes Cardenius*, a moſt valiant captaine, with 8 gallies of Sicilie and two galiots, was appointed to go ten miles before the fleet to deſcrie what hee might, of the enemies doings, and in his returne to ioyne the one halfe of his gallies to the one wing, and the other halfe to the other.

Six galeaſſes.

The Chriſtian fleet departeth from Meſſana, and ioine the Turks battell.

In this ſort they departed from Meſſana, with purpoſe to ſeeke out the enemie: and not long after came to Paxo, where, of a ſmall broile at the firſt, was like to haue riſen a great miſchiefe: for the next day, whileſt *Don Iohn* ſtaied there to take a view of the Venetian gallies, and how they were furniſhed both of men and munition, he finding them but weakly manned for ſupplying of that want, appointed foure thouſand Spaniards and a thouſand Italians to be put aboord into the Venetian gallies, where moſt need was.

Mutius Tortona a Spaniard, raiſeth a mutinie in the fleet at Paxo.

Amongſt theſe ſouldiers, was one company vnder the command of *Mutius Tortona* their captaine, a man of an vnquiet and furious nature: who going aboord the gallie of *Andreas Calergus*, firſt fell to words with the captaine of the gallie, and after much ſtir, into plain fight; ſo that in a trice they were altogether by the ears, as well the ſoldiers as the captains: of all which ſtir, *Mutius* was the onely author. *Venerius* being not far off, and hearing of the matter, ſent the captaine of his own gallie to appeaſe the tumult: who thruſting himſelfe into the midſt of the furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his fury fouly intreated, & diuers of them that came with him ſhrewdly beaten. Which thing *Venerius* (himſelfe alſo of an hot nature) taking as done in diſgrace of the Venetians, and therewith exceedingly moued; to the terrour of others, cauſed *Mutius* & his enſigne-bearer to be hanged vp at the yards arme of the ſame gallie, to the great offence of all the Spaniards. The Generall alſo taking this execution in euill part, full of choler and indignation, grieuouſly complained, That he himſelfe as Generall, was therein not a little wronged, and that it became euery commander, to know what belonged to his place, and not to incroach vpon his betters: ſo ſhould the conditions of the league be the better kept, if euery commander could keep himſelf within the bounds of his own authority. *Venerius* he ſaid, (whoſe authority was inferiour vnto his) could not of right without his command determine any thing againſt *Mutius* a Spaniſh captain: And that therin his honor was empaired: for which if he had not a publique and honorable amends, he threatned by force of arms to redreſſe his wrong, and the league being broken, to carrie away with him the kings gallies. Neither wanted there ſome, who fauouring *Don Iohn* his quarrell, and angrie with the Venetians, layed ſtill more coles on the fire that was alreadie too great. Hereunto *Venerius* ſent word vnto the Generall, That he ſhould do well to moderat his anger, and at leiſure to aduiſe himſelfe, & better to vnderſtand the matter, ſo ſhould he plainly ſee, that there was neuer more iuſt or wholſome execution done vpon any, than vpon thoſe mutinous perſons: But if he, carried away with the heat of youth, ſhould attempt any more violent courſe than ſtood with the common quiet, it were not to be maruelled if hee afterward repented. He (as hee ſaid) was alſo in armes, and readie to ſhew himſelfe a man. The matter was growne to that heat, that it was not onely not farre from the breaking off of the league; but euen at the point to haue ſet all on a broile, and to haue put the whole fleet in danger: had not *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, againſt this

Mutius Tortona & his enſigne-bearer hanged.

Diſcention betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall.

th[e] tempest oppoſed himſelfe: he with all his power laboured to cure the wounded mind of G
th[e] Generall, and to appeaſe his anger: telling him, That the common enemy would hardly
br[e]ſt withſtood by them al, being at vnitie and concord amongſt themſelues; but if vnto the for-
rai[ſ]ed anger were alſo ioyned domeſticall diſcord, then were the Chriſtian common-wealth
vn[d]one. But if he would moderat his anger, and more regard the honor and credit of the Ve-
netian Admirall, than the puniſhment of a ſeditious man, euen they which were vnto him
friends, but enemies vnto the Venetians, would highly commend his moderation and ſtayed-
neſſe: yea, whatſoeuer the matter was done, it could not be now vndone. But whatſoeuer
Venerius had done was in his opinion iuſtly done: That it was alwaies ſo accounted and obſer-
ued, that when many princes ioyned their forces together in matters that concerned the com-
mon managing of the war, nothing was to be done without the command of the Generall: but H
in matters belonging to the priuat gouernement of euery mans regiment, euery Generall had
power of life and death ouer them that were vnder his command: which to be ſo, was hee
ſaid hereby to be vnderſtood. King *Philip* was king of many kingdoms, & that he might long
ſo be, he heartily wiſhed: now if any Millanoies had committed any capitall crime within
death in the kingdome of Naples, ſhould the iudgement of that crime be of right to be refer-
red vnto the king himſelfe, as the chiefe ſoueraigne? or vnto the Gouernor of Millaine, where
the offender was borne? or rather to the ciuill magiſtrat of Naples, in whoſe iuriſdiction the
fault was committed, and ſo of right there to be executed? What difference was there then,
but that *Mutius* might rightly ſeeme to haue beene iuſtly puniſhed by *Venerius*, who although I
he were a Spaniſh captaine, had yet raiſed a mutinie in a Venetian gallie, which was vnder the
command of the Venetian Admirall. Beſide that, the diſcipline of war ſometime required a ſe-
uere and exemplarie kind of puniſhment: for which cauſe it was both notably and truly ſaid of
Clearchus, That a Generall ought more feared of his ſouldiers, than the enemy: and that
amongſt the antient Romanes it was a cuſtome, euen for priuate men with more ſe-
uere puniſhment to reſtraine the fact of a friend, than the moſt cruell enemy: that the fact was
not ſo much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it: That it was the dutie of com-
manders to withſtand the madneſſe of the mutinous. The author of ſedition and tumult he ſaid
had ſuffered but condigne puniſhment to his fact: who if he had eſcaped vnpuniſhed, would
but haue bin the more diſordered; but now by his exemplarie puniſhment, would deter others
from the like inſolencie. Beſides that, the externall danger was ſuch, as ought to reconcile K
them, were they neuer ſo much enemies: That ſuch men as they were, ſhould aboue al things
regard what might profit or hurt the common cauſe; in contemplation whereof all priuat iniu-
ries were to be remitted: and the rather, for that the honor and diſhonour of the good or bad
ſucceſſe of ſuch an important action ſhould redound vnto themſelues, but eſpecially vnto the
Generall. His owne duty he had as he ſaid diſcharged, in dealing ſo plainly and faithfully with
him, and could no more but pray vnto God, with mercifull eye to behold the troubled Chri-
ſtian common-weale in ſuch a moſt dangerous time.

Don Iohn ſtill beareth a grudge againſt Venerius.

Thus was the mutinie at Paxo by the great labor of *Columnius* hardly appeaſed: neuerthe-
leſſe *Don Iohn* could not afterwards indure to participat vnto *Venerius* his counſels, or ſo much
as to come in his company: all was done by *Barbadicus* the Venetian Proueditor. This *Barba-* L

Barbadicus the Venetian Proueditor a notable man.

dicus was not inferiour to *Venerius* in courage and valour, but far beyond him in diſcretion; a
tall and goodly perſonage, well coloured, his beard grizie, though not for age, for why he was
not aboue fiftie yeares old: beſides that, in his eyes and countenance appeared a viuacitie or
liuelineſſe of ſpirit; in his very gate and comely motion of his bodie, hee carried a certaine
grace and maieſtie: his talke and ſpeech was alwaies calme and temperate, his counſell graue
and ſound; ſo that hee was both greatly honoured and beloued of all men: his chiefe en-
deauour alſo was, to further the hope of attonement betwixt the Spaniards and the Veneti-
ans, ſo well begun by *Columnius*. And ſo all things brought into ſome reaſonable tearmes,

The Chriſtian fleet at Cephalenia.

they departed from Paxo, and came to Corcyra; the ſpoile whereof well declared the ene-
mies late being there. From thence they departed to Cephalenia: where they by Letters M
from *Paul. Contarenus*, Gouernour of Zacynthus, were aduertiſed, That the Turkes fleete
of three hundred and three and thirtie ſaile, of one ſort or other, lay in the gulfe of Corinth,
now called the gulfe of Lepanto. Whereupon they ſhortly after remooued, with purpoſe
to haue gone to Petala, an hauen oppoſite ouer againſt the Iſlands (or rather rockes) called
Echinades,

A Echinades, but now Corzulares, and ſo to the Bay of Corinth, to draw the enemie forth to battell: but ſtaied with contrary windes, they put backe againe into the valley of Alexandria, another Port in the Iſland of Cephalenia: from whence they afterward departed to the Iſlands Corzulares, where by the way they vnderſtood by letters out of Crete, That Famagûſta was loſt: with which bad newes they were no whit diſcouraged, but rather inflamed with the deſire of reuenge. From the Iſlands they went to Galanga, a good harbour, where they ſtayed one night, purpoſing the next day to haue gone to the mouth of the gulfe of Lepanto, there to dare the Turks to battell.

The Turkes Baſſaes *Partau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good ſafetie within the gulfe, hearing
B of the approch of the Chriſtian fleet, began to conſult with the reſt of their moſt expert cap-
tains, Whether to giue the Chriſtians battell, or to keepe themſelues ſtill within their ſafe har-
bour: vpon which doubt they were amongſt themſelues of diuers opinions. Amongſt the reſt
Chiroche a man of great yeares and authoritie, and withall a moſt noble captaine, exhorted the
Baſſaes, in no caſe, when no need was, vpon a vaine glorie to aduenture all to the fortune of an
vncertain battell: it was (as he ſaid) the part of wiſe and worthy commanders, to moderat with
reaſon their happy fortunes, for that thereunto were incident many accidents whereby their
former felicity might be diſgraced: they had already run alongſt the enemies coaſts, ſpoyled
the frontiers of his countries, and were with much honor & greater ſpoile in ſafety returned,
hauing increaſed the Turkiſh empire with many ſtrong townes of the enemies: the Iſland of
C Cyprus was with wonderfull good fortune brought vnder the Turks obeiſance, the enemies
great prouiſion at ſea fruſtrated, in ſuch ſort, as that hauing loſt diuers of their gallies, they were
neuer yet able to draw their ſwords: they had with their fleet at their pleaſure romed vp and
downe the Adraticke, & diſplayed their victorious enſignes almoſt vnto the very citie of Ve-
nice. What could they then deuiſe or wiſh for more honourable or glorious, than with the
ſafety of their fleet, yea without any loſſe at all, to haue performed ſo great matters? Now the
three generall commanders of the enemies fleet to be ſo at diſcord among themſelues, as that
they were ready to fall in ſunder of themſelues; who now vpon the approch of Winter, & for
want of victuall, muſt needs in few daies return home with their fleet, neuer after to meet again
with the like ſtrength at ſea: and therefore to what purpoſe were it, by force of armes and vn-
D certaine battell, with danger to ſeeke for the ſoueraigntie & command of the ſea, which would
forthwith of it ſelfe without any danger fall vnto them? Neither ſhould they by the doubt-
full victorie ſo much increaſe their honour, as by the vncertaine euent of a battell blemiſh the
fame, if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well. And that therefore they ſhould do well
to take heed, that in ſeeking to augment their former victories, they hazarded not their honor
already gained; but wholeſomely delay the war, and keep themſelues in ſafety with their fleet
within the gulfe, and not to goe out at the enemies pleaſure, but when they ſhould ſee good
themſelues, at ſuch time as the enemy was not ſo well prouided: ſo ſhould they (as hee ſaid)
without any great labour or danger attaine to the full of their owne deſires.

Chiroche diſſuadeth the Baſſaes from giuing battel vnto the Chriſtians

Partau Baſſa ſtandeth indifferent for giuing or not giuing battell.

Partau Baſſa was of opinion, That the Chriſtians would not at all offer him battell: which
E opinion the Chriſtians had alſo of him: and in this queſtion, for giuing or not giuing of battel,
ſeemed neither to approue nor diſſlike that *Chiroche* had ſo gravely ſpoken, but as a man indif-
ferent & loth to incurre any blame, ſhewed himſelfe ready either to ſtay or to ſet forward, as
ſhould be thought beſt by the greater part. But *Haly Baſſa*, a man of an hoter ſpirit, and the great
champiõ of the Turks, could not indure to heare of any delay, but of preſent battel. The plea-
ſure of *Selymus*, the hope of victory, the remembrance of the diſpleaſure *Piali Baſſa* had the laſt
yeare incurred, for not giuing the Chriſtians battell, induced him now in no caſe to refuſe bat-
tel, but forthwith to go out of the gulfe, & to accept therof, if it were offred. In which his opi-
nion he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracoza* a famous pyrat, and of great ac-
count among the Turks: who in a ſwift galliot taking view of the Chriſtian fleet, had reported
F it to be much leſſe than indeed it was; deceiued as was afterward thought, by not taking full
view therof, by reaſon of his poſting haſt; or els blinded by the Iſland, which lying behind the
fleet, ſuffered him not perfectly to deſcry the ſame. Vpon which report there was great reioy-
cing, amongſt the Turks, who now after their accuſtomed manner dreamed of nothing but vi-
ctory & ſpoile. So that *Haly*, vainly perſuaded that his fleet was both the greater and ſtronger,
would now needs fight, in hope that the Chriſtians vpon firſt ſight of the Turks fleet would
either

...a Bassa's *Haly* and *Partau*, attended vpon with *Agan* Master of the Turks Arsenall; *Musta...* ...*elibi* the Treasurer; *Achmat Bey*, with *Mahomet* his younger brother, the sonnes of *Haly*: ...*mat Aga* Gouernor of Teuthrania: *Assis Caiga* Gouernor of Calipolis: *Caracoza, Cas...* ...he sonne of *Barbarussa*; *Malamur* Gouernour of Mitylene: *Dely Solyman Gider* Cap... ...of Chios; *Cassambeius* Gouernour of the Rhodes; *Proui Aga* Captaine of Nauplium; *Giaper Zelibi* President of Calabra; *Dordagnan, Dondomeni*, and many others, whose barbarous names I purposely omit: all men of great account and place, and for their experience at sea the chiefe strength of the Turkish Empire. The right wing was by the appointment of the Bassa's command... *Mahomet Bey* with fiftie six gallies, with whome were also many worthie Captaines; and in the left wing was *Vluzales* the old Arch-pyrat, but now the Vice-Roy of Algiers, with ninetie fiue Gallies, accompanied with *Caraiolo* and *Arabey* his two sonnes, with a multitude of pyrats, men of his owne profession, but most valiant and expert souldiours. In the reereward came *Amurates Dragut*, with thirtie Gallies, and diuers other small vessels.

The great and notable battell betweene the Turks and the Christians, commonly called, The battell of Lepanto.

Now was the day well spent, when both the fleets were readie to giue battell; the Enemie still comming on almost in the same order that the Christians did: for their middle battel came directly against our middle battel, and their wings against ours. So the signal of battel on both sides giuen by the shooting off of certain great pieces: the Turks after their manner comming on with an hideous cry, first light vpon the six galeasses, which lying at anchor almost a mile before the fleet, as most strong bulwarks, out of their forecastles poured out their murthering shot vpon the Turks, now come within their danger; and in their passing by so plagued them, by discharging their whole broad sides, first the one, and eftsoons the other vpon them, that hauing receiued great losse, and diuers of their gallies sunke, they were inforced to breake their order, and to fall further off. Which so much the more troubled the Turkes, for that they had before supposed, those great c... ...nseruiceable ships (as they accounted of them) to haue caried little or no great ordnanc... ...after the maner of their gallies: for the vse of the galeasses was not vnto the Turks k... ...ll how that they had receiued from them most notable harme: which as it was the beginning of their misery, so was it vnto the Christians of greatest importance for the gaining of the victorie. At which time also the wind, which al that day had much fauoured the Turkes, was now (God no doubt fighting his owne battell) come about to the West, and with a pleasant gale in the time of the fight carried the smoke of the great ordnance vpon the Turks, to their no small disaduantage. Yet for all this losse and disorder in their fleet, the fierce enemie with wonderfull pertinacie passing by these galleasses, quickly repaired again to their places, & made good their disordred squadrons, and with al their force assailed the Christian fleet. The trumpets, drums, & other instruments of warre had scarcely wel sounded, when all shook with confused cries, flames of fire, thundring of artillery, and other noise of the mariners & seamen: wherwith many were so astonied as if they had bin both deaf and blind, hauing vpon the sudden almost lost the vse both of their sight & hearing. At which very instant a man might haue seen the whole showers as it were of arrows and darts mixt with the deadly shot, flying from the one fleet to the other; the masts broken, the saile-yards strucke downe, the tackles rent, and all confused with horror and feare. *Haly* beholding the Admiral gally (which was easie to be known by the flag) & vsing the surpassing cheerfulnes of his mariners & rowers, ran vpon her with such violence as if he would haue presently stemmed her: but being with like force incountred by the Admiral, they met together with such violence, that both their beaks were with the seaze broken off, and so fel into the sea. There began a most cruell fight betwixt these two great commanders, who had before drawne vnto them the strongest gallies in their fleets, and the choisest men in their armies. In the Admirall gallie of the Christians were 400 select men pickt out of the whole army, most of them Captains & Antients, men of approued valor; who not only valiantly repulsed the furious enemies, but with greater courage inforced them to shrinke backe, and pressing hard vpon them, entred the gallie euen to the main mast; where the enemy strengthned with new supply, fought courageously, repulsed the Spaniards, and cleered again their gallie. Many were there wounded on both sides, and many slain. *Don Iohn* seeing his men gi... ...way, sent in new supply; wherewith the other encouraged, bestirred themselues more lus... ...an before, and hardly charge the Turks, who with like hope and like courage encounter them. The battell was like vnto the ebbing

A terrible onset

A dreadful and doubtfull fight betweene the two Admirall gallies.

A ebbing and flowing of the sea: thrice the Turks were driuen euen vnto the maine mast, and thrice strengthned with new supplies, they with great slaughter repulsed the Christians back againe.

Venerius perceiuing the danger of the General, was about to haue assailed the poupe of *Haly* his gallie, so to haue indangered her, being set vpon both before and abathe: but in comming thither he was incountred by *Partau* the other Bassa, who with a companie of gallies opposed himselfe against him, and that with such celeritie, that hauing made shew as if he would haue charged him afront, he by and by set vpon his side. Which vnexpected manner of fight so suddenly fashioned, at the first much troubled the Christians; who afterward gathering courage, notably defended themselues. *Venerius* (vpon whose valor the Venetian State rested) gallantly B armed, not only incouraged his men, one while with intreating, another while with threatning, but was himself in the midst of them fighting; whose great honor much moued the mindes of his soldiers, but his reuerend yeres more; to see him (being aboue 77 yeres old) to performe all the parts of a braue youthful commander, in the very face of the greatest danger. The fierce enemy hauing slaine many of the Christians, pressed on more furiously, & fighting close together, entred the prow of *Venerius* his gally now bared of defendants, and with their multitude rather than true valor oppressed the Venetians: who had there no dout bin ouercome, had not *Ioannes Lauretanus* and *Catherinus Malipetra*, two valiant captains, and lying not far off, speedily come to their reliefe. By whose comming in, the fight was in the turning of an hand quite al- C tered; so that they which a little before fiercely assailed the Venetian gallies, were now glad to defend their owne: so for a space the fight stood indifferent, but in processe of the battell, those two worthie captaines, whilest they also performe the parts of most resolute souldiers, were both slain; shot through with smal shot. The fall of these notable men did rather enrage than discourage the minds of their soldiers; so that blinded as it were with fury, and suddenly become other men, they desperatly pressed in vpon the Turks: so that whilest they on the one side kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly chargeth them on the other; the terrour of the battell was turned from them that were euen at the point to haue been vanquished, vpon the victors; and our men after great slaughter of the Turks, tooke two of their gallies: *Partau* the Bassa in a long boat escaped the danger, and so got him out of the battell. Not farre off D thence, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, as a valiant Chiefetaine hardly assailed other of the Turks gallies, and made amongst them great slaughter: one singled from the rest, he tooke, and disordred the other. *Lignius* the Admirall of Genoa with like courage thrust himselfe into the thickest of the enemies, and there made a notable fight. Many an enemie fell about the Prince of Parma, *Rueres, Vrsinus, Cornea*, and *Iustinianus*; who for their present honor, and future fame, fought most couragiously.

Venerius comming to the relief of Don Iohn is incountered by Partau Bassa.

Venerius in danger.

Lauretanus & Malipetra slaine.

At which time *Chiroche* or *Sirocke* (of some called *Mahomet Bey*) with his right wing with great confidence came forward against the left wing of the Christian fleet; but falling before he was aware into the danger of the galleasses, was from out of them miserably beaten with the great ordnance, hauing many of his men slaine, and diuers of his gallies sunke and torn, few E of the hugie and deadly shot falling in vaine into the sea, by reason of the thicke standing of the Turks gallies: where also diuers of the enemies were burnt with pots of wildfire cast into their gallies out of the tops of the galeasses. *Chiroche* to auoid the danger of the galeasses, & to shun the dangerous shelfe betwixt him and the main (which the riuer Achelous running betweene the borders of Acarnania and Ætolia, and there falling into the sea, maketh) sent a great part of his gallies vnder the conduct of one *Alis* a notable renegat of Genoa, to cast about aloofe vpon the right hand, and so to come vpon the backe of *Barbadicus* the leader of the left wing of the Christian fleet. Which he perceiuing, forthwith turned his gallies, and with their prows receiued the first onset. The great ordnance first on both sides discharged, diuers of the gallies grapled fast together, in such sort, as that they incountred one another not with their missiue weapons onely (as with their small shot, arrowes, and darts) but with their drawne swords foot to F foot. Amongst the rest, the fight of two of the Christian gallies was most notable; in the one was *Barbadicus* himselfe, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, vpon whom fell six of the enemies Gallies, and vpon *Barbadicus* fiue: who although they were on euery side distressed with a most doubtfull and dangerous fight, yet did they most valiantly with worthie resolution endure the same. In the furie of this battell, *Barbadicus* encouraging his souldiers, and fighting himselfe euen

The right wing of the Turkes fleet sore gauled by the galeasses.

A terrible fight betwixt Chiroche and Barbadicus.

there where most danger was, was hit in the left eye with an arrow, and so strucke into G
[illegible] vine almost through the head: wherewith falling presently downe, he was taken vp for
d[illegible] howbeit he died not thereof vntill three dayes after. The supposed death of this wor-
th[illegible] much troubled the Christians, and both the armies felt his fall (such force there is in
the [illegible]r of one worthie man) for the Turks now as conquerours lustily boorded the galley,
troubled with the losse of the Captaine; and the Venetians as men discouraged gaue way: the
galley had there vndoubtedly beene lost, had not *Federicus Nanius* and *Sylutius Porcia* with
their gallies speedily c[illegible]me to her relefe: by whose comming in such an altoration was made,
as that the galley be[illegible]alfe taken, was not only cleered, but diuers of the Turks gallies also
boorded, and som[illegible]hem taken, not without the great slaughter of the Turkes. In this so
hard and mortall a conflict, *Sylutius* was grieuously wounded in the thigh and in his right side. H
The death of Barbadicus. It is reported of *Barbadicus*, That lying that euening at the point of death, the battell then en-
ded, he like another *Epaminondas*, asked which part had got the victorie: and being told that
the Christians had got it, and that the Turkes fleet was most part taken, and the rel[illegible] or
burnt; he with his eyes cast vp to heauen, gaue vnto God immortall thanks therefore, [illegible] not
long after joyfully departed this life, to liue in blisse for euer.

Ciconia hardly beset, and in danger to haue been lost, is relieued. *Ciconia* in the meane time hardly beset with six of the enemies gallies, (as we haue before
said) was himselfe sore burnt with wild-fire and hurt in the face; and hauing endured a long
and terrible fight, was now euen at the point to haue been lost; when sudden relefe comming
in, he was now contrarie to all hope saued, and therewith so much encouraged, that with his
wearie and wounded souldiers, as men from death reuiued, he afresh charged the enemie, and I
tooke one of his principall gallies, with one of the Turks faireſt ensignes, which in the Vene-
tian Armorie is yet there to be seene: of his worthy valour, his honest wounds in his face and
the fore part of his bodie, were m[illegible] certaine and vndoubted witnesses.

A hard fight betweet Io. Contarenus and Chiroche. Not far off, in the same wi[illegible] *Contarenus* [illegible]honourable and valiant gentleman, did
with his great shot exceeding grea[illegible] ong[illegible] Turkes gallies: which *Chiroche* percei-
uing, and therewith inraged, ran so [illegible] [illegible]e of *Contarenus* his gallie, that with his
beake he had wel neere stemmed her; & presently [illegible]apling fast with her, was like to haue bor-
ded her: whom neuertheleſſe the Christians notably repulsed, with greater slaughter than was
thought possible for so small a number to haue made: neither did the enemies fal vnreuenged,
but all imbrued with the bloud of the Christians. Seldome hath bin seene a more cruel fight, K
or more resolute Captaines to incounter hand to hand. But after the battell had of long time
stood doubtfull, the hope of the Christians increased vpon two causes, for which the courage
of the enemy quailed: first for that many of the Turkes being slaine or wounded, they were
brought to a smal number; then for that both parties saw *Chiroche* himselfe slaine: from which
time the enemy, aswel destitute of a leader to conduct th[illegible], as of fresh supplies to relieue them,
began to be cut down right, or taken. Which their danger was the more increased, because the
gally bulged with the great shot, was now leake, & in danger to sinke: wherefore the Turks in
that wing ouercome with dispaire, began to thinke rather how to saue themselues by flight
than by fight, reposing their trust in nothing more than in the neernes of the main. But as they
were turning about toward the shore, they were preuented by the Christians: who entring the L
Chiroche slaine, and his Galley taken. gally, and hauing slaine or driuen ouerboord almost all that were left, tooke *Chiroche*, yet brea-
thing, but halfe dead; and seeing smal hope of his life, with fresh wounds made an end of him.

A hard and doubtfull battell. Diuers and doubtfull was the whole face of the battell: as fortune offered vnto euery man
his enemy, so he fought; according as euery mans disposition put into him courage or feare,
or as he met with mo or fewer enemies, so was there here and there sometime victorie, and
sometime losse. Many fights were in sundrie places seene mingled together: some gallies
whiles they run to stem others, are themselues by others stemmed: some, which you would
thinke were flying away, falling by fortune vpon one victorious gallie or other, suddenly take
them: other some, as if they had been of neither part, row vp and downe betwixt the battells.
The chance of war in one place lifteth vp the vanquished, and in another ouerthroweth the vi- M
ctorious: all was full of terror, error, sorrow, and confusion. And albeit that fortune had not
yet determined which way to incline, yet the Christians at length began to appeare much su-
perior both in courage and strength: and the Turks seemed now rather to defend themselues,
than to assaile their enemies.

A *Bacianus* in the rereward intentiuely marked all the whole fight, and euer as need required,
sent in present aid, without respect whether they were the Popes gallies, the king of Spaines,
or the Venetians, that were distressed. In this long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turks
seeing the Christian Generals gallie hardly charged on the prow by *Haly Bassa*, to be almost
bared of defendants in the poupe, all the soldiers hauing their hands full before, were about to
haue boorded her abathe, and to that purpose were fetching a compasse about her: Which *Ba-*
cianus quickly perceiuing, glistering in bright armour came speedily in with certaine gallies,
and by opposing of himselfe against them, staied their course. In all the battell was not seene a
more cruell fight; for hauing discharged many volleys of shot, and arrowes and darts without
number, they grapled at length together, and came to the sword, where with the formost, *Baci-*
B *anus* not only with words, but with his presence and valour wonderfully encouraged his sol-
diers, hauing receiued in his targuet of proofe two small shot. Many were on both sides slain.
The Spaniards attempting sundrie times to haue entred the Turks gallies, were with great losse
repulsed: but not giuing it so ouer, neither giuing the enemie leaue to breath, or so much as to
looke behind him, valor was vanquished by pertinacie, and the Spaniards hauing ouerthrown
and slaine their enemies, enioyed their gallies.

A terrible fight betwixt Haly Bassa and Don Iohn. Now had *Don Iohn* with like courage and strength, but with doubtful victory, fought three
houres and more with *Haly Bassa*: when after so dreadfull and dangerous a fight, and many a
deadly wound on both parts giuen and receiued, our men began to faint, and brought to the
vttermost of their deuoire, were in danger to haue bin ouercome, had not *Don Iohn* betaken
C himselfe vnto his onely and last refuge. He had (as is before said) reserued vnder the hatches
400 of his best and select soldiers, for their valor chosen out of the whole army against all the
euents of so long and dangerous a battell: these men attentiuely attending euery becke of *Don*
Iohn, vpon signe giuen, as was before appointed, suddenly start out, and with a terrible crie and
desperat onset assailed the enemie, before almost spent with labor and wounds. This fresh and
vnexpected company so suddenly grown vp, first astonned, and afterwards confounded, & with
Haly Bassa slain a great slaughter vanquished the Turks, and possessed the gallie. The Bassa deadly wounded in
the head with a shot, and all imbrued with bloud, was taken, and as a joyfull spectacle brought
to *Don Iohn*; who seeing him readie to breathe his last, commanded him to be dispoiled of his
armor, and his head strucke off. Which presently set vpon the point of a speare, he for a space
D held vp aloft with his owne hand, as a trophie of his victorie, as also with the sight thereof to
strike a terror into the minds of the other Turkes, who in the other gallies fast by fought yet
right valiantly: neither was he therein deceiued; for the Turks beholding the knowne coun-
tenance of the Bassa their late General, and a flag of the crosse set vp in the top of his gally, and
The Turkish mid-dle battell discomfited. the noise of the Christians, crying Victorie, running thorow the army; were therewith so dis-
couraged, that confounded with feare they turned their gallies and with might and main made
toward the land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Canalis* and *Quirinus*, yet
breathing with the late slaughter of the Turkes, perceiuing, with their gallies hardly pursued
the flying enemie, and sunke and tooke diuers of their gallies. *Partaw* his son by the staying of
the rest got time to run his gallie on ground, and so forsaking her, saued himselfe and his men
E by running ashore: so did also diuers others run themselues aground and forsake their gallies,
which presently became a prey vnto the Christians. In this hot conflict *Caracoza* the famous
Caracoza the famous pyrat slaine. pyrat (who abiuring the Christian religion, had turned Turke, and of long time done exce-
ding much mischiefe vpon the coasts of the Christian countries) valiantly fighting, was slaine
by *Buzzacharinus* of Padua, by whose death many were deliuered of a great feare.

Haly Bassa had brought forth with him his two sons *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, the one 23 yeares
old, and the other 13, the nephews of the great Emperor *Selymus*, by his sister married to *Haly*;
them their father had placed in a great gallie, with a strong guard of the Ianizaries: who see-
ing the discomfiture of the maine battel, with the danger now drawing neere vnto themselues,
were exceedingly affraid, and therefore to saue themselues, thought it best with all speed to
F make toward the maine. But in so doing they were preuented by *Requisenius* the great Com-
mendor, who with his furious Spaniards bourding the Turkes, alreadie dismaied and running
away, slew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruell execution done,
tooke the gallie, and that which pleased him more, the two sonnes of *Haly* both aliue: in the
time of which fight, the poore Christians who fast chained in the gallie, had as slaues long
serued

ed in great misery; now perceiuing the Christians to preuaile, brake off their gyues, loosed G
r other, and with such weapons as first came to hand lustily laid about them, and notably
the victorie.

ithstanding all this good successe, the fortune of the battell stood yet doubtful in the
right wing. There stood in either battell two of the most noble chieftains one against another:
on the Christian part *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Spanish Admiral; and for the Turks *Vluzales*: both
most valiant & expert commanders, wel known the one to the other, for that they had of long
vsed the same seas, ec all for their military discipline, as also for their noble acts, but far vne-
quall for number of gallies: for the Turks had of one sort & other almost twice so many.
The doubtfull dying of Iohn Andreas Auria with the right wing of the Christian fleet. *Auria*, whether it wer or that he would in the beginning of the battel warily decline the dan- H
ger, and not hazard his gallies, wherein his chiefe honor would be also indangered; or else af-
fraid lest the enemy, who far exceeded him in number of gallies, should extend his wing at
large, and inclose the Christian fleet behind; vpon the signall of battell giuen, shrun ther
off from the rest of the battel: but whether vpon policy, that it might be at his choise ner to
fight, if the rest of the army preuailed; or to retire if they should be ouercome; or that he vpon
martial policy declined the force of too strong an enemy; diuers men diuersly glosed: but what
the cause was indeed, the wisest could not surely tell. Howsoeuer the matter stood, it seemed
his purpose was by policy to counteruaile what he wanted in strength. This his falling off see-
med vnto the Turks most strange, to whom his quick departure seemed at the first in maner of
a flight. Neither was *Auria* content with that space he had first seperated himself from the ar- I
mie; but the second time fell off further, and there staying & houering aloofe off, seemed to a-
wait some good opportunity to take the enemy at some aduantage: hauing in the meane time
one of the galeasses of Pisa lying before him, as it were in stead of a bulwark, which with often
shot much troubled the enemy *ales* also extending his wing, tooke such a space, as that he
seemed able to haue compassed in ded *Auria*; yet offered not battel, but rather lay as
expecting if any aduantage should be m! he Christians, than rashly or vnaduisedly
Twelue of the Venetian gallies taken by Vluzales. to offer himself or his galies to any desper ger. He had not long so lien, but that according
to his desire, 12 of the Venetian gallies, which had withdrawn themselues from *Auria*, & with-
out any order or direction romed to and fro, fell into his danger: these gallies cut off from the
rest, *Vluzales* with wonderfull celerity inclosed, and with the multitude of his gallies bording K
them one by one, slew the defendants, and tooke the gallies. In this fight many of the knights
of the Order of S. *Stephen* most valiantly fighting were slain. *Benedictus Superantius* a noble Ve-
netian, seeing most part of his men slain, himselfe mortally wounded, and his gally now almost
taken; resoluing rather presently to die, than to fall into the hands of his enemies, desperatly
put fire to the store of pouder he had in the gally, and blew vp himselfe, his soldiers that were
left, with a great number of the enemies together. The report of the great ordnance, and noise
of the battel in that part of the fleet being heard, they which had now in the middle battel got
the victorie, together turned their gallies thitherwards to aid *Auria*, but not in one squadron
A notable fight of the Knights of Malta. together, but comming along one after another, as euery man had sooner or later cleered him-
selfe of his enemie: amongst the rest, *Petrus Iustinianus* (Admirall of the gallies of Malta) com- L
ming formost, was incountred with three of the Turks gallies, with whom he with his knights
had a great and most terrible fight. Which *Vluzales* beholding, and aboue all others hating the
knights of the Order, speedily sent in other three gallies to helpe their fellows. So *Iustinian*
hardly beset with six gallies, and oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, had lost fiftie of
his most valiant knights, with one of his ensignes, and with much adoo hardly defended him-
selfe. But being now brought to the last cast, and the gally in the iudgment of all men giuen for
lost, lo two other of the gallies of Malta, who had so valiantly fought with other three of the
enemies gallies, that they were now vpon point to haue taken them all, seeing the danger of
their Admiral, forsooke their vanquished enemies, & with all speed came to rescue him: where
they found him yet aliue, but shot in with three arrowes, and still fighting couragiously at the
decke of his gally, with those few he had yet left, beset round with their enemies: but by the M
comming in of these two gallies, as if it had bin by help sent from heauen, the Turks were no-
Vluzales flieth. tably repulsed, and the Admiral with his gally rescued prey out of the mouth of the gree-
die Lyon. *Vluzales* vnderstanding that the maine batte right wing of the fleet was ouer-
throwne by the Christians; for feare gaue ouer the fight, and leauing the gallies he had taken
and

A and hoising saile, was the first in that wing that fled. Which *Cardonius* perceiuing, who was
come in before the rest, suddenly shewed himselfe at his backe, and by assailing the hinderm ost
gallies, did what he might to stay their flight vntil the rest of the victorious gallies were come
in. But whilest he so eagerly pursueth the flying enemy, fifteen of the Turks captaines inraged
with such an vnwonted disgrace, and mindfull of their wonted prowesse, staid their flight, and
contrary to the expectation of the Christians, turned themselues and renewed the battell.
What minds they bare, the euent shewed; for in a trice almost all *Cardonius* his souldiers and
mariners were slaine: nothing letted the taking of the gallie, but that *Vluzales* seeing *Don Iohn*,
Columnius, and *Venerius* neere at hand, and making towards him, and *Auria* also comming fast
B on, was afraid longer to stay, and therefore gluing ouer the fight, fled as fast as hee could: yet
carrying away with him one gallie of Cyprus, and one ensigne of the knights of Malta, as te-
stimonies of his own valor when he should appeare before *Selymus*. The Christians although *The christians hardly pursue the flying enemy.*
weary of the long fight which they had almost by the space of fiue houres indured, yet so long
as they were in any hope so ouertake any of their flying enemies, hardly pursued them in
chase: but when they perceiued it preuailed not to follow farther, and that it was more than
time to see to their wearie and wounded souldiers and mariners, they staied from farther pur-
suit, for why the night came now fast on, vnder the couert whereof the craftie old pyrat flying
for life with sailes and oares, escaped with thirtie (or as some write, fortie) gallies againe into
the bay of Lepanto.

C It was a right horrible spectacle to see, how in this battell the sea stained with bloud, & co-
uered with dead bodies, weapons, and the fragments of the broken gallies; besides the great
number of them that were slain, & beaten into the sea: many of the Turks blinded with feare,
casting away their weapons, to escape the fury of the enemy, threw themselues headlong into
the sea; but finding no hope to recouer the land, laboured againe to come to the gallies; or els
fainting by the way, were miserably drowned. Others, either halfe dead, weake, and vnskilfull
of swimming, or ouercharged with their armour, the sea also deuoured: yea many that could
well swim, wearied and wounded, sunke for feare. Others vpon plankes and the pieces of the
broken gallies, fought to saue themselues, and not knowing what to follow or what to shun,
wofully perished. Other some swimming, and pitifully intreating their enemies, rather to take
D them prisoners than to kill them, were (as it often times chanceth where things are done vpon
choler, rather than vpon discretion) without compassion slaine: in which doing, the Christians
thought they did rather reuenge former iniuries to them done, than to do them any wrong:
with some mercie more preuailed than wrath; who remembring the common chance of war,
chose rather to take the Turkes prisoners (wofully crauing nothing but their liues) than with-
out mercie to kil them. The number of the Turks lost in this most famous battell, could hard-
be known, by reason that many of them were drowned. *Antonius Guarnerius* writing the histo- *The number of the Turks slain in the battell of Lepanto, diuersly reported.*
rie of this war, reporteth two & thirty thousand to haue perished: but they which write more
sparingly thereof, reported not past halfe so many to haue bin slaine: of whom these were of
greatest name: *Haly Bassa* the Generall, *Mahomet Bey* (otherwise called *Chiroche* or *Sirocus*)
E Gouernor of Alexandria, *Cassanes* the sonne of *Barbarussa*, with his sonne *Malamur* Gouernour
of Mytilene; *Gider* Gouernor of Chios, *Cassambeius* Gouernour of the Rhodes, *Proni Aga* cap-
taine of Nauplium, *Mustapha Zelibi* the great Treasurer, *Caracoza* the famous pyrat; with many
others, whom but to name were tedious. The chiefe prisones there taken, were *Achmat* & *Ma-*
homet the sonnes of *Haly Bassa*, both afterwards sent as Presents to the Pope, of whom the el-
dest died by the way at Naples; the younger presented vnto the Pope by *Columnius* at Rome,
was there honorably kept prisoner: and *Mechmet Bey*, Gouernor of Euboea; and about three
thousand fiue hundred others were in that battell taken also. The chiefe of them that escaped
by flight, were *Partau Bassa*, who seeing all go to wracke, fled in time in a long boat to land: and
Vluzales, who (as it was afterwards certainly knowne) but with fiue and twentie gallies, and ten
F galliots fled to Lepanto. Of the enemies gallies were taken an hundred threescore & one, for- *The surpassing beautie of the Admirall gally.*
tie sunke or burnt: and of galliots and other small vessels were taken about sixtie. The Admi-
rall gallie then taken amongst the rest, was so goodly and beautifull a vessell, that for beautie
and richnesse scarce any in the whole Ocean was comparable vnto her. The decke of this gally
was on both sides thrice as great as any of the others, & made all of blacke Walnut-tree like
vnto Ebony, checkered, and wrought marueilous faire with diuers liuely colors and variety of
histories

histories. There was also in her diuers liuely counterfeits, engrauen and wrought with gold, G
with so cunning hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well haue bin compared vn-
to the princes palace. The cabbin glistered in euery place with rich hangings wrought with
gold and set with diuers sorts of precious stones, with certaine small counterfeits most
cunningly wrought. Besides this, there was also found in her great store of the Bassaes rich ap-
parell, wrought with the needle, so curiously and richly embossed with siluer and gold, that
his great lord and master *Selymus* himselfe could hardly put on more royall or rich attire. His
casket there also found with six thousand duckats in it, with a yerely pension of three hundred
duckats, was giuen in reward to a Greeke, borne in Macedonia, which slew the Bassa, and was
therefore also knighted by *Don Iohn*: who had also giuen vnto him the Burrell of the Turkes
standerd, which at his returne to Venice (where he had of long time before dwelt, and serued H
in the Arsenall) he sold vnto a goldsmith: whereof the Senat hauing intelligence, redeemed
it of the goldsmith, paying for euery ounce a duckat, and layed it vp amongst the trophees of
that most famous victorie. It was all of massiue siluer, guilt & engrauen round about with tur-
kish letters. On the one side was written, *God doeth conduct and adorne the faithfull in worthie*
enterprises: God doth fauour Mahomet. On the other side, *God hath no other God, and Mahomet*
is his Prophet.

The Greek that slew the Bassa, honourably rewarded.

This notable victorie thus happily obtained, *Don Iohn* the Generall, with *Venerius* and *Co-*
lumna, the other two Admirals, came together; whom the Generall friendly embraced, but
especially *Venerius*, calling him father, & attributing vnto him the greatest part of the victory.
Afterwards, all together with their hands and eyes cast vp towards heauen, they vpon their I
knees gaue immortall thanks to Almightie God. So did also the rest of the captaines and ma-
sters, commending one another for their braue and good seruice: but especially theirs, who for their
religion and countrey had there honourably spent their liues; which were in number
about 7566. Amongst whom, the chiefe men that were slaine, were *Iob.* and *Bernardinus*, of
the honourable familie of *Cordona* in Spaine, *Horatius Caraffa*, and *Ferantes Ballus. Virginius*,
and *Horatius*, noble Romanes, of the honourable Familie of the *Vrsini*. Of the Venetian
Nobilitie, *Augustinus Barbadicus*, *Benedictus Superantius*, *Vincentius Quirinus*, *Ioannes Lau-*
retanus, *Marinus Contarenus*, *Catherinus Malipetra*, *Georgius* and *Anareas Barbadicus*, *Mar-*
cus Antonius Landus, *Franciscus Bonus*, *Hieronimus Contarenus*, *Antonius Paschaligus*, *Hieroni-*
mus Venerius, all of the order of the Senatours. Besides diuers other honourable Gentlemen, K
who well deserued to be enrolled in the eternall monuments of Fame. Of the knights of Mal-
ta were also many slaine, amongst whom of the Germane Nation these were chiefe: *Ioachim*
Spart, Commendour of Moguntia and Franckfort, *Ro.* of *Hambergh*, Commendour of Hem-
mendorf, and *Fra. Droit*. Of them that were wounded, these were of greatest name: *Don*
Iohn the Generall, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall shot through the foot, *Paulus Iordanus*,
Troilus Sauell, and *Mar. Molinus*, with diuers others of lesse fame, to the number of almost seuen
thousand.

The number of Christians slaine in the battell of Lepanto.

Great was the ioy conceiued of this victory, but to none more welcome, than to the poore
Christians fast chained to the Turks gallies, of whom twelue thousand were thereby deliue-
red from most miserable thraldome, and contrary to al hope restored to their antient liberty. L
Two daies after this victorie, *Venerius* sent *Humfredus Iustinianus* with newes thereof vnto
the Senat at Venice: who comming in at the Adriaticke port about noone the 19 of Octo-
ber, by shooting off of certain great pieces, gaue warning vnto the city of his comming, which
at that time hung in a great suspence betwixt hope and feare. The citizens generally awaked
with the report of the great ordnance, came flocking by heapes to the port, euery man longing
to heare the first newes. There they might see *Iustinian* comming a far off with his gallie, but
when he was come neerer, they might perceiue all the mariners attired like Turkes, & foure
of the Turkes enfignes hanging behind at the poupe of the gallie, which filled their mindes
with the hope of good newes, deeming it to be (as indeed it was) part of the spoyle of the
enemie. But after that *Iustinian* was landed (which he had much to doe for the preasse) and was M
gone to the court, with a world of people following after him, crying out for newes; and had
there deliuered his letters, and at large discoursed of all the successe of the battell (which
was forthwith blowne into the Citie) and that the messengers also after his departure had re-
ported the victorie, and that the enemy was in a great battell ouerthrowne: good God, how
the

A generall reioycing, especially in Venice, for the victorie.

A the people as men ouerioyed, ran vp and downe the streets, doubling and redoubling the ioy-
full name of victory. The Senatours also reioycing together, gaue thanks to God with publick
praiers and ioyfull hymnes in euery Church: and afterwards by ringing of bels, peals of ord-
nance, bone-fires, and other such like things, shewed al the tokens of ioy possible. And to make
this ioy the more generall, all prisoners were set at libertie, and all debts that exceeded not
the summe of fiue and twentie crownes, payed out of the common treasurie; which was ge-
nerally done through all the Venetian seigniorie: and a decree made, That that day wheron
the victory was gotten, which was the seuenth of October, dedicated to the memoriall of *Iu-*
stina, should for euer be kept holy day: and for the perpetuall remembrance thereof, a great
masse of money was coyned, with the impression of *Iustana* vpon it, and an inscription decla-
B ring the victorie. Many also their neighbor Princes sent their Embassadors congratulatorie to
Venice; namely, the Dukes of Sauoy, Florence, Ferrara, Parma, Mantua, and Vrbin, and the
Knights of Malta. In which so publicke ioy no man was seene to put on any mourning gar-
ments, or to shew any token of heauinesse, although many had lost their deerest friends & nee-
rest kinsmen; whose liues they reckoned not lost, but giuen vnto the Christian common weale.
The like reioycing was also made in Rome, in Spaine, Naples, Sicilia, and Malta; especially
at such times as Embassadors from their neighbor Princes, came to ioy them of this victorie:
yea and afterwards in other countries further off was like reioycing and signes of ioy, as with
vs here in England.

This is that notable battell, commonly called the battell of Lepanto, fought neere vnto the
C Iland Curzolari, the seuenth day of October, in the yeare 1571, the like whereof was neuer
fought at sea against the Turke, wherein he lost his chiefe strength at sea, with most of his best
sea captains: and might thereby well perceiue what he and his successors were to feare, if the
Christian Princes at vnitie amongst themselues, all discord set apart, should in zeale of their re-
ligion ioyne their inuincible forces against them.

A wittie and fit comparison made by a Turke to shew that the losse of Cyprus was greater than the losse of the battell at Lepanto.

In the middest of all this ioy, generally conceiued of the late victory, one of the chiefe pri-
soners of the Turks, hearing it compared with the losse of Cyprus (for that *Selymus* had ther-
in lost his fleet, his best men of war, with great store of ordnance) by a fit comparison shewed it
not to be so, saying, That the battell lost, was vnto *Selymus* as if a man should shaue his beard,
which would ere long grow again; but that the losse of Cyprus was vnto the Venetians, as the
D losse of an arme, which once cut off, could neuer be againe recouered. Declaring thereby the
great inequalitie of the losse.

The spoile of the enemy diuided amongst the confederats.

The rich spoyle taken from the enemie in this most glorious victorie, was thus diuided a-
mongst the princes confederat. Vnto the Pope were allotted 19 gallies, two galliots, nine great
pieces of ordnance, two and forty lesser pieces, and fourescore and one prisoners. Vnto the king
of Spaine eight and fiftie gallies and an halfe, six galliots and an halfe, eight and fifty great pie-
ces and an halfe, eight great murthering pieces & an halfe, an hundred twenty eight lesser pie-
ces, and a thousand seuen hundred and thirteen prisoners. Vnto the Venetians were assigned for
their share, nine and thirty gallies and an halfe, foure galiots and an halfe, nine and thirtie great
pieces and an halfe, fiue great murthering pieces and a halfe, fourescore and six lesser pieces,
E and a thousand one hundred threescore and two prisoners. The rest were bestowed vpon such
other princes as had giuen aid, or otherwise well deserued in that seruice.

The ioy conceiued of this victorie was not so great amongst the Christians, but that the
sorrow thereof was amongst the Turks far greater. *Selymus* himselfe was then at Hadrianople,
where eight dayes after the battel, news was brought vnto him, That his fleet was ouerthrown
and almost all taken or sunke by the Christians. Which so soone as he heard, he was stricken
with exceeding griefe: and ouercome with melancholy, would not that day suffer any man to
speake with him. And the rumor of the ouerthrow still increasing, had in short time filled all
places with feare, teares, mourning, and heauinesse: some bewailing their parents, some their
children, some their husbands, some their friends or kinsmen, there lost. But that which most
F grieued the Turkish Emperor, was the losse of so many worthy & expert captains, of so many
skilfull masters and notable souldiers; who brought vp all their liues at sea, were not thought
inferior to any then liuing: besides the perpetuall ignominie and vnwonted disgrace, thereby
inflicted vnto him and his posteritie for euer. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was
about to haue commanded all the Christians in his dominions (in number infinit) to be put to
death:

death. Doubting indeed nothing more, than that they wearie of the Turkish thraldome, and C
desirous of innouation, should with weapons put into their hands, rise vp against him, and take
with the other Christians his enemies. But whilest the other Bassaes (as men dismaid with
the greatnesse of the command) stood all silent, *Muhamet Bassa* for his former deserts in great fa-
uor with the tyrant, thought it good to make proofe if his fury might by reasonable persuasi-
on be mitigated, and some better course taken, both for the honor of *Selymus* himselfe, and the
common good of the State: yet well knowing how full of danger it was, in that tyrannicall
gouernment, openly to speake any thing contrary to the good liking of the wilfull Emperour,
he durst not apertly contradict him: but leaning as it were to his opinion and pleasure, by lit-
tle and little to draw him from himselfe; & so before he were aware, to lead him into his owne
deuise, and by delay mollifie the rigour of his former fury. To which purpose, he cunningly H
set vpon him in this sort.

Muhamet Bassa cunningly dissuadeth Selymus from so rigorous a resolution, by filling his head with most necessary considerations.

Your anger (said hee) *most magnificent and inuincible Emperour, against the Christians is most*
iust: and in this my desire exceedeth all others, That they should endure and suffer such punish-
ment as they haue of right deserued. Yet it behooueth vs so to satisfie our wrath, as men better regarding their
owne good, than the hot desire of reuenge. And forasmuch as I am for your many and vndeserued
fauours, in all loyaltie bounden vnto your highnesse aboue others; I reckon it in part my dutie, so much
the more franckely to deliuer my opinion, such as it is, in matter of so great importance. Neither
will I attemper my speech in any respect to the comforting of your grieued minde: for how can it be that
you, who following the worthie examples of your noble progenitours, haue alwayes heeretofore shewed
your most heroicall and couragious minde, contemning all the chances of Fortune; should not for euer
after shew your selfe to be rather dreaded of all men, than dreadfull of any? Let others, whose King-
domes built vpon vncertaine earthly foundations are subiect to the reuolution of time, and change of Fortune, yeeld vn-
to their euill haps: as for you, whose Empire is founded by the mightie hand of the most Highest, and
compassed about with an impregnable wall, and are your selfe by the power of God appointed King
and Commander of Nations and people, a nu[illegible]; Fortune may well a little pricke you, but ne-
uer ouerthrow you. As for this late mischance, [illegible] must needs so fall out, as proceeding from some
immutable and eternall cause; must it be therefore alwayes fixe and permanent? Onely those miseries
and mischiefes which the cowardise or foolishnesse of men bring vnto themselues, haue their firme K
and certaine calamities: other common euents comming from other causes, haue also their common
and sudden changes: but how this late mishap at sea may be amended, and your former glorie there-
againe recouered, is hereafter to be considered. Now for the present (in mine opinion) this one thing,
as of all others most necessarie, to is be prouided. That the weake and worst fortified places of your Em-
pire, most subiect to danger, may be presently strengthened with strong garrisons; and that by your
present repaire to the imperiall Citie, you cheere vp the mindes of your heauie and dismayed subiects:
which done, what shall let, but that you may at your pleasure be reuenged to the full of the Christians?
For there is no cause why we should feare the Christians, six hundred times and more before ouerthrown:
both our enemies and we are the same men we haue been for many ages, we beare the same minds, the same
bodies, the same strength, the same weapons, wherewith wee haue gotten infinite victories, both of them
and others. And although such be the state of man, as that hee cannot otherwise but sometime or L
other taste of the worst tunne; yet I thinke this present misfortune to be rather imputed vnto some fa-
tall cause to vs vnknowne, than to the valour of the Christians. Besides that, we may well enough op-
pose one ouerthrow against our so many and infinite victories: yea wee are to giue immortall thankes
vnto almightie God, that we haue by force of armes subdued the rich and famous Iland of Cyprus, and
that your high designes haue in that point sorted to your hearts desire. And hard it is in mine opinion to
iudge, whether this late vnfortunat battell shall more hurt vs, or the Christians: for besides that the
multitude of the Turkes hath no feeling of so small a losse, they will not as men discouraged, giue them-
selues to mourning and vaine lamentations, but with greater courage and furie come forth againe into
battell, and reuenge this losse with the infinit calamities of the Christians: who after this their good hap,
will according to their woonted manner giue themselues to excesse, pleasure, carelesnesse, and ease, vnto M
their owne farther confusion. Thus haue I in briefe faithfully declared mine opinion: yet with that sub-
missiue loyaltie, as that whatsoeuer shall proceede from the mouth of your imperiall Maiestie, shall be of
me deemed most wisely and magnificently considered of.

The

A The Bassa was in such grace and authority with *Selymus*, that his opinion in counsel preuai-
led, & the tyrants wrath by his persuasion was well asswaged. But by the comming of *Vluzalet*
to court, the remainder of his former griefe and melancholy was fully quieted: who after he
had excused himselfe of the late ouerthrow, & declared what he had himselfe done in the bat-
tell, and in testimony thereof, presented him with one of the ensignes of the knights of Malta;
told him also, how that he had left the Christian fleet so rent and torn, as that it could not pos-
sibly be made seruiceable against the next yeare: which newes was both of *Selymus* and the
rest gladly heard. In the mean time *Selymus* placed this *Vluzales* in the stead of *Haly Bassa* that
was slain: & straitly commanded the great officers which had the charge of his naute, to build
new shipping night & day: and further inioyned euery Gouernor out of his prouince hee had *Selymus repai-reth to his naute with all diligence possible.*
B in charge, to haue in readinesse one gally or two against the next Spring, as wel for the defence
of his own dominions, as to reuenge the losse he had so lately sustained: whereunto also many
of his great men put to their helping hands, & cheerfully furthered his desire. New supplies of
soldiers were also presently raised, & put into his frontier towns, great store of new ordnance
cast, weapons and armor prouided, and whatsoeuer els the necessity of the present time requi-
red. So with the Turks stood reason & industry, rather than with the Christians, who (as some
note) rather wanted discretion how to vse the victory, than valor to gain the same: which whe-
ther it chanced for that prosperity begetteth negligence, or that men ioying in their present
blisse, regard little the time to come, I leaue it to the iudgement of the wiser to determine.

After this so memorable a victory, the three great commanders of the fleet sat in counsell *The christian fleet dissolued.*
C to consult, what farther course they were best to take. But forasmuch as Winter began now to
approch, and that they could not much doe vntill their fleet were new furnished and manned,
they all resolued for that time to dissolue the fleet, and the next Spring in the beginning of
Aprill, to meet together againe at Corcyra. Whereupon *Don Iohn* and *Columnius* returned to
Messana, where they in safetie arriued in Nouember; and departing thence, and taking their
leaue the one of the other, arriued, *Don Iohn* at Naples, and *Columnius* at Rome: where they
were in both places with great ioy and triumph receiued.

The Venetians for all that grieued with the losse of Cyprus, gaue not so ouer, but repairing
their nauie with thirtie gallies, wherein were imbarked six thousand souldiers, woon a castle
in Epirus called Margarita: and also recouered the towne of Suppoto, which the Turkes had *Suppoto against recouered by the Venetians.*
D that Sommer before taken from them; but now hearing of this ouerthrow, did vpon the ap-
proch of the Venetian fleet, againe forsake it. The gallies also of Crete conducted by *Canalis*,
intercepted many of the Turkes vessels laded with captiues and the spoiles of Famagusta, as
they were passing thence to Constantinople.

Although vpon the late obtained victorie, a certaine reconciliation had bin made betwixt
Don Iohn and *Venerius*, yet of the former dissention remained an inward heart-burning of one
of them against the other: for which cause, the Spaniards requested the Venetians to appoint
another Admirall in his place. *Venerius* was now indeed a man of great yeres, and his strength
far spent; yet for that in his aged body rested great wisedome & courage, & that they thought
him for his great deserts worthy all honor, they were wonderfull loth, and vnwilling therein
E to gratifie the Spaniard: for why, they well knew there was no other cause of the Spaniards
proud hatred, but that he had stood against them vpon the honour of the Venetians: and far-
ther, they liked not that the Spaniard should so presumptuously prescribe vnto them, whom
they should place or displace, in or out of their honorable offices. Neuertheless, not forgetting
what commoditie came by concord, & what euils of discord, and that they might not against
so mighty an enemy wel spare the help of the Spaniard, they resolued to make choice of some
other; who succeeding *Venerius*, might with one consent manage their wars together with *Don*
Iohn and *Columnius*. There was then one *Iacobus Fuscarinus* their chiefe Gouernor in Dalma-
tia, who but a little before had notably fortified Iadera and the other frontier townes, and for
the space of foureteene moneths had notably represssed the furious incursions of the Turks: of
F him then absent and not desirous of the place (as of a man of worthie desert) the whole State
by generall consent made choise for their Admiral & General by sea against the Turke: which
most honourable place he receiued not with all the solemne ceremonies thereto belonging,
at Venice, as the manner was, but at Iadera: from whence he in the Admirall gallie sent for
that purpose by *Aloysius Grimanus* his successour in Iadera, sailed ouer to Corcyra: where he
found

nd the old Admirall *Venerius*, with no leſſe care prouiding for all things, than if he ſhould G
uſelfe haue ſtill continued the war. Of which great care *Fuſcarinus* at his comming eaſed
n, by taking it wholly vpon himſelfe.

Caſtra nouum in vain attempted by the Venetians.

ſt *Fuſcarinus* thus lay making his preparation againſt the next Spring at Corcyra, *Sal-*
ra Martinengus, who had the charge of the Adriaticke (by the counſell of *Venerius*, who was
now returned to Venice) vpon the ſudden landed his men, & beſieged Caſtro Novum, a ſtrong
towne of the Turks in the borders of Iſtria, where at his firſt comming he tooke the ſuburbs,
and had in ſhort time brought the towne to great extremitie. But in the height of his hope to
haue woon the town[illegible]aring that the Beglerbeg of Græce was with great power comming
thither, he was glad to [illegible] his ſiege, and with all ſpeed to get him againe to ſea. The Turkes H
in like manner, to diſtreſſe the ſtrong towne of Cataro, holden by the Venetians in the borders
of Dalmatia, built a great and ſtrong fort vpon the paſſage from ſea to the towne, wherein they
placed great ſtore both of men and artillerie: in hope by keeping them of the towne [illegible]mall
reliefe by ſea, at length to gaine the towne which they had many times in vaine attem[illegible] by
force; for by land it was alreadie enuironed with the cruell enemy, poſſeſſing the country
round about it. *Iacobus Superantius* the great Prouidetor, then lying at Corcyra with the Admi-
rall, vnderſtanding how Cataro a towne of no ſmall importance, was thus both by ſea & land
by the enemie diſtreſſed: with twentie gallies manned with the moſt choice ſouldiers could
be pickt out of the whole fleet, tooke vpon him the raſing of the fort, and relieuing of the I
towne. *Superantius* with this ſelect company, and certaine other gallies which met him by the
way, came by night before the mouth of the bay of Cataro, and there diuiding his fleet, left
the one part therof at anchor before the fort, and with the other himſelfe courageouſly paſſed
by the fort, further into the bay: at whom the Turks out of the fort made diuers ſhot, but (by
reaſon it was darke) to ſmall pu[illegible]. In paſſing by, *Superantius* tooke ſuch view as he could of
the fort, and by and by began on[illegible]ro batter the ſame; as did alſo the other gallies on
the other ſide: and withall, landed the[illegible]on b[illegible]ſides; who vpon ſignall giuen, ran reſo-
lutely to the fort, and by plaine force enter[illegible]g the [illegible]ne, preuailed vpon the fearefull Turkes,
and put them to the ſword euery mothers ſonne; ſo that of all that great garriſon, was not one
left aliue to carrie newes of the ſlaughter. This fort was in length fiue hundred paces, but not
ſtrong towards land, from whence no ſuch feare was doubted. In it was taken ſeuenteen great K
pieces of ordnance, with much faire armour, and great abundance of victuals: and ſeuen galli-
ots which lay at anchor vnder the fort. Cataro thus relieued, *Superantius* with victorie retur-
ned againe to Corcyra.

Superantius re-lieueth Cataro, and taketh a great fort of the Turks.

1572 *Fuſcarinus* the Venetian Admirall with all things in readineſſe, hauing long lien at Corcy-
ra, expecting the comming of the confederates, as was before appointed; ſent *Superantius* the
Prouidetor with fiue and twenty gallies to Meſſana, to haſten the comming of *Don Iohn*, and to
attend vpon him by the way. But comming thither, and thinking to haue found a great fleet
and a ſtrong power in good forwardneſſe to haue ſet forward, he found ſuch ſmall prepara-
on, as well ſhewed the Spaniards ſmall care for repreſſing of the Turke, and that they would
not be very forward in the ſeruice intended. Which filling him with griefe and indignation, L
cauſed him to complaine vnto himſelfe, of their vnfaithfulneſſe, and to bewaile the ſtate of his
countrey, with the whole Chriſtian common-weale: for *Don Iohn* had before ſolemnely pro-
miſed vnto the Venetian Embaſſadour, that all things ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the ap-
pointed time: but now a great part of Sommer was paſt, when ſcarce ſome few companies, &
about fiftie gallies were met together at Meſſana; and when *Auria* would come with the reſt,
no man could tell. So that the carefull Prouidetor ſtood now no leſſe in doubt of the Spani-
ards delay, than of the Turks fury.

Selymus (after the great ouerthrow he had receiued at the Iſlands Corzulares, for feare hee
ſhould be driuen quite out of the ſea, was aboue all things carefull for the renewing of his na-
uy: and hauing partly new built, partly repaired two hundred gallies, commended them to the
conduct of *Vluzales*; with expreſſe charge, That by how much things had fallen out worſe the M
laſt yeare, he ſhould with ſo much the more care now beware the like danger; and not to goe
out of the bounds of the Archipelago, or to aduenture b[illegible]ll but vpon aduantage, or at leaſt-
wiſe vpon an euen hand.

Selymus ſendeth out Vluzales with two hundred gallies.

This *Vluzales* (otherwiſe called *Occhiali*) was an Italian borne in Calabria, who in his
youth

A youth taken at ſea by the Turks, and chained in the gally, and afterwards renouncing his faith;
by many degrees grew vnto the higheſt preferments among the Turkes, & ſo became an exceed-
ding plague as wel to his own country as all other of the Chriſtians bordering vpon the Me-
diterranian. He now Admiral for the Turke, after the manner of the proud Barbariane, threat-
ned with fire and ſword to be reuenged vpon the Venetians: which knowne at Venice, much
troubled them, as wel acquainted with the furie of the old Archpyrat. Beſide that, *Ant. Barba-*
rus their embaſſador, al the time of this war kept in ſafe cuſtody at Conſtantinople, had by let-
ters certified them, what a great fleet, & what a ſtrong army *Selymus* had prouided againſt them:
and that he himſelfe told 250 ſaile of gallies when they ſet forward from Conſtantinople, be-
ſide ſome other that were to meet with them at Calipolis: and that therefore they ſhould be-
B ware how they incountred with the Turks fleet but vpon equal ſtrength. It was alſo at the ſame
time commonly reported, That king *Philip* chiefe of the Confederats, careleſſe of the warres
againſt the Turke in the Eaſt, was about to turne his forces vpon the kingdomes of Tunes or
Algiers, neerer vnto him; as indeed he did the yeare following. The Venetians intangled
with ſo many difficulties, were euen at their wits end, & day by day the Senat ſate from the ri-
ſing of the Sun to the ſetting of the ſame, conſulting how all theſe mitchiefs were to be reme-
died. But for as much as the greateſt danger was to be feared from the Turks fleet, as then ho-
uering euen ouer their heads; they by Letters commanded *Fuſcarinus* their Admirall, That
whether the confederats came vnto him or not, he ſhould forthwith take his courſe toward the
Eaſt, and there according to the enemies deſignes, and his owne diſcretion and valour, to doe
C what he ſhould thinke beſt to be done for the common good of his country: and not to refuſe
to joine with the enemy in battell, if he ſaw any good hope of victory. Neither ceaſed they at
the ſame time, both by their Embaſſadors and letters, earneſtly to call both vpon the Pope and
the King, to haſten their forces to incounter the enemy before he ſhould come out of his own
ſeas; and to carry the terror of the war home to his o[illegible]vne doores, rather than to receiue it at
their own. The like meſſage was alſo done to *Don Iohn*, putting him in minde what his place,
what the time, and what the danger of the time required; intreating him (if it were poſſible)
of himſelfe to adde ſomething vnto that haſt which the neceſſity of ſo important a cauſe re-
quired. Who neuertheleſſe, for all the meſſengers and letters to him ſent (which were many)
wont ſtill on faire and ſoftly, delaying from day to day; telling, That he would by and by
D come, and that the Spaniards would alwaies be ſo good as their word. Which was ſo far from
his thought, that afterwards finding one excuſe after another, he not only ſtaied his comming,
but called backe againe *Requiſenius* alſo, whom he had ſent before with twenty gallies to Cor-
cyra. Now were two moneths (fitteſt for the wars) vainly ſpent, when *Superantius* grieued to
ſee time to no purpoſe ſo ſlip away, & fearing leſt the reſt of the Sommer ſhould to as ſmall ef-
fect in like maner paſſe alſo, with great inſtance importuned him to haſten his journy. Then at
length *Don Iohn* anſwered, that the Venetians requeſted but reaſon, neither that he wiſhed for
any thing more, than to ſatisfie their deſires; but that a greater care hindered the leſſe, which
was firſt to be preuented: He was aduertiſed (as he ſaid) that the French king pretending the
ſuppreſſing of certaine pirats, had aſſembled a great fleet at Rochel, with purpoſe indeed to in-
E uade Spain, now that the king was buſied in theſe wars againſt the Turk: and that therfore they
muſt pardon him if he preferred the regard of Spain before others, being expreſſly commanded
from the king, not to depart from Meſſana vntil he had other commandement from him. But
whether this excuſe by France proceeded of a true feare or otherwiſe, the Venetians much
doubted; and the rather, for that the French king vnderſtanding thereof by the Venetians, was
therwith (as reaſon was) exceedingly offended: proteſting, that he was euer ſo far from that pur-
poſe of hindering any the confederat princes in that their religious war, that if the troubles of
his own country would haue ſo permitted, he would gladly haue giuen them aid therein. Many
there were alſo that thought, *Ennie the antient enemy of vertue and valor*, to haue had a great po-
wer in this delay; doubting whether the Spaniards would more reioyce of the victorie well
F hoped for, if they ſhould joine with the Venetians; or grieue if the ſame ſhould by the Veneti-
ans be obtained without them. *Superantius* wearie of diſcourſes and long expectation, and al-
moſt out of hope of any helpe in time from the Spaniard; how vntowardly ſoeuer things
went, thought better yet warily to moderate his griefe, than in ſo dangerous a time to giue any
occaſion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet ſpake he not fauningly or flatteringly of the
matter,

Pluzales a renegat Chriſtian and now the Turks Admirall.

Superantius beſeecheth Don Iohn.

ter, but with a certaine modeſt grauitie declared, That he had thought heauen would ſoo- C
haue fallen, than that *Don Iohn* would not at the appointed time haue come to Corcyra.
A[illegible]l beſought him, and wiſhed him to beware that he brought not the common State
in[illegible] great danger: if they had to do with ſuch an enemy as might be delaied with, then
he ſaid he could eaſily abide delay; but now for that the war and the enemy was ſuch, as
wherein, or with whom neuer any Generall had delaied without loſſe, to what end did he lon-
ger defer or triſle out the time? or what other fleet did he expect? If they ſhould diuide their
forces, then were th[illegible]ll too weak, but vnited together, ſtrong enough to defend the common
cauſe. The neerer th[illegible]mie came, the more haſte were to be made to joine with the Vene-
an fleet. And what co[illegible] (as he told him) more honorable or glorious, than for him a noble
yong gentlemen royally diſcended, of whome the world had conceiued a great hope, that he
would in martiall honour exceed the glory of his moſt famous anceſtors, againe to vanquiſh
the proud Turke, the greateſt and moſt mightie monarch of the world; to fight [illegible] battell
of the Higheſt, to aſſure the Chriſtian commonwealth againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy, [illegible] pur-
chaſe vnto himſelfe immortall glorie and renown. As for the French, there was no ſuch thing
to be feared as was pretended, who with ſuch ſlender preparation, not worth the name of a
fleet, was not ſo vnaduiſed as to ſet vpon a kingdome of ſuch ſtrength and power as Spaine.
Furthermore he ſaid, that it concerned not the Venetians more than the king himſelfe, to haue
the Turks repreſſed: whoſe kingdoms of Naples, Sicilia, & Spain, were no leſſe than their ter-
ritorie, expoſed to danger by ſea. The good ſucceſſe of their affairs in the East would open the
way to the conqueſt of Affrick: but if the Turk ſhould preuaile, then were they to deſpaire, not
of Affricke, but of all Italy, Sicilie, yea and of Spaine it ſelfe. The time (he ſaid) and neceſſitie
of the war, with the extremiti[illegible] of the danger of the whole and common State, required that he
ſhould with all his power and [illegible] poſſible, take vpon him the defence of the common cauſe,
or to ſay more truly, of the Chr[illegible] monwe[illegible], then ſo dangerouſly impugned. Theſe
reaſons drawne from the common go[illegible] and the [illegible] it ſelfe, much moued the Generall: but
the kings pleaſure was to be preferred before a[illegible]ſons or dangers that could be alledged.
But hearing afterward, what reſolute command th[illegible] Venetian Senat had ſent vnto their Ad-
mirall, he became exceeding carefull: for hee feared leaſt if the Admirall ſhould without his
helpe fight the battell and gaine the victory, he would conuert all the glory thereof vnto him- K
ſelfe, but if he ſhould chance to be ouerthrowne, it would turne to his vtter reproch and per-
petuall infamie, that in ſo neceſſarie a time he had withdrawne himſelfe from the common
cauſe. Wherefore as a man perplexed, and in doubt what to do, he ſtood for a while as one at
his wits end: yet at laſt, he vpon deliberation reſolued to take a middle courſe, and ſo neither
without the command of the king (by whoſe preſcript order all was to be done) to depart with
the fleet from Meſſana; neither altogether to fruſtrate the Confederates of the expected ayd.
He ſendeth Lilly of Andrada, with 22 gallies. And to that purpoſe ſent two and twentie gallies vnder the conduct of one *Lilly* of Andrada (a
noble gentleman) to the Venetian Admirall at Corcyra; with whom went alſo *Columnius*
with the Popes fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Vgo Boncompanius*, by
the name of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his ſtead; who vpon the ſame conditions with L
his predeceſſour, had entred into the league, and liking very well of *Columnius*, kept him ſtill
for his Admirall.

Long had *Fuſcarinus* expected the comming of the confederats, & albeit that the yere was
far ſpent (Auguſt being then come) and no ſuch aid ſent, as he had expected; yet deſiring to do
ſomthing worth the remembrance, and beſeeming their honor, he earneſtly perſuaded *Colum-*
nius and *Lilly* to ſet forward with him toward the Eaſt, and with their vnited forces to giue the
enemy battel: telling them, That if they were al of like courage, they ſhould go not only to the
glory of the preſent battel, but to the great honour and aduancement of the whole Chriſtian
commonweale. After that, he extenuated the power of the enemy; ſaying, That he could not
but maruell, from whence ſuch a number of gallies as was reported, could ſo ſuddenly be ga-
thered, or whereupon ſo great confidence & boldneſſe was growne vnto them, ſo lately ouer- M
thrown & put to flight: the enemies fleet (he ſaid) was the yere before ouercome & diſperſed,
the captaines and mariners ſlaine; and that therefore it was not credible, that ſo many [illegible]s
could with ſuch celeritie be built, and ſuch a number of mariners and maſters as was nec[illegible]
in ſo ſhort time prouided: That the prouiſion of the enemy was by flying fame made [illegible]e
greater

Iohn in poiether to ſend aid to the Venetians or not.

A greater than indeed it was or poſſibly could be: for why, they might eaſily gueſſe what the E-
nemy was able to do, by the Chriſtians themſelues, who could not without much ado & great
labor build their fleets, and traine vp their mariners and maſters: and that therfore letting fame
flie, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadfull than they are; he was verily
perſuaded, that the enemie was glad to vſe moſt vnskilfull & ignorant as well mariners maſters
as ſoldiers; who ſuddenly taken vp in the inland countries, and put into the gallies, knew not
ſo much as the very names of the topes and tacklings, and other equipage: and then thoſe gal-
lies which they had were like enough to be but weake, as of them which were the laſt yeare
rent and bruiſed, and now againe botched vp; or in haſte built of greene timber, could not be
nimble or greatly ſeruiceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, as valiant men to ſet foreward
B againſt the enemie; and that with the greater courage, for that the laſt yeares victory had ope-
ned vnto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it ſhould ſo fall out, as good hope
there was, they ſhould thereby take from the proud enemie both power and hope (but in long
time) to be able to recouer his ſtrength at ſea: ſo that they in the meane time without feare,
might at their pleaſure take the rich Iſlands in the Archipelago. Now if the Turkes declining
battell, ſhould retire themſelues into the Helleſpont, then might they with fire and tword
ſpoile all the frontiers of their dominion on this ſide the ſtraits, and open a way vnto the Chri-
ſtians to do great matters.

Hardly were *Columnius* and *Lilly* perſuaded by the Admirall: neither did they therunto giue
their conſent, vntil it was decreed, That they ſhould not in any caſe joine battell with the ene-
C mie, but with their gallions & galeaſſes firſt placed in the front of the battel, in whom conſiſted
the greateſt hope of the victory. So ſetting forward toward the enemy, & come to Commen-
titia, letters were brought vnto them from *Don Iohn*, certifying them, That he was now by let-
ters from the king commanded to come towards the Eaſt, and to joine his forces with the con-
federats; but yet that for certain daies he could not come, vntill he were better prouided of all
things neceſſary: & that therefore they ſhould in the mean time carefully look vnto all things,
promiſing ſo ſoone as he poſſibly could to come vnto them. Vpon theſe letters, *Columnius* and
Lilly began to doubt, whether to go on further, or to expect the comming of the General: yet
foraſmuch as he had not expreſſly written any thing concerning their ſtaying, and *Fuſcarinus*
vrged them forwards, on they went, with their fleet diuided into three battels. The whole fleet
D conſiſted of 155 gallies, ſix galleaſſes, and twenty tall ſhips: in the right wing was *Superantius*; *The number & order of the chriſtian fleet.*
in the left wing *Canalius*; and in the middle battel, *Columnius*, *Fuſcarinus*, and *Lilly*; and in the
rereward followed *Querinus*. Before each battel went two of the galeaſſes ſtil in readines for
preſent battell. In this order they came firſt to Zacynthus (commonly called Zanto) and ſo to
Cerigo: the next day after to Colubraria (commonly called Dragonaria) ouer againſt Cerigo.
Here *Angelus Surianus* a valiant gentleman, ſent before to diſcouer the enemy, & what ſtrength
he was of, returning vnto the fleet, declared vnto the Admiral, That the Turks fleet, conſiſting
of 160 gallies, ſixty galliots, and foure great ſhips, lay about Maluaſia, in the enterance of the
bay called Sinus Argolicus, vpon the borders of Peloponeſus, about fifty miles off from the
Chriſtian fleet. Shortly after, the ſame fleet was againe diſcouered making for Malea: where-
E upon the Chriſtians, before reſolued to fight whereſoeuer they ſhould meet the enemy, forth-
with put themſelues in order of battel, and ſo with their galeaſſes in the front, made with what
ſpeed they could toward him. Theſe two fleets were thought for many reſpects almoſt equal:
the enemie was in number moe, but inferior in ſtrength. The Chriſtian fleet by reaſon of the *The chriſtian fleet and the Turkes almoſt equall.*
heauines of the galleaſſes, made but ſmall way; and the enemy afraid of the great ſtore of ord-
nance the galleaſſes carried, durſt not come neere them. The Turks fleet was rather nimble
than ſtrong, but ours more firme and forward. Looke wherein each exceeded the other, there-
with they endeuored to helpe themſelues and annoy the enemy. The Chriſtians fearing to be
circumuented by the multitude of their enemies, oppoſed their ſhips and galeaſſes before them
as a moſt ſure fortreſſe: and the Turke, by how much he had had the worſe ſucceſſe the yeare
F before, was ſo much the more carefull to beware how he indangered himſelf within the reach
of the galleaſſes. The Chriſtians deſired nothing more than to fight and to come to handie
blowes: but the Turke, who thought it ſufficient for the preſent not to be ouercome, ſomtime *The Turks warily declineth battell.*
made away as faſt as he could, and by and by ſtaied againe, if happily he might haue taken the
gallies ſeperated from the galleaſſes; neuer ſeeming willing to aduenture further than reaſon
and

discretion were. The enemy seeing the Christian fleet comming still on, and readie to
gaue battel, first seemed as if he would haue done the like, but afterwards turned his course vp-
on the hand, and kept aloofe alongst the coast of Malea: At which time the Christians,
alth[ough] they were very desirous to haue followed them, yet the Turkes with their nimble
fleet were quickely too far gon for the Christian fleet to ouertake them, especially with their
beauie ships. That day almost spent as it were in the chase of the enemy, towards the going
downe of the Sunne, the enemy put into the current of the sea betwixt Cerigo and the Hant.
Iti and, in bredth about ten miles, and there diuiding their fleet into three parts, lay in good or-
der, as expecting the coming of the Christians, with the prowes of their gallies turned, as if
vpon the confidence of place, which they had filled ouerthwart, they had purposed no-
thing more than to fight. But both fleets seemed resolued; the one not to fight without the
gallie asses, and the other not to come neere those hot ships, from whom they had but [illegible] yere
before receiued so great harme. And although the enemy, as was afterwards knowne, pro-
posed nothing lesse than to fight, but vpon great aduantage; yet fearing by open flight to shoo
nor his lord and master, and by granting as it were of victorie, to increase the fame of the chri-
stians, the craftie pyrat made a great shew of that he least indeed purposed. For pretending a
great desire to fight, he indeed deluded the Christians hope: who although the wind had fai-
led them, yet in hope the enemie would abide them battel, with much labor and rowing came
so neere him, that the great shot began to flie too and fro on both sides: but when the matter
should haue come to haue bin tried by dint of sword, then it plainly appeared what the enemy
had indeed purposed: for still keeping the prowes of his gallies vpon the Christians, he by lit-
tle and little shrunke backe; and beside that the shadow of the night began then to approch,
he caused al his great ordnance charged only with pouder, to be shot off, & so in the thicke of
the smoke retired vnseene; col[illegible] his subtill departure also, by certaine lights left in their
cock-boats, making shew as if the [illegible]fleet had still there staied. By this meanes the Turks
with great celeritie escaped, being also [illegible]pen in[illegible], that the Christians hindred by the hea-
uinesse of the galleasses, could not but fain and [illegible]y pursue them: for these galleasses, as they
are vessels of great seruice, so are they also heauie and vnweldie, and not fit for chase. The de-
parture of the enemy at length knowne, the Christians also vnwilling to fight by night, retur-
ned to Cerigo. Two dayes after, the Turkes stayed in the bay of Tenarus (now called Meta-
pan) & the Christians at Cerigo; contented in that, that the enemy was the cause that the bat-
tell was not fought, and reckoning his wearie and couert declining of battell, as a secret con-
fession of the victorie. The third day after, the Christians desirous of nothing more than to
joine in battell with the enemie, in their former order set forward from Cerigo, and sailing all
the night, were in the breake of the day descried from land by the Turks: whereupon *Vluzales*
by shooting off of certaine warning pieces commanded all his men to go aboord, and to put
themselues in readines for battell. And now the Christians were not far off, when as the Turks
(lest declining of battell might reproue them of feare) came out of the hauen, with their fleet
diuided into three battels: whereof the left wing was extended a great way into the sea, the
right wing still keeping neere vnto the maine, and in the middle battell was *Vluzales* himselfe:
who came all on no faster than the tyde draue them, staying their course oft times of purpose,
to haue drawne the gallies of the Christians from the galleasses and ships. *Vluzales* seeing his
fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the galleasses, commanded both the wings
of his fleet (hauing in each of them foure score gallies) to fetch a great compasse about, the one
on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloofe off from the galleasses, and so to assaile the
wings of the Christians on the sides or behinde: in hope so to haue disordered their battell,
and without danger to haue drawne the gallies from the galleasses and the other heauie ships.
Which their intent the Christians perceiuing, in their wings turned about their gallies also, in
manner of the new Moone, their maine battell still facing the middle battell of the Turks. The
wings of the Turkes fleet thus farre seperated from the middle battell, seemed to present vnto
the Christians a great aduantage: which *Fuscarinus* (intentiue to all the offers of good fortune)
quickly perceiuing, and calling vnto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and shewing them the enemies main
battell at hand, and the wings gone a great way off, requested and persuaded them, That
staying for the heauie Ships and Galleasses, they would with him vpon the sudden assa
the enemies middle battell now destitute of the wings: not doubting but so to ouerthro
the

Vluzales manning, and making ready, vpon the approch of the battell.

The Turks politicly retire.

The Christians desirous of battell, go against the Turks.

A the enemies greatest strength there, before the wings could, now they were so farre gon, joyne themselues to the battell againe. What could (as he said) haue hapned more wishedly, than to haue their battel diuided? So that they might at more aduantage fight against euery part thereof, now seperated, than against all three parts at once. If they had thought themselues not only equall, but too strong for the whole enemies fleet vnited, should they not the better ouercome them apart and dispersed? The opportunity, as he said, was but short, and therefore to be forthwith resolued vpon. If they would take the present occasion of victory then offered, and as resolute men charge their enemies, little fearing any such thing, they should by their celeritie and valour, teach the Turks what the Christian discipline of war and power was able to do: but
B if they would therein vse delay, they should ere long in vaine wish for the like occasion they had let slip, when as their battell was againe strengthned with the wings. This the Admirals speech was of most that heard it joyfully receiued, and his counsell well liked; and that with such a generall cheerefulnesse of the souldiers, as shewed in them no want of courage to haue giuen the enemy present battell. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* being of the same mind they had bin alwaies, said it were dangerous so to do, for feare of drawing the whole three battels of the Enemy at once vpon them, against which they should be too weake, without the help of the galleasses and heauy ships: and therefore said flatly, That without those vessels so much feared of their enemies, they would not in any case hazard the fortune of a battell. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion for that they so thought, or were so charged by *Don Iohn* (of whome they altogether depended) not to fight in his absence, many doubted. The
C wings of the Christians in turning about to confront the wings of the enemy, were a little disordered: which the Turks perceiuing, and taking the present opportunitie, with fifteen of their gallies were about to haue charged the straglingst gallies: which *Superantius* perceiuing, to stay their course, went out couragiously against them with foure gallies, & made with them a great fight: in the heat whereof, *Superantius* seeing fortie more of the enemies gallies comming towards him, and dodbting to be inclosed, with all speed sent for reliefe, which came presently in, namely twentie gallies, with two of the galleasses: which forthwith sent their thundering shot so thicke and furiously amongst their enemies, that in a little time eighteene of their gallies were by them all rent and torne; and the Turks therewith dismaied, were glad in such hast to returne, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* hauing at that fight but one of his
D gallies shot through, returned againe vnto his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would haue bin the euent of the whole battell, if the opinion of *Fuscarinus* had preuailed. Both the fleets falling again into their order, although the Christians could not so fast follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they so neere them, that oftentimes they changed bullets, as well with their small shot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many signes gathered, that neither the Turks would abide present battell, neither the Christians longer delay, if by their enemies they so might. The Christians had agreed (as is before said) not to joine in battell without their galleasses and tall ships: which *Vluzales* well vnderstood, both by the fugitiues and his owne espials, as also by their manner of sailing. And he himselfe, although he had no great desire to fight, yet to be the better able to frustrat the endeauors of the
E Christians (who with great labour drew with them the galleasses and other heauie ships) sent his chargeable great ships to Maluasia, there to be vnrigged; whereby he discharged himselfe of a great burthen, and made himselfe able at his owne choice and pleasure, to leaue or take, to fight or not: and also with such soldiers and other necessaries as were in the same great ships, supplied the wants of his whole fleet. By which policie the matter was brought to that passe, that if the Christians would needs draw the enemie to battell, they must of necessitie forsake their galleasses, their most assured strength; or if they would not leaue them, then they could not by any meanes inforce the readie enemie to fight. The day now declining, the enemy supposing himselfe to haue done enough for that time, both for the abating of the heat of the Christians, and encouraging of his own people, in seemly order, as one not affraid, sailed with
F his fleet to Corona. The Christians in like manner retiring themselues to Cerigo.

The Turks fleet at Corona, and the Christians at Cerigo.

Whilest things thus went, *Don Iohn* by a frigot sent of purpose, gaue knowledge to the fleet, that he was come to Corcyra, sharply blaming the great commanders for their departure, and that they stayed not for his comming: and further commanded them as their Generall, all other things set apart, forthwith to meet him at Zacynthus, there to resolue of all matters.

Don Iohn sendeth word to the fleet to meet him at Zacynthus.

discretion were. The enemy seeing the Christian fleet comming still on, and readie to giue battel, first seemed as if he would haue done the like, but afterwards turned his course vp on the right hand, and kept aloofe alongst the coast of Malea: At which time the Christians, although they were very desirous to haue followed them, yet the Turkes with their nimble fleet were quickely too far gon for the Christian fleet to ouertake them, especially with their heauie ships. That day almost spent as it were in the chase of the enemy, towards the going downe of the Sunne, the enemy put into the current of the sea betwixt Cerigo and the Hant Island, in bredth about ten miles, and there diuiding their fleet into three parts, lay in good order, as expecting the coming of the Christians, with the prowes of their gallies turned, as if vpon the confidence of the place, which they had filled ouerthwart, they had purposed nothing more than to fight. Yet both fleets seemed resolued; the one not to fight without the galleasses, and the other not to come neere the fee hot ships, from whom they had but before receiued so great harme. And although the enemy, as was afterwards knowne, purposed nothing lesse than to fight, but vpon great aduantage; yet fearing by open flight to shonor his lord and master, and by granting as it were of victorie, to increase the fame of the Christians, the craftie pyrat made a great shew of that he least indeed purposed. For pretending a great desire to fight, he indeed deluded the Christians hope: who although the wind had failed them, yet in hope the enemie would abide them battel, with much labor and rowing came so neere him, that the great shot began to flie too and fro on both sides: but when the matter should haue come to haue bin tried by dint of sword, then it plainly appeared what the enemy had indeed purposed: for still keeping the prowes of his gallies vpon the Christians, he by little and little shrunke backe; and beside that the shadow of the night began then to approch, he caused al his great ordnance charged only with pouder, to be shot off, & so in the thicke of the smoke retired vnseene; colouring his subtill departure also, by certaine lights left in their cock-boats, making shew as if the whole fleet had still there staied. By this meanes the Turks with great celeritie escaped, being also holpen in the night, that the Christians hindred by the heauinesse of the galleasses, could not but faintly and leasurely pursue them: for these galleasses, as they are vessels of great seruice, so are they also heauie and vnweldie, and not fit for chase. The departure of the enemy at length knowne, the Christians also vnwilling to fight by night, returned to Cerigo. Two dayes after, the Turkes stayed in the bay of Tenarus (now called Metapan) & the Christians at Cerigo; contented in that, that the enemy was the cause that the battell was not fought, and reckoning his wearie and couert declining of battell, as a secret confession of the victorie. The third day after, the Christians desirous of nothing more than to ioine in battell with the enemie, in their former order set forward from Cerigo, and sailing all the night, were in the breake of the day descried from land by the Turks: whereupon *Vluzales* by shooting off of certaine warning pieces commanded all his men to go aboord, and to put themselues in readines for battell. And now the Christians were not far off, when as the Turks (lest declining of battell might reproue them of feare) came out of the hauen, with their fleet diuided into three battels: whereof the left wing was extended a great way into the sea, the right wing still keeping neere vnto the maine, and in the middle battell was *Vluzales* himselfe: who came all on no faster than the tyde draue them, staying their course oft times of purpose, to haue drawne the gallies of the Christians from the galleasses and ships. *Vluzales* seeing his fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the galleasses, commanded both the wings of his fleet (hauing in each of them fourescore gallies) to fetch a great compasse about, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloofe off from the galleasses, and so to assaile the wings of the Christians on the sides or behinde: in hope so to haue disordered their battell, and without danger to haue drawne the gallies from the galleasses and the other heauie ships. Which their intent the Christians perceiuing, in their wings turned about their gallies also, in manner of the new Moone, their maine battell still facing the middle battell of the Turks. The wings of the Turkes fleet thus farre seperated from the middle battell, seemed to present vnto the Christians a great aduantage: which *Fuscarinus* (intentiue to all the offers of good fortune) quickly perceiuing, and calling vnto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and shewing them the enemies main battell at hand, and the wings gone a great way off, requested and persuaded them, That staying for the heauie Ships and Galleasses, they would with him vpon the sudden assaile the enemies middle battell now destitute of the wings: not doubting but so to ouerthro the

Vluzales meaning nothing lesse, yet maketh shew of battell.

The Turks politiquely retyre.

The Christians desirous of battell, go against the Turks.

A the enemies greatest strength there, before the wings could, now they were so farre gon, ioyne themselues to the battell againe. What could (as he said) haue hapned more wishedly, than to haue their battel diuided? So that they might at more aduantage fight against euery part thereof, now seperated, than against all three parts at once. If they had thought themselues not only equall, but too strong for the whole enemies fleet vnited, should they not the better ouercome them apart and dispersed? The opportunity, as he said, was but short, and therefore to be forthwith resolued vpon. If they would take the present occasion of victory then offered, and as resolute men charge their enemies, little fearing any such thing, they should by their celeritie and valour, teach the Turks what the Christian discipline of war and power was able to do: but
B if they would therein vse delay, they should ere long in vaine wish for the like occasion they had let slip, when as their battell was againe strengthned with the wings. This the Admirals speech was of most that heard it ioyfully receiued, and his counsell well liked; and that with such a generall cheerefulnesse of the souldiers, as shewed in them no want of courage to haue giuen the enemy present battell. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* being of the same mind they had bin alwaies, said it were dangerous so to do, for feare of drawing the whole three battels of the Enemy at once vpon them, against which they should be too weake, without the help of the galleasses and heauy ships: and therefore said flatly, That without those vessels so much feared of their enemies, they would not in any case hazard the fortune of a battell. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion for that they so thought, or were so charged by *Don Iohn* (of whome they altogether depended) not to fight in his absence, many doubted. The
C wings of the Christians in turning about to confront the wings of the enemy, were a little disordered: which the Turks perceiuing, and taking the present opportunitie, with fifteen of their gallies were about to haue charged the straglingest gallies: which *Superantius* perceiuing, to stay their course, went out couragiously against them with foure gallies, & made with them a great fight: in the heat whereof, *Superantius* seeing fortie more of the enemies gallies comming towards him, and doubting to be inclosed, with all speed sent for reliefe, which came presently in, namely twentie gallies, with two of the galleasses: which forthwith sent their thundering shot so thicke and furiously amongst their enemies, that in a little time eighteene of their gallies were by them all rent and torne; and the Turks therewith dismaied, were glad in such hast to returne, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* hauing at that fight but one of his
D gallies shot through, returned againe vnto his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would haue bin the euent of the whole battell, if the opinion of *Fuscarinus* had preuailed. Both the fleets falling again into their order, although the Christians could not so fast follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they so neere them, that oftentimes they changed bullets, as well with their small shot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many signes gathered, that neither the Turks would abide present battell, neither the Christians longer delay, if by their enemies they so might. The Christians had agreed (as is before said) not to ioine in battell without their galleasses and tall ships: which *Vluzales* well vnderstood, both by the fugitiues and his owne espials, as also by their manner of sailing. And he himselfe, although he had no great desire to fight, yet to be the better able to frustrat the endeauors of the
E Christians (who with great labour drew with them the galleasses and other heauie ships) sent his chargeable great ships to Miluasia, there to be vnrigged; whereby he discharged himselfe of a great burthen, and made himselfe able at his owne choice and pleasure, to leaue or take, to fight or not: and also with such souldiers and other necessaries as were in the same great ships, supplied the wants of his whole fleet. By which policie the matter was brought to that passe, that if the Christians would needs draw the enemie to battell, they must of necessitie forsake their galleasses, their most assured strength; or if they would not leaue them, then they could not by any meanes inforce the readie enemie to fight. The day now declining, the enemy supposing himselfe to haue done enough for that time, both for the abating of the heat of the Christians, and encouraging of his own people, in seemly order, as one not affraid, sailed with
F his fleet to Corona. The Christians in like manner retiring themselues to Cerigo.

The Turks fleet at Corona, and the Christians at Cerigo.

Whilest things thus went, *Don Iohn* by a frigot sent of purpose, gaue knowledge to the fleet, that he was come to Corcyra, sharply blaming the great commanders for their departure, and that they stayed not for his comming: and further commanded them as their Generall, all other things set apart, forthwith to meet him at Zacynthus, there to resolue of all matters.

Don Iohn sendeth word to the fleet to meet him at Zacynthus.

where with to keepe the Christians from entring that way. So had they also vpon that point of the entine, which (as we said) runneth out from the towne, and vpon S. *Bernards* rocke, planted other great pieces of ordnance to defend that passage also. The Christians comming vnto the mouth of the bay, there lay with their fleet diuided into foure parts, but yet doubtfull what to doe: for beside that the entrances of the bay were but narrow, they were also far more dangerous to be entred, by reason of the great ordnance planted vpon them. Neuertheless, the Venetian Admirall in hope of good successe, and loth to let the fearefull enemy so to escape out of their hands, would faine haue perswaded the Generall with his whole fleet to haue entered the bay, and there in the mouth to haue oppressed the enemy: which he shewed to be no matter to do, for that the enemy was too weake in strength, & could not be from land relieued. In which doing, they should indeed ouerthrow but one fleet; but in the ouerthrowing of that one, cut in sunder all the sinewes of the Turkish empire by sea: and raising a tumult in the bay, and filling all with a generall feare, should vndoubtedlly at the first onset put the enemy to flight. Which done, what should let, but that carrying about with them the terrour of the victorie they should with their victorious fleet, take from the Turke al the Islands of the Ægeum? That truly and wisely it was said of *Themistocles*, That whosoeuer had the command of the sea, must needs also preuaile in the rest, and at length carrie away the victorie by land also. It was (as he said) the part of good chieftaines, not to be wanting vnto themselues when occasion was offered: besides that, they were the same Turks, whom they had but the yere before vanquished, and what had that one yere either taken from them, or giuen vnto the Turks? or what should they feare from pieces of ordnance mounted vpon a hill, who if they should vndertake the battell, were neare the great store of ordnance in 260 of the enemies gallies and galliots? I my selfe (said he) will be the guide and leader, in whatsoeuer shall seeme most difficult & dangerous: and will in person my selfe be the first that shall enter the harbour, and aduenture the first danger. Great victories (he said) were not to be gained but with great aduentures; and that therefore the matter were to be hasted, before more aid should be sent vnto the Turks. Wherfore they should as resolute men attempt that, the Turks thought the Christians durst not to haue attempted; and with the same courage breake into the bay, wherewith they had but the yere before broken the strength of the same enemie; & by the power of God, carrie away another notable triumph of the vanquished Turks: who ouercome in a second battell at sea, must needs depart with all their maritime territories. With euill liking of the Spaniards was the Venetian Admirall heard: and *Don Iohn* the General, deeming both the time and place vnfit for the attempting of so great an exploit; rehearsed on the one side, the strength of the enemy, the disaduantage of the place, the difficultie of the battell, with the manifold and great calamities receiued by the ouerhasty and rash attempts of their enemies: That the enemies strength was not to be so much deemed by the eye, or by report, as by reason; & that many in seeking to increase their former glory, had in so doing ouerthrown the same: That the Christians in entring and aduenturing the harbor, should on the one side be beaten with the artillerie from the hill; and on the other, with the artillerie out of the castle of Modon: and that it was not like that *Vluzales* should if need were, lacke aid from land, who but the other day had sent great troups of horsemen to haue kept the Christians from watering: That a matter of so great importance, was (by *Fuscarinus* his leaue) not rashly to be taken in hand, vpon an heat and hautinesse of stomacke, but vpon graue and mature deliberation: for if they should in a place of so great disaduantage, hazard the fortune of a generall battell, it should seeme that either he knew not that kind of fight, and force of the enemy, or else would make the bay of Modon more famous by the ouerthrow of the Christians, than was the Curzulari by the slaughter of the Turks. Then what a shame would it bee, if they which were about to oppresse the enemies fleet, should themselues be ouerthrowne, and that in their owne deuice. He had rather (as he said) preserue his own fleet, than to take 600 of the enemies gallies, and to account the same for a greater honor. Which he determined not, for that he would not haue any thing done; but that vnripe occasions should not be too much hastned, and as it were thrust headlong forward: whereas time would giue opportunitie for the ouerthrow of the Turkish fleet, so that they ran not blindly on headlong: & that in future time, the Venetians would reioice that they had so moderated their desires. The Christians (he said) had sufficiently preuailed if those things should fall out well, which were warily and aduisedly considered and resolued vpon.

Don Iohn refuseth to follow the counsell of the Admirall.

The

The matter thus on both sides debated, and nothing done, they returned with the fleet into the port of Nauarinum. This proceeding, as it diuersly moued the Spaniards and the Venetians, so brought it forth diuers speeches, euery man speaking in fauour of his owne nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, That hee had most prouidently resolued, for that how deere the counsell of the Venetian Admirall would haue cost if it had been followed, the thing it selfe (as he said) shewed, by the extreame danger thereof presented, not in the doubtfull opinion of men, but laied open before their eies. The Venetians on the other side more desirous of battell, the neerer they had seene the opportunitie to haue preuailed vpon the enemy, the more impatiently they endured so assured a victorie to haue beene let slip out of their hands: and thereof spake accordingly.

The castle of Modon in vain besieged by the Christians.

The Christians lying at Nauarinum, consulted of many things what they were best to take in hand: & resoluing at last, by sea and land to besiege the castle of Modon, which kept the passage into the bay, and defended the Turkish fleet; they returned again thither, & landed 7000 of their best souldiers, to besiege the castle. And at the same time, appointed the galeasses with certaine gallies to batter it also from sea: which the more commodiously to doe, they ioined two of their greatest gallies together side to side, which they made fast with masts and strong ropes, and so bourded them cleane ouer, whereon as on a platforme, they placed gabions all afront, filled with earth, and great ordnance betwixt to haue battered the castle. But when this engine (in manner of a floating fort) should haue performed the seruice for which it was deuised, it proued vnseruiceable, after it had with much adoe beene brought thither, being ready to sinke with the weight of the great ordnance and other things wherewith it was ouercharged. For which cause, and for that they vnderstood a great number of horsemen to be come into the towne, they gaue ouer the siege vainly begun, and put againe with their fleet to sea. It fortuned at the same time, that a tall ship of Venice departing from Zacynthus, and comming alongst the coast of Peloponesus with prouision for the fleet, was descried by the enemie; who thinking to do the Christians a great dishonour, if they could almost in the sight of their fleet surprise her, they sent out certaine light gallies to haue taken her; *Vluzales* in the meane time with the rest of his fleet, lying in the very mouth of the bay, ready to come out if the Christian fleet should once stir to relieue her. Which the Christians perceiuing, and wel hoping that so the enemy would be drawn to battel, sent out *Columnius* with his gallies to rescue the ship; and others also which lying aloofe, might get in betwixt the Turks gallies & the bay: *Don Iohn* and the Venetian Admirall, lying ready to haue giuen battel, if *Vluzales* should haue come forth: but the Christians comming on with a smal gale, the enemy being afraid, by shooting off of certain warning pieces within the bay, in time called backe the gallies that were already gone out of the bay: who all forthwith came in, excepting *Mahomet* the nephew of *Barbarussa*, a most famous captaine amongst the Turkes, who as one of great courage, and desirous of honor, staied a little without the bay, with greater courage than discretion, expecting who should assaile him. Him the Marques S. *Crucis* set vpon, and had with him a great and terrible fight: but in the end the Marques preuailing, slew *Mahomet* with all his Turks, and with honor carried away the gallie. So the dishonor which *Vluzales* would haue done the Christians, fell vpon himselfe, hauing in his owne sight lost one of his best captains with his gallie.

Mahomet slain.

The next day, because the yere should not passe without something done, nor the hope of so great a preparation come to nothing, the Christians determined to besiege the castle of Nauarinum (which was in antient time called Pylus) more famous for nothing, than for that it was the natiue place of old *Nestor*. The citie of Nauarinum standeth vpon a rising ground, stretching somewhat into the sea; whereinto it hath a large prospect, and a faire large hauen, but subiect to the Northwind. It is defended with a point of the main, running compasse into the sea, whereon standeth an old castle. Some sent before to view the scituation of the place, brought word backe, that the castle might in three daies be woon. The performance of which exploit, was committed to *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of Parma, whom the Venetians furnished with munition and victuall. He landing with two thousand Italians, a thousand Spaniards, and 500 Germans, began with twelue great pieces to batter the castle. And albeit that the batterie was plantdd so farre off, as that it did the enemie no great harme; yet happily the enterprise had taken effect, if by taking the straight and troublesome passages through a rough and thicke forrest, the citie had bin kept from relief: but forasmuch as those passages were left free, the

The Prince of Parma in vain besiegeth Nauarinum.

enemie

et[illegible] cunningly opposed policie against force, for sallying out of the citie, they gaue the C
C[illegible]ians an hot skirmish: and in the mean time whilest the Christians were so busied, by a
po[illegible]ward the forest on the other side of the city, receiued in great number both of horse &
foot[illegible] port of this new come aid caused the Prince to raise his siege, and to goe againe a-
boord. And now rested all the hope of the gaining of the towne in the strength of the fleet:
and that not small, for that the Turks not relieued with victuals by land, were by the confede-
rats kept from them also by sea: for at that time the Turks were troubled with two great mis-
chiefes, the Plague, and Famine. For no prouision had there bin made, as in a thing not feared;
and that little being sp[illegible] that was in the towne, they were inforced to seeke for victuals fur-
ther off: which commin[illegible] sparingly, as in time of dearth, was oftentimes by the way inter-
cepted by the souldiers tha[illegible]y about in the countrey villages, wanting victuals no less than H
they in the citie. And the more men the Beglerbeg of Græce brought downe for d[illegible] of
the sea townes, so much the more the wants of all things daily increased. So that no ma[illegible]b-
ted, but that in short time all would be brought to extreame penurie. What a death the i[illegible]
litie had made, the want of men in the gallies well declared: for many of the gallies for lacke
The weakenesse of the Turkes fleet. of mariners and souldiers were sent away into Eubœa, or left at Maluasia, or carried away to
Constantinople. Those which staid in the bay of Modon, were scarce 100 gallies, and 40 gal-
liots: and they so slenderly manned, that the greatest gallies had scarcely an hundred & twen-
tie men left in them, and they so meagre & faint, as that they could scarcely hold vp their wea-
pons. The Christians vnderstanding of these things, were in good hope, that by continuing the
siege, they sh[illegible]ld without dange[illegible]ine a notable victorie: for which cause *Fuscarinus* persua- I
ded the Spa[illegible]s (of whose cor[illegible]ie he doubted) to hold it out, as men of resolution; shew-
ing them, [illegible] the euent of th[illegible]tion rested for them for euer to be feared or contemned of
the Turks: w[illegible]o except they sh[illegible]d be changed into fishes or into birds, could not (as he said)
without a notable ouerthrow escape their hands out of the Bay[illegible] But vnto this his hope and
coũnsel, the euent was not correspondent: for the[illegible]niards, whether it were for the tedious-
nesse of the siege, or for want of victuals, or for the a[illegible]ch of Winter, or els moued with some
other reasons, began to thinke of the matter diuersly: and at the first a report was raised, That
the Christians giuing ouer the siege, would shortly returne home: and the reason was, for that
they wanted bisket, and had scarcely victuals left for fifteene dayes, which was to be reserued
for their long iourney home: besides that, the approch of Winter did call them from the acti- K
on: and that hauing done what they might, they could neuer draw the enemy forth to battell;
and that therfore hauing sufficiently and as far as was possible already discharged their duties,
they were now also to regard their safetie, and to foresee that their fleet, wherein the welfare
of them all was reposed, were not too far endangered. At the first these speeches were divul-
ged by the common souldiers and mariners of small credit or reputation; but afterwards by
moe, and they also men of better place and sort: Yea *Don Iohn* himselfe, whether it were to
some other purpose, or that hee so spake in good earnest, began to lay the fault vpon others,
why that he, so lately come from Messana, should in so short time want victuals and all things
else necessarie.

The Venetians murmure against the Spaniards. With these vnexpected reports, and so far different from the confederation, the Venetian L
Admirall with the rest of the Venetian commanders were exceedingly troubled, and grieued
aboue measure: for it seemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from
the most fertile and plentifull countrey of Sicilia, in all ages the most faithfull and abundant
granarie and storehouse of Italie, both in peace and warre, could so soone want victuals. Could
eighteene tall ships (which ought by the capitulations of the league to haue come loaded with
bisket, victuals, and other warlike and necessary prouision) become emptie? or but to haue
brought so much as might but suffice for a month only? If this were done without the know-
ledge of *Don Iohn*, where was then the care of a Generall? If he winking therat, where was his
zeale to the confederation, or to what purpose came he to Corcyra? was it to auert the Chri-
stian fleet (hauing once or twice met with the enemy) from doing any good vpon him? Could M
it come into any mans head (besides that in so doing he w[illegible]s therein to extinguish the glory of
most certain victory, like to worke the Turks confusion [illegible] the infamy of a voluntary return
to increase the glory & renowne of his enemy, and bri[illegible] perpetuall ignominy and disgrace
vnto the honour of the Christians? Verily the Spaniar[illegible] therein to shew themselues not so
willing

A willing to haue the power of the Turks abated, as the strength of the Venetians not increased.
[illegible]These things *Fuscarinus* and the Venetians sometimes fretted at amongst themselues; and *The Venetian Admirall perswadeth the Spaniards in no case to returne from the enterprise.*
otherwhiles the Admirall himselfe expostulated the same with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*: & in
the presence of the greatest counsellors shewed, not only how profitable, but also how necessa-
rie perseuerance was in all martiall affaires: That it was an old and vsual matter for men in be-
sieging of their enemies, to suffer many difficulties: if they should, hauing performed nothing,
return with the fleet, who would doubt but that both their labor & charge was again the next
yere to be renewed? And what could this delay be els, but a propagation of their further cala-
mities? That therefore it much concerned the Christian commonweale, although they had
not all things in abundance, yet resolutely and with patience to indure the scarcity of victuals.
B If want of bisket were feared, the Generall might easily remedie that matter, by speedily send-
ing for those ships which lay laded with victuals good store at Tarentum; which thing might
in short time be performed. In the mean time he promised to supply the Spaniards wants with
part of his owne store: and that he had rather his men should liue with rootes, than to let the
enemies fleet coupt vp, so to escape his hands: That the desire to protect the honour of the
Christians, would ouercome all difficulties. Besides that, the matter would be but short, if it
were done at once, in one continued course; and would vndoubtedly be by them performed, if
they gaue not ouer the thing they had so well begun, vntill they had accomplished it. They (as
he said) might in good safety lie with their fleet in the ports of Nauarinum, Sapientia, and Ca-
C praria: wher as the enemie, lying shut vp in the bay of Modon, should haue but a bad & dange-
rous Winter harbor; and October being now begun, should in short time be in danger to pe-
rish with blustering stormes and rage of the sea, familiar vnto that time of the yere; or else en-
forced with the extremitie of the weather, and with want, to aduenture into the open sea, and
with their weake forces to ioyn battell. What should therfore let, why they should not for 10
or for 15 daies continue the siege, as best beseemed the honor of themselues, the valor of their
souldiers, and worthinesse of the Christian name? What a terrour it would be vnto the ene-
my, to see the Christians ready to indure all extremities and wants, to gaine the victorie ouer
the Turks? Again, what dishonor and dis[illegible]redit would it be vnto themselues, if they should suf-
fer the enemy (shut vp and not daring to fight) to escape: especially, when as they might sitting
D still, end the war? The Senat of Venice, he said, most rested vpon the valor & courage of *Don*
Iohn, & therefore he requested him not to deceiue the great hope they had of him conceiued:
for how much should he himselfe blemish his owne honor, if when he had before relieued the
afflicted state of the commonweale, he should now, when it was most of all to be holpen, for-
sake the same? Which should not be much vnlike, as if a man should with great labor purchase
great store of precious pearles, and vpon an humorous passion cast them all into the sea: That
men generally held a great opinion of him the Generall, an honorable remembrance of his vi-
ctorie, and regard of his valor; all which, how much the more pregnant and honorable should
they be, by the second vanquishing and subduing the most mighty monarch of the world: and
that if the action well begun, should be effectually prosecuted by the goodnesse of God, the
E direction of the commanders, and the resolution of the souldiers, in short time the Christians
should carrie the victorie from the Turks, and make him their Generall equall not only with
the great chieftains of the present time, but euen with the most famous commanders of al for-
mer ages. Whereunto *Don Iohn* replied, That the action then in hand no lesse concerned the *Don Iohn replieth vpon the Venetian Admirall.*
Spaniards than the Venetians: and that he had in his life desired nothing more, than to stand
the Christian commonweale in stead: That he pointed at the same marke with *Fuscarinus*, &
in zeale to doe good vnto the Christian commonweale, gaue place to no man; but indeed to
perform it, was a thing much more difficult than to say it: lesser things (he said) were to be ouer-
passed, to reserue themselues for the performance of greater: and therfore marueiled that *Fus-*
carinus alone could not see things most manifest before his eyes, who otherwise could with
F his piercing wit see through the deepest matters: could he thinke by any other means to abate
the power of the Turk, than if they kept their fleet whole; that it was euer the maner of the grea-
test & most worthie cõmanders, rather to shun the present dangers, than to encrease their ter-
rirories: That nothing was so well purposed, which might not be of some wrongfully suspe-
cted: but his faithfull meaning to be pure and without spot; and albeit that the opportunitie
serued not for him to shew it: yet was his desire and endeuour nothing lesse: And that *Fusca-*
rinus

rious should do well more intentiuely to consider, what the cause, the matter, and the time re- G
quired: That the manner of war at land and at sea, were much different: and that although
warre of both sorts were to giue place vnto the most vnseasonable time of the yere, vnfit for
any kind of war; yet might men at land, better indure the Winter stormes in their tents & ca-
bins, than at sea in their gallies, where oftentimes, will, skill, wisedome, nor valour helpe not:
but that (except it be so prouided and foreseene, that the seasonable time of the yere, and com-
modious for sayling, may be taken) all must together perish by shipwracke. What, would hee
haue them to striue aboue their power with the winter stormes, and famin, the greatest extre-
mities of nature? Besides that, he was verily persuaded, that the Turks inioying the commo-
dities of a good harbor in a rich citie, would there in safetie winter; the countrey of Pelo-
ponesus relieuing them with all necessaries: when as the Christians in the mean time, except H
they in time returned home, should lie expoled to the rage of the sea, standing as it were in a
continuall watch, not laying away their weapons in the depth of Winter & dead time of the
yere, which in reason ought to giue rest to all men. And that therfore euery man ought to
present to beare his owne grieuances, and not by the harms of his friends and confederats, to
seeke his own auaile. And that he, bearing himselfe vpon the inward integrity of his good wil
toward the Venetians, would this say, how soeuer *Fuscarinus* should vnderstand it, that if the
kings fleet should by long staying there perish, it would no lesse concerne the Venetians, than
the king himselfe: and taking God to witnesse, would solemnly promise, Nothing to be vnto
him more leifer or religious, than to be prest so soon as the time of the yere would giue leaue, I
and by his endeuour to make all men to know, that he had no lesse care of the Venetian State,
than of the kings affaires; neither desired any thing more, than to be accounted, & indeed to be
a most constant vpholder of this most Christian league; and that beyond all expectation, euen
in the imminent of the Venetians themselues: but for the present they must pardon him, if
he gaue place vnto the necessity of the time. As for the offer of the communicating of their vi-
ctuals, that would not be any helpe, but the destruction of both the fleets; for so they should
both sooner feele the want: wherefore it were much better to preserue the fleet, which they
might vse in the next yeres wars, than wilfully to cast away the same by famine, & the rage of
the sea. In briefe, what an indignitie should the Christians sustain, if they themselues should by
the same means be ouerthrowne, whereby they had thought to haue ouerthrowne others.

The Spaniards about to return without the knowledge of the Venetians.

Now the Spaniards were so resolutely set downe for their departure, that not only with- K
out the consent of the Venetians, but euen without their priuitie, their departure was resolued
vpon, and secret commandement giuen vnto the masters of the gallies, with all the haste that
might be, to depart thence to Messana. Which the Venetian Admirall vnderstanding, & ther-
with troubled as with an vnexpected matter, came aboord the General, & greatly complained
of his purpose for so sudden a departure: requesting him a while to stay, vntil the two gallies
made fast together in the harbor of Nauarinum (as is beforesaid) with the ordnance vpon them
might be put in good safety, & neither they, or any thing else left for a prey vnto the enemie.
With much adoe, *Fuscarinus* perswaded him to stay that night, that those gallies might bee
brought out of the harbor, and all things put in order for their departure. The rest of the night
was spent in debating of the matter too & fro: where *Don Iohn* would needs haue it conceiued L
into a publike instrument in writing, That the fleet by the generall consent of the three Admi-
rals returned for lacke of victuals: whereunto the Venetian Admirall hardly consented. But
when the instrument should haue bin made and confirmed, *Don Iohn* better aduised by one of
his Secretaries, That the same would redound vnto the great dishonour both of the king and
himselfe, that the fleet comming out of the fruitful country of Sicilia, should in a months space
want victuals; changed his mind for the writing, & onely requested the Venetian Admirall to
credit him & *Columnius*, in that they had said concerning the want of victuals: promising him,
that if vpon the way he should meet with the victuals that were sent for, he would forthwith
return & giue him aid, as the time and occurrents should require: but in the mean time to pro-
ceed by common consent, to do that which was most needfull. Hereupon they returned: and M
comming to Corcyra, they met the expected ship laden with victuals. Now is not *Fuscarinus*
vnmindfull of his dutie, but comming to *Don Iohn*, put him in remembrance of his promise;
telling him, That it was not vnlike, but that the enemy soone as hee vnderstood of their de-
parture, would come out of the bay, and returne with his fleet towards Constantinople; and
being

A being but weake manned, and worse furnished of mariners, might easily be ouertaken vpon the
way and ouerthrowne. But *Don Iohn* was not by any meanes to be thereunto perswaded, pre-
tending, that he was by the King commanded forthwith to return. So the expectation of great
matters to haue bin this yeare done, came to nought, but vanished into smoake: and nothing
performed worth so long a discourse, more than to see with what difficultie great actions are
managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their owne ho-
nor, or enuying at others, corrupt with delaies the fairest opportunities, & by their crosse dea-
B ling, no lesse than the enemy, hinder the common good, whereat they would all fainest seeme
to aime. From Corcyra *Don Iohn* departed to Messana, and *Columnius* vnto Rome. *Fuscarinus*
with greater honor than successe returned to Venice, where he was with great joy receiued,
both of the Senat and the citizens in generall: and so (no lesse famous for his patience & mo-
deration towards the other confederats, than for his policie and valour) with the good liking
of all men gaue vp his charge, in few yeares after to receiue a greater.

Amyda the exiled King of Tunes craueth aid of Don Iohn.

About this time, *Amida* King of Tunes (of whom much is before spoken in the life of *Soly-*
man) being but a little before driuen out of his kingdome by the Turks (who had of long by
little and little incroched vpon him) and as a priuat man liued in exile with his two sonnes at
Guletta with *Franciscus Tonares* Gouernour thereof; hearing of the great ouerthrow of the
Turks at Lepanto, and of the good successe of the Christians, sent Embassadours to *Don Iohn*
Generall of the confederat princes, then lying in Sicilia, humbly requesting his aid for the re-
C couerie of his kingdome; promising to defray the whole charges of the warre, and for euer to
hold his kingdome of the King of Spaine, as his vassal and tributarie. Whicst his request well
considered of, and the matter thought of no small consequence for the safetie of the Christian
countries lying ouer against that part of Affricke, to haue so dangerous an enemie remoued;
Don Iohn the yere following (in the beginning of October) by the commandement of the king 1573
of Spaine his brother, departing from Drepanum in Sicilia, with an hundred and fiue gallies
and fortie ships, arriued the next day about noone at Guletta, where the gallies of Malta came
vnto him, and shortly after *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall with nineteene moe, and *Columni-*
us the Popes Admirall with fourteene moe, all well appointed. At his arriuall at Guletta, he
vnderstood by *Amida* and the Gouernour, the whole estate both of the citie and of the king-
D dome of Tunes: and that the Turks and Moores, terrified with so great a fleet, were about to
forsake the citie. Wherefore hauing well viewed the place, he the next day after landed his
forces about foure miles from the citie, and sent two thousand fiue hundred footmen before
the rest of the armie to the citie; who found it all desolate, the Turks and Moores being be-
fore for feare fled, some to Carauana, some to Biserta: who entring without resistance, came to
the castle, wherein they found two hundred Moores, who said they kept it for *Amida* their
King; but yet would by no meanes suffer the Christians to enter. All which was forthwith
made knowne to *Don Iohn*, who then because it was almost night, would not mooue, but early
the next morning set forward with his whole armie; and entring the citie, before abandoned
by the inhabitants, and so comming to the castle, found nothing therein but great store of oile,
E butter, and wooll.

Amida the late King, by the commandement of *Don Iohn* all this while stayed at Guletta. But
whilest *Don Iohn* was yet at Tunes, newes was brought to him the thirteenth of October, That
the Turks garrison before fled out of Tunes, with diuers Moores, comming to Biserta, were
there kept out by the citizens, and not suffered to enter: for which cause they began to burne
and spoile the country thereabout. Whereupon the Generall sent *Tonares* the Captaine of Gu-
letta thither with part of the armie; who encountering with those Turks ouerthrew them, and
had the citie by the citizens peaceably deliuered vnto him.

The iust iudgement of God vpon Amida the late king of Tunes.

The kingdome of Tunes thus easily once againe recouered from the Turkes, *Don Iohn* tho-
rowly informed of the faithles & cruell dealing of *Amida* the late king, and that in detestation
F of the Christians and their religion, he had already had intelligence with the Turks, and pro-
cured the death of some of the Christians; gaue this definitiue sentence vpon him, being yet
in the castle of Guletta: That forasmuch as he had of long time bin the author of great discord
and endlesse troubles in that kingdome, and had most vnnaturally depriued *Muleasses* his father,
first of his kingdome, and afterward of his sight; and in like manner tyrannized ouer his na-
turall brethren, the rightfull heires of that Kingdome, whereby the Turkes had taken occa-
sion

...y desire he had thereunto of himselfe. For certaine daies at the first the French Embassador G ...s most curteously heard and the Bassa with faire & cunning speech promised, that the mat... of pacification should easily & in short time be composed: and so at their first conferences things passed rather in general terms, than that any conditions of peace were particularly agreed vpon: only this was on both parties consented vnto, That the Venetians should send their embassador of purpose, for the full concluding and confirming of the desired peace. Which charge was by the Senat committed to *Iacobus Superantius*, in whose wisdome and valor they had reposed great hope and confidence. He was no sooner come to Constantinople, and the Turkes deliuered of the feare of Christian sword, by the dissolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed, and the Venetians glad to endure the proud looks of the Turks, their disdainfull eares, their despightfull speeches, their long and insolent attendance, with many H other shamefull indignities: Yea the Bassa was so shameles, as proudly to aske them; How they durst be so bold as to impugne the great Emperor *Selymus* his fleet at sea. Whereunto the Embassador answered, That the Venetians had alwaies honored the Majestie of the Turkish Emperors, neither had at any time taken vp arms against him, but in their own reasonable defence, when force was by force to be repulsed, a thing lawful euen for the wild beast in the wild wildernesse to do. At the first intreatie of the peace, the Bassa seemed to put the Venetian embassador in good hope, that the Venetians according to his request should enioy their territories in Dalmatia in as ample manner as in former times, and bounded with the same bounds, whereof they had in these wars lost some part about Iadera. But when the matter should haue come to the shutting vp, the Turke began to shrinke from that he had before promised, refusing not I only the restitution of the territorie they had indeed by treason got; but by cautelous expositions of his meaning touching the conclusion of the present peace vnto the forme of their former leagues, required, That as the Turkes had now yeelded vnto them Maluasia and Nauplus, so they should redeliuer vnto them two other places of like worth and importance: As for not restoring the territorie they had taken about Iadera, to colour their deceit, they pretended that they might not by their law restore vnto the Christians any towne or place wherein were any church or temple dedicated or conuerted vnto the Mahometane religion, which was there: and further, That the same territorie was alreadie giuen by *Selymus* in reward vnto his souldiers, men of desert, from whom without great iniurie it might not be againe taken. Hereupon the French Embassador complained, That promises were not performed: and the Vene- K tians so fretted, that they were euen about to haue returned as men shamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained (the Turks stil standing vpon such hard termes) the Embassadours by the appointment of the Senate concluded a peace with the Turke; wherof these were the chiefe capitulations: first, That the Venetians should giue vnto *Selymus* three hundred thousand duckets, one hundred to be presently payed, and the other two hundred by equall portions in two yeres next following: then, That the merchants goods should be indifferently on both sides restored: and lastly, That such places of the Venetians as the Turke was alreadie possessed of, should still remaine vnto the Turks; but that such towns or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turks dominion, should be again forthwith restored. For the first payment of the money the Turke was earnest, thereby as by a fine L for an offence committed, to make this league vnto him more honorable.

The Venetians send their Embassador of purpose to Constantinople to entreat a peace.

A peace concluded betweene Selymus & the Venetians.

1574

This peace at Constantinople concluded the eleuenth day of Februarie in the yeare 1574, was by the decree of the Senat confirmed; and afterwards the 13 of April following solemnly proclaimed in Venice, to the great wonder of the other Confederates. For the better satisfying of whom, the Popes Nuntio, with the Embassador of Spaine, were sent for into the Senat house. And although there were many things that grieued the Venetians, yet did they forbeare all hard speeches, and of that their moderation receiued so much the more honor, as it is more difficultie for an angrie man to ouercome himself than others. The duke with calme & temperat speech, framed to the purpose, declared vnto them, That anger and hope, two euill counsellors, being set apart, he had concluded a peace with the Turke: not for that he was desirous M of the Turkes friendship, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the loue he bare to the State, which was not lately with losse, but euen with death it selfe to be maintained. How he had been spoiled of the kingdome of Cyprus, he further declared: and that the Venetian state grew euery day weaker and weaker by the continual wa...

The peace proclaimed at Venice.

and

A and that therefore, before it were by losse vpon losse come to the vttermost of extremity, they not able to maintaine so heauie a war, were to take some better course for the preseruation of that which was yet left of their Seigniorie: for that the safetie of the Venetian State should at all times be a sure fortresse and defence of the Christian commonweale against all the furious attempts of the enemie, and vncertaine euents of time.

The fame of this sudden and vnexpected peace was for the iust and common hatred of the Christians against the Turks, generally euill taken: and the Venetians for the concluding thereof hardly spoken of, as if they had betrayed the whole Christian commonweale, or at leastwise their Confederates. For men were for the most part of opinion, that the Turkes peace would be but feigned and deceitfull; and that hauing gained time to set things in order, accor-
B ding to his desire, he would for the naturall grudge he bare vnto the Christians, come to his old course, and as he had alwaies done, breake the league and take vp armes. Some said, That the Venetians forsaken of their friends and confederats, would in their owne deuices perish, yet so, as that their destruction would turne to the generall harme of all Christendome: and these men were of opinion, That in that case, and against that enemie, a dangerous warre was to be preferred before vn vncertaine and dishonorable peace. Neuertheless the Venetians, besides that they for the present eased themselues of many an heauie burthen, so haue they thereby enioyed the fruits of a long and happie peace, and found the same vnto their State both wholsome and profitable vntill this day. It was thought by the sequel of matters, That *Selymus* was the more willing to haue peace with the Venetians, that he might the better re-
C couer the kingdome of Tunes and the strong castle of Guletta from the Spaniards: who with the knights of Malta now gaped more after Tripolis and the other port townes holden by the Turks vpon the coast of Barbarie, than how to defend the Venetians their Confederats. Thus with the losse of Cyprus and some part of the Venetian territorie in Dalmatia, ended the mortall and bloudie war betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the course whereof is well to be seene, what great matters the vnited forces of the Christian Princes were able to do against this most mightie Enemie, if all discord and contention set apart, they would in the quarrell of the Christian Religion joine with heart and hand against him, and fight the battell of Christ Iesus.

The peace by experience found profitable vnto the Venetians.

Selymus now at peace with them who before most troubled him, to keepe his men of war
D busied, shortly after conuerted his forces against *Iohn* Vayuod of Valachia, and so at length joined all that prouince to his empire. This countrey of Valachia was in antient time called Dacia: it hath on the East the Euxine (now called the Blacke sea) on the South the famous riuer Danubius, on the West Transyluania, and on the North Russia. It is diuided into two parts, the one called Transalpina, & the other Moldauia (of the riuer Moldavus running thorow the middest thereof) but far passing the other both in greatnesse and abundance of pasture. That part called Transalpina, *Mahomet* syrnamed the Great (which woon Constantinople) made subiect to the Turkish empire; but vpon Moldauia, the other part, he only imposed a yearely tribute of two thousand duckets. After which time the Vayuods of that country, aided sometime by the Hungarians, and sometime by the Polonians, rise vp oftentimes against the Turks, and refused
E to do their homage. It chanced, that *Bogdanus* Vayuod of that country, fauoring the Polonians, and joyning in league with them, liued much in Russia, as purposing from thence also to haue taken his wife. Which *Selymus* suspecting, with a great power chased him into exile, and placed in his stead one *Iohn* (called of his countrymen *Iwan*, and of some *Iuonia*) the supposed son of *Stephanus* sometime Vayuod of that country: who with *Ieremias Czarnitueczius* (a Moldauian, who afterward notably betrayed him) hauing of long time liued amongst the Turks, to be the more gratious amongst them, renounced his faith, and being circumcised, turned Turke; and following the trade of marchandise, became among them a merchant of such fame, that he became very familiar and well acquainted with the great Bassa's of the Court, and at length with *Selymus* himselfe. He vnderstanding by his friends neere about the Turkish
F Emperor, of his purpose for the remouing of *Bogdanus*, corrupted with rewards the great Bassa's, to be mediators for him to *Selymus*, that commended by them, he might be preferred to be Vayuod of Moldauia: still increasing the suspition *Selymus* had conceiued of *Bogdanus*, and telling him, That he supported by the Polonians, was like enough in short time to reiect his obedience to his Imperial Maiestie. *Selymus* at the instance of the Bassa's nominated this

Selymus chaseth Bogdanus out of Moldauia, and placeth Iohn Vayuod in his stead.

to be Vayuod, who wit[h] great power of the Turks horsemen entring into Moldauia, ex- G
[p]ossessed himselfe of the Countrey, *Bogdanus* being then absent in Russia, and as then su-
[s]pecting no such matter: who yet afterwards attempted in vaine by the helpe of the Poloni-
[a]ns to haue againe recouered his Countrey, but finding no possibilitie so to do, fled afterwards
into Muscouia, where he long time after liued.

Iohn the Vayuod falleth into suspition with Selymus and the Bassa's of the Court.

Iohn now quietly possessed of Moldauia, for some few yeares held the same with the good liking of the Turke, paying [a]ll his woonted tribute: but afterwards repenting himselfe of his wicked reuolt from the Christian Faith, and now eftsoones againe embracing the same, and (ignorant of his owne former) persecuting with too much seueritie those which withstood his comming into the Country, especially such great men as tooke part with *Bogdanus*; and now after his returne vnto the Christian Faith, not fauouring the Turks as he was woont, but crossing them in many matters, became suspicious both vnto *Selymus* and the Bassa's his old friends. Which the Vayuod of the lesser Valachia (commonly called Valachia Transalpina) vnderstanding, he became a suter vnto the great Bassa's of the Court for his brother [*Peter*] and earnestly trauelled with them, that as *Iohn* supported by *Selymus*, had driuen *Bogdanus* out of Moldauia, so *Peter* his brother might in like manner by his helpe driue *Iohn* out also. In which his sute he spared for no cost, neither ceased by malicious suggestions to increase the suspicion alreadie conceiued of *Iohn* the Vayuod: who hauing reiected the Mahometan Religion, and againe embraced the Christian Faith, would (as he said) in short time, as had *Bogdanus*, ioyne hands with the Polonians, and cast off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whome he had beene so highly promoted. Besides that, this malicious man offered, That his brother *Peter* for his preferment, should pay yerely vnto *Selymus* twice so much more as did *Iohn*, namely [a] hundred and [t]wenty thousand duckets by the name of a tribute.

The Bassa's [h]ereupon corrupted, and moued with the greatnesse of the tribute, perswaded *Selymus* by an Embassador to send for *Iohn* the Vayuod, to come vnto him himselfe in person, and to command him to giue place to such a man as he should send thither in his stead: which if he should refuse to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had euen then much emptied his coffers with the losse of his fleet in the battell of Lepanto, and the chargeable warres against the Venetians, was easily induced: and to that purpose sent his Embassador to the Vayuod: who hauing audience the one and twentieth of Februarie, at the same K time that *Henry Valoys* (afterward the French King) was crowned at Cracouia, deliuered his message as followeth:

The commaunding speech of the Turks Embassador to Iohn the Vayuod.

Selymus *the Great Emperour of the Turkes sendeth me vnto thee, Iohn, Vayuod of Valachia, his Tributarie; with this commaund, (whereunto his pleasure is, that thou shouldest without delay send him answer:) first, he chargeth thee to send him not such a tribute as he was wont, but twice so much more, to wit, an hundred and twentie thousand duckets. If thou shalt refuse so to do, there is another readie to giue it both for himselfe and his posteritie. But* Selymus *mindefull of thy constancie, fidelitie, and valour, will not be troublesome vnto thee in thy gouernment, if thou forthwith send the aforesaid tribute. Which if thou shalt refuse to do, then his will is that thou shouldest giue place to another, and thy selfe* L *returne with me to Constantinople, there to answer the matter: otherwise, I am in his name to denounce all hostilitie and the calamities of war both vnto thee and thy countrey.*

This proud message of the Embassador strooke farther into the minde of the Vayuod than any would haue thought: yet dissembling his griefe, hee commanded him to be brought to the Lodging appointed for him; telling him, That in a matter of so great importance, and so much concerning the whole State of his Countrey, hee could not giue him so present answere as hee required; but that vpon mature deliberation had with his Nobilitie and Counsell, hee would in short time answere him accordingly. The Embassadour being gone to his Lodging, the Vayuod forthwith began deeply to consider of *Selymus* his demands; and that in the Turkes Faith was no assurance, which hee kept or brake with the Chri- M stian Princes as best fitted his owne turne: and besides that, That if hee should graunt to pay that so great and heauie a Tribute in so great [p]ouertie of his Kingdome, sore vexed with ciuile warre, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, so long as any man would giue him more, but happily would the next yeare exact a greater, and in the end

A end such an one as hee with all his subiects should not be able to pay; which it should not be safe for him at any time to refuse, so long as any man would giue it. Wherefore calling together the nobilitie and States of his countrey, he brake with them in this sort:

The speech of the Vayuod vnto his nobilitie and subiects.

If euer you were to consult and deliberate of a most important and difficult matter, this verily is that time: for Selymus *the Turkish Emperour, enflamed with insatiable auarice, and I know not by whose persuasion, not contented with his woonted tribute, exacteth of vs twise so much more. If you shall grant it, it shall not much concerne mee, as not to be payed by mee your Soueraigne, but by your selues and your posteritie: if wee denie it, forthwith he denounceth vnto vs fire and sword, with all the* B *calamities of warre. And in this bareneſſe of our Kingdome, almost spoyled by ciuile warres, how shall wee be able to pay it him? wherefore declare your mindes. Verily I foresee, that if you shall in this yeeld vnto* Selymus, *and grant him so great a tribute, hee will not therewith long hold himselfe contented, but euerie yeare extort a greater, vntill he haue altogether eaten vs vp. Wherefore it were better [for] vs (in mine opinion) to lose our liues together with our wiues and children, than to suffer so great an indignitie: neither is it mine owne estate that troubleth me; for why, it is you that are to pay it, and not I. Wherefore if you list not to endure this so dishonourable and base a seruitude, let mee forthwith so vnderstand from you: and I will for my part so prouide, as that I will not onely not pay vn-* C *to the barbarous tyrant the new and heauie tribute he demandeth, but not so much as any tribute at all; so that you be not wanting both to your selues and me. I know right well (beloued and fellowes in armes) what I owe both vnto you and the common-weale, for whose good and welfare I am alwaies ready to lay downe my life.*

He had no sooner thus said, but that a secret sorrow and vnwonted silence had as it were oppressed the whole assembly. At length, as men awaked out of an heauie and dead sleepe, they murmured among themselues, that the Turkish Emperour should so without reason oppresse them, with doubling and redoubling of his tribute: and were generally of opinion, That the Vayuod had not so plainly as truly spoken of the intollerableneſſe thereof: and that therfore they had rather die, than to indure so great dishonor, ioyned with so foule a slauerie. And therupon offered vnto the Vayuod to serue vpon their own charge, and with him vpon the banke of Danubius to meet the proud enemy, and there in defence of their lines and libertie, to fight D it out vnto the last man. The Vayuod in few words commending their fidelitie, and taking of them an oath for the faithful performance of that they had so resolutely promised, sent for the Turks Embassadour, and gaue him this short answer:

The answere of the Vayuod vnto the Turkes Embassadour.

I, for the antient fidelity and allegeance which I owe vnto my Lord and dread Soueraigne, the mighty Emperour Selymus, *would willingly yeeld vnto him the tribute hee requireth, were it not that I know the mindes of my people to abhorre the same: wishing rather to endure all calamities, hap what soeuer hap may, than to yeeld vnto so dishonourable and shamefull slauerie. Wherefore sithence I cannot by any meanes extort the same from my subiects, tell my Lord* Selymus, *That I must humbly request* E *him, not to take the same in euill part, whose amitie I wish to be vnto me, rather an ornament and refuge, than disgrace or hinderance. And that vpon that good hope I both asked, and for my singular fidelitie obtained of him the Vayuodship of Moldauia: which my good hope I most heartily beseech him may not deceiue me.*

With this answer he dismissed the embassador vnrewarded, & with a safe conuoy brought him vnto the banke of Danubius: which his homely vsage of the embassador, caused him not a little to be suspected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The Embassadour sent away, the Vayuod not ignorant of the sudden inuasions of the Turks, forthwith began to raise his armie: and at the same time, sent Embassadors vnto *Henrie* King of Polonia his neerest neighbor, cer- F tifying him of the dangerous state of Moldauia, the surest bulwarke of the Polonian kingdom, which once ouerthrowne, opened a faire and easie way for the common enemie into Polonia: and therefore requested him, that as the Kings of Polonia had of antient time, euen for the safetie of their owne State, protected that countrey; so it would please him now in like manner in so dangerous a time, to giue him aid; or at least wise to giue leaue vnto such of his subiects as were willing to serue for entertainement, to come vnto him, whom he would with all

honour

to be Vayuod, who wit[h] great power of the Turks horsemen entring into Moldauia, ex- G
[p]ossessed himselfe of the Countrey, *Bogdanus* being then absent in Russia, and as then su-
[s]pecting no such matter: who yet afterwards attempted in vaine by the helpe of the Poloni-
[a]ns to haue againe recouered his Countrey, but finding no possibilitie so to do, fled afterwards
into Muscouia, where he lon[g] time after liued.

Iohn the Vayuod falleth into suspition with Selymus and the Bassa's of the Court.

Iohn now quietly possessed of Moldauia, for some few yeares held the same with the good
liking of the Turke, paying [h]is woonted tribute: but afterwards repenting himselfe of his
wicked reuolt from the Christian Faith, and now eftsoones againe embracing the same, and
(ignorant of his owne fortune) persecuting with too much seueritie those which withstood
his comming into the Country, especially such great men as tooke part with *Bogdanus*; and H
now after his returne vnto the Christian Faith, not fauouring the Turks as he was woont, but
crossing them in many matters, became suspicious both vnto *Selymus* and the Bassa's his old
friends. Which the Vayuod of the lesser Valachia (commonly called Valachia Transalpina)
vnderstanding, he became a suter vnto the great Bassa's of the Court for his brother [*Peter*], and
earnestly trauelled with them, that as *Iohn* supported by *Selymus*, had driuen *Bogdanus* out
Moldauia, so *Peter* his brother might in like manner by his helpe driue *Iohn* out also. In which
his sute he spared for no cost, neither ceased by malicious suggestions to increase the suspicion
alreadie conceiued of *Iohn* the Vayuod: who hauing reiected the Mahometan Religion, and
againe embraced the Christian Faith, would (as he said) in short time, as had *Bogdanus*, joyne
hands with the Polonians, and cast off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whome he I
had beene so highly promoted. Besides that, this malicious man offered, That his brother
Peter for [h]is preferment, should pay yerely vnto *Selymus* twice so much more as did *Iohn*,
namely [a] hundred and seuen thousand duckets by the name of a tribute.

The [Bassa's] hearing [t]his, and moued with the greatnesse of the tribute, perswaded *Se-*
lymus to [s]end an Embassador to send for *Iohn* the Vayuod, to come vnto him himselfe in person,
and to command him to giue place to such a man as he should send thither in his stead: which
if he should refuse to do, then to denounce vnto [h]im open war. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had
euen then much emptied his coffers with the losse of his fleet in the battell of Lepanto, and the
chargeable warres against the Venetians, was easily induced: and to that purpose sent his Em-
bassador to the Vayuod: who hauing audience the one and twentieth of Februarie, at the same K
time that *Henry Valoys* (afterward the French King) was crowned at Cracouia, deliuered his
message as followeth:

The commaunding speech of the Turks Embassador to Iohn the Vayuod.

Selymus *the Great Emperour of the Turkes sendeth me vnto thee, Iohn, Vayuod of Valachia, his Tributarie; with this commaund, (whereunto his pleasure is, that thou shouldest without delay send him answer:) first, he chargeth thee to send him not such a tribute as he was wont, but twice so much more, to wit, an hundred and twentie thousand duckets. If thou shalt refuse so to do, there is another readie to giue it both for himselfe and his posteritie. But* Selymus *mindefull of thy constancie, fidelitie, and va-*
lour, will not be troublesome vnto thee in thy gouernment, if thou forthwith send the aforesaid tribute.
Which if thou shalt refuse to do, then his will is that thou shouldest giue place to another, and thy selfe L
returne with me to Constantinople, there to answer the matter: otherwise, I am in his name to denounce
all hostilitie and the calamities of war both vnto thee and thy countrey.

This proud message of the Embassador strooke farther into the minde of the Vayuod than
any would haue thought: yet dissembling his griefe, hee commanded him to be brought to
the Lodging appointed for him; telling him, That in a matter of so great importance, and so
much concerning the whole State of his Country, hee could not giue him so present an-
swere as hee required; but that vpon mature deliberation had with his Nobilitie and Coun-
sell, hee would in short time answere him accordingly. The Embassadour being gone to
his Lodging, the Vayuod forthwith began deeply to consider of *Selymus* his demands;
and that in the Turkes Faith was no assurance, which hee kept or brake with the Chri- M
stian Princes as best fitted his owne turne: and besides that, That if hee should graunt to
pay that so great and heauie a Tribute in so great [p]ouertie of his Kingdome, sore wa-
sted with ciuile warre, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, so long as a
man would giue him more, but happily would the next yeare exact a greater, and in the
end

A end such an one as hee with all his subiects should not be able to pay; which it should not be
safe for him at any time to refuse, so long as any man would giue it. Wherefore calling toge-
ther the nobilitie and States of his country, he brake with them in this sort:

The speech of the Vayuod vnto his nobilitie and subiects.

If euer you were to consult and deliberate of a most important and difficult matter, this verily is that
time: for Selymus *the Turkish Emperour, enflamed with insatiable auarice, and I know not by whose*
persuasion, not contented with his woonted tribute, exacteth of vs twise so much more. If you shall
grant it, it shall not much concerne mee, as not to be payed by mee your Soueraigne, but by your selues
and your posteritie: if wee denie it, forthwith he denounceth vnto vs fire and sword, with all the
calamities of warre. And in this bareneſſe of our Kingdome, almost spoyled by ciuile warres, how
B *shall wee be able to pay it him? wherefore declare your mindes. Verily I foresee, that if you shall in*
this yeeld vnto Selymus, *and grant him so great a tribute, hee will not therewith long hold himselfe*
contented, but euerie yeare extort a greater, vntill he haue altogether eaten vs vp. Wherefore it were
better for vs (in mine opinion) to lose our liues together with our wiues and children, than to suffer
so great an indignitie: neither is it mine owne estate that troubleth me; for why, it is you that are to
pay it, and not I. Wherefore if you list not to endure this so dishonourable and base a seruitude, let mee
forthwith so vnderstand from you: and I will for my part so prouide, as that I will not onely not pay vn-
to the barbarous tyrant the new and heauie tribute he demandeth, but not so much as any tribute at all;
so that you be not wanting both to your selues and me. I know right well (beloued and fellowes in armes)
C *what I owe both vnto you and the common-weale, for whose good and welfare I am alwaies ready to lay*
downe my life.

He had no sooner thus said, but that a secret sorrow and vnwonted silence had as it were op-
pressed the whole assembly. At length, as men awaked out of an heauie and dead sleepe, they
murmured among themselues, that the Turkish Emperour should so without reason oppresse
them, with doubling and redoubling of his tribute: and were generally of opinion, That the
Vayuod had not so plainly as truly spoken of the intollerableneſſe thereof: and that therfore
they had rather die, than to indure so great dishonor, ioyned with so foule a slauerie. And ther-
upon offered vnto the Vayuod to serue vpon their own charge, and with him vpon the banke
D of Danubius to meet the proud enemy, and there in defence of their liues and libertie, to fight
it out vnto the last man. The Vayuod in few words commending their fidelitie, and taking of
them an oath for the faithful performance of that they had so resolutely promised, sent for the
Turks Embassadour, and gaue him this short answer:

The answere of the Vayuod vnto the Turkes Embassadour.

I, for the antient fidelity and allegeance which I owe vnto my Lord and dread Soueraigne, the migh-
tie Emperour Selymus, *would willingly yeeld vnto him the tribute hee requireth, were it not that I*
know the mindes of my people to abhorre the same: wishing rather to endure all calamities, hap what so-
euer hap may, than to yeeld vnto so dishonourable and shamefull slauerie. Wherefore sithence I cannot
by any meanes extort the same from my subiects, tell my Lord Selymus, *That I must humbly request*
E *him, not to take the same in euill part, whose amitie I wish to be vnto me, rather an ornament and refuge,*
than disgrace or hinderance. And that vpon that good hope I both asked, and for my singular fideli-
tie obtained of him the Vayuodship of Moldauia: which my good hope I most heartily beseech him may
not deceiue me.

With this answer he dismissed the embassador vnrewarded, & with a safe conuoy brought
him vnto the banke of Danubius: which his homely vsage of the embassador, caused him not
a little to be suspected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The Embassadour sent away, the
Vayuod not ignorant of the sudden inuasions of the Turks, forthwith began to raise his armie:
and at the same time, sent Embassadors vnto *Henrie* King of Polonia his neereſt neighbor, cer-
F tifying him of the dangerous state of Moldauia, the sureſt bulwarke of the Polonian kingdom,
which once ouerthrowne, opened a faire and easie way for the common enemie into Polonia:
and therefore requested him, that as the Kings of Polonia had of antient time, euen for the safe-
tie of their owne State, protected that country; so it would please him now in like man-
ner in so dangerous a time, to giue him aid; or at leastwise to giue leaue vnto such of his sub-
iects as were willing to serue for entertainement, to come vnto him, whom he would with all
honour

nour and bountie vse acc[ording] to their place and qualitie. Whereunto the king answered, C
t forasmuch as he and h[is] predecessors the kings of Polonia, had for the space of more than
an hundred yeres bin in le[ague] with the Turkish kings and Emperors, he could not either send
him aid, or yet giue leaue to any of his subiects to serue against the Turke, as hee desired.
The Vayuod entertaineth the Polonian Cossackes. W[hereu]pon this answer the Vayuod was much troubled, as there deceiued where he most hoped
for reliefe: yet hearing of [cer]tain companies of the Polonian Cassacks, which hauing long lien
in hope of prey vpon the [bo]rders of the great riuer Borysthenes, were returning empty home, he
by fit messengers sent of pur[pose], offered them great entertainment to serue him in his warres
against the Turke; of whi[ch] his offer, they (as men liuing for most part by seruice) gladly ac-
cepted; and so witho[ut] knowledge of the king went vnto him, to the number of twelue
hundred, with their cap[tains] men of great courage and valor, of whom *Suierceuius* was chiefe: H
who were by the Vayuod honorably entertained, and did him in these wars right worthy ser-
uice. These Cossacks are light horsemen, lying most commonly vpon the borders of the Po-
lonian kingdome towards the Tartars: an hardie and valiant kind of men, whose best liuing,
is the spoile they take from the enemie; and their best lands, their horse and launce. For albeit
that the Turks and Tartars are most commonly in league with the Polonians, and seeme neuer
so desirous of peace; yet do they oftentimes in great numbers, vpon the sudden break into the
countries of Podolia, and Russia, part of the Polonian kingdome, and there do great harme, if
they be not in time represt or cut off by the aforesaid light horsemen, who for that purpose
lie alwaies in wait for them, as doth the Hawke for the prey.

Selymus vnderstanding the answer of *Iohn* the Vayuod, was therwith exceedingly enraged, I
Selymus sendeth his forces against the Vayuod, and the more [for] the bitter complaint of the embassador, who angry with the Vayuod, that he
was of him [not] better regarded nor rewarded, spared not to the vttermost of his power, to in-
cense the [mind] against him, as if his honor had bin in the person of himselfe con-
temned. [Wher]efore without delay, he sent thirty thousand Turks, and two thou-
sand Hungarians vnto the Palatine of Valachia Transalpina, that ioyning those forces to his
owne, he might take *Iohn* the Vayuod, and sending him in bonds to Constantinople, to place
Peter his brother, Vayuod in his place. The Palatine glad of this command, and hauing raised
his owne power, together with the Turkes & the Hungarians, swam ouer the riuer Moldavus,
hauing in his army about an hundred and two thousand fighting men: a power, not onely suf-
ficient to haue driuen the Vayuod out of Moldauia, but also to haue shaken a right puissant K
king in his kingdome. The Palatine in the midst of so great a strength, little fearing, & lesse re-
garding the sudden comming of the Vayuod, suffred his men with their horses to lie disorde-
redly here and there, dispersed in the large medows and pastures al along st the faire riuer side;
so the better to refresh themselues, wearie of their long trauel. In the mean time certain scouts
came to the Vayuod then at dinner, certifying him, that the enemy with an huge army (the cer-
taine number whereof they could not well descry) was come ouer the riuer: and now resting
themselues, had turned off their horses into the rich meadows thereabout, in such disordered
and careless manner, as that they might with a small power be easily ouerthrowne. The Vay-
uod glad of this newes, forthwith sent before *Suierceuius* with his Cossackes, and 5000 other
light horsemen, more certainly to descry what the enemy did, with the manner of his lying; L
and he himself with the rest of his army followed faire and softly after. *Suierceuius* with great
silence approching the enemies camp, suddenly light vpon the enemies scouts, in number a-
bout 500; who enclosed before they were aware, were taken euery man by the Cossacks, and
by them straightly examined of the state of their armie and campe. Who for safegard of their
liues now in their enemies power, franckly confessed how that the Palatine lay securely there
by, resting his armie, not so much for the refreshing [the]reof after his trauell, as with greatest
strength to set vpon the Vayuod with his fresh soulde[iers]: and that in the army were about sea-
uenty thousand Valachians, thirtie thousand Turks, a[nd] three thousand Hungarians; who now
dispersed, and sleeping in securitie, might easily be o[ver]thrown. Of all these things *Suierceuius*
aduertiseth the Vayuod; requesting him with all poss[ible] speed to hasten his comming, for the M
obtaining of a most notable and assured victory: he i[n the] mean time lying close with his men
The Palatine with the Turks ouerthrowne by the Vayuod. not far from the enemie. The Vayuod certified of a[ll] these things, came without delay, an[d]
forthwith commanded *Suierceuius* with his men to g[iue] the onset vpon the enemy: purposing
himself with the rest of his army on the other side, to charge the disordered camp in three pla-

A ces. *Suierceuius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcry, suddenly set vp-
on the secure enemies: who dismaid with the suddennesse of the vnexpected danger, stood as-
mem astonied, not knowing which way to flie, or how to make resistance. But whiles *Suierce-*
uius with his light horsemen thus on the one side filleth the camp with tumult, retrour, slaugh-
ter, and feare; behold, euen as a sudden tempest, commeth the Vayuod, bearing all the disorde-
red camp downe before him: neither had the enemies any means to flie, hauing put their hor-
ses a great way off from them into the rich pastures; but there take[n] vnarmed, were miserably
slain. In all the camp was lamentation and mourning, death raging [in] euery place with such fu-
rie, that of so great an armie as of late passed the riuer, few or none escaped, more than the Pa-
latine with *Peter* his brother, who by great chance with much ado getting horses, swam ouer
B the riuer, and so came to the castle of Brailouia in Valachia; all the rest were slaine, and left to
be of the beasts of the field, and birds of the aire deuoured. It was a most horrible spectacle to
see the ground couered with the bodies of the dead, al stained with gore bloud, and their wea-
pons of all sorts lying by them. In the campe were found great riches, all which the Vayuod
gaue vnto his souldiers, and there staied foure daies to refresh his wearied men. After that, he
with his victorious armie entred into Valachia, the Palatines countrey, where he tooke many
castles and townes, and put to the sword all that came in his way, men, women, and children,
without respect of age or sex: and burnt all the country towns and villages before him as he
went; so that all that part of the countrey of Valachia Transalpina, was couered with smoke
and fire, to the terrour of the beholders. The aged fathers were in euery place drawne forth to
C slaughter, the young babes were cut in pieces, the matrons and virgins defiled, and afterwards
slaine: and in briefe all the crueltie that could be deuised, performed: in the bloudie executi-
on whereof, the Vayuod commended his men, persuading them in like manner still to prose-
cute the victorie, & that the rest of their labors was al but for prey and bootie, for the enrich-
ing of themselues. In this hauocke of all things, it was told him, That the Palatine with his
brother *Peter*, the men whom he most sought after, were in the castle of Brailouia not farre off:
whereupon he forthwith marched thitherwith his armie. The citie of Brailouia standeth vp-
on the riuer Danubius, and had in it a castle of some good strength, defended both by the na-
ture of the place, and a strong garrison of the Turks, which *Selymus* had appointed for the kee-
ping thereof, as the key of the country: not far from this citie the Vayuod encamping his ar-
D mie, writ vnto the captaine of the castle, forthwith to deliuer vnto him the Palatine, with *Peter*
his brother, his mortall enemies; who neuer wronged by him, had inuaded his countrey, and
sought after his life, and being ouerthrowne in battell, were fled vnto him: which if he should
refuse to do, he threatned neuer to depart thence, vntill he had to his further harm, constrained
him by force to yeeld them. These letters he sent by two Valachian captiues, to be deliuered
vnto the captaine of the castle: whereunto he returned answere by foure Turks, two of the ci-
tie, and two of his owne seruants, by whom he also sent ten great shot, and as many small, with
two Turkish arrowes, and this message.

The blunt answer of the captaine to the Vayuod.

E *For that I know thee to bee the seruant of my dread Soueraigne* Selymus, *I regard thee: and will*
not denie the same men to bee with mee, whome thou so much requirest. But forasmuch as I vnder-
stand, that thou of late hast slaine a great number of the seruants of the great Emperour, who by his
commandement were bringing Peter *the brother of the Palatine into Moldauia: I therefore*
tell thee, that except thou betime raise thy siege, I will feed thee and thy followers, with such dishes as
these; whereupon thou and thine armie gorged to the full, shall all afterwards dangerously surfeit and
cast. Farewell.

Barbarous cruelties.

This rough answer so much moued the Vayuod, that he commanded hands to be laid vpon
the aforesaid foure messengers, and their noses, lips, and eares, being cut off, both their feet to
to be with great nailes fast nailed vnto a long piece of timber, and so with their heads hanging
F downward, to be set vp before the citie, & so left for the captain and the citizens to gaze vpon.
Signifying withal vnto the captain that sent them, that he himself with the other fugitiues his
guests, should in like manner be serued, if they fel into his hands. Immediatly after, he assaulted
the citie, and vsing the cheerfulnesse of his soldiers, by plain force tooke the same, the defen-
dants being not able to hold them out. There was made great slaughter of the Turks, wheras
no

The citie of Brailouia taken by the Vayuod & rased down to the ground.

no man was taken to mercie; the very babes were slaine, together with their mothers, & bloud ran like riuers into the Danubius. For the space of foure daies this bloudie execution indured: no place serued for refuge, euen the most secret and obscure places were searched, and the poore creatures there found drawn forth and slain. The fury was so great, that no liuing thing, no not so much as the very dogs were spared. Much gold, siluer, plate, iewels, and other rich spoile was there found, all which became a prey vnto the greedie souldiers: for that citie was of all others in those quarters the richest, as a place much frequented, and inioying long peace, as after such time the Turks were fully possessed of Græcia, not being troubled with any wars; vntil now, that it was by the Vayuod first ransackt, and afterwards rased down to the ground, and nothing thereof remaining, more than the bare castle it selfe: which the Vayuod durst not aduenture vpon, for it was wel fortified, and furnished with so strong a garrison, as that it could not without his great losse be taken.

The Turkes againe ouerthrowne by the Vayuod.

Whiles the Vayuod was thus busied in the spoile of Brailouia, news was brought vnto him of the comming of fifteen thousand Turks to the reliefe of the castle: against whom he forthwith sent *Suiercenius* with his Cossackes, and other eight thousand Moldauian horsemen, who suddenly comming vpon the Turks, disordered & fearing no such matter, slew almost 14000 of them, and chased the rest vnto the castle of Teina. Of this victorie *Suiercenius* in all hast certified the Vayuod; and withall, that there was another great power of the Turkes comming, which might easily be also ouerthrown, if he leauing the siege of the castle of Brailouia, would without delay come and ioyne his forces with his. He glad of that newes, and well perceiuing how difficult and dangerous that siege would be vnto him, rise forthwith with his armie, and went to *Suiercenius*; and afterwards vpon conference had with him, laid siege to Teina: which citie taken without much labor, he put to sword all the people found therein, not leauing one aliue: and by the meanes *Suiercenius* ouerthrew the Turks comming towards Brailouia.

...ymus in ... bi... of the Vayuod.

Selymus in the meane time much troubled with the proceedings of the Vayuod, and doubting to be quite thrust out of Valachia Transalpina (which he was like enough to haue been, had not the treason of *Czarnieuiche* hindered the matter) prepared new forces for that seruice; and after the manner of the Turks in time of their greatest distresse, appointed generall supplications and praiers to bee made vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the better successe of his warres; the vndoubted signe of his feare.

The Vayuod after so many victories against the Turkes, purposing for a while to breake vp his great armie, called vnto him his old friend *Ieremias Czarnieuiche*, vnto whom, as vnto the man hee of all others most trusted, he had resolued to commit the charge, with part of his armie, to keepe the Turks from passing againe ouer the riuer Danubius into his countrey: and in deliuering to him his charge, spake vnto him as followeth:

The kind speech of the Vayuod to Czarnieuiche

Sith Fortune hath hitherto answered our desires (worthie Czarnieuiche*) with most rare and perpetuall successe against the Turkes, our most cruell enemies, wee are thankfully to take the same, and to render most humble and heartie thankes vnto Almightie God, that it hath pleased him, the Authour of all Victorie, so to haue prospered our endeauours against these fierce and deuouring enemies. Now what remaineth for the present, but to disband mine armie, wearied with labour and trauell, and to giue my souldiers leaue to depart home to rest themselues, that so I may as occasion shall require againe vse their fresh forces for our better seruice: you in the meane time with thirteene thousand of my select souldiers, shall lie vpon the side of Danubius, to keepe the Turkes from passing the riuer. Haue good regard I pray you, vnto this your charge, which I vpon an especiall trust, grounded vpon your antient loue and fidelitie, haue at this time imposed vpon you. And let mee from time to time with all expedition vnderstand from you of euerie motion of the enemie, that so we may in due time prouide for him accordingly.*

And so in token of his greater fauour, taking his leaue of him with a kisse (as the manner of those people is) gaue leaue vnto the greatest part of his souldiers to depart home, yet with this charge, to be alwaies in readinesse whensoeuer they should be called vpon.

Czarnieuiche hauing receiued his charge, & promising vnto the Vayuod the vttermost of his faithful deuoire; went towards Danubius, & there most carefully kept the passages with continuall watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turks were come do... to

A to the other side of the riuer, and moe were still comming, yet none of them was so hardie as to aduenture the great riuer; *Czarnieuiche* with his horsemen lying in the faces of them, ready to receiue them on the other side. Which the Bassa whom *Selymus* had sent with his armie, perceiuing, sent certaine men pickt out for the purpose, to *Czarnieuiche*, to sound him, if hee might by any means be drawn to come ouer, in secret to talke with him: & the more to moue him, beside his conduct for his safetie, sent him by the same messengers thirtie thousand Hungarian duckats for a Present. With which so faire a bate *Czarnieuiche* allured, receiued the mony, & faithfully promised to come: and so shortly after, secretly passing ouer the riuer, had conference with *Peter* the Palantines brother, who then lay on the further side of Danubius, with a great power of the Turkes. In this conference, *Peter* declared vnto him in how great danger

Czarnieuiche hath secret conference with Peter the Palantines brother, who cunningly perswadeth him to giue the Turkes passage.

B the Vayuod stood, and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his tributarie and vassaile should worke the destruction of his so great armies: which his heauie displeasure he could no otherwise satisfie but with his head: and that therefore hee should no longer rule in Moldauia, for that gouernment was by the great Emperor giuen vnto him. Wherefore (said he) if thou be wise, whilest it is yet in thy power, gain the good will of *Selymus* by some good deserts: for an easie matter it is to begin any war, but an hard matter to end the same. Forasmuch as it is not alwaies in the same mans power to begin wars, and at his pleasure to make an end. Euery foole may when he list enter into armes, but must lay the same downe when it pleaseth the conqueror. Now you haue a faire opportunitie, and it is in your own power to procure his friendship for euer, better standing with your affaires than warre. And albeit you may hope

C well of the power of the Vayuod, yet wisedome would not, that you should prefer vncertainties before things certain: you haue now receiued 30000 duckats, the earnest of your further deserts; which shal hereafter haue also their due rewards in most full and bountifull measure. Wherefore if you will do your selfe good, and prouide both for your safetie and preferment, confound not your owne good fortune, with the broken and desperat state of the Vayuod, but suffer the Turks to passe as friends ouer the riuer of Danubius: for I am come (said he) with a great and puissant army from the mightie *Selymus*, to take vpon me the gouernment of Moldauia, and to send the Vayuod in bonds to Constantinople: and of me, being once Vayuod, what is it that for so great desert thou and thine may not aske and obtaine? Wherefore I pray thee conceale the comming of the Turks, and withdraw thy selfe from the riuer: so shall we pas-

D sing ouer the riuer with our populous army, easily oppresse the Vayuod with all his power, and at once reuenge all the former iniuries and disgraces done both vnto *Selymus* and vs.

Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turke leaue quietly to passe ouer the riuer of Danubius.

With greedie men what will not the foule desire of gold worke? *Czarnieuiche* ouercome with the golden promises of *Peter*; and forgetfull of his faith before giuen vnto the Vayuod, yeelded vnto all he requested: and drawing his forces further off from the riuer, as if it had bin for his more safety, gaue the Turks free passage. There was then in the Turks armie two hundred thousand men, well appointed, & furnished with great ordnance and all other things ne-

E cessary both for the field and for siege, who by the sufferance of the false traitor passed quietly ouer the riuer. *Czarnieuich* forthwith posting to the Vayuod, certified him, how that the Turks trusting to their multitude, had passed the riuer of Danubius, against whom he was not able (as he said) to make head: and that therefore he should do well, without delay to goe against them with such forces as he had then in a readinesse, which ioined vnto his, might easily ouerthrow them. Glad was the Vayuod of this newes, and filled with the hope of good successe, demanded of him what strength the enemie might be of? They are (said he) not much aboue twelue thousand that be already come ouer, but are still comming more & more, and will before your comming thither be aboue fifteene thousand.

The Vayuod lay then at the siege of the castle of Teina (hauing before taken the citie) but hearing this news, raised his siege, and so in foure daies came and incamped within three miles of the enemy: and forthwith sent foorth *Suiercenius* with his Cossackes, and *Ieremias* Generall of the horsemen, with six thousand horse, to take view of the enemies camp, and to vnderstand

F what might be of their designes. These two captains marching together, chanced to fall vpon the Turks scouts, in number about six thousand horsemen, with whom they had a light skirmish, and in short time put them to flight. Of these scours they tooke one, and him grieuously wounded; who being examined of the strengh of the enemie, and feeling himselfe wounded to death, told them dissemblingly, that the Turks were not in number many. But the Cossacks doubting

...ing of the truth of that report, & probably coniecturing by so great a number of scouts, G ...he enemy was of far greater strength than was supposed or reported; quickly certified the ...thereof, withing him in time to prouide for the safety of himselfe and his army, and not ...uch to trust *Czarnieuiche*, whom they had a good while before suspected. But the Vayuod nothing doubting ... faith of him whom he had a long time found most faithfull in the time of his hardest distr... and vsed as a most trustie companion in all his trauels, answered nothing, but that he kn... whom he trusted; & that it was not now time to stand in doubt, or to be afraid, and that he ... dere long come and take view of the enemies camp himselfe: for that he was not co... e to flie, but to fight in defence of his countrey and subiects, euen to the last gaspe. A... rtifying his campe neere vnto a lake that runneth out of Danubius (for the more conuenient watering of his armie) he set forward with all his power against H the enemie.

Neere vnto the enemies campe was an high hill, from whence the Vayuod had tho... to haue descried the number of them, with the manner of their lying: but comming thi... e could descry nothing but foure companies of scouts a far off, one company from another; who also vpon the sight of the Moldauians withdrew themselues of purpose out of sight vnto the army, which then lay in a low valley behind an hill, not to be discouered vntill a man were almost vpon it. The Vayuod suspecting the enemy to be at hand, diuided his horsmen, in number 30000, into 30 companies, and placing before euery company certain field pieces, so marched ready to giue battell. His footmen, in number many, a rude and homely kind of people, I but vnto him ... all others most faithfull, and armed with such countrey weapons as they had, he placed by themselues. So ... hing on, he came to another hill, from whence he might not far off eas... descry ... e army of the enemie, and how he had bin by the treason of *Czarnieuich*... ued ... he reupon he presently sent for him; who sent him word back again, That ... ot now come, the enemy beeing so nigh at hand, but that he should forthwith see ... field as forward as the forwardest against the enemy. *Czarnieuiche* had then vnder *Ouer throw ... vnto the Turks.* his command 13000 of the most choice souldiers in the army: who vpon the signall of battel on both sides giuen (for the Turks were now also ready) first according to his promise set forward, as if it had bin to haue giuen the onset: but being come neere vnto the enemie, forthwith (as he had before agreed) caused his ensigne to be let fall, and his men with their caps vpon the K points of their spears and swords, in token of their voluntary yeelding and submission, to bow downe their heads and bodies; whom the Turks with their spears and lances holden vpon hie, ioyfully receiued as their friends, or rather as men taken to mercy. The rest of the army almost discouraged with this so sudden a reuolt of so great a man, retired in hast to the Vayuod, crying out vnto him, That all was lost. But he nothing discouraged therewith (as a most resolute man in the most sudden dangers) with comfortable words cheered them vp, willing them as couragious men to follow him against the enemy, whom they in all things exceeded, excepting number, which alwaies gaue not the victorie. The Turks perceiuing the Moldauians lately reuolted, vpon the ioyning of the battell (as men in conscience wounded) to shrinke backe, *Traitors iustly rewarded.* thrust them perforce into the head of their battel, making of them no more account, but to L blunt the enemies swords; and such as hung backe, they themselues slew: vpon whom as false tiarrours the Vayuod caused his field pieces to be most furiously discharged; so that most part of these trecherous men there slain, some by the Turks, some by their owne friends, receiued the iust reward of their infidelity and treason, accompanied with perpetuall infamie. Ouer the *The battell betwixt the Turks and the Moldauians.* dead bodies of these traitors the Turks comming on ... ere at the first notably encountered by the Moldauians; and after a most cruell fight, as if th... d been discouraged, began to retire, but indeed of purpose to haue drawne the Christian... ore they were aware, within the danger of their great ordnance, and ambushes, which th... d before aptly & couertly placed for that purpose. Which *Suiercewius* well acquainted ... he Turks fineneſſe, perceiuing, with much ado staid their further pursuit, and so auoided ... nger prepared for them. The Turks deceiued of their expectation, came on againe afresh ... no lesse fury than at the first: whom M the Christians right valiantly receiued, and made w... m a most cruell and mortall battel; *The Moldauians ouerthrowne.* wherein many both of the Turkes and Christians fe... neuer rise againe. But what was ... mal a power against such a world of men? after long ... the Moldauians oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, began to giue ground: & seeing no ... remedie, but either to fly or

A or to die, betooke themselues to flight, wherein most part of them were slain, the furious enemie still hardly pursuing them at the heeles: of the Cossackes were left onely two hundred and fiftie. The horsemen (the chiefest strength of the Vayuod) thus by the treason of *Czarnieuiche* ouerthrowne, the Vayuod with twenty thousand footmen, and such horsmen as had now after the battell ioyned themselues vnto the footmen, retired vnto a towne not far off, which *The Vayuod hauing fortified himselfe within the ruines of an old towne, is besieged by the Turkes.* he but a little before had rased; but was now glad in the ruines thereof to fortifie himselfe against the sudden and furious assaults of the Turks: who the same night so beset the Vayuods camp with such a multitude of men, that no man could go in or out of the campe; or the vttermost part of that hugie armie be from any place descried.

The next day (which was the 11 of Iune) the Turks shot diuers great shot into the Vayuods B camp, but to small purpose; for the Christians had (for so short a time) notably fortified themselues within the ruines of the old towne. Which the Turks well perceiuing, and withall considering how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to assault the Vayuod in his strength: they sent messengers vnto him, to persuade him without delay to yeeld himselfe, & to repose more trust in the mercie of the Turks, than in his owne broken forces; especially in his so hard distresse, being so beset, as that he could not possibly escape; and out of hope of all relefe, and therefore should by such voluntary yeelding, seeke for grace of his enemies, rather than by a desperat obstinacie to cast himselfe into a most certain destruction, where no mercy was to be expected. Wherunto the Vayuod answered, That he was not ignorant into what danger he was brought, rather by the treason of *Czarnieuiche* and his followers, than by the valor of the ene- C mie; yet had left with him a strong power of most valiant & resolute men, who would in his quarrell and defence of themselues, sell their liues very deare vnto the Turks: neuertheless, that to auoid the farther effusion of bloud, he could for his part be content to yeeld vnto his hard fortune, so that the great commanders of the Turks army would condiscend vnto such reasonable conditions as he should propound, & for the performance thereof giue him their faith, not once or twise, but seuen times by solemn oath to be taken. Of this his offer the Turks accepted, willing him to set down the conditions: which were, first that the Polonian Cossacks might in safety depart into their country, with their horses and armor: then, that they should without any violence offered to his person, send him aliue & in good safety vnto the great emperor *Selymus*, before him to answer his owne cause: as for the Moldauians, he said he needed D not to couenant any thing, for that the iniurie offered vnto them tended also to the hurt of the Emperour himselfe, and of him whom he should appoint Vayuod, whose subiects they were. These conditions (as reasonable) were well liked of the Turks, and so according to his desire, confirmed seuen times by the solemne oath of euery captaine and commander in the armie, both for themselues and their followers. Vpon this agreement, the Vayuod brought al his armie out of their trenches wherin they had lien strongly incamped, and there with heauy heart tooke his last leaue of his souldiers, to the generall griefe of them all: amongst whom he diuided such mony & iewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindnesse. And there in the sight of them all disarming himselfe, accompanied only with *Osmolius* a Polonian, went in maner of a suppliant to the Turks camp, where he had ful foure hours talke with the great commanders E of the armie; vntill that at last *Capucins Bassa* (either offended with his speech, or vnmindfull of his faith before giuen) with his scimitar vpon the sudden strucke him a great blow ouerthwart *The Vayuod shamefully and perfidiously murthered by the Turkes.* the face, and another crosse the bellie: whom so wounded, & as yet but halfe dead, the Ianizaries tooke and cut off his head, which was forthwith set vp vpon a lance, for al men to behold. His dead body they bound by the feet vnto two camels, & so shamefully tore it in pieces: and happy was he that could get any little piece therof, or embrue his sword with the least drop of his bloud. This was the lamentable & wofull end of *Iohn* the Vayuod of Moldauia, a right valiant and worthie man, shamefully murdered by the perfidious Turks; who had he been more constant in the Christian faith, had not happily fallen into so great miserie. Whose wofull fall may serue as a most notable example of the vncertaintie of these worldly things: for as no man F for a time had of the Turks moe or more glorious victories, so in the end, and as it were in demonstration of mans fragility, no man perished more miserably. The Vayuod thus perfidiou... ... urthered, the Turkes with like treacherie foorthwith set vpon the Moldauians, and slew ... down right as beasts appointed for the slaughter. Which the Cossackes beholding, and hoping for no better measure, thrust themselues into the thickest of their enemies, & there valiantly

liantly fighting were all slain, except some few of the better sort reserued for ransome, among whom was *Seuerentius* with some other captains; who were afterwards for great sums redeemed, when as they could by no means be perswaded to forsake their religion and turn Turke.

All Valachia made subiect to the Turks.

After this victorie and bloudie murder of the Vayuod, the Turks ouerran all Moldauia, & put to the sword all the nobilitie of that countrie, with many of the countrie people: of whom they also as their manner is in countries new conquered, sent great numbers in colonies into the farther parts of the Turkish empire: & for the more assured possession therof, placed strong garrisons in euery towne and castle, as they thought it most conuenient. Thus all Valachia (both the higher and lower) fell into the Turks hands in the yeare 1574, and was by *Selymus* ioyned vnto the Turkish empire, none of the least things by him done: for beside the gaining of so great a country (the most assured bulwarke of Polonia) he hath therby opned a faire and easie way for his successours, at their pleasure to enter into Podolia, or Russia, parts of the Polonian kingdome, yea and into Polonia it selfe: which they will vndoubtedly in time doe, if God in mercy bridle not their immoderat desires, and with his mightie hand prouide for the dangerous state of that Kingdome.

The losse of Moldauia dangerous to Polonia.

Selymus at the same time, not a little grieued with the losse of the kingdome of Tunes, and that *Don Iohn* had there done the yeare before; began forthwith to cast in his minde, how he might again recouer the same, and withall, thrust the Spaniards out of the strong castle of Guletta; which they had now almost fortie yeares kept, euer since that it was by *Charles* the fift taken from *Barbarussa* in the yere 1535: for he well saw it to be a matter of no small moment, to whom this strong fortresse (standing so commodiously in the frontiers of Affricke) belonged. There was still (til is) vpon that coast diuers of the Turks aduenturers, which liuing altogether vpon spoile, had to that place safe recourse, as to a most assured refuge: and if no bootie were to be got with their ships, then would they run out towards Malta, Sardinia, Sicilia, & the other Ilands thereabouts; yea oftentimes into Italie and Spaine, and from thence carrie away with them great booties both of men and cattell, and whatsoeuer thing else came in their way: for which cause many of the Turks men of war resorted thither in hope of purchase. But after that Guletta was possessed by the Spaniards, they were not only depriued of that so commodious an harbor, but many times intercepted euen by them of that place, and by the gallies of Malta: which two places serued as two most sure bulwarkes against the Turkes and Moores aduenturers, by whose meanes they many times came short home. For which cause the Turks, especially these pyrats (of whom the Turke maketh great account, as not his least strength at sea) wonderfully desired to haue both those strong places gotten out of the hands of the Christians. In the castle of Guletta was continually a strong garrison of a thousand Spaniards, who kept them of Tunes in great subiection, and oftentimes cut short these pyrats and rouers, who much troubled those seas. Wherefore the Turkish Emperor *Selymus*, hauing made great preparation both for sea and land seruice, commanded *Sinan*, *Piall*, and *Vluzales*, his chiefe Bassaes, & men of great experience, with all speed to passe ouer with his fleet into Affricke, to besiege Tunes and Guletta. Who when they had put all things in readinesse according as they had in charge, set forward, and with three hundred saile of gallies came before Guletta the thirteenth day of Iuly: whether also resorted vnto them other the Turks men of war from Alexandria, Algiers, and other places in, such number, as that al that coast seemed to be couered with shipping. The Turks at their first arriuall laied siege to the water tower, wherein were eight hundred souldiers well prouided of all things needfull for defence, who most valiantly maintained the place, vntill such time as that most of them being by the often assaults of the enemie slaine; the rest by the commandement of the captaine retired to him into the castle. In taking of this tower the Turks lost 3000 of their men.

Guletta besieged by the Turks.

After that, they began to besiege the castle of Guletta, against which they cast vp diuers mounts, and from thence most terribly battered the castle: from whence the deadly shot was sent again among them not sparingly; so that in one day 200 great shot were reckoned to haue bin shot out of the castle amongst the thickest of the enemies. But after many furious assaults, too tedious to report, and much harme done on both sides, the Turkes to their great aduantage tooke the channell of the lake of Tunes; and fearing least some reliefe should bee sent to the besieged, maintained their assault day and night without intermission. Neuertheless, certaine companies of Spaniards sent from the new castle by *Serbellio*, got into Guletta; after which

which, they in the besieged castle sallied out, and the twentieth of August repulsed the Turks, with an exceeding great slaughter. But the Bassaes fully resolued vpon the winning of the place to gage their whole forces, and without ceasing still bringing on fresh souldiers, after they had all the day continued a most terrible assault, at length about two houres after Sun set, they tooke the castle the 23 day of August, when there was now scarcely two hundred souldiers left aliue to defend the same; who altogether with the other weake people in the castle were without mercie cut in pieces. What wealth the Turks found in this castle, is hard to say; but certaine it is, that they had therein great store of victuals, armour, shot, and pouder, and foure hundred great pieces of artillerie.

Guletta taken by the Turks.

Guletta thus taken, the Turks forthwith laid siege to the new castle, appointed by *Don Iohn* the yeare before to haue bin built betwixt Guletta and Tunes, which was not yet altogether finished: wherein the two antient and valiant captains, *Serbellio* and *Salazar* (left there of purpose for the building thereof by *Don Iohn*) lay with a garrison of foure thousand good souldiers. The Bassaes when they gaue the first summons to the castle, the foure & twentieth of August, required to haue it forthwith deliuered vnto them: to whom *Serbellio* stoutly answered, That he had promised the king his master, to giue him a better account of the place; & being now also very old, could not indure the Turkes heauie yoke, but would therefore hold it out vnto the last man: which both he & *Salazar* truly performed, not omitting any thing that was by men to be done for defence of the place; and sallying out, sometime the one, and somtimes the other, made great slaughter of the Turks, giuing them also repulse vpon repulse when they came to the assault. But the great Bassaes, little feeling, and lesse regarding the losse of men, so that therby they might gain the place, after many most terrible and desperat assaults, at length (namely the thirteenth day of September) when they had with al their force for the space of six houres furiously assaulted the castle, and slaine most of the defendants, at last tooke it. *Serbellio* shot in with two bullets, and wishing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the enemie, thrust himselfe into the middest of the Turkes, there to haue perished: but by the hastie comming in of *Piall Bassa*, both he and *Salazar* were taken aliue, as for all the rest that followed them, they were put to the sword. The Bassa in his rage strucke *Serbellio*, and the more to grieue him, caused his sonne to be cruelly murthered before his face. Neither was this victorie by the Turkes obtained without bloud, hauing in lesse than three moneths space that the siege endured, lost aboue thirtie thousand men.

The new castle besieged.

The notable constancie of Serbellio.

The new castle taken.

These strong holds (the greatest strength of that kingdome) thus taken, the Turks marched to Tunes, which they easily tooke, and afterwards ouerthrew the fortifications therof, because it should no more rebell. *Mahomet* the yong king, but the yere before placed in that kingdome by *Don Iohn*, was there taken, and in bonds sent aboord to be carried with *Carrera* captaine of Guletta, prisoners to Constantinople: and thus the kingdom of Tunes, with the strong castle of Guletta, fell againe into the possession of the Turkes, to the farther trouble of the Christian countries lying ouer against it. The proud Bassaes hauing (as they thought) best disposed of all things at Tunes and Guletta, departed thence, & with their fleet of 400 saile, came the fourth of October within sight of Malta. But vnderstanding that they of Malta were prouided for their comming, and remembring what dishonor their most magnificent Emperor *Solyman* had not many yeares before there sustained (whereof diuers of them had bin eye-witnesses) they turned thence, and sailed directly to Constantinople.

Tunes yeelded to the Turke.

Shortly after, this great Emperor *Selymus* spent with wine and women, vnto whom he had giuen his greatest strength, died the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1574; when he had liued one and fiftie yeares, and therof raigned eight, and lieth buried at Hadrianople. He was but of a mean stature, & of an heauie disposition, his face rather swollen, than fat, much resembling a drunkard. Of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors he was of least valour, and therefore least regarded, altogether giuen to sensualitie and pleasure: and so dying, left his empire vnto *Amurath* his eldest sonne, a man of more temperance, but not much greater courage; who neuertheless by his valiant Bassaes and men of war, did great matters, especially against the Persians, the mortal and dangerous enemies of the Turks, as shall be hereafter in this Historie declared.

Selymus dieth.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Selymus the second.	Emperours of Germany	Maximilian the second.	1565. 12.
	Kings	of England, Queene Elizabeth.	1558. 45.
		of France, Charles the ninth.	1560. 14.
		of Scotland, Queene Mary.	1543. 20.
		James the sixth, that now raigneth.	1567.
	Bishops of Rome.	Pius the V.	1566.
		Iulius the XIII.	1572. 12.

Non ego fortis eram: Quis tanto nomine dignus?
Ni fortem faciat mens generosa virum.
Me tumidum fortuna tumens euexit in altum,
Et par fortunæ, mens mea semper erat.
Sic quamuis tenero mihi nil nisi molle placeret:
Nominis augendi raptus amore sui.
Emisique meos ad fortia facta ministros:
Per quos sublatum est, nomen in astra meum.
Mustapha, Ferhates, Sinan, *& ter maximus* Osman:
Terrores orbis succubuere mihi.
Armenios domui fortes Medosque feroces:
Et mihi paruerat Regia Taurisij.
Sed mihi quid prodest tantorum parta labore
Gloria? Si subito maxima queque ruant?
Et nihil est tanti, quod non breuis auferet hora
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa iacet.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

The

In Englifh thus :

The W[illegible]thies praiſe I challenge not :
for who deſerues the fame ?
Except the noble Worthies minde,
deſerue the Worthies fame.
Proud Fortune ſet me proud aloft,
in Honours higheſt grace :
And ſtill my haughtie thoughts they were
equall vnto my place.
So that although nought pleas'd but that
beſt fitted my deſire :
Yet to encreaſe my Fame, I ſtill
did more and more aſpire.
And ſent my mightie Worthies out,
to mannage my great Warres :
By whoſe knowne valour, my proud name
is mounted to the ſtarres.
Proud *Sinan*, *Ferrat*, *Muſtapha*
(all men of high degree,
The terrours of the World [illegible]ide)
were vaſſals vnto me.
Th'Armenians ſtout I vanquiſhed,
and fild the Medes with feare :
And Regall Tauris ſtately towers
at my commandment were.
But what auailes my glorie great,
got with ſuch Worthies paine,
If in the twinkling of an eye
it come to nought againe ?
And nothing is of ſo great State,
which Time ſhall not caſt downe :
Euen ſo with many others moe,
muſt periſh my renowne.

R. Knolls.

TH-

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, SIXTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

C THe death of the late Emperor *Selymus* was for feare of the inſolent Ianizaries notably concealed by the great Baſſa's, vntil ſuch time as *Amurath* his eldeſt ſonne, then in Aſia, by ſpeedie meſſengers aduertiſed thereof, about twelue dayes after arriued at Conſtantinople, and there receiued into the Seraglio, tooke poſſeſſion of the Empire the fiue and twentieth day of December, ſolemne amongſt vs Chriſtians, for the natiuitie of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus. He was about thirtie, or as ſome write ſeuen and twentie yeares old when he began to raigne, of a manly ſtature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his beard thin and long : in his countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* Princes, being indeed himſelfe of a peaceable diſpoſition, a louer of juſtice,

Amurath takes vpon him the Turkiſh empire the 25 day of December in the yeare 1574.

The deſcription of Amurath.

D and in the manner of his ſuperſtition very zealous. The riot and exceſſe growne amongſt the Turks by his fathers euill example, he reformed by his owne temperance, and the ſeuere puniſhment of notorious drunkards : yet is it reported, that he would oftentimes himſelfe drinke plentifully of wormewood wine : he was much ſubiect to the falling ſickneſſe, and ſore troubled with the ſtone : more ſpare handed than was for the greatneſſe of his ſtate : and yeelding more to the counſell of his mother, his wife, and ſiſter, than of his great Baſſa's, which was of many imputed to him for ſimplicitie. At his firſt comming to Conſtantinople, to appeaſe the murmuring of the Ianizaries (grieued to ſee themſelues ſo diſappointed of the ſpoile of the Chriſtians and Iewes, which they were woont to take in the vacancie of the Empire) hee beſide the vſual largeſſe which the Turkiſh Emperours at their firſt entrance into the Empire beE ſtow vpon them, augmented alſo their dayly wages, and granted them this priuiledge, That their ſonnes as ſoone as they came to be twentie yeares old, ſhould be inrolled amongſt the number of the younger Ianizaries, and be partakers alſo of their immunities ; whereby hee woon their fauours exceedingly. And immediatly to rid himſelfe of all competitors, he after the vnnaturall manner of the Turkiſh policie, cauſed his fiue brethren, *Muſtapha*, *Solyman Abdulla*, *Oſman*, and *Tzihanger*, to be all ſtrangled in his owne preſence. The mother of *Solyman* pierced through with the cruell death of her yong ſonne, as a woman ouercome with ſorrow, deſperatly ſtrucke her ſelfe to the heart with a dagger, and ſo died. At which ſo tragicall a ſight it is reported that *Amurath* let ſome teares fall, as not delighting in ſuch barbarous cruF eltie, but that the ſtate and manner of his gouernment ſo required.

He periſheth the Ianizaries, and augmenteth their priuiledges.

He ſtrangleth fiue of his brethren.

A deſperat woman.

1575

In the beginning of his raigne he eſtabliſhed diuers wholeſome lawes, altered the coine, and bountifully relieued the poore. And albeit that he was of a milde and peaceable nature, yet becauſe he would not ſeeme to degenerate from the *Othoman* Princes his progenitors, he proſecured his fathers wars, and by the Tartars called Præcopenſes, in the moneth of October in the yeare 1575 entred into Ruſſia, part of the Polonian Kingdome, where hee burnt and deſtroyed

Ruſſia inuaded by the Turks. Leon. Goreci de Bell. Iuonic.

destroyed two hundred noblemens houses, besides an infinite number of townes and villages, G
made great slaughter of the poore countrey people, and carried away great numbers of cattel
and prisoners bound in thongs made of raw hides. But whilest they were diuiding the spoile
with *Peter* the new Vayuod of Valachia, who had before solemnely promised to giue the Tar-
tars passage that way, the Polonian Cossacks, who had lien waiting for their returne vpon
the riuer Boristhenes, brake into the Tartars country, and there requited them with like harme,
and brought backe with them a number of old captiues, who little expected that their so sud-
den deliuerance.

The Polonians at this time were at variance among themselues about the election of their
new king; *Henry Valoys* their late king being the last yeare, after the death of *Charles* his bro-
ther the French King secretly stolne from them into France, to take vpon him that kingdome: H
after whose departure some of the Polonian Nobilitie made choice of *Maximilian* the Empe-
ror: other some no lesse inclining vnto the choice of the great Duke of Muscouie; and some
vnto others also. Whereof *Amurath* vnderstanding, and loth that either of those two great
Princes his enemies, should be inuested or strengthned with that so great a kingdome, and so
neere vnto him; to hinder that their election, and to bring in another of lesse power, & so lesse
dangerous vnto himself, euen in the beginning of his raigne wrot vnto the Polonians to that
purpose, commending vnto them *Stephen Battor* the Vayuod of Transyluania for their King, in
manner following:

Amurath God of the earth, Gouernour of the whole World, the Messenger I
of God, and faithfull seruant of the great Prophet, vnto the most honou-
rable Nobilitie and Counsellors of the Kingdome
of Polonia, greeting.

Amurath his letters to the Nobilitie of Polonia.

It is not vnto the world vnknowne (most honorable and prudent Senators) our Noble Progenitors to haue of long time and for many yeares holden good friendship and religious leagues with the kingdome of Polonia: For which cause it hath seemed good and reasonable vnto vs, to put you in remembrance of this so antient a league and bond of friendship; for that we vnderstanding your Kingdome to be of late become destitute of a King, by the departure of the noble King Henry *your crowned King (discended of the royall race of the French Kings) our friend: who for the small regard you had of him (so great and* K *worthie a Prince) and for your disloyaltie, is departed out of your Kingdome, without purpose of returning any more into Polonia. Whereupon, as it is reported vnto vs (but how truly we know not) you passing ouer your said crowned King* Henrie, *are about to make choice of a new King, and especially of* Maximilian *the Emperour, or of the Duke of Muscouie, both men of running wits, and of vs greatly hated: for why, you may well know they will be troublesome and grieuous not vnto euery one of you only, but euen vnto vs also. Wherefore be you ware that you be not deceiued; and take heed lest your confederations and leagues cannot long by their valour and prowesse be established; and withall consider well the great dangers and losses which you may thereby fall into, whereof we haue thought good to giue you a taste: wherefore beware that heauier things befall not your State. We know there are right noble and* L *wise men amongst you, which know better than they how to rule and gouerne: and if so be it please you not to make choice of any of your owne Nation, there is not farre from you one* Stephen Battor *Prince of Transyluania, a man of great honour and valour, by whose labour and dexteritie you may easily procure the peace and quiet of your Kingdome. Whereas if you shall doe otherwise, we take to witnesse your God, and his seruants our Great Prophet, to destroy all your wealth and goods, which together with your selues, your wiues, and children, shall be giuen for a prey vnto our soldiers; with the chiefe men of your cities of Cracouia and Leperis: which for all that we say not as any thing at all doubting of your fidelitie and constancie towards vs. As for the rest, which it pleased vs by word of mouth to haue told vnto you, we haue giuen charge vnto this our Embassador and Counsellor, vnto whom our desire is that you should giue full credence. From Constantinople the last of September, in the yeare of our Prophet* Mahomet *983, and first of our raigne.* M

This the Great Sultans commendations so much prevailed with the Polonians, that nor withstanding that *Maximilian* the Emperour was by the Archbishop of Gnesna and som others chosen king, yet was that his election by the greater part of the Nobilitie reuoked, and both

A both he and the great Duke of Muscouie being passed ouer, the noble Princesse *Anne* (of the most honorable *Iagellonian* house) chosen Queene of Polonia: yet with this condition, That she should marry *Stephen* the Vayuod of Transyluania, to them by *Amurath* commended. Who afterward elected King, all the time of his life right worthily gouerned that noble kingdome, not only defending the same in such state as he found it, but also notably extending the bounds thereof, enlarging it with such territories as he by force of arms got from his neighbors, especially the Muscouite. Of this election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterwards boast and say, That he had giuen the Polonians their King. But of him, and of the league by him made with *Amurath*, more shall be said hereafter.

Stephen Vayuod of Transyluania vpon the commendatiō of Amurath chosen king of Polonia.

1576

The yeare following, great troubles arose in Persia, whereby the flourishing state of that
B most mightie Kingdome was sore shaken, and opportunitie giuen for the Turkish Emperour to inuade the same; which he laying hold vpon, entred into that bloudie warre, which to the great quiet of the Christian commonweale, for long time after exercised the forces of those most puissant Princes one vpon another. For the better vnderstanding whereof, it shall not be amisse compendiously to set downe the same troubles of the Persian kingdome, the very ground of the long and mortall war betweene those two most mightie Monarchs.

Old *Tamas* the Persian King, sonne to the noble *Hismael*, who with great glory had more than fiftie yeares worthily gouerned that large kingdome, and mightily withstood the often inuasions of the Turkish Emperors, now spent with yeares, died the eleuenth of May in the yeare 1576, leauing behinde him eleuen sonnes; namely *Mahamet* the eldest, of an infirmitie
C in his eyes syrnamed *Codabanda*, a man of a peaceable and quiet disposition, more delighted with the sweet pleasure of a contented life, than the carefull honours of so great a Kingdome: *Ismahel* the second sonne, of a more fierce and troublesome nature, so much abhorring quietnesse, that not regarding the league hardly concluded betwixt his aged father and the Turkish Emperors *Solyman* and *Selymus*, he would now and then without his fathers knowledge vpon a youthfull heat breake out into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, and there make great spoile; for which doing, although he was both of his father and the people the more regarded, yet was he by his fathers commandement (who in outward shew seemed to mislike of those his youthfull pranks, tending to the breach of the league) restrained of his libertie, and sent to the castle of Cahaca, betwixt Tauris and Casbin, where he remained at the time of his
D fathers death: *Aidere* the third sonne, no lesse ambitious than was his brother *Ismahel*, but not of like valour, kept by *Zalcan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, and other his kinsfolkes, all men of great power and authoritie: The other eight were, *Mamut*, *Solyman*, *Mustapha*, *Emanguli*, *Alichan*, *Amet*, *Abrahim*, and *Ismahel* the younger.

The eleuen sons of Tamas the Persian King.

The old King before his death had by his last will and testament solemnly appointed *Ismahel* his second sonne to succeed him in the kingdome; as of all his sonnes most fit to take vpon him so great a charge. Which thing *Mahamet* his elder brother seemed not much to dislike, contenting himselfe with such honours as his father had before bestowed vpon him.

Ismahel appointed by his Father to succeed him in the kingdome.

Tamas thus dead, *Ismahel* was by the Sultans sent for to Cahaca, to take vpon him his fathers kingdome at Casbin; when in the meane time there arose a great tumult in the city, yea euen
E in the kings palace: for *Aidere* the third brother, who in the time of his fathers greatest sickenesse had entred the chamber where he lay drawing towards his end, and in his sight most presumptuously set the royal crowne vpon his head, to the manifesting of his ambitious desires, for which he was then worthily reproued: now after the death of his aged father, caried headlong with the same aspiring humor, and supported by *Zalchan* and other his mighty fauourits, had so effectually dealt with the great ladie *Periaconcona* his eldest sister, and the other Sultans Counsellours of Estate, put in trust to see the will of the dead king put in execution, as that the succession could not be any longer kept from him, & preserued for *Ismahel*, but by the help of some fine and secret deceit. This ladie *Periaconcona* (elder than all the yong princes the sons of *Tamas*, her brethren, a woman of great spirit and deep conceit) left in great trust by her father,
F seeing the proceedings of her brother *Aidere*, durst neither openly to moue any thing vnto the Sultans, preiudicial to his designes, neither could she in her heart indure so great an iniury to be done to her brother *Ismael*, appointed by his father to succeed him. Wherfore in this perplexity, she cast in her wily head, how to satisfy her ambitious brother present, how to saue the right of *Ismahel* absent, the honor of her dead fathers will and testament, and the safety of the kingdome.

Aidere aspireth to the kingdome of Persia.

dome. For hauing thorowly debated the matter with the Sultans, ſhe reſolued that *Aidere* G
inueſted in royall apparell, and ſetled in the great gallerie, ſhould attend the acclamation of the people, and be there openly enthroniſed as the very elected King. With which vaine ſhew the vnwiſe youth (blinded with ambition) ſuffered himſelfe to be led: and being ſet in his ma-
jeſtie, eaſily perſuaded himſelfe, that he ſhould now be honored both of his friends and foes, as King. But vnto theſe his ſo haſty and proſperous deſignes, the ſucceſſe that ſprung from the ſubtiltie of thoſe Counſellors and his diſſembling ſiſter, were nothing conformable: for that ſhe by their aduice tooke order for the gates of the palace to be preſently locked, leauing at euery paſſage a ſure gard, and onely one wicket open, ſafely warded with a companie of moſt faithfull and valorous captaines and ſouldiers, wholly deuoted to *Tamas* and *Iſmahel*: with ſtraight charge, to ſuffer euery man to enter in, ſauing onely the knowne friends of *Aidere*. In H
this ſort did ſhe thinke to haue entertained the young man, vntill ſuch time as *Iſmahel* ſhould arriue at Cahaca, and ſo put in execution what he thought beſt for the honour of himſelfe, and the generall quiet of the kingdome.

Who joyeth now but *Aidere?* in conceit a king, repleniſhed with vnwonted joy receiuing honour from all men ſauing from his beſt friends. By means wherof perceiuing now the prohibition of them, and moued alſo with the great ſtir of *Zalcan* his greateſt fauorit (who diſcouering the deceit, and crying vpon king *Aidere*, threatned the lady, the Sultans, and the reſt that waited vpon the feigned ſucceſſion, indeed ordained but for the ſcorne and diſpight of the ambitious man) ſtrucken with an exceeding feare, and full of ſorrow, hee withdrew himſelfe cloſely amongſt certaine women in the court, hoping ſo to find ſome way to eſcape with life. I

In the meane time greatly increaſed the cries and threatenings of the friends and fauorits of *Aidere* (who now had all of them prepared themſelues for ſome dangerous and pernicious attempt) that the Counſellors, with conſent of the ladie his ſiſter, were inforced to take order, That to bereaue this tumultuous and ſeditious people of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* ſhould be depriued of his life. Whereupon *Sahamal* the Georgian, vncle to *Aidere* by the mothers ſide, by the appointment of the ladie *Periaconcona* & the Sultans, after long ſearch made for him, at laſt found him hidden amongſt the women, and without further delay taking him by the lockes, ſtrucke his head from his ſhoulders, and in the place where *Zalchan* and the reſt of his vnfortunate fauourites ſtood crying and threatning, amongſt the thickeſt preiſe of the proud conſpiratours flung the head all bloudie and as it were yet breathing for heat; crying K
aloud vnto them, *Behold there your King, enioy him at your pleaſure.* At which ſudden and horrible ſpectacle euery man burned in rage and anger: neither for the preſent wanted there manie a raſh head, that vainly threatened moſt cruell reuenge: but in the end, when they perceiued the neere ſucceſſion of *Iſmahel* ineuitable, and the death of *Aidere* irreuocable, euery man betooke himſelfe to his owne priuat affaires, and ſo at laſt diuided themſelues one from another, and ſo departing from the Palace, ſcattered themſelues ſome one way, ſome another, euerie man as he thought beſt for his owne ſafetie.

Aidere ſlain, and his head caſt amongſt his Fauorits.

Iſmahel ſaluted king.

Shortly after, *Iſmahel* the deſired king arriued at Casbin, where he was of his ſiſter and the Sultans joyfully receiued as their lawfull & vndoubted ſoueraign, & with the great acclamation of the people ſaluted king: who as ſoone as he ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the royal ſeat, & his L
power now anſwerable to his deſires, he after the manner of the Turkiſh policie, moſt vnnaturally cauſed the heads of his eight yonger brethren to be ſtricken off: & withal vſed ſuch farther diligence, that not only all thoſe which were neere vnto them in bloud or affinitie were bereaued of their liues, but alſo all the fauorits of his late ſlain brother *Aidere*, were deſtroyed in that publike ſlaughter: ſo that all the ſtreets of Casbin were defiled with bloud, & all the city reſounded with mourning & complaints. Which vnexpected cruelty, altogether vnworthy ſo worthie a thought king, ſo altered the minds of his ſubiects in general, that all their former hopes were now conuerted into new fears, and their joy into mourning. But much greater and far more lamentable did the miſeries grow, as ſoon as it was giuen out, That he would change the religion of the Perſians (who with great deuotion honour their fooliſh Prophet *Aly*) into M
the ſuperſtition of the Turks (who with no leſſe impietie obſerue & maintain the wicked rites of *Ebubekir*, *Haumer*, *Oſman*, & others, by them ſuppoſed to be the moſt true ſucceſſors of the great Prophet *Mahomet*.) For by meanes of this vnc[illegible] noueltie and vnexpected chang and by force of an Edict concerning that matter, publiſhed by this new King, many of his prophane

He murdereth eight of his yonger brethren.

A prophane Prieſts, many of the gouernors of his friendly and ſubiect cities (too much deuoted to their former ſuperſtition, were driuen ſome into exile, ſome clapt into priſon, ſome had their eyes pluckt out (among whom was the Caliph of Casbin) and not a few others in ſundry ſorts depriued of their liues. Yea many Ladies joyned in bloud with *Iſmahel* himſelfe, and diuers others of his kinſfolkes (to whom neither ſex, nor age, nor innocencie, could be a ſufficient defence) endured ſundrie torments and ſtrange calamities: ſo that in Perſia was neuer felt greater troubles, or a more dangerous change.

In this ſo great an innouation, and among theſe tumults, there went abroad withall a general rumor, not in the cities of Perſia only, but in the regions of the Turks alſo, euen as far as Conſtantinople, That *Iſmahel* with a puiſſant armie of ſuch as fauored this new proclaimed vanity,
B was determined in perſon himſelfe to go to Babylon, now called Bagdat, there to receiue the crowne of the empire at the hands of him that he ſhould find to be the ſucceſſor of their great Calyph, and in the chiefe place among their vncleane Prieſts: as had ſometime *Solyman* the great Emperor of the Turks, and the Perſian kings of antient times. In this world of troubles, when as the feare of further miſeries increaſed, rather than any hope of antient quietneſſe; he was when he leaſt feared, by the helpe of the aforenamed Ladie *Periaconcona* ſuddenly bereft of his life: but whether ouertaken in ſome of his owne amorous practiſes, or poiſoned by his ſaid ſiſter; or that ſhe (as ſome probably affirme) hauing ſecretly conſpired with *Calil Chan*,
C *Emir Chan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, *Curchi Baſſi* (being all at that time men of great account, and as it were Preſidents of the kingdome) who diſguiſed in womens apparell, and brought in by her, ſtrangled him at ſuch time as he had priuatly withdrawne himſelfe amongſt his paramours, is vncertaine. Howſoeuer it was, ſufficeth it, that he by the helpe of the ſaid ladie *Periaconcona*, was by vnnaturall death taken out of this world the foure and twentieth day of Nouember, in the yere of Grace 1577; to the exceeding joy of all thoſe nations, who by his death thought themſelues now freed of many great and dangerous troubles: when he had raigned on yeare, ſeuen moneths, and ſix dayes. 1577

Iſmahel ſuddenly murthered by the deuice of his ſiſter Periaconcona.

Iſmahel thus taken out of the way, the ladie began forthwith to perſuade with the great Sultans (the miniſters of *Iſmahels* death) that as they had for the general good of Perſia contriued
D the death of the late king; ſo now that they would take vpon them the protection of that great kingdome, with the preſeruation of the majeſtie and libertie thereof, vntil ſuch time as it were knowne who ſhould worthily ſucceed in that Crowne, which now remained in their hands. There was at that time many of the greateſt Princes and Gouernours of that kingdome aſſembled at Casbin, there gaping after ſuch mutations of thoſe troubleſome times, as might beſt ſerue their priuat deſignes. *Emir Chan* burning in ambitious deſires, was in hope by meanes of a match to be made with a ſiſter of *Periaconcona* (who was alreadie greatly inclining vnto him) to be exalted to the ſoueraignte of all Perſia. *Mirizi Salmas* the chiefe Sultan hoped on the other ſide to aduance into the Eſtate, either *Mahamet Codabanda* the eldeſt brother of the dead
E King, or els *Hamze* the eldeſt ſon of the ſaid *Mahamet*; and by beſtowing vpon him his daughter in marriage (as afterwards he did) ſo to increaſe the glory of his Houſe. Others there were that thought they ſhould be able to draw *Abas Mirize* (the middlemoſt ſonne of *Mahamet*) out of Heri, and to make him King. Neither wanted the infant *Tamas* his aſpiring friends, whoſe Tutor waited likewiſe for ſome opportunitie to ſettle him in the kingdome, and ſo by meanes of his greatneſſe to make himſelfe greateſt amongſt his fellowes. A number of others there were, that ſecretly waited vpon euery occaſion that time ſhould preſent for their preferment. Howbeit in this ſo great varietie of thoughts, the Sultans anſwered the lady with one conſent, and promiſed her in moſt liberall termes, all the protection that their forces could afford, or their weapons procure: and yet did euery one of them, both in action and word,
Chame-like diſſemble their ſeuerall imaginations, whereunto their minds were as prone and readie, as their hearts were cunning cloſely to conceale them.

Amurath the Turkiſh Emperor now wakened, firſt at the death of the old renowned *Tamas*; *Amurath intentiue to the affairs in Perſia.*
F and then at the rumour of the deſire *Iſmahel* had to paſſe with an armie to Babylon, as alſo at the freſh report of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition newly publiſhed in Perſia; and withall throughly inſtructed what harme this late King had done in Perſia, what diſſentions he had raiſed, and how hardly the prouinces of that Empire had endured thoſe calamities; began foorthwith to thinke hereby a faire occaſion to bee miniſtred vnto him, to take vp Armes againſt the Perſians;

Persians, and matter sufficient suggested for him to put in execution the great desire he had of some new conquest. For it is an antient custome, which is growne to be as it were a law among the *Othoman* Kings, That they may not challenge their due honors in their life time, nor their [illegible]ments after their death, vnles they attempt some great and ambitious actions and en[illegible]es, and performe some exploit conformable to their Majesty. *Amurath* therefore bent vpon these great stirs in Persia, would not direct his mind any other way, or take any other war in hand, vntill he might first see what issue these marueilous innouations in Persia would bring forth: which in the person of *Mahamet* the succeeding King, seemed to be more pregnant than euer before, and ministred vnto *Amurath* new occasions of victorious and strange hopes. For as soone as *Ismahel* was dead, the afore named *Mirize Salmas* (in dignity chiefe man among the Sultans, though in bloud and nobility inferior to them all) after many letters dispatched to and fro, at last assured *Mahamet Codabanda*, how with all quietnesse of minde, and securitie of person, he might come and possesse himselfe of the kingdome. He was also aduertised by [illegible] said *Salmas*, of the whole conspiracie plotted against his brother to bring him to his end; a[illegible]e-wise made acquainted, how the fraudulent Ladie, with the Sultans, had capitally con[illegible]d against himselfe: and how she, fauoring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of Heri her nephew & his son, more than became her, did little regard the due and rightfull succession of him being the eldest brother. So *Mahamet* bearing himselfe vpon the faith and diligence of *Mirize Salmas*, and desiring withall to see his eldest son *Hamze Mirize* aduanced to some such soueraign dignities as he saw was due to the liuely hope euery man perceiued to be in him, in regard of his vertue and [illegible] managing the commonwealth and matters of warre (wherein also he shewed h[illegible] s father jealous and sulpicious, lest some other man should vsurpe vpon him th[illegible]onor and authority which so properly appertained vnto him) resolued in the end not to leaue the kingdome in the hands of priuate persons, nor the lightnesse of an vnconstant woman of suspected modestie, and a rebellious conspiratour against her owne bloud, wherewith she had without any pittie or remorse of conf[illegible]ce, now twice defiled her selfe. And therefore he wrot backe againe, That he was mind[illegible] to take the rightful succession vpon him, and that for the same purpose he was putting himse[illegible] vpon his journey: with straight charge notwithstanding, That *Mirize Salmas* should before his entrance within the gates of Casbin, present him with the mischieuous head of *Periaconcona*; a woman (in respect of the scorne exercised against her brother *Aidere*, and of the treacherous death of her other brother *Ismahel*, and of the peruerse imaginations which shee had conceiued to cause the succession to fall into other mens hands, & of the prodigal familiaritie which she had with some of the Sultans) wel worthie of a thousand deaths. Secretly did *Mirize Salmas* put in execution whatsoeuer *Mahamet* had priuatly enioyned him, so that by his meanes he was presently and solemnly proclaimed King of Persia. And afterwards hauing gathered together many squadrons of men wholly deuoted to the bloud and name of *Mahamet*, the same *Mirize Salmas* met him on the way, carrying the head of that manlike Virago *Periaconcona* vpon the point of a lance, with her haire dispersed, and some other vncouth sights to the terror of the beholders. From which nouelties (one mischiefe as it were hudling vpon the necke of another) there sprung vp diuers inward hatreds, sundrie tumultuous seditions, and much ciuile wars: this new King by the instigation of *Mirize Salmas*, seeking on the one side to be reuenged on the Sultans for his brothers death; and they on the other side opposing themselues with all their power against him, the State of Persia began to fall into great inconueniences, and of these nouelties to reape new losses. *Sahamal* the Georgian fled into his mountaine of Brus, fearing the wrath of his new Lord: *Leuent Ogli* likewise another of the Lords of Georgia, vnderstanding of the flight of *Sahamal* his neighbour, estranged himselfe so farre from his old loue and antient deuotion towards the Persian Kings, that he seemed now to desire some new innouation. The Nations also that were neighbours to the Turks, and the people of Media Antropatia (now called Siruan) disliked of this new King: and in the end it appeared, that Persia vnder this king, through many mutations, was in short time fallen into most notable miserie, and the state therof more weakened than it had been of long time before.

Mahamet resolueth to take vpon him the Persian kingdome.

Mahamet proclaimed king of Persia.

The head of Periaconcona prefitted to Mahamet on a Launce.

Of all these things had *Amurath* from diuers place[illegible]telligence, but more particularly from *Vsteff* of Van (a citie of Armenia the greater, scituat[illegible]pon the lake of Actamar) who sent h[illegible] most perfect information of all the stirres in Persia; Discoursing vnto him of the death of *Ismahel*,

mahel, the consultations of the Sultans, the trecheries and death of *Periaconcona*, the broils betweene the King and the Sultans, the nature of the new King (being diseased in his eyes, little esteemed of his subiects, besotted in affection towards his sonnes) the facilitie to ouerrule the chiefe Gouernors of the Georgians, and the people of Siruan, euill affected towards the new King: and to be briefe, whatsoeuer had in truth succeeded in Persia, and might enflame the mind of the ambitious Sultan, to conuert his forces against an enemie of small counsell, and much confusion: adding thereunto, that neuer was there greater opportunity to ouercome that king, than now was offered, and therefore wished him, not in any case to let slip so faire an occasion, as the *Othoman* Kings had neuer before, for the obtaining of so certaine and glorious victories.

Amurath of long time wholly bent to marke the euent of the troubles in Persia, now stirred vp with these aduertisements from *Vsteff*, setled himselfe more deeply in his former conceits to proue his forces in subduing the Persian king, the antient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors, and his onely corriuall and odious competitor in the East. But no one thing did more enflame him thereunto, than to thinke, how he should haue to his enemie a king not acquainted with deeds of armes, doting vpon his children, and weakned with the dissention of his subiects: and on the other side entring into the consideration of his owne forces, of the infinit number of his men, both horse and foot, of the meanes he had to find money; of his artillerie and engines of war, wherin he far surpassed the Persians; he did more and more retolue with himselfe, to take the occasion that was now offered him to begin the war. For the compassing of which his purpose he was greatly fauored by the present state of Christendome, at that time beeing wholly in league and amitie with him. So not finding any thing contrarie to his designements, hee resolued at last to confer with the chiefe Bassa's, which had the gouernment of his empire, Whether it were better vpon this occasion to begin the prepensed war; or if they thought not this opportunitie to be so fit, then to lay it aside, and to conuert his forces and counsell against the commonwealth of Christendome. For such is the barbarous policie whereby this empire is mannaged, That it is lawfull for them to breake any league, be it by neuer so many promises or solemne oaths confirmed, whensoeuer any enterprise is to be attempted for the aduancing therof. So that although this war could not be moued either against the Persians or Christians without breach of their promised faith: yet among the manifold consultations that passed among the great Bassaes, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but al with one accord, without further respect sought to set forward the ambitious desire of their proud lord and master. At last after long consultation and large discourses, it was agreed vpon by the great Bassaes *Mahomet*, *Sinan* and *Mustapha*, That it would by better and lesse danger to attempt war against the Persians, than against the Christian Princes. *Mustapha* amongst the rest preferring the valor of the Latines (whereof he had made good trial especially at Famagusta) before the armies & forces of the Georgians & Persians. Whereby it is apparant to the world, that neither the zeale of their religion, nor any iniurie receiued from the Persian king, but only the ambitious desire of *Amurath* (to subdue a kingdome, both in his owne conceit and other mens relations, euill gouerned, by an effeminat and sottish king, and through ciuile dissention brought into great danger) was the first prouocation of making this war.

No assurance in the Turks league.

Ambition the cause of the Persian war.

Vpon this resolution there arose new consultations touching the manner thereof, and vpon what coast they should begin their iourny, for the more honourable successe thereof. Which point *Amurath* greatly vrged, protesting before his chiefe counsellors, That he would not enter into that warre, except he were in great hope to beare away the victorie. Some thought it most conuenient to send the army to Babylon, & from thence to Syras, called in old time Persepolis, the chiefe citie of the country of Persia: others there were that gaue aduise, That the armie should be directly sent to Tauris, there to erect strong fortresses, and to take possession of all the countrie round about it: and there wanted not some (as it is reported) that thought it better to send two seuerall armies for both the forenamed places; & so by bringing the enemy into a strait, to enforce him to yeeld to whatsoeuer should be of him required. But *Amurath* durst not repose such confidence in his forces, as to thinke, that with his battels diuided and so weakened he should be able to conquer that enemie, who had alwaies most valiantly fought against the monstrous and puissant armies of his ancestours. And therefore firmely resolued with himselfe, to send one only army, and so with his vnited forces to seeke the ouerthrow of the

A consultation holden amongst the Bassaes about the manner of the inuasion of Persia.

enemie. And so preferring the strong hope he had conceiued to conquer the countrey of Siruan, and the chiefe cities of Media the great, before the difficultie of making war vpon the coast of Scyras, reposing also great hope in the notable helpe that was promised him by the Tartars called Præcopenses, he confirmed the great Bassaes his counsellors in the same opinion: and withall discouered vnto them a matter, which to all of them, but especially to *Sinan*, seemed most strange; namely, that he was determined not to go himselfe in person with his army, but to send one of his worthiest captains in his stead. The causes why he so did, were many, but especially, for that he was troubled with the falling sickneſse, and feared greatly (and that not without good cause) lest his son *Mahomet* (being much fauored of the people) might peraduenture in his absence be vntimely aduanced to the empire; beside the dangers that he suspected at the hands of the Christian Potentates: and withall perswaded it to be vnto himselfe a great honour to performe those things by his seruants, which had in those countries bin vnfortunatly attempted by his most noble predecessors in their owne persons.

While they were thus consulting about the expedition, and the great Bassaes, *Sinan-pha*, and others, made means to be sent as the Soueraigne ministers of their lords designment, hee dispatched away sundrie posts and light horsemen, with order to the Bassaes and Gouernors of Van, Babylon, and Erzirum, in the frontiers of his dominions, That they should by often inrodes spoyle the townes and castles of the Persians, and by all means to doe them what harme they could. Which they were not slacke to put in execution, and especially *Vlfref* (or rather *Husreue*) Bassa of Van: who with often incursions did much mischiefe, as well in the subiect to the Persian king. A forcible preparatiue for greater troubles

Vlfref Bassa beginneth the wars in Persia.

Now in these great preparations for the Persian war (which for many yeares after notably exercised the greatest part of the Turkes forces, to the great quiet of the Christian commonweale) *Stephen Bathor* the late Vayuod of Transyluania, but now by the commendation of *Amurath* become King of Polonia; in the beginning of his raigne, by his Embassadour the great lord *Iohn* of Syenna, entred into a strong league and confederation with the great Turkish Sultan *Amurath* at Constantinople. Which for that it sheweth in what tearmes that famous kingdome then and yet standeth with the Turkes great empire, and withall containeth matter well worth the Christian consideration, it shal not be impertinent to our purpose (omitting the long and glorious stile of that barbarous Monarch, seruing to no other end but to shew the greatnesse of his power) plainely to set it downe as it was on his part at the same time by him confirmed.

The League betwixt the most puissant and mightie Princes, Sultan *Amurath* the Turkish Emperour, and *Stephen* king of Polonia, agreed vpon and concluded at Constantinople, in the yere of our Sauiour Christ Iesu 1577, and of the Prophet *Mahomet* 985.

The league betwixt Amurath the Turke Sultan, and Stephen king of Polonia.

I Sultan Amurath, *the sonne of* Selym Chan, *the sonne of* Solyman Chan, *the sonne of* Selym Chan, *the sonne of* Baiazet Chan, *the sonne of the Great Emperour* Mahomet Chan, *&c. Prince of these present times, the onely Monarch of this age, of power able to confound the power of the whole World, the shadow of Diuine clemencie and grace, Great Emperour of many Kingdomes, Countries, Prouinces, Cities, and Townes, Lord of Mecha, that is to say, of the house of the glorie of God, of the resplendent Citie of Medina, and of the most blessed Citie of Hierusalem, Prince of the most fruitfull Countrey of Ægypt, Imen, Zenan, Aden, and many other such like: In most louing manner declare, That the most glorious and renowned* Stephen *King of Polonia, great Duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Masouia, Samogitia, Kiouia, Liuonia, and many other Countreyes moe, Prince of the couragious followers of Iesus, Gouernour of all the affaires of the people and Familie of the Nazarets, the welcommest cloud of Raine, and most sweet fountaine of Glorie and Vertue, eternall Lord and Heire of the felicitie and honour of the aforesaid noble Kingdome of Polonia, vnto whome all the distressed repaire for refuge, wishing most happie successe and blessed end to his actions: offering vnto vs many religious vowes, eternall praises worthie our perpetuall loue and most holy League, and with great deuotion performing these and other like honours, for*

A *for the dispatch of his Letters to our most glorious Court, for the new confirming of the most sacred league and confederation with vs, sending the honourable Lord* Iohn *of Syenna (his most faithfull counsellour) his Embassadour to our Imperiall Court; declaring his loue and integritie, and purging himselfe of all the suspition of hostilitie, hath requested the league and confederation to be renewed. At whose instance wee haue giuen these our letters confirming the said league of peace and confederation: Wherein we command, That none of our Counsellours, Beglerbegs, Sanzackes, Generals of our Armies, Captaines, or Seruants, shall doe, or on my behalfe presume to doe any hurt vnto the Kingdome, Countries, Cities, Castles, Townes, Islands, or whatsoeuer else to the Kingdome of Polonia belonging. And in like manner, that none of the Nobilitie, Generals, Captaines, or others whosoeuer belonging vnto the king of Polonia shall dare to doe any harme vnto my Kingdomes, Cities, Castles, or Townes confining vnto the*

B *Kingdome of Polonia. In briefe, my will is, that he being a mortall enemie vnto mine enemies, and a fast friend vnto my friends, shall doe no grieuance or harme vnto any my subiects, or things whatsoeuer vnto my iurisdiction belonging. So in like manner commanding also, that no hurt by any meanes, or for any occasion be done by our people vnto the subiects, or whatsoeuer else vnto the iurisdiction of the King of Polonia apperta ning.*

The creatures, Embassadours, Messengers, and men of whatsoeuer condition else, shall on both sides freely without let or trouble come and goe without any harme receiuing, either in their persons or goods.

It shall be lawfull also for the King of Polonia his subiects, to seeke throughout our Empire for any the Polonian captiues taken before the time of this league; and the same so found (if they haue not receiued the Turkish Religion, but still remaine Christians) to redeeme without the contradiction of any

C *man.*

And that whatsoeuer shall be taken and carried away after the confirmation of this league, shall be all againe freely and without any thing paying, deliuered and restored.

That the merchants on both parts may freely traffique with all kind of merchandise in the blacke and white sea, as also vpon the maine; and so paying their vsuall and lawfull custome, to be in nothing wronged or molested.

If any of the Polonian merchants shall die in our dominion, the goods of him so dead shall not be embeseled, but kept in safetie vntill his brethren or other his friends shall come with the king of Polonia his letters: vpon the shewing whereof, hauing also our letters mandatorie, the goods shall be forthwith re-

D *stored vnto the dead mans heires. In which sort also my merchants shall be dealt withall, if any of them shall chance to die in the kingdome of Polonia.*

If any wrong be done within the limits of mine Empire, vnto any belonging vnto the kingdome of Polonia, after the date of these letters confirming the league; the doer of the wrong shall by my commandement be sought out, and being found shall be punished, and the wrong done, without any delay or contradiction forthwith recompenced. And the like Iustice to be also on the behalfe of the king of Polonia administred.

If any debtor shall depart out of mine empire into the Polonian territorie, whersoeuer he shall chance to be found by his creditor, he shall be brought to the Iudge of that place to be examined, and whatsoeuer is shall be proued him of right to owe, the Iudge of that place shall according to the equitie of the cause

E *make the creditor to be satisfied.*

But if the debtor cannot himselfe personally be found, no other man shall by reason of another mans debt be taken, detained, or molested: neither shall the innocent be troubled for the guilty, in either or both our kingdomes.

In briefe vpon whatsoeuer conditions and capitulations the league of peace and confederation was in the time of my father, my grandfather, or great grandfather of famous memorie, made with the kings of Polonia vpon the same conditions and capitulations be it now made also.

Whatsoeuer hurt hath hitherto bin done to either part by reason of the disagreement of the Gouernors and Captaines, shall all be on both parties neglected and forgotten.

Also after the time of these letters confirming the league and confederation, Whereas the King of

F *Polonia shall in time pay a certain summe of money vsed to be paied vnto the Tartars, the Tartar Chan and his sonne* Mirzeleby *their Princes, shall restore the same again, and not to dare to suffer his armies by any meanes to hurt the Polonian territories. So that on the part of the Tartars and their armies no harme shall be done vnto the kingdome of Polonia: neither on the part of the Polonians, to the territories of the Tartars. And if any harme shall by the Tartars be done in the king of Polonia his territories, it shall*

all by my commandement be againe restored. And so likewise on the part of the Palatine of Mol- G
or the inhabitants of the kingdome of Moldauia, no harme shall be done vnto the countries sub-
the King of Polonia: but if any be done and certainely knowne, to be by my commandement
compenced.

On the part also of the King of Polonia and his subiects, whatsoeuer harme shall be done vnto the ter-
ritorie or subiects of the Moldauian Palatine, or Tartars, the harme so done to be recompenced, and the do-
ers thereof punished.

Also that all such fugitiues as hauing done any notorious felonies or other villanies in Moldauia, and
so are fled into Polonia, shall at my request, or at the request of the Palatine of Moldauia, be restored, and
in no case denied.

That all the Polonian captiues within my dominions, yet professing the Christian religion, may by the H
King of Polonia his subiects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their Lords and Masters
paied: euery such master of the slaue taking his oath that he cost him so much. But such capt as haue
receiued the Turkish faith, to be forthwith set at libertie: and so the Turks slaues in the King of Po-
lonia to be likewise manumised.

That our Embassadors on both sides (so long as we are in league and amitie) may freely come and go,
and not be staied in any place, and being willing to meet together, may at their pleasure so doe. And being
entred into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by some good and faithfull guide appointed vnto
them, conducted vnto the place they are to goe vnto. And this to be on both sides kept.

No man to dare to hurt or stay any merchant, hauing paied his thirtieth part, or lawfull custome.

If any of our subiects shall haue any suit with any of the King of Polonia his subiects, the Iudges shall I
be bound to administer Iustice. All theeues and robbers shall be diligently sought out; and
being found, to be seuerely punished: and the goods taken away, without impeachment to be restored vnto
the right owners, their heires, or to the King.

The Sanzackes of Silistria and Bolograne, the Customers and Water-baylifes shall not suffer any man
but merchants and such as are sent in our seruice, to pa ver the riuer Nyester; who passing ouer, if they
shall bring with them any slaue bondman out of Po he shall be sent backe againe. The sheepheards,
if they will transport their sheepe into the Iurisdiction of e King of Polonia, shall not so doe without the
leaue of the Polonian Gouernours, before whom they shall also number their sheepe: of whom if any shal
be lost, the Gouernours shall cause them to be sought for, and to be restored vnto the sheepheards, as also to
pay for their hay. K

The Zauzij, Ianizaries, or Posts, shall not dare in time of peace or war, to take any horses from the Po-
lonian merchants, or other the Kings subiects comming into our Kingdome.

The Palatines of Moldauia, in whatsoeuer condition they haue been towards the former Kings of
Polonia, they shall now also still so be hereafter. The thirtieths and Customes of both parts, shall con-
tinue in their old manner, and not be encreased. The Polonian kings subiects and Merchants, as well
Armenians as of any other Nation, whensoeuer they shall enter into Moldauia, or any other part of our
Empire, shall not trauell by vncertaine and vnknowne, but by the common and high waies: wherein
if they shall suffer any losse or harme, either in their goods or persons, the doers of such wrongs shall
bee sought for, and seuerely punished. Which merchants shall bee suffered without any molesta-
tion quietly to come and goe, hauing paied their thirtieths: and no merchant to be troubled for another L
debt.

If any the Polonian Kings merchants or subiects, be willing for ready mony to redeeme and carry away
any slaues taken out of the Polonian Kingdome, and yet professing the Christian religion, the Iudges shall
in no case withstand them, neither presume to take them from them, or againe redeeme them. But if
any of such slaues haue receiued the Turkish religion, they shall not be againe demanded by the King of
Polonia.

Such slaues as haue not receiued the Turkish religion, if after a certaine space they shall be set at liber-
tie by their masters, and in the letters testimoniall of their libertie, it shall be declared that they haue re-
ceiued the Turkish religion; yet shall they not by the Iudges be therefore detained.

In the Citie of Burusa, the Polonian merchants hauing paied their vsuall thirtieths, shall not be far- M
ther pressed with any other vnusuall payment.

My will is also, that the territories at this present in
so be by him taken from the Muscouite or any other the
league, and so to be royally by him possessed.
fession of the King of Polonia, as here
lian Princes, to bee comprised within

And

A And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in these our letters of confederation contained, I sweare by the power of the most mightie God, and of his most holy Prophet, and by the most cleane and pure Spirits of all the Prophets; That for all the daies of my life, and so long as nothing shall on the behalfe of the King of Polonia be done contrarie to the peace and league, nothing shall also on my part bee done contrary vnto the same. Witnesse the Almightie, the vpright Iudge and discerner of mens actions. From Constantinople the yeare of the holy Prophet Mahomet 985, the 14 of the moneth Cziemasit Euuel, and of Christ 1577.

This league betwixt these two mightie Princes *Amurath* and king *Stephen* thus concluded, and after the death of *Stephen* by *Sigismund* the third (which now raigneth) renewed, as it hath
B bin euer since to the Polonian kingdom for the time commodious, so hath it as with an Adamantine band so bound that most famous Kingdome, as that in the hardest distresses of the Christian commonweale, and most indeed concerning it selfe, it hath affoorded no more help than hath the members farther off, which is (I rue to say it) none at all. As in these late and present wars betwixt the Christian Emperor and the two last Turkish Sultans, it is too plainly to be seene: wherein had it in due time giuen but such reasonable helpes as it might well haue spared, much no doubt might haue been done for the repressing of the common enemie, and the recouerie of the greatest part of that is lost of Hungarie: but thus bound, standeth as a dead member, seruing to no vse more than to the more speedie destruction of it selfe, together with
C the rest of the sicke bodie. For what assurance it can haue in this long (I must needs say) but euill assured peace, is well to be seene in that in the great consultation of this great Sultan *Amurath* with his Bassa's after the Persian war, for the inuading of Christendome; the Polonians for all this league so solemnly constrained, were nothing the more regarded, but laid in the same ballance with the least, and preserued only by the Prouidence that all gouerneth: which leading the Turk against the Christian Emperor their neighbor, hath giuen them that peace they were otherwise hardly to haue looked for. Vnto whom for all that, hauing to his endlesse praise maintained a long and most chargeable war, they haue not lent any great help or friendly hand; yet lying themselues still in the Lyons mouth, and like enough to be the next (God grant I be therein deceiued) that is to be of him deuoured.

D But leauing these the heauie conceits of a melancholy mind, and ominous forbodings of that I wish not, to returne againe toward Persia, *Amurath* his greatest care. Amongst many the ambitious competitors for the managing of these Turkish so great designes, was the great Bassa *Mustapha* (euen he, who in the raigne of the late Emperor *Selymus* conquered Cyprus, carrying thence together with his victorie perpetual infamie, for his faithlesse and cruell dealing with *Bragadine* the worthie and renowned Gouernour of Famagusta) appointed Generall of the Turks army into Persia: and authoritie giuen him, to prouide whatsoeuer he should thinke needfull for so great a warre. And commandement giuen vnto the Bassaes, and other commanders of the greatest part of the Turkish Empire Eastward, that they should themselues with their souldiers of all sorts, bound by their perpetual annuities to go to the warre, in the begin-
E ning of the Spring this yeare 1578, repaire to Erzirum, a citie of Capadocia bordering vpon Armenia, there to attend the command of their new Generall. Who hauing his dispatch from Constantinople, and for fashion sake conducted by most of the court ouer the strait to Scutari, and from thence passing through the countries of Amasia and Siuas, in the very beginning of Sommer arriued at Erzirum; and there stayed vntill such time as his people, victuals, artillerie, and other his necessary prouision was come thither. From whence he departed for Siruan, hauing first taken a diligent surueigh of his whole armie, mustering the souldiers of euery Nation by themselues: namely, of the Mesopotamians twelue thousand, of the Assyrians and Babylonians foureteene thousand, of the Syrians two thousand, of them of the Lesser Asia (now comprehended vnder the name of Natolia) ten thousand, of the Iews and Philistims one thousand, and of the Cilicians foure thousand. After whom followed the souldiers of Græcia, the
F glorie and hope of all the campe, valiant men, to the number of ten thousand: and after them the familiar and faithfull guard of the Generall, ten thousand Ianizaries of Constantinople, with harquebusies on their shoulders, and scimitars by their sides: of the citie also of Erzirum, and the Iurisdiction thereof, appeared foure thousand, vnder the ensigne of of *Beyran Bassa* their Generall. All these were stipendaries to the Turkish Emperour: vnto whome other voluntarie

Mustapha Bassa made Generall of the Turks armie.

1578

Mustapha commeth to Erzirum and there mustereth his armie.

untary aduenturers ioyned themselues, in number not inferiour to the rest, but better furnished, and of greater courage. So that in this generall suruey of the armie were found about an hundred and ten thousand men, most part horsemen: yet was there not any stirred out of Arabia [illegible] Affrica, or Hungarie, or other places alongst the sea coasts: neither were the Prouinces whence these souldiers were drawne, left destitute or vnfurnished of their ordinarie garrisons. Besides this multitude of men, *Mustapha* brought with him fiue hundred small pieces of artillerie, with many loads of mony for his souldiers pay, with further order for the taking vp of more at Aleppo, and other places, if his occasions should so require. He caused also great quantitie of corne to be transported by the Great sea called in antient time Pontus Euxinus, to Trapezond, so to be conueied to Erzirum, beeing but foure daies iourney distant thence. To be short, hauing taken order for all things hee thought necessary for the warre, hee in seemely array departed from Erzirum, and in eight daies arriued at the ruines of Chars, and in the fruitfull countrie thereabout rested himselfe: but was there surprised with such a violent tempest of wind and raine, as rent in sunder his tents, and did great hurt by means whereof many fell sicke and were constrained to forsake the armie.

Mustapha at Chars.

Hauing staied three daies at Chars, the bounder of the Turkish and Persian empires, hee departed thence with his armie, and that euening lodged vnder the mountains of Chielder, supposed to be part of the hils Periardo: where hearing the Persians to be in armes, hee thought it best for the securitie of his armie, so to pitch his tents as that hee might well discouer the comming of the enemie, and not to be assaulted at vnawares. And therefore planting himselfe [illegible] he gaue order that *Beyran*, Bassa of Erzirum, should take possession of a certaine [illegible] right hand; and *Dernis* the Bassa of Caramit should keepe another hill that stood on the left hand; and with them *Osman Bassa*, *Mahamet Bassa*, *Mustassade Bassa*, aduenturers, with many others as well stipendarie as voluntarie men, should likewise pitch their tents vpon the same hils, in such sort, as that they making as it were two wings to the camp, might discouer the comming of euerie man, and yet he himselfe being shadowed with the two hils, might lie vnperceiued of any.

Mustapha cunningly encampeth his armie at Chielder.

Mahamet the new king of Persia, as yet scarcely setled in his kingdome, stirred vp by the fame of these motions, resolued in himselfe to stand vpon the defence of his state, & for a time to dissemble the conceiued hatred which he bare to some of the Sultans of Persia, and princes of Georgia, and to make some apparant shew that hee was reconciled to them; for that without them he could not promise vnto himselfe any form of an armie, or defence: wherein (notwithstanding all the troubled state of his kingdome) he wrought so cunningly, that almost all the great men of account tooke vpon them the protection of his state and kingdome. And so *Tocomac* a Sultan, the Chan and Gouernour of Reiuan, a famous man, well knowne vnto the Turks, and of great reputation amongst the Persians, was chosen Generall of this expedition; with charge, That gathering together the greatest number of men he could out of Atropatia, out of Media the greater, and other places neere vnto the Turks, he should by all means possible stop their passage into Georgia and Media Atropatia. And therupon precepts were sent out into all parts of the kingdome, That all the Chans, Sultans, and souldiers whatsoeuer, should come readie prest to attend vpon their new Generall. Many obedient to the kings proclamation, came; but many there were that would not stir a foot, for their obstinacie in the broiles begun, and for the suspition they had of vnlooked for mischiefes: at whose disobedience the king much grieued; but now there was no remedie but to make the best of the matter, and for the safegard of his honour to make the best resistance they could. So with those few which for the loue of their prince and country were met together in those parts, being in number not aboue twentie thousand, *Tocomac* was dispatched about his businesse, if happily he might with these small forces oppresse the enemy in some strait and troublesome passage, where the great multitude should rather serue to the confusion of themselues, than to the helpe of one another. These twentie thousand were all horsemen, armed with scimitar and bow, with some harquebusiers among, and furnished with very fine and well tempered armour; but aboue all couragious they were, & resolute, and wel the more, for the valor and prowesse of their Generall. So prouided of all things necessary, they set forward, and keeping the way of Tauris, Genge, they came to the turning of Chars, where they were aduertised, that the enemies armie was already passed.

Tocomac Generall of the Persians.

They

They were now come within a days journey of Chielder, when they sent quicke and faithfull scouts, to bring them certaine news of the condition and number of the Turks army; who came thither euen at the very time that *Mustapha* was incamping his armie between the two hils, whereupon the two Bassa's *Beyran* and *Dernis*, with their people, had alreadie pitched their tents. These scouts discouering the Turkish hoast aloft, persuaded themselues that there was not any other battell than those which they saw vpon the hills; whereof with all speed they could they returned newes to *Tocomac*, who at ease had followed these his scouts a far off. *Tocomac* thus misinformed by his scouts of the number of his enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpose to assault them; and hauing discouered their tents vpon the hils, was throughly confirmed in the opinion he had before conceiued of the number of his enemies, & the scouts relation, and with so much the more confidence set forward to assaile them. But *Beyran* and *Dernis*, who quickly from the hils perceiued the Persians comming in the plain, although they knew them to be men of great courage, yet reposing an assured confidence in their Generals battell, with all speed mounted vpon their horses, and ran to meet them. So in the aforesayd plaines vnder Chielder, within one houre after noone was joyned a most bloudie battel, wherein at last were slain seuen of the Turks Sanzacks, with a very great number of soldiers, without any apparant losse at all among the Persians, who fighting close together in a great heat, and all bebloudied, vrged their happie and fortunate victorie.

But *Mustapha* who perceiued all that had passed, and staied waiting till the fight was at the hotest, and the medly at the thickest, that so the flight of the enemies might breed their greater disorder; and now seeing that his people could no longer endure the fury of the enemies rage (euen as if it had lightned & thundred, and as though the earth had shaken) with such cries and acclamations as the Turks vse in their assaults, for the more terror of the enemies, exciting his army, ran as it were headlong vpon his aduersaries, and so renewed a most terrible battell. The Persians wonderfull courage endured this vnexpected and dreadfull assault, and with incredible signes of valour, in that little time of daylight that was left (for the night began now to approch) continued their manifold slaughters, and at last being fauored by the darkenesse of the night, withdrew themselues with as little losse as possibly they might. Neither durst *Mustapha* any longer pursue them, but was glad by night to returne to his campe. Of the successe of this battell the Persians certified their king; as also of the greatnes of the Turkish army, with their further purpose for the annoying thereof. And by the Turkes also were presented to *Mustapha* (who had alreadie sent away posts with news to *Amurath*) 5000 heads, which by their color, countenance, & beards, bewraied themselues to be Persians, and 3000 Persians aliue. Of this victorie *Mustapha* greatly reioiced, and to make it seeme the greater (seeking by all means to conceale his owne losses, and to raise a greater terror by the fame thereof, amongst his enemies, caused the heads of those three thousand that were brought before him aliue, to be presently cut from their shoulders, and gaue order, that of those heads there should be framed a bulwarke in those fields, for a most horrible and vncouth spectacle.

Mustapha commeth with his battell to relieue his distressed people.

A bulwarke made of the heads of the slain Persians.

The same day that *Mustapha* imploied himselfe about this barbarous and cruel worke, there came vnto him certaine messengers from *Manucchiar* the younger son of the Georgian widow *Dedesmit* (a great prince in that country) who told him, That with his good fauour and leaue, *Manucchiar* their lord and master was comming to salute him, and to offer himselfe vnto him as his obedient and deuoted seruant. At which newes *Mustapha* redoubling his joy, gaue commandement, That all the Bassa's and captains of the army, with all solemne pompe, with trumpets, drums, peales of ordnance, and all other signes of munificall and joyfull entertainment, should go forth to meet the said *Manucchiar*, and to accompanie him to his presence. Which they did accordingly, and so encountering him with all signes of honor, conducted him to the great pauilion of *Mustapha*, who there caused him againe to be saluted with like triumph. *Manucchiar* dismounted from his horse, and against his wil beholding the strange and vncouth pile of heads all pale and filthie to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant: yet notwithstanding, before all other things hauing done his due reuerence to the great Bassa, and according to his degree placed himselfe next to his side, after he had presented him with such gifts as his country yeelded, he gaue him to vnderstand, That for the honor & estimation which he bare to the Turkish valor, he was alwaies deuoted to the house of the *Othomans*; and as he had oftentimes desired to spend his goods & life in their seruice, so at this present time, moued

The speech of Manucchiar to Mustapha.

by

his antient desire, allured by the strange fame of this victorious and wonderfull armie, and C
red vp by a particular fantasie, to learne the painfull and hard precepts of the art militarie,
vnder such a Generall, commander of other commanders; he offered him all deuotion and
more than euer he had done to any heretofore, & himselfe hauing nothing in the world
leere vnto him, consecrated his own life to his commandements; desiring that the same
might be imployed in the conflicts of war vnder his banners, among warriors and souldiers of
fame and renowne: and therefore besought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*,
whose obedient vassal he vowed himselfe to remaine for euer.

The answere of Mustapha.

Graciously did *Mustapha* receiue all this discourse from *Manucchiar*, and hauing shewed him
againe the pile of heads, together with his battels, armor, and prouision of war, told him, That
as all these forces are the gift of God, who alwaies fauored the righteous counsels of the *Otho-* H
man Emperors, in such sort that they lord it ouer all the world, euen to the astonishment of all
that liue in the world at this day: so had he for his particular chosen the better part in com-
ming now to yeeld himselfe, and to submit his obedience to his Lord, although it beene
better if he had done it before. And as concerning the desire he had to be his compan-ion and
fellow in these warlike affaires, he did very friendly accept of his comming, and promised him
all good entertainement and assured safetie. And so in exchange of the presents which hee
brought him, he apparelled him in cloath of gold, honored him with a battel-axe and targuet
wrought with gold and ammell, and neuer permitted him to go from his pauilion without a
traine of his slaues following him.

A terrible rowd tempest

This Georgian prince thus solemnly entertained, the General gaue order thorow the camp, I
that they should the next morning remoue from those mountaines: and now euery man was
putting himselfe in readinesse, when as there rise a most terrible tempest of winde and raine,
mixt with thunder & lightning; which continued with such violence by the space of foure
dayes together, as if the heauens had bin dissolued into waters. Whereby it came to passe, that
out of the dead carkasses & heads before mentioned issued a most horrible stink: so that there-
by, & by the foulnesse of the weather, with the other annoiances always attending vpon so great
a camp, the whole army was exceedingly troubled, and diuers diseases arose among the Turks.
But at the last the weather breaking vp, *Mustapha* rise with his campe, and set forward toward
Teflis: and being not able by reason of the foulnesse of the way to passe any farther, that day
stayed in the plains, where the lake Ghielder Giol standeth, and there refreshed his sicke and K
wounded soldiers: remouing thence, the next day about noone he came to the castle of Archi-
chelec, sometime a castle of the Georgians, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his wars against

Mustapha surueieth his army at Archichelec, & lacketh forty thousand of his men.

Tamas, and euer since holden by the Turks. Here *Mustapha* surueyed his army, and by diligent
account taken, found himselfe to want 40000 of his soldiers: whereof some were slaine in the
battell, some were dead of sickenesse, and many wearie of so long and perilous a journey, were
by night stolne out of the campe, and returned to take their ease at home. From thence the
armie remoued, and lodged at night neere the marish called of the Turks Peruana Giol, or lake
of slaues, and the next day came to Triala, where at this day are to be seene the ruins of a great
citie and of many churches; whereof some are yet repaired and maintained by deuout Chri-
stians, the reliques of those happy and religious forces, that with so great and faithfull zeale L
passed the seas and mountaines through those barbarous nations into the holy land, men wor-
thie of eternall praise. The next day the Turks ascended the high and craggie mountaine that
standeth vpon Teflis: from the top whereof discending the day following, they seised vpon a
castle of the Georgians, called by the Turks Giurgi Chala. Departing thence, and lodging in

The Turkes victuallers cut off by the Georgians.

certaine plaines, the next day they came neere to the riuer that runneth by Teflis. But in these
foure dayes march from Archichelec, where *Mustapha* tooke view of his armie, many of the
Turks who in seeking for victuals for themselues and their horses, had stragled from the army,
were cut off by the Georgian captaines, who with a number of their owne country souldiers
secretly followed the Turks armie, and well acquainted with all the wayes of the country,
lay in ambush vpon such places as the victuallers were to passe through, and so suddenly set- M
ting vpon them, spoiled them at once both of their goods and liues.

Mustapha comming to Teflis, found that castle emptie for that *Daut Chan* lord thereof, hea-
ring of the comming of the Turks, forsook the same and tooke himselfe to the fields, pro-
uiding better for himselfe in so doing, than by staying still in the castle, to haue bin there taken pri-
soner.

A soner. This castle for the conuenient scituation thereof *Mustapha* caused to be repaired and
fortified, and planted therein an hundred pieces of artillery, and appointed *Mahomet Bassa* Ge-
nerall Gouernor of that place, with a garrison of six thousand soldiers, which done, he depar-
ted for Siruan. At which very time those of Soria, which had brought a thousand loads of
rent corne to the campe from Aleppo, being themselues in number a thousand person, with
fiue hundred others of Omps (in antient time called Hus, the citie of the patient *Iob*) and other
places of Soria, men neither of dutie bound, nor of themselues willing to follow the campe,
returned homewards towards their owne countrey: but vpon the way they were set vpon by
Alessandro, *Giusuf*, and *Dauid* (three of the Georgian lords) and all slaine except some few,
who by the swiftnesse of their horses escaped with *Nassardin* their Captaine.

Alessandro the Georgian sendeth Embassadors to Mustapha.

B Now after that *Mustapha* had passed the discent of the steepe mountaines of Teflis, the next
day he incamped in certaine low plaines; where the Embassadors of *Alessandro* surnamed the
Great, sonne of *Leuent* a Georgian Prince, came vnto him and told him, That their Lord was
readie, if it so pleased him, to come vnto him to do him reuerence, and by word of mouth to
promise him that deuotion he had alwayes in minde borne to the *Othoman* Emperors. With
a glad heart and cheerefull countenance did *Mustapha* receiue these Embassadors: and presen-
ly sent them backe to will their lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendship should be
vnto him most deere and acceptable. And after their departure, tooke order with all the com-
manders of his armie, to receiue him with all the signes of joy that might be; which at his
comming was accordingly by them performed. Who after he had presented vnto the Gene-
C rall the rich gifts he had brought with him, he offered his obedience to the Bassa with most
liuely speeches he could possibly deuise, calling *Amurath* his Lord: seeming to take it in euil
part, that he passed not through his territorie, where he should (as he said) haue had plentie of
all things for the reliefe of his army; yet hoping that in his returne from Siruan he would take
it in his way; whereas he should find him most readie to bestow all that he had in the seruice
of his Lord: telling him moreouer, That although he could not for many vrgent respects go
with him into Siruan, yet he would alwayes accompanie him in minde, and continually pray

Alessander courteously entertained by Mustapha.

vnto the Creator of all things, for his prosperitie and most happie successe. Courteously did
Mustapha receiue both his presents and submission, and in exchange thereof bestowed vpon
him certaine gifts after the Turkish manner, and in magnificall termes gaue him answer; pro-
D mising him in his returne to passe through his country: and so dismissed the Persian Duke
with like honour wherewith he was entertained at his comming.

Mustapha holding on his journey toward Siruan, through mooriſh and troublesome wayes;
in twelue dayes after he departed from Teflis, came into the confines of Siruan, neere to the
riuer Canac, and there rested on this side the riuer one day. At which time they of the city of
Sechi, bordering vpon the Siruanians and Georgians, foure dayes journey from Sumachia,
came to offer themselues to *Mustapha*, as subiects to the Turks. Of whose submission the Ge-
nerall graciously accepted, promising to them his assured protection.

The Turks armie afflicted with hunger.

The Turks army ouerwearied with the continual trauell of twelue dayes march, but yet far
more afflicted with hunger, not finding in those parts so much as one wild beast to assuage their
E greedie desire of meat, sought by all means, euery man for himself, to get somthing, especially
when they vnderstood their Generall would passe the riuer into a countrey vnto them all vn-
knowne, where they were altogether vncertaine what to find for their reliefe. So whilest they
were inquiring among themselues, who were able to conduct thẽ to some such place as where
they might supply their wants, behold, certain Persians were taken, who being straitly exami-
ned on that point, after much resistance at last told them, that not farre off, after they had passed
certain marishes, where Canac discharged it selfe into Araxis, they should find many fields ful
of ryce & corne in the blade, and a little farther certain fat heards of cattel, sufficient to relieue
the whole army. Of this news was the general certified; who although he greatly doubted the
subtiltie of his enemies, yet to gratifie his souldiers, and to make them more willing to follow
F him into Siruan, he licensed euery man that had a desire thereunto, to go and prouide himselfe
of victuals, and so suffered all that would, to go freely. Whereupon there went of themselues,
and were sent by their Captaines, about ten thousand seruile persons, with Camels, Horses,
and Mules, to fetch away this prouision of corne and cattell: but the euent answered not to
their desires. For *Tecomac* with the other Persian Captaines, and the rest of the souldiers that
were

were escaped from the ouerthrow giuen them in the plaines of Chielder, hauing gathered to- G
gether the remainder of the army, and recouered such places as they thought safe and friendly
to them, carefully attended the marching & passing of the Turkish armie. And being certain-
ly informed by them of Reiuan and Georgia, what way they kept, and that of necessitie they
must [illegible]e at the banks of Canac, they began to deuise how they might in some measure be
reuenged of their former losse, and impeach their enemies entrance into Siruan. But wanting
rather strength than courage to assaile the whole armie, they thought it best to stay in ambush
in some fit place, vntill some part of the Turkish armie (allured with the prey of the the corne
and cattell) should for the reliefe of their common necessities discend into those fields. And
the rather to draw them on, sent out diners men, who as if they had gon about their owne bu-
sinesse, and by chance at vnawares had lighted vpon the Turks campe, reuealed vnto them as H
a great secret, what a good prey was hard by them. And so withdrawing themselues out of
sight priuily, awaited the comming of the Turks: when as within the space of thre[illegible]es it
so fell out, that the aforesaid ten thousand forragers arriued at the wished place; wh[illegible]hey
had no sooner begun to charge themselues with the prey, but they were surprised by th[illegible]rsi-
ans and all slaine, sauing a few, who by hastie flight saued themselues. The noise of this hot
skirmish being heard into the Turkish hoast, caused *Mustapha* to imagine that the matter was
fallen out euen as indeed it was; and therefore rising with his whole army, hasted with all pos-
sible speed to haue succored the poore people, who were now all slaine. And albeit hee came
not in so good time as to yeeld them reliefe, yet came he very fitly to reuenge their death
vpon the Persians, staying too long to load themselues with the spoile of their enemies.

Ten thousand of the Turks forragers slaine.

The place from whence the Turks were to haue had the aforesaid bootie, was almost in ma-
ner of an Island, inclosed with the riuers of Araxis and Canac: whereinto *Mustapha* entred with
his whole power, *Dernis Bassa* leading the one wing, as did *Beyran Bassa* the other, and he him-
selfe comming on in the middle with the maine battell. The Persians seeing *Mustapha* with all
his forces hasting towards them, & withall remem[illegible]g the late ouerthrow by them receiued
in the plains of Chielder; began to bethinke them[illegible]s how much better it had bin for them
to haue contented themselues with the late slaughter of the forragers, and with speed to haue
got them away out of that strait, than by staying longer, to be inclosed with the multitude of
their enemies, as that they could now no way escape without most manifest peril. In this per-
plexity discoursing among themselues, whether it were better to fly, or with so great disaduan- K
tage to join battel, and so rather to die honorably, than to liue with reproch: at last they reso-
lued to reserue themselues to the further seruice of their prince and country; deeming it rather
a point of wisdome than of dishonor, not to aduenture vnto most desperat and assured death, so
many worthie men as might in future time stand their country in good stead: yet did they not
see how by flight well to escape, for that they were in such sort strained within the riuers, as
that there was no ground left for them to escape by, than that which contrary to their expecta-
tion was by the Turks alreadie possessed. In these difficulties euery man began to betake him-
selfe to his owne priuat conceit and fortune. *Tocomac* with *Emir Chan* and other the great com-
manders of the armie, were the first that turned their backs, and by the helpe of their couragi-
ous horses got ouer the riuer of Canac: whose example mooued many others to attempt the L
like, though not with like fortune; for that their horses being not of such courage, and out of
breath, lay many of them drowned in the riuer. Wherewith others being amased, as perceiu-
ing inuitable death in flying, present before their eyes, and reposing all their hope euen in
dispaire, ran as it were headlong in a rage and furie vpon their enemies, and in fighting shewed
vnspeakeable valour: but what was one against an hundred? for there they were also all slaine,
though worthie of immortall fame. Thus was the Persian armie quite discomfited in this de-
mie Island, being first stained with the bloud of the enemy, and afterward with the slaughter of
the neighbour and proper inhabitant: and so became the perpetuall sepulchre of a most cou-
ragious and warlike people. The Turks in this last conflict lost not not aboue 3000 men, beside
the slaughter of the 10000 forragers: although *Tocomac* to make his losse to seeme the more M
tollerable, made report to the king of a greater slaughter made. The Persian Captaines full of
sorrow for this vnexpected ouerthrow, with the licen[illegible]e of their General departed euery m[illegible]
to his seuerall gouernment: as *Emanguli Chan* to Ge[illegible]ge, *Serap Chan* to Nassiuan, *Tocom[illegible]*
himselfe to Reiuan, and all the rest to other cities, to [illegible] gouernment whereof they were be-
fore

The Persians fly and in flying are many of them drowned in Canac.

A fore by the King appointed, and so remained expecting his further pleasure from Casbin.

Mustapha was now come to the riuer of Canac, which he was to passe ouer into Siruan; and therefore made straight proclamation through his whole armie, That euery man should be in readinesse against the next day to passe the riuer. At which proclamation all his people sud-denly arose in a tumult, and with iniurious termes euen to his face reproued his folly and in-humanitie, propounding vtter danger vnto himselfe, & an vniuersall confusion vnto the whole armie: and therfore prayed him to surcease from proceeding any further, vnlesse he were min-ded to cast them all away. But his resolute mind was not by their threats or intreaties to be re-moued, neither gaue he them other answer than this, *That so had* Amurath *commanded, and that if all the rest should shew themselues vnwilling to obey their Soueraigne, he himselfe would not nor could* B *not, but would be the first man to attempt and performe that which they all so abhorred and reproued. Va-liant souldiers* (he said) *were discouered and knowne not in idlenesse and ease, but in great paines taking, and difficult enterprises: who neuer ought to be affraid to change this momentarie life for euerlasting honour, or to shun death, if the seruice of their Prince so required. And for mine owne part* (said hee) *I most earnestly request you, that after I haue attempted the passage of the riuer, if any thing happen vnto me otherwise than well, yet carrie my dead bodie to the other side of the riuer; to the end that if I cannot whilest I yet liue execute the commandement of my Soueraign, I may yet at least performe the same when I am but a speechlesse and liueless carkas: forasmuch as the desire of my Lord is not in any sort to be fru-strated, for making too great account of mine owne life.*

The resolute answer of Mustapha to his tumultuous souldiers.

Diuers and sundrie murmurings & whisperings followed vpon this speech of the General, C who notwithstanding the next morning did first of all wade ouer the deepe & swift riuer him-selfe: after whom presently followed the Bassa's with all their slaues, by whose example the rest also were induced at last to do the like, and so continued vntil the darknesse of the night inter-rupted their passage; by which occasion more than halfe the armie could not then get ouer. In this passage, being with great tumult and disorder attempted, it came to passe that about 8000 persons carried away with the violence of the riuer, were miserably drowned, with the great outcry of all the hoast. The like hapned also to many mules, camels, and sumpter horses, vpon whose backes diuers persons being mounted, in hope to haue passed drie ouer the riuer, were likewise headlong ouerwhelmed therein. With great complaints and blasphemous cursings was the whole night spent, by them that were yet on this side the riuer, whose fears were not D a little increased by the example of their vnfortunat fellows before drowned. And like enough it was, some pestilent sedition to haue insued thereupon, had there not a shallow foord by great chance bin discouered, which gaue safe passage to those that were left: for in the passage which the people made that followed *Mustapha*, the grauell of the bottome of the riuer being raised and remoued by the heauy hooues of the cattel, was driuen down the riuer to a place where by great good hap there was also a foord; and there gathered together in a heape, had in such sort raised the depth of the channel, that it made as it were a shelfe for their commodious passage, so that the remnant of the army, carriages, and artillerie passing ouer the same, there was not so much as one man that perished. So hauing with much difficultie at last got ouer the riuer of Canac, they rested themselues that day and the next, and there staied vntill the whole armie E was mustered, and againe put in order. Remouing thence, the day following they incamped in certain barren champaines where was neither corne nor cattel: neither could they perceiue or learne, that in those quarters were any villages at all. By meanes whereof the hunger of their beasts increasing, they were inforced to giue their horses and mules leaues and stalks of verie drie and withered reeds, & such other like things of little or no sustenance at all: and the men themselues were faine to satisfie their hunger with those vttermost reliques which they were fain to picke out of such poore victuals as now by corruption were become loathsome to mans nature: and that which worse was, they saw no end of these miseries they were so entred into. Notwithstanding there was now no looking back, but needs on they must, and follow the for-tune of their leaders: among whom *Mustapha* before all the rest set forward on his determined F journy. He had not long marched, but there was discouered good store of sundrie plants, and shortly after a very large plaine countrey all greene and flourishing, and garnished with many trees; by the only sight whereof euery man was refreshed with the hope of reliefe, and with more than ordinarie paces hasted vntil they were entred into those Champaines, abound-ding with all kinde of corne and fruits that could be of an hungrie man desired. In this place did

Eight thousand Turks drowned in passing the riuer.

Famin in the Turks hoast.

The Turks are refreshed.

did euery man satisfie his appetite, and forgot in part the forepassed calamities. Through this G
fruitfull and pleasant countrey *Mustapha* leading his armie, at last arriued at Eres, the chiefe citie in that coast of Siruan, as you trauell from Georgia.

This citie of Eres was forsaken of a number of her inhabitants, as soone as it was knowne, that the Tyrks were come to Canac: who all followed their gouernor *Samir Chan*; who with *Ares Chan* gouernor of Sumachia, and other the gouernors of Sechi and other places of Siruan, forsooke the cities, & all together withdrew themselues into the mountains, as places of more suretie, attending the euent of these so great motions. So that as the Turkes entred the citie vndisturbed, so were they with the prey they found therein nothing inriched; for that in this common danger euery man had carried away with him the best things he had. Here stayed H
Mustapha two and twentie dayes, during which time he erected a fortresse in the said city: whereupon he placed two hundred small pieces of artillerie, and for the keeping thereof appointed *Caitas Bassa* with a garrison of fiue thousand soldiers. In the meane time also he commanded *Osman Bassa* (one of the voluntarie captaines) with ten thousand men to possesse Sumachia, sometime the metropoliticall citie of that prouince, with the title of Visier and Gouernor generall of Siruan. Giuing him further in charge, that in any case he should cleere the passage to Derbent, and giue present aduertisements to the Tartarians, of his arriuall there: whom he supposed by that time to be come into those quarters, for that they had before so faithfully promised to *Amurath*. *Osman* comming to Sumachia, presently seised vpon the citie, and was friendly entertained of those that remained there: whom he likewise curteously I
entreated, without doing or suffering any outrage to be done vpon them. Of which his curteous vsage they of Derbent vnderstanding, sent presently to offer their citie vnto him, beseeching him to receiue them into his protection, and to defend them from the Persians: vnder whom although they had long liued in subiection, yet differed they from them in the ceremonies of their Mahometane superstition, wherein they better agreed with the Turks.

Mustapha returneth out of Siruan.

Mustapha hauing thus brought the countrey of Siruan into the Turkish subiection, and finished his fortresse at Eres, and put all things in such order as he thought best; importuned by the Ianizaries and the people of Grecia, and somewhat inforced by the season of the yeare, which was now far spent; departed from Eres, and turned his course homeward toward the countrey of *Alexander* syrnamed the Great, as he had promised in his late passage into Siruan. K
And hauing trauelled a long journey, he sent before him certaine engines and pioners to make a bridge ouer Canac, so without danger to passe ouer his armie. Hauing passed the riuer, hee gaue notice to *Sahamall* (one of the Lords of Georgia) of his arriuall, who presently came and yeelded himselfe as vassal to the Turks: and being entertained of the Bassa with great pompe, and rewarded after the Turkish manner, tooke his leaue, and so returned into his mountaine of Brus.

Mustapha setting againe forward, and trauelling by night, because he would not lose the opportunitie of the faire weather, by the error of his guids lost his way, and so fell into rough and difficult passages, whereby he was inforced to stay and wait for day light: which arising, did manifest vnto them, that they were now entred into the countries of his friend *Alexander*. And L
therefore he gaue forthwith proclamation through all the armie, That no man vpon paine of death should be so hardie as to molest or disquiet any of the subiects of *Alexander*, but to haue good respect vnto them, and to entreat them with all curtesie. The day following he still trauelled on in the same country, when there arriued from Zaghen certaine Embassadors of *Alexanders*, with great abundance of cattell, corne, fruits, and other reliefe sent for a present to the Generall, with a solemne excuse that he came not himselfe, because the infirmitie of his bodie would not suffer him. Wherewithall *Mustapha* rested satisfied; and leauing the citie of Zaghen on the right hand, caused the messengers of *Alexander* to guide him the way to Teflis: which they so directly did, that within the space of three dayes they conducted him thither with his armie, without the feeling of any annoyance; from whence they returned, being well rewarded for their paines by the Generall. Who now come to Teflis, found the garrison hee M
had there left for the keeping thereof, so hardly pinched with famin, that they were glad to eat cats, dogs, sheepskins, and such like vnwonted food: for neither durst they for feare of the enemie go out of the castle to prouide for themselues; neither if they had so done, had it any thing auailed, such was the carefulnes of the enemie in keeping of his things: but now by the coming

Mustapha releeueth his distressed garrison at Teflis.

A ming of the Generall they were relieued with meat, money, and plentie of all things. Hauing staied there two daies, he put himselfe againe vpon his way; and with fire and sword destroied whatsoeuer came in his way in the Champains subiect to the said city: only the sepulchres of *Simons* progenitors (lord of that country) were left vntouched by the Turks fury. The next day they trauelled ouer rough and ragged mountaines, full of a thousand difficulties, which were the more encreased by wonderfull great snowes that were fallen: by reason whereof, many soldiers, horses, camels, and mules perished. In which distresse the army continued two daies; during which time the souldiers were fallen into such a disorder, that forgetting the feare of the enemies countrey wherein they were, euery man without regard tooke vp his seueral lodging apart, some here, some there, where they might finde either some thicke bush or some
B small cottage, or some quiet valley to shelter themselues in from the wind, the snow, and the stormes. Of which disorder certaine Georgian lords vnderstanding by the scouts which from time to time waited vpon the Turks armie, ioyned themselues together, & in the night secretly approched vnto it, expecting the opportunitie of performing some notable exploit: and hauing obserued, that *Hosaine Bey* had withdrawne himselfe with his regiment from the rest of the armie vnder certaine mountains, to defend himselfe from the storme and wind; they tooke the occasion presented, and so assailing him, slew his slaues and al his squadrons; tooke a great bootie of many loads of money and apparell; led away with them all his horses, and whatsoeuer else they could find, and scarce gaue him leisure to saue himselfe, by flying into the tents
C of *Beyran Bassa*. The next morning the Turks remoued, and in the euening came to a castle called Chiurchala, where they staied a whole day to make prouision of victuall: which was attempted by sending abroad many of their slaues into the fields, conducted by them of the castle; who were all miserably cut in pieces by the Georgians. From this place the Turks armie departed in great hunger, ouer diuers rough places of the Georgians, where they were oftentimes faine to rest themselues: and at last came to the confines of *Dedesmit*, of her called the widowes countrey. In the entrance whereof, they must needs passe thorow a narrow strait, be- *The miserie of the Turks army in passing the straits of Georgia.*
tweene certaine mountaines, where the riuer Araxis windeth it selfe with a thousand turnings in the low vallies: a dangerous place, and so narrow, that no more but one man alone could at once passe through it. Betweene this strait and a very thicke and hillie wood, they lodged vp-
D on the banke of the said riuer: and from thence they remoued the next morning, and trauelled ouer very steep mountaines and rough forrests, ouer yce and snow more harder than marble, and ouer other hanging rocks, in such miserable sort, that many camels, mules, and horses, tumbling downe headlong into the riuer, there miserably perished. Through these ruinous crags and diuers other miseries, they marched al the next day, and after that another day also, as miserable to the army as the former: and so at last being sore afflicted with hunger, spoiled of the enemy, tormented with the hard season of the yeare, and scituation of the place, they arriued in the territories that lay vnder Altunchala, or Golden Castle, the princely widowes pallace, where they found all maner of relieue, for all the miseries they had endured since their departure from Chiurchala, by the space of six daies: which if it had bin a faire common trauelled way,
E might haue been performed in one onely daies iourney.

The Georgian widow submitteth her selfe, with her sonne Alexander to Mustapha.

The widow, with *Alexander* her eldest sonne, came downe from her castle, and went vnto the pauilion of *Mustapha*; offering him diuers Presents, & promising vnto him all faithful obedience. Whome *Mustapha* courteously receiued, declaring vnto her, what honourable entertainment he had giuen to *Manucchiar* her younger sonne there present, who had bin with him in all the expedition into Siruan. And for the present, dissembling the priuy displeasure he bare against *Alexander* (whom he thought to haue bin one of them that spoiled the Sorians in their returne from the campe) he embraced him courteously, and prayed her to be content to leaue him also there with him: giuing her farther to vnderstand, that he would send both her sonnes to Constantinople to *Amurath*, with letters of credence for their yeelded obedience, for their fauour shewed to his armie, in giuing it so secure passage, and so many helpes: and lastly, that
F for their good deserts, they might be of the said great Sultan both honourably entertained and rewarded. The aged Ladie, although her mind was herewithall sore troubled, yet outwardly in her countenance shewed her selfe pleased; and seemed courteously to yeeld, what shee was of necessitie constrained to grant: as well for that hee was alreadie possessed of one of her sonnes, as also for that both herselfe and her whole state were now in his power; and as it were

...e at his deuotion. And therefore leauing both her sonnes behind her, she returned her selfe G
...uie to her castle.

Mustapha commaundeth to Erzirum, & dischargeth his armie.

In this place *Mustapha* hauing refreshed his army two daies, departed thence toward Chars, an... ...ny daies trauell at last arriued at Erzirum, to the great reioycing of the whole ar-mie, ...ch was there presently discharged by the Generall, without any mustering at all, and leaue giuen for euery man to returne into his countrey.

Mustapha magnifieth his owne exploits to Amurath.

Mustapha setling himselfe in Erzirum, dispatched posts with letters of plentifull aduertise-ments to his great lord and master, of all things that had passed: not forgetting to magnifie his owne exploits aboue measure. He certified him of the battels he had had with the Persians, the obedience he had receiued of the Georgians and Siruanians, the mutinie of his owne sol-diers, the fortresse hee had built at Eres, the garrisons left in that citie with *Caitas Bassa*, and in H Sumachia with *Osman Bassa*: and in briefe, whatsoeuer else had passed, and whatsoeuer he had taken from the enemy. Neither did he faile to propound vnto *Amurath*, what he thou... ...on-uenient to be attempted the next yeare, for the strengthening of those places hee ha... ...eady conquered, and for preparing the way for new enterprises. And principally he put him in mind of a fortification to be made at Chars, a place very fit for any passage into Georgia or Ar-menia, by situation fruitfull and commodious both for men and cattell. And withall he sent vnto him the widowes two sonnes, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, the Georgian princes, certifying him of their submission, and that hee had receiued in their countrey all good entertainement and friendly welcome: and withal declaring his opinion, That *Manucchiar* was the meeter man for gouernment than his brother *Alexander*, and the readier to do him seruice. Greatly did *Amu-rath* commend the valor and diligence of *Mustapha*, and highly pleased himselfe with this con- I ceit, That of these beginnings might grow mightie conquests, to the enlargement of his Em-pire, and that by this meanes he should be able to surpasse the glory of his predecessors. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about these wars, the lesse he troubled him-selfe with thinking how to annoy Europe with his ...rces.

It was not long after the departure of *Mustapha* ...rom Eres, but that the Tartarians hauing left the fens of Meotis, and the vnmountable shores of the Blacke sea, and hauing passed ouer the rockes vpon Cholchis, and surueyed the frozen crags of the mountaine Caucasus, were now arriued vpon the confines of Siruan, and there attended the commandment of the Turks. These Tartarians beeing of them that are called Præcopenses, to the number of thirtie thou- E sand, conducted by their lord and captaine *Abdilcherai*, a yong man of great valor and fame, and of a comely personage, were come according to the faithfull promise of *Tartar Chan*, with a full resolution to attempt whatsoeuer should be commanded them in the name of *Amurath*. Now *Osman Bassa* vnderstanding of their approch, according to the charge before giuen him by *Mustapha* the Generall, enuited them to enter into Siruan, and by encreasing of the Turkes forces, to further these beginnings of *Amuraths* glory, and these his conquests (or more truly to say, these magnifical & famous termes of victory.) All which was most diligently put in ex-ecution by *Abdilcherai*: who hauing entred the yron gates where Derbent standeth (which by the Turks at this day is called *Demir Capi*, and signifieth the gates of yron) & so from thence passing into the countrey of Siruan, there staied, and thereof gaue aduertisement to *Osman*, as L was by him appointed. *Ares Chan* late Gouernor of Sumachia, who for feare of the great army of the Turks, had abandoned the city, the chiefe place of his charge, and betaken himselfe to the safegard of the mountains, hearing of the departure of the Turkish Generall, resolued with the other Gouernours of Eres and Sechi (who following his example, had in like manner fled) now to returne againe to their forsaken country, and to make proofe if he could by any means take reuenge of the iniurie done vnto him by the Turks. So passing vnder Sumachia, & hauing put to the sword certaine of *Osmans* straggling victuallers that were gone out of the citie, he en-camped with all his people a little from Sumachia, and by good fortune surprised certaine messengers sent from *Abdilcherai* the Tartar, to certifie *Osman Bassa* of his arriuall, and to know his pleasure what hee should put in execution. These Tartarians brought before *Ares*, after M much torture disclosed the letters they carried: whic... t... Persian captaine read, and consider-ing the great number of the Tartarians that were con... r the letters made mention of th... thousand) he resolued not to stay any longer in those quarters, but presently raised his cam... and retired towards Canac, meaning from thence to certifie the king of those nouelties, and

A vpon the banks of the said riuer to attend the kings answer. The Tartarian captaine comming to Sumachia, was appointed by the Bassa to passe ouer the riuer of Canac, into Genge, the coun-trey of *Emanguli Chan*, with the spoile thereof to enrich himselfe, and by all means to make his arriual vnto the Persians most terrible. With this charge the Barbarian departed, thirsting now for nothing more than for the bloud and spoile of the enemy: and with posting iournies came to Canac, where *Ares Chan* was yet encamped: whom he vpon the sudden most furiously as-saulted, and like a deuouring flame discomfited all his hoast. And taking him aliue, sent him to Sumachia to *Osman*, who forthwith caused him to be hanged by the necke out of a lodging in *Ares chan hanged at Sumachia.* the same statehouse where he had not long before sat as Gouernour. The Tartarian after that, swimming ouer the riuer, and coursing a little aboue Genge, found *Emanguli Chan* with his B wife, and all his familie, and a great part of the nobilitie of Genge in a valley hunting the wild *Emanguli chan taken, & Genge sacked by the Tartarians.* boore, and assailing him, put him to flight, took from him his wife, al the ladies, & many slaues, and slew many of the rest that were come thither to see the sport: and after that, rode on to Genge, which he tooke, and yeelded it wholly to the furie and lust of his barbarous souldiers, who left no manner of inhumane crueltie vnattempted, in satisfying their immoderat and bar-barous affections. And so being loaded with the spoiles, & weary with the slaughter of their enemies, they returned merrily toward Siruan: & passing again ouer Canac, came to the high-er side of Eres into certain low champaigns, enuironed about with hils, & there hauing pitch-ed their tents, without any feare setled themselues to sleepe and to rest their wearie bodies.

In the meane time, and long before these actions, were newes come to the Persian court of C all the Turks proceedings: whereupon the Persian king hauing gathered new forces, had dis-patched *Emir Hamze Mirize* his eldest sonne with 12000 souldiers to passe into Siruan, to see what hurt the enemy had done, and to attempt the reuenge of the forepassed iniuries; but aboue all things to punish the villany of them of Sechi, and the other cities of Siruan, that not induced with any necessity, had so voluntarily yeelded themselues to follow the obedience and religion of the Turks. The Persian Prince departing from Casbin, accompanied with his mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloued sonne, was on his way towards Siruan, vnder the guiding and gouernment of *Mirize Salmas*, chiefe of the Sultans; and had now left behind them the countries of Ardouil and Caracach, when he was certified by the aduertise-ments come from *Ares Chan*, of the arriuall of *Abdilcherai*, with his great number of Tartarians; D and was thereby at the first strucken into a great quandarie, and almost out of comfort: yet pricke forward with an honourable desire of glorie and reuenge, hee prosecuted his intended enterprise for Siruan, and hastening his iourney, came to Eres long before the king his father thought he could haue so done. This his notable celerity ...rued him to great purpose, for that *Eres recouered by the Persians.* *Caitas Bassa* was boldly gone out of the fortresse, and went spoiling the country, carrying away with him what soeuer he met withall, and committing such insolencies as hungrie souldiers be-yond all honestie vse to do in strange and fruitfull countries. But when he was in the midst of these spoiles, and least feared the enemy, he was suddenly assailed by the Prince; and hauing no meanes to escape his fury in this extremitie, after a fierce and bloudy battell (wherein the Turks although in number few, yet shewed many effects of valor) he was there slaine with all his sol-E diers, leauing the fortresse, the spoiles, and the country committed to his custodie, free to the pleasure of the victor: which the Persian Prince hauing once againe gotten into his posses-sion, tooke away the two hundred pieces of artillerie that were left in the fort by *Mustapha*; and presently sent them to Casbin to his father.

The Prince encouraged with so happie a beginning, leauing his mother at Eres, followed on his iourney toward Sulachia, but by the way descending the hils, he discouered where the Tartarians lay encamped. Whereupon he stood in great doubt, whether to aduenture vpon so mightie an enemie, or to content himselfe with the victorie he had already gotten, and so to returne into Persia: to returne he thought it too great a shame, and chose rather to aduenture himselfe to most manifest perill. And therefore descending the hill, and drawing nigh the MF enemie, he perceiued that the armie was all laid downe to rest, and that their horses were some couched, some standing, but al vnsadled: whereupon without any stay setting spurs to his horse, he pricked forward with all his hoast, and most terribly assaulted the Tartarians, now buried in their spoiles and sleep; and hauing slaine their first and second watch, although with some losse, among the tumultuarie souldiers he made an vniuersall confusion and slaughter, putting some

some to flight, killing others, and taking diuers of them captiues. Among whom was their Ge- G
nerall *Abdilcherai*, who was taken aliue, and sent to the king.

Sumachia besieged by the Persian Prince.

After these victories, the Persian prince scoured to Sumachia, and compassed the city round about, wherein the Turkish Bassa *Osman* sat as Gouernour, to the reproch of Persia; and there encamping himselfe, sent word to *Osman*, That if he would yeeld himselfe, he would let him depart with life and goods: otherwise, if he would obstinatly hold it out, and not yeeld the citie, which he so vniustly possessed, he should be constrained to surrender it by force, & his life withall. *Osman* who as then knew nothing of the Tartarians ouerthrow, but still hoped of their returne, thought it best to entertaine the Prince with faire words vntill their comming; and therefore gaue him courteous answer, that he was very ready to yeeld vp the city: but withall intreated him, that he would stay but for three dayes, and grant him time to put all things in H
readinesse, that so he might freely depart, as it had pleased him in courtesie to offer. The prince glad of such an answer, supposing it to haue proceeded of a sincere meaning, expect[ed] the Turke the performance thereof. But *Osman* meaning nothing lesse, than to commit himself to the faith of his enemie, and seeing that the Tartarians whom he looked for, appeared not, hee resolued to saue himselfe by secret flight; doubting, as hee had good reason, that if he should longer stay, to be betraied by the inhabitants of the citie themselues: and therefore somewhat before the assigned term of three the daies appointed for the surrendring of the citie, he by the help of a darke night, and the couert of the high and rough crags, with great silence withdrew himselfe out of Sumachia, carrying away with him all his substance, and so in safety arriued ■

Sumachia yeelded vnto the Turkes.

Derbent. The next morning the inhabitants of Sumachia opened the gates of the citie to the I
Prince: who seeing their infidelitie, first by giuing of entertainment to *Osman*, and now by helping him to escape, without giuing him any knowledge thereof, did put in execution the effect of his wrath & indignation, which euen at Casbin he had conceiued in his mind against them; and with great crueltie did punish the miserable and [u]nfortunate citizens, laying their houses euen with the ground, rasing both the old and new w[alls] of that citie, of late so desired a receit for the Turks. But when he was to depart thence, he stood in doubt, Whether to go on to Derbent, or to returne to Persia: the strength of that citie, the approch of Winter, and the long iourney he was to take homeward, perswaded him to lay aside the enterprise for Derbent: whereupon he resolued to returne to Casbin, yet first to make his returne by them of Eres and Sechi, and vpon them as vpon rebels to inflict well deserued punishment. So making his pre- K
sent repaire thither, spared neither sex nor age, nor any condition of persons, but vpon them al poured forth his furious indignation, without exception. Which done, he with his aforesaid mother *Begum*, and his armie, though somewhat diminished, yet victorious and triumphant, returned to Casbin.

Abdilcherai beloued of the Persian queene.

Young *Abdilcherai* the Tartarian was kept safe in the kings palace at Casbin, but with such easie imprisonment as was agreeable to his calling: which was day by day so inlarged, as that he seemed not to liue as a prisoner, but rather as a companion of those of the court, & as it were in apparant libertie. By which occasion hauing insinuated himselfe into the loue of *Begum* the kings wife, he spent his time in courting her, and she again in entertaining of him in all secret and couert manner. Yet these their mutual affections and interchangeable fauors passed not so L
secretly, but that in the court and all ouer the citie it was a rife report, That the shamelesse ladie, prodigall of her honor, had participated both her bed and her selfe with the Tartarian prisoner. Howbeit neither the king nor the prince knew any thing of it. But the king perceiuing the yong gentleman to be generally commended, valiant, courteous, and of a comely feature, & withal nobly born (for he gaue it out that hee was the brother of *Tatar Chan*) perswaded himself, that it would stand with the great good of his state, of a captiue to make him his son in law, by giuing him his daughter in mariage: whereby he was in good hope there might grow such an amitie and vnion between the Tartarian Præcopenses, and himselfe, as that they would from thenceforth not only refuse to fauor *Amurath* in those wars, but also become enemies vn- M
to him, and in the fauor of Persia turne their armes and affections against him. Which his deere and considerate purpose so displeased the Sultans of [Ca]sbin, that they sought by all mea[ns] they could possibly deuise to auert the king from that so strange a policie: but all in vaine, the king being fully resolued, and now vpon the point to make a conclusion of the marriage: the Sultans entering into the palace with their followers, and finding there the vnfortunate Tartarian,

A Tartarian, ran him through the body, and cutting off his priuie members, slapped them vpon his mouth after a most barbarous and filthie manner. It is reported, that the Queene was then also murdered by them: certaine it is, that the poore ladie neuer after that day saw the light of the Sun: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the king her husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publicke interest, is not certainly knowne. Vpon these murders sprung vp many troubles, and much ciuile dissention, threatning the vtter confusion of the Persian kingdome, to the singular benefit of *Amurath*. All which tumultuous disorders the king by brideling his owne affections, and the motions of his sonne *Emir Hamze Mirize*, wel appeased, procuring at last a perfect vnitie, as then most necessarie for the defence of his kingdome.

Abdilcherai slaine in the court.

The Persian Queene made away.

Osman Bassa being in Derbent (the only place of refuge now left for the Turks in Siruan) ceased not with all carefulnesse to deuise what he possibly could, for the assuring of that country
B (of late woon, and now againe almost lost) vnder the gouernment of *Amurath*. For the better establishing whereof, together with his owne safety, he thought it good to enter into friendship with old *Sahamal* the Georgian, lord of the mountaine of Brus. With this man did *Osman* practise many tokens of good will; & he again interchangeably towards *Osman*: whereupon there arose great friendship betweene them, at leastwise in outward apparance: whereunto in short time there was added a strait knot of alliance: for that *Osman* tooke to wife a daughter of the said *Sahamals*, the greatest signe of his sincere loue towards him. Neuertheless shortly after *Osman* vpon some reasonable coniectures began to suspect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sahamal* for all the faire shew of friendship he made towards him, might for all that receiue some
C secret order from the Persian king, to betray him, & to free the city from the Turks, and so to reduce all that prouince vnto the antient deuotion: in which iealous suspition hee was fully confirmed by the speeches of his wife, the daughter of *Sahamal*; who rauished with the honor, valor, & riches of her husband, could not conceale any thing that she knew deuised against him, but frankly told him, That her father being secretly reconciled to the Persian king, held friendship with him, and that letters went betweene them of great matters, and particularly of the affaires of Siruan. Hereupon the Bassa persuaded himselfe, that all the friendship of *Sahamal* was but deepe dissimulation, and the marriage of his daughter nothing but a meane to procure his death. Neuertheles he made shew vnto his wife, as if he had made no such reckoning of it as indeed hee did, but kept it in store to his owne safetie, and the destruction of *Sahamal*;
D whom for all that he still entertained with all honor and kindnesse due vnto a most louing father in law. But to preuent the malicious purpose of *Sahamal*, hauing inuited him according to the custome to a certain solemne feast, he acquainted certaine companies of his most trustie & valiant souldiers with his determination, enioyning them, that as soone as *Sahamal* was entred into his court, euen in the very dismounting from his horse they should all fal vpon him, cut off his head, and put all his retinue to the sword. Which his cruell command was by them accordingly at *Sahamals* comming put in execution, he in lighting from his horse being slain, and all his followers murdered, when forthwith were sent forth by *Osman* two thousand horsemen to spoile and sacke all the countrie of the said Georgian Lord, to the great maruell and astonishment both of far and neere. The Persian king hearing of these news, tooke the matter grieuou-
E sly, as foreseeing that the recouerie of that country and prouince of Siruan would proue a matter of great difficultie, and fearing greatly that it would still remaine (as indeed it doth) in the possession of the Turks. This was the end of the Turks attempts against the Persians in Siruan this yeare 1578, wherein they lost aboue seuentie thousand men, deuoured partly with the sword, and partly with famine, & the other miseries of war. And so Winter comming on very sharply, euery man withdrew himselfe from the field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had already gotten, vntill the comming on of the next Spring.

Sahamal slaine by Osman.

Amurath aduertised by letters from *Mustapha*, of all that had hapned in the late expedition against the Persians, vpon these prosperous successes (which the Bassa had for the aduancing of his own credit described to be far greater than indeed they were) began to cast many deuises in
F his head, touching such matters as were to be attempted the next yere. And first he thought it necessary to send his forces again into Siruan, to recouer such places as were first conquered by *Mustapha*, but afterward againe subdued by the Persian; so to establish his gouernment in that countrie. But vpon better consideration, he ceased further to thinke of that matter, for the great hope he had conceiued of the aid that was promised him by *Tatar Chan*, who had faithfully assured

The consultation of Amurath

aft[illegible] both him and *Osman*, that he would ouerrun that prouince anew, and do great matters in
furt[illegible]rce of the Turks designes: all which for all that fell out to be but windie words: yet
in re[illegible] of this hope hee laied Siruan aside, and committed the defence thereof to the false
promises of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Osman*. And pleasing his ambitious desires with
more haughtie thoughts, he began to deuise with himselfe, for sending his armie directly to
Tauris, there to erect a fortresse, which being strongly fortified and furnished with a garrison
of most valiant souldiers, should neuer be again subdued by all the power of Persia; and by this
meanes to keepe in subiection all those great countries betweene Tauris and Erzirum.
Which his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much increased by the per-
suasion of others, very inward with him; euery man being almost of opinion, That it was an
easie matter for so great an hoast in few daies to performe that seruice, and to pierce, not only
into Tauris, but farther to passe whethersoeuer he would desire. Yet after he had more
ly considered of an enterprise of so great importance, and with more indifferent iudg[illegible]nt
compared his owne forces with his enemies, he began to finde many difficulties and dangers,
which in the heat of his ambitious desires he at the first saw not: for beside[illegible] the length and te-
diousnesse of the iourney, hee doubted that in sending his armie for Tauris, it might be on the
one side assailed by the Georgians (of whose obedience he had as yet no great assurance) & on
the other side by the Persians, & so brought into great danger; which he was alwaies to feare,
whensoeuer he should haue occasion to send new supplies vnto the fortresse by him intended
at Tauris. Whereupon laying aside all his former conceits, as too eager and perilous, he reso-
lutely concluded with himselfe, first to make sure his owne borders, and afterwards by little
and little to enter into the enemies country, still fortifying in conuenient places as he went; and
so surely, although but slowly, to triumph ouer his enemies, rather than by thrusting his armie
headlong vpon vncertainties into places strongly fe[illegible] both by nature & the power of most
mightie enemies, to be inforced with shame to aba[illegible] the enterprise so hastily begun.

Mustapha careful to put in execution Amurath his command.

Of this his resolution hee aduertised *Mustapha* o[illegible] writing; giuing him in charge, against the
next Spring to prouide all such things as should be necessarie for the building of certaine forts
vpon the way that leadeth from Erzirum into Georgia: that hauing made those waies safe,
and brought the people vnder his obedience, hee might afterwards attempt greater matters.
Whereupon *Mustapha* presently directed forth precepts to the cities of Aleppo, of Damasco,
Caraemir, and other places of Soria and Mesopotamia, for the taking vp of cunning workmen,
of pioners, & such like, to the number of twentie thousand: and likewise wrot to all the coun-
tries, out of which hee had raised his armie the last yeare, That all their souldiers (yea and in
greater number also) should be in readinesse against the next Spring, to returne to the warres.
The rumor whereof he caused to be spread euen as far as Ægypt. He commanded also the tax-
es and tenths of those countries to be collected, & further vsed the Chambers of Aleppo, and
other places, for such masses of mony as he thought necessarie for these purposes.

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, sent (as we haue before
said) by *Mustapha* to *Amurath* at Constantinople, in doubtful hope; expecting the end for which
they were both sent vnto the court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Maho-
metan religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* easily yeelded. Whereas on the other side *Alexander*
his elder brother could by no allurements or means be induced to consent to so infamous and
damnable a change of his religion, although he knew he should therefore be depriued of his
state: but protesting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother; reque-
sted only, that he might but as a priuate man goe and liue in his countrey, there to be buried a-
mongst his ancestours. Which his request the Turkish Emperour referred to the discretion of
Manucchiar, to do therein as he saw good: who consented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was
circumcised, and the name of *Mustaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Bassa and Gouernour of
Altunchala, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had
his brother *Alexander* a Christian, committed vnto him, and so both returned into their owne
countries.

Manucchiar turneth Turke.

Alexander constant in his religion.

Emanguli Chan taketh vpon him the defence of Siruan.

Now in the Persian court at Casbin, were many consul[illegible]tions had for the repressing of the in-
uasions of the Turks. And among others carefull of those matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouernour
of Genge, doubting to lose his honourable gouernement, by reason of the late sacke of his ci-
ty, and spoile of [illegible]ountry by the Tartarian; by those plots that were daily in contriuing for the

the sending of men into Siruan to impeach the designements of *Osman Bassa*, and if it were pos-
sible, to driue him out of Derbent; tooke occasion to offer vnto the King, vpon paine of his
head to defend Siruan, and not to suffer *Osman* the Turke to attempt any new fortifications, or
further conquests in that Prouince. Of which his offer the King accepted, and thereupon the
gouernment of Genge, and guarding of the countrey of Siruan against the forces of *Osman*,
was frankely committed vnto him: And commandement giuen to the Gouernours of Tauris,
Reiuan, and Nassiuan, and to diuers other captaines that were neerest, to be readie at all times
with their power to assist *Emanguli Chan*, if it should fortune either the Tartarians or Turkes,
with any great power to enter into Siruan: which order so taken, was thought sufficient for the
securitie of that prouince.

But how to protect the Georgian Countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater impor-
tance, euery man being almost of opinion, That some great power of the Turks should be sent
thither, for the more assurance of the conquest thereof alreadie begun, and for the succour of
the fortresse at Teflis, which must needs otherwise fall againe into the hands of the Georgians.
This matter so troubled the Persian King, as that he seemed to haue bent his whole counsels
and thoughts thereupon: when *Simon* a Georgian a famous captaine (sometime prisoner with
Ismahel the late King, at Cahaca, and by the familiaritie hee had with him, seduced from the
Christian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamas*, chosen to liue depri-
ued of his libertie and state) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the Kings hand such hefpe
as he had long desired, for the recouerie of his dominion vsurped by *Dauid*, otherwise called
Daut Chan, his yonger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamas*, had voluntarily
renounced his Christian religion) offered now vnto the King his faithfull seruice, for the de-
fence of that part of the Georgian Countrey wherein Teflis stood (being in right, part of his
owne Inheritance) against the Turks: reproouing by way of disgrace, his younger brother of
cowardise, and promising the performance of great matters in himselfe, both for the defence
of that euill defended countrey, and further annoying of the enemie. With great content did
the Persian King consent to the request of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that Kingdome
which he possessed before whilest he was a Christian: and sent with him *Aliculi Chan* into
Georgia, with fiue thousand horsemen, and certaine pieces of artillerie taken at Eres, when
Caietas Bassa was slaine. *Simon* afterwards comming to Georgia, was joyfully receiued of his
countreymen, and there prest about three thousand souldiers of his owne and of his neigh-
bours; excusing himselfe that he was become a Persian, not because he preferred the Maho-
metane superstition before the Christian Religion; but only so to be deliuered from his long
imprisonment, and by that meanes to maintaine his estate. And in this order were the affaires
of Georgia assured and strengthned in the best manner that might then be.

Simon with Aliculi Chan sent for the defence of Georgia.

Now began the Spring to approch, and euery man prepared himselfe to the discontinued
trauels of the wars begun: and now were met together at Erzirum, out of all the wonted pro-
uinces, all the Turks forces, with all things necessarie for the intended war. With this armie,
in all things equall with the first, *Mustapha* set forward, and in twelue dayes came to Chars,
not perceiuing in his souldiers any signe of discontentment at all. And forasmuch as here they
were to stay, and to fortifie both with walls and ditches that ruinated Citie, and that with as
great speed as was possible; there was no remedie, but that beside the pioners and enginiers
that were brought for that purpose, many of the Spaoglani, yea and of the Ianizaries also,
must be set to worke. Whereupon they all suddenly in a tumult, began with bitter protestati-
ons to tell the General, That their stipends wherwith it pleased the Sultan to fauor them, were
not bestowed vpon them to imploy their forces and vertues in such seruile works; but onely
with their swords and other weapons, to exercise that force and hardinesse for which they
were esteemed worthie of that honour. Whereunto the Generall answered in most haughtie
termes, and not yeelding one jot to their inciuilitie, but vsing all meanes of authoritie and ter-
rour, brought them to worke so much as hee desired. So that within the space of 23 dayes
the towers and walls were erected, the ditches digged, the artillerie orderly planted vpon the
walls, and the water brought round about it. Many inconueniences happened in the armie
while they were busie in this worke; and namely vpon the 25 day of August, when they had
almost euen finished the whole building, the soldiers endured a most sudden cold by reason of
the snow that then fell in great aboundance.

1579

The meeting together of the Turks armie at Erzirum.

Chars fortified in 23 dayes space.

Snows at chars in August.

Chars

assi[illegible] both him and *Osman*, that he would ouerrun that prouince anew, and do great matters in G
furt[illegible]rce of the Turks designes: all which for all that fell out to be but windie words: yet
in re[illegible]of this hope hee laied Siruan aside, and committed the defence thereof to the false
promises of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Osman*. And pleasing his ambitious desires with
more haughtie thoughts, he began to deuise with himselfe, for sending his armie directly to
Tauris, there to erect a fortresse, which being strongly fortified and furnished with a garrison
of most valiant souldiers, should neuer be again subdued by all the power of Persia, and by this
meanes to keepe in subiection all those great countries betweene Tauris and Erzirum. H
Which his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much increased by the per-
suasion of others, very inward with him; euery man being almost of opinion, That it was an
easie matter for so great an hoast in few daies to performe that seruice, and to pierce, not only
into Tauris, but farther to passe whithersoeuer he would desire. Yet after he had more
ly considered of an enterprise of so great importance, and with more indifferent iudg-
compared his owne forces with his enemies, he began to finde many difficulties and dangers, I
which in the heat of his ambitious desires he at the first saw not: for beside the length and te-
diousnesse of the iourney, hee doubted that in sending his armie for Tauris, it might be on the
one side assailed by the Georgians (of whose obedience he had as yet no great assurance) & on
the other side by the Persians, & so brought into great danger; which he was alwaies to feare,
whensoeuer he should haue occasion to send new supplies vnto the fortresse by him intended
at Tauris. Whereupon laying aside all his former conceits, as too eager and perilous, he reso-
lutely concluded with himselfe, first to make sure his owne borders, and afterwards by little
and little to enter into the enemies country, stil fortifying in conuenient places as he went; and
so surely, although but slowly, to triumph ouer his enemies, rather than by thrusting his armie
headlong vpon vncertainties into places strongly fe[illegible] both by nature & the power of most
mightie enemies, to be inforced with shame to aba[illegible] the enterprise so hastily begun.

Mustapha careful to put in execution Amurath his command.

Of this his resolution hee aduertised *Mustapha* o[illegible] writing; giuing him in charge, against the
next Spring to prouide all such things as should be necessarie for the building of certaine forts
vpon the way that leadeth from Erzirum into Georgia: that hauing made those waies safe,
and brought the people vnder his obedience, hee might afterwards attempt greater matters.
Whereupon *Mustapha* presently directed forth precepts to the cities of Aleppo, of Damasco, K
Caraemit, and other places of Soria and Mesopotamia, for the taking vp of cunning workmen,
of pioners, & such like, to the number of twentie thousand: and likewise wrot to all the coun-
tries, out of which hee had raised his armie the last yeare, That all their souldiers (yea and in
greater number also) should be in readinesse against the next Spring, to returne to the warres.
The rumor whereof he caused to be spread euen as far as Ægypt. He commanded also the tax-
es and tenths of those countries to be collected, & further vsed the Chambers of Aleppo, and
other places, for such masses of mony as he thought necessarie for these purposes.

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, sent (as we haue before
said) by *Mustapha* to *Amurath* at Constantinople, in doubtful hope; expecting the end for which
they were both sent vnto the court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Maho-
metan religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* easily yeelded. Whereas on the other side *Alexander* L

Manucchiar turneth Turke.

his elder brother could by no allurements or means be induced to consent to so infamous and

Alexander constant in his religion.

damnable a change of his religion, although he knew he should therefore be depriued of his
state: but protesting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother, reque-
sted only, that he might but as a priuate man goe and liue in his country, there to be buried a-
mongst his ancestours. Which his request the Turkish Emperour referred to the discretion of
Manucchiar, to do therein as he saw good: who consented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was
circumcised, and the name of *Mustaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Bassa and Gouernour of
Altunchala, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had
his brother *Alexander* a Christian, committed vnto him, and so both returned into their owne M
countries.

Emanguli Chan taketh vpon him the defence of Siruan.

Now in the Persian court at Casbin, were many consu[illegible]tions had for the repressing of the in-
uasions of the Turks. And among others carefull of those matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouernour
of Genge, doubting to lose his honourable gouernement, by reason of the late sacke of his ci-
ty, and spoile of [illegible]ountry by the Tartarian; by those plots that were daily in contriuing for the

A the sending of men into Siruan to impeach the designements of *Osman Bassa*, and if it were pos-
sible, to driue him out of Derbent; tooke occasion to offer vnto the King, vpon paine of his
head to defend Siruan, and not to suffer *Osman* the Turke to attempt any new fortifications, or
further conquests in that Prouince. Of which his offer the King accepted, and thereupon the
gouernment of Genge; and guarding of the countrey of Siruan against the forces of *Osman*,
was frankely committed vnto him: And commandement giuen to the Gouernours of Tauris,
Reiuan, and Nassiuan, and to diuers other captaines that were neerest, to be readie at all times
with their power to assist *Emanguli Chan*, if it should fortune either the Tartarians or Turkes,
with any great power to enter into Siruan: which order so taken, was thought sufficient for the
securitie of that prouince.

B But how to protect the Georgian Countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater impor-
tance, euery man being almost of opinion, That some great power of the Turks should be sent
thither, for the more assurance of the conquest thereof alreadie begun, and for the succour of
the fortresse at Teflis, which must needs otherwise fall againe into the hands of the Georgians.
This matter so troubled the Persian King, as that he seemed to haue bent his whole counsels
and thoughts thereupon: when *Simon* a Georgian a famous captaine (sometime prisoner with
Ismahel the late King, at Cahaca, and by the familiaritie hee had with him, seduced from the
Christian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamas*, chosen to liue depri-
ued of his libertie and state) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the Kings hand such helpe
as he had long desired, for the recouerie of his dominion vsurped by *Daaid*, otherwise called
C *Daut Chan*, his younger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamas*, had voluntarily
renounced his Christian religion) offered now vnto the King his faithfull seruice, for the de-
fence of that part of the Georgian Countrey wherein Teflis stood (being in right, part of his
owne Inheritance) against the Turks: reproouing by way of disgrace, his younger brother of
cowardise, and promising the performance of great matters in himselfe, both for the defence
of that euill defended countrey, and further annoying of the enemie. With great content did
the Persian King consent to the request of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that Kingdome
which he possessed before whilest he was a Christian: and sent with him *Aliculi Chan* into
Georgia, with fiue thousand horsemen, and certaine pieces of artillerie taken at Eres, when
D *Gaietas Bassa* was slaine. *Simon* afterwards comming to Georgia, was ioyfully receiued of his
countreymen, and there pressed about three thousand souldiers of his owne and of his neigh-
bours; excusing himselfe that he was become a Persian, not because he preferred the Maho-
metane superstition before the Christian Religion; but only so to be deliuered from his long
imprisonment, and by that meanes to maintaine his estate. And in this order were the affaires
of Georgia assured and strengthned in the best manner that might then be.

Simon with Aliculi Chan sent for the defence of Georgia.

1579

Now began the Spring to approch, and euery man prepared himselfe to the discontinued
trauels of the wars begun: and now were met together at Erzirum, out of all the wonted pro-
uinces, all the Turks forces, with all things necessarie for the intended war. With this armie,
in all things equall with the first, *Mustapha* set forward, and in twelue dayes came to Chars,
E not perceiuing in his souldiers any signe of discontentment at all. And forasmuch as here they
were to stay, and to fortifie both with walls and ditches that ruinated Citie, and that with as
great speed as was possible; there was no remedie, but that beside the pioners and enginiers
that were brought for that purpose, many of the Spaoglani, yea and of the Ianizaries also,
must be set to worke. Whereupon they all suddenly in a tumult, began with bitter protestati-
ons to tell the General, That their stipends wherwith it pleased the Sultan to fauor them, were
not bestowed vpon them to imploy their forces and vertues in such seruile works; but onely
with their swords and other weapons, to exercise that force and hardinesse for which they
were esteemed worthie of that honour. Whereunto the Generall answered in most haughtie
termes, and not yeelding one iot to their inciuilitie, but vsing all meanes of authoritie and ter-
rour, brought them to worke so much as hee desired. So that within the space of 23 dayes
F the towers and walls were erected, the ditches digged, the artillerie orderly planted vpon the
walls, and the water brought round about it. Many inconueniences happened in the armie
while they were busie in this worke; and namely vpon the 25 day of August, when they had
almost euen finished the whole building, the soldiers endured a most sudden cold by reason of
the snow that then fell in great aboundance.

The meeting together of the Turks armie at Erzirum.

Chars fortified in 23 dayes space.

Snows at chars in August.

Chars

aft... both him and *Osman*, that he would ouerrun that prouince anew, and do great matters in
furt... ce of the Turks designes: all which for all that fell out to be but windie words: yet
in re... of this hope hee laied Siruan aside, and committed the defence thereof to the falſe
promi... of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Osman*. And pleasing his ambitious desires with
more haughtie thoughts, he began to deuise with himselfe, for sending his armie directly to
Tauris, there to erect a fortresse, which being strongly fortified and furnished with a garrison
of most valiant souldiers, should neuer be again subdued by all the power of Persia, and by this
meanes to keepe in subiection all those great countries betweene Tauris and Erzirum.
Which his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much increased by the per-
suasion of others, very inward with him; euery man being almost of opinion, That it was an
easie matter for so great an hoast in few daies to performe that seruice, and to pierce, not only
into Tauris, but farther to passe whithersoeuer he would desire. Yet after he had more ...
ly considered of an enterprise of so great importance, and with more indifferent judg... at
compared his owne forces with his enemies, he began to finde many difficulties and dangers,
which in the heat of his ambitious desires he at the first saw not: for beside the length and te-
diousnesse of the iourney, hee doubted that in sending his armie for Tauris, it might be on the
one side assailed by the Georgians (of whose obedience he had as yet no great assurance) & on
the other side by the Persians, & so brought into great danger; which he was alwaies to feare,
whensoeuer he should haue occasion to send new supplies vnto the fortresse by him intended
at Tauris. Whereupon laying aside all his former conceits, as too eager and perilous, he reso-
lutely concluded with himselfe, first to make sure his owne borders, and afterwards by little
and little to enter into the enemies country, still fortifying in conuenient places as he went; and
so surely, although but slowly, to triumph ouer his enemies, rather than by thrusting his armie
headlong vpon vncertainties into places strongly fe... both by nature & the power of most
mightie enemies, to be inforced with shame to aba... the enterprise so hastily begun.

Mustapha careful to put in execution Amurath his command.

Of this his resolution hee aduertised *Mustapha* by writing; giuing him in charge, against the next Spring to prouide all such things as should be necessarie for the building of certaine forts vpon the way that leadeth from Erzirum into Georgia: that hauing made those waies safe, and brought the people vnder his obedience, hee might afterwards attempt greater matters. Whereupon *Mustapha* presently directed forth precepts to the cities of Aleppo, of Damasco, Caraemit, and other places of Soria and Mesopotamia, for the taking vp of cunning workmen, of pioners, & such like, to the number of twentie thousand: and likewise wrot to all the countries, out of which hee had raised his armie the last yeare, That all their souldiers (yea and in greater number also) should be in readinesse against the next Spring, to returne to the warres. The rumor whereof he caused to be spread euen as far as Ægypt. He commanded also the taxes and tenths of those countries to be collected, & further vsed the Chambers of Aleppo, and other places, for such masses of mony as he thought necessarie for these purposes.

Manucchiar turneth Turke.

Alexander constant in his religion.

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, sent (as we haue before said) by *Mustapha* to *Amurath* at Constantinople, in doubtfulhope; expecting the end for which they were both sent vnto the court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Mahometan religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* easily yeelded. Whereas on the other side *Alexander* his elder brother could by no allurements or means be induced to consent to so infamous and damnable a change of his religion, although he knew he should therefore be depriued of his state: but protesting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother; requested only, that he might but as a priuate man goe and liue in his countrey, there to be buried amongst his ancestours. Which his request the Turkish Emperour referred to the discretion of *Manucchiar*, to do therein as he saw good: who consented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was circumcised, and the name of *Mustaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Bassa and Gouernour of Altunchala, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had his brother *Alexander* a Christian, committed vnto him, and so both returned into their owne countries.

Emanguli Chan taketh open him the defence of Siruan.

Now in the Persian court at Casbin, were many consultations had for the repressing of the in... uasions of the Turks. And among others carefull of those matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouernour of Genge, doubting to lose his honourable gouernement, by reason of the late sacke of his city, and spoile of... untry by the Tartarian; by those plots that were daily in contriuing for the

A the sending of men into Siruan to impeach the designements of *Osman Bassa*, and if it were possible, to driue him out of Derbent; tooke occasion to offer vnto the King, vpon paine of his head to defend Siruan, and not to suffer *Osman* the Turke to attempt any new fortifications, or further conquests in that Prouince. Of which his offer the King accepted, and thereupon the gouernment of Genge, and guarding of the countrey of Siruan against the forces of *Osman*, was frankely committed vnto him: And commandement giuen to the Gouernours of Tauris, Reiuan, and Nassiuan, and to diuers other captaines that were neerest, to be readie at all times with their power to assist *Emanguli Chan*, if it should fortune either the Tartarians or Turkes, with any great power to enter into Siruan: which order so taken, was thought sufficient for the
B securitie of that prouince.

But how to protect the Georgian Countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater importance, euery man being almost of opinion, That some great power of the Turks should be sent thither, for the more assurance of the conquest thereof alreadie begun, and for the succour of the fortresse at Teflis, which must needs otherwise fall againe into the hands of the Georgians. This matter so troubled the Persian King, as that he seemed to haue bent his whole counsels and thoughts thereupon: when *Simon* a Georgian a famous captaine (sometime prisoner with *Ismahel* the late King, at Cabaca, and by the familiaritie hee had with him, seduced from the
C Christian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamas*, chosen to liue depriued of his libertie and state) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the Kings hand such helpe as he had long desired, for the recouerie of his dominion vsurped by *Dauid*, otherwise called *Daut Chan*, his younger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamas*, had voluntarily renounced his Christian religion) offered now vnto the King his faithfull seruice, for the defence of that part of the Georgian Countrey wherein Teflis stood (being in right, part of his owne Inheritance) against the Turks: reproouing by way of disgrace, his younger brother of cowardise, and promising the performance of great matters in himselfe, both for the defence of that still defended countrey, and further annoying of the enemie. With great content did the Persian King consent to the request of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that Kingdome which he possessed before whilest he was a Christian: and sent with him *Aliculi Chan* into Georgia, with nine thousand horsemen, and certaine pieces of artilerie taken at Eres, when
D *Cassem Bassa* was slaine. *Simon* afterwards, coming to Georgia, was ioyfully receiued of his countreymen, and there gathered about three thousand souldiers (of his owne and of his neighbours) ... himself (for he was become a Persian, not because he preferred the Mahometan ... before the Christian Religion, but only to be deliuered from his long ... Georgian allured and inuigled to ... manner that might ... approch, ... prepared ... began ... together ... profered by him ... Persian ... Persia, ... Persian ... Persian ... Persian

Chars thus fortified, the Generall resolued to send succors into Georgia to Teflis; without which it was most certaine that the fortresse would be yeelded to the Georgians: but in what sort to relieue it he remained doubtfull. To send part of his armie with some valiant captaine was dangerous, and to go himselfe with all his forces, would sound (as he thought) to his disfauour with his great Lord and master; whom he had already made beleeue, that he had subdued the Georgians, and brought all that prouince to his obedience and deuotion. In this ambiguitie, the desire he had to preserue his credit with *Amurath* preuailed: and so hee made choice of *Hassan Bassa* sonne to *Mahamet* principall Visier of the Court, a gallant gentleman, and of great valour, to whome he deliuered betweene eighteene and twentie thousand soldiers; joining vnto him one *Resuan* Captaine of certaine aduenturers that voluntarily offered themselues to follow the forces of *Hassan*; assigning vnto him likewise fortie thousand ducats, and many loads of rice, meale, and barley, with other things necessarie both for [illegible] and war, and so sent him away for Teflis.

Hassan Bassa sent with twentie thousand to the succoring of Teflis.

Hassan with this charge set forward, fully resolued to put these succours into Teflis, or to lose all: and at length came to the famous strait of Tomanis, where the ouergrowne woods on the one side, and the deep vallies & craggie rocks on the other, would astonish a right constant beholder. When vpon the sudden, the Persians and the Georgians, vnder the conduct of *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, at vnawares set vpon the Turkes, and joined battell with them. For these two valiant captaines remaining for the most part in the borders of Teflis and Tomanis with 8000 soldiers, waiting for some opportunitie to annoy either them of the the fort of Teflis, or else such as should come to their succors; vnderstanding by their espials, of the comming of *Hassan* with this aid, had scattered themselues all alongst the said straight, in hope there to assaile the Turks, and holpen by the aduantage of the place, to driue them headlong into the deep valley, and at once to bereaue them both of their goods and life. But *Hassan* carefull of nothing more than how to auoid that danger, chose rather to make his journey through the thicke woods, and so as he might to escape the ambush that the enemie might lay for him vpon that straight passage. And so entring with his armie into the wood, which he was to haue left vpon his left hand, to discouer what might be plotted against him, he was hardly charged by the enemy, and constrained to fight with a thousand windings and turnings in & out, through a thousand crooked paths and doubtfull cranks, in a most confused medly, with great slaughter of his men: who not accustomed to this kind of fight, nor acquainted with the scituation of the place, were in the skirmish driuen so far, that downe they fell, and being not able to recouer themselues, were presently slaine. And thus with much ado he at length passed the strait of Tomanis. *Hassan* deeming himselfe much disgraced, by suffering his enemies, in number so far inferior, to haue done him so much harme, and so to haue escaped his hands; and further, considering that in such places sleights & stratagems more auaile than open forces; burning with desire of reuenge would needs stay neere vnto those straits, as if it had been to refresh his wearied army, but indeed to try if the Persians would aduenture againe to trouble him, or no: and appointed *Resuan Bassa* with certain bands of the soldiers of Græce, and of his own aduenturers, to lie in ambush within the couert of the strait, attentiue to euery stir of the enemie. Two dayes the Turkes armie lay thus diuided, and were now resolued the third day to remoue thence towards Teflis: when as the Persian captaines *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainely imagining that this stay of the Turkes was for feare of the Persians, foolishly returned and gaue a fresh onset vpon the flanke of *Hassans* squadrons. Who forthwith raising all his souldiers, and giuing a signe to *Resuan*, with all speed compassed in his enemies, and straightening them on both sides, tooke some of them aliue, cut in pieces other some, and put all the rest to flight. Among others that were taken aliue, was *Aliculi Chan* the Persian captaine, who ouer rashly charging vpon the face of *Hassan*, fell into his hand. The next day following (being the eleuenth day after *Hassans* departure from Chars) he joyfully arriued at Teflis, where he found among the poore besieged Turks many miseries; whereof some were alreadie dead, and some yet sicke: for they were so plagued with famine, that they not onely deuoured their horses, but euen the very skinnes of the same horses, of sheepe; and of dogs, and in such most miserable wants had passed the time whom *Hassan* at his arriual comforted with gifts and good words; exhorting them to persist constant in the seruice of their King, whose honour (as hee said) was neuer more than there to be respected. And for as much as the souldiers of the Fort did with one voyce request

The Persians assaile the Turks, and make of them a great slaughter.

The Persians ouerthrown, and Aliculi chan taken.

The miserie of the Turks in garison at Teflis.

Hassan

Hassan to appoint them a new gouernor, because they did all mislike *Mahamet Bassa*, who the last yeare was left by the General in that fort; *Hassan* remoued the said *Mahamet*, and put *Amet Bassa* in his place: and so after he had filled vp the places of the dead soldiers with a new supply, and set all things in order, he tooke his leaue, recommending the charge and custodie of that fort to their trust and valour. *Hassan* returning from Teflis, and being without any trouble come to the strait of Tomanis, was aduertised by his scouts, That it was so strongly possessed by the enemie, and so shut vp with artillerie, as that it was not to be passed through: for *Simon* thinking (as indeed it fell out) that *Hassan* would returne that way, had so belayed that strait, that the Turks could not without most assured losse passe the same: which thing much troubled the Bassa, and filled his head with many conceits, how he might make his journey some other way, and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogether doubtfull what to do, or which way to turne himself: *Aliculi Chan* the Persian (who to purchase his libertie could haue bin content to haue done any thing) offered *Hassan* to shew him a short and safe cut, whereby he might without danger passe with his armie out of that troublesome country; yet couenanting before, that he should promise him to set him at libertie for his so good seruice. Which his request the Bassa did not sticke in large manner to promise, although he afterwards to his great dishonor performed not the same. So bending his journey on the right hand, he was guided by *Aliculi* through strange and vncouth wayes, out of those woods and dangers, not meeting so much as with any one of his enemies. But when the Persian duke well hoping for his libertie, put the Turke in minde of his promise; he with deepe and feigned sighs protested, That he was right sorrie that he could not performe what he had promised to do for him, forasmuch as it lay not in his power to set any man at libertie, that was taken in battell by the soldiers of his great lord and soueraigne: yet gaue him his faith, that so far as his intreaties and fauors with the Generall *Mustapha* could preuaile, he would vse all the most earnest meanes he could, to procure his libertie and returne to his owne countrey.

Simon the Georgian perceiuing that the Turks were remoued, imagined forthwith, that they had taken this new way: but being afterward certified by his faithfull spies, that it was so indeed, he ran all headlong, & as it were desperat, to meet with this so happy an army. And all inflamed with rage for this great fortune of the Turks, he fell vpon the taile of the Turkish hoste: which with vnmeasurable furie he wholly destroyed, leading away with him all the people, all the horses, and all the treasure of *Mahamet Bassa* which he brought from Teflis, and all the treasure of *Hassan Bassa* likewise. As for *Aliculi Chan*, whom *Simon* most greedily sought for, he was sent away in the front of the armie, so that he was not to be rescued. *Hassan* holding on his way, came to Chars in the space of eight dayes after his departure from Teflis, and there presented vnto *Mustapha* the General, the Persian captaine *Aliculi*, recounting vnto him the dangers he had indured, & whatsoeuer els had hapned in that expedition. *Aliculi* the vnfortunate Persian was by the commandement of *Mustapha* carried to Erzirum, & there in the castle committed to prison. Not long after, *Mustapha* returned himselfe also to the said citie of Erzirum, with his army sore weakned and discontented, which was there presently by him discharged.

Simon destroied the reareward of Hassans Armie, & taketh from him his treasure

Mustapha returneth to Erzirum, & there discharged his Armie.

About the same time that these things were in doing, *Amurath* to make a safer and more easie passage for his forces into Georgia, sent *Vluzales* his Admiral with a great fleet into the Euxine sea to Mengrelia, called in antient time Cholchis; who entering the famous riuer of Phasis (now Fassa) there fortified, and layd such a beginning, that it is now one of the Turks proud Beglerbegs ships, although those fortifications shortly after the departure of the Admiral, were for the present againe by the Mengrelians demolished. And this was the end of the stirres of this yeare 1579.

Of all these successes *Mustapha* afterwards sent aduertisements to the court to *Amurath*, recounting vnto him the fortifying of Chars, the deserts of *Hassan*, as well for the succouring of Teflis, as for the taking of *Aliculi* the Persian. And because the said General had the yere before perswaded *Amurath*, That the country of Georgia and the people thereof were brought vnder his obedience, to the end that he should not marueil at so many losses and so many battels, and therby doubt of some false informations, he declared vnto him, that al these troubles were not raised by the natural and homebred Georgians, but by two certain captains *Aliculi* and *Simon* sent out of Persia, who had made all these stirs: of which one of them now remained with him in prison, for him to determine of at his pleasure. With great delight did the Turkish Empe-

rour

Hassan Bassa for his good seruice rewarded by Amurath.

rour read all that *Mustapha* had written, and by two of his Gentlemen vshers sent to *Hassan* a battle-axe all gilt and set full of stones, a targuet of gold and pearle, and a rich garment of cloth of gold, in reward of his good seruice, for which he greatly commended him: and withall gaue order, That *Aliculi* should be kept where he was in the castle of Erzirum, in diligent and safe custodie.

These inuasions of the Turks much troubled the Persian King in his court at Casbin, considering, that now they had both throughly acquainted themselues with all the passages into Georgia (in the difficultie and roughnesse whereof consisted the chiefe defence of that prouince) as also that diuers of the Georgian Princes were more than inclining vnto the Turkes seruice; so that he could not but iustly feare, that his enemies would in time begin to pierce into the noble cities of Media the greater, yea and peraduenture euen vnto Tauris before any of the rest. Which his care of foreine inuasion was doubled with domesticall feares: *Mirize Salmas* his chiefe Visier, and vpon whom he most rested, still filling his head with ... suspition, That *Abas Mirize* his son (made gouernor of Heri by *Tamas* his grandfather) ... about in these troubles with the Turk to proclaim himself king of Persia, to the great ignominie of his father, and preiudice of *Emir Hamze* his eldest brother, the worthy and vndoubted heire of that kingdome. This *Mirize Salmas* (according to his longing desire) had married a daughter of his to the said *Emir Hamze*, with the consent of the king his father: but yet not content with that honour, ceased not continually with ambitious deuises, to seeke out meanes how to bring to passe, that the Persian estate might wholly remaine to his sonne in law, vndiuided and entire from the participation of his brethren: & therefore little regarding the perils that might happen from the Turks, and blinded with the desire of his owne greatnesse, he went about to turne the King (being a man very credulous and inconsiderat) against *Abas Mirize*; either to take him and commit him to prison, or at least to bereaue him of all authoritie and command. And the better to persuade the king thereunto, he ... nered vnto him, how little *Abas Mirize* his sonne had respected him in diuers occasio... and that in these late wars he had not so much as sent forth one man against the Turks, but had forbidden such as were of his iurisdiction of Heri, to come to Casbin, at such time as they were summoned both by letters and commandement, to haue passed with *Emir Hamze* into Siruan: by reason whereof not one of them would stir a foot, answering, That they were enioyned so to do by *Abas Mirize* their lord; who had not only caused himselfe to be called king of Heri, but had giuen it out, that he meant to claime the succession in the whole kingdome. These complaints much preuailed with the king, both in respect of the loue he bare to *Emir Hamze* his eldest sonne, and also of the credit he gaue to his Visier: especially being accompanied with the crafty packing of the said Visier; who as he was very cunning in such practises of himselfe, so did he make them much more effectual with the effeminate king, by the meanes of diuers great Ladies, and other deuices that were to him very familiar and vsual. Insomuch that the King carried away with light beleefe, did continually bethinke himselfe how to find opportunity to represse the boldnesse of his disobedient son: not forgetting for all that, to make such preparation against the Turks, as should be sufficient to stay their passage to Tauris, if they had any purpose so to do. But leauing the Persian King to his troubled cogitations for a while, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks Generall, the great Bassa *Mustapha*.

Mustapha discharged of his Generalship, & called home to Constantinople.

He now lying at Erzirum, after many troubles abroad, was surprised and almost ouerwhelmed with vnexpected quarrels at home, many grieuous complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, wherby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generalship, and to cal him to the Court to giue account of his actions. Which seemed not to be done without cause, he hauing before raised a great discontentment in the minde of *Amurath*, by sending such a strong power to the succors of Teflis: whereby he coniectured, that the affaires of Georgia were not in such securitie as *Mustapha* had already informed him they were, & also generally offended the minds of the soldiers of his armie, who all in an vprore, accused him of improuidencie and prodigality, for that now this second yeare he had with so much ado gathered together such a number of soldiers, to the trouble of the whole empi... and infinit charge of their lord, & performed nothing worthy the glory of *Amurath*, or ... erable to so great a charge. Whi... complaints although they were of some moment, yet would the Turkish emperor for the great fauours he bare vnto him his antient Tutor, neuer haue construed them so hardly against him, as

as for the same to haue been induced to haue depriued him of his place, if the inueterate enuy of *Sinan Bassa* had not ministred strength and force to these hard accusations, and set (as it were) an edge vpon *Amurath* to do what he afterwards did.

But forasmuch as the course of time, and processe of the present history, bringeth now forth these two mightie champions of the Turks together (the enuious competitors the one of the others honors, who liuing many yeares together, haue left the wofull remembrance of their greatnesse and valour vnto the world, but especially vnto the afflicted state of Christendome, the large wounds by them made, as it were yet bleeding) stay with me a while, and without griefe, if thou canst, behold the liuely counterfeits of two so great enemies (who both liued within these few yeares, and the later of them died but the other day) as they are by the skilfull hand of the cunning workeman most perfectly described, and thus to be seene.

A comparison betwixt Sinan Bassa and Mustapha, two ancient enemies both to themselues and the Christian commonweale.

MVSTAPHA.

Quid Cyprus jactas? Quid Medos marte subactos?
Quid fusos Persas? Quid tua facta refers?
Dum te perfidia damnet Bragadinus: *& ipse*
Theupulus *indigna morte peremptus erit.*

RICH. KNOLLES.

What do'st thou boast of Cyprus woon? or of the Medes ...
What of the Persians put to flight? or of thy deeds ...
Whilest *Bragadinus* thee condemnes of extreame ...
And *Theupulus* to thy disgrace, a shamefull death ...

Mitte Sinane *tuos nimium iactare triumphos:*
Et rigido vultu verba superba loqui:
Vltar namque aderit mox Transyluanius heros:
Qui tumidum coget te dare terga fuga.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

Proud *Sinan* ceaſe to vaunt too much of thy great triumphs woon,
Or with ſterne looke for to extoll the deeds by thee erſt donn:
For why, the Tranſyluanian Prince will take reuenge of thee,
And ſwelling in thy greateſt pride, enforce thee for to flee.

R. Knolls.

This *Sinan* was a moſt antient enemie to *Muſtapha* and in all things thought himſelf match. For if *Muſtapha* had ſubdued Cyprus, ſo had he conquered Tripolis, Guletta, with kingdome of Tunes in Affricke: and if *Muſtapha* were a man of great courage, and reuerend his yeares, *Sinan* would be his equall both in the one and the other; yea and did not ſticke to thinke

A thinke himſelfe his better too, for that in the enterpriſe of Giamen in Arabia, hee performed ſuch an exploit as *Muſtapha* neither durſt nor yet knew how to put in execution, to carrying away the glorie of that famous conqueſt: for which euer after there was between them a continuall heart burning, one of them enuying at the others glorie, and both in word and deed, as occaſions fell out, in all things oppoſing themſelues one againſt the other. At laſt happens this opportunitie for *Sinan*: who taking the occaſion of the complaints of ſo many againſt *Muſtapha*, cauſed a great number of them to frame their ſupplications to *Amurath*, which he for his part did in moſt malignant manner inforce and exaggerat againſt his old aduerſary; accuſing him, that this ſecond yeare he had moſt manifeſtly ſhewed himſelfe to haue gone vnto the wars not as a worthy General deſirous of noble and honorable enterpriſes, but
B as a man that would make merchandiſe of bloud, and of his ſoldiers paies; employing the moſt liberal prouiſion of corne and mony, not as rewards of well deſeruing men, nor to the erecting of ſuch fabriks as were needfull, and might haue bin built therewithall, but onely to his owne proper gaine, ſo to inrich himſelfe with his peoples loſſes, to the great ſhame of his lord, and conſuming of the publick treaſure: adding hereunto, that if the things done by *Muſtapha* were well ſearched, it would be found, that he had neglected many good opportunities, attempted many things in vaine, and not done any good either to the Emperor or his ſouldiers, but onely to himſelfe: whom rather than they would follow againe as their Generall, all his people in an vprore ſhewed themſelues ready and willing to aduenture themſelues in any other ſarte greater labour that by their Lord and Soueraigne ſhould be commanded them.

Sinan accuſeth Muſtapha to Amurath.

C Theſe and ſuch like complaints, with the hard opinion alreadie conceiued againſt him by *Amurath*, were the occaſion why hee reſolued to put him from his place. Beſide that, hee thought it a thing dangerous to his ſtate, to ſuffer one & the ſelfe ſame General any long time to command ouer ſo great armies; deeming it not ſo much for his honour, ſtill to employ one man, as to ſhew that he had varietie and choice of ſubiects, worthy of ſo great a charge. And therfore being deſirous to find out the truth of that was reported to him concerning *Muſtapha*, he ſent the chiefe of his gentlemen porters, with fifteen others, to bring him to the court, with his Chancellor and Treaſurer, to ſhew the accounts of ſuch monies as he had receiued, and to giue vp an account of their whole office. Vnto this meſſenger had *Amurath* deliuered three diuers letters, which he ſhould warily ſhew as occaſion ſerued: one of them was ſo written of
D purpoſe, that *Muſtapha* in the receiuing thereof might by the ſame meſſengers be ſtrangled: in the ſecond was the emperors warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded; & in the third was contained, that *Muſtapha* ſhould forthwith ſend his Chancellor & Treaſurer to the court by thoſe meſſengers. *Muſtapha* in the meane time by diuers means, but eſpecially by the guilt of his owne conſcience, venting the diſpleaſure of the Emperor towards him, and ſuſpecting (as the truth was) his life to be by thoſe meſſengers ſought after, at ſuch time as the Captain Porter came to his camp, found many delaies to put him off, and would not in any caſe be ſpoken withall. But when the meſſenger would indure no longer delay, he was at length admitted to his preſence, hauing a circle appointed for him, out of which hee and his companions might not ſtir or approch neerer vnto him; the Baſſaes guard ſtanding in arms round about him.
E The meſſenger perceiuing the Baſſa's warines, wilily pluckt forth the third letters, concerning the ſending of his Chancellor and Treaſurer to the court. Then began the craftie old Baſſa to find many excuſes to haue delayed the matter: but being hardly preſſed by the meſſenger, and ſeeing no other remedie, he with much difficultie deliuered them both, couenanting before with the meſſenger, to haue both their liues ſpared: who comming to Conſtantinople, where forthwith clapt faſt into the tower called Iadicula, as there to haue been ſeuerely examined of all the doings of the Baſſa. But *Muſtapha* after long delay comming at length to Conſtantinople, the ninth of Aprill in the Spring following, and vſing the mighty and potent mediation of diuers great ladies and other his gracious friends in court, preuailed ſo much in that corrupt gouernment, as that he was againe at length receiued into the fauour of *Amurath*, without any
F further proceeding againſt him, his Chancellor, or Treaſurer, who by his meanes were afterwards alſo inlarged and ſet at liberty: yet was he neuer after admitted to thoſe honors, which hee perſuaded himſelfe were of right due vnto him, for his good and faithfull ſeruice of long time done to the *Othoman* Emperours.

Muſtapha by the mediation of certain great ladies appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath.

In this time that *Muſtapha* was Generall at Erzirum, *Mehamet* the Viſier Baſſa was treacherouſly

Io. Leuncla. in ſupplement. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 79.

...ously slaine at Constantinople: after whom shortly after died also *Achmet Bassa*, who suc- G
...ceeded in his place: so that the said soueraigne dignity, in honor next vnto the Turkish Empe-
...rour was by rightfull succession due to *Mustapha* the next Bassa; but that he was not thought
...worthie of it by him that might, and of right ought, to haue gratified him therewith, as shall
...be a little hereafter declared, when we haue briefely set downe the sudden and strange death
of the said *Muhamet* the Visier, worthie in all histories to be registred, as a mirrour for all such
as administer iustice in so great place, to looke vpon.

The strange death of the great Visier Bassa Muhamet

This Bassa, a man of as great fame as euer was any that had gouernment in the *Othoman* em-
pire, in the time that he all commanded, had for some light causes deprined a certaine souldier
of Constantinople, of his yearely pension, which with many labours and dangers he had got- H
ten to maintain himselfe; which pension, the Bassa bestowed vpon another souldier, so that the
other poore soule remained in miserie, altogether vnprouided for. Vnto which miserable
estate seeing himselfe now brought, and not guilty to himselfe of any fault worthy [illegible] pu-
nishment, he determined with himselfe to reuenge the iniury with the bloud of that great Bas-
sa, and to bereaue him of life, that had bereft him of liuing: which because he could not by any
fit means put in execution (by reason of the guard of slaues that keep the person of the Visier,
so that no man can come neere him that holdeth that high place) except hee could by some
means acquaint himselfe in the Visiers house, & so insinuat himselfe into his acquaintance; he
resolued to take vpon him the rude habit of those religious which the Turks call Deruissars,
and after their manner to present himselfe euery morning before the Visier to aske his almes:
and so he did, counterfeiting withall a certaine kind of folly and lightnesse of mind, as do those I
Deruissars, to make the people beleeue, that they contemne all worldly things, as men rauished
only with heauenly cogitations; which yet was by some that knew him, thought to haue hap-
ned in him, through the griefe he had conceiued for the losse of his stipend. *Muhamet* not on-
ly the first time, but also at all other times that this counterfeit hypocrite came before him,
caused him to be comforted with his almes, and [illegible] were with a kind of priuat stipend, enioy-
ned him euery morning to come vnto him into the Diuano, and there together with others ap-
pointed for the same purpose, to say his deuout praiers, and in singing praises to their wicked
Prophet, to intreat God for his saluation: for it is a custome of all the noblemen, that at ordi-
nary houres of praiers, al their priests assemble themselues in the Diuano, which is made ready
for them, and there all together the Infidell wretches do with their vnclean mouthes mumble K
vp their superstitious praiers, or rather most abhominable blasphemies. By this means did this
dissembling companion so insinuat himselfe into the Visiers acquaintance, that the counterfet
foole went in and out of the Diuano at his pleasure, no man gainsaying either his goingin or
comming out, but daily sat in the presence of the Visier, and so hauing said his praiers, & taken
his almes, with all reuerence quietly departed. At last when the crafty hypocrite thought that
the time was come wherein he might most fitly execute his purpose, hauing vtterly resolued
with himselfe to die, so that he might satisfie the desire he had of reuenge, so long couertly
fostered in his heart; hauing conueied a very sharpe dagger secretly into one of his sleeues, he
went according to his custome, to require his almes, with an assured resolution (when hee had
said his praiers, and reached out his hands to receiue his woonted almes) speedily to charge L
vpon the Visier, and with the dagger to strike him to the heart. According to the accustomed
manner was the counterfeit hypocrite (for who would euer haue suspected so long & so trai-
terous a disignement) admitted into the Diuano, where *Muhamet* the Visier sat in his house, to
giue publick audience, & after the vsual manner, before any of the suters that attended for an-
swers & dispatch of their busines suspected any such deceit, he was admitted neere to the Vi-
sier, & sitting right against him, according to his old woont poured out those vaine deuotions
which those hypocritical Barbarians vse to mumble vp in their praiers: which being finished,
whilest the Visier simply reacheth vnto him his woonted almes, the traiterous villain in recei-
uing it suddenly drew out his dagger, and once or twice stabbed it into the Visiers breast, out
of which so deadly wounds gushed out his bloud a[illegible] together. Whereupon the standers M
by astonied with the strangenesse of the act, ran in, [illegible] the old hoary Visier lay all foile
his own blood, deadly pale, and breathing forth his last gasp. The mischieuous murderer
presently laid hands vpon, & bound him fast: but the rumor of the strange fact did by & by
vnto the emperors eare: who suspecting that some of the other great Bassaes desiring to mount
into

A into that high dignitie, had prouoked the traitor to do this detestable act, would needs vnder-
stand of the traiterous murderer, what occasion had moued him so trecherously to kill his Vi-
sier. Who resolutely answered him, That he did it to deliuer the citie of Constantinople from
the tyranny of him, by whom hee was vndeseruedly depriued of his pension. But when hee
could get no other answer of him, hee deliuered him into the hands of the slaues of the dead
Visier, who with most exquisit torments put him to death.

Muhamet thus dead, after him succeeded *Achmetes* the next Bassa, who (as is before said) short-
ly after died also, so that it was now *Mustapha* his course to succeed in that chiefe roome, for
that he was the third in the order of the Bassaes. But when he had vsed all the meanes that he
possibly could, to haue obtained that so honorable a place by order due vnto him; yet could he
B not find so much grace in the sight of *Amurath* his great Lord, as to haue it granted him vnder
seale, although in effect hee made him sit as Visier, and all matters of state were brought vnto
him as chiefe Visier: but in his stead the seale was sent to *Sinan Bassa*, who was now made Ge-
nerall for the Persian warres. Which disgrace not a little discontented *Mustapha*, fearing lest
some other strange accident should in short time light vpon him.

After that *Mustapha* was thus displaced from his Generalship, *Amurath* nominated *Sinan* 1580
Bassa to be Generall in his stead for this expedition against the Persians, and for the preserua- *Sinan Bassa chosen Generall for the Persian warre.*
tion of Chars and Teflis; giuing him soueraigne authority to command, and to set in order all
such preparations as he should thinke necessarie for such enterprises as he should thinke good
to attempt in his first yere: who although by reason of his great fauor, he grew haughtie and
C glorious, yet did he not foreslow to discourse throughly with himselfe vpon all his designe-
ments: and namely, beside the succouring of Teflis, he determined to build a fort at Tomanis,
to assure the passage thither from Chars, and withall to attempt all the means he could to in-
duce the Persian king to send Embassadors for peace, with such conditions as should be accep-
table to *Amurath*. With these and such like discourses did he busie himselfe whilst he was yet
making preparation to set forwards towards Erzirum.

Of all these changes and alterations was the Persian king aduertised, as also that this new
Turkish Generall *Sinan* was carefull, how this long war might by some means be appeased, and
a good peace concluded. Vpon which occasion, and by the persuasion of *Leuent Ogli* the Geor-
gian, and of *Mirize Salmas* the Visier, hee was induced to send embassadors to Constantino-
D ple, to demand peace of *Amurath*. Vpon which resolution he dispatched *Maxut Chan* (of some *The Persian King sendeth Maxut Chan his embassador to Amurath.*
called *Maxudes*) his embassador, with direction that he should go to *Sinan*, and of him to receiue
guides to conduct him to Constantinople with letters to *Amurath*, and as much as lay in him to
labour for the pacifying of all these troubles: and in any case to conclude vpon it, so that hee
would be content with Chars and Teflis. With these instructions the embassador departed, &
at length arriued at Chars, and so came to Erzirum, and was from thence conducted towards
Amasia. But when he came to Siuas, he found *Sinan* the Generall there encamped, gathering
together his armie for the execution of his designements: for *Sinan* vpon the arriual of *Mu-
stapha*, departing from Constantinople the fiue and twentieth day of Aprill, was now come so
E farre on his way. Of the comming of this Embassadour, The Turks receiued great ioy, and
newes thereof was in post sent by *Cicala Bassa* to the court. The Persian embassador enformed
Sinan of all that he had to treat with *Amurath* on the behalfe of King *Mahamat*; and labou-
red earnestly to persuade him, of the equitie of the cause, and of his request: declaring vnto
him, That forasmuch as both the Nations were conioyned vnder the law of *Mahomet* their
common Prophet (though there seemed some small difference not worth those troubles) it
were a very inconuenient thing for them to contend among themselues, and to seeke the ouer-
throw or vtter destruction of one another: and that therefore he was in good hope to obtaine
of *Amurath* this desired peace, if he had no other cause wherwith he found himselfe agrieued,
as in truth he had not. Wherefore he besought the Generall, that he would with safe conuoy
conduct him to *Amurath*, to the end that if it were possible, these bloudie wars might take end;
F at the very report whereof, the rest of the world reioiced, and stood attentiuely waiting to see
what would be the issue thereof.

This embassador, *Sinan* entertained after the best manner the rudenesse of his nature would
afoord: and thinking that the very fame of his valor, had wrought in the minds of his enemies
this resolution to come to demand peace, granted vnto the Embassador a sure conuoy to con-

him to Constantinople; and wrote to *Amurath* in his letters, all that he thought was fit to be demanded, representing vnto him what great and important matters (hee hoped) might now be obtained. But before he dismissed the said embassadour, he aduised him not to goe to *Amurath* without resolution to offer vnto him some great good conditions, and to yeeld vnto him that country which he by force of armes had before conquered: for he knew the mind of *Amurath* verie well, that he was resolued in himselfe, not to yeeld so much as one hand breadth of that ground which hee had woon with the sword. Which motion of the proud Bassa so troubled the Embassador, that fearing he should not be able to conclude any thing, he stood in doubt, whether to proceed on his iourney to Constantinople, or to returne backe againe into Persia: but considering better what belonged to his dutie in so weightie a busines, and hoping to receiue more reasonable conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himselfe, hee gaue large words to *Sinan*, and so with a safe conuoy departed from Siuas, and by long iournies came to Scutari, and so passing ouer that little strait, the fourth of August arrived at Constantinople.

The admonition of Sinan to the Persian Embassadour.

The preparations of the Persian king against the Turks.

The Persian king in the mean time, stirred vp with the report of the Turks preparations; to cause it to be noised, that hee likewise intended some important matters, commanded all the Chans and Gouernors of his kingdome, to meet together with all their forces at Tauris, where hee himselfe with the Prince *Emir Hamze* his son met them. And after many consultations there had for the repressing of the Turkish inuasion (for as yet it was not certainly known what *Sinan* meant to attempt) he resolued to send souldiers into Georgia towards Teflis, whether of necessitie succours must be sent by the Turks to them of the fort: and withall, determined also to goe himselfe with all his armie from Tauris to Caracach, a place very commodious and neere, to guard both Tauris and Siruan, being scituate euen in the middest betweene the one and the other; and there to expect the remouing of *Sinan*; whose ambitious nature the king knowing, doubted that he to surmount *Mustapha*, would attempt some greater enterprise; yea peraduenture to run euen vpon Tauris. But when it came to the point that he should send some of his captaines into Georgia, he made choice of such as had best experience of those countries, and were neereſt vnto them: with whom he sent *Tecomac* also, and the rest whose seruice hee had before vsed against the Turkes; commanding them to ioyne their forces with *Simon* the Georgian, and by all meanes possible to annoy the enemie: whom if they should perceiue to bend for Tauris, they should not faile to follow him; to the end they might ioyne together with him, and so incounter the enemies army. All those captaines were resolute men, and led with them ten thousand souldiers; which being ioined with them of Georgia, amounted to the number of thirteene thousand: who arriuing at Genge, gaue knowledge to *Simon* of their comming, and that in his behalfe they were ready to do great matters.

Now was the Persian Embassadour with all due honour receiued at Constantinople, where he was honorably entertained by the great Bassaes of the court; but especially by *Mustapha*, who within two daies after suddenly died; of a surfeit taken of eating too much of muske Melons, and immoderat drinking of Zerbet (a kind of pleasant drinke which the Turks vse made of water and sugar:) but most men thought him to haue poisoned himselfe, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be againe inflamed by the new complaints of the Persian Embassador against him, for that he in the time of his Generalship, had dishonourably suppressed certain embassages sent from the Persian king; which he now fearing to be called in question for, the former storms as yet scarce wel appeased, made himselfe now away. After his death it was commonly reported, that if hee had longer liued, he should haue bin vndoubtedly strangled: which to preuent, he became the worthy executioner of himselfe, that had most vniustly caused others to be most shamefully murdered. Which was the more like to be true, and the rather beleeued, for that the infinit wealth he had of long time scraped together, was immediatly after his death taken into the kings treasuries, some small portion thereof being left vnto his nephews: a most certain token of *Amuraths* indignation against him. The Persian Embassador hauing audience the 7 of August, with many liuely reasons & much eloquence, persuaded the Turkish Emperor to desist from the war begun, as contrary to the will & pleasure of their common Prophet *Mahomet*: as also to the peace, which was so royally, & with so many capitulations, not long before concluded between *Tamas* and *Solyman* his grandfather; and was not to haue bin broken and wars raised, but vpon some great quarrell or iniurie done; which the Persians

Persians had not at any time offered, but had alwaies wished vnto him all happinesse; as they had manifestly declared, by sending vnto him an embassage for that purpose by Sultan *Tocomac* whereby hee might plainly perceiue, the good mind and zeale the Persian King had for the maintenance of the peace. And although in the short raigne of *Ismahel*, there was some rumor raised, that he meant to go vnto Babylonia, and fame such like newes: yet that was but a vntruth full part, and an effect of that mind which is commonly proper to such as being kept long in strait prison cannot vse their liberty with moderation, and had therefore receiued due punishment for it, by sudden and vnexpected death. But as for the king that now is, he did aboue all others imbrace amitie with his maiestie, and therefore did most earnestly desire, that it would please him to temper his anger conceiued, which had incensed him to take vp armes against a king so much his friend; being of the same religion, and better affected towards him than all the rest of the Nations in the World.

This Embassador the Turkish Emperour dismissed without any resolution at all; but only gaue order, that whatsoeuer he had to say touching this peace, he should communicate it with his Visier. Many were the discourses which hapned; for that the Turkes required all those cities & countries, which til that time he had conquered with the sword, or (as their proud manner of phrase is) whereon his Generals horse had trod, to be yeelded again vnto him: and the Embassador on the other side, had no warrant from his king to yeeld any more than that part of Georgia, which is on this side the riuer of Araxis. Whereupon the said embassador began to feare, lest he should be suspected for a spie, and so be euil intreated: wherewithall he did finde himselfe too manifestly charged by the hard speech that the Visier vsed towards him. Being thus doubtful whereupon to resolue, perceiuing himself strained to the grant of these demands, and receiuing also some threatnings withall, he determined with himselfe to enlarge his speeches with the Visier in diuers and sundrie particularities, and to giue him good hope that hee should be able to perswade with his king, the yeelding vp of so much as *Amurath* had and did demand. Hereupon was *Maxut Chan* the embassador in friendly manner and without any outrage sent from Constantinople to Chars, and commission giuen to *Sinan* (then at Chars) that without delay, & with all fidelity, he should cause the embassador to be conducted to Van, and from thence into Persia, whereſoeuer he did desire: all which was faithfully performed.

Sinan musters his army at Erzirum.

But to returne againe to *Sinan* the Generall, who from Siuas had sent the said embassadour to Constantinople (as is before declared:) & being departed thence, arriued at Erzirum, where he tooke a suruey of his army, and other prouision necessarie for this expedition: and so from thence was now come to Chars, from whence hee dispatched the Persian embassadour, much discontented that no other conclusion for peace could be wrought.

Maxut Chan reporteth vnto the king what he hath done, & is for his good seruice by him rewarded.

Maxut Chan at last arriuing at the Persian court, reported vnto the king all that had happened in this his embassage: the sum whereof was, That *Amurath* would not condiscend to any condition of peace, vnlesse the whole countrey of Siruan might be yeelded vnto him, for that hee had once (as he said) conquered the same. Neither did the same embassador forbeare to tell the king, the suspition *Amurath* had conceiued of him, to haue been a spie rather than an embassador; and of the large promises he was fain to make to the Turke, to auoid the manifest danger of imprisonment or death: all which for all that, now lay in his Maiesties power to performe or not. The king for the present remained well satisfied with that *Maxut* had done, and in reward of his great trauell and expences, gaue him the charge of the Chamber at Tauris, naming him the Chamberlaine of that rich and great citie. Of which new office (though very honourable and of great importance) he tooke small pleasure, for that one *Emir Chan* his antient enemie was chiefe Gouernor of that city, from whom he feared some dangerous trecherie: wherefore he appointed his deputie for the execution of the office, & withdrew himselfe from Tauris to Cassangich, a place of his owne, there to passe away the time vntill it should please the king otherwise to dispose of him. But *Emir Chan*, who still nourished in his mind the antient hatred hee had conceiued against him, tooke this as a most fit occasion to bring him into disgrace with the king: certifying him, That *Maxut* not contented with the great preferment it had pleased him to bestow vpon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned Tauris, and substituted in his place a most base person to represent the kings maiesty & to manage his treasure: and that he absented himselfe far from that citie and the court there, hauing withdrawne himselfe into the confines of Turkie, no doubt for some mischieuous intent, either to yeeld him-

him to Constantinople; and wrote to *Amurath* in his letters, all that he thought was fit to be demanded, representing vnto him what great and important matters (hee hoped) might now be obtained. But before he dismissed the said embassadour, he aduised him not to goe to *Amurath* without resolution to offer vnto him some great good conditions, and to yeeld vnto him that country which he by force of armes had before conquered: for he knew the mind of *Amurath* verie well, that he was resolued in himselfe, not to yeeld so much as one hand breadth of that ground which hee had woon with the sword. Which motion of the proud Bassa so troubled the Embassador, that fearing he should not be able to conclude any thing, he stood in doubt, whether to proceed on his iourney to Constantinople, or to returne backe againe into Persia: but considering better what belonged to his dutie in so weightie a businesse, and hoping to receiue more reasonable conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himselfe, hee gaue large words to *Sinan*, and so with a safe conuoy departed from Siuas, and by long iournies came to Scutari, and so passing ouer that little strait, the fourth of August arriued at Constantinople.

The admonition of Sinan to the Persian Embassadour.

The preparations of the Persian king against the Turks.

The Persian king in the mean time, stirred vp with the report of the Turks preparations; to cause it to be noised, that hee likewise intended some important matters, commanded all the Chans and Gouernors of his kingdome, to meet together with all their forces at Tauris, where hee himselfe with the Prince *Emir Hamze* his son met them. And after many consultations there had for the repressing of the Turkish inuasion (for as yet it was not certainly known what *Sinan* meant to attempt) he resolued to send souldiers into Georgia towards Teflis, whether of necessitie succours must be sent by the Turks to them of the fort: and withall, determined also to goe himselfe with all his armie from Tauris to Caracach, a place very commodious and neere, to guard both Tauris and Siruan, being scituat euen in the middest betweene the one and the other, and there to expect the remouing of *Sinan*; whose ambitious nature the king knowing, doubted that he to surmount *Mustapha*, would attempt some greater enterprise; yea peraduenture to run euen vpon Tauris. But when it came to the point that he should send some of his captaines into Georgia, he made choice of such as had best experience of those countries, and were neerest vnto them: with whom he sent *Tocomac* also, and the rest whose seruice hee had before vsed against the Turkes; commanding them to ioyne their forces with *Simon* the Georgian, and by all meanes possible to annoy the enemie: whom if they should perceiue to bend for Tauris, they should not faile to follow him; to the end they might ioyne together with him, and so incounter the enemies armie. All those captaines were resolute men, and led with them ten thousand souldiers; which being ioined with them of Georgia, amounted to the number of thirteene thousand: who arriuing at Genge, gaue knowledge to *Simon* of their comming, and that in his behalfe they were ready to do great matters.

Now was the Persian Embassadour with all due honour receiued at Constantinople, where he was honorably entertained by the great Bassaes of the court; but especially by *Mustapha*, who within two daies after suddenly died, of a surfeit taken of eating too much of muske Melons, and immoderat drinking of Zerbet (a kind of pleasant drinke which the Turks vse made of water and sugar:) but most men thought him to haue poisoned himselfe, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be againe inflamed by the new complaints of the Persian Embassador against him, for that he in the time of his Generalship, had dishonourably suppressed certain embassages sent from the Persian king; which he now fearing to be called in question for, the former storms as yet scarce wel appeased, made himselfe now away. After his death it was commonly reported, that if hee had longer liued, he should haue bin vndoubtedly strangled: which to preuent, he became the worthy executioner of himselfe, that had most vniustly caused others to be most shamefully murdered. Which was the more like to be true, and the rather beleeued, for that the infinit wealth he had of long time scraped together, was immediatly after his death taken into the kings treasuries, some small portion thereof being left vnto his nephews: a most certain token of *Amuraths* indignation against him. The Persian Embassador hauing audience the 7 of August, with many liuely reasons & much eloquence, persuaded the Turkish Emperor to desist from the war begun, as contrary to the will & pleasure of their common Prophet *Mahomet*: as also to the peace, which was so royally, & with so many capitulations, not long before concluded between *Tamas* and *Solyman* his grandfather; and was not to haue bin broken and wars raised, but vpon some great quarrell or iniurie done; which the Persians

Persians had not at any time offered, but had alwaies wished vnto him all happinesse, as they had manifestly declared, by sending vnto him an embassage to that purpose by Sultan *Tocomatt*: whereby hee might plainly perceiue, the good mind and zeale the Persian King had for the maintenance of the peace. And although in the short reigne of *Ismahel*, there was some rumor raised, that he meant to go vnto Babylonia, and some such like newes: yet that was but a vaine fained part, and an effect of that feare which is commonly proper to such as being kept long in strait prison cannot vse their liberty with moderation, and had therefore receiued due punishment for it, by sudden and vnexpected death. But as for the king that now is, he did aboue all other imbrace amitie with his ouncle, and therefore did most earnestly desire, that it would please him to temper his anger conceiued, which had incensed him to take vp armes against a king so much his friend; being of the same religion, and better affected towards him than all the rest of the Nations in the World.

This Embassador the Turkish Emperour dismissed without any resolution at all, but only gaue order, that whatsoeuer he had to say touching this peace, he should communicate it with his Visier. Many were the discourses which hapned; for that the Turke required all those cities & countries, which til that time he had conquered with the sword, or (as their proud maner of phrase is) whereon his Generals horse had trod, to be yeelded again vnto him: and the Embassador on the other side, had no warrant from his king to yeeld any more than that part of Georgia, which is on this side the riuer of Araxis. Whereupon the said embassador began to feare, lest he should be suspected for a spie, and so be euil intreated: whereuithall he did finde himselfe too manifestly charged by the hard speech that the Visier vsed towards him. Being thus doubtful whereupon to resolue, perceiuing himself strained to the grant of these demands, and receiuing also some threatnings withall, he determined with himselfe to enlarge his speeches with the Visier in diuers and sundrie particularities, and to giue him good hope that hee should be able to perswade with his king, the yeelding vp of so much as *Amurath* had and did demand. Hereupon was *Maxut Chan* the embassador in friendly manner and without any outrage sent from Constantinople to Chars, and commission giuen to *Sinan* (then at Chars) that without delay, & with all fidelity, he should cause the embassador to be conducted to Van, and from thence into Persia, whersoeuer he did desire: all which was faithfully performed.

Sinan musters his army at Erzrum.

But to returne againe to *Sinan* the Generall, who from Siuas had sent the said embassadour to Constantinople (as is before declared:) & being departed thence, arriued at Erzirum, where he tooke a surucy of his army, and other prouision necessarie for this expedition: and so from thence was now come to Chars, from whence hee dispatched the Persian embassadour, much discontented that no other conclusion for peace could be wrought.

Maxut Chan reporteth vnto the king what he hath done, & is for his good seruice by him rewarded.

Maxut Chan at last arriuing at the Persian court, reported vnto the king all that had happened in this his embassage: the sum whereof was, That *Amurath* would not condiscend to any condition of peace, vnlesse the whole countrey of Siruan might be yeelded vnto him, for that hee had once (as he said) conquered the same. Neither did the same embassador forbeare to tell the king, the suspition *Amurath* had conceiued of him, to haue been a spie rather than an embassador; and of the large promises he was fain to make to the Turke, to auoid the manifest danger of imprisonment or death: all which for all that, now lay in his Maiesties power to performe or not. The king for the present remained well satisfied with that *Maxut* had done, and in reward of his great trauell and expences, gaue him the charge of the Chamber at Tauris, naming him the Chamberlaine of that rich and great citie. Of which new office (though very honourable and of great importance) he tooke small pleasure, for that one *Emir Chan* his antient enemie was chiefe Gouernor of that city, from whom he feared some dangerous trecherie: wherefore he appointed his deputie for the execution of the office, & withdrew himselfe from Tauris to Cassangich, a place of his owne, there to passe away the time vntill it should please the king otherwise to dispose of him. But *Emir Chan*, who still nourished in his mind the antient hatred hee had conceiued against him, tooke this as a most fit occasion to bring him into disgrace with the king: certifying him, That *Maxut* not contented with the great preferment it had pleased him to bestow vpon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned Tauris, and substituted in his place a most base person to represent the kings maiesty & to manage his treasure: and that he absented himselfe far from that citie and the court there, hauing withdrawne himselfe into the confines of Turkie, no doubt for some mischieuous intent, either to yeeld him-

himselfe vnto them, or els to haue intelligence with them, and was like enough to be guilty to himselfe of the great errour he had already committed, by offering Siuan vnto the Turkish king, and making promise of so large conditions, whereby he had obtained such a sure estate for him, or conduct him, when as he had before discouered himselfe to be a fauourer of the Turkish a traitor to his owne king: and that therefore it were good to make triall of his inclination, and so peraduenture to decline some great mischiefe, tending to the danger of the Persian state. This malicious accusation slily contriued, so wrought in the mind of the suspitious king, that he commanded *Emir Chan* secretly to apprehend *Maxut*, and to bring him to the court, and if he could not by other meanes, then by torture to inforce from him the truth of all those matters. Glad was *Emir* to haue his enemie thus put into his hands; and thought it long vntill he had brought this shame vpon *Maxut*: who hauing already heard some inckling thereof, resolued with himselfe to do any thing, rather than to fall into the power of his hatefull enemie. And therefore at such time as fifteen tall fellowes were for that purpose sent vnto him from *Emir Chan*, who in the kings name summoned him to the court, he without making any shew that he took the matter otherwise than well, entertained them courteously, & made them great cheere: but when he perceiued them to be ouercome with sleep, which crept vpon them by reason of the excesse wherewith they had ouercharged themselues, he caused them to be straitly bound, and with long cords hanged them downe into a deep well, and there shut them vp, secretly couered. Then gathering together the most precious things he had in his house, and leauing his wiues, his children, his brethren, and nephews on horseback, fled with all his familie in the euening, and the next day arriued at Salmas, and was there friendly entertained by the Turkish Bassa, & from thence conueied to Van, where he was also courteously welcommed by *Cicala Bassa*, and honorably accompanied, sent to *Sinan* the Generall, who very glad of his comming, sent him with all diligence to Constantinople to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the first enterparlance of peace betwixt the Persians and the Turks.

Maxut Chan fleeth vnto the Turkes.

Sinan remained at Chars eight daies, and the certaine surueyed his armie and prouision; and afterwards set forward towards Tomanis, with resolution there to build a fort. But being come thither, he could by no meanes put that his designement in execution, by reason of the immoderat rain, which continually by the space of eight daies fell in such abundance, as that neither did the Sun appeare, or the skie cleare. Beside that, *Sinan* greatly feared lest the enemie taking the opportunitie of this rain, of the straight, and of the building, should assault his armie, and finding it in euill plight and out of order, greatly endamage it: wherefore casting off his former determination for fortifying at Tomanis, he remoued thence, to carry succours to Teflis. But as soon as he was risen with his armie, and past the strait, *Tal-Ogli* Captaine of the Ianizaries of Damasco, and *Homar* Sanzacke of Saffero, hauing receiued secret intelligence, that hard by, a little out of the way, was good store both of corne and cattell, resolued with themselues to go thither to fetch in that booty: and so with two thousand souldiers greedy of prey they set forward. Now *Simon* the Georgian and the Persians, following the Turks armie a far off, had diuided his souldiers into all such places as where there was either corne, or water, or any such thing as might allure the Turks to scatter themselues from the camp: and perceiuing these hungry Turkes carelesly to run headlong to lay hold on this desired bootie, he suddenly fell vpon them, and cut them in pieces, being disordered; so that of those two thousand escaped but *Tal-Ogli* the Captaine of the Ianizaries only, *Homar* the Sanzacke, and all the rest being left dead vpon the ground.

Sinan commeth to Teflis.

Sinan holding on his way, in two daies came to Teflis, where presently he called a counsell of all the chiefe men of his armie, taking order, That euery man vpon his oath, should depose the truth touching the greatnesse of Teflis: which he did onely in reproch of *Mustapha* the great Bassa, who most vntruly had informed *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as Damasco, whereas in truth it was not in any respect to be compared vnto that so famous a City. After that, he diuided the treasure and succors he had brought, among the souldiers of the fortresse, cheering them vp with good words, and promises of great matters. And because the souldiers there in garrison complained greatly against the Bassa their Captaine, hee caused a bil of complaint to be framed against him, & finding him guilty, that he had conuerted the souldiers pay to his own vse, he condemned him to the restitution thereof, and so immediatly discharging him of his office, placed in his roome *Guisuf Bey*, a lord of Georgia; who for the antient enmitie betweene him and *Simon*, had yeelded himselfe to the Turkes, and was of them so esteemed, that *Sinan* trusted him with the custodie of that fort, which with so many dangers had beene maintained and defended all that day.

All things thus set in order at Teflis, *Sinan* with his armie departed thence, and hauing again passed the strait of Tomanis, there came vnto him *Mustassed Bassa* (afterward gouernour of Aleppo) declaring vnto him, That not far off was great store of corne and cattell, and no bootie but onely a few Georgians to keepe the same, and therefore wished him to send forth some to fetch it in, whereof, though it had bin much more, his armie then stood in great need. *Sinan* was well affected vnto this *Mustassed*, and therefore the easilier inclined by him to send for the aforesaid bootie: but moued with the fresh remembrance of that which had happened to *Tal-Ogli* & *Homar*, he gaue order, That to fetch in this corne and cattell there should go out 1000 horsemen and their seruants, among whom was also the same *Mustassed* as their Generall. Now stood *Tocomes Simon*, and the other Persian captains in feare of ambush, waiting when any of the Turks should come to fetch in this bootie. Whereupon the aforesaid souldiers being now come as they desired, and hauing almost charged all their mules & horses with the which best pleased them to make choice of, the hidden Persians all on a sudden issued out of their lurking places among them, and with great slaughter put them to flight, and with such furie pursued the victorie, that they slew of them 7000, carried away many prisoners aliue, and the mules and horses laden with the stolne bootie. *Mustassed* was the first that fled, and the first that brought the vnhappy news of that ouerthrow to *Sinan*: which was forthwith confirmed by the report of such as had by speedie flight escaped the furie of the enemie. Whereupon *Sinan* dispatched the Bassa of Caramania with a great power, charging him where soeuer he should find the enemie, to set vpon him; and presently rising himselfe with his whole campe, followed the said Bassa: but all too late; for the Persians after the aforesaid victorie, without staying had withdrawne themselues into their strong places, knowne only to such as were well acquainted with the difficult passages of Georgia: and hauing there disposed of their prey, were now returning to await some fresh occasion of new slaughter. But when they descried the whole armie of the Turks vpon the rising of a certaine hill, they were afraid to meet them, yea and stood in some doubt also, lest *Sinan* should discend from the hill, and so assault them: for which cause they retired themselues againe into the strength of the mountaines; yet not with such speed but that the Turks ouertooke some few of them, and slew about fiftie or threescore of them, whose heads in signe of triumph they carried a good part of the way vpon the points of their speares: and tooke prisoners about threescore and ten more.

Sinan departeth from Teflis

Seuen thousand Turkes slaine by the Georgians and Persians.

At last *Sinan* with all his armie hauing passed these dangerous places of Georgia, arriued at Triala, where it was told him, That the Persian king in person himselfe being already departed from Tauris, with an exceeding great armie was comming to bid him battell. At which news he caused proclamation to be presently made thorow all his army, That euery man should put himselfe in readinesse for the voyage to Tauris, whither he himselfe meant to go to meet with the king his enemy. In the mean time (as is reported) he dispatched certain posts to the Persian king, then at Carachach, to entreat him to send another Embassador to *Amurath* for peace, thinking by that meanes (as some do coniecture) to remoue the king from the resolution of comming to assaile him, if he had any such meaning. After this proclamation made, he discended into the open and large plaines of Chielder; where presently he mustred his whole army, and gaue it out, That before he would set forward toward Tauris, he would make triall of the readinesse and nimblenesse of his souldiers, in such sort as if they should presently ioine battel with the enemie: which without further delay he put in execution the next morning, formally ranging his whole armie in order of battell, and then sending out some few others to shew themselues vpon the top of certaine hils, as if they had been enemies that came to seise vpon his armie; he caused all his artillery to be discharged, and commanded euery man to skirmish & bestir himselfe altogether after the same manner as if the enemie had beene there present before them: where the thundring of the great and small shot, the thicke stormes of arrowes, with the brightnesse of the armor and weapons, yeelding forth lightnings as if it had bin firy beames, and the noise of drummes and trumpets and other instruments of warre, with the ensignes of blew and yellow flying in the winde, made such a medly of all things, as if it had been the turmoyle of a very battell indeed. In the end hee caused the retreat to be sounded; and then

setting all his armie in order againe, made the like shew the second time, and so the third time G
which was indeed performed with the great scorne and derision of his souldiers; who
called it rather childrens play, than any commendation to the proud Bassa. These counter-
feits of war thus finished, yet did he not set forward toward Tauris, as he had giuen it
out, but loitered eight dayes in those plaines of Chielder. At which time there arriued out
of Persia one *Aider* the Aga, as an Embassador from the King, who was by *Sinan* with great joy
entertained. Diuers were the things by this Embassador propounded, such as had *Maxut Cha*
before? but the conclusion of all was, that the Persian King would be content voluntarily to
relinquish Chars and Teflis, and so remaine as he did before, in amitie with *Amurath*; and so
desired *Sinan* to conclude a peace with his Master, if it might be: as for himselfe, this message
done, he was presently to returne into Persia. For this peace *Sinan* promised to deale with H
Amurath, so that the Persian King would send another Embassador to Constantinople. Vpon
which conclusion the said *Aider* returned into Persia, and at Tauris declared to the King what
he had seene, what promises he had receiued of *Sinan*, and withall exhorted him to send a
new Embassador vnto the Turkish Court. After this, when the publique rumor of the com-
ming of the Persian King was found to be false, *Sinan* in stead of going to Tauris, returned to
Chars, where he idely stayed a whole moneth, to the generall maruelling and murmuring of
all his armie, astonished to see themselues (to the great charges of their King, and the disfur-
nishment of his whole Kingdome) brought forth not for any honorable conquest, but as it were
onely of purpose to make a vaine shew of war.

Sinan commeth to Erzirum, & there breaketh vp his armie.

At last he departed from Chars, for that now Winter was come on, and the frosts & snowes I
did his armie great harme; and so comming to Erzirum, there presently dismissed euery man
to goe and winter in his owne countrey; but remained still himselfe in the same citie. From
whence he by speedie posts diligently aduertised *Amurath* of the succors he had left at Teflis,
of the losses he had receiued from the enemie, of all that which was by *Mustapha* misreported,
of the comming of the Persian Embassador to him, of the promise made vnto him touching a
new Embassador, & to be short, of all his whole actions. Besides all this, he aduertised *Amu-*
rath, That the enterprise of Persia was a very hard, long, & difficult matter, & such a one as nee-
ded another manner of preparation than had bin as yet appointed for it: and that if he desired
to subdue Persia, it was then very necessary that he should speak with him at large, & discourse
vpon many particularities, which could not so well without exceeding tediousnesse be decla- L
red by writing. After that, he sent other messengers also, to solicite *Amurath* for his returne to
Constantinople; continually telling him, That it was not possible to signifie by writing, what
he purposed to report to him by word of mouth, for the better accomplishing of the enterprise
begun. Nothing in the world did *Sinan* abhor more than this war, hauing his mind altogether
bent against the affaires of the Christians in Europe, and therefore sought by all means possible
for the diuerting of those wars from the East, into some other quarters. At last he wrought so
much, he entreated so much, he writ so many letters, and solicited the matter so earnestly, that
Amurath was perswaded to send for him to Constantinople, as soone as euer he was certified of
the arriuall of the new Embassadour from Persia, of whom *Sinan* had before aduertised him.
For he was resolued either to grow to a peace with the said Embassadour, if he came with ho- L
nourable conditions; or if he came not, or that after his comming they could not agree vpon
the peace, then to put in execution those his conceits whereof hee must needs in particular
talke with *Sinan* by word of mouth. At length the promised Embassador called *Ebraim Chan*,
a man of great eloquence, and highly honoured in Persia, came to *Sinan*; whereof *Sinan* gaue
present intelligence to *Amurath*, beseeching him again, to permit him to come to Constanti-
nople. Which his request *Amurath* then granted. Whereupon *Sinan* forthwith returned to the
Court, where he attended the vniuersall gouernment of the whole Empire. At his first com-
ming to the presence of *Amurath*, (wherein he discourfed not with him of any thing, but of
the comming of the Persian Embassadour) the conditions were set downe which they were
to require for the reducing of the capitulations of this peace to a good end. After which M
agreement the Embassadour being now come, and most magnificently receiued in Constan-
tinople, had audience. At wich time he with much [illegible]ious speech laboured to persuade
Amurath, That his King had a most ardent desire to be reconciled vnto him, and to joyne
his forces with his against the Enemies of the Mahometane Religion; and that for that pur-
pose

A pose he was now especially come thither: which his good purpose, if it were answered with like zeale on his part, there would thereof ensue the greatest vnitie and friendship that euer was betweene any Mahometan Princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gaue him no other answer, but that he should thereof talke with his Visier, and with him entreat of all matters concerning the peace: and so he was by *Amurath* entertained and dismissed both at one time.

Now had *Amurath* called to Constantinople his eldest sonne *Mahomet* (who afterward succeeded him in the Empire) being then about sixteene yeares old, to circumcise him, according to the custome of the Turkes; following therein the inueterate Law of the Hebrewes. Vnto which solemnitie many Christian Princes were solemnly inuited; who accordingly sent thither their Embassadors with great gifts and presents, in token of peace and confederacie; namely *Rodulphus* the Emperour, *Henrie* the third the French King, *Stephen* King of Polonia: the B State of Venice, the King of Persia, the Moore Kings of Morocco and Fez, the Princes of Moldauia, Valachia, and others. With all triumph and joy was the circumcision of this yong Prince solemnised by the space of fortie dayes and fortie nights, in the great market place of Constantinople; where all the Embassadours aforesaid had their scaffolds prepared and furnished according to their degrees and States, and receiued such entertainment as might be shewed at such a kinde of barbarous spectacle: Only the Persian Embassador, who had also his scaffold seuered to himselfe, but not regarded as the rest, reioyced not at these feasts and triumphs: for among sundrie other wrongs and scorne done by the commandement of *Amurath* vnto the Persian nation, (as by hanging vp certaine counterfeit pictures of Persians made of laths and C sticks, and then burning them, and in many scornefull sorts abusing them) the Turke, for the great displeasure he had conceiued for the harme done to *Osman Bassa* and the Turks in Siruan much about that time, and for the disdaine he had taken against *Ebraim Chan* (as one not condiscending to the conditions of peace which he expected, nor yeelding to any more than the other Embassador had done before, seemed to haue come as a Spie to marke the Turkish affaires, or to mocke *Amurath*, rather than to put in execution any good matter to pacifie the mindes of the two mightie Princes) commanded the standing before appointed for him, in disgrace of him to be cast downe, and himselfe and all his followers to be shut vp as close prisoners in the house of *Mahamet Bassa* at Constantinople; where he was so straightly kept, that though an hundred of his followers there died of the plague, which shortly after began to D wax hot in the citie, yet could he not obtaine so much fauor as to be remoued into some other place, but there was inforced to tarrie it out, vntill that afterward order was taken, he should be carried thence as prisoner to Erzirum. To end these solemnities, *Mahomet* the yong prince was circumcised, not publiquely, but in his fathers chamber, by *Mechmet* one of the inferiour Bassa's, sometime the Emperour *Solymans* Barber.

1581
Amurath circumciseth his eldest son Mahomet.

Io. Leunc. sup. Annal. Turc. pag. 82.

Now whilest *Sinan* as great Visier sat commanding in Constantinople, the garisons of Chars and Teflis (kept in by the enemie, and hauing receiued none other reliefe than a little which *Sinan* before his departure from Erzirum, had by good hap caused to be secretly conueyed vnto them) were thought to be driuen to great wants. Which thing *Sinan* right well knew, and fearing lest those two places which had with so much ado beene both gained and maintai- E ned, should for want of new succors fall againe into the hand of the enemie: he both boldly and freely counselled *Amurath* to send a new garrison to Van, for the safetie of the countrey thereabouts, and then vnder the conduct of some valiant captaine, to send succours to Teflis. Vpon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his opinion, and willed him to bethinke himselfe of some fit man. Hereupon *Sinan* propounded diuers vnto him, but none of them pleased him; for why, he was before resolued, in despight of *Sinan* and of his counsel, to bestow this charge vpon *Mahamet Bassa* nephew to *Mustapha* the late Bassa, and for his sake hated of *Sinan*. This Bassa *Mahamet* he sent to Erzirum, with the title of the Bassa of that prouince, honouring him withall with the name of Generall of the armie for Teflis. And presently gaue commande- ment to *Hassan* the Bassa of Caraemit, to *Mustaffa* sometime called *Manucchiar* the Georgian, F to all the Sanzackes, the Curdi, and the souldiers of Erzirum, that they should resort to the standard of *Mahamet* their Generall, and so to follow him to Teflis. Whereupon there assembled together out of all the sayd places about fiue and twentie thousand souldiors, with all things necessarie for the reliefe of the distressed garrison which was in Teflis. Commandement was also giuen to the Bassa's of Aleppo and Maras, to repaire to Van with all their souldiers,

souldiers, and there to abide till Winter: which they accordingly did, not molested nor trou- G
bled by any enemie.

The end of August *Mahamet Bassa* departed from Erzirum, with the Bassa of Caraemit, and [illegible] armie, carrying with him money, corne, and all other things needfull for the re-
lefe of the Castle, and eight dayes came to Chars, and from thence to Archelec, not troubled by
any by the Archelec he found *Mustaffa* (otherwise called *Manucchiar*) the Georgian, with all his
souldiers, whome the Generall most joyfully entertained, and honoured him with gifts, and
withall admonished him to continue in his obedience to *Amurath*, and to conduct him with
his armie the shortest and safest way to Teflis: for that some were of opinion, that it were best
to go by Tomanis, and some other, by the way of *Mustaffa* his countrey: wherein *Mustaffa*
[illegible] to the him, that the easiest and shortest way lay through his owne countrey, being H
also in his opinion the safest. This counsell of *Mustaffa* pleased *Mahamet* greatly, so that hee
made choice of him to be the guide of his armie, reposing himselfe wholly vpon his [illegible]nd di-
rection: and so departed thence towards Teflis, passing through Altunchala and C[illegible]ala,
both belonging to the said Georgian, abounding with all things necessarie for the sustenance
of man, neither were they euer disturbed by any enemie. Hauing passed *Mustaffa* his country,
they came to a friendly castle called Gori, from whence they discouered in certaine fields a
great armie of the Georgians mingled with Persians, but apparelled after the manner of Geor-
gia: these were those Captaines of Persia, sent from the Persian King (as in other yeares be-
fore) to aid the Georgians; who secretly conioyned with *Simon Chan* the Georgian, had chan-
ged their apparell, because the treatie of peace should not be disturbed, and their King account-
ed vniust of his word; who vnder a colour of a treatie of peace, whiles *Amurath* attended I
nothing else but to succour and defend his conquered Countries, without purpose to annoy
any other places, went about to procure the destruction of the Turks. These then as soone as
they saw the Turkish armie, and perceiued that they also themselues were by them descried,
sent Heraulds vnto them with haughtie words of [illegible]iance, and to offer them battell. With
Mahamet Bassa refuseth battell offered by the Georgians and Persians. great griefe of minde did the Bassa receiue this [illegible]d defiance: but hauing no other purpose
but onely to bring his succours safe to Teflis, he dismissed the Heraulds, and studied by all
meanes he could to shun battell. That euening he was fauoured in his purpose by the great
and continual raine which then fell, and serued for a reasonable excuse of his delay: but the
next day prouing faire, and the Sun shining bright, both the armies marched in sight the one K
of the other all day, vntill about foure houres and an halfe before night; at which time the
Turks arriued neere to a riuer that seperated the one armie from the other. There the Bassa
fell in consultation with *Mustaffa*, whether they should passe ouer the riuer before night, or
stay on that side they were vntil the next morning. In which case *Mustaffa* aduised him to stay,
as fearing lest the enemie should set vpon the armie disordered in passing the riuer, and so an-
noy them. Notwithstanding the General disliked this aduice of *Mustaffa*, hauing taken a strong
conceit euen vpon the first discouerie of the enemie, that there was some intelligence & com-
pact betweene *Mustapha* and the Persians, and that to that end he had maliciously persuaded
him to come that way, and not by the way of Tomanis: and therefore the Bassa thinking, that
if there were any such plot laid betweene *Mustaffa* and the enemie, to set it in some confusion, L
would not in any case follow the counsell of the suspected Georgian, to stay that night; but
commanded, that with the greatest speed that might be, all his soldiers with their treasure &
corn should passe ouer the riuer, to the end that before night he might on the other side of the
riuer incamp his army in some good place, to the scorne and derision of his enemies. *Mahamet*
his lieutenant, a bold yong man & an hardy, was the first that ventured ouer, and after him the
carriages of mony & of corne, and then the whole army, with such speed, that some of the con-
fused multitude were drowned in the passage, being rather troden down with the horses & ca-
mels, than brought to their deaths either by the depth of the chanell, or swiftnesse of the riuer.

As soone as the Georgians perceiued that the Turkes had passed the riuer, without staying
vntil they might settle themselues in any good order, they in great hast & fury ran vpon them, M
and presently assailed them, whiles they were yet all in confusion and out of order: by reason
whereof the Turkes, although they turned their faces v[illegible] their enemie, and made some go[illegible]
resistance, yet in short time you might haue seene the ba[illegible]s of the riuer in many places staine[illegible]
with the Turkish bloud, and many carkases of the Turks here and there scattered, without any
apparant

A apparant losse among the Georgians and Persians. Amongst them that fell in this slaughter, were a number of Sanzackes, of the Curdi, and Mesopotamians: which the rest perceiuing, and by the ouerthrow of their owne, coniecturing the losse of others, turned their backes and fled: the like did the remnant of the Mesopotamians, and after them at last the whole armie: whom the Georgians pressed so sore in their flight, that many of the Turkes seeing no other way to escape, cast themselues into the riuer, and so (though hardly) escaped with their liues. Great was the shame, great was the confusion, but greatest was the losse they receiued, for that in the heat of the battell the Kings mony and corne was taken by the Georgians and Persians, euery man sauing only so much for himselfe as he could secretly hide vpon his owne bodie, or conuey by the meanes of some trustie slaue, which by the helpe of their swift horses
B was preserued rather by fortune than by valour.

The Turkes discomfited, & the treasure and corne taken by the Georgians and Persians.

The Turks thus discomfited and spoiled of their reliefe, the next morning gathered themselues together againe, one with another cursing the heauens, the King, and their aduerse fortune: some of them also threatening the Georgian Renegate *Mustaffa*, as though all this mischiefe had hapned through his treacherie and secret intelligence with the enemie. Notwithstanding, when they found that they had still remaining so much money and other easements as might suffice to comfort the afflicted minds of the souldiers besieged in the fort, they resolued to hold on their way towards Teflis; and in their journy vsed such speed, that the day following they arriued there in the euening. But when they of the Fort saw their friends whom they had so long expected, arriued in such bad sort, and so euill furnished, they were
C astonied & wonderfully grieued at this common losse, and all in a confusion protested to *Mahamet*, That they would abandon the place, if they had not forthwith necessary prouision made for them. But the Generall after he had with large promises mitigated their first furies & insolencies, presently in the morning caused a Diuano or counsel to be called in the castle, where hauing gathered together all the chiefe men in his armie, he spake vnto them in this manner:

Mahamet with his discomfited army commeth to Teflis.

The oration of Mahamet Bassa in the castle of Teflis.

For as much as it hath pleas'd God, that so great and important an occasion of victorie which was offered vnto vs for the honour and glorie of euery one of vs, is now fallen out so vnfortunately, that it
D *hath not onely not ministred vnto vs any matter of triumphing ouer our enemies, as we should haue done, but rather hath made them (I know not how) to carrie away from vs both the triumph, and also our armour, our horses, our slaues, and our spoiles; yea and (the remembrance whereof doth most grieuously trouble and afflict me) our Sultans money, and our publique munition and forces solemnly deliuered to our conduct, is now become a bootie and a prey vnto them; that the honour which might haue made euerie one of vs famous among noble and valorous souldiers, is now fallen from our foreheads, and to our great detriment doth adorne the heads of strangers, or rather of our enemies: and that notwithstanding all this, we are now come to those couragious souldiers, which with their great valour haue defended this Fort euen in the middest of their enemies weapons and treacheries; and to whom we should yeeld that aid and relieue which the vertue of euery one of their mindes doth deserue, and which King* Amurath *had put into our hands to bring hither vnto them: there is now no remedie, but to resolue vpon some good*
E *meanes, that we fall not wholly into the vtter disgrace of our Lord and King; and that is, To maintaine these soldiers in the custodie and defence of this fort: and though it be with all our wants, and all our own dishonors, to comfort these that haue so long time looked for vs, and so well deserued all manner of relieue. We cannot excuse our selues, that our enemies were better than wee either in number or instruments of war; for both in the one and the other we were far beyond them: neither yet can we say, that they set vpon vs by night, or at vnawares; for when we saw their number, their weapons, their horses, and finally their approch, and their manner of assault, yet we would needs passe ouer the riuer and ioyne battell with them. Which we now know hath fallen out very lamentable vnto vs, because wee were more readie to take our flight, than to endure the fight; and to vse our feet, than to occupie our hands. And therefore it is verie requisit, as well to satisfie the rigor of iustice, as to performe the dutie of souldiers, that wee suffer not our lord & king to lose his mony, which he trusted into our hands, & which we haue lost, not by greater strength*
F *nor by any treacherous stratagem of our enemies, but by our owne too too important feare, and too base a regard of our liues, before which, it was the dutie of euery one of vs to haue preferred the care of honour. For if by fighting and couragious sustaining the assaults of our enemies, though they had bin stronger, and better armed than we, this misfortune had hapned vnto vs, and that we could in any sort haue represented to the king and the world an honorable and bloudie battell, wee should not now haue had any need to seeke*

meanes

meanes how to repay this losse, and to restore the thing that violently was taken from vs by such as were G
more mightie than our selues, and these honorable souldiers should more easily haue digested with vs the
lamentable calamitie. But we haue lost that money, and in very deed hauing as it were willingly bestowed
[illegible] on the Georgians and Persians, to redeeme our liues, and to saue vs from their fury, are bound to re-
[illegible] or els for euer hereafter to be challenged as lawfull debtors to the King for it. And therefore my
[illegible] mates and companions, if you will take a good course, let euerie one of vs without further consul-
tation, put his hand into his priuate purse (if he haue not foolishly cast that also into the hands of the ra-
uenous enemie) and with our owne money let vs succour the necessitie of these men, and haue regard to
the honour of our King. So shall we make our slight lesse blame-worthie, we shall iustifie our actions more
honestly, and that which is of greatest importance, we shall better pacifie the wrath of Amurath, *which*
he might most iustly conceiue against vs. I my selfe before you all am most read to disburse foure thousand H
duckets towards it: if it shall please you all to follow me accordingly, we shall deliuer these souldiers from
their great necessitie, and acquite our selues from the intricate bonds of most troublesome disp[illegible]rs.

There might a man haue seene a thousand countenances changed a thousand manner of wayes; for one softly whispered many a curse and shame vpon the King, vpon *Mahamet*, yea and vpon God himselfe; another denied to disburse any thing; another determined priuily to steale away; and some said one thing, and some another: but in the end euery man was induced to follow the example of *Mahamet*; and thereupon hauing made a purse according to euery mans abilitie, there was collected thirtie thousand duckets among them. And presently after, word was sent to *Leuent Ogli* at Zaghen, to send thither graine, muttons, and other necessary prouisions, that they might the better continue the defence of the I Fort.

The Turkes assuming that they make a purse of 30000 duckets for the reliefe of the garrison of Teflis.

Two dayes onely stayed *Mahamet* in Teflis, and hauing changed such souldiers as desired to be dismissed, and also appointed *Homar Bassa* Gouernour of Teflis, in stead of *Giusuf* that there gouerned before, he departed. But before his departure consultation was had, Whether they should keepe the way of Tomanis, or the way they came through the countrey of *Mustaffa* the Georgian: and in the end they resolued to keepe the way of Tomanis, and thereupon order was taken that they should all passe the riuer. The Curdi were the first that went ouer, and had alreadie pitched their Tents vpon the farther side of the water; when the Generall began to reuoke his former order, and sent them word, That they should returne, be- K
cause he was now determined to goe backe the same way he came. At which message the Sanzackes were in a rage, and in plaine termes sent him answer, That these mutabilities beseemed not them, being men accustomed to warre, but to be rather childrens play, than manly resolution, and that for their parts they were minded not to change their journy, but would go on the same way they had begun: and so forwards they went (say the General what he could) and by the way of Tomanis arriued at Chars long before *Mahomet*; who was much grieued at this their so great disobedience: but seeing no other remedy, he with the Bassa of Caraemit and *Mustapha* the Georgian, put themselues on their journey, euen by the same way they came to Teflis. At last *Mahamet* arriued at Altunchala, the chiefe Castle of *Mustaffa* the Georgian, and burning with the desire of reuenge of those losses, (which he thought himselfe L
to haue receiued by the treacherie of *Mustaffa*) or, as some thought, seeking by this means to make *Amurath* beleeue, that in truth all the forepassed mischiefes had happened not through their cowardise, but through the treacherous and malicious deuices of the Georgian, and so to make their receiued losses seeme more pardonable: he deuised with himselfe how to finde out such a plot, as that *Mustaffa* might vpon the sudden be taken away, as guiltie of so foule a treason. And that he had deuised, was in this sort: To call a Councell into his owne Pauilion, as if hee had receiued some commandement from the Court; and hauing caused *Mustaffa* to come into that roome, whilest the said counterfeit commandement should be in reading, to cause his Lieutenant, with those chiefe of his band that stood about him, to fall vpon him and presently to cut off his head. This pretended Councell was accordingly called; M
wherein sate the Bassa himselfe, and with him the Bassa of Caraemit, certaine Sanzackes subiect to the Iurisdiction of Erzirum, the Capagi Bassa or chiefe Gentleman Vsher, and the Generals Lieutenant; with whome he had vpon their solemne oathes for secrecie, communicated his intended deceit. The Georgian *Mustapha* was also called accordingly: who both

Mahamet deuiseth how to betray Mustaffa the Georgian.

A both because he was beloued of moe than one; and had also vsed all diligent circumspection; but especially hauing heard in the armie some priuie whisperings of such a matter, knew full well of all that was deuised against him, and therefore prouided also for his owne defence. But as touching his going to the counsell, he thought he might not denie so to do, lest by his absence he might seeme guiltie of the fault whereof he was (peraduenture not without cause) suspected; and thereby to leaue his cities for a prey to their enemies, now in the heart of his countrie. And therfore resoluing to go, he deuised how so to do with most safetie; and so, as if need should be, he might be able to turne the mischiefe intended against him, vpon the head of the Generall himselfe. And therefore hauing chosen out fiftie of his most faithfull and re-
B solute souldiers, he commanded them to follow him to the counsell appointed in the Generals pauillion: and being come thither, to stay there ready and attentiue at his first and one only call, suddenly and forcibly to rush into the pauillion with their weapons; and rather than any wrong should be done vnto him, to shew their valour against the Turks, without exception of any person whatsoeuer. These men by nature enemies vnto the Turks, vnderstanding well his meaning, setled themselues vpon the execution: and taking vnto them some other also of their faithfull and trustie friends, followed him euen to the pauillion of *Mahamet*: where *Mustaffa* entring into the place of counsell, desired of the Generall, to know what his pleasure was; who presently caused the counterfeit commandement to be read; whereunto *Mustaffa* gaue an attentiue eare. But when the other Bassa's and Sanzackes began to sit downe (contrary to the maner
C of the Turks, who whensoeuer any commandement of the Emperors is in reading, vse alwaies to stand vp, and not to sit downe vntill it be full read) the Georgian tooke his leaue, promising to be euer readie to performe, not onely that order of the kings, but also whatsoeuer else hee should command. And so being about to depart, the Capigi Bassi (or great Vsher) of *Mahamet* came vnto him, and plucking him by the sleeue, would haue forced him to sit downe. Then *Mustaffa* crying out aloud, drew his sword, wherwith he strucke *Mahamets* lieutenant, that was right against him; and with his left hand hauing raught the roll from his pate, with his right hand suddenly (to the great astonishment of all that were present) at one only blow parted his head, his necke, and his breast in twaine, euen to his very stomacke; so that he died (a strange spectacle to behold) beeing thus cut in sunder, with his cleft head and two shoulders hanging
D downe vpon their seuerall sides. After this first, he redoubled his second stroke, aiming at the head of the Bassa of Caraemit: but it being defended with the wrythen rols of the turbant, it slipped downe by his eare; yet so, that with a piece of the said turbant it carried his eare quite away, with a little also of the flesh of his cheeke: and all enraged, eagerly assailed *Mahamet Bassa* the Generall (who now all in confusion was risen vp in the tumult) and wounded him with fiue mortall wounds; which were yet afterwards by cunning hand healed; when they had brought him euen to deaths doore. At the crie of this Georgian all his people rushed in together: vpon whose confused tumult, and the feare that *Mustaffa* through his furie had strucke into the Turks, the camp was presently raised: and euery man with all speed departing thence,
E put himself on his way towards Chars, whether also were brought the two wounded Bassaes and the rest that were ill handled and greatly feared with these sudden and vncouth stirres.

Mustaffa notably reuengeth himselfe of the treacherie intended against him by Mahamet the Generall.

Of all this treacherie intended against him, *Mustaffa* sent present information to the Turkish Emperor; finding himselfe greatly grieued, at the false suspition that *Mahamet* had wrongfully conceiued against him, to his great dishonor: and wrought so cunningly, that *Amurath* in token of his good liking and contentment, sent him both cloth of gold and a battleaxe all gilt. *Mahamet* on the other side entermeddling heere and there with all the art that possibly he could deuise, all hatefull and iniurious termes, sent large aduertisements of all the misfortunes that had hapned; and aggrauated to the king, both the treacheries of *Mustaffa*, and also the slender
F securitie of those wayes and countries.

As soone as *Amurath* vnderstood the calamities of his souldiers, the losse of his mony, the great dishonour of his people, and the apparant danger wherein the fort of Teflis stood, when it was like to be abandoned: all inflamed with rage & anger, he called vnto him the Bassaes of his court (among whom sat as chiefe, the proud and haughty *Sinan*) and rated them all exceedingly; reprouing their lewd counsell, and recounting the losses that he had from time to time receiued, as if they had hapned through their defaults, and especially *Sinan*, as the principall occasion of all these mischiefs: who like an improuident foole (as he said) would needs relin-

against *Abas Mirize* his sonne (then with him in disgrace) determined with himselfe, to leaue the matters on this side of his kingdom in their present state, and to march toward Heri: whereunto he was earnestly solicited by his elder son *Emir Hamze Mirize*, but especially by *Mirize Salmas* his Visier. Vpon which resolution, committing the defence of Reiuan, Nassiuan, & that side of his kingdome, to *Emir Chan* Gouernor of Tauris, he set forward himselfe with his armie towards Casbin; and so marching through diuers prouinces, arriued at length at Salusa, being on that side the chiefe of all the cities subiect to the iurisdiction of Heri: which citie he tooke by force, and without delay caused the Gouernor thereof to be beheaded; although he alledged a thousand excuses for himselfe, and obiected a thousand accusations more against the seditious Visier. The king after this, departing thence, and hauing also put to death certain captains & Sultans, that were accused by the Visier to be confederats in the rebellion of his sonne, he arriued at last at the desired city of Heri. Very strong is this citie by scituation; compassed about with a good wall; and watered with deepe channels of running Springs, conueyed into it by *Tamerlane* their founder or restorer: beside that, there was in it many valiant captains; enemies to *Mirize Salmas*, ready to lay down their liues in defence of themselues and of *Abas* their Lord; so that the winning thereof, could not but proue both long and difficult. As soon as the king approched the city, he felt in himselfe many troubled passions arising of griefe and pittie; it grieued him to thinke that he should beget so graceless a sonne, who in stead of maintaining his state and honour, should seeke his ruine and destruction: it grieued him also to remember the bloud of his subiects, before spilt vpon so strange an occasion; & scarcely durst he enter into the cogitation, thenceforth to shed any more of the bloud of his people. Neuertheless, being still more and more solicited by his Visier, he attempted to vnderstand the mind of his sonne; and (if it might be possible) to get him into his hands. But whiles the king trauelling, with these thoughts lay with his army before Heri, *Abas Mirize* in the meane time, writ diuers letters to his father and to his brother; wherein he besought them, That they would make knowne vnto him the occasion of this their stir: for if desire of rule had moued them to seeke the depriuation of him, being their sonne and brother, from the honor he lawfully possessed, and which his father himselfe procured for him of his grandfather *Tamas*, they ought to abandon their imagination, for that he was always ready to spend his wealth and his bloud, together with his estate, in their seruice, and acknowledged his father to be his good father & king: but if they were not induced hereunto for this cause, but by a desire to reuenge some trespasses that he had committed to the preiudice of the crown of Persia, or his fathers honor, he was most ready to submit himselfe to any amends; and with all reason, to yeeld vnto them the kingdome, yea the whole world, and euen his owne life, the rather to satsfie their mindes with a more full contentation. With twice and thrice reading ouer, were these affectionate letters considered & digested: and at last, both the father and the brother perceiuing in them such liberality of words, & ouercome with pitty, or if not with pitty, yet with great admiration & contentment, they determined to put the matter in practise; and moderating their desire of reuenge, to attempt the reducing of the yong mans mind to some good passe. Whereupon they wrot backe vnto him, That no greedie desire to vsurpe his gouernment, had induced them to make so great a voyage, to trouble so much people, and to shed such abundance of bloud, but only his disobedience and presumption, in that he had caused himselfe to be called the king of Persia; and had not sent so much as one captaine to aid them in the late wars against the Turks. Glad was *Abas* the young Prince, when he vnderstood the accusations that were laied against him; hoping to make it manifest before all men, how the king & his brother were misinformed in these particularities: and therefore incontinently did write backe vnto them, That if they would faithfully promise him, honourably, & without any outrage to receiue his Embassadors, he would send vnto them such euident matter, and so cleere information touching those his accusations, as that they should not onely cleerely perceiue that there was neuer any such kind of thought in him, but also that he had always desired & labored the contrary: and would moreouer open vnto them such matter, as in respect of other men, and not of himselfe, might cause their comming to proue profitable and commodious to all the Kingdome of Persia. Which his request they both solemnly promised faithfully to performe, being very desirous to vnderstand, what those strange nouelties should be. Whereupon *Abas Mirize* sent vnto them two of his chiefe counsellors, men of great account & reuerence both for their yeres & wise-

Mahomet the Persian King resolueth to go to Heri against his sonne Abas Mirize.

Mahomet commeth to Heri.

Sciaus Bassa made Visier in Sinans place.

1582

The Persian Captaines in the meane time, with their spoyles and diuets of their enemies ensignes, were with great ioy receiued at home in Persia: but when the discord that fell out betweene *Mahamet Bassa* and *Mustaffa* the Georgian was also reported, the former ioy was redoubled; euery man beeing of opinion, that these discords might bee great impediments vnto the Turks further attempts into Persia; which it was feared they would the next yeare attempt, to the great danger of Nassiuan and Tauris. Vpon which occasion the Persian King perceiuing that hee could not haue a fitter opportunitie to imploy himself against

the charge of his armie and like a king sit idle at Constantinople, standing (as it were) at
ne publicke triumph to behold and heare the miseries and misfortunes of others: having be-
fore in the time that *Mustapha* was Generall, most vainly boasted, with the like power that he
had, to fetch the Persian king out of Casbin, and to deliuer him in bonds to *Amurath*; but had
in deed performed nothing worth the remembrance. *Sinan* could do no lesse but make answer
to the wrathfull king, yet not with such mildnesse and modestie as in such a case hee should
peraduenture haue done; but in proud and peremptorie manner, without any reuerence or re-
gard, told him plainly, That as the last yere a little before his returne to Constantinople, fiue-
cors had been conueyed to Teflis without any losse or trouble (as in truth they were) so
had they been this yeare also, if he had put his aduise in execution as much as he detested and
contemned it: for he did then giue him to vnderstand that *Mahamet Bassa* could not be such a
man for so great a charge; & that it was necessary to haue chosen in his roome some
taine of valour and discretion; but seeing he would needs make choice of the same
he was not now to blame any other for this error but only himselfe. As for his coming to
Constantinople, it was a thing long before thought most needful, not only for his aduise touching
the matter of peace might be brought to some good passe, but also because it was
not to the desired issue, then hee had to talke with him [illegible]
throw of his enterprise: which thing as yet he had not [illegible]
ready to reueale it, if it were [illegible]
leth all wer when he considered it as a flame of his own [illegible]
proue him of folly and improuidence [illegible]
that secret & immediate matter [illegible]
of commendation [illegible]
commanded [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

commissions, they should be ready to returne against the Persians, and to put in execution C
what should be inioyned them by their new Generall. The fame whereof flew as farre as Soria,
Iuria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, to Balsara, to Sinas, to Maras, to all Bythinia, Cappa-
docia, Galatia, Armenia; yea and beyond Constantinople to the borders of Hungarie and
Greece, in briefe, to all the Regions that were woont to come to this Warre: all which
sent their Ambassadors and souldiers accordingly. And so at last Generall *Ferat* departing from
Constantinople, and passing ouer to Scutari by the way of Amasia and of Sinas, came to Erzi-
rum, where hee tooke a view of all his armie and prouision: and from thence in eight
dayes arriued at Chars, conducted by the Persian fugitiue *Meaxut Chan*: and from Chars,
set himselfe on his way towards Reiuan. Three daies before hee came to Reiuan, of cer- H
taine ruines of an old Castle which the Turkes call Aggia Chalasi (or the Castle of stran-
gers) he caused a new fort to be made, and left in it a garrison of foure hundred souldiers, with a San-
zacke, and certaine peeces of ordnance, and then went to Reiuan. This countrie is distant from
Tauris eight or nine dayes iourney, betweene which two places are seituat Nassiuan, Chiul-
fal, Marant, and Sofian, all enriched with goodly gardens and pleasant greenes: but in the
way are many craggie mountaines to be climed, and sundrie hard passages either for armie or
traueller.

Ferat in the space of fifteene daies buildeth a fort at Reiuan 750 yards about

Heere then did *Ferat* encampe himselfe with his armie; and taking aduie of his chiefe cap-
taines, where he should build the fort, they all with one consent aduised him, to seise vpon the
houses and gardens of *Tocomac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, enclosing the
gardens with strong wals and deepe ditches round about, wherinto he conueied water from a I
certaine riuer, that comming downe from the mountains, ran into Araxis. Which worke was
performed with such expedition, that within the space of fifteene daies the fortresse was fini-
shed, being in circuit seuen hundred & fiftie yards. It grieued *Tocomac* exceedingly, thus to lose
his country and dwelling, and so much the more, because it hapned so suddenly, and as it were
vnlooked for. He himselfe, as soone as he vnderstood that the Turkish armie was comming to
that coast, hauing withdrawne himselfe and his men of war out of the city he could not keep,
sought by all means to be reuenged, if not altogether, yet in some part, of this so great an iniu-
rie. And therfore he wrot vnto the king at Corazan, to *Emir Chan* at Tauris, to *Simon* in Geor-
gia, he gathered souldiers out of the villages, and vsed all his possible indeuour to enable him-
selfe to annoy the enemies army: but from none of these places could he receiue any help, the K
king being so far off in wars against his sonne, the Georgian being busied by hindering any re-
liefe to be brought to the besieged in Teflis; as for *Emir Chan* (who by solemne promise vnto
the king before his departure to Heri, had vndertaken the defence of that side of the kingdom
against the Turks) he either would not, or could not stir, neither sent so much as one souldier,
hauing as some supposed, secret intelligence with Generall *Ferat*, not to disturbe him in this his
worke. So *Tocomac* destitute of all other helpe, and not able of himselfe to do much against so
mightie an enemie; yet ceased not to lay such priuie ambushes for the Turkes as he could, kil-
ling of them sometimes 100, sometime 150, and sometimes mo, as they fell into his danger.
And to ease his stomacke against *Emir Chan* (who sitting still at Tauris as it were to behold his
miserie, would not so much as shake a sword against these spoiling Turks) he spared not to dis- L
patch certaine horsemen in hast to the king at Corazan, and by eloquent letters to amplifie the
cowardise of *Emir Chan*; intermedling withall some causes of suspition, that he had some in-
telligence with the Turkish Generall.

Ferat hauing thus built this new fort at Reiuan, as *Amurath* had commanded, and furnished
it with artillerie, and all other things needfull for the defence thereof, appointed *Sinan Bassa*
(the sonne of *Cicala* a renegat of Genoa, and by *Selymus* the late Emperor, in the flower of his
youth created Aga or Captaine of the Ianizaries) with a garrison of eight thousand souldiers
to keepe the same. And so departing thence, by the way of Aggia Chalasi, in ten daies arriued
with his armie at Chars.

Ferat had not long staied at Chars, but strange newes were brought thither, That *Mustaffa* M
the Georgian (to whom *Amurath* had sent thirtie thousand duckats, by two of his Capigi and
two of his Chiaus, to haue by him been conueyed to Teflis for the reliefe of them in the fo
was reuolted from the Turkish obedience, and being now become a rebell, had left that fo
tresse in manifest danger to yeeld, if by some other means it were not relieued. Which stran-

nouelties

A nouelties exceedingly troubled the General; who to know the certainty therof, called before
him all such as were the messengers of this misfortune: by whom he was certainly informed,
That *Mustaffa*, the two Capigi, and the Chiaus, hauing put themselues vpon their way towards
Teflis with the treasure, guarded with a conuoy of fiue hundred of his souldiers, in the mid
way had met with his cousen *Simon* the Georgian; by whom hee was perswaded to returne
again to his antient faith and religion, which he had to the great perill of his soule so prophane-
ly abandoned, and to shake off the seruice of *Amurath*, which would yeeld him no other re-
compence than an hard and infamous captiuitie, and in the end some fraudulent and treache-
rous death: and that his perswasion had so preuailed with *Mustaffa*, that he caused the two
Capigi and the Chiaus to be apprehended and presently beheaded; and diuiding the treasure
B with his said cousen, had with him and his other kinsmen vowed a solemne and perpetual con-
federacie: and so hauing withdrawne themselues to their woonted passages, lay there in wait
for such succors as should by the Turks be brought to Teflis.

When *Ferat* vnderstood these and such other particularities, he all in a furie swore that hee
would not returne to Erzirum vntill he had put all the countrey of *Mustaffa* to fire and sword:
yet first he thought it needfull to relieue Teflis, which would otherwise be in danger to be
yeelded to the enemy: and for that purpose made choice of *Hassan Bassa*, who in the last yeare
of the Generalship of *Mustapha*, had most couragiously conueyed the like succours, and taken
Aliculi Chan. Vnto him therefore did the General assigne fortie thousand duckets, with other
prouision necessarie for that seruice, and for the more securitie, appointed him fifteene thou-
C sand of the most choice and valiant soldiers in all the armie, to conduct the same. In ten dayes
space *Hassan Bassa* went and came from Teflis, hauing in his journey to and fro had many skir-
mishes with the Georgians, wherein he lost some few men, without any other losse worth the
remembrance.

After this, the General sent one *Resuan Bassa* with six thousand souldiers to spoile the coun-
trey of *Mustaffa* the Georgian the late renegate, but now become a rebell to the Turke: which
Resuan, without any long stay ouerran all his territory, burnt his townes, and committed most
vncouth outrages, which extended euen vnto the poore insensible trees, and carried away with
him many captiue soules, with much corne and cattell, like a raging tempest destroying what-
soeuer came in his way. Now was the General also retired to Ardachan, whither came *Resuan*
D to meet him with his foresaid bootie. But because they had now performed what they had
before intended, and the approch of Winter perswaded their returne, they remoued from Ar-
dachan, and by the way of Olti retyred to Erzirum, from whence all the soldiers were licensed
to depart to their seueral places of abode, and a memorial sent to *Amurath*, of all the actions
had beene performed; and especially of the good seruice done by *Hassan Bassa*; who for the
same, was now once againe honoured by the King, with cloath of gold, a battleaxe and targuet
all gilt.

Ferat commeth to Erzirum, & there breaketh vp his armie.

About this time one *Podolouius* a gentleman of Polonia, sent by *Stephen* King of Polonia, to
Constantinople, by the leaue of *Amurath* to buy certaine horses in Anatolia; returning home-
wards with foure and twentie goodly horses which he had bought, was notwithstanding the
E Great Turks Passe, by his commandement stayed vpon the way, all his men (in number foure
and thirtie) slaine, excepting one boy, who getting into a wood, escaped, and *Podolouius* his
head strucke off. The horses brought backe to Constantinople, were by the appointment of
Amurath, some bestowed into his owne stable, and the rest giuen among the Bassa's, oftentimes
pointed at with the fingers of the Turks, in derision of the Polonian King. This *Amurath* com-
manded to be done in reuenge of an outrage done by the Polonian Cossacks against the Turks;
whereof newes was but euen then brought to the court.

The death of Hama Chadum *Amurath* his mother.

The nine and twentieth day of Nouember of this present yeare 1583, died *Hama Chadum*
the widow of the late Emperor *Selymus* the second, and mother of this *Amurath*, and lieth
buried by her husband *Selymus*, and his fiue sonnes, strangled by their brother *Amurath*.

1584

Ferat raiseth a new armie.

F All the rest of this yeare 1583 *Ferat* spent at Erzirum, and afterwards sent out his ordinarie
commandements to all the accustomed cities, to summon the souldiers against the next Spring
in the yere 1584, gathering together a greater number of pioners and enginiers than euer had
been gathered in these warres heretofore: and withall gaue it out, That he would go to Nassi-
uan, and there do great matters. At which report the Persians were much mooued, and be-

gan

gan to cast many things in their heads about it: but aboue all others the king, who vnderstanding at Casbin of all that had before hapned at Reiuan, and of the new preparations of the Turks, began to feare that they would this yeare passe to Tauris, or at least (as was reported) to Nassiuan, and in those places build new fortresses, to the great danger of the Persian Empire: and [illegible] retaining still such forces as he brought with him from Heri, and commanding as many [illegible] could out of all the cities that were subiect vnto him, to follow him to Tauris, he arriued there with his army not long after the arrival of *Ferat Bassa* at Erzirum. This vnexpected comming of the Persian king with so great an armie to Tauris, filled the world with expectation of great matters to haue bin done by him against the Turks: insomuch that *Ferat* the Generall, before he would proceed any further, thought it good to aduertise *Amurath* of the matter: declaring vnto him, That his desire was to go to Nassiuan, and there to build a fortresse according to his commandement, so to lay open a passage to Tauris: but hauing receiued certaine intelligence, that the Persian king was come to Tauris with an huge army, [illegible] to encounter him; he thought it his dutie not to put in execution his aforesaid determination, without his expresse commandement. Vnto whom *Amurath* presently wrot backe, that the matter so standing, he should not go to Nassiuan, but onely imploy his forces to assure the passage to Tomanis and Lori, that so the fort of Teflis might the yeare following be relieued by some small band, without sending of any great armie for the conueying of succours thither. This new commandement of his Lord, *Ferat* kept secret to himselfe; causing the rumor of his going to Nassiuan to be more and more increased; of purpose to feed the opinion that the Persians had before conceiued of his comming thither; and so deluding them, with lesse danger to build the forts he had intended, for the quieting of those most dangerous passages of Lori and Tomanis.

The Persian King with a great Armie commeth to Tauris.

Vpon this resolution *Ferat* hauing gathered together his people, with all things necessarie for his purpose, remoued with his armie from Erzirum toward Chars, where hee stayed ten dayes to take a new suruey both of his souldiers and [illegible] prouision. And so departing thence, set forward toward Lori; sending before him *Hassan* [illegible] with fiue thousand light horsemen to scoure the country euen to Tomanis, and to learne what he possibly could of the enemies purposes, and the state of Georgia. Which thing *Hassan* dutifully performed, speedily scouring ouer all the woods, and disclosing all the passages from thence to Lori, and so to Tomanis, without meeting with any vpon whom to assay his valour, more than certaine robbers vpon the high way, whom he caused to be slaine (as men altogether ignorant of the Georgian and Persian affaires) and their heads to be set on the tops of their launces, and so returned againe to Lori: where hauing stayed one day, he met with the Generall, to whom he recounted all that had happened in that his excursion. *Ferat* being come to Lori, there incamped his army. This place did sometime belong to *Simon* the Georgian, well strengthened with an high castle, compassed about with very deepe ditches, and a thicke wall almost a mile in circuit, but was then somewhat weakened with time: it is distant from Teflis about two dayes journy of a carriers pace. Vpon this castle *Ferat* seised; and hauing repaired the walls, and strengthened the breaches, he placed therein *Ali Bassa* of Græce, with seuen thousand souldiers for the defence thereof, and planted vpon the walls two hundred small pieces of ordnance. And so when he had set all things there in good order, departed thence with his armie towards Tomanis, hauing before commanded *Ali Bassa*, at some conuenient time to fortifie Saitan Chalasi, a castle about ten miles distant from Lori, and therein to place a conuenient garrison of souldiers and artillerie.

Ferat cutteth downe a thicke wood at Tomanis, & burneth it, & lieth vpon the strait.

Foure dayes were they going from Lori to Tomanis, being ordinarily but one dayes worke from the one place to the other: but now the General would needs so make it, to take the spoile of those rich fields, abounding with corne, cattel, & fruit, and to leaue vnto the country people a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At last being come to Tomanis (in times past a castle of *Simons*, but by reason of these warres, by him then abandoned) he began to consult with the other captaines, how and where the Fort should be erected, for the assurance of that country. But after many discourses, it was at last concluded not to fortifie in that castle, as being too far from the strait, to make that dangerous passage [illegible] and secure, but to go a little further, and to build a fortresse vpon the very mouth of the strait. So the Armie marching forward a few miles, at the very enterance of the narrow passage found the ruines of another Castle, and

A and there remained stayed themselues. This steepe headlong castle was so compassed round about with a thicke wood, which hindered all discouery a farre off, that it was not conuenient to sound such a castle there; from whence their ordinance could neither auaile them to whom the defence thereof should be committed, neither indamage those that should come to offend it. And therefore the Generall commaunded, that euery man with all his endeauours should lay to his hand for the cutting downe of that thicke wood, and making way through the thicke and thin, to lay it for an open champaigne, that was before the receptacle of a thousand dangerous treacheries. In very short space were the trees laid along on the ground, the place made light some and open, and a very commodious situation prepared for the foundation of a castle.

B The plot of the old ruined castle was compassed about with a wall of a thousand & seuen hundred yards, and in the midst thereof was erected a strong Keepe, sundrie lodgings and chambers builded, and 200 pieces of ordnance distributed vpon the new walls. After that, the Generall sent *Resuan Bassa* and the Bassa of Caraemit, with 20000 of his most choice souldiers, to conuey succors to Teflis: who marching closely together in the direct way, in foure dayes arriued at the sayd fort; wherein they bestowed their supplies, and changing the Gouernour there of, substituted in his roome one *Bagli*, being then vpon this occasion only called a Bassa. Whilest *Resuan* yet lay thus incamped vnder Teflis, *Dauit Chan* the brother of *Simon*, who in the beginning of these wars, at the comming of *Mustapha* the Turks General into Georgia, had fled out of Teflis, came now with all his familie, and offered himselfe as a subiect and deuoted vassal to the Turkish Emperor: whom *Resuan* entertained with great promises and large

The compasse of the castle built at Tomanis by Ferat.

C assurances of all good successe, according to his desire.

In the meane while newes were brought to *Simon*, That General *Ferat* staying at the straits of Tomanis with his armie, had sent *Resuan Bassa* with a far lesser number than indeed he had, to succor Teflis: Vpon which report he tooke courage to encounter *Resuan*, and to giue him battell. Vpon which resolution without further delay, being accompanied but with 4000 Georgians, partly subiects of his owne, and partly of *Manucchiars*, he with all speed possible went against *Resuan*. But whilest *Simon* was going thitherwards, General *Ferat* fearing the worst, had alreadie by chance dispatched away the two Bassa's of Caramania and Maras, with 10000 souldiers, to the end that joining themselues with the souldiers of *Resuan*, they should at all aduentures be so much the stronger. Now *Simon* going resolutely on, found *Resuan* incamped

D with 6000 souldiers only, at the foot of an hill, on the backe side whereof lay all the rest of the armie; and presently gaue a charge vpon him: when the souldiers behind the hil being aware of his comming, were readie all at once with their weapons to receiue him. Who now perceiuing his error, repented himselfe to haue so rashly assaulted his enemies, seeing now no other remedie but to be vtterly vndone. But seeing that he had now so far ingaged himselfe, as that he could not by flight but increase his griefe, and make the issue more lamentable; with these few souldiers which he had, he endured the furie of the great armie of *Resuan*, so that on both sides there was joined a most cruell battell: wherein the strange and vnusuall valour of those few Christians was much to be wondred at. Yet in the end the huge number of the Turkish swords

E and speares so preuailed vpon that small number of the Georgians, as that they were brought to great extremitie: yea *Simon* himselfe hauing his horse slaine vnder him, fell down headlong to the ground, and in his fall was very neere to haue bin taken prisoner, as was his lieutenant and many other his followers, had he not bin relieued by an vnexpected and maruellous chance: for whiles the battell was euen at the greatest heat betweene them, *Resuan* discouered the two Bassa's of Caramania and Maras, who (as is before said) were newly sent by General *Ferat* to succour him; but both by the said *Resuan*, and also by the rest of his Armie, were indeed thought to be Persians: whereupon they were incontinently surprised with a sudden feare, insomuch that they now became very doubtful of the victory, wherof they thought themselues before assured. In this suspence and doubtfulnesse of minde the battell was also intermitted,

Simon in danger to haue bin taken, escapeth by a strange chance.

F and the victorie by the sight of those their friends disturbed: whereby the Georgians, and especially *Simon*, whose estate was almost desperat, tooke the opportunitie to escape and saue themselues; leauing behinde them most sure signes of their valour among the Turkes, of whom many remained there slaine, many wounded, and many filled with great merualle and vnexpected feare. Thus escaped poore *Simon* with the remainder of his followers into his knowne places of refuge, there to bewaile the death and captiuitie of his subiects. But *Resuan* after

he had discouered the Bassa approching towards him, to be his knowne friends and Welwillers, fretted in himselfe exceedingly, that *Simon* had so escaped his hands: yet holding on his way to Tomanis, he arriued there in great triumph, drawing the standards of *Simon* all along the ground, and causing many of the heads of the Georgians to be carried vpon his souldiers speares, to the great joy of Generall *Ferat*, to whom he deliuered all the prisoners taken in the battell: and wicked *Dato Chan*, who hauing in times past renounced his first faith, was become a Christian, and now againe despising the vaine superstition of the Persians, had yeelded himselfe to the vanitie of the Turks, and made himselfe a voluntarie subiect to *Amurath*.

Now was the yeare so far spent, that euery man began to feare the Winters approch; and therefore the Generall determined to remoue thence, and to withdraw himselfe into places of more safetie. And so hauing set all things in order in the new fort, he appointed *Hasan* to be the Bassa of Tomanis, and left with him eight thousand select souldiers chosen out of all the armie, for the defence of that fort and the country thereabout. Deepely had *Ferat* laied vp the outrage committed by *Mustaffa* the Georgian (being now returned to his old name of *Manuchian*) in taking away the kings treasure, and killing the two Capigi and the Chiaus: and therefore he resolued with himselfe, not to returne to Chars or Erzirum, vnlesse he had first passed into the country of the said Georgian, and in most cruell manner reuenged those notable iniuries before receiued. In three dayes he arriued at Triala, and there incamped. But hauing there such an vnwonted dearth and scarcitie of all things rise in the armie; but especially of victuals, that euery fiue bushels and a halfe of wheat was sould for fiue hundred duckets, to the vniuersall calamitie of the whole armie.

A wonderfull dearth in the Turkes Army at Triala.

From this place, the Generall was minded to go on forwards towards the country of *Manuchiar*; but whiles he was vpon the raising of his tents, one *Veis Bassa* of Aleppo came vnto him and told him, That it was not good now to spend the time in wandering about those countries, for that there were three very great enemies confederate together, to make this enterprise very difficult, and almost impossible and desperate: one was the season of the yeare, being now full of snowes, frost, and tempest; another was, the want and scarcitie of all things necessarie, especially of victuals; the third was, the people of Georgia, who by a common vniting of themselues together, and peraduenture aided by the Persians, might worke some notable mischiefe against the armie. This speech of *Veis* so much offended the Generall, that he most sharpely rebuked him, and with bitter termes reproued him, telling him flatly, That hee well perceiued that he was brought vp among mountaines and villages, and of a villaine (as he was) vpon some superfluitie of grace, or foolish importunitie, aduanced to the honour of a Bassa, and that therefore he should not haue presumed so much as to thinke it lawfull for him, so impudently and malapertly to come and giue him such aduertisements; whereas it had beene his dutie rather to haue held his peace, and to haue hearkened to the commandments of his betters and superiors, yeelding himselfe obedient and deuoted with all his power to performe the same. With this rebuke the Generall passed on to Archelech, burning and in a manner destroying the countrey before him, though indeed it was in amitie and confederacie with the Turks. But the inhabitants of Archelech vpon the comming of the Turkes had abandoned the Citie, and for feare withdrawne themselues into the mountaines. In Archelech *Ferat* incamped, and stayed the space of 4 daies among the rocky crags, and in a barren soile yeelding necessarie sustenance neither for man nor beast; so that euery man there endured vnspeakable miseries: yet for the space of foure dayes the souldiers with patience endured this so great a calamitie. But in the end, the fall of an huge snow being added to these extremities, did so greatly increase their griefes, that all the Ianizaries and Spaoglans of Constantinople arose in a tumult, and comming before *Ferat*, in despightfull and contemptuous manner with very haughty and resolute termes said vnto him:

The insolent speech of the mutinous souldiers against Ferat their Generall.

And how long shall we endure this thy tedious and insolent gouernment? Where is the due commiseration that thou oughtest to beare toward the Vassales of thy Soueraigne, thou rusticall and vnreasonable Captaine? Doest thou thinke happely, that wee keepe our Harlots as thou doest vnder thy sumptuous pauilions, all fat and in good plight, with delicate viands, whilest others liue in miserie? Doest thou beleeue that we haue as thou hast, our daintie sugars, [illegible], and conserues, whereby to restore vs, in the common calamitie of others? And that wee haue at command meat and pretious wines, which thou mingleste with thy cleere and pleasant water, partly prouided for thee by the art of the canning Doctors,

Doctors, and partly brought to thee from far places? From this day forward it will be no longer endured, that so much people should continue in this famine, afflicted with nakednesse and many other inconueniences: and therefore get thy selfe vp and returne toward Erzirum; otherwise we shall be enforced to do that which will breed more displeasure vnto thee, than to any man liuing.

The Generall in a great agonie presently called a Councel, wherein it was concluded, That they should all send their strong lumpter horses to Ardachan, and the rest to follow him into *Manucchiars* countrey, whither he had appointed to go onely to make an inrode, and with the spoile and bootie of that countrey to refresh the minds of his soldiers, afflicted with the miseries both past and present. This commandement of the Generals they all readily obeyed, as well because he promised them a speedie voyage, as also for that euery man desired the sacke of Altunchala and other the territories of *Manucchiar*. So *Ferat* holding on his journey thorow certaine low vallies betweene the high and craggie mountaines, continually accompanied with great famine and scarcitie, at length brought his armie to Clisca, a place belonging to *Manucchiar*, but as then for feare of the Turkes quite abandoned and forsaken by the inhabitants; who with their wiues and children, and all the best stuffe they had, were fled into remote and safe places vntill the furie of the enemie was ouerpassed. In the fields neere vnto this place (bounding with corne and cattel, and plentie of fruit) the General refreshed his whole armie; and hoping that all the soldiers would like it well to stay a while in that such ease, determined with himselfe to erect a fort in that place. And with this resolution gaue commandement to *Resuan Bassa* to go vp to the tower, and in the top thereof to set vp an ensigne, with a proclamation and publique report, That he would in the name of *Amurath* there erect a fort, and fortifie it as he had done the other forts before. *Resuan* accompanied with *Amurath* the Bassa of Caramania, according to the commandement of the General, in the top of the tower set vp an ensigne or two: which as soone as the souldiers had espied, the forenamed Ianizaries and Spaoglans, thinking themselues too much abused by the General, arising againe all in an vprore, replenished with furie and indignation, ran vp in a rage to take downe the Ensignes that were set vp vpon the tower, and taking them in their hands, rapt the said *Resuan* once or twice about the pate, discharging withall a thousand iniurious and despightfull words vpon him, and sharply rebuked him. And then returning to the General (who was now come thither himselfe to countenance the action of *Resuan*) with gestures ful of despight, contempt, and disdaine, reuiling him with many shamefull and scornefull termes, they protested vnto him;

The mutinous soldiers against Ferat threaten their Generall.

That they were not come to the wars, to exercise the occupation of masons and dawbers, and to be employed in such vile and dishonourable offices; but only to manage their weapons, and thereby to demerit their ordinarie wages, and to purchase to themselues glorie and renowne at the Kings hand. And therefore if he loued his head, and would not see those armes turned against himselfe, which hitherto had been the reuengers of the enemies iniuries, he should resolue with himselfe, to leaue these new buildings and these vnseasonable designements, and giuing place [illegible] the contrarie season of the yeare, to haue due care of their common desires and necessitie.

Whiles they were yet thus expostulating the matter with him, one more bold than the rest, and more forgetfull of his dutie, did not sticke to assault the General, and to threaten him to wreake his fury vpon him: which in that tumult had haply beene done, had not the Bassa of Caramania lent the General his owne horse, and so conducted him to his pauilion. Yet was he neuertheless still pursued by the tumultuous soldiers, and againe sharply accused for the stay that he made there, and for not resoluing presently to remoue thence: and at last after many reprochfull speeches, told expressly, That if he did not the next morning remoue out of those quarters, without all faile he should lose his life for it. For all that, *Ferat* disdaining to yeeld to them that should of dutie haue been readie and obedient at euery becke of his, and seeking by all meanes (notwithstanding all this stirre) to stay there so long time as should be sufficient to build a fort, that would so much offend *Manucchiar*; answered them againe:

The stout answer of Ferat.

That he made no account of their threatening him with his life, which hee had alwaies offered to lay downe for any seruice of his King. But if they had no care to serue their Soueraigne in this new building,

dieg, they might go their wayes: as for himselfe hee was resolutely minded to obey his Lord in whatsoeuer he had commanded him; for the honour of whom euery one of them ought to thinke their liues very well imployed.

The soldiours mutine against the Generall vpon displeasure taken.

Vpon this answer there followed diuers raisings and cursings against the King, against the Ge[illegible] against them all; and in this confused tumult euery man betooke himselfe to his weapons .. euery corner was heard grumlings and whisperings full of wrath and indignation; so that there was a great feare of some dangerous euent, but greater was the suspition of the Generals life. And now euery man had withdrawne himselfe to the guarding of such things as he esteemed most; when suddenly and in a trice you might haue seene the pauilions of all the Bassa's and Captaines fall downe flat to the ground, all the cords thereof being cut in sunder by the wrathfull soldiers; and as it were in a moment, all the muttons and other cattel the Generall and Bassa's led with them for their ordinarie vse, were seised vpon by the same souldiers, and guarded with all diligence possible. And so far was it off that any t.. durst challenge or reuenge this their insolencie, that they themselues turning afresh vpon their General, being now in a maze and deadly feare, began now the third time to threaten him, That if he did not forthwith remoue from those Countries, and turne his journy towards Erzirum, those vallies and fields should without all faile become the sepulchres of the Bassa's, and those hills retaine the eternall memorie of so bloudie a day.

With a little liberalitie might the General haue done with this people what soeuer he had listed, but being loth to gratifie them in any thing, he was inforced to perform their proud and arrogant demands, and to his great shame, to obey them, whom with right visage he might haue made obedient to himselfe: and therefore to auoid their despightfull threats, to his exceeding great reproch, he was glad euen as they had commanded, to remoue out of those quarters. The first day he arriued at Ardachan, v.. th the great trouble of all his souldiers: for whereas the journey was wont to be two dayes .. ke ordinarily, as well in respect of the length of the way, as the difficultie of the passage; the General would now needs haue it done in one, the rather thereby to grieue his souldiers. But of this his wilfulnesse he receiued euen the same day the iust reward; for that the Chariots wherein his women rid were conueyed away, together with the Eunuchs that were their keepers: some say by the Georgians that lay in wait for such a prey; others say by the Ianizaries, who the more to dishonor their General, wrought him this iniurie.

Ferat at Ardachan breaketh vp his armie.

Great was the reproch that *Ferat* receiued in the armie, but far greater at Constantinople, when these newes were there knowne; but there was no remedie, he must now perforce endure it, and discontented as he was, keepe on his way towards Erzirum. In Ardachan he tooke a suruey of his army, and there gaue his soldiers leaue to depart: himselfe afterwards ariuing at Erzirum, hated of all his soldiers, enuied by his captaines, derided for the losse of his women, and fallen into the disgrace of euery man. No lesse than the rest was the Turkish Emperor discontented with him also: first for that he had don nothing worth speaking of, in reuenge of the shamefull iniurie done by *Manucchiar* the Georgian, and yet so mightily discontented his soldiers: and secondly, for that without any care he had suffered *Aliculi Chan* the Persian prisoner to escape away, about whose flight it was thought he could not chuse but haue some intelligence. For *Ferat*, after he was by new order from the Court, to diuert his journey from Nassiuan, to the straits and narrow passages of Georgia, being desirous to be throughly informed of those dangerous ways; in this second yeare when he remoued from Erzirum, tooke *Aliculi Chan* out of prison, of purpose to vse him as his guid in those dangerous straits, and therefore caried him vnder a gard (whatsoeuer it was afterwards) of his most faithfull vassals; still entreating him well, and taking such order as that he wanted nothing: at last being come to the straits of Tomanis in Georgia, where the Castle (as it was before said) was erected, he from thence secretly escaped into Persia. The manner of his escape is diuersly reported: some say, That *Ferat* in discharge of his promise, for his good direction had gratified him with his libertie. Others say, That *Ferat* corrupted with money, gaue him opportunitie to escape: some others (with more probabilitie) That his escape was made neither .. money, nor discharge of promise but by the onely vigilancie of *Aliculi* himselfe, and the neepinesse of his keepers; and tha watching the opportunitie of the night (a friend to all escapes) he started away. Howsoeuer

euer it was, in fine he was deliuered from his long captiuitie, to the discredit of *Ferat*, and returned into Persia, to performe such enterprises against the Turkes, as shall be hereafter declared.

The dangerous passage from Reiuan to Teflis secured vnto the Turkes.

General *Ferat* (before his departure out of Georgia) had commanded *Aly* the Bassa of Græcia (whom he left, as is before declared, in the new castle of Lori) to fortifie a certaine castle called Saitan Chas (in our language, *The castle of the Deuill*) which he with great diligence performed, and left therein fiftie pieces of artillerie, and a thousand souldiers vnder the charge of a Sanzacke: and so quieted the passages from fort to fort, as that all the waies from Reiuan to Chars, and from Chars to Teflis, were made easie and safe; and all the meanes taken away whereby the enemy might be able to plot any new treacherie vpon those passages: which was no small piece of good seruice.

The Persian king in the meane time lying at Tauris with his armie, vnderstanding that the Turks had changed their purpose from Nassiuan to Georgia, so that there was no further need to imploy his armie against them for the defence of Tauris or Nassiuan; at last resolued with himselfe to licence his souldiers to depart, and to apply himselfe to more priuat reuenges. For calling *Emir Ghan* vnto him, whom hee had left Gouernour of Tauris, and Generall for that part of his kingdome; he required of him the occasion, why he had not performed the great promises which he had made to him before his departure to Heri, nor done his indeuor to hinder the Turks Fabrick at Reiuan: and why he went not out with other souldiers appointed for that purpose, and namely with the Turcomans (as he had promised) to reuenge so great an iniurie, and in best manner he could, to haue indamaged the Turkish forces? Sundrie excuses did *Emir Chan* alledge for the colouring of his manifest default, but none sufficient to cleare him of the crimes obiected against him by the king and the Sultans: wherefore he was by the king adiudged to haue his eies burnt out with an hot yron, & so depriued of his sight, to be despoiled of all his goods and shut vp in close prison. Which heauie doome was without further delay accordingly put in execution: whereof within the space of a few moneths, the wicked *Chan* (but yet a famous soldier) miserably died in prison. Whose death so highly offended the Turcoman nation (who had him alwaies in great estimation) that they absolutely denied their defences for the crowne of Persia: and the more, when they heard that the king had bestowed the roome of *Emir Chan* vpon *Aliculi*; who although he had in many respects deserued all preferment, yet for that he was an antient enemie to certaine Turcoman captaines, they would not in any wise indure that he should be exalted to so great an honour. And therefore they waxed more disdainfull and ill affected towards the king, wherby the Persian forces became the more weakened and diuided.

Emir Chan beuing his eies put out, dieth miserably in prison.

The Turks notwithstanding the league yet in force betwixt *Amurath* and *Rodolph* the Christian Emperor that now is, did many times make incursions into the vpper part of Hungarie, burning the country villages, and carrying away the people into captiuitie: but in their returne, they were oftentimes cut off by the Emperors souldiers and slaine. Which being reported at Constantinople, much moued the Turkish tyrant: but when he vnderstood that his men had without any cause made those inrodes into the territorie of the Christians, and so receiued the foresaid losses, he was againe appeased, and in the beginning of this yeare 1584, renewed the league betwixt him and the Emperor for eight yeares more.

Ferat from Erzirum aduertised *Amurath* of all that had hapned in his late expedition; desiring him to command what he would haue taken in hand the next Spring. But besides this information from him, there wanted not many others which did the like also, although in another manner: declaring vnto the king (and that in an odious sort) the whole proceedings of *Ferat*, the escape of *Aliculi Chan*, the shameful losse of his women, his quarrels with the Ianizaries, his falling out with *Veis Bassa*, a man well regarded of *Amurath* himselfe, the disorders of his whole camp for his want of discretion; and to be short, the particularities of all such actions as had not altogether so honorably bin by him performed that yeare: causes of themselues sufficient to induce the king to remoue the said *Ferat* from his Generalship. To which occasions, were also added sundrie other secret respects: for euer since the last departure of *Ferat* from Erzirum, *Amurath* had still in his head, the next yeare following to attempt the enterprise of Tauris, and thereby to stirre vp through the World a famous report of his conquest correspondent to his greatnesse. Now among the captaines whom he esteemed to be worthy men, to

to whom he might with truſt commit this ſo great an enterpriſe, hee bethought himſelfe of *Iſman Baſſa*, left at Sumachia in Siruan by Generall *Muſtapha* in the first yere of this war: who hauing in that prouince remained euer ſince, had without any helpe of the Tartarians, by his owne induſtrie and valor, to the great contentment of *Amurath*, brought that large country into a reaſonable obedience to the Turkiſh Empire: and that which moſt of all pleaſed the Turkiſh [illegible], had in a countrie ſo far diſtant, maintained his armie, wherewith he had done all this without any expences at all to his king; hauing now a good while leuied his ſouldiers ſtipends vpon the lands and territories of that region; and ſtill exerciſed a kind of gouernment and ſoueraignetie ouer thoſe places. Of all which his good proceedings, he had cauſed intelligence from time to time to be ſent vnto the court: by which means, and other fauorers which hee had about the king, there was foſtred in the minde of *Amurath* a wonderfull good opinion of him, ſo that now without delay he reſolued to ſend for him to Conſtantinople: & for that purpoſe, before *Ferat* was arriued at Erzirum, he had diſpatched certain Capigi & Chiaus to call this famous warriour vnto him: yet wanted there not ſome (and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort) that went about to hinder both his comming to the court, & alſo theſe deſignements of ſo great importance. For *Sciaus* the chiefe Viſier (who rather for the comelineſſe of his perſon and alliance with the king, than for any other his vertues, was mounted to that high room) did greatly feare, leſt *Oſman*, whoſe courſe it was to ſit next vnto him in the order of the greateſt Baſſaes, partly for his experience in matters of war, and partly for the good affection the king did beare vnto him, ſhould at his comming to Conſtantinople perſuade the king to what he liſted, and ſo peraduenture take from him the chiefeſt office, & get into his hands the whole gouernment of the empire, whereby ſo great wealth was to be gained. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of theſe feares, he caſt about by all meanes to keepe him from comming to the court: but becauſe that to attempt the ſame openly, might proue a matter both difficult and dangerous, he thought it better to make triall of a more commodious and ſecret meanes. This *Sciaus* in conſideration of many gifts beſtowed vpon him by *Mahamet* the Cuman-Tartar king, had many times excuſed him to *Amurath* of diuers accuſations which *Oſman* by his letters had laid to his charge; For not aiding him in the ſubduing of Siruan, as he was both by promiſe and dutie bound: and for all his ouerſights alleadged ſuch reaſons in his behalfe, as if they did not altogether perſuade *Amurath* to be kind vnto him, yet at the leaſt not to carrie a mind of reuenge againſt him: and had ſo far proceeded in countenancing this Tartarian king, that there was betwixt them confirmed an interchangeable amitie and mutuall confederacie. Him *Sciaus* imagined to find willing and ready by al means poſſible, to hinder the comming of *Oſman* his enemy to the Court, if he were but made acquainted with the matter. And therefore *Sciaus*, as ſoone as he vnderſtood the certain reſolution of *Amurath*, to call *Oſman* to the court, ſecretly wrote to the Tartar king, who lay incamped neere to the hauen of Caffa vpon the Fens of Meotis; certifying him, That *Oſman* was to come to the court; and that therefore it were good for him to call to mind, how great an enemie he had been to him, and how much he had endeuoured by letters to *Amurath*, to turne all his hatred and diſpleaſure againſt him: and withall, That if he was able to doe ſo much by letters, as if *Sciaus* had not defended him with verie reaſonable excuſes, the king had executed his wrathfull indignation vpon him to his great danger; hee ſhould then imagine with himſelfe, what *Oſman* ſhould be able to do, when he ſhould come in perſon to the preſence of *Amurath*, and without any mediator, between themſelues determine of all matters what they ſhould thinke conuenient. Theſe, and peraduenture worſe Letters which *Sciaus* wrote to the Tartar, miniſtred matter enough vnto him to reſolue to do what he might, not to ſuffer ſo pernitious an enemie of his to arriue at Conſtantinople: and eſpecially perceiuing that *Sciaus*, in whoſe breaſt hee repoſed all his hope and all his protection, did ſo greatly feare his comming. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he commanded twelue thouſand ſouldiers, that changing their weapons and apparell, they ſhould go and lie in wait for *Oſman* in the borders betweene Cholchis and Iberia, towards the Tartarian Nomades, by which way hee was to come; and ſo making an aſſault vpon him, to bereaue him of his life. Hoping that ſuch an outrage once done, could not, or would not, be imputed to his procurement, but rather to the Tartar Nomades, or to the Mengrellians, or to the Georgians, or to the Muſcouites, or to the robbers by the high way; and to bee ſhort, rather to any body elſe, than to him. This commandement of the Tartar King, was accordingly by the ſouldiers

Amurath ſendeth for Oſman into Siruan.

The Tartar king ſendeth 12000 Tartars to lie in wait for to kill Oſman.

A ers put in practiſe: who without further ſtay ioyned themſelues together, and ſo rode towards the place appointed.

And now were the meſſengers ſent from *Amurath*, come to *Oſman*, who preſently put himſelfe on his way towards Conſtantinople, hauing left behind him at Derbent and Sumachia, two Baſſaes, thought to be the moſt ſufficient men in Seruania: hauing alſo appointed very good orders in the ſame, and an aſſured eſtabliſhment of all thoſe countries and places which *Muſtapha* firſt had ſubdued, and he himſelfe had afterwards maintained vnder the obedience of *Amurath*. He had alſo prouided for the ſafetie of his own perſon, in paſſing thoſe troubleſome and dangerous paſſages through which he was to trauell, by chuſing out foure thouſand ſouldiers which he had tried in diuers battels, and brought vp vnder his owne diſcipline; through

B whoſe valor, he doubted not ſafely to paſſe through the treacheries of the Albanians, and the populous ſquadrons as well of the Tartarians as of the Mengrellians.

Thus departed he from Derbent, and coaſting along the rocks of Caucaſus (that at all times of the yeare are all white and hoarie with continuall ſnowes) leauing on his left hand Media, Iberia, and Cholchis; and on the right hand, the famous riuers of Tanais and Volga, euen at his first entrance vnto the ſhores of the Euxine ſea, hee was by the aboue named twelue thouſand Tartarians, being apparelled like theeues that lie vpon thoſe ways, ſuddenly aſſailed & fought withall. But like as an huge rocke lying open to tempeſt and waues, ſtanding faſt and vnmoueable in it ſelfe, reſiſteth the thunderings and ruſhings of the great and fearefull billowes: ſo ſtood *Oſman* faſt and firme, & couragiouſly ſuſtained this treacherous aſſault, turning the bold

C countenances of his reſolute ſoldiers, againſt the rebellious multitude of thoſe traiterous ſquadrons: who, as is their manner in the beginning, vſed great force, but finding ſo ſtout reſiſtance in thoſe few, whom they had thought with their only lookes and ſhoutings to haue put to flight, they began at length to quaile. Which *Oſman* quickly perceiuing, couragiouſly forced vpon them, and in a very ſhort ſpace, and with a very ſmall loſſe of his own, put thoſe Tartarians to flight, killing a number of them, and alſo taking many of them priſoners: by whom *Oſman* was afterwards informed (as the truth was) that their king for feare that he had conceiued, leſt when he came to Conſtantinople he would procure his deſtruction from *Amurath*, had ſent this armie to ſeeke his death. Of which treaſon *Oſman* cauſed a perfect proceſſe to be made, together with the diſpoſitions of the Tartarian priſoners, which he ſent the ſhorteſt way

D he could deuiſe to *Amurath* at Conſtantinople, with letters declaring all that had paſſed, inflaming him to reuenge ſo dangerous an iniurie & ſo wicked a practiſe. *Amurath* receiuing theſe aduertiſements from *Oſman*, according to the neceſſity of the matter, tooke order that *Vluzales* his Admirall with certaine gallies well appointed, ſhould paſſe ouer to Caffa to fetch *Oſman*; and withall to carrie with him *Iſlan*, a brother of the Tartar kings, commanding *Oſman* by letters, that he ſhould (to the terror of others) put to death the trecherous king, and place his brother in his roome.

This Tartar King was one of thoſe mightie Princes, who baſely yeelding to the *Othoman* power, led vnder them a moſt vile and troubleſome life, as their tributaries and vaſſals, alwaies

E at command: whoſe yonger brother *Iſlan* (preſuming of the ſufficiencie of himſelfe & the fauor of the people) going to Conſtantinople, became a ſuter vnto the Turkiſh Emperor, to haue his eldeſt brother thruſt out of his kingdome, as a man for his euill gouernment hated of his ſubiects, and to be placed himſelfe in his roome. Which his ſute was ſo croſſed by the Embaſſadors of the king his brother (who ſpared for no coſt in the behalfe of their maſter) that the ambitious youth was ſent from the Turks court to Iconium, and there clapt faſt vp in priſon: where apparelled like an Eremit, he led his life altogether conformable to his miſerie, with ſuch a kind of externall innocencie, as if he had been void of all hope or ambitious deſire of a kingdom, but rather like a forlorn and vnhappy wretch with vain affliction & impious deuotion to prepare himſelfe to a laudable and honorable death. But whileſt he thus liued, ſequeſtred from all worldly cogitations, vpon the diſcouerie of the king his brothers rebellion he was ſh

F more than poſt haſt ſent for to Conſtantinople, and put into the gallies bound for Caffa, with letters to *Oſman* of the tenour aforeſaid. Now in the meane time *Oſman* had by cunning meanes got into his hands this Tartar king, being as is reported betraied by his owne counſellours, corrupted by the Turkes gold: whome with his two ſonnes *Oſman* vpon the receit of the aforeſaid letters from *Amurath*, cauſed to be preſently ſtrangled with a bowſtring, and *Iſlan* his younger

Oſman aſſaulted by twelue thouſand Tartars.

Oſman ouercommeth the Tartars.

Oſman ſtrangleth Mahomet the Tartar king with his two ſons, & placeth Iſlan his brother in his ſtead.

ger brother to be saluted king in his place, yet as vassall to *Amurath*. This shameful death, G
e vsuall reward of the Turkish friendship, was thought iustly to haue hapned vnto his Tar-
tar king, for that hee long before, supported by *Amurath*, had most vnnaturally deposed his
aged f[illegible]her from that kingdome, iust reuenge now prosecuting his so great disloyaltie.

[illegible]mbarked himselfe at the forenamed gallies at the Port of Caffa, passing ouer the
Euxine [illegible] entering into the Thracian Bosphorus, arriued at Constantinople; where hee
was receiued with great pompe and singular significations of good ioue. But with most evi-
dent and expresse kinds of ioy was he saluted by *Amurath* himselfe, when by his owne speech H
and presence he declared vnto him euery particularity of the matters that had hapned in his
long and important voiage, and in liuely maner represented vnto him the perils & trauels that
he had passed, & the conquests that he had made in Siruan. Afteral which discourses, *Amurath*
who longed after nothing more, than to see the Persian king somwhat bridled, and the famous
citie of Tauris brought vnder his owne subiection, began to enter into conference with [illegible]
about that enterprise, and in the end would needs know throughly of him, what issue he co[illegible]
promise him of this his desire, and in what sort by his aduice and counsel the forces should be
imploied, and the armies disposed for the subduing of that city, which ouer all the nations of
the world was so famous and so great an honour to the Persian kingdome. To all which de-
mands his answer and resolution was, That forsomuch as the matters of Georgia were now
well setled, the trecherous passages by the new built forts assured, and the prouince of Siruan
vnder his obedience established, there was now no cause why hee should any longer foreslow
so famous an enterprise, but by the conquest of Tauris, and erecting of a fort in that proud city, I
to bring a terrour vpon all Persia, and to raise a glorious renowne of so mighty a conquest
among the Nations of Europe: for the accomplishment whereof, he thought that either the
same armie, or at the most a very little greater would suffice, so that it were raised of the best
and choisest souldiers.

Amurath de-mandeth Os-mans opinon concerning the enterprise of Tauris.

Osmans reso-lution.

By reason of one of the letters which *Sciaus Bass[illegible]* written to the late Tartar king, and by
the instigation of the yong Sultan *Mahomets* mother (zealous of the neere alliance of the great
Bassa with her husband, as preiudiciall and dangerous to her sonne) *Amurath* had in the open
Diuano depriued the said *Sciaus* from the office of the chiefe Visier, and hardly pardoning
him his life, at the intercession of his wife, being his sister, had banished him the court, so that
hee liued afterwards about Calcedon, vpon the borders of Asia, not far from Constantinople, K
in a close pallace he had there built for his own pleasure: in whose room he appointed *Osman*
to be chiefe Visier; & to honor him the more, nominated him the Generall of his army against
the Persians. Such power hath Vertue, that euen from the very scum of the rascal sort, and out
of the rusticall rout of mountaine peasants (which notwithstanding cannot be truly iustified of
this *Osman*, his father being Beglerbeg of Damasco, and his mother, the daughter of the Beg-
lerbeg of Babylon) it doth oftentimes in the course of this variable world draw diuers men
into Princes courts, and aduance them to the highest dignities. Truth it is, that from a priuate
souldier, though wel born, he by sundry degrees grew vp to the highest honor of that so great
an Empire, and was at one instant created the chiefe Counsellor and Generall of the *Othoman*
forces. Great was the ioy that *Osman* conceiued hereat; & great was the desire he had to make L
himselfe worthy of so honorable fauors; & the greater confidence he perceiued that *Amurath*
had reposed in him, the more eagerly was he spurred on to do any thing possible whereby he
might shew himselfe to haue deserued the same. And therefore aduising with himselfe, that
forasmuch as the greatnesse of the enterprise required a greater armie than was leuied in for-
mer yeares, so it was necessarie also for him the sooner to send out his aduertisements into all
his subiect prouinces, and by his own example to stir vp the other captains and souldiers euen
in the Winter (though it were as yet somewhat troublesome) to passe ouer to Scutari, and
from thence to Angori, to Amasia, to Siuas; and there in those Territories to driue out the
time, vntill his souldiers which were summoned, were all gathered together. And because vp-
on this his great speed it might peraduenture fall out, that the enemie misdoubting his pur- M
pose for Tauris, might prouide a greater armie than they would otherwise, he caused it to be
giuen out, That he must goe for Nassiuan; to the end, [illegible] the Persians so beguiled, should n
regard the gathering of so mightie an Armie as they would haue done if they should ha[illegible]
heard of the Turks comming to Tauris: and so the generall couzening rumor flew, not onely
throughe

Osman Bassa made chiefe Visier & Generall of the armie.

A through all the cities subiect to the Turkes, but into the countries of the Persians also: who notwithstanding being very iealous of the citie of Tauris, and fearing that the matter would fal out, as indeed afterward it did, ceased not to make most curious & diligent inquirie about it. And although the disgrace offred to his Embassador at Constantinople, dissuaded him from sending any other for treatie of peace; yet to spie out the secrets of the Turkes, and to vnderstand the certaintie of their purpose for Nassiuan or Tauris, hee sent diuers messengers to *Osman*, as if he had meant to feele his mind touching a peace, but in verie deed for nothing els but to sound his designements: which for all that, he could not with all the cunning he could vse possibly discouer, but still remained doubtfull as at the first, the Fame stil running for Nassiuan.

B In the beginning of this yeare, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* sent one *Mustapha*, one of the meanest of his Chiaus, vnto *Stephen* king of Polonia, to excuse the death of *Podolouius* [illegible] shamefully murthered as is before declared) as if the same had happened by the insolency of certain souldiers, and not by his commandement: who the better to color the matter, had brought with him two base fellowes, as authours of that outrage, for the king to take reuenge vpon; but were indeed no such men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for some other fact worthie of death, and now sent thither to serue that purpose: for whom the Chiaus (in proud and threatning maner in the name of his Master) required to haue present restitution made of all such goods as the Polonian Cossackes had not long before taken from the Turks, and the captain of the said Cossacks to be deliuered
C also vnto him, to be carried to *Amurath*: and so hardly vrged the matter, that (notwithstanding the vnworthie death of *Podolouius* and his followers, and the taking away of his horses) al the goods taken by the Cossackes, were forthwith restored: which the Chiaus almost in triumphant manner presented vnto *Amurath* at Constantinople.

This Summer also, *Amurath* disporting himselfe with his Mutes, was almost dead. These Mutes are lusty strong fellows, depriued of their speech; who neuertheless certaine by signes can both aptly expresse their own conceits, and vnderstand the meaning of others: these men for their secrecie are the cruel ministers of the Turkish tyrants most horrible commands; and therefore of them had in great regard. With these Mutes mounted vpon faire & fat, but heauy and vnready horses, was *Amurath*, vpon a light and ready horse, sporting himselfe (as the maner
D of the Turkish Emperors is) riding sometime about one, sometime about another; & striking now the horse, now the man, at his pleasure, when suddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling sickenesse, his old disease; and so falling from his horse, was taken vp for dead: insomuch, that the Ianizaries supposing him to haue bin indeed dead, after their wonted maner fel to the spoiling of the Christians and Iews, & were proceeding to further outrages, had not their Aga or captain to restraine their insolency, to the terror of the rest, hanged vp one of them taken in the manner, and certain others in the habit of Ianizaries. Neuertheless, *Amurath* shortly after recouered againe, and to appease that rumor of his death (openly vpon their Sabboth, which is the Friday) rid from his pallace to the Temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others saw him
E (saith *Leunclauius*) his countenance yet all pale and discoloured.

Io. Leunc. sup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 91.

This yeare also happened such a chance as had like to haue raised new warres betwixt the Turks and the Venetians: which, forasmuch as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in silence to passe ouer. The widow of *Ramadan Bassa*, late Gouernor of Tripolis in Barbarie, with her sonne, her familie, and a great number of slaues of both sorts, being about to depart from Tripolis to Constantinople, had rigged vp a faire gallie for the transporting of her selfe and her substance, reported to be worth eight hundred thousand duckats: vpon which galley for her more safety, she had ioyned two others, as consorts. Thus embarked, she came to the mouth of the Adriaticke; where sailing by Corfu, she was by force of tempest driuen into the gulfe of the Adriaticke. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the Venetian Senatours, with certaine gallies, had the charge for the keeping of that sea against pyrats, and all other ene-
F mies whatsoeuer. He hearing of the Turkes comming into the gulfe, without delay set vpon them; and being too strong for them, tooke them all: and hauing them now in his power, exercised most barbarous cruelty, as well vpon the women as the men: for hauing slain the men, in number two hundred and fiftie, and the son of *Ramadan* in his mothers lap, he caused the women, being before rauished, to haue their breasts cut off, and afterwards to be cast ouer-boord

A most barbarous outrage committed by Petrus Emus a Venetian.

nto the sea, being in number about forty. The brother of *Emus* chancing vpon a beautiful vir- G
gin, was by her most earnestly intreated to haue spared her honor; and the rather, for that (as
she said) she was a Christian, taken prisoner about twelue yeares before in Cyprus; since which
time she had liued in most miserable captiuitie among the Turks, & being now fallen by good
hap into the hands of a noble Venetian, was in good hope to be set at liberty inuiolated: which
she most humbly besought him for the loue of God to do, and not to imbrue his hands with
her guiltlesse bloud, or to dishonor himselfe by forcing of her. But all she could say preuailed
nothing with the cruel & vnbridled youth, who after he had at his pleasure abused her, cast her
The villanie discouered. with the rest into the sea. It is thought that *Emus* suffered this so great an outrage (and so farre
vnbeseeming the honor of the Venetians) to be don, to the intent that none should be left aliue
to bewray the greatnesse of the bootie, or of the villany there committed: which was neuer- H
theless (God so appointing it) reuealed by one of the Turks, who saued by a Surgion of Crete
which knew him, & afterwards comming to Constantinople, openly declared the same. With
the odious report whereof, the Turks were so enraged, that in euery corner of the citie a man
might haue heard them threatning vnto the Venetians most cruel reuenge: yea they had much
adoe to hold their hands from the Bilo or Gouernor of the Venetian Merchants in Constan-
tinople, & to forbeare to spit in his face, as he went in the streets. At that time was one *Iohan.
Franciscus Maurocenus* (or as they commonly call him, *Moresin*) Bilo at Constantinople: who
vnderstanding that *Amurath* in his rage was about to send one of the great Gentlemen of his
Court, whom the Turks call Zausij (the great Turks vsuall Embassadors) to Venice about that
matter, found meanes to haue him staied at Constantinople, and another of lesse authority sent
Amurath sendeth a messenger to Venice, to expostulate the iniurie don vnto his subiects. to expostulate the matter with the Senat, and in the name of *Amurath*, to require to haue the I
offendour punished, and the gallies with the slaues and goods restored: so should the league
betwixt him and them continue firme, whereas otherwise he should be constrained by force
of armes to reuenge the wrongs done to his subiects. This message being by the said messen-
ger deliuered at Venice, the Senators after diligent examination of the matter, returned this an-
swer: That the widdow of *Ramadan* with her familie comming to Zacynthus, an Island of
theirs, was there honourably entertained, and presented with certaine courteous Presents; but
departing thence, and comming to Cephalenia, another of their Islands, her people running on
land, contrary to the conditions of the league, made spoile of whatsoeuer they could light vp-
on, sparing neither man nor beast: of which their insolencie their Proueditor vnderstanding, K
and making after them, found them in armes within the gulfe; and comming neere vnto them,
was neither by them saluted, as the manner at sea is, neither was any top saile strucke, in token
that the command of that sea belonged vnto the Venetians, al which they ought by the league
to haue done: for which their outrages and proud contempt, their Proueditor had taken so
sharpe a reuenge: neuertheless, they promised in that case to do what beseemed them in rea-
son and Iustice to doe, for the satisfying of his desire. With which so reasonable an answer,
Amurath seemed to be well contented; but being indeed loth to intangle himselfe with warres
Petrus Emus beheaded. ly after, *Emus* was for his dishonorable and cruell dealing with the Lady and her family, wor-
Io. Leunc. sup. Annal. Turcorum, pag. 92. thily condemned and beheaded, and the gallies with all the goods and slaues restored. This L
great woman had in those gallies foure hundred Christian slaues, all which vpon the taking of
the gallies were (as the manner is) set at libertie, for whom the Venetians made restitution of
as many others of the Turks.

Ramadan Bassa, the husband of the aforesaid great Ladie, was Gouernor of Tripolis in Bar-
barie, and of the countrie thereabouts: who hauing wars with one of the barbarous kings of
the Moores, went out against him with all his forces, wherein were certaine companies of Ia-
nizaries, sent by *Amurath* from Constantinople. Now in this countrey, as in many other places
of Affricke, are great and desart sands, ouer which whosoeuer is to passe, must prouide him-
selfe both of victualls and skilfull guides; without which they are not without danger to bee
passed. *Ramadan* with his armie vnprouided both of the one and the other, hauing entred these M
desarts, was at length brought to that case, that he could neither go forward, neither [illegible]
Ramadan Bassa slain by the insolent Ianizaries. losse of his men returne. Yet at length hee retired, [illegible] ot home, but not without the lo[illegible]
some of his people, and the manifest danger of his whole armie: for which his improuide.
the Ianizaries fell into such a rage, that not respecting the honour of the man, or regarding the
displ[illegible]

A displeasure of their soueraigne, they fell vpon him and slew him. At which their insolencie if
Amurath did winke, and passe it ouer vnpunished, let no man maruell: for why, the ancient obe-
dience of those martial men is not now as it was in former times, when they were with a more
seuere discipline gouerned; but now growne proud and insolent (as the manner of men is li-
uing in continual pay) with weapons in their hands doubt not to do whatsoeuer seemeth vnto
themselues best, be it neuer so foule or vnreasonable. Which although it be in many places
of this Historie to be seene; yet for the more manifestation thereof, I thought it not amisse
here briefely to set downe an example or two of their notorious insolencie.

Not many yeares before, the Ianizaries in Cyprus with like insolencie slew *Achmetes Bassa* *Achmetes Bassa Gouernour of Cyprus, slain by the Ianizaries.*
B gouernor of that Island: pretending for the colour of so foule a fact, that he had defrauded them
of their pay, and oppressed them of the country with intollerable exactions. *Amurath* highly
offended with this their disloyalty in killing their General, whom they had neuer before com-
plained of; thought it much to concerne the majestie of himself, and the repressing of the like
insolency in others, not to suffer it to go vnpunished: and for that purpose sent another new go-
uernor into Cyprus, with ten gallies furnished as well with other necessarie prouision, as with
such a conuenient number of soldiers as might suffice to chastise the insolencie of the chief of-
fendors. This new gouernor arriued in Cyprus, dissembling the secret commandement he had
for the executing of the transgressors; by certaine trustie men gaue it out among the Ianiza-
ries, That *Amurath* was so far from being angry with the death of *Achmetes*, as that he thought
him worthily slaine by the Ianizaries, for defrauding them of their wages, and oppressing of
C his other subiects. Which report the new gouernour had of purpose giuen out, to put them in
securitie, and without further trouble to bring them into his danger. Hereupon the Ianizaries
cheerefully and with all due reuerence receiued their new gouernour: but shortly after to be
sure, they by an vnexpected guile when as nothing was lesse feared, compassed in all the new
come soldiers, and slew them euery mothers sonne; and not so contented, seised also vpon the *Another insolencie of the Ianizaries.*
gallies that brought them. Which second outrage, though *Amurath* tooke in euill part, as see-
ing his majestie therein contemned, yet was he content to passe it ouer, being loth to add do-
mestical troubles to the great wars he had in hand with the Persian.

But to end this matter with the opinion of one of their owne greatest Bassa's, concerning *Busbeq Legationis Turcicæ, Epist. 3.*
these masterfull men. It fortuned that whilest *Busbequius* (Embassador for *Ferdinand* the Empe-
D ror, vnto *Solyman*) lay in the Turks campe, at such time as *Solyman* in person himselfe was gon
ouer the strait in Asia, to countenance his eldest son *Selymus* against his younger brother *Baia-
zet*, That vpon a light quarrel (though heauily taken) betweene the followers of the said Em-
bassador, and certain Ianizaries washing themselues at the sea side, the Embassador for the qui-
eting thereof was glad to vse the helpe of *Rustan* the great Bassa, *Solyman* his son in law: who
vnderstanding of the matter by a messenger sent of purpose, aduiseth the Embassador to cut off
all occasion of contention with those most naughtie fellowes: asking him further, if he knew
not that it was now the time of war, in which time they so raigned, as that *Solyman* himself was
not able to rule them, but stood in feare of them. Which speech fell not rashly from *Rustan*, a
man right well acquainted with his Lord and masters griefe: for that most notable prince fea-
E red nothing more, than lest some secret and dangerous treason should lie hidden among the Ia-
nizaries, which breaking out vpon the sudden, might worke his final destruction: whereof hee
needed not to seeke for any farther example, than to his grandfather *Baiazet*. For, as true it is,
That great are the commodities of a perpetual armie of a Princes owne; so are the inconuno-
dities also not small, if they be not carefully met withall: but especially for that the prince is
euer in doubt of rebellion, and that it is still in the power of those armed souldiers, at their
pleasure to translate the kingdome to whom they list. Whereof there haue bin many great ex-
amples, although there are many wayes for the remedying of the same.

But now that we haue by occasion of the occurrents of that time a little stept out of the way, 1585
let vs returne again vnto the wars of Persia, the chiefe obiect of *Amuraths* hautie designes. Now
F according to the commandements gon out thorow all the cities of the Empire, the souldiers
of all sorts began to flocke together: and all those that were either desirous to be established in
their former charges and gouernments, or ambitiously sought to be now promoted, repaired
to *Osman*, as vnto a king, and the soueraigne moderator of the Turkish empire, presenting him
very large and liberal gifts, wherby he gathered together a huge heape of infinit treasure: and
so

entertaining them with all affable curteſie, and promiſing both rewards and honours to ſuch
would follow him in his purpoſed expedition, he leuied a wonderfull great number both of
men and moneys. And now was the time come that called him away to go towards Erzirum,
where he was greatly expected of his huge armie there aſſembled together. And notwithſtan-
ding [illegible] dearth of victual that commonly raigneth in thoſe quarters, yet thither he muſt,
[illegible] about the latter end of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare 1585: and there ta-
king a view [illegible] his whole armie, and of all the prouiſion neceſſary for ſo important and famous
an enterpriſe, he dayly labored to haſten his departure. In this citie of Erzirum were met toge-
ther all the ſoldiers of the prouinces that were wont to ſend helpe, but yet in greater number
than euer was gathered by any General before: for that euery man forſooke his owne priuate
buſineſſe, and vpon aſſured hopes of new rewards and vnwonted honours, were all induced to
follow the fame of this their new Viſier and General: only the people of Ægypt & D[illegible]ſco
were buſied with other more priuate quarrels at home, whereof becauſe they were [illegible]
great importance, and alſo fell out at this very inſtant (leauing *Oſman* with his armie for a
while at Erzirum) I will in as few words as I may make a briefe rehearſal.

Haſſan Baſſa the Queenes Eunuch ſent to Caire to gouerne there.

Amurath had heretofore taken *Haſſan Baſſa* the Eunuch out of the Seraglio, from the charge he had there to ſerue in the Queenes Court, and at her inſtance ſent him as Baſſa to Caire the great citie of Ægypt. Which great office, beſide the honour belonging vnto it, is alſo beneficial to them whoſe good hap it is to be aduanced thereunto: the riches, the multitude of people inhabiting therein being ſo great, that it ſeemeth not to be one citie, but rather to containe within the large circuit thereof many cities. This man being exceeding couetous, and therfore
I
deſirous to handle the matter in ſuch ſort, as that he ſhould little need to ſeeke for any more ſuch grants at the Kings hands; ſought by all manner of meanes to oppreſſe the whole nation, and by all importunities to wring and extort from them rewards and bribes, without regard of honeſtie or reaſon. By which his ſiniſter and corrupt dealing he had now made himſelfe ſo odious and intollerable to the people in generall, t[illegible]ey in great number, and many times, began to go to Conſtantinople, and with humble [illegible]ctions to requeſt the King to take from them ſuch a cruel and vniuſt Gouernor: ſo that generally in the Court there was no talke but of the villanies and miſchiefes that were reported of the couetous Eunuch. At laſt *Amurath* ſeeing theſe publique exclamations went daily ſo far, as that he could not for ſhame let them go any farther without due puniſhment, he reſolued with himſelfe to call him to the Court:
I
and hauing ſent vnto him certaine meſſengers, admoniſhed him ſundry times to returne home. But the Eunuch loth to leaue ſo fit an occaſion to enrich himſelfe, did ſtill delay his returne, alledging diuers feigned excuſes for his longer ſtay. Which thing when *Amurath* vnderſtood, thinking himſelfe thereby deluded, he determined to prouide for ſo great a diſorder, and by puniſhing of the miſchieuous Eunuch, to ſatisfie in ſome part the diſcontented mindes of his oppreſſed ſubiects in Caire.

Ebrain Baſſa in ſpeech to marrie Amurath his daughter.

There ſat at that time among the chiefe Baſſa's of the Court, one *Ebrain* (or as moſt cal him, *Ibrahim*) by nation a Sclauonian, a young man of the age of 32 yeares, or thereabouts, of verie faire conditions, and of a reaſonable iudgement; vpon whom *Amurath* himſelfe had determi-
L
ned to beſtow his owne daughter to wife, and ſo to make him his ſon in law. And therefore being now minded to remoue the Eunuch from his office, and to ſatisfie the citie; and being alſo willing withall to giue meanes to his ſaid ſonne in law to enrich himſelfe; he reſolued to ſend him as general Syndic & ſoueraigne Iudge into Ægypt; giuing him in particular charge, to remember how wickedly his predeceſſor had dealt before him. And ſo this new Baſſa took his iourny towards Ægypt, although there ran before him a great rumor of his comming, and of the great authoritie wherewith he was ſent. At which report, as the Ægyptians reſted content and ioyfull, ſo the Eunuch waxed very ſad and ſorrowfull: perſuading himſelfe, that this alteration could not but engender ſome ſtrange iſſue and effect againſt him. Whereupon adviſing himſelfe to prouide better for his owne affaires and the ſafetie of his life; he reſolued
M
not to ſtay the comming of the new Gouernour; but departing out of Ægypt, hee with great care and circumſpection for feare of meeting with *Ebrain*, trauelled towards Conſtantinople in hope to appeaſe the Kings wrath, or at leaſt by mediation of bribes, and by the interceſſion of the Queene, to finde him more fauourable than hee ſhould finde *Ebrain*; who without doubt would not haue ſpared any extremity or cruelty, to haue bereft him both of his goods

A goods and life together. *Amurath* aduertiſed from *Ebrain*, of the ſudden flight of the Eunuch Baſſa out of Ægypt, and hearing withall, that he kept not the highway from Caire to Conſtantinople, began to feare, leſt when he came into Soria, he ſhould flie into Perſia to the King, and ſo worke him double and treble damage; as one that had already gathered a huge treaſure, and hauing long liued in the Court, knew the moſt ſecret affaires thereof, and had learned all the priuie deuices and faſhions of the Seraglio. Whereupon he with all diligence diſpatched his Imbrahur Baſſi (whom we call Maſter of his horſe) with fortie of his Capigi (all gentlemen Vſhers, and officers of moſt ſecret and neereſt roomes about him) with charge and commandment, that if they met him they ſhould bring him to the Court; vſing all the aid and aſſiſtance of his people that might be requiſit: and for that purpoſe deliuered vnto him very effectuall
B and large letters, after the beſt manner of the Court. This meſſenger with his appointed traine departed, and without any extraordinarie inquirie, found the Eunuch in Soria, incamped in the plaines neere vnto the citie now called Aman, but in times paſt Apamea, the principall city of that countrey. As ſoone as the Eunuch vnderſtood of the comming of the Imbrahur himſelfe, *The warineſſe of the craftie Eunuch.* he gaue order to his guard of ſlaues, which in great number with ſpeares and arcubuſes did ordinarily keepe his pauilion, that they ſhould not grant entrance into his tent to any, but onely vnto the Imbrahur himſelfe, and if need were, by force to keepe the reſt of the Capigi from comming in. Which order was in very good time giuen; for as ſoone as the kings officer had diſcouered the tents of the fugitiue Baſſa, in all haſt he ran towards the ſame, & ſeeking out the greateſt among them, went preſently thither, to haue entred with all his followers: but the
C ſlaues being in armor, oppoſed themſelues againſt them, and permitting only the Imbrahur to enter in, entertained the reſt of his traine without. The Imbrahur being come in, read vnto him the commandement which he had from the King to bring him to the court; and moſt inſtantly mooued him, that without any further reſiſtance, he would quietly go with him. To whom the warie Eunuch anſwered, *Behold, how without any calling of the King, or conducting by you, I come of my ſelfe, well aſſured to finde not onely pardon and pitie, but alſo fauour and grace in the ſight of my Lord, whoſe vpright and milde nature the wicked treacheries of my falſe accuſers cannot abuſe, to the preiudice of me an Innocent.* And ſo without more ado they went all to Conſtantinople: the Eunuch ſtill ſtanding vpon his guard.

The politique and craftie Eunuch had in this meane time diſpatched diuers poſts with let-
D ters to the Sultan ladies, certifying them of his comming, & principally beſeeching the queen to protect him, and to appeaſe the kings wrathfull indignation that haply he might haue conceiued againſt him: and ſo at length they arriued at Scutari. As ſoone as *Amurath* vnderſtood *The Eunuch caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiſcated.* of his comming thither, he cauſed all the treaſure which he had gathered, to be taken from him, with all the reſt of his priuat ſubſtance, and the wretch himſelfe to be clapt vp in priſon in the Iadicula or ſeuen towers. Where after he had languiſhed many dayes, ſtill fearing ſome
E deadly blow, he at length receiued from the Queene, an vnexpected, but moſt welcome aduertiſement, That he ſhould be of good cheere and quiet himſelfe, for that his wealth had alreadie ſaued his life, and that ſhe hoped in ſhort time to procure him alſo his libertie. Which indeed ſhe brought to paſſe; for ſhe her ſelfe made earneſt petition to *Amurath* her husband, that foraſmuch as he had bereft her Eunuch of all his goods, he would yet at leaſt deliuer him out of priſon, and reſtore him vnto her againe. Which requeſt of the Queenes was granted accordingly, and the Eunuch enlarged: but the treaſure that he had ſo vniuſtly ſcraped together in Ægypt, that remained ſtill among the gold and other Iewels of the Kings.

But *Ebrain Baſſa* with his new commiſſion now arriued in Ægypt, had in ſhort ſpace by far more ſiniſter means than had the Eunuch before him, ſcrapt together ſuch an infinit heap of riches, as was able only of it ſelfe to make him worthy of his promiſed wife, and therfore he was called home to the court, to accompliſh the intended mariage. With this commandment to returne to Conſtantinople, hee receiued alſo in charge, to make his journey through the people of Druſia; and ſuch as he ſhould find loyal, to confirme them in their due obedience, & to make
F them pay their antient duties; but ſuch as he ſhould find ſtubborne and diſobedient, he ſhould quite root them out and deſtroy them. This commandement *Ebrain* preſently put in execution, and hauing packed vp together all the riches hee had gathered in the time of his gouernment, and raiſed good ſtore of ſouldiers in that prouince, he tooke with him thirteen Sanzackes, ther were ordinarily accuſtomed to ſit as aſſiſtants vnder the gouernment of the Baſſa:

in

in the ruling of the populous territories of Caire, and so set forwards towards Gaza, pas- G
sing ouer those vast and huge wildernesses of sand that lie betweene Caire and Gaza. From
Gaza, joyning the Sanzacke thereof with him, he went to Ierusalem; and from thence, caus-
sing the Sanzacke there also to follow his traine, he turned by Saffetto, by Lezium, by Naplos
(called [illegible] past Samaria) still taking with him the Sanzacks of all those places, and at last
turned [illegible] towards Damasco: so that before he joyned with the band of Damasco, hee
had gotten together eighteene Sanzackes, with all their squadrons of soldiers and slaues. Be-
sides these, he had also his owne priuat Court, which was wonderfull populous, and two hun- H
dred Ianizaries of Constantinople, whome *Amurath* would needs haue him to take with him
at his departure from the Court, so that he had in his armie almost twelue thousand horsmen.
From Damasco, *Feis* the Bassa was come as far as Ierusalem to meet him, with all the soldiers
vnder his gouernment, in number about two thousand persons. Besides that, there came vnto
him by the way of Sidon, the Aga of the Ianizaries of Cyprus, with all the band of the [illegible]eso-
late and destroyed Island: which captaine with his souldiers was transported ouer in[illegible] the
maine, in those gallies that by the Kings appointment were sent to fetch *Ebrain*: who now
strengthned with all these souldiers, had purposed the vtter ruine of the disobedient Drusians,
and the raising of his owne glorie, by triumphing ouer them.

The Drusian people what they are.

These Drusians, against whom these great preparations were now made by this new Cap-
taine, and of whom the Turkish Emperor is so suspicious and doubtfull, are supposed to be by
discent Frenchmen, the reliques of those that with great deuotion did in times past fight those
memerable and Christian battels in Iurie, and recouered the holy citie: but being afterwards I
brought low, partly by the plague, and partly by the fury of the Barbarians, mingled their seed
with the circumcised nation, and so together with their authoritie & command, lost also their
first faith and religion: yet so, that they grew into an hatred of the Turkish superstition, & ab-
horring the circumcision of the Iewes, betooke themselues to a new Prophet of their own cal-
led *Isman*, whose doctrin they follow. The right Drusians liue vncircumcised, neither do they
forbeare wine, as do the Turks: they make it lawfull among them (most vnlawfully) to marrie
with their owne daughters: the Turkish gouernment they haue sought by all means to eschue,
and notwithstanding all the endeuors and attempts of the Turkish tyrants, but especially of *Se-*
lymus the second, yet haue they alwaies bin subiect to their owne naturall princes, and would
neuer admit any captaine or gouernor of the Turks within the countries which they possessed. K
They are a people very warlike, stout, resolute, and religious obseruers of their own superstitio-
on: in battel they vse the arcubuse & scimitar, yet some of them at this day do serue with lan-
ces and darts: they are apparelled after the manner of the Easterne people, with a turbant on
their heads, & breeches they neuer weare, but in stead therof they couer those parts with their
coat, which reacheth down to their knees, buttoning it vp before: their feeding is grosse, & of

The Countrey which the Drusians inhabit.

mountaine meats; they inhabit all the country that is inuironed within the confines of Ioppa,
aboue Cæsarea and Palestina, and within the riuers of Orantes & Iordan, stretching it self euen
to the plaine of Damasco, neere to the hils that compasse it about vpon the coast of mount Li-
banus. They were all in times past good friends & confederats, so that they were greatly estee-
med: but now being at variance through greedinesse and couetousnesse, they were diuided a- L

Fiue chiefe Rulers or Gouernors among the Drusians.

mong themselues, one seeking the destruction of another. At this time they were gouerned by
fiue chiefe captains or gouernors: one of them was called *Ebne-Man*, & of the Turks *Man-Ogli*;
another *Serafadin*; the third *Mahamet Ebne-Mansur*; the fourth *Ebne-Frec*; and the fift *Ali-Eb-*
ne-Carfus, by the Turks called *Ali-Carfus-Ogli*. Vnder these (who indeed carry the title & au-
thoritie of an Emir, that is to say, King or Chiefe) there are diuers their lieutenants or deputies
whom they call their Macademi or agents. *Ebne-Man* or *Man-Ogli* inhabited the mountaines
and fields that are contained vnder the iurisdictions of Cæsarea, of Ptolemaida, of Tyrus, and
of Sidon, and had his residence for most part vpon the hil, in a towne called Andera; he was ve-
rie mightie in men and armour, and since the time that by treacherie his father was murthered
by *Mustapha* then Bassa of Damasco, alwayes a deadly enemie to the name of the Turkes. M
Ebne-Frec, *Ebne-Carfus*, and *Ebne-Mansur* were alwayes great friends; but now especially at
the comming of *Ebrain Bassa* they shewed themselues more straightly confederated toge-
ther. *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* were euer opposite against them: so that the one side procu
ring the ouerthrow of the other, they lost their strength, and left no meanes to defend them-
selue-

A selues against the Turks, who had long lien in wait for their libertie. Now as soone as the news came among them, That *Ebrain* being departed from Caire, was comming into Soria to subdue them; the three confederates aboue named resolued among themselues to go and meet this great Bassa, and to submit themselues vnto him, of purpose to turne all the intended mischiefe vpon *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* their enemies. And so hauing packed vp great store of money, cloath of silke, cloath of woollen, and cloath of gold, with many loads of silkes, and other things of exceeding value, euery of the three being accompanied, one with some two thousand, another with some three thousand men, they put themselues vpon their journey towards *Ebrain*, and met him at Ierusalem, where he was already arriued. This their comming *Ebrain* tooke in wonderfull good part, and courteously accepted those their rich and great presents B which they brought him; and by the offers of their fidelitie, and the grieuous accusations they made against the other two Drusian lords their enemies, began to conceiue great hope of his intended enterprise: for why, he saw that nothing could more easily compasse their ouerthrow, than this their discord. Being thus accompanied, he came by the way of Damasco, to the champaigne of Bocca, and there incamped. This was in the month of Iuly this yere 1585. The whole armie that was with *Ebrain*, reckoning also the soldiers of the three Drusian lords, was about the number of twentie thousand horsemen strong. In this place there came people out of all quarters thereabouts, with presents to honour the Bassa; to whom he likewise yeelded such small fauors as his couetous nature could afford them.

Three of the Drusian lords met Ebrain at Ierusalem with rich presents, & a great traine of men.

From this place also *Ebrain* presently sent letters to *Serafadin* and *Ebneman*, whereby hee in- C
uited them to come vnto him, to acknowledge their obeisence vnto the Sultan: for that otherwise they might assure themselues to be in short time depriued both of their estates and liues. For all that, *Man-Ogli* would not by any meanes come in. But *Serafadin* being poore both in wealth and forces, resolued to come, in hope by rich presents to purchase his attonement with the great Bassa. And therefore hauing packed vp together diuers loads of silke, great store of money, and many cloathes of good value and beautie, and also attended vpon with diuers of his subiects, he arriued at last at the pauilion of *Ebrain*, with these his rich presents; which were there readily receiued, and he himselfe with great attention heard: whose speech in effect tended to no other thing, but only to perswade the Bassa, That he had alwaies beene a deuoted vassal vnto *Amurath*, and that he had carried a continuall desire to be imployed in any D his seruice; and that now being led by the same affection, and assured of his fauour, by the friendly and courteous offers made him in his letters, he was come to shew himselfe vnto him to be the same man, and so profered him whatsoeuer lay in his slender power to performe. Whereunto *Ebrain* made no answer at all; but onely asked him the cause why he liued continually in discord and brawles with the three Emirs (who also sat at that time in the same pauilion.) Whereunto *Serafadin* answered, That it was not long of him, who as one desirous of peace, had not at any time taken vp armes, but in the just defence of himselfe, against the iniuries of those his enemies, who because they were more mightie than he, sought continually to oppresse him. Hereat the three conspiratours arose, and with their grim lookes bewraying their inward hatred, falsely charged him to haue beene euer the authour of those brawles: ad-
E ding moreouer, That his insolencie was at that time growne so great, as that no strange vessell durst for feare of him arriue at the ports of Sidon, Tyrus, or Berito; nor any merchant or merchandise passe ouer the plaines, but that those countries, as though they were a prey and spoile to the theeues of Arabia, were generally shunned of all trauellers both by sea and land, to the great hinderance of the Sultans customes. *Serafadin* would hereunto haue gladly replied, but preuented by *Ebrain*, and surcharged with many iniurious words, was commited to the custodie of the two hundred Ianizaries of Constantinople. And so being by them brought into a rotten tent that was appointed for him, was euery night from thence forward put in the stocks fast chained, and continually guarded with a trustie guard of the same Ianizaries. In the mean time came the answere of *Man-Ogli*, who wrote backe vnto the great Bassa *Ebrain* as fol-
F loweth:

Serafadin commeth with presents to Ebrain.

To the Lord of Lords, Soueraigne aboue the Great Ones, the mightie, the noble Captaine cousin to the grand Lord, & the worthiest among the elect of the Prophet Mahomet, *the noble & famous lord* Ebraim Bassa, *God giue good successe to his haughtie enterprises, and prosperitie in all his honour. I wish (euen*

A letter of Man Oglies, to Ebrain Bassa.

all

...w do'ſt louingly inuite and exhort me) that I might come before thee, and follow thee, and ſerue thee G
...in any occaſion that it may happen thee to ſtand in need of my helpe. For I know that thou woul-
deſt reſt aſſured of the reuerence that I beare towards thy Lord, and of the moſt feruent deſire wherein I
liue to ſerue him, and to imploy both my life and my ſubſtance in his ſeruice: whereof I haue alſo giuen
ſome t... though but ſmall, in the managing of his cuſtomes that I haue receiued: wherein I haue
alwaies ... my ſelfe, as that I am not his debtor of one aſpre: a thing I wis that Ebne Manſur
(who is now with thee) hath not done. For although by his comming to meet thee euen as far as Ieruſa-
lem, he would make a ſhew of his fidelitie, yet doth he vſurpe more than two hundred thouſand ducketts of
the kings, which he doth moſt vniuſtly detaine from him of his cuſtomes. But my hard fortune will not
grant me the fauor that I may come vnto thee: for there are at this time preſent with thee three of mine
enemies, who (I know wel) being not contented to haue alwaies diſquieted and troubled my eſtate, do now H
ſeeke to bring me into ſo great hatred with thy heart, that if thou haddeſt me in thy hands, thou wouldeſt
without any conſideration bereaue me of my life. And I am aſſured, that this ſending for me impo... no
other thing, but only a deſire thou haſt to impriſon me, and ſo to kill me: for I know how muc... art
giuen to great enterpriſes. Beſides this, my comming is alſo hindered by mine antient oath that ... ſpoke:
when being as yet but a childe, I ſaw mine owne father ſo villanouſly betrayed by the murthering ſword of
Muſtapha, *being at that time the Baſſa of Damaſco, who vnder the colour of vnfeigned friendſhip, got*
him into his hand, and traiterouſly ſtrucke off his head. For in truth I carry the image of my fathers re-
uerend head, all pale, and yet as it were breathing, imprinted in my minde, which oftentimes preſenteth
it ſelfe vnto me, as well ſleeping in the darkneſſe of the night, as alſo waking in the light of the day; and
talking with me, calleth to my remembrance the infidelitie of the murthering Tyrant, and exhorteth me I
to keepe my ſelfe aloofe from the hands of the mightie. And therefore I neither can nor may obey thy re-
queſts, and in that reſpect it grieueth me that I ſhall ſeeme diſobedient vnto thee, being in any other acti-
on and in all my cogitations wholly addicted to do any ſeruice not only to thee, who art moſt worthie to be
reuerenced of far greater perſons than I am, but alſo to euen the leaſt vaſſals of Amurath. *Then wilt*
pardon me I hope, and thou ſhalt well perceiue, that if th... any thing neere me that may be acceptable
vnto thee, all that I haue whatſoeuer, though in reſpe... by ſelfe it may ſeeme vile and baſe, yet is it
thine, and is now reſerued wholly for thee, and not for me. Farewell; and command me, and hold me ex-
cuſed vpon theſe iuſt cauſes which thou heareſt, for my being ſo backward in comming to honour thee, as
my dutie requireth.

K

The poore and the leaſt among the ſlaues of the grand Lord,

The Sonne of Man.

Ebrain perceiuing by this letter the reſolution of *Man-Ogli*, reſolued alſo in himſelfe to go vpon him with all his army, and either by force or ſleight to get him into his hands; or at leaſt to draw from him ſo many arcubuſes, and as great gifts and tributes as poſſibly he might: and therefore riſing with his campe, and turning himſelfe toward the country of *Man-Ogli*, he burned and deſtroyed foure and twentie of his townes, and ſo mounting vp certaine rockes of Libanus, vpon the top of a large hill (that ſtandeth ouer Andara and other places belonging to *Man-Ogli*) he incamped himſelfe. But whiles the armie was thus marching forward, *Veis Baſſa* of Damaſco with a great part of his people, and his ſonne the Sanzacke of Ieruſalem, with his ſoldiers likewiſe, to the number of fifteen hundred perſons, hauing ſeperated themſelues from the reſt of the army in manner of a rereward; as they were buſie in raiſing their tents, vpon the ſudden were furiouſly aſſaulted by a great band of Druſians of the faction of *Man-Ogli*, and diſcomfited. Which victory the Druſians ſo proſecuted, that they became lords of the pauilions, the wealth and armour of the Turks: and leading away with them their horſes and their carriages, put to the ſword fiue hundred perſons, and ſcarce gaue any leiſure of eſcape either to the Baſſa the father, or the Sanzacke his ſonne, who fled ſtraight to Ieruſalem, and neuer returned again to *Ebrain*; but *Veis* his father ſtill followed the army with thoſe few which he had left, and was thought worthie of all men to be pitied. M

Ebrain burneth 24 Townes of Man-Oglies.

Veis Baſſa and his ſon diſcomfited by the Druſians.

Vpon the hil aforeſaid, *Ebrain* continued twenty foure daies together, with aboundance of all things neceſſary for victual: during which time he attended nothing els, but to try all deuiſes how he might draw money and preſents from *Man-Ogli*, or how he might traine him into his

A his hands. For the compaſſing whereof, he diſpatched one *Gomeda* (*Ebne-Manſurs* Agerit) to *Man-Ogli*, being in Andrea; to tell him, That foraſmuch as he would not giue credit to the promiſe which was made him, nor to aduenture himſelf into the hand of his friend, he ſhould ſend vnto him all the arcubuſes he had: for that the Sultans pleaſure was, that his people that went not to the wars in his ſeruice, ſhould not be furniſhed with ſo great ſtore of weapons, to the danger of their neighbors, and of the ſubiects themſelues. With great griefe of mind *Man-Ogli* beheld the meſſenger, as the man whom he well knew to be the Agent of his deadly enemy; yet in regard of him that ſent him, he forbare to doe him iniurie, or to giue him any reproch; telling him, That all his people and weapons were diſperſed abroad ouer his territory, ſo that he could not tel what arcubuſes to ſend him: with which cold anſwer *Gomeda* returned. Which

Ebrain ſendeth for arcubuſes of Man-Ogli.

B thing when *Ali Baſſa* of Aleppo vnderſtood, he offered himſelfe to the Generall, that he would goe vnto him, and that to ſome better purpoſe. Many reaſons did *Aly Baſſa* vſe to perſuade the warie Druſian to come and yeeld his obedience to *Ebrain*, ſwearing that no harme ſhould be done vnto him: and withall promiſing him great and honourable fauors. But neuer could hee remoue the reſolute and prouident mind of *Man-Ogli*, or win him to yeeld himſelfe into the hands of a man, whom he thought to be ſo murderous: yet at laſt with much adoe, he preuailed ſo much with the Druſian Lord, that in ſigne of the reuerence he did beare towards the Generall, and of his obedience towards *Amurath*, he was content to ſend a Preſent to *Ebrain*. And thereupon gaue him 320 arcubuſes, 20 packs of Andarine ſilkes, and fiftie thouſand ducats to carrie to the Baſſa for a gift, and to reconcile him vnto him. For the better effecting

C whereof, he ſent his owne mother to the great Baſſa, who in the behalfe of her ſon performed a very worthie meſſage, excuſing him as well in reſpect of his enemies that ſat there ſo neere vnto him, as alſo in regard of his oath which he had ſolemnly ſworne, That for the trecherie of *Muſtapha* hee would neuer commit himſelfe into the hands of a Turke: and therefore befought him to accept of the gifts that were ſent him; and withall a mind and heart moſt ready to ſerue and obey the king in all occaſions; and that hee would hold him excuſed, for that his excuſes were both iuſt and reaſonable. Whereunto the Turke replied, That although ſhe had found ſo foule a fault in *Muſtapha*, who vnder the aſſurance of his promiſe and fidelitie had betraied her husband: yet for all that ſhe ought not to feare any ſuch wicked or infamous act at

The notable diſſimulation of Ebrain Baſſa.

D his hands, who ſtood vpon his honor and the word of a ſouldier: and ſo by oath proteſting all faithfull and conſtant friendſhip towards him; in token of his ſincere meaning, he caſt a white vaile about her necke, and put another vpon himſelfe, and the third he gaue her in her hands; willing her to report to her ſon the oaths he had made, and to carrie him that vaile, and bring him with her, proteſting no otherwiſe to intreat him, but as a friend & a brother: the peaceable old woman went her way accordingly; but ſhee neither could nor would go about to alter the purpoſe of her ſon, but returned to *Ebrain* ſuch anſwer as did not greatly pleaſe him. After which time, he ſought more than euer he did before, to get the wary Druſian into his hands, or at leaſt, without regard of ſhame to draw from him mo Preſents and weapons. And therefore

E once againe he ſent the craftie *Gomeda*, to exhort him vpon faith and promiſe giuen, to come vnto him: but for all the craft & lying ſpeeches that the trecherous meſſenger could cunningly vſe, he could obtaine nothing of the Druſian Lord, but good words onely. Yet at laſt after much fineneſſe he preuailed ſo much, as that *Man-Ogli* was contented by him to ſend another Preſent to *Ebrain*, with an expreſſe condition notwithſtanding, that he ſhould cauſe *Ebrain* to depart out of thoſe quarters, & that hee ſhould not himſelfe returne any more to requeſt any thing farther of him. Which he very largely promiſed, only deſiring him to ſend a good number of arcubuſes, thereby to content the Baſſa fully: ſo he gaue him fifty thouſand ducats more, and foure hundred and foureſcore arcubuſes, with a thouſand Goats, an hundred and fiftie Camels, an hundred and fifty Buffes, a thouſand Oxen, & two hundred Weathers. With this rich

F preſent came *Gomeda* to *Ebrain*, declaring vnto him that this hee had got from him, vpon promiſe that hee ſhould not moleſt the Druſian any more. For which promiſe ſo made, *Ebrain* ſharpely reprooued *Gomeda*, and threatned to make him know what it was to take vpon him ſo dangerous a liberty: and for the greater deſpight both to the one & to the other, *Ebrain* would needes haue *Gomeda* himſelfe to returne again with like meſſage to trouble the Druſian. Whereunto although hee went in great feare of ſome miſchiefe by the hands of *Man-Ogli*, yet was there no remedy but needes hee muſt follow the commandement of him, in whoſe power it was to

take

ke from him both his honor and life, and therefore on he went. But as soone as *Mau Ogli* saw *Ebrain* thinking as truth was, that he came againe about his wonted requests, he was with the very sight of him so farre moued, as that he was euen at the point to haue throwne a dart at him, and so to haue dispatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects staid his fury: yet spared he not with ignominious words and deadly threats to disburden his choler. Notwithstanding he could do no lesse but accomplish the effect of his fraudulent requests; and so wrought with him, that he drew from him foure burdens more of arcubuses, ten swords and ten gilt daggers, certain siluer belts, ten packs of silke, and some few pence: causing him withall to protest vnto him, neuer to suffer himselfe to be persuaded to come againe vnto him, for if he did, he threatned to kill him, happen after what might of it. With exceeding ioy and triumph did *Ebrain* receiue this present, and thinking now with himselfe that he had gotten a sufficient booty from him, he determined to rise with his armie, and to sacke all the rest of *Mau-Ogles* countrie. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by *Emir Ebne-frec*, burnt Andrea the place of *Mau-Ogli* his residence, and in two daies burned and destroyed nineteen other of his townes, with vnspeakeable cruelties committing all things to fire and sword. After all this sacking and rasing, *Ebrain* sent diuers messengers to *Mau-Ogli*, to trie whether he would yet be persuaded to come vnto him; but nothing could moue the resolute Drusian to commit himselfe into his hands, but rather increased his constancie to auoid a most certain death. Now the great Bassa still thirsting after bloud and reuenge, vnderstanding by a spie, that the captain of Andrea (being one of the factors of *Mau-Ogli*) with three hundred and fifty souldiers was got vp to a certain hill, into a place of great security, he sent *Emir Ebne-frec* to intice him, and to tell him, That seeing his Lord *Mau-Ogli* would not come and yeeld himselfe, hee should come vnto him; which if he would do, he would assuredly in despight of *Mau-Ogli*, make him a Sanzack of some of those places which he most desired. The ambitious & vnhappie Macademo suffered himselfe to be easily perswaded, & being accompanied with his three hundred and fiftie followers, went with the said *Ebne-frec*, and came at last to the pauillion of *Ebrain*, hauing first caused his aforesaid men to stay behind in a valley two or three miles off. But *Ebrain* would not so much as see the Macademo, although both in respect of the nimblenes of his person, and also the fiercenesse of his lookes, he was worthie to be looked vpon: but commanded him to keep in a seuerall place from *Serafadin*, and in the mean time deuised how he might with least losse of his own men, put to death those three hundred and fiftie the Macademoes followers: which was by training them, by means of the said *Ebne-frec*, into a certain vineyard, and so hauing brought them into a strait, suddenly to set vpon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed: for being by the trecherous Emir brought into the place appointed for their slaughter, fearing nothing lesse, they were suddenly inclosed by the Turks Sanzackes or Ianizaries, and slain euery mothers son. This massacre thus finished, *Ebrain* commanded the Macademo to be brought before him, and without delay to bee stripped and flaied quicke: who being come, stourly vpbraided *Ebrain* with his promise and his oath; and amongst other speeches which he vttered whiles they stripped him; said, *Cut me off my members, and first putting them into the priuities of that infamous* Ebrains *wife, put them afterwards into the mouth of himselfe: for so (I trow) he will be contented and satisfied with my flesh.* And to them that were the executioners of his painfull death, he said, *It is your great good fortune indeed, that with such violence and needlesse deformitie, yee are now able to spill my bloud, and to take my life from me: whereas none of you all had bin able, or once durst, man to man, to haue drawne one drop of it from me, no nor to haue endured my countenance. But go too, proceed in your wicked and vnsatiable desire of my bloud, and fulfil the cruell command of your Visier: for in the end there will also light vpon you the iust reward of this so villanous a fact.* With these and other such like speeches the miserable wretch was stripped, and three great slashes made on his backe, where they began to flea him; he in the mean time not ceasing to blaspheme their religion, and to curse their king, and their false Prophet also. But the barbarous souldiers proceeding in their cruell action, made other like gashes vpon his breast and stomacke; and so drawing the skin downward, could not bring it to his navell before he was with the extremity of the pain, dead. After this, *Ebrain* caused the followers of *Serafadin* in number about a hundred and fifty to be cruelly slaine, and all his countrie most miserably wasted: he himselfe still remaining in chaines.

Emir Ebne-frec inticeth Mau-Ogli into Macedemo to beetrayed to come to Ebrain.

The Macademo by the commandement of Ebrain slain quicke.

Whilest the fire and sword thus raged in the Drusian countrie, *Ebrain* by speedie posts sent to

A to Sidon, where his gallies lay at rode, commanded, That disbarking foure thousand souldiers, they should sacke all those countries alongst the sea coast euen as far as Cæsarea in Palestine, sparing neither age nor sex, nor any person of condition whatsoeuer. Which his cruell command was presently put in execution; and three thousand soules brought away captiues, great booties made of much rich merchandise, many townes burnt, sundrie castles rased and laid euen with the ground; and to be short, all the whole countrie of *Serafadin* and *Mau Ogli* laied vtterly waste and desolate.

Ebrain was now in readinesse to depart for Constantinople, where he was by *Amurath* expected; as wel for his gold, as the accomplishment of the mariage. But bethinking himselfe, that whatsoeuer hitherto he had don, would be accounted either little or nothing, vnlesse he prouided in some sort for the quieting of those people vnder the Turkish obedience, he determined to nominate one of the three Drusian Emirs that came to him to Ierusalem, to be Bassa of all those Regions. And because Emir *Aly Ebne-Carfus* was the richest and most obedient of them all, he thought good to commit that charge vnto him, and honored him with that dignitie, yet not without a bribe, but for the price of an hundred thousand duckats. Wherefore hee apparelled him in cloath of gold, gaue him a horsemans mase, and a sword all gilt, and deliuered vnto him the kings commission, causing him withall, to sweare faith and obedience to *Amurath*. And so hauing (at least to shew) set in order the affaires of those mountains, which an hundred of the Turks great captains had in former time vainly attempted, he returned to Damasco, where he staied twelue daies, by shamefull shifts extorting mony from diuers persons. C At last hauing no more to do in those parts, hee turned himselfe towards Gazir and Baruto, places vnder the gouernment of *Ebne-Mansur*, where he arriued with all his army, and found the gallies which he had left in the port of Sidon, now in the hauen of Baruto, as he had before commanded. Now vpon a certaine hill aboue Baruto neere vnto the Sea, *Ebrain* had pitched his owne tent only and none other; and hauing sent all the rest of his best and goodly things which he meant to carrie with him to Constantinople aboord the gallies, shrowded himselfe only vnder that narrow and base tent. Thither he called *Ebne-Mansur*, and in pleasant manner told him, That now it was time for him to make paiment of the debt of an hundred and three score thousand duckats, which hee ought the King his Lord for the custome of Tripoli and Baruto: for that he could not longer stay in those quarters, but was to returne to Constantinople, which he knew not how to do, vnlesse he carried with him the discharge of that D debt. Whereunto *Ebne-Mansur* made answer, That it would not be long before his Macademores would come with his monies, and that then he would without further delay make paiment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew to be but an excuse, and therfore determined with himselfe to thrust him into the gallies, & because he could not carrie the mony vnto the king, yet as the least to bring him his debtor. But forasmuch as he doubted to put this his determination openly in execution, for feare of some insurrection amongst the people, as well for that he was within the territories of the said *Ebne-Mansur*, as for that he saw him greatly beloued and E fauoured of the other two Drusian Lords, *Ebne-frec* and *Ebne-carfus*, he therfore thought it better policie by concealing this his purpose, to shew him in his outward actions al good countenance, and by secret and subtile meanes to take him prisoner. Whereupon he deceitfully told him, That forasmuch as he was to stay there for his businesse that night, and was resolued the next day to make a road into the country of *Mau-Ogli*, he therefore praied him to do him the fauour to be his guide, and for that purpose, when he should send for him at midnight, that he would come vnto him very secretly, because he was minded to depart without any stir, onely with fiue hundred men in his company. The Drusian Lord verily beleeued the matter that so it was, & and withall was in good hope by that means to find some way to escape his hands. Whereupon being called vp at midnight, he readily went to the tent of *Ebrain*, who presently charging him (whom all men thought he had especially affected) with many abhominable and foule termes, caused a chain to be cast about his neck, & his arms, and so fast bound to be carF ried into the gallies. And yet not so contented, tooke the spoile of all his country, wherby there was leuied such a prey as was marruellous to behold: for besides mony (whereof there was a very huge sum) the store of cloths of silke & gold, was such, & so great, as might better beseem some great Prince, than such a mountain rusticall Lord as he was. When the Bassa had conueied all this into his gallies, hee sayled to Tripoli, where he found *Serafadin* in the custodie of

Ebrain sendeth diuers messengers to Ebne-Mansur.

Ebne-Mansur in chaines sent to the gallies.

...tie Bassa and *Aly Bassa*: and hauing staid there some few daies, wherein he committed sundry villanous & abhominable robberies, he caused the said *Serasadin* to be put into the gallies, with all his silkes, and other wealth, and so departed for Constantinople: where at such time as hee entered into the channell of the citie, accompanied with foure and twentie gallies, he was encountred and receiued by a wonderfull number of his friends and fauorits, and saluted with an honourable peale of artillerie out of the Seraglio. *Iohn Thomas Minadoi* the best reporter of this Historie, as also of the late wars betwixt the Turks and the Persians, being then at Constantinople, and hauing (as he reporteth of himselfe) good means to see the bountiful and beautifull Presents which the spoiling and rauenous Bassa gaue the Turkish king, reporteth the summ thereof to haue been a million of gold, besides the yearely reuenue of Caire, amounting to six hundred thousand duckats, with threescore horses most richly garnished, of singular beautie, but especially of the Arabian race, a liue Elephant, and a liue Giraffle (which is a beast like a Camell and a Panther) two great Crocodiles dead, a Chaire of massie gold richly wrought with precious stones; a Casket also beset with precious stones and gold; many packes of most fine clothes, woollen and silkes, certaine other clothes with fringe of gold and siluer and the Barbarian cutworke, most fine linnen of Alexandria, and al the arcubuses taken from the Drusians: besides sundrie rich Presents giuen by the proud Bassa to the great Ladies of the court, reported by *Leunclauius* to haue bin worth two hundred thousand Sultanines:

The rich Presents giuen to Amurath by Ebain.

Io. Leunc. sup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 95.

But now forasmuch as we haue before made mention of the Sanzacke of Ierusalem, and his flight, it shall not be altogether impertinent to our historie (though somewhat out of time) in few words to declare what passed betweene him and the Arabians of Palestine, a little before the comming of *Ebrain* the great Bassa into those quarters: by which little, the desirous reader may easily perceiue, the wofull and troublesome state of that sometime most blessed and fruitfull, but now most miserable and barren land of Iurie, and of those places in Holy-Writ so much renowned.

The land of Iurie much troubled with the Arabian theeues and robbers.

In the confines of Sodome, and in the places not only betweene the lake Asphaltites and Damasco, but also in the Plaines and in the vallies of Iericho, and of Samaria, and in other places about Bethlehem, Emaus, Bethanie, Bethfage, Capharnaum, Nazareth, Leuir, Bethsaida, Naplos, and other townes of name thereabouts, there doe haunt and liue certaine Arabian captaines, who spreading themselues euen as far as Rama and Ioppa, ouerrun at their pleasure all the countries there round about, and continually commit grieuous outrages as well against the said Cities, as also vpon the goods and wealth, not onely of the inhabitants there, but also of strangers: yea and their insolency oftentimes groweth so great, that they dare to assaile the fenced cities, besides the spoiling of trauellers, that by reason of their businesse haue occasion to passe from one city to another. They are good horsemen, but vse no armour: their horses are very swift to run, and spare of diet; and are themselues bold and aduenturous theeues. These Arabians hauing had intelligence, that the aforesaid ambitious youth, appointed Sanzacke of Ierusalem, was in mind to raise all the Sanzacks thereabout; and ioyning himselfe with them, and his father the Bassa of Damasco, to restraine their insolent libertie, and to worke their destruction; resolued with themselues not to stay, vntill he and his confederates were readie, but rather by sundrie inuasions vpon him, euen vnto the gates of Ierusalem, to prouoke him to come out into the field. And the rather to induce him so to do, they compassed with a certain Subbassi of Bethlehem, their friend, to encourage and animate the Sanzacke thereunto, by promising vnto him good successe and prosperous euents. The ambitious young man, seduced with the glorious persuasions of the false Subbassi, of whom he made good reckoning, and prouoked by their insolencies, resolued (as they had wished) to issue out of the citie into the open field; and thereupon hauing armed an hundred of his vassals, and raised all the horsemen that were vnder his gouernment, to the number of six hundred, he made accordingly, and with their arrowes and Indian Canes ouerwhelming his arcubuses, as if it had bin a raging floud, wrought him great woe: when in the very nicke, the battel yet being at the hottest, the traiterous Subbassi fled towards Bethlehem, and left the souldiers of Ierusalem in the hands of the Arabians, who put most part of them to the edge of the sword, and scarcely gaue liberty to the Sanzack to saue himselfe by flight. The Sanzack certainly informed of this fraud of the dissembling Subbassi, to be reuenged vpon him, began also in like manner to dissemble with

with him, feigning that he would once more trie his forces against the same Arabians; and so vsed the matter, that the Subbassi arming himselfe, came vnto him, without any suspition of the mischiefe intended against him. But as soon as he was come, the Sanzacke tooke him aline, and presently caused him in most cruell manner to be slaine quicke.

The Subbassi of Bethlehem slaine quicke.

Thus hauing passed ouer the troubles that staied the people of Ægypt and Damasco, and the countries thereabouts, from reforting to *Osman* the Turks great Generall at Erzirum: let vs againe returne thither where we left him, taking a view of the preparations against the Persian; and prosecute those affaires, which of all others most exercised the forces of the two mightiest Mahometan Monarchs; and with the expectation thereof, filled the world, from the East to the West.

The straight commandement from *Amurath*, together with the fame and reputation of *Osman* the Generall, had drawne together such a world of people of all sorts to Erzirum, as that it seemed not the power of one king alone, but rather the vnited forces of many kings. Wherfore *Osman* perceiuing that hee had gathered together too great a number of people, and too huge an army, and that it might so fal out that he might want victuall for so great a multitude (neither so greatly fearing his enemies forces, as that he needed to lead so populous an armie against them) determined to discharge a great number of such as he thought most weake, and least able to endure trauell: so that out of this great multitude he drew out about fortie thousand persons, who liberally according to euery mans abilitie redeeming the ordinarie perils of the warres, returned home to their owne dwellings. And so in *Osmans* armie remained the number of an hundred and fourescore thousand persons or thereabouts. With this multitude the Generall departed from Erzirum (about the eleuenth of August this yeare 1585) towards Tauris, continuing for all that, the speech for Nassiuan. But he had scarce matched two daies, when diuers souldiers of Græcia and Constantinople presented themselues before him, vpbraiding him with great improuidencie, and telling him, that they began alreadie to feele the want of victuall, by wanting the same day their ordinarie allowance of corne for their horses: so that if in the beginning, and as it were in the entrance of so long a iourney they felt such want, they could not tell with what iudgement or discretion he meant to lead so great a companie so far as Nassiuan; nor by what cunning conceit he had presumed to sustaine so great an armie in the seruice of their Lord. *Osman* quietly heard their complaints, and presently prouided for them, by causing such store of barley to be distributed among them, as they desired; and seuerely punished the officers that had the charge for the allowance of corne, who most couetously began to make merchandise of the common prouision, by conuerting it to their own priuat vses. And hauing thus quieted their troubled mindes, he proceeded on his iourny, and by the way of Hassan Chalassi and of Chars, arriued vpon the Calderan plaines, famous for the memorable battels there fought betweene *Selymus* and *Hysmael*. In these Plaines hee tooke a generall reuiew of his army, wherein there wanted a number, that by reason of sicknesse being not able to continue the iourney, were inforced to stay behind, some in one place some in another. Remouing thence, he tooke the way not to Nassiuan, as he had still hitherto giuen it out he would, but now directly to Tauris. Which so sudden an alteration of the iourny as soone as the souldiers of Græce and Constantinople heard, they fel into a great rage, and comming againe before the Generall, reuelled with him in this sort to his face:

The number of Osmans armie.

And what are we, thou villaine, thou Turke, thou dolt, whom thou handlest in this sort? Wee are neither oxen nor sheepe of the mountaines, for the leading of whom thou thinkest thou art come out: neither can we brooke these thy lies and deceits. If thou hast publickly professed to lead vs to Nassiuan, and by that speech hast trained vs from the farthest bounds of Græcia, to what end now, after thou hast wearied vs so much, doest thou deceiue vs with such vanities, and prolong our iourney, and set before vs such strange and important dangers as our minds neuer once thought on? But if this was thy first purpose and intent, and that now, not foolishly or by chance, but vpon premeditation and good aduice thou changest thine opinion, why diddest thou dismisse so many souldiers, as might haue made the armie more terrible and stronger for the enterprise of Tauris? Doest thou thinke that by suffering others to redeeme their liberties, and so to increase thy riches, thou shalt set our liues to saile, and to make vs slaue to the Persians?

The most insolent speech of the souldiers of Constantinople and Græce vnto Osman their Generall.

At these arrogant speeches, the General was exceedingly troubled; seeing his good meaning, and the earnest desire he had to aduance the maiestie & glorie of his king, taken in so euil part,

Osman wisely appeaseth his mutinous souldiers.

...tis Bassa and *Aly Bassa*: and hauing staid there some few daies, wherein he committed sundry villanous & abhominable robberies, he caused the said *Serasadin* to be put into the gallies, with all his silkes and other wealth, and so departed for Constantinople: where at such time as hee entered into the channell of the citie, accompanied with foure and twentie gallies, he was encountered and receiued by a wonderfull number of his friends and fauorits, and saluted with an honorable peale of artillerie out of the Seraglio. *Iohn Thomas Minadoi* the best reporter of this Historie as also of the late wars betwixt the Turks and the Persians, being then at Constantinople, and hauing (as he reporteth of himselfe) good means to see the bountiful and beautifull Presents which the spoiling and rauenous Bassa gaue the Turkish king; reporteth the sum thereof to haue been a million of gold, besides the yearely reuenue of Caire, amounting to six hundred thousand duckats, with threescore horses most richly garnished, of singular beautie, but especially of the Arabian race, a liue Elephant, and a liue Giraffe (which is a beast like a Camell and a Panther) two great Crocodiles dead, a Chaire of massie gold richly wrought with precious stones; a Casket also beset with precious stones and gold, many packes of most fine clothes, woollen and silkes, certaine other clothes with fringe of gold and siluer and the Barbarian cutworke, most fine linnen of Alexandria, and al the arcubuses taken from the Drusians: besides sundrie rich Presents giuen by the proud Bassa to the great Ladies of the court, reported by *Leunclauius* to haue bin worth two hundred thousand Sultanines:

The rich Presents giuen to Amurath by Ebrain.

Io. Leunc. sup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 95.

But now forasmuch as we haue before made mention of the Sanzacke of Ierusalem, and his flight, it shall not be altogether impertinent to our historie (though somewhat out of time) in few words to declare what passed betweene him and the Arabians of Palestine, a little before the comming of *Ebrain* the great Bassa into those quarters: by which little, the desirous reader may easily perceiue, the wofull and troublesome state of that sometime most blessed and fruitfull, but now most miserable and barren land of Iurie, and of those places in Holy-Writ so much renowned.

The land of Iurie much troubled with the Arabian theeues and robbers.

In the confines of Sodome, and in the places not only betweene the lake Asphaltites and Damasco, but also in the Plaines and in the vallies of Iericho, and of Samaria, and in other places about Bethlehem, Emaus, Bethanie, Bethfage, Capharnaum, Nazareth, Leuir, Bethsaida, Naplos, and other townes of name thereabouts, there doe haunt and liue certaine Arabian captaines, who spreading themselues euen as far as Rama and Ioppa, ouerrun at their pleasure all the countries there round about, and continually commit grieuous outrages as well against the said Cities, as also vpon the goods and wealth, not onely of the inhabitants there, but also of strangers: yea and their insolency oftentimes groweth so great, that they dare to assaile the fenced cities; besides the spoiling of trauellers, that by reason of their businesse haue occasion to passe from one city to another. They are good horsemen, but vse no armour: their horses are very swift to run, and spare of diet; and are themselues bold and aduenturous theeues. These Arabians hauing had intelligence, that the aforesaid ambitious youth, appointed Sanzacke of Ierusalem, was in mind to raise all the Sanzacks thereabout; and ioyning himselfe with them, and his father the Bassa of Damasco, to restraine their insolent libertie, and to worke their destruction; resolued with themselues not to stay, vntill he and his confederates were readie, but rather by sundrie inuasions vpon him, euen vnto the gates of Ierusalem, to prouoke him to come out into the field. And the rather to induce him so to do, they compassed with a certain Subbassi of Bethlehem, their friend, to encourage and animate the Sanzacke thereunto, by promising vnto him good successe and prosperous euents. The ambitious young man, seduced with the glorious persuasions of the false Subbassi, of whome he made good reckoning, and prouoked by their insolencies, resolued (as they had wished) to issue out of the citie into the open field; and thereupon hauing armed an hundred of his vassals, and raised all the horsemen that were vnder his gouernment, to the number of six hundred, he made accordingly towards Iericho, sending before defiance vnto them: against whom the Arabians came apparelled, and with their arrowes and Indian Canes ouerwhelming his arcubuses, as if it had bin a raging floud, wrought him great woe: when in the very nicke, the battel yet being at the hottest, the traiterous Subbassi fled towards Bethlehem, and left the souldiers of Ierusalem in the hands of the Arabians, who put most part of them to the edge of the sword, and scarcely gaue liberty to the Sanzack to saue himselfe by flight. The Sanzack certainly informed of this fraud of the dissembling Subbassi, to be reuenged vpon him, began also in like manner to dissemble with

with him, feigning that he would once more trie his forces against the same Arabians; and so vsed the matter, that the Subbassi arming himselfe, came vnto him, without any suspition of the mischiefe intended against him. But as soone as he was come, the Sanzacke tooke him aliue, and presently caused him in most cruell manner to be slaine quicke.

The Subbassi of Bethlehem slaine quicke.

Thus hauing passed ouer the troubles that staied the people of Ægypt and Damasco, and the countries thereabouts, from resorting to *Osman* the Turks great Generall at Erzirum: let vs againe returne thither where we left him, taking a view of the preparations against the Persian; and prosecute those affaires, which of all others most exercised the forces of the two mightiest Mahometan Monarchs; and with the expectation thereof, filled the world, from the East to the West.

The straight commandement from *Amurath*, together with the fame and reputation of *Osman* the Generall, had drawne together such a world of people of all sorts to Erzirum, as that it seemed not the power of one king alone, but rather the vnited forces of many kings. Wherfore *Osman* perceiuing that hee had gathered together too great a number of people, and too huge an army, and that it might so fal out that he might want victuall for so great a multitude (neither so greatly fearing his enemies forces, as that he needed to lead so populous an armie against them) determined to discharge a great number of such as he thought most weake, and least able to endure trauell: so that out of this great multitude he drew out about fortie thousand persons, who liberally according to euery mans abilitie redeeming the ordinarie perils of the warres, returned home to their owne dwellings. And so in *Osmans* armie remained the number of an hundred and fourescore thousand persons or thereabouts. With this multitude the Generall departed from Erzirum (about the eleuenth of August this yeare 1585) towards Tauris, continuing for all that, the speech for Nassiuan. But he had scarce marched two daies, when diuers souldiers of Græcia and Constantinople presented themselues before him, vpbraiding him with great improuidencie, and telling him, that they began alreadie to feele the want of victuall, by wanting the same day their ordinarie allowance of corne for their horses: so that if in the beginning, and ■ it were in the entrance of so long a iourney they felt such want, they could not tell with what iudgement or discretion he meant to lead so great a companie so far as Nassiuan; nor by what cunning conceit he had presumed to sustaine so great an armie in the seruice of their Lord. *Osman* quietly heard their complaints, and presently prouided for them, by causing such store of barley to be distributed among them, as they desired; and seuerely punished the officers that had the charge for the allowance of corne, who most couetously began to make merchandise of the common prouision, by conuerting it to their own priuat vses. And hauing thus quieted their troubled mindes, he proceeded on his iourny, and by the way of Hassan Chalassi and of Chars, arriued vpon the Calderan plaines, famous for the memorable battels there fought betweene *Selymus* and *Hysmael*. In these Plaines hee tooke a generall reuiew of his army, wherein there wanted a number, that by reason of sicknesse being not able to continue the iourney, were inforced to stay behind, some in one place some in another. Remouing thence, he tooke the way not to Nassiuan, as he had still hitherto giuen it out he would, but now directly to Tauris. Which so sudden an alteration of the iourny as soone as the soldiers of Græce and Constantinople heard, they fel into a great rage, and comming againe before the Generall, reuelled with him in this sort to his face:

The number of Osmans armie.

And what are we, thou villaine, thou Turke, thou dolt, whom thou handlest in this sort? Wee are neither oxen nor sheepe of the mountaines, for the leading of whom thou thinkest thou art come out: neither can we brooke these thy lies and deceits. If thou hast publickly professed to lead vs to Nassiuan, and by that speech hast trained vs from the farthest bounds of Gracia, to what end now, after thou hast wearied vs so much, doest thou deceiue vs with such vanities, and prolong our iourney, and set before vs such strange and important dangers as our minds neuer once thought on? But if this was thy first purpose and intent, and that now, not foolishly or by chance, but vpon premeditation and good aduice thou changest thine opinion, why diddest thou dismisse so many souldiers, as might haue made the armie more terrible and stronger for the enterprise of Tauris? Doest thou thinke that by suffering others to redeeme their liberties, and so to increase thy riches, thou shalt set our liues to sale, and to make vs slaue to the Persians?

The most insolent speech of the souldiers of Constantinople and Græce vnto Osman their Generall.

At these arrogant speeches, the General was exceedingly troubled; seeing his good meaning, and the earnest desire he had to aduance the maiestie & glorie of his king, taken in so euil part,

Osman wisely appeaseth his mutinous souldiers.

and those his best souldiers so highly offended. And although he could indeed haue readily G
vsed the sharpest and hardest prouisions and remedies for it, that in such occasions are ordinarily applied: yet vpon good aduice he forbare so to do, and in stead of rigor and punishment, resolued to take by more easie meanes. Whereupon causing many of the Captaines and chiefe amongst those seditious souldiers to come before him, hee first perswaded them, *That the former speech for Nassinan was not raised at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to goe for Tauris: but all that was done, he had done to fulfill the commandement of the Sultan, who had charged him so to doe, to the end to lessen the Persian preparations; which they would vndoubtedly haue made farre greater, if the speech had beene giuen out at the first for Tauris. Which his princely care of their safetie they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in so doing they* H
should still preserue that great opinion which both the king and the world had conceiued of their valour and fidelitie. Neither needed they to feare, that the souldiers which were dismissed might weaken the armie, for that they themselues were not onely sufficient to pierce into Tauris, and to open the way vp. on the enemies, but to daunt them euen with their lookes; and that those which were discharged, had but purged the hoast of all cowardise, and left nothing in it but vertue and courage. By this milde answere of the Generall, the tumultuous souldiers were sufficiently pacified, but much better apayed and contented they were, as soone as he put his hand to the common purse, and bestowed among them all a small quantitie of monies: for by this his kinde vsage, all their stomackes were ouercome, and they themselues became so willing and so couragious, that now they durst venture not to Tauris onely, but to Casbin, yea euen to the farthest parts of all the Persian kingdome. I

These important outrages thus appeased, the Generall turned himselfe with all his armie towards Coy, a citie scituate beyond Van, in the middest betweene Tauris and the Martian Mere, where he refreshed his armie with all things he could desire. From Coy he passed to Marant, a citie subiect to the Persians; plentifull also of all things needfull for man or beast. From thence he leaned downe towards Soffian; a fruitfull place, subiect also to the Persians; from whence he began to discouer Tauris. Great was the ioy of the whole campe, and now the mutinous souldiers of Græce and Constantinople could highly commend the aduice of the Generall, or rather of *Amurath* himselfe, in giuing out the rumor of Nassiuan for Tauris, as the only means whereby they were in quiet come so far, the Persians being wholly occupied (as they supposed) about Nassiuan: insomuch that euery man being waxen couragious, and replenished with ioy, without any feare at all began proudly to plot vnto themselues nothing but sackings, pillings, taking of prisoners, rauishments, robberies, and all those insolent & outragious actions that vse rashly to proceed from the greedie affections of those barbarous victors; especially they of the Vauward, who being desirous of boorie, and to discouer the enemies countrey, descended downe towards certaine pleasant gardens full of all sorts of trees, springs, & fruits: where hauing satisfied their appetites, they withdrew themselues to a certain little riuer neere to a bridge called *The bridge of salt water*, and there staid at pleasure attending the comming of the army. But euen whiles they were thus inioying the water, the fruits, the shade, the greene grasse, and other delights of the place, the Persian Prince *Emir Hamze*, king *Mahomets* eldest sonne, who with ten thousand good souldiers had closely couched himselfe, L watching stil when some of the enemies bands should come down to those resting places, suddenly set vpon them with such speed, courage, and fury, that as if it had bin a lightning and in a manner without any resistance he ouerran all those Turks, and dispersed them, putting to the sword about seuen-thousand of them. And so leading away with him many prisoners, horses, slaues, with sundrie ensignes and Turkish drums, he withdrew himselfe back towards his blind father, who lay then encamped about 12 miles from Tauris with fiftie thousand souldiers or thereabouts; *Aliculi Chan* Gouernour of Tauris beeing left in the citie with 4000 souldiers onely. A greater army than this, not exceeding the number of threescore and foure thousand men, was not the Persian king able to leuie, the principall occasion whereof was the death of *Emir Chan*, for which the Turcoman nation being waxen rebellious and disobedient, would not by any meanes be brought to defend that citie, whereof *Aliculi Chan* their capital enemie was now Gouernour: and from Gheilan and Heri there came not so much as one souldier to relieue the necessities of Persia. So that with these small forces in comparison of the enemies, the Persian King had no stomacke to meet the Turkish armie in plaine battell, but fought

The Turks reioice vpon the discouerie of Tauris.

The Persian prince ouerrunneth the Vauward of the Turks armie.

A sought how he might with as little losse to himselfe as possibly he could, make trial of his forces, and by all politique meanes to weaken and annoy his strong enemie.

Osman vnderstanding of this discomfiture of his vauward, forthwith dispatched *Sinan Bassa* the sonne of *Cicala*, and *Mahamet* the Bassa of Caraemit, with fourteene thousand souldiers to pursue the victorious Prince: who in their pursuit vsed such expedition, that at length they ouertooke him in the way towards his fathers campe. But as soone as the Prince saw the Turks so neere him, that without a dangerous and shameful flight he could not auoid the battel, couragiously he turned his face, and joined with them a most bloudy conflict: which being begun two houres before night, was most fiercely maintained vntill that the darkenesse of the night bereauing them of the vse of their weapons, enforced both the one side and the other to retire. *Osman sendeth two Bassas with 14000 soldiers to ouertake the Persian Prince.*

B Which was done with the notable losse of the Turkes, who in this second conflict (as it was commonly reported) lost six thousand men; and had (as it was thought) suffered a generall slaughter, had not the night interrupted so vncouth an action, well worthie of a thousand daylights. So that hitherto the Turks sustained the losse of more than ten thousand soldiers, and yet had scarce discouered or seene the citie which they so greedily longed after.

The next morning the Turks campe remoued and came within two miles of Tauris, where they incamped. But whilest they were setting vp their tents, *Aliculi Chan* issuing out of the citie with all his garrison and such of the citizens as were fit to beare armes, set vpon the face of the vauward, being now renewed, and with many cunning turnings and windings so charged them, that with great losse he forced them to retire euen vnto the maine battell; where after C he had espied the great artillerie, he without hurt withdrew himselfe againe to the citie. The confusion of the Turks in this skirmish was notable, for in a very small time the vauward was disordered, and almost three thousand slaine. But *Aliculi* not so contented, in the shutting in of the euening sallied out of the citie the second time, and swiftly running along that side of the armie that lay towards Tauris, slew the Bassa of Maras, and did great harme in that quarter: which done, without any staying he fled to the Kings campe, and forsooke the defence of that sorrowfull citie which he could not hold. Neuertheless the Taurisians, as many of them as remained in the citie, gathered themselues together to the gates of the citie, well armed, prepared to make a bloudie entrance for the Turkes whensoeuer they should come. All the night was spent in watching without rest on either side, and yet nothing attempted: but vpon D the breake of the day, a great multitude of the seruile sort of the Turkes, and of the common rascal rout, without any order from their captaines, armed with corselets, speares, & swords, went to the city with resolution to haue sacked it, and so to haue enriched themselues with the spoile and pillage of that wealthie citie. But when they came to the guarded gates of the Citie, they found there contrarie to their expectation, a terrible rescue, and were inforced there to joine an hard and mortal battell; so that the walls, the entrance, yea all the ground thereabouts was bathed with bloud, and as it were couered with weapons and dead carkasses. And yet for all that, though the Persians stood fast and firme at the arriual of this seruile rout; at the last they were constrained to yeeld the entrance, being ouercome by the multitude of them that out of the campe flowed in vpon them like a floud; and retyring into the citie, now asto- E nied and amased on euery side, they fortified themselues in their houses vnder the ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the streets; from whence with their arrowes and some few arcubuses, they did the Turks that entred, great harme. Yet were they not able to kil and destroy so many of their enemies, but that at the last they were too mightie for them, and wrought many grieuous mischiefes in that wofull city. And so a great number of this rascall people that remained aliue, returned to the Turkish campe, carrying away with them too manifest tokens of the poore oppressed citie: wherein the miserable women and impotent soules stood embracing & straining the doores & posts of their houses, and kissing their natiue soile, with prayers, mournings, and complaints, bewailing their present miseries, and yet fearing worse to come. *Osman* the General now made acquainted with these calamities, caused pro- F clamation to be published, That no man should be so hardie as to molest the Taurisians, and in the meane time went himselfe about the citie, viewing throughly the scituation of it, and surueying the place wherein he might both incampe himselfe safely, and with better foundation and greater securitie erect a castle or fort, for the more assurance of that conquered countrey. *A great slaughter in the Gates of Tauris.*

The description of Tauris.

The Citie of Tauris seated at the foot of the hill Orantes, about eight dayes journey from

from the Caſpian ſea, and is ſubiect to windes, cold, and ſnow; yet of a very wholeſome aire, abounding with all things neceſſarie for mans life; and wonderfull rich, with perpetual courſe of merchandiſe brought thither out of the Eaſt, to be conueyed vnto the Weſt; and alſo of others brought out of theſe Weſterne parts, to be diſperſed into the Eaſt. It is verie populous, for it feedeth almoſt two hundred thouſand perſons: but yet open to the fury of euery enemie without walls, and vnfortified. The buildings (after the manner of thoſe of the Eaſt) are of burnt clay, rather low than high. For all things it carrieth the name, and was the place of the Perſian Kings reſidence, vntill ſuch time as that the late King *Tamas* remoued his ſeat from thence further into his kingdome to Casbin: neuertheleſſe both before & ſince, although it had been ſundrie times moleſted by the inrodes and furie of the Turkiſh Emperors, yet was it ſtil in great eſtimation and renowne.

Of this citie *Oſman Baſſa* hauing taken diligent view, cauſed his tents to be pitched on the South ſide thereof, where was a ſpacious garden all flouriſhing and beautiful, replenished with ſundrie kind of trees and ſweet ſmelling plants, and a thouſand fountaines and brooks deriued from a prettie riuer, which with his pleaſant ſtreame diuided the garden from the city of Tauris; and was of ſo great beautie, that for the delicacie thereof it was by the countrey inhabitants call *Sechis Genet* (that is to ſay) the eight Paradiſes; and was in times paſt the ſtanding houſe of their Kings, while they kept their reſidence in this citie; and after they had withdrawne their ſeat from thence to Casbin, became the habitation and place of aboad for the Gouernors of Tauris. Of theſe gardens and places *Oſman* made choice to build his caſtle in; whereof he gaue the modell himſelfe, and commanded that all the whole circuit of thoſe pleaſant greenes ſhould be inuironed with walls, and trenches digged round about them to conuey the water from the aforeſaid riuer. Which was accordingly begun with the greateſt care that poſſibly might be; the foundation of the imbattelled walls laied, the ditches digged fourteene foot broad, and a mans height in depth: and in the ſpace of ſix and thirtie dayes the whole worke finiſhed and brought to an end; greate ſtore of artillery mounted vpon the wals, and diuers baths, lodgings, and ſuch other houſes neceſſarie for the Turkiſh vſes, built within the caſtle. The firſt day of this building *Oſman* fell ſicke of a feauer with a bloudie flix, which haply was the cauſe both of the ſlowneſſe of the building, and of many other loſſes that afterwards happened, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

The caſtle of Taurus built in 36 dayes.

Eight Ianizaries with certain Spaoglans found ſtrangled in a Bath at Tauris.

Fiue dayes after the building of the caſtle was begun, newes was brought into the Turkiſh campe, That eight Ianizaries and diuers Spaoglans were ſeene ſtrangled in a bath within the citie of Tauris. Whereupon the Zaini, Spahini, and Ianizaries came preſently vnto the General, declaring vnto him, That although he had with too much clemencie giuen order, That no man ſhould hurt or moleſt the Tauriſians, and that according to his pleaſure, euery man had vſed modeſtie towards them, and obedience to him; yet the Tauriſians themſelues had moſt audaciouſly ſtrangled in one of their baths eight Ianizaries and certaine Spaoglans, which iurie and inſolencie (they ſaid) in their iudgement was not to be ſuffered. This outrage ſo moued the General, that without any further delay he commanded the citie to be ſacked, leauing it wholly to the pleaſure of his ſouldiers: who forthwith ſo vſed the matter, not as if they would haue reuenged an iniurie, but rather at once haue brought an vtter deſtruction vpon the whole citie. Euery place was filled with ſlaughter, rauiſhment, rapine, and murther; virgines were deflowred, men children defiled with horrible and vnſpeakeable ſinnes; yonglings ſnatched out of their parents armes, houſes layed euen with the ground and burnt, riches and money carried away, and in briefe, all things ruinated and waſted. Neither were theſe miſchiefs committed once onely, but the ſecond followed worſe than the firſt, and the third vpon that worſe than the ſecond: ſo that it was a miſerie almoſt inexplicable, to behold that citie ſo populous, ſo rich, ſometimes the court and palace of the Perſian Kings, and honour of that Empire, now ſubiect to the furie of the Turks, plunged in calamitie and vtter deſtruction.

The miſerie of the Tauriſians.

The wofull aduertiſement hereof ſore troubled the Perſian King, but the young Prince his ſonne much more: who moued with the paſſions of moſt inward griefe, diſdaine, and deſpaire, and deſiring nothing more than reuenge, reſolued to attempt any thing whereby to requite ſo great a wrong. In which reſolution hauing confirmed his army, he commanded 500 of his horſemen to preſent themſelues euen to the very ſight of the enemies tents, and as it were to dare them to battell. Which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant ſhew of

of themſelues. At the diſcouerie whereof, the Turks imagining that the Perſians were come in great number to aſſaile the armie, order was giuen by the ſicke General, That *Cicala Baſſa* and *Mahamet* the Baſſa of Caraemit, with the people of Grecia, and all their own forces ſhould go to encounter the enemy: who preſently with their enſignes diſplaid, vnder wich there ſtood about foure and thirtie thouſand ſtrong, beſides a number of ſeruile people, yet men exerciſed in labors and perils, in all well neere fortie thouſand, ſet forward. Now the fiue hundred Perſians with a maruellous cunning kinde of skirmiſhing dallied with the Turkiſh ſouldiers, and drew them forward for the ſpace of eight miles & more: and being brought ſo far on, and now forewearied with the skirmiſh, were luſtily aſſailed by the Perſian prince, who with part of his armie (to the number of about twentie thouſand perſons) couragiouſly ſet vpon the two Baſſa's, and joined with them the deadlieſt and cruelleſt battel that euer was written of. Wherin the Perſians hauing giuen a moſt perillous onſet, and done great harme, it was thought that they would haue contented themſelues with ſo luckie an incounter, and ſo retyred: which the Turks minding to preuent, and not to returne without a notable victorie, hardly preſſed vpon them, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and ſo to giue them a bloudie and deadly ouerthrow. But the Perſians hauing quietly and with great aſſutance for a reaſonable ſpace endured their charge, at laſt as if they had been freſh men, made head vpon them afreſh, and began a moſt terrible battel anew, wherein the Baſſa of Caraemit (aboue named) was put to flight, and being wholly diſmaied and diſcomfited, fled backe againe to the campe, carrying with him the moſt manifeſt tokens of the vnhappie iſſue of the battell. *Cicala* the other Baſſa notwithſtanding valiantly and with great cunning ſtill ſuſtained the furie of the Perſians, labouring by all meanes to encourage his ſouldiers, and to haue reſtored the battell: but when he had done what he could, ouercome at laſt by greater valour, he was inforced to betake himſelfe to flight alſo; and ſo altogether diſcomfited, came to the campe without any enſigne; hauing left behinde him eight thouſand of his ſouldiers dead vpon the ground.

Eight thouſand Turkes ſlaine.

The Perſian prince encouraged with this ſo fortunate a victorie, by ſpeedie heraulds ſent to the ſicke Viſier (whom he thought notwithſtanding to haue bin in health) and gaue him to vnderſtand, that if he were willing to fight, he was readie for him, & in what ſort ſoeuer it pleaſed him to accept a battell, to make him good account of his valour; and to cauſe him to know, not onely that *Amurath* his Maſter had moſt vniuſtly raiſed this war, but alſo that he had being good for himſelfe not to haue taken the ſame in hand. Of this offer *Oſman* accepted: but being not able himſelfe to go and anſwer the prince in perſon hand to hand, by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe, which euery houre mortally increaſed, he ſent out all his captaines with his armie to dare him battell.

The prince lay ten miles or thereabouts diſtant from the campe of *Oſman*, towards whome the Turks ſet forward in this manner: The maine battell was guided by the Baſſa of Caraemit and *Sinan Cicala*, with all the ſouldiers of Aſſiria and Babylon; the left wing was led by the Baſſa of Natolia, with the band of Grecia; and the right wing was conducted by *Amurath Baſſa* of Caramania, with the people of Soria; to the number of threeſcore thouſand: beſide ſuch as were left behind at Tauris, with the truſty guard of the Ianizaries, and the artillery, for the ſafeguard of the ſicke Viſier. In this order they confronted the Perſian prince, who was himſelfe in the midſt of his armie, with all his people in very good order, hauing on the one ſide the ſoldiers of Perſia and Hircania, and on the other them of Parthia & Antropatia, in all to the number of fortie thouſand. The Turks feared nothing more, than that the Perſians fetching a great compaſſe about, ſhould with all celeritie and furie ſet vpon their tents, and the riches they had laied vp together in their pauilions; and therefore at euery motion of theirs they continually feared this ſudden outrode, whereof they had ſuch eſpeciall care, that retyring themſelues as much as they might; and feigning as if they had giuen place to the Perſians, it wanted not much but that they had brought them euen within the iuſt leuell and marke of their Artillerie. Which the Perſians perceiuing, without any further dallying hardly began to aſſaile the maine bodie of the battell. The Prince himſelfe being entred amongſt the ſouldiers of the Baſſa of Caraemit (who as General ſuſtained the place of *Oſman*) and preſſing into the midſt of the battell, diſpatched euery man that came in his way; and hauing ſingled out the Baſſa from the reſt, ſmote off his head, and gaue it to one of his Followers to carrie vp on the top of his Launce. Which beeing openly deſcried, brought a great terrour vpon the Turks

The Baſſa of Caraemit ſlaine by the Perſian Prince, and his head cut off.

ks, and exceedingly encouraged the Persians, who embrued with the bloud of their ene- G
mies, and entermingling themselues more and more among them, made of them a most confu-
sed and general slaughter; wherein beside the Bassa before named, there died also the Bassa of
Trabszonda, the Sanzacke of Brusia, with fiue other Sanzackes, and as it was commonly repor-
ted, twentie and Turks moe. It fell also to the lot of *Amurath Bassa* of Caramania to be
there taken prisoner, with diuers other common souldiers. But night comming now on, and
the Persians being come somewhat too nigh the Turkish artillerie, they gaue ouer the fight,
and withdrew themselues backe to the place where the King lay incamped with the rest of his
armie.

But now were diuers dayes spent, wherein the new fortresse at Tauris (as we haue before
said) was fully finished, when the souldiers of Grecia and Constantinople, wearied to see their H
friends and fellowes thus slaine before their faces, and hauing also safely layd vp in their own
custodie such preyes and booties as they had gotten in the sacke of the citie, resolued with
themselues to procure their owne departure, and so much the rather, for that the Winter was
now fast comming on. And forasmuch as the General was through the immoderate flux of
bloud brought weake, and in despaire of life, and quite abandoned of all hope by his physiti-
ons, and therefore not to be spoke withall; they were faine by the mouth of such as were their
trustie friends about him, to represent vnto him the necessitie of their returne, and withall af-
ter many reuerend intreaties, caused it also to be signified vnto him, That if he stood obstinate, I
and would needs stay dallying out the time in those dangerous places where no such need
was, they should be inforced to withdraw themselues and to forsake him. *Osman*, who had
now nothing els to doe in those countries, but onely to leaue some conuenient garison in the
new fortresse at Tauris, liberally promised to satisfie their requests, by departing thence the
Giaffer Bassa of Tripolis, an Eunuch made Gouernour of Tauris. next morning. So calling vnto him *Giaffer* the Eunuch Bassa of Tripolis, a man of a crafty and
cruell nature, made him gouernour and keeper of the new built fortresse at Tauris. And the
more to incourage him to take that charge vpon him, gaue him freely for the space of three
whole yeres, not only the office and authorie, but also the rents and reuenues of the Bassa of
Caracmit, lately slaine by the Persian Prince, and withall honored him with the title of a Bassa
of the Court: so that hauing finished his three yeres office of Caracmit, he was then to go and
sit among the soueraigne seats of the Bassa's of the Porta. The Bassa seeing so faire & so high a
way for him to mount to those high honours (greater than which there is none in the Turkish K
Empire) readily accepted the offer, and dispatching his lieutenant to Caracmit, to the gouern-
ment of those countries in his absence, with an hundred of his owne followers, setled himself
Osman the General departeth from Tauris, & commeth to Sancazan. in the said fort with a garrison of twelue thousand soldiers, furnished with all necessary proui-
sion vntil the next Spring. The General hauing thus set all things in order, and carefully pro-
uided for the safetie of the fortresse, departed according to his promise, and the same morning
(which was the foure score and seuenth day after his departure from Erzirum) came to a place
called Sancazan, seuen miles distant from Tauris.

The Turks were now vpon the point of their incamping, in a confused disorder and hurly-
burly, when those that were hindermost in the army heard the neying of horses, and the noise
of drums & trumpets, as it it had bin the comming of an armie. Which when the whole camp L
vnderstood, they ran all headlong & disordered as they were, to the rescue, on that side where
the noise of the horses and warlike instruments was heard. But whilest the Turks were thus in-
tentiuely busied on that side to expect the comming of the enemie, the Persian Prince with-
The battell of Sancazan. out any signe or token of battell, with 28000 horsemen was readie vpon them on the other
side; who hauing discouered the Camels and other carriages whereupon their bootie, their
spoiles, and their riches were laden, which they had taken in Tauris, beside much of their pro-
uision of victuals for the sustenance of the armie, he turned vpon them, and with a prouident
and safe conuoy had taken for a prey eighteene thousand of the Camels and Mules well loden
with the same booties and victuals, which the Prince sent presently away with six thousand of
his souldiers, and he himselfe with his two and twentie thousand Persians entred into the Turks M
armie, who now to withstand his assault, had on that side also made head against him. A gal-
lant thing it was, and terrible withall, to see what a mortall battell was made, what sing
prowesse shewed euen presently in the fore front of the battell; for in a moment you might
haue seene the Tents and Pauilions turned vpside downe, and their incamping Lodgings reple-

A replenished with dead carkasses and bloud, victorious death ranging and raigning in euery cor-
ner. The Turks themselues were astonished and maruelled to see their enemies (so few in num-
ber, and intermingled among so populous an army of warlike people) more like fatal ministers
of death, than mortal men, to brandish their swords ouer them, as if it had lightned, & to make
so general a slaughter; and do to this day with great admiration recount the valor & prowesse
of the Persians. But they all now doubting lest the enemie in this fury should forcibly haue en-
tred the very lodgings of the sicke Visier, it was commanded (not by himselfe, for he lay now
at the last gaspe; but by him who at that time commanded in his name) That without delay
the artillerie should be vnbarred and discharged: which in that medley and confusion of both
armies, without any exception or distinction of persons, ouerthrew both friends and foes, and
B did more harme perhaps among the Turks themselues, than among the Persians: for at the first
thundring noise thereof the Prince with all speed retired; after whom presently followed all
the rest: so that the Turks which remained behinde, were more annoyed with the deadly shot
than were the Persians, who flying away, could not feele the damage, but that the Turkes must
first be well payed for their labor. The Turkes pursuing the flying Persians, made shew as if
they would gladly haue ouertaken them: but night comming on, they feared to proceed any
further than they might without danger returne. In this battell of Sancazan were slaine twen- *Twenty thousand Turkes slaine.*
tie thousand Turks, without any notable losse of the Persians.

Among the rest, in the same place died the Visier *Osman*, General of the late dreadfull, but *Osman the Visier and General dieth at Sancazan.*
now desolat army; not by the hand of the enemy, but consumed with the vehemency of an
C ague, and flux of bloud. Whose death notwithstanding was kept secret from the whole army,
euery man verily thinking, that it was but only the continuance of his sicknes, because the cha-
rets wherin he lay, were still kept close: and in his name *Cicala Bassa* (for so he had appointed in
his wil) gaue out answers & commandments to the whole army. Neuertheless it was disclo-
sed to the Persians by means of three yong men, who in the life of *Osman* hauing charge of his
jewels and treasure, were with the best thereof and the fairest of his horses fled to the Persian
king, to whom they reuealed the death of the General. The Persians, who before had thought
it not possible for so great cowardise and dishonorable kind of fighting & ordering of an army
to haue proceeded from the vertue and valor of *Osman*, of whose worth they had too manifest
a trial and experience in times past; now vnderstanding of his death, were thereby incouraged
D to attempt the vtter ouerthrow of the Turkish remnant, and so to giue them an honorable fare-
wel. Wherupon the Persian prince with 14000 men followed the Turks, who had now raised
their campe, and were remoued to a certaine riuer of salt water, not far from Sancazan, where
the Prince caused a few tents to be pitched, about foure or fiue miles distant from the Turkish
campe, the aforesaid brooke running in the midst betweene the two armies. Now the Prince
had purposed to haue assailed the Turks in the morning, whiles they were loding their carria-
ges, hoping in that confusion to haue wrought them some notable mischiefe: which his de-
signement was reuealed vnto the Turks by one of his spies whom they had caught. And ther-
fore they did neither rise so early in the morning as their manner was, nor load their stuffe vn-
E til such time as they were all armed, & on horseback ready to receiue their enemies. By which
their wary and vnusual maner of rising, the Persians perceiued that their purpose was by some
means discouered. And yet considering that if they should lose this occasion, they should find
no other good opportunitie to annoy them before the next Spring, they vtterly resolued to
aduenture the assault: and hauing obserued that the enemies artillery was on the right side of
the armie, they in the sight of euery man began to enter on the left. But the Turks presently so
vncouered and vnbarred their artillerie against the assailants, as was to their great losse & dan-
ger. Howbeit they were so nimble and so quicke to shroud themselues vnder the enemies ar-
mie, and to auoid the mischieuous tempest, that being come now very neere the Turks squa-
drons, they must needs joine battel with them. The Persians had purposed before, as soone as
they saw the Turks begin to stir, to retire, and so to draw them on into a very filthie and deepe
F marish; which being then drie, was not feared or doubted of any, but only by those that were
acquainted withall or borne thereabouts. Which their policie the rebel *Maxut Chan*, and with
him *Dant Chan* (as being wel acquainted with those places) perceiuing, gaue notice thereof to
Cicala Bassa, who presently caused a great compassing wing to be made, commanding them
to set vpon the Persians, and to charge them home: which was forthwith put in execution, so
that

the poore old king and the prince. This ſo ſudden and ſo dangerous a rebellion, whereby not
only ſo honorable and ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe was to be abandoned, but the whole ſtate of G
the kingdome like to be indangered, exceedingly grieued al good men, but moſt of all the old
king and the prince his ſon: who no leſſe carefull of his rightfull ſucceſſion, than was the aged
king of his preſent eſtate, both now hazarded by this rebellion; wholly incenſed with griefe &
anguiſh of mind began to caſt a thouſand deuices in his troubled head, what conrſe to take, and
what to reſolue vpon. To abandon the ſiege it grieued him aboue meaſure, and to ſuffer ſo per-
nicious a rebellion to go forward, ſeemed too dangerous for the ſtate of Perſia: and to prouide
for both theſe miſchiefes at once, was altogether impoſſible. In theſe huge waues of contrarie
thoughts, he reſolued at laſt to turne himſelfe againſt the Turcomans, and to ſuppreſſe that re- I
bellion, as moſt dangerous to the State. And ſo with twelue thouſand ſouldiers, and a part alſo H
of the kings ordinarie guard, all couragious and hardy men, he followed after the rebellious
Turcomans; and marching directly toward Casbin, he ouertooke them at a place called Cali-
ſteza, a daies iourney on this ſide Casbin, and there ioyned battell with them. Wherein many
of them being ſorie for that they had done, would not ſo much as draw their ſwords againſt
the Prince: many others fled alſo away for feare, ſo that he eaſily obtained a wiſhed victorie
The Turcomans diſcomfited, & Mahamet Chax and Caliſe the Sultan beheaded. ouer them. The ſeditious *Mahomet Chan* was taken priſoner; and by the Princes commande-
ment preſently beheaded: ſo was alſo *Caliſe* the Sultan, and diuers other captains of this peſti-
lent conſpiracy. Yong *Tamas* was alſo taken, & by the direction of the Prince ſent to the caſtle
of Cahaca. Fiue thouſand Turcomans of the late followers of the rebell *Mahamet*, fled out of
the battell towards Babylon by the way of Siras, and yeelded themſelues to *Solyman Baſſa* of
that citie; who afterwards repenting themſelues of their folly, ſought to returne againe into I
the fauor of their king, but all in vaine: ſo that being become rebels to the one, and ſuſpected
to the other, they did at one time loſe their countrie, their libertie, their honor, & the fauor of
all men as well friends as foes. The Prince after this victorie held on his way to Casbin, and
there ſtaying, laboured to gather the diſperſed Turcomans, eſpecially thoſe that (mooued with
the honeſtie of the cauſe) would not beare arms in ſo vniuſt an action; intending afterwards to
returne to Tauris, to attend the beſieging and conqueſt of the fort. This was the end of this
dangerous rebellion, the chiefe cauſe that Tauris was not againe recouered out of the hands of
the Turks, to the great weakening of the Perſian kingdome.

Giaffer Baſſa ſendeth to Cicala Baſſa for aid. Now *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa Gouernour of the Caſtle of Tauris, fearing leſt the Perſian K
Prince would with a greater army again return to the ſiege: perceiuing himſelfe to wax euery
day weaker and weaker, by reaſon that many of his men ſecretly fled from him, beſide them
that periſhed with ſickneſſe, and others ſlain in aduenturing too boldly to goe abroad to ſeeke
for victuals; ſent aduertiſement thereof to *Cicala Baſſa* at Van: ſignifying further vnto him by
writing, That if the prince ſhould again returne to aſſault the fort, he ſhould of neceſſitie be en-
forced to yeeld it: and that therefore as he tendered the honor of his Sultan, he would be care-
full to ſend him ſuccour, whereby he might be able to maintaine the fort: adding moreouer,
That now it was moſt eaſily to be done, becauſe there was no forces of the enemies in thoſe
quarters, ſauing onely a few which remained about the king, lying 12 miles off from Tauris.
Cicala moued with the importance of the enterpriſe propounded, and withall deſirous to gain L
ſome credit of glorie and renowne with his king, entertained the aduices of *Giaffer*, and getting
him to horſe with a train of three thouſand harquebuſiers and good ſtore of munition, ſet for-
ward toward Tauris. The Perſian king aduertiſed therof; ſent out ſpies to learn what way they
held, meaning to meet them and to ſet vpon them: but theſe ſpies comming neere to Salmas,
were apprehended by the forerunners of *Cicala*, and beeing put to torture, reuealed at laſt, how
that their king was in armes, & on his way towards Sancazan. At which news *Cicala* was great-
ly aſtonied, as well for the danger whereinto the forces and munition which he had with him
were likely to fall, as alſo for that by any loſſe which his troups ſhould ſuſtain in this expedi-
tion, the city of Van (being indeed the greater and moſt noble frontier towne in all thoſe coun-
tries) muſt needs be in hazard to be loſt, hauing left in it but his lieutenant with a verie few ſol- M
diers. Whereupon hee determined to relinquiſh this dangerous enterpriſe, and to withdraw
himſelfe backe to the defence and preſeruation of the citie committed to his truſt and go-
uernment. But although theſe expected and deſired ſuccours were not conueyed to Tauris as
was intended, yet had *Giaffer* as good fortune as hee could wiſh: for the preparations of the
Prince

A prince were ſo long and troubleſome, and his returne ſo much prolonged, that there was time
enough yeelded vnto the Turks great Generall now newly choſen (as by and by ſhal be decla-
red) to go with a ſtrong army into thoſe quarters, and ſo to preſerue all that which the only ex-
pedition and celeritie of the enemie might haue put in great hazard, and almoſt haue brought
to a deſperat caſe.

In the mean time, *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperor was greatly troubled at Conſtantinople in
making choice of a new Generall: on the one ſide, *Oſman Baſſa* hauing by his laſt will left *Sinan*
Cicala to be his ſucceſſor, as a man of approued valor; and the many dangers he had run thorow
in the late ſeruice about Tauris, with the great fauours he had in the court, did not a little en-
cline the king to his election: on the other ſide, he heard of a publicke rumor ſpread amongſt
B the ſouldiers, that they could by no means endure to be commanded by ſo young a captaine;
and that ſome in plaine termes ſhould ſay, That they would not obey him: Which cauſed
Amurath to doubt, that ſome dangerous diſcord might thereof enſue in the armie, if he ſhould
proceed to make choice of him. Then there was alſo *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man which had al-
readie ſuſtained that charge before *Oſman*, who now very ambitiouſly ſought againe for this
honour, hauing of late performed ſome good ſeruice to the good liking of the King. Of any
other to make better choice he had none, ſo that he ſtood in great doubt what to do. In the end,
becauſe hee was in good time to prouide for his affaires, he made choice of *Ferat Baſſa*, the
ſame man whom he had before made proofe of: a man of great fidelitie, of an honorable car-
riage, and already experienced in the leading and commanding of ſuch an armie to whome he
C granted the ordinarie authoritie, to mannage at his pleaſure ſuch affaires of the empire as con-
cerned his iourney. Vpon this reſolution, generall precepts were ſent out to all cities within
the kingdome, to the Baſſaes and other Gouernours, with ſpeciall commandement, That all
their ſoldiers, together with their taxes, tenths, munitions, victuals, armor, artificers, and to be
ſhort, all their neceſſary furniture & prouiſion ſhould be ready and in order, vpon the firſt war-
ning ſhould be ſent them the next Spring. Great prouiſion of money was made, and in Soria
The returne of Soria ſix hundred thouſand ducats. (beſides the ordinarie ſumme that is beſtowed vpon the yearely pay of ſouldiers in Reiuan,
Erzirum, Lori, Tomanis, Teflis, and Chars, which ſwallow vp all the reuenue of that countrie,
and of the citie of Tripoli, amounting to the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand duckats) there was
taken vp in preſt of priuat merchants in the citie of Aleppo onely, the ſumme of threeſcore
D thouſand Cecchini, to be repaied vnto them with the firſt monies that ſhould be receiued by
the officers of his cuſtome houſes. A matter that moued an extraordinary grudging among the
people, for that it ſeemed to euery man a very ſtrange and intollerable exaction, beſide ſo many
grieuances laied vpon them, for corne, for carriages, for pioners, and for workmen, to endure
this burden alſo of lending their money, without hope of reſtitution thereof: yea and indeed
euery man did greatly wonder how they were thus ill aduiſed, to make it knowne to the Chri-
ſtian Princes what ſcarcitie and want of money they had. The Generall had alſo with him
foure hundred pieces of artillerie, & did beſide ſo worke the matter, as that *Maxut Chan* (who
was appointed Baſſa of Aleppo) was granted vnto him to be the guide of his armie, as he had
been of *Oſmans*; and that *Cicala Baſſa* of Van (ſcarce his good friend) was remoued from thence
E and ſent farther off out of his way as Baſſa to Babylon.

1586 And thus hauing put all things in readineſſe, he departed from Conſtantinople in the month
Ferat departeth from Conſtantinople, and commeth to Sinas. of Aprill, in the yeare 1586; and paſſing ouer the ſtrait into Aſia, came to Siuas ſomething la-
ter than he ſhould haue done, beeing hindered partly by the Plague which then raged exceee-
dingly in Conſtantinople, and partly by other occaſions incident to ſuch actions. At Siuas he
ſtaied ſo long for the comming together of his army, and in muſtering men, that it was the lat-
ter end of Iuly before he departed thence; ſtaying indeed the longer at Siuas, by reaſon of the
exceeding dearth and want of victuals at Erzirum: which dearth was alſo ſo great in Aleppo,
that a Venice buſhell of wheat was ſold for twelue Cecchini.

Ferat yet making his aboad at Siuas, but readie to depart, was aduertiſed by certaine Poſts
F ſent from *Giaffer* the Baſſa of Tauris, how that the Perſian prince was hourely expected with
a great armie, and that if he did foreſlow to ſend ſuccours, and to preuent the comming of the
prince, and ſo giue him time & leiſure to aſſault the caſtle, he doubted greatly how he ſhould
be able to hold the ſame. Vpon which aduertiſement *Ferat* preſently remoued, and ſo haſted
his iourney, that about the beginning of Auguſt he was at Erzirum: and ſtill hearing more and
more

…e of the princes comming, staied not there, but hasted to Van: where hauing gathered to- G
gather all his souldiers, and taken a new suruey of his army, he departed thence, and being pre-
sently come into the open and large champaines, to make proofe of the readinesse of his soul-
diers, he marshalled them in such sort as if he should forthwith haue ioyned battell with the
enemie, and so in seemely order marched on.

The Turkish Generall continually feared, lest the Persians should come vpon him with
some sudden assault: besides that, the constant report of the Princes comming to Tauris with
his armie, much increased his troubled thoughts. But on the other side, he reposed great con-
fidence in the conspiracie that was now plotted against the life of the Prince, with the priuity
of *Aliculi Chan* the protector and champion of *Abas Mirize* of Heri: who vnder colour of ac- I
companying the Prince to assist his forces, had resolutely concluded with himselfe, and abso- H
lutely promised *Abas* (hauing also giuen intelligence thereof to the Turkish General) to rid the
Prince *Hamze* of his life; or at least (which he thought might more easily be brought to passe)
in the sundry reuolutions & variable chances of the battel, at some time or other to make him
fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and so to settle his lord and master *Abas* in his estate. Vpon these
trecheries *Ferat* grounding himself, began with greater confidence to dispose his designements
and some wat lesse to feare the fame of the huge preparations of Persia against him. Which
preparations in truth, as by most wicked deuices and malicious conspiracies they were turned
quite contrarie from that end whereunto the Prince *Hamze* had continually appointed them;
so if they had bin employed with such faith & fidelitie as so righteous a cause required, with- I
out all doubt the writers of our time should haue had matter enough in this 86 yeare to shew
and represent vnto the world such accidents as should be nothing inferior to those of the yere
before going. But forasmuch as rebellion and discord, the two infernall ministers of the diuel,
haue for the vtter vndoing & ouerthrow of the glorie of Persia, continually fauored the Turks
armie, no maruell it is that the Persian nation cannot want of any reuenge taken for the indigni-
ties offered them by their enemies; and that our writers cannot chuse but write of the true and
vndoubted victories of the Turkes, and the bare shadowes of the Persian exploits; which not-
withstanding many Christians vainly beleeue, because they most earnestly desire them to be
true; although they do see to the contrary, the manifest prospering & euident conquests which
the Turks haue in diuers their States and Countries.

The glorie of the Persian kingdom ouerthrowne by rebellion and discord.

The Persian Prince about the latter end of Iuly arriued at Tauris with the greatest part of K
his armie, where he (contrarie to the opinion of all men) staid not, for what cause is vncertaine.
But vnderstanding that *Zeinel Bassa* of Salmas, by nation a Curdo, lay encamped before the ci-
tie, who of a Persian was become a Turke, and had done great harme against the State of Per-
sia; he determined suddenly to set vpon him, and to chastise him for his rebellion. According
to which resolution, being accompanied with twelue thousand souldiers, he rode to Salmas,
where finding *Zeinel* with all his people encamped as he had been before enformed, he gaue
him the assault. *Zeinel* more readie to flie than to fight, & his soldiers as readie as he, fled pre-
sently, and fel before the Persians, so that the Bassa himselfe with a few others had much adoe
to escape and saue themselues in the closest corners thereabouts, leauing the citie committed
to his charge, for a prey vnto the angrie enemy: who entering into the same, sacked and spoi- L
led it, exercising thereon all such cruelties, as partly the natural desires of souldiers vse to pra-
ctise, and partly such as the Turks themselues shewed vnto them in that miserable and most la-
mentable sacking of Tauris the last yere. The like spoils did the Persian army in al those quar-
ters round about, and so would haue peraduenture returned to Tauris, but that certaine spies
arriued vpon them, with aduertisement, That the Bassa of Reiuan being issued out of his for-
tresse with fifteen hundred harquebusiers, had committed the like outrages in the villages and
fields thereabouts, as the Prince had done about Salmas. With which newes the prince was
greatly moued; and immediatly rising with his armie, and marching towards Reiuan, not far
from the citie encountered the Bassa: who discouering the enemies forces afar off, began in
great disorder to flie and retire into his fort, leauing the greatest part of his souldiers (making M
not so much speed in flight as himselfe) to the fury of the prince, who put them al to the sword
and did what harme he possibly could in all the places thereabouts.

At the very same time great troubles arose in the Drusian country: for *Man-Ogli* the valia
Drusian (of whom we haue before spoken) in reuenge of the iniuries don vnto him & his peo-
ple

A ple by *Ebrain Bassa*, and by a valiant kinde of restitution to recompence himselfe of all those
bribes and Presents which by so many shifts and subtilties were by the couetous Bassa wrung
from him (as is before declared) had now taken vp armes, and hauing wasted and sacked all the
territory of *Ebne-Mansur* and of his other enemies who had yeelded their obedience vnto the
Turks, without let forced all that country with sudden inuasions and inrodes, euen very neere
vnto the cities of Balbecke and Tripoli, and did there exceeding harme. For redresse where-
of, *Amurath* was glad to dispatch away from the court *Ali Bassa* borne at Aleppo, with the title
of the Bassa of Damasco, and with authority to muster fresh souldiers, and so wholly to attend
the vtter subuersion of *Man-Ogli*. But comming thither, he found all againe quiet, so that his
presence in that countrey serued rather for a reconciliation and peace making amongst them,
B than for the prosecuting of any further warre; which at that time was most necessarie for the
Turks to be auoided, as well for want of mony in the common treasurie, as for the exceeding
scarcitie of victuals.

Now the Persian prince hauing made an end of the outrodes and spoiles before mentioned,
retired himselfe to Tauris, and so towards his fathers campe, where the rest of his army was
now arriued, to the number of about fortie thousand: of whom the Prince dispatched away
the soldiers of Heri to the number of eight thousand, vnder the conduct of the traiterous *Ali-
culi Chan* their Generall: and part also of the Turcomans, vnder the leading of *Emanguli Chan*;
with speciall charge, That they should by the way in places of most aduantage, meet & receiue
the enemies army, and in those narrow & troublesome passages to do them what mischiefe
C they possible could. Which the Prince thus appointed, thinking by this meanes to weaken the
enemies forces, and so at their arriuall at Tauris, to come vpon them with all his power, and so
vtterly to destroy them.

Both these captains departed accordingly, making shew that they would with all affection
accomplish the commandement of their Prince: yet neuer was there heard any seruice of mo-
ment put in execution by them: for *Aliculi* ful of treason, after their departure began to alledge
many forced reasons and excuses, Why they should surcease from meeting with the Turks: &
Emanguli as yet vtterly ignorant of the wicked purposes and mischieuous trecherie of *Alicu-
li*, suffered himself to be misse-led by him also. By the delaies and negligence of these two Per-
sian captains, the Turkish General tooke leisure without any losse or hinderance at all, to arriue
D at Tauris, and to put the desired succors into the fort: at what time the Persian prince by good
hap had got knowledge of the trecherie of *Aliculi*, and of the designements which many of the
Sultans had lately contriued, for the betraying of him aliue into the hands of the Turkish Ge-
neral. Of which suspition he being greatly afraid, durst not only not trust himself e to perform
those battels that he had before determined to haue performed; but quite abandoning this no-
ble and honorable enterprise, wholly employed all his care and study for the safety of his own
person, and so left the triumph of the matter in the power of the Turks. And thus those great
hopes and expectations which the Persians had conceiued of great exploits to haue bin done
against the enemie, did not onely proue vaine and come to no good issue, but contrariwise by
this discouerie were conuerted into most strange disturbances, and all Persia thereby endured
E sundrie alterations and reuolutions of most important consequencies. For both *Aliculi Chan*
and his complices were pursued by the prince, as rebels and traitors: and also *Abas Mirize* of
Heri was manifestly discouered for a wicked and trecherous contriuer of his brothers death;
whereby the common mischiefes were encreased more than euer they were before, and the
publike calamities yeelded greater hopes vnto the Turks than they had euer before conceiued
in all the course of these warres.

Aliculi and Emanguli Chan performe nothing against the Turks, as was by the prince expected.

Ferat putteth succours into the fort at Tauris.

When *Ferat* had thus relieued them in the castle of Tauris, leauing for the custodie there-
of *Giaffer* the Bassa with his former companies, hee returned towards Erzirum: hauing first
caused a fort to be erected at Curchiue Tauris, a place neere vnto Tauris; another at Coy;
and the third at Cum: in euery one of which forts hee left a conuenient number of souldiers,
F with all things necessarie and sufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the places they
were to keep. He sent also succors to the fort at Teflis in Georgia, which they had long expe-
cted, and now most ioyfully receiued. But the Persian Prince hauing hunted *Aliculi Chan* out
of the quarters of Tauris, thought himself now wholly deliuered from the great feare of trea-
son and rebellion, wherein he of late liued: and therefore in as great hast as he could, put him-
selfe

...e on his iourney towards Genge: in which place hauing gathered together a good number of ſouldiers, he determined to remoue thence, to intercept the ſuccors that were by the Turks to be brought to Teflis. Now hee had alwaies found *Emanguli Chan* to be both faithfull and wiſe, and in him he repoſed an aſſured confidence for performing any enterpriſe that he had in hand, and c... mnicated with him euery deuice that he had conceiued in theſe wars. And therefore he made head and ioined with him, and lodging moſt familiarly in his city, he ſtaid there for the ſetting in order and diſpoſing of his aforeſaid deſignement, beeing very deſirous not to let ſuch an opportunitie to ouerſlip, without ſignification vnto the world of ſome notable noueltie, which might be correſpondent to the fame that of matters paſſed and performed the yere before, was now ſpred & publiſhed abroad ouer all the world. But when he was euen at the very faireſt to haue put this his deſire in execution, and leaſt of all feared any treacherie or treaſon, vpon a ſudden in the night time as he ſlept vpon a pallet he was miſerably ſtucken through the body, by an Eunuch of his that attended vpon him: and ſo the moſt reſplendent and bright luſtre that euer ſhined in Perſia, was vtterly extinguiſhed. What was the occaſion therof, and who procured his death, diuers and ſundry are the opinions of men. Some thinke, that his brother *Abas Mirize* of Heri, who had before conſpired to haue had him betraied into the hands of the Turkiſh Generall, had now by force of mony and gifts enduced the wicked Eunuch thereunto. Others deemed it not to haue bin done without the priuitie of his father, as more deſirous to prefet *Abas Mirize* his other ſonne vnto the kingdome. Diuers others do diuerſly reaſon of the matter: ſo that to affirme of a certaintie, that thus or thus the death of ſo worthie a Prince was procured, were great raſhneſſe: and therefore we leaue it, with the further proceſſe of the Perſian State, vnto the further diſcouerie of Time, the antient mother of Truth.

The Perſian prince ſlain by one of his Eunuchs.

Notwithſtanding the league betwixt the Chriſtian Emperour *Rodolph* the ſecond and *Amurath* the great Turke, many ſharp skirmiſhes oftentim... fell out betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks vpon the frontiers of their territories and dominions, eſpecially in Hungarie, Croatia, and Stiria: as now in the latter end of this yere 1586 in the moneth of December, the Turks, after their inſolent manner making an inrode into the borders of Croatia, receiued a notable ouerthrow by the Chriſtians, being in number much fewer: where amongſt others, the Baſſa of Boſna with his brother was ſlaine; whoſe head with certaine priſoners was ſent to Vienna to *Erneſtus* Archduke of Auſtria, the Emperors brother. This Baſſa of Boſna and his brother, ſlaine in this conflict (as we haue ſaid) are reported to haue been the ſonnes of *Mahumet* the late great Viſier, by one of the daughters of *Selymus* the ſecond, *Amurath* his ſiſter. For diuers yeres following, *Amurath* did no great matter worth the remembrance, contenting himſelfe (as it ſhould ſeeme) with that he had already got from the Perſians: and holding his league in ſome reaſonable ſort with the Chriſtians: yet not ſo, but that many a bloudie broile, tending at laſt euen to the breach of the league, paſſed betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians; which for the continuation of the Hiſtorie we will briefely ſet downe, as they are vnto vs by the Writers of our time reported.

1587 In Februarie the yere following, which was the yere 1587, the Chriſtians prouoked by the often outrages of the Turks, ſetting vpon the caſtle of Koppan, not far from the lake of Balaton, being then frozen, by good fortune ſurpriſed it. There was at that time in the caſtle 3 of the Turks Sanzacks, and about a thouſand Turks, of whom an hundred and ninetie of the better ſort, with ſeuenty women, beſides diuers of the meaner ſort, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians; the reſt ſauing themſelues by flight, or by creeping into ſecret corners: an hundred horſes for ſeruice were there taken alſo, and ſo much bootie as was eſteemed to be worth fortie thouſand duckats. Of the three Sanzacks that were there preſent, *Alis* Sanzacke of Koppan was taken, and brought firſt to Vienna, and afterward preſented to the Emperor: Another of them ſtanding vpon his defence in a vault vnder ground, was there ſmothered: the third eſcaped by flight, but was afterwards the ſame yeare taken with diuers others, as ſhall be forthwith declared.

The caſtle of Koppan in Hungarie ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

The eight of Auguſt following, foure of the Turks great Commanders in Hungarie, *viz.* the Baſſa of Ziget, the Sanzackes of Mohas, of Quinque Eccleſiæ, and the new Sanzacke of Koppan, with fiue thouſand ſouldiers brake into the borders of the Chriſtians, and in moſt cruell manner deſtroyed ſeuenteene countrey villages about Limbach: carrying away with them

them all the miſerable countrey people, with the ſpoile of the countrey. Whereof *George* Countie *Serinus* (ſonne to that moſt valiant Countie *Nicholas Serinus* ſlaine at Ziget) commander of the garriſon of Caniſia, vnderſtanding, with as much ſpeed as was poſſible raiſed ſuch forces as he was able out of his territorie betwixt the riuers of Drauus and Mura, and calling vnto his aid the Countie *Nadaſti*, the Lord *Bathianius*, and ſome other valiant Captaines that had the charge of thoſe frontiers; with ſuch diligence tooke the ſtraits and paſſages whereby the Turks muſt needs returne among the mariſhes, that the Turks comming backe againe that way with a very rich prey and many priſoners, being in the breake of the day hardly charged by thoſe moſt expert and reſolute ſouldiers, in thoſe ſtrait and troubleſome paſſages about a mile from Caniſia, were at length diſcomfited and put to flight with ſuch a miſerable ſlaughter, that many of them yeelded vp their ſcimiters, pittifully crying for mercie; other ſome fled backe into the woods and forreſts; and many running headlong into the mariſhes, there periſhed, or ſticking faſt in the deepe mud, cried together for mercie and helpe of their enemies. In this conflict *Muhamet* the Sanzacke of Quinque Eccleſiæ (ſonne to *Haly Baſſa* ſlaine in the battell of Lepanto) was taken priſoner. *Sinan Beg* Sanzacke of Mohaz, thinking to eſcape through the mariſh, ſtucke faſt with his horſe, and was ſhot through the head with a ſmall ſhot, and there died. The Baſſa of Ziget, with *Chaſan* the new Sanzacke of Koppan, ſeeing all deſperate and loſt, fled betimes out of the battell: but he of Koppan wandering vp and downe in the woods, was the next night after the battell with others taken: the Baſſa of Ziget almoſt ſpent with hunger and griefe of minde, eſcaped on foot ſeuen dayes after to Breſenza. There were taken of the Turks a thouſand three hundred, of whom many died afterwards of their wounds. In this battell there was ſlaine of the Turks, with them that periſhed in the mariſhes and woods, about 2000, and of the Turks horſes were taken aboue 1500. All the prey before taken by the Turks, with the miſerable captiues, was againe recouered. The number of them that performed this notable ſeruice, was in all but fifteen hundred foot and fiue hundred horſe; of whom there was but eleuen ſlaine, but moſt of the reſt wounded. Foure hundred heads of the ſlaine Turks were (after the manner of thoſe bordering ſouldiers) carried for ſhew to Caniſia, with fiue hundred priſoners. The Chriſtian ſouldiers with the helpe of the countrey people, ceaſed not for certaine dayes to hunt after the Turks that were fled into the woods, as after wilde beaſts, of whom they found a great number: diuers others alſo ſeeing no meanes to eſcape, came forth of their lurking places and yeelded themſelues.

Amurath vnderſtanding of all theſe troubles that had ſo happened, commanded *Aly* the Baſſa of Buda to be ſtrangled, for that he had broken the league, and not reſtrained the inſolencie of his Sanzackes, whom he might haue commanded: and in his ſtead placed *Sinan Baſſa*, whome before in diſgrace, hee had now at the requeſt of his wife againe receiued into fauour, and reſtored to his former dignitie. About this time alſo *Sigiſmund* (the King of Swenden his ſonne) now after the death of King *Stephen* choſen King of Polonia, and *Maximilian* the Emperours brother rejected; euen in the beginning of his raigne ſought to renew the league which *Stephen* his predeceſſor and other the Polonian Kings had before made with *Amurath* and his predeceſſors the Turkiſh Sultans. And to that purpoſe writ vnto him as followeth:

Aly Baſſa of Buda ſtrangled by the commandement of Amurath.

Sinan Baſſa againe receiued into fauour.

Sigiſmund the third, King of Polonia, vnto *Amurath* the third, Emperor of the Turkes, ſendeth greeting.

The Almightie long keepe and preſerue your Maieſtie in health and honour. Moſt Mightie Prince, our beſt beloued friend and neighbour, after that we by the grace and goodneſſe of God were choſen to gouerne the kingdome of Polonia, and the Embaſſadors of that kingdome had ſignified ſo much vnto vs; we prouiding vs of neceſſaries, came to Danske the eighteenth of October, from whence we ſend to you our Secretarie, Iohn Zamogil, to giue your Maieſtie to vnderſtand of this our comming. For beeing told by the Polonian Embaſſadors, That wee were choſen vnto the gouernment of that Kingdome, vpon condition, That according vnto the cuſtome of our predeceſſors the Polonian Kings, we ſhould keepe loue and friendſhip with the moſt Excellent Muſſulman *Emperours; wee promiſe vnto your Soueraigne Maieſtie, that we are willing with the like or greater zeale and deuotion, to continue that amitie and friendſhip with your moſt excellent Maieſtie and the* Othoman *Emperors your Succeſſors. For confirmation*

Sigiſmund the Polonian King his letter vnto Amurath.

**The Turks deſire to be called Muſſulman, which in their language ſignifieth a true beleeuer.*

...tion whereof so soone as we shall come vnto Cracouia the regal citie of Polonia, and there be crowned, we will forthwith send our great Embassador vnto your Maiestie. In the meane time we most earnestly request your Maiestie, that our kingdome may on your Maiesties behalfe rest in safetie and peace: which we perswade our selues you will easily grant. So wishing vnto you all health and happinesse, we bid you farewell. From Danske the 18 of October, in the yeare 1587, and of our raigne the first.

Vnto which the Kings request and letters, *Amurath* not long after returned this answer in writing:

Amurath the third, Emperour of the Turks, vnto *Sigismund* King of Polonia, greeting.

Amurath his answer vnto the letters of Sigismund.

I take it well, and as a token of your loue, that your Embassador Iohn Zamogil *came with your letters vnto our most high and glorious Court, the refuge of distressed Princes: wherein you haue giuen vs to vnderstand, how that in stead of the most excellent and famous King* Stepen, *of worthie memory late King of Polonia; you, discended of the same noble stocke and race of the Polonian Kings, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous Kingdome of Polonia and the great Kingdome of Lithuania, chosen King of Polonia: and being sent for by lawfull Embassadors, by the fauour and goodnesse of God, to be come vnto the citie of Danske, and from thence to be about to go vnto Cracouia, the chiefe citie of the kingdome of Polonia. And when you are there arriued, to send your Embassadour vnto our most high and glorious Court, to confirme, preserue, and establish the league and amitie commodious and necessarie for both our Kingdomes, honored and kept by your antient predecessours, with our grandfathers and great grandfathers; yea and that with greater zeale and deuotion than any your noble Auncestors. And therefore your Embassador in your name requesteth, That no inuasion on our behalfe be made into the borders of the kingdome of Polonia, or any harme there done: and that the most noble Tartar Prince* Isbam Gerai *(whome God blesse) should be warned, that he neither make nor suffer any incursion to be made into the confines of the Kingdome of Polonia. All such things in your letters contained, with the rest which your Embassadour hath by word of mouth deliuered, are with speed orderly by vs conceiued. Know you therefore our most stately and magnificent Court to be alwaies open vnto such as resort thereunto, and that from thence neuer man had repulse, neither shall hereafter haue: wherefore it beseemeth you, as soone as these our letters shall be brought vnto you, to open your eyes, and to beware that nothing be on your part done against the Maiestie of our Court, and the league; and that our peace and amitie be neither in much or little disturbed, but as best beseemeth, well and sincerely kept: and so perswade your selfe it shall on our part also be most inuiolately obserued. Our letters are also directed vnto the most excellent Tartar Prince* Isbam Gerai *(whom God blesse) straitly charging and commanding him, not to make or suffer any incursion to be made into the borders of Polonia. In briefe, the league and amity shall on our part be religiously kept: and whosoeuer shall presume to do any harme vnto the kingdome or confines of Polonia, shall therefore without faile receiue from vs due punishment. So on your part also it is requisite that the same be done, and that in declaration of your loue, you forget not oftentimes to intimate vnto our most high and glorious Court, such certaine occurrents and newes as shal happen in those parts, which shall be vnto vs a signe of your sincere loue and friendship. So know you and giue credit vnto this our seale from Constantinople.*

Neither was King *Sigismund* vnmindefull of this his promise before made for the sending of his Embassador; but being possessed of the Polonian kingdome, sent *Christopher Dziercins* (his Secretarie) Embassador vnto *Amurath* for the confirming of the league: which hee hath euer since so firmely kept with the Turke, that he could neuer by any entreatie of the Emperor, or of the Princes Electors, or others, or in respect of the common danger, be drawne into the fellowship of this long and religious war, so hardly maintained by the Emperor and some few other Christian Princes his confederats; first against *Amurath* whilest he liued, and euer since against *Mahomet* his sonne, which now raigneth; the issue whereof, God grant it proue not as well vnto the Polonians as others farther off, in fine lamentable.

1588 *Genge taken by Ferat.*

The yeare following, *Ferat* (yet the Turks General in Persia) tooke the citie of Genge, being before for feare of the Turks quite abandoned & forsaken by the Inhabitants, who yet vpon his faith giuen for their safetie, returned again, yeelding to pay vnto the Turke a yerely tribute

A but of fiue thousand duckets. But when he would haue gon farther into the enemies country, hauing part of his armie cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous souldiers foulely entreated, wounded, and enforced to retire. *Cicala Bassa* also passing ouer the riuer Euphrates, had in those quarters diuers bloudie skirmishes with the Persians, sometime carrying away the better, and sometime the worse, as the fortune of the field serued. Vntill at length, *Amurath* himselfe no lesse wearie than his people of that long and chargeable war, and the Persian king also inclining to peace; he by the perswasion of *Sinan Bassa* (but lately before receiued into fauour) was now contented to be entreated to hearken vnto the same: mooued thereunto as well by reason of new troubles then in other places arising, as for the great famine and plague then raging in Constantinople. And considering withall what a great Territorie he had woon
B from the Persians, and how necessarie it was for him by peace to confirme himselfe in those his new conquests, and by the building of certaine strong forts for the succour of one another, and by the placing of his Timariots therein, to assure the same vnto him: all which without peace he could not possibly do, as the old Bassa right wisely told him. For which reasons he yeelded to peace; and so Embassadors passing to and fro, a peace was at length agreed vpon betwixt these two great Mahometan Princes: the Turke couenanting to keepe vnto himselfe the places he had alreadie gained; namely Tauris, Genge, Siruan, and Chirs, with all the profits thereof arising, for the maintenance of his garrisons and Timariots there. Whereof it was thought new stirres would eftsoones arise; the Turks growne insolent of their late victories, being not able to content themselues with the conditions of the league; and the Per-
C sians not willing to liue in continual feare of the Turkes, especially seeing themselues to be daily by them more and more oppressed; and withall doubting left the Turkes after they had taken fast footing in those new conquered Countries, and so growne strong, and gotten better knowledge of the passages, should (after their ambitious manner) seeke to possesse themselues of the rest; not keeping the couenants agreed vpon betwixt them, nor at all regarding the capitulations of the league. Which was neuertheless (as we said) on both sides for the space of ten yeares orderly confirmed with all due circumstances and ceremonis, in like occurrents by the great Potentats of the world vsed: and for the more assurance thereof, one of the Persian Kings sonnes, or as some others say, one of his nephews, giuen vnto the Turks in hostage, as *Amurath* required.

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Constantinople.

D These long wars thus ended, shortly after a great sedition was raised at Constantinople by the souldiers of the court, which returning out of Persia, with great insolencie demanded their pay. For the satisfying of whom, by the consent of the great Sultan himselfe, the value of the coine was inhaunsed, and a new kind of subsidie for leuying of money imposed vpon the subiects in general, none excepted; who standing vpon their antient liberties and priuiledges, refused to pay it, especially the Ianizaries and other souldiers of the court. Wherefore their Aga or captaine was commanded to appease them, and to perswade them to pay the demanded tribute: in attempting whereof he was in danger to haue been slaine by the insolent Ianizaries; and yet neuertheless for preuailing no more with them, was in displeasure thrust out of his of-
E fice, and another placed in his roome that should haue married *Amuraths* daughter; of whom for all that, the Ianizaries would not accept in any case, but threw stones at him, and threatned to kill him. The next night a great fire arose in the citie; for the quenching whereof, the Ianizaries were commanded (as their dutie was) to put to their helping hands: which they not only most obstinatly refused to do, but also kept backe others that brought water for the quenching thereof, and together with the other souldiers of the court, did what they might to make it burne the faster. With the rage of this fire were consumed seuen of their Temples, 25 great Innes, fifteene thousand houses, with many warehouses and shops. To appease this dange-
F rous stirre, and to preuent further mischiefe, commandement was giuen to the Beglerbeg of Grecia and *Dauid Passy* a Iew (the first authors of this new imposition) that they should either gather the aforesaid tribute by them deuised, and pay the souldiers, or by some other meanes to giue them contentment. But here began the Priests publiquely to perswade the people from paiment of this new tribute, or any other such like; perswading them in any case to defend their antient liberties and customes: whereupon the churches were by the Priests shut vp, publique prayers for the health of the Sultan intermitted, the Bassa's houses assaulted, and all the citie on a new hurley burley. For the appeasing whereof *Amurath* was glad to yeeld vnto the

Great harme done by fire in Constantinople.

Iani-

Ianizaries, to pay the ſouldiers out of his owne treaſurie, to reuoke his mandates giuen out for the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliuer the two perſuaders thereof to the pleaſure of the Ianizaries; who drew them vp and downe the ſtreets at horſes tailes, and afterwards cutting off their heads, in ſcorne toſſed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had bin tenniſe balles.

Sinan Baſſa of Buda inuadeth the vpper part of Hungarie.

About the latter end of September, *Sinan Baſſa* of Buda, hauing with the aſſiſtance of the Sanzackes about Fille, raiſed an armie of eleuen thouſand ſoldiers, with purpoſe to haue ſpoiled all the vpper part of Hungarie, came the ſixt of October before the caſtle of Putnoc, and gaue thereunto ſummons: but finding them in the Caſtle better prouided and more reſolute than he had before ſuppoſed, he departed thence, and paſſing the riuer Schayo, came to Sixo, a towne of about fiue hundred houſes, which after a ſore batterie he tooke, and burnt it down to the ground. In the meane while *Claudius Ruſſel* General for the wars in that part of Hungarie, hauing aſſembled his forces, came vpon him, and after a hard fight put him to the worſe, when he had ſlaine of his Turks about two thouſand fiue hundred, beſides three hundred other drowned in the riuer Schayo. Shortly after, the Chriſtians in like manner breaking into the frontiers of the Turks, tooke from them the caſtles of Blauenſtein, Geſtes, with ſome other ſmall forts thereabouts in the vpper part of Hungarie.

Sinan ouerthrowne.

1589 *Sinan* for that he had contrarie to the league, and without the commandement of *Amurath*, ſo vnfortunatly attempted war in Hungarie, was the next yeare in great diſpleaſure ſent for to Conſtantinople, and *Ferat* Baſſa of Boſna (late General of the Turks army againſt the Perſians, and now but newly come home) placed in his roome at Buda.

Amurath before not ignorant of the great preparation that *Philip* the King of Spaine had made, and of the inuincible Armado (as it was termed) by him ſet forth for the inuaſion of England (the fame whereof had long before filled a great part of the world) as alſo of the euil ſucceſſe thereof the laſt yeare, *viz.* 1588; and of the purpoſe her Majeſtie of England had for the troubling of his rich trade, eſpecially into the Weſt Indies, and for the relieuing of *Don Anthonio*, by him driuen out of Portugal: wrot vnto her about this time concerning thoſe and ſuch like matters as had been moued by her Agent, as followeth:

Nicholaus Reuſnerius Epiſt. Turcic. lib. 12. pag. 42.

Amurath the third, Emperor of the Turks, vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of England, France, and Ireland, greeting

Amurathi Letters vnto the Queen of England.

Moſt honorable Matrone of the Chriſtian Religion, Mirror of chaſtitie, adorned with the brightneſſe of ſouereignitie and power amongſt the moſt chaſte women of the people which ſerue Ieſu, Miſtris of great kingdomes, reputed of greateſt majeſtie and praiſe among the Nazarites, Elizabeth *Queene of England, to whom we wiſh a moſt happie and proſperous raigne. You ſhall vnderſtand by our high and Imperiall letters directed vnto you, how that your Orator reſiant in our ſtately and magnificent Court, hath preſented vnto the throne of our Maieſtie a certaine writing, wherein he hath certified vs, how that about foure yeares ago you haue made war vpon the King of Spaine, for the abating and breaking of his forces, wherewith he threatneth all other Chriſtian Princes, and purpoſeth to make himſelfe the ſole Monarch both of them and all the world beſide. As alſo how that the ſame King of Spaine hath by force taken from* Don Anthonio *(lawfully created King of Portugal) his kingdome: and that your intention is, that his ſhips which go and come into the Indies, may from henceforth be embarred and ſtayed from that nauigation: wherein are yerely brought into Spaine, precious ſtones, ſpices, gold, and ſiluer, eſteemed worth manie millions, wherewith the aforeſaid King as with a great treaſure enriched, hath meanes to moleſt and trouble all other Chriſtian Princes: which if he ſhall ſtill proceed to do, he will make himſelfe daily ſtronger and ſtronger, and ſuch an one as may not eaſily be weakened. After that, your aforeſaid Orator requeſted our Highneſſe, in the beginning of the next Spring to ſend out our Imperial fleet againſt him, being aſſured that the King of Spaine could not be able eaſily to withſtand it, for that he had now already receiued a great ouerthrow by your fleet: and being ſcarce able to withſtand you alone, if he ſhould be on diuers parts inuaded, muſt needs be ouercome, to the great benefit of all the Chriſtian Princes, as alſo of our Imperial ſtate. Beſides this, that whereas the aforeſaid Don Anthonio is by force driuen out and depriued of his kingdome, that we (to the imitation of our noble anceſtours of happy memory, whoſe graces the Almighty lighten) ſhould alſo giue the aid and ſuccor of our magnificent ſtate, as did they vnto ſuch as had recourſe vnto their high Courts and palaces for reliefe. In briefe, all theſe things, with many other*

others which your aforeſaid Orator hath at large declared vnto our Imperial throne, we haue well vnderſtood, and laid them vp in our deepe remembrance. But foraſmuch as we for many yeares paſt haue made wars in Perſia, with a full reſolution and intent vtterly to conquer and ſubdue the kingdome of that accurſed Perſian heretike, and to ioine the ſame vnto our antient dominions; and now by the grace of God, and helpe of our great Prophet, are now vpon the point for the ſatiſfying of our deſire: that once done, due proniſion ſhall be aſſigned vnto all ſuch things as you haue of vs requeſted or deſired. Wherefore if you ſhall ſincerely and purely continue the bond of amitie and friendſhip with our high Court, you ſhall finde no more ſecure refuge or ſafer harbor of good wil or loue. So at length all things ſhall go wel and according to your hearts deſire in your wars with Spaine, vnder the ſhadow of our happy throne. And for as much as the King of Spaine hath by fraud and deceit got whatſoeuer he holdeth, without doubt theſe deceitfull deceiuers ſhall by the power of God in ſhort time be diſpatched and taken out of the way. In the meane time we exhort you not to loſe any opportunitie or time, but to be alwaies vigilant, and according to the conuentions betwixt vs, fauourable vnto our friends, and vnto our enemies a foe. And giue notice here to our high Court, of all the new wars which you ſhall vnderſtand of concerning the ſaid King of Spaine, for the behoofe both of your ſelfe and vs. To be briefe, your embaſſador after he had with all care and diligence diſpatched his embaſſage, and here left in his place one Edward Bardon *his Deputie and Agent, now by our leaue maketh his returne towards your kingdome, being for the good and faithfull ſeruice he here did, worthy to be of you eſteemed, honored, and before others promoted: who when he hath obtained of you all thoſe his deſerued honours and preferments, let him or ſome other principal Embaſſador without delay be appointed to our Imperial Court, to continue this office of legation. This we thought good to haue you certified of vnder our moſt honorable Seale, whereunto you may giue vndoubted credence. From our Imperial palace at Conſtantinople, the 15 of this bleſſed moneth* Ramazan* 1589. *September.

Yet for all theſe faire ſhewes, it may ſeeme vnto him that looketh more neere into the ſtate of the Turkiſh affaires at thoſe times, and that which hath enſued ſince, that *Amurath* glad of the diſcord of theſe two ſo great Chriſtian Princes, and not well aſſured of his new conqueſts in Perſia, had no great minde to the inuaſion of Spaine, as too far from the ſtrength of his Empire, an enterpriſe not to be ſo eaſily managed by ſea, as were the wars he ſhortly after vndertooke againſt the Chriſtian Emperor *Rodolph* by land: wherewith for all that (God be thanked) he found his hands full all the remainder of his life, as hath his ſonne *Mahomet* that now raigneth after him, euen vnto this day.

The Polonian Coſſacke inuade the Tartarians and Turks.

About this time alſo the Polonian borderers (whom they call Coſſackes) a rough and warlike kinde of people, after their wonted manner making an inrode vpon the Turks and Tartarians, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed Koſlaw a port towne within a dayes journey of Caffa, where they had the ſpoile of many rich warehouſes of the Turks merchants, and the rifling of certain ſhips lying there in harbor; and hauing taken their pleaſure, burnt the reſt, and ſo with a great bootie returned to their lurking places. With which iniurie the Tartars prouoked, and ſet on by the Turks, to the number of fortie thouſand brake into Podolia and the prouinces neere vnto Polonia, and reſting in no place, but burning the countrey before them, ſlew the poore countrey people without mercie, and making hauocke of all that they light vpon, beſides the ſpoile, carried away with them many thouſands of moſt miſerable captiues: the greateſt part whereof for all that, the Polonians reſcued, with the notable ſlaughter of the enemie, ſurpriſed in their returne. Whereupon ſuch vnkindneſſe riſe betweene the Turkiſh Emperor and *Sigiſmund* the Polonian King, that it was thought it would haue broken out into open warres, had not the Polonian by his Embaſſadors and the mediation of the Queene of England, wiſely appeaſed the angrie Turke, and ſo againe renewed his league.

1590 *The reaſons wherewith the Viſier Baſſa's perſuade Amurath to make war.*

Amurath now at peace with the world, from which he by nature abhorred not, and ſitting idle and melancholy at home, was perſuaded by the Baſſa's his Counſellors, to take ſome new war in hand: for that great empires (as they ſaid) could not without the continual vſe of armes long ſtand or continue: as appeared by the Roman ſtate, which ſo long as it was at wars with Carthage, or their great Captaines and Commanders occupied in armes againſt their neighbour Princes, ſtill remained triumphant, and commanded ouer a great part of the world; but giuing it ſelfe to eaſe and pleaſure, and the martial men not after their wonted manner imployed, it in ſhort time by ciuile diſcord fell, and of the miſtreſſe of the world, became it ſelfe a prey euen vnto the baſeſt nations. Which old *Cato* in his great wiſdom foreſeeing, cried out in the

ne Senat, That the ſouldiers and men of warre were to be kept ſtill buſied in armes far from home, for that in ſo doing, all ſhould go well with the State, and the glorie thereof increaſe. Whereunto the *Othoman* Emperours, his noble progenitors, hauing reſpect, propounded not peace as the end of their wars (as do other weake Princes hauing their owne forces in diſtruſt) but as inuincible conquerors, ſtill ſowed wars vpon wars, making one victorie the beginning of another: whereby they not only brought that their Empire vnto that greateſſe it was now of, but by ſuch continual imployment made their ſouldiers more couragious and readie, and alſo kept them from rebellions and tumults; whereunto in time of peace, and liuing at eaſe, theſe martial men are moſt commonly inclined, learning (as all others do) by doing nothing, to do that is euill and naught. Euery thing (as they ſaid) was by the ſame meanes to be maintained, whereby it was at the firſt increaſed; and that therefore great Empires, as they were by wars begun and augmented, ſo were they by continual wars alſo to be from time to time eſtabliſhed; whereas otherwiſe the ſouldiers liuing in peace, and forgetting their martial prowèſſe, would for moſt part grow cowardly, as giuing themſelues ouer to the loue of their owne dwellings, of their wiues, and of their children, and other pleaſures; or els conuerting their ſtudies to merchandiſe, or other profitable trades, would in time forget the vſe of armes, and be thereunto againe hardly drawne: vnto the great weakening of his ſtrength both by ſea and land, and the diminiſhing of the number of his great commanders and expert captaines, not to be had without the continuall vſe of war. With theſe and ſuch like reaſons, the great Baſſa's of the Court perſuaded *Amurath*, That he muſt of neceſſitie take ſome new expedition in hand, and not to ſuffer his valiant ſouldiers, but now lately returned out of Perſia, to grow lazie or inſolent for lacke of imployment. Which they did not ſo much for the loue of their Prince, or zeale vnto the State, as for their owne particular profit; eſpecially the two old Baſſa's *Sinan* and *Ferat*, the enuious competitors the one of the others honour: who although they both, much and almoſt all commanded both in peace and war, yet was their honours greater, and their profit far more, in commanding of the Turkiſh great armies abroad, than in ſitting in the Diuano at home: vnto which no leſſe honourable than profitable preferment they both with like ambition aſpired, accompanied with the hot factions of their great and many fauorits both at home and elſewhere. Theſe perſuaſions well pleaſed *Amurath*; who although he were himſelfe no ſouldier, yet was he deſirous of new conqueſts, and to increaſe his name: accounting it no leſſe honour vnto himſelfe, by his ſeruants at his appointment to performe great things, than it was vnto his Anceſtors to do that they did themſelues in perſon. But in this ſo ſerious a matter, and of ſo great conſequence, *Amurath* at the firſt could not tell what beſt to reſolue vpon; not for that he was not deſirous of wars, but becauſe as yet he certainely knew not againſt whom he might with greateſt profit and leaſt difficultie and danger conuert his forces: vpon which point his Counſellors agreed not, but for diuers reaſons were of diuers opinions. Which foraſmuch as they containe matters of greateſt importance of all things then in the world done, but eſpecially concerning the profit of the Chriſtian commonweale, I ſhall not thinke it vnworth my labour, to ſet them downe in ſuch order as I finde them credibly reported; hauing moreouer in them many letters and moſt weightie matters not yet come to all mens knowledge: as alſo opening the deuices of the Turkiſh Tyrant againſt the Chriſtian Princes; a motiue not onely for them to joyne in counſell together how to withſtand him, but for the common Chriſtian Commonweales ſake to forget and forgiue all their priuat diſpleaſures, and with their vnited forces and power honorably and courageouſly to make war vpon him, and ſo at length by the mercie of God to ouerthrow him, together with his tyrannicall Empire, the greateſt terror of our time.

The cauſes why Amurath would not ſuddenly reſolue vpon war.

Eight ſundrie opinions of the Viſier Baſſa's, concerning the war to be taken in hand.

The great Baſſa's concerning the intended war were of eight ſundry opinions: whereof the firſt was, That the wars againſt the Perſian ſhould be renewed: the ſecond, for the inuaſion of the King of Morocco and Fes: the third, for war to be taken in hand againſt the king of Spain: the fourth, for the beſieging againe of Malta: the fift was, to ſet vpon the Venetians: the ſixt, for the inuading of ſome part of Italie: the ſeuenth, for the King of Polonia: the eighth and laſt was, for war to be made vpon the Emperour and the Kingdome of Hungary. With all the which aforeſaid princes, except the Spaniard, though the Turke were then in league and could not with all any of them make warre, without the notable breach of his faith and honour: yet was that neuer made queſtion or ſcruple of, but onely, Which might beſt ſtand

A ſtand with the profit of his State for him to ſet vpon: his barbarous law allowing him that libertie, for the more aſſuring of his State, or inlarging of his empire, to breake all faith and promiſe eſpecially with the Chriſtians, not more in any thing to be pitied, than in repoſing any credit or confidence in the faith of ſuch a miſcreant.

The firſt opinion and reaſons of them that would haue the wars renewed in Perſia.

The reaſons the great Baſſaes alleadged for the renuing of the Perſian war, were, For that the Perſian King was of himſelfe like to breake the league ſo lately with him concluded, ſo ſoone as hee ſhould know the Turks entangled in any other war; moued thereunto, as well for the recouerie of his countrey, to his great diſhonour loſt, as alſo in reuenge of ſo many and ſo great iniuries to him of late done by the Turkiſh Emperours. Beſide that, the Chriſtian Princes would perſuade him and pricke him forward thereunto: eſpecially the Spaniard, who for
B the neereneſſe of India might without his great charge procure him ſo to do, & alſo conueniently furniſh him with great ordnance and canoniers, which it was wel knowne he of late did. The countries alſo but lately conquered, were not yet (as they ſaid) in quietneſſe or ſafety, and the fortreſſes therein but of late built, together with the garriſons therein, to be in great danger, being for the length of the way, and difficultie of the paſſage, not to be ſtill ſpeedily relieued: inſomuch, that if the Perſians did them no other harme, but onely to forrage and waſt the countrey about them, they ſhould bring the inhabitants into ſuch diſtreſſe, as that thoſe new conquered countries were again by the defendants to be forſaken, or els they muſt themſelues with hunger periſh. True glory (they ſaid) conſiſted not ſo much in conquering, as in the vſe of
C the conqueſt, and the proſecution of the happie victorie: and that therefore *Amurath* ſhould take heed, that hee prouoked not the wrath and indignation of the great Prophet *Mahomet* againſt him; who hauing by his good fauor and guide obtained mo victories than any of his predeceſſors againſt the enemies of his religion, ought as a religious & deuout prince ſeuerely to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Vnto which religious war *Vsbeg Han* the Tartar king, as alſo the prince of Geilan offred their ready helpe: as for the euent of the victorie, now as good as in his hand, he was to iudge by the ſucceſſe of his former wars. Neither that he need to feare the Perſian horſemen, although they vſed Arabian horſes, being by his men many times ſhamefully put to flight: or yet to doubt leſt the Georgians in fauour of the Perſians ſhould take vp armes, for that many of them were already vnder his obeiſance, and ſubiect vnto the Baſſa of Teflis and other his commanders; the reſt were his vaſſals, or els ſuch
D following the fortune of their princes *Simon* and *Alexander*, ſought after no greater matter, but contenting themſelues with their owne countrey, although but ſmall, thought themſelues well if they might keepe and defend the ſame; by nature aud ſcituation ſo ſtrong, as that there is ſcarce any way vnto it, by reaſon of the high and broken mountaines, the thicke woods, and ſtrait paſſages.

The ſecond opinion, for making of war vpon the king of Fez and Morocco, & the reaſon thereof.

The ſecond opinion which was deliuered, was for the tranſportation of his wars into Affricke againſt the king of Morocco, commonly called the Seriphe: and that for theſe cauſes moſt, It would be a great ſhame and reproch (as they ſaid) vnto the *Othoman* empire, that it was not yet able to ſubdue theſe Moores and people of Affricke, in number but few: neither was
E it leſſe ſhame or diſhonor vnto the *Othoman* Emperors, to haue ſo ſmall a territorie in Affrica, being the third part of the world, which by reaſon of the neereneſſe vnto Italie, had long time held wars with the Romans. Beſide that, Algiers and Tunes could neuer be ſafely kept by the Turks; neither that the ſubiects and pirats which inhabited thoſe cities would euer be content or at quiet, vntill they had againe got that kingdome into their hands. The promontorie of Aguero, and port of Larace (two ports without the ſtraits) were (as they ſaid) to be taken, as places very commodious for the Turkes friends, ſeeking in thoſe ſeas after bootie; and for the ſecuring of their trade. And although the Seriphe were himſelfe a Mahometan, and held his kingdom as a tributarie vnto the *Othoman* Empire; yet had he ſecret intelligence with the Spa-
F niard and the Knights of Malta, whereby they not long ſince had vpon the ſudden almoſt ſurpriſed Tripolis, he in the meane time as it were winking thereat. And that although the Spaniard poſſeſſed in Affricke, Maraſchebir, Oran, Pegnon, Tanger, Arzilia, Mazaga, Ceute or Septa, places whereby he might helpe and aſſiſt the Moores; yet might his force and attempts by a ſtrong fleete bee eaſily hindered, and Spaine it ſelfe infeſted. Beſide that, the Spaiards had yet in ſuch freſh remembrance the loſſe of Tunes and Guletta (places by them thought inexpugnable, and yet by *Sinan Baſſa* to his immortall praiſe taken) as

that they would not for the Moores sake easily seeme to attempt any great thing against the victorious Turks.

The third opinion, concerning the conquest of Malta.

The third opinion was concerning the war to be made against them of Malta, which was by a strong fleet to be performed: for that the gallies of Malta did daily great hurt, as well vnto the Turks merchants, as vnto such as for deuotion sake trauelled by sea vnto Mecha. And that therefore [illegible] was thither to be transferred, not only for religions sake and to assecure the passage thither from the incursions of the Malteses, but in reuenge of the old and late iniuries by them done; and especially to blot out the infamie and disgrace which the great Sultan *Solyman* had incurred, at such time as he had in vaine besieged that Island; & to requite the losse by him there sustained. Beside that, they also alleadged the common complaints of the subiects: for that there were many which pitiously lamented the misery & calamity, some of their friends, some their kinsfolke, whome they knew to liue in most wofull seruitude with those knights, and whom they most earnestly desired to haue now set at libertie: complaining his subiects to haue bin so far from suffering of any such things from those knights in the time of his ancestors, as that contrariwise they themselues were by them driuen out of the Island of the Rhodes, the strongest bulwarke of the Christian common-weale toward the East. Being moreouer worthy also to be chastised, for that they had holpen the rebellious Moores with all kind of munition, and had themselues attempted to haue surprised Modon.

The fourth opinion, for war to be made against the K. of Spain, & the reasons thereof.

In the fourth place were they which were of opinion, that it were best for him to make war vpon the king of Spaine. These men alledged it to be impossible for the Turkish empire to aspire vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whereunto al the Turks actions & deuises were alwaies as at a certain marke directed) except the Spaniard his great strength and power were first weakened, wherein he seemed to surpasse all other the Christians kings and princes: and that there was no feare lest he should besiege Algiers, which he knew to be now much better fortified than it was in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth. And that although the Spaniards without ceasing besought their king for the vndertaking of that expedition, by reason of the new losses & harms which they daily rece[illegible]om the pyrats of Africa; yet would he not hearken vnto their request, for feare of the dan[illegible]mminent both to himselfe & his subiects from the enemies fleet, which he should in so [illegible]ng draw into the Spanish seas: neither would the Spanish gallies easily come into the Tur[illegible]untries in the East, for being too farre from their own country, which for the most part stoo[illegible] in need of their help. And that the king of Spain was with the multitude of his businesse, or o[illegible]ner his vrgent affaires stil so hindred, as that he could not suddenly put in execution what his counsell for the wars should decree. As also how much it was to be gathered by that which hapned not long since at Preueza and Nauarinum, That the Spaniards shunned the *Othoman* forces: as also how warily the king delt in al his affaires, lest at length against his will hee should be enforced to enter into wars with the Turke, was most manifest; as was to be seene when as of late about the end of the Persian war, he refused to giue aid vnto the Persian king whome he might haue holpen, and was so before wont to do. And in case that he would stand vpon his guard, and by force seek to repell force; yet should he scarce haue so much strength as (beside those wars which he now maketh in diuers places) to be able to vndertake also a new war, and to find so many soldiers, with so much coine and other things necessarie for so great a war. It stood him in hand (as they said) to defend the Low-countries, and to recouer againe the Prouinces there lost, which of themselues wonderful strong, both by reason of the sea & the multitude of the riuers, were also with wonderful courage and pertinacy defended by the inhabitants, for their liberty and religions sake. Whereunto the English (at deadly hatred with the Spaniard) might many waies giue great help, if they should inuade Portingall, or with their ships lie in wait for his Indian fleet, or make incursions into other his kingdomes, as they did not long since at the Groine and Cadez; places most fit to trouble Spaine, and to hinder his traffique into the Indies or other places. Beside that, hee was at that time so intangled with his warres in France, as that he could scarce finde how to dispatch himselfe therof, without the losse of his honor & credit. And admit he should make peace with the aforesaid Princes, in such sort as that he should not from thenceforth from them receiue any harme; yet were other meanes to be sought & taken in hand for his further disturbance, as by troubling his rich trade for spices & other merchandise, wherof he [illegible]peth great profit; as also if need were, by driuing his ships out of the Persian gulfe, by the [illegible]

of those gallies which still lie at rode at Possidium, which we now call Suez. And that the fortresses and strong holds he there possesseth, were to be set vpon, & if it might be, taken from him; as was once attempted against the Portingals at Diu and Ormuz: the like whereof *Alphonsus Albuquercius* (the king of Portingall his Viceroy in Iudia) attempted, when as with his light horsemen running through that countrie, he thought vpon a sudden to haue spoiled Mecha, and to haue robbed the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* (as had hapned vnder the Empire of the Sultans) and as *Traian* the Emperor had long since in like maner attempted to rage and spoyle. Those places which he possessed in Affricke were (as they said) to be set vpon, and the coast of Spaine towards the Mediterranean to be infested: so at length to gratifie the Moores his subiects, who still instantly requested the same, that so they might more safely traffique and trauel, and that so the Moores might at length be deliuered from the imperious command of the Spaniards: of which exploit Sultan *Selymus* lately before dead, was in his life time well perswaded; but might now at this time be much more commodiously done, for that the Mooriſh nation was now greatly increased, and much oppressed by the Spaniards; and hauing got great wealth by the trade of Merchandise, euen by nature or religion had conceiued a mortall hatred against the Spaniards: whereunto might not a little auaile the ports in Affricke, whorinto the Turks fleet might at all times in safety retire. And in briefe, that which was of greatest importance to the better successe of this war, the French King and the Queene of England, had of their own accord promised the continuation of their wars, and that the French king should inuade Nauarre, and by force of armes recouer the right he pretended vnto that kingdome; whilest in the meane time the Queene of England should not onely trouble him in the West Indies, and other places of the Ocean toward the North and West, but might also stir vp new broiles in the kingdome of Portingall, where most part of the people with great impatiencie beare the proud command of the Spaniard: as perswaded (and that truly) all their prosperitie and quietnesse to haue bin lost, together with their last king their true and lawfull soueraigne. For he at peace with the kings of France and England, exceedingly therby enriched his subiects by traffique: whereas since they fell into the hands of the Spaniard, they dayly complaine of their new losses and dangers by reason of his perpetual warres. Moreouer, that there was to be found great store of exiled Spaniards dispersed here and there, which being malecontent and wearie of the Spanish gouernment, were fled not only out of Portingall, but euen out of Aragon and other parts of his kingdome: which now liuing in France, England, and Constantinople, both secretly and openly liberally offered great helps: the like whereof many of the Moores also promised. All which together seemed to promise a most easie expedition and certaine victorie, if any should vpon the sudden inuade Spaine; for that there was almost no vse of armes, the inhabitants at home seldome times exercising themselues therein: neither in places needful hauing any ordinarie garrisons, and but few horses fit for seruice. And that in fine it was to be considered, Spaine to be greatly bared of men which knew how valiantly and couragiously to mannage armes, for the often choice they make of them, which almost most daily transported into the Indies, Italy, and the Low-countries, wherby the strength of his countrie must needs be exceedingly empaired: so that if they should be inuaded with any strong and mighty army, they might seeme hardly able to be holpen or defended by their own people, but should need of the aid and help of the other neere prouinces subiect vnto this kingdome: which if they should be either letted, or stay to come in good time, they should leaue so much the more easie victorie vnto their enemies.

The fift opinion for the inuasion of the Venetians, and the reasons why.

In the fift place were they which went about to persuade *Amurath* to breake his league with the Venetians; vsing reasons rather probable than true, although they might seeme vnto the Turks lesse doubtful, for that men easily and willingly beleeue such things as they themselues desire. These men went about to proue no expedition to be lesse difficult than this, as iudging of things present, by the euent of former wars passed; wherein the Turks had alwaies taken something from the Venetians: who to redeeme their peace, were diuers waies enforced to satisfie the Turks. That the Venetian common-weale was afraid of the Turks, and abhorred war, was manifest (they said) in that, that in all actions it had propounded vnto it selfe peace, as the end thereof, and after the manner of their ancestors, neuer entered into wars, but enforced thereunto: and would happily vpon the first denouncing of warres, willingly depart with certain places, for feare of greater harme, or to be vtterly ouercome, as it appeared they did in the yeelding

eelding vp of Cyprus. The power and force whereof was not so great, as that it could alone G
stand against the great Sultan: and to confederate it selfe with others, would require no small
delay, for the great and many difficulties which commonly vsed to arise in making of leagues;
not being now so conioyned with the Spaniard as in times past, of whose aid in being of late
destitute, v[illegible]ttrained to make an hard peace with *Selymus*. And if so be the Spaniard
would nee[illegible]oyne himselfe vnto the Venetians against the Turkes, yet that he could by no
means affoord vnto them such aid & supplies as were of necessity to be required vnto so great
a war, he himselfe being in his wars otherwise so intangled: as for al other confederation they
could make without him, to be but weake and to no purpose. That which the Pope could do
herein, to be but little: for albeit he should according to his duty exhort other Christian Prin-
ces to giue aid, & to stir them vp vnto this war, yet that beside some little supply of mony hard H
ly drawne out of his own coffers and the Ecclesiasticall reuenues; he could scarcely performe
any thing more; or when he had done his vttermost deuoire, could but ioyn fiue gallies of his
owne vnto the Venetian fleet: which with the gallies of the Duke of Sauoy, of the knights of
Malta, and of the Florentines, could but make a fleet of some twentie gallies, which was but a
small matter. Besides that, the Turks were persuaded, that betwixt the Venetian State and the
other Christian Princes was no such friendship and good agreement, as the greatnesse of the
imminent danger of that war, and as the necessitie of the cause would require: and that hither-
to their treasures had bin so exhausted in paying the debt they were run into in the last war, and
in building of fortresses, that happily they were not now so furnished with coine, as was re-
quisit for the defraying of so great a war. And vnto this war against the Venetians, consented
almost all the Visier Bassaes; differing only in this, Where or against what place of the Veneti- I
an territorie this war were to be first begun: some naming one place, and some another (for di-
uers reasons them thereunto leading) which for breuitie we passe ouer.

The sixt opinion, for the attempting of Italie, and the reasons thereof.

Othersome of the Bassaes in the sixth place, reiecting all the former opinions concerning
the war to be taken in hand, would haue had all th[illegible]ces of the *Othoman* empire, as well by
land as sea, to haue beene conuerted against Italie: f[illegible]hat otherwise the Turkes should neuer
come vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whe[illegible]nto as at a marke they had directed all
their actions) except they did first subdue Italie. F[illegible]hat this Countrie, as the centre of the
whole world, was wont to giue both counsell and a[illegible]nto the rest of the limbes, whereby the
deuices of others were crossed: and that the Romar[illegible]ad at length commanded ouer all the K
world, especially for that they held in possession this country. Hereat did the Hunnes, the Ala-
ni and Gothes, the Vandales, the Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Sarasins, direct all their thoughts
and cogitations. In fine they concluded, That no expedition could be taken in hand more ho-
nourable or profitable than this: for that Italie was a Queene amongst other Prouinces, for
commodious scituation, the wholesomnesse of the aire, the plentie of all things necessarie for
mans life, for great, faire, and most rich cities, for the antient glory and maiestie of the Romane
Empire, and many other causes also. Neither that this expedition was to be deemed of much
difficultie, for that Italie was vnder the rule of diuers Princes, vnto whose command most of
their subiects vnwillingly obeyed: as also for that the inhabitants of that countrie had now
for many yeares liued in continuall peace, and were therfore the more effeminat and fearefull, L
and so vnfit for the wars: and that if that expedition were in one or diuers places taken in hand
before the corne were full ripe, the Turks in that so fruitfull a countrie could neuer want ne-
cessaries for them to liue vpon; wheras the inhabitants in great number wanting the same, and
shut vp within the wals and fortifications of their cities and strong towns, should be brought
into extreame wants: which was the more euidently to be seene, for that at this time wherein
they were at peace, they had not corne sufficient in the countrie for such a multitude of people
to liue vpon, but were glad to haue it brought vnto them from other places, especially from
Peloponesus, Constantinople, and the cities vpon the coast of the great Ocean. Furthermore,
that it was to be considered, that most part of the Italians liued by no other meanes than by
their handie labour, or the trade of merchandise; of which meanes if they were depriued, M
they should in short time[illegible]brought to that point, as[illegible]glad to accept of such conditions
the victor should propo[illegible]vnto them, or as tributari[illegible]o submit themselues vnto the *Otho-*
man gouernment. Nei[illegible]r that the souldiers would vnwillingly be drawne vnto that war; for
that they were not to [illegible]e through barren regions of the enemie, frozen with yce, or desolat,
either

A either by rough woods or inaccessible mountaines; but were all the way thither to trauell
through their owne countrie, and as it were in the sight of their owne houses: and if the Turks
could oftentimes enter so far, when as they had their confines more remote, and their passages
more difficult, that the same might now much more easily be effected, when as they had a farre
greater opportunitie, and their enemies so neere at hand.

The seuenth opinion for war to be made against the Polonian, and the reasons thereof.

The seuenth opinion was theirs, which thought it best to haue the war transferred into Po-
lonia, and from thence into Hungarie and Germanie: for which they alleadged these reasons:
First, for that they thought it a disgrace vnto the maiestie and reputation of the *Othoman* Em-
pire, That the king of Polonia had sometime refused to pay his tribute due (for so the Turkes
account of al such Presents as are vnto their Sultan vsually sent by their neighbor princes; of
B courtesie) & that therefore he was by force of armes to be compelled thereunto. Which they
thought would the more easily be obtained, for that there was much secret hatred and heart-
burning amongst the Polonian nobilitie. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous
war to be taken in hand: forasmuch as Polonia was confined with Moldauia, the Tartars, and
the Sanzacks of Acherman, Bendera, and Vosia: and moreouer, for that the Turks could neuer
haue any assured or full possession of Moldauia or Valachia, except the insolencie of the Po-
lonians were represt; the Vayuods of which countries, when they had enriched themselues
with much wealth, vsed still to flie into the kingdome of Polonia. Besides that, they should
thereby reuenge themselues for the iniuries done them by the Cossackes, and haue more free
and safe trafficke into Muscouie, and bring a terrour vpon the Duke of Muscouie, by reason
C of the nighnesse of the country: which great Duke was an impediment vnto the *Othoman* Em-
perour, that he conquered not the whole kingdome of Persia. And when they had by this
means by little and little drawne vnto Germany, happily it might so come to passe, as that the
Christian Emperor should thereby receiue some notable losse, his empire being stil more and
more exposed and enuironed with the Turks forces and garrisons. Polonia they said to be a
plaine and open country, neither to haue any strong places for to withstand them, and the in-
habitants to haue small skil in martiall affaires, for that they had now long liued in peace. For
as for the war that they had with *Maximilian* the Archduke of Austria, it continued not long:
and king *Stephen* in the late wars he had with the Muscouite, vsed for most part the Hungarian
souldiers, and ended those wars rather by besieging than fighting.

The eighth opinion for war to be made against the Emperour, and the reasons thereof.

D They which in the eight & last place deliuered their opinions concerning the intented war,
perswaded to haue it conuerted vpon the Christian Emperor; whom the Turks call the king of
Vienna. The causes they alleadged for the beginning of this war was, For that the Vscocchi
were grown so insolent as to make good prise of the Turks both by sea and land; in such sort,
as that not onely for the harmes which they did, but euen for the maiestie and honour of the
Othoman empire, their insolencie was not longer to be suffered. By whose iniuries it was espe-
cially brought to passe, that the merchants to their great hinderance in priuat, & the Sultans
great losse in common, hauing left the towne of Narenta or Narona in the Turks dominion,
had remoued their mart to Salona (now called Spalato) a town of the Venetians: & that yet for
all that was not so sufficiently prouided for the security of the said merchants, although there
E were peace betwixt the Emperour and the Venetians: for that these vnruly men for most part
liuing vpon the spoile, troubled all both by sea and land with their robberies, driuing away
mens cattell, burning the villages, and taking away the young babes out of the mothers armes
and laps. Whereby it was easily to be seene, what mind they were of: and that it was not to be
doubted, but that if occasion should serue for them to surprise any of the Turks strong holds
vpon the frontiers, they would with all their power attempt the same: which what a dishonor
and infamie (not to speake of the losse) it would be vnto the whole *Othoman* empire, euery man
might easily ghesse. Neither that it was vnknown, how little the Christian Emperor had estee-
med of the Turke, at such time as he was in warre with the Persian, paying his tribute too late
at his pleasure; an euident signe rather of violating than of establishing the league. And that
F the good successe of this warre was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtfull: for that
the attempt might be giuen both by Croatia, Hungarie, & Austria, countries abounding with
all things necessarie for the maintenance of a great armie; as also for that they were almost to
trauell all the way in the Turks owne territorie. Beside that, the chiefe fortresses of Hungarie,
namely Belgrade, Buda, and Alba Regalis, with many other strong places, were already hol-
den

eelding vp of Cyprus. The power and force whereof was not so great, as that it could alone G
.tand against the great Sultan: and to confederate it selfe with others, would require no small
delay, for the great and many difficulties which commonly vsed to arise in making of leagues;
not being now so conioyned with the Spaniard as in times past, of whose aid in being of late
destitute, [illegible] trained to make an hard peace with *Selymus*. And if to be the Spaniard
would nee[illegible]yne himselfe vnto the Venetians against the Turkes, yet that he could by no
means affoord vnto them such aid & supplies as were of necessity to be required vnto so great
a war, he himselfe being in his wars otherwise so intangled: as for al other confederation they
could make without him, to be but weake and to no purpose. That which the Pope could do
herein: to be but little: for albeit he should according to his duty exhort other Christian Prin-
ces to giue aid, & to stir them vp vnto this war, yet that beside some little supply of mony hard H
ly drawne out of his own coffers and the Ecclesiasticall reuenues; he could scarcely performe
any thing more; or when he had done his vttermost deuoire; could but ioyn fiue gallies of his
owne vnto the Venetian fleet: which with the gallies of the Duke of Sauoy, of the knights of
Malta, and of the Florentines, could but make a fleet of some twentie gallies, which was but a
small matter. Besides that, the Turks were perswaded, that betwixt the Venetian State and the
other Christian Princes was no such friendship and good agreement, as the greatnesse of the
imminent danger of that war, and as the necessitie or the cause would require: and that hither-
to their treasures had bin so exhausted in paying the debt they were run into in the last war, and
in building of fortresses, that happily they were not now so furnished with coines as was re-
quisite for the arraying of so great a war. And vnto this war against the Venetians, consented
almost all the Vsher Bassaes, differing only in this. Where or against what place of the Venet-
ian territorie this war were to be first begun: some naming one place, and some another: for di-
uers reasons them hereunto moouing, which for breuitie we passe ouer.

Vnto some of the Bassaes in their place, seeming quite contrary opinions concerning
the war to be taken in hand, would haue had all the forces of the Ottoman empire, as well by
land as to haue been conuerted against Italie. [illegible] Turkes should neuer
come vnto the fountaine of the whole world (with [illegible] as a marke they [illegible]

A either by rough woods or inaccessible mountaines; but were all the way thither to trauell
through their owne countrie, and as it were in the sight of their owne houses: and if the Turks
could oftentimes enter so far, when as they had their confines more remote, and their passages
more difficult, that the same might now much more easily be effected, when as they had a farre
greater opportunitie, and their enemies so neere at hand.

The seuenth opinion was theirs, which thought it best to haue the war transferred into Po- *The seuenth opinion for warre to be made against the Venetians, and the reasons thereof.*
B lonia, and from thence into Hungarie and Germanie: for which they alleadged three reasons:
First, for that they thought it a disgrace vnto the maiestie and reputation of the Ottoman Em-
pire, That the king of Polonia had sometime refused to pay his tribute due (for so the Turkes
account of al such Presents as are vnto their Sultan vsually sent by their neighbor princes, of
courtesie) & that therefore he was by force of armes to be compelled thereunto. Which they
thought would the more easily be obtained, for that there was much secret hatred and heart-
burning amongst the Polonian nobilitie. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous
war to be taken in hand: forasmuch as Polonia was confined with Moldauia, the Tartars, and
the Sanzacks of Acherman, Bendera, and Vossa: and moreouer, for that the Turks could neuer
haue any assured or full possession of Moldauia or Valachia, except the insolencie of the Po-
lonians were repressed; the Vayuods of which countries, when they had enriched themselues
with much wealth, vsed still to flie into the kingdome of Polonia. Besides that, they should
thereby reuenge themselues for the iniuries done them by the Polonians, to haue more free-
and safe traffique into Muscouie, and bring a terrour vpon the Duke of Muscouie, by reason
C of the nigrnesse of the country: which great Duke was an impediment vnto the Ottoman Em-
perour, that he conquered not the whole kingdome of Persia. And when they had by this
meanes by little and little aduanced into Germany, happily it might become to passe, as that the
Christian Emperor should thereby receiue some notable foile, his empire being full more and
more emporied and enuironed with the Turks forces and garrisons. Polonia they had in
champaine and open country, neither to daunger [illegible] vnto [illegible]
mountaines to passe: and [illegible] they [illegible]

celding vp of Cyprus. The power and force whereof was not so great, as that it could alone G
and against the great Sultan: and to confederate it selfe with others, would require no small
delay, for the great and many difficulties which commonly vsed to arise in making of leagues;
not being now so conioyned with the Spaniard as in times past, of whose aid in being of late
destitute, [illegible] trained to make an hard peace with *Selymus*. And if to be the Spaniard
would nee[illegible]yne himselfe vnto the Venetians against the Turkes, yet that he could by no
means affoord vnto them such aid & supplies as were of necessity to be required vnto so great
a war, he himselfe being in his wars otherwise so intangled: as for al other confederation they
could make without him, to be but weake and to no purpose. That which the Pope could do
herein; to be but little: for albeit he should according to his duty exhort other Christian Prin-
ces to giue aid, & to stir them vp vnto this war, yet that beside some little supply of mony hard H
ly drawne out of his own coffers and the Ecclesiasticall reuenues; he could scarcely performe
any thing more; or when he had done his vttermost deuoire, could but ioyn fiue gallies of his
owne vnto the Venetian fleet: which with the gallies of the Duke of Sauoy, of the knights of
Malta, and of the Florentines, could but make a fleet of some twentie gallies, which was but a
small matter. Besides that, the Turks were persuaded, that betwixt the Venetian State and the
other Christian Princes was no such friendship and good agreement, as the greatnesse of the
imminent danger of that war, and as the necessitie of the cause would require: and that hither-
to their treasures had bin so exhausted in paying the debt they were run into in the last war, and
in building of fortresses, that happily they were not now so furnished with coine, as was re-
quisit for the defraying of so great a war. And vnto this war against the Venetians, consented I
almost all the Visier Bassaes; differing only in this, Where or against what place of the Veneti-
an territorie this war were to be first begun: some naming one place, and some another (for di-
uers reasons them thereunto leading) which for breuitie we passe ouer.

The first opinion, for the attempting of Italie, and the reasons thereof.

Othersome of the Bassaes in the sixth place, reiecting all the former opinions concerning
the war to be taken in hand, would haue had all thr[illegible]ces of the *Othoman* empire, as well by
land as sea, to haue beene conuerted against Italie: f[illegible]hat otherwise the Turkes should neuer
come vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whe[illegible]nto as at a marke they had directed all
their actions) except they did first subdue Italie. F[illegible]hat this Countrie, as the centre of the
whole world, was wont to giue both counsell and a[illegible]nto the rest of the limbes, wherby the
deuices of others were crossed: and that the Roma[illegible]ad at length commanded ouer all the K
world, especially for that they held in possession this country. Hereat did the Hunnes, the Ala-
ni and Gothes, the Vandales, the Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Sarasins, direct all their thoughts
and cogitations. In fine they concluded, That no expedition could be taken in hand more ho-
nourable or profitable than this: for that Italie was a Queene amongst other Prouinces, for
commodious situation, the wholesomnesse of the aire, the plentie of all things necessarie for
mans life, for great, faire, and most rich cities, for the antient glory and maiestie of the Romane
Empire, and many other causes also. Neither that this expedition was to be deemed of much
difficultie, for that Italie was vnder the rule of diuers Princes, vnto whose command most of
their subiects vnwillingly obeyed: as also for that the inhabitants of that countrie had now
for many yeares liued in continuall peace, and were therfore the more effeminat and feareful, L
and so vnfit for the wars: and that if that expedition were in one or diuers places taken in hand
before the corne were full ripe, the Turks in that so fruitfull a countrie could neuer want ne-
cessaries for them to liue vpon; wheras the inhabitants in great number wanting the same, and
shut vp within the wals and fortifications of their cities and strong towns, should be brought
into extreame wants: which was the more euidently to be seene, for that at this time wherein
they were at peace; they had not corne sufficient in the countrie for such a multitude of people
to liue vpon, but were glad to haue it brought vnto them from other places, especially from
Peloponesus, Constantinople, and the cities vpon the coast of the great Ocean. Furthermore,
that it was to be considered, that most part of the Italians liued by no other meanes than by
their handie labour, or the trade of merchandise; of which meanes if they were depriued,
they should in short time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of such conditions
the victor should propose vnto them, or as tributaries to submit themselues vnto the *Otho-
man* gouernment. Neither that the souldiers would vnwillingly be drawne vnto that war; for
that they were not to passe through barren regions of the enemie, frozen with yce, or desolat,
either

A either by rough woods or inaccessible mountaines; but were all the way thither to trauell
through their owne countrie, and as it were in the sight of their owne houses: and if the Turks
could oftentimes enter so far, when as they had their confines more remote, and their passages
more difficult, that the same might now much more easily be effected, when as they had a farre
greater opportunitie, and their enemies so neere at hand.

The seuenth opinion for war to be made against the Polonian, and the reasons thereof.

The seuenth opinion was theirs, which thought it best to haue the war transferred into Po-
lonia, and from thence into Hungarie and Germanie: for which they alleadged these reasons:
First, for that they thought it a disgrace vnto the maiestie and reputation of the *Othoman* Em-
pire, That the king of Polonia had sometime refused to pay his tribute due (for so the Turkes
account of al such Presents as are vnto their Sultan vsually sent by their neighbor princes; of
B courtesie) & that therefore he was by force of armes to be compelled thereunto. Which they
thought would the more easily be obtained, for that there was much secret hatred and heart-
burning amongst the Polonian nobilitie. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous
war to be taken in hand: forasmuch as Polonia was confined with Moldauia, the Tartars, and
the Sanzacks of Acherman, Bendera, and Vosia: and moreouer, for that the Turks could neuer
haue any assured or full possession of Moldauia or Valachia, except the insolencie of the Po-
lonians were represt; the Vayuods of which countries, when they had enriched themselues
with much wealth, vsed still to flie into the kingdome of Polonia. Besides that, they should
thereby reuenge themselues for the iniuries done them by the Cossackes, and haue more free
and safe trafficke into Muscouie, and bring a terrour vpon the Duke of Muscouie, by reason
C of the nighnesse of the country: which great Duke was an impediment vnto the *Othoman* Em-
perour, that he conquered not the whole kingdome of Persia. And when they had by this
means by little and little drawne vnto Germany, happily it might so come to passe, as that the
Christian Emperor should thereby receiue some notable losse, his empire being still more and
more exposed and enuironed with the Turks forces and garrisons. Polonia they said to be a
plaine and open country, neither to haue any strong places for to withstand them, and the in-
habitants to haue small skil in martiall affaires, for that they had now long liued in peace. For
as for the war that they had with *Maximilian* the Archduke of Austria, it continued not long:
and king *Stephen* in the late wars he had with the Muscouite, vsed for most part the Hungarian
souldiers, and ended those wars rather by besieging than fighting.

The eighth opinion for war to be made against the Emperour, and the reasons thereof.

D They which in the eight & last place deliuered their opinions concerning the intented war,
persuaded to haue it conuerted vpon the Christian Emperor; whom the Turks call the king of
Vienna. The causes they alleadged for the beginning of this war was, For that the Vscocchi
were grown so insolent as to make good prise of the Turks both by sea and land; in such sort,
as that not onely for the harmes which they did, but euen for the maiestie and honour of the
Othoman empire, their insolencie was not longer to be suffered. By whose iniuries it was espe-
cially brought to passe, that the merchants to their great hinderance in priuat, & the Sultans
great losse in common, hauing left the towne of Narenta or Narona in the Turks dominion,
had remoued their mart to Salona (now called Spalato) a town of the Venetians: & that yet for
all that was not so sufficiently prouided for the security of the said merchants, although there
E were peace betwixt the Emperour and the Venetians: for that these vnruly men for most part
liuing vpon the spoile, troubled all both by sea and land with their robberies, driuing away
mens cattell, burning the villages, and taking away the young babes out of the mothers armes
and laps. Whereby it was easily to be seene, what mind they were of: and that it was not to be
doubted, but that if occasion should serue for them to surprise any of the Turks strong holds
vpon the frontiers, they would with all their power attempt the same: which what a dishonor
and infamie (not to speake of the losse) it would be vnto the whole *Othoman* empire, euery man
might easily ghesse. Neither that it was vnknown, how little the Christian Emperor had estee-
med of the Turke, at such time as he was in warre with the Persian, paying his tribute too late
at his pleasure; an euident signe rather of violating than of establishing the league. And that
F the good successe of this warre was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtfull: for that
the attempt might be giuen both by Croatia, Hungarie, & Austria, countries abounding with
all things necessarie for the maintenance of a great armie; as also for that they were almost to
trauell all the way in the Turks owne territorie. Beside that, the chiefe fortresses of Hungarie,
namely Belgrade, Buda, and Alba Regalis, with many other strong places, were alreadie hol-
den

den by the Turks garrisons, whither their armies might in all cases of extremitie in safetie re- G
tire: or out of the same garrisons repaire their losses, if any should be. The Roman Empire (as the same) was more dishonors of peace than warre; and the princes, of nothing more carefull, than how to heape vp and preserue their treasures: and the people of Germanie for that of long they had had no warres, to be lesse fit now to beare armes, and worse to be commanded by their captaines, alwaies hauing in distrust the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that those nations are not reioyced, but rather hated of the Germans, being not at vnity among themselues, but diuided, especially about matters of religion. Neither that it was to be feared, lest forraine Princes should giue aid vnto the Emperour in this warre: The Polonian and Transyluanian to liue now in peace with the Turke, and therefore would by no meanes turne the heat of this warre into their owne bosomes: as also for that the Polonians were afraid, lest in so doing, they H
should be driuen out of their countrie, and enforced to remoue themselues toward the frozen sea: and the Transyluanian hauing receiued his soueraignetie from the Turke, no lesse in feare of the same, if he should so do, to be of him again stript and spoiled of the same: as for the king of Spaine, although he were of such power, as might afford vnto the house of Austria great aid, yet that he was in other places now too much buried: and that the Bishop of Rome could not in all places be readie to serue his turne: the Princes of Italie would not spend their subiects and treasures to pleasure another man: and that the Venetian State would not rashly stir vp the Turks armes against themselues, but rather at ease expect the euent of the warre, than to entangle themselues with other mens dangers. These were the chiefe opinions of the great Bassaes concerning the warre to be taken in hand, not so much proceeding from any ripe or sound aduice (as I
commonly they do) but rather from a certaine barbarous insolencie and contempt of others, wherewith they moued, doe oftentimes vainly perswade them of the easie performance of diuers expeditions: which in proofe they finde to be not onely most difficult, but vnto themselues also most pernicious.

In this so great diuersitie of opinions stood *Amurath*, of long in doubt what to resolue vpon: desirous he was all places to shew his power, and (if it were possible) to exceed the glorie of his predecessors, as he thought himselfe to haue already done in Persia; hauing as he boasted, by his seruants there performed more than they would themselues in person with their mightie armies. Wherfore contenting himselfe with that he had already done in the East, he resolued now to turne his forces against the Christian Emperor towards the West, & that for K
diuers respects. First, it grieued him to see the honour of the house of Austria, and that it durst so make head against him: besides that, to make war vpon a country confining vpon his owne, would be a thing of far lesse difficultie than was the Persian warre, where his armies were now still to be led through his owne peaceable countries, from whence they were to be at all times plentifully relieued with victuals and whatsoeuer else they needed. In which opinion he was also confirmed by *Sinan Bassa*, who hauing in vaine perswaded him to haue made warre against the Venetians, furthered now this warre; in hope thereby to recouer his credit and reputation before greatly impaired abroad by the little he did in Persia; as also at Constantinople by the discord betwixt him and *Ferat Bassa*, commonly called the Black Serpent: as also to encrease his wealth and riches: which shortly after sorted to his desire, being by the great Sultan L
Amurath appointed Generall for those wars. But aboue all others, *Hassan Bassa* of Bosna furthered this matter, in hope thereby to haue gained great riches (as the Turkes manner is) together with the greatest honours of the field, as he was most vainly perswaded by his cold Propheets, to whom he gaue no small credit. He therefore daily certified *Amurath* of the harmes which the Vscoechi and other the Archduke his seruants & subiects did vpon the frontiers of his territories: telling him of their burnings, spoilings, and robbings, inciting him to begin his warre in Croatia, and so to continue the same either against the Emperour, or the Venetians, or els vpon the sudden that way to breake into Italie, as had sometime the like beene done in the time of *Mahomet*, *Baiazet*, and *Solyman* his noble progenitors: whereby to bring a great terror vpon all the Princes of Italie, and to enrich his souldiers with rich spoiles. By which his im- M
portunitie he (as a most mortall enemy not onely vnto the house of Austria, but vnto all Christendome) got leaue to begin those stirs in the frontiers of the Empire, which were first fatal vnto himselfe, and haue euer since euen vntill this day notably exercised the armes of these two last *Othoman* Emperours *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as also the Christian Emperour, with others

Amurath resolueth to make warre vpon the Emperour, with the reasons mouing him thereunto.

A others his friends and confederates. Yet vnto this leaue granted vnto the Bassa, was this condition at the first annexed, That he should not seeme to do it by the commandement of *Amurath*, but of himselfe, vnder colour to restraine the Vscochi; who as well by land as by sea (as he pretended) spoiled both the Christians and Turks, by the great libertie of the Princes of Austria, hauing small care to chasten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Hassan Bassa* to do what *Amurath* his great Lord and master had commanded, for the disturbing of the peace betwixt him and the Christian Emperor: the Turks leagues with their neighbour Princes being seldome so religiously kept, but that as wel their souldiers in garrison vpon their frontiers by land, as their aduenturers by sea, might to keepe themselues doing, vpon a militarie insolencie (as the Turks terme it) now and then at
B their pleasures make incursions for bootie both by sea and land: which answered with the like from their neighbors so molested, there neuer wanted new grieuances and iust causes of complaint, to the stirring vp of greater troubles euen amongst the greatest Princes. The Venetians thus wronged at sea, and their merchants robbed; by their Embassadors complained at Constantinople, of the iniuries done them by the Turkes pyrats, requiring to haue them called home and iustice done vpon them. In like manner the Emperor also, seeing many things both this yeare and the next attempted by *Hassan Bassa* in Croatia, and the other Turks in Hungarie, contrarie to the league, to the great disturbance of his subiects in both those countries, by his Embassador then lying at Constantinople complained of these outrages, desiring to know whether they were done by the consent and knowledge of *Amurath* or not; and if not, then to
C require that order might be taken for the restraining thereof: which was accordingly done, and those incursions for a while stayed, and the former peace continued. *Amurath* still making shew as if he were willing that the league agreed vpon for eight yeares, should not be in any wise on his part infringed. At which time the Persian Kings sonne (the league not long before concluded) died in the Turks Court, where he lay in hostage: whose dead bodie *Amurath* caused to be honourably sent home to his father into Persia, with an apologie in defence of himselfe, against the suspicion conceiued by some, That he should haue been the cause of the vntimely death of that young Prince; still vrging withall the confirmation of the league, which by the death of the Prince was like enough to haue beene broken. Whereof *Amurath* was the more desirous, for that perswaded by his Bassa's (as is aforesaid) to make warre with the
D Emperour (although he notably dissembled the same) he was in hope thereby to adde vnto his Empire the reliques of Hungarie, with some good part of the Territorie of the house of Austria also, and so to open himself a way into the heart of Germanie. For which purposes he now caused very great preparation to be made, and a strong Armie to be raised; and at the same time put a great Fleet of Galleys into the Archipelago, for the safetie of his Islands in that sea.

The Persian hostage dieth in the Turkes Court.

1591

According to these designements, the Bassa of Bosna by the commandment of *Amurath*, with an armie of fiftie thousand entred into Croatia, and without resistance burnt and destroyed the country before him, sparing nothing that came in his way. And not so contented, laid
E siege to the citie of Wihitz, being the metropolitical citie of that countrey, strongly situate as it were in an Iland, compassed about with the riuer Vna. Which citie, after he had sore battered and twice assaulted, was by the distressed defendants (now despairing of reliefe, and vnable longer to hold it out) yeelded vnto the Bassa, vpon composition, That the German souldiers there in garrison, might in safetie with bag and baggage depart; and that such of the Christian citizens as would, might there still remaine without hurt from the Turks, either in bodie or goods. Which conditions the Bassa faithfully performed to the garrison souldiers, whom in number but foure hundred, he sent with safe conuoy into their owne territorie: but afterwards contrarie to his faith and promise, exercised all manner of Turkish tyrannie vpon the poore citizens. The Emperour troubled with this vnexpected inuasion of the Turks, sent the Lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times employed in embassages to the Turke) to pray aid
F of the German Princes against the common Enemie. Who according to the greatnesse of the danger, in large termes promised their helpe. The first that made head was *Ernestus* Archduke of Austria the Emperours brother, who with fiue thousand souldiers came from Vienna to Stiria, commonly called Greis, the Metropolis of Stiria: to whom repaired daily more strength out of Carinthia.

Wihitz the Metropolitical Citie of Croatia yeelded to the Turks.

1592

In

den by the Turks garrisons, whither their armies might in all cases of extremitie in safetie re- G
or out of the same garrisons repaire their losses, if any should be. The Roman Empire (as they said) was more desirous of peace than war; and the princes, of nothing more carefull, than how to heape vp and preserue their treasures: and the people of Germanie for that of long they had had wars, to be lesse fit now to beare armes, and worse to be commanded by their captaines; alwaies hauing in distrust the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that those nations are not beloued, but rather hated of the Germans, being not at vnity among themselues, but diuided, especially about matters of religion. Neither that it was to be feared, lest forraine Princes should giue aid vnto the Emperour in this warre: The Polonian and Transyluanian to liue now in peace with the Turke, and therefore would by no meanes turne the heat of this war into their owne bosomes: as also for that the Polonians were afraid, lest in so doing, they H
should be driuen out of their countrie, and enforced to remoue themselues toward the frozen sea: and the Transyluanian hauing receiued his soueraigntie from the Turke, no lesse in feare (if he should so do) to be of him again stript and spoiled of the same: as for the king of Spaine, although he were of such power, as might afford vnto the house of Austria great aid, yet that he was in other places now too much busied: and that the Bishop of Rome could not in all places be readie to serue his turne: the Princes of Italie would not spend their subiects and treasures to pleasure another man: and that the Venetian State would not rashly stir vp the Turks armes against themselues, but rather at ease expect the euent of the war, than to entangle themselues with other mens dangers. These were the chiefe opinions of the great Bassaes concerning the war to be taken in hand, not so much proceeding from any ripe or sound aduice (as I
commonly they do) but rather from a certaine barbarous insolencie and contempt of others; wherewith they moued, doe oftentimes vainly perswade them of the easie performance of diuers expeditions: which in proofe they finde to be not onely most difficult, but vnto themselues also most pernicious.

Amurath resolueth to make war vpon the Emperor, with the reasons moouing him thereunto.

In this so great diuersitie of opinions stood *Amurath*, of long in doubt what to resolue vpon: desirous he was in all places to shew his power, and (if it were possible) to exceed the glorie of his predecessors, as he thought himselfe to haue already done in Persia; hauing as he boasted, by his seruants there performed more than the[y] would themselues in person with their mightie armies. Wherfore contenting himselfe with [what] he had already done in the East, he resolued now to turne his forces against the Christian Emperor towards the West, & that for K
diuers respects. First, it grieued him to see the hon[our] of the house of Austria, and that it durst to make head against him: besides that, to make war vpon a country confining vpon his owne, would be a thing of far lesse difficultie than was the Persian war, where his armies were now still to be led through his owne peaceable countries, from whence they were to be at all times plentifully relieued with victuals and whatsoeuer else they needed. In which opinion he was also confirmed by *Sinan Bassa*, who hauing in vaine perswaded him to haue made warre against the Venetians, furthered now this war; in hope thereby to recouer his credit and reputation (before greatly impaired abroad by the little he did in Persia; as also at Constantinople by the discord betwixt him and *Ferat Bassa*, commonly called the Black Serpent) as also to encrease his wealth and riches: which shortly after sorted to his desire, being by the great Sultan L
Amurath appointed Generall for those wars. But aboue all others, *Hassan Bassa* of Bosna furthered this matter, in hope thereby to haue gained great riches (as the Turkes manner is) together with the greatest honours of the field, as he was most vainly perswaded by his cold Prophers, to whom he gaue no small credit. He therefore daily certified *Amurath* of the harmes which the Vscocchi and other the Archduke his seruants & subiects did vpon the frontiers of his territories: telling him of their burnings, spoilings, and robbings, inciting him to begin his war in Croatia, and so to continue the same either against the Emperour, or the Venetians, or els vpon the sudden that way to breake into Italie, as had sometime the like beene done in the time of *Mahomet*, *Baiazet*, and *Solyman* his noble progenitors: whereby to bring a great terror vpon all the Princes of Italie, and to enrich his souldiers with rich spoiles. By which his im- M
portunitie he (as a most m[ortall] enemy not onely vnto the house of Austria, but vnto all Christendome) got leaue to b[egin] those stirs in the frontiers of the Empire, which were first fatal vnto himselfe, and haue euer [since] euen vntill this day notably exercised the armes of their two last *Othoman* Emperours *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as also the Christian Emperour, with others

A others his friends and confederates. Yet vnto this leaue granted vnto the Bassa, was this condition at the first annexed, That he should not seeme to do it by the commandement of *Amurath*, but of himselfe, vnder colour to restraine the Vscocchi; who as well by land as by sea (as he pretended) spoiled both the Christians and Turks, by the great libertie of the Princes of Austria, hauing small care to chasten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Hassan Bassa* to do what *Amurath* his great Lord and master had commanded, for the disturbing of the peace betwixt him and the Christian Emperor: the Turks leagues with their neighbour Princes being seldome so religiously kept, but that as wel their souldiers in garrison vpon their frontiers by land, as their aduenturers by sea, might to keepe themselues doing, vpon a militarie insolencie (as the Turks terme it) now and then at
B their pleasures make incursions for bootie both by sea and land: which answered with the like from their neighbors so molested, there neuer wanted new grieuances and iust causes of complaint, to the stirring vp of greater troubles euen amongst the greatest Princes. The Venetians 1591
thus wronged at sea, and their merchants robbed; by their Embassadors complained at Constantinople, of the iniuries done them by the Turkes pyrats, requiring to haue them called home and iustice done vpon them. In like manner the Emperor also, seeing many things both this yeare and the next attempted by *Hassan Bassa* in Croatia, and the other Turks in Hungarie, contrarie to the league, to the great disturbance of his subiects in both those countries, by his Embassador then lying at Constantinople complained of these outrages, desiring to know whether they were done by the consent and knowledge of *Amurath* or not; and if not, then to
C require that order might be taken for the restraining thereof: which was accordingly done, and those incursions for a while stayed, and the former peace continued. *Amurath* still making shew as if he were willing that the league agreed vpon for eight yeares, should not be in any wise on his part infringed. At which time the Persian Kings sonne (the league not long before concluded) died in the Turks Court, where he lay in hostage: whose dead bodie *Amurath* caused to be honourably sent home to his father into Persia, with an apologie in defence of himselfe, against the suspicion conceiued by some, That he should haue been the cause of the vntimely death of that young Prince; still vrging withall the confirmation of the league, which by the death of the Prince was like enough to haue beene broken. Whereof *Amurath* was the more desirous, for that perswaded by his Bassa's (as is aforesaid) to make warre with the
D Emperour (although he notably dissembled the same) he was in hope thereby to adde vnto his Empire the reliques of Hungarie, with some good part of the Territorie of the house of Austria also, and so to open himself a way into the heart of Germanie. For which purposes he now caused very great preparation to be made, and a strong Armie to be raised; and at the same time put a great Fleet of Galleys into the Archipelago, for the safetie of his Islands in that sea.

The Persian hostage dieth in the Turkes Court.

According to these designements, the Bassa of Bosna by the commandment of *Amurath*, 1592
with an armie of fiftie thousand entred into Croatia, and without resistance burnt and destroyed the country before him, sparing nothing that came in his way. And not so contented, laid
E siege to the citie of Wihitz, being the metropolitical citie of that country, strongly scituate as it were in an Iland, compassed about with the riuer Vna. Which citie, after he had sore battered and twice assaulted, was by the distressed defendants (now despairing of reliefe, and vnable longer to hold it out) yeelded vnto the Bassa, vpon composition, That the German soldiers there in garrison, might in safetie with bag and baggage depart; and that such of the Christian citizens as would, might there still remaine without hurt from the Turks, either in bodie or goods. Which conditions the Bassa faithfully performed to the garrison souldiers, whom in number but foure hundred, he sent with safe conuoy into their owne territorie: but afterwards contrarie to his faith and promise, exercised all manner of Turkish tyrannie vpon the poore citizens. The Emperour troubled with this vnexpected inuasion of the Turks, sent the Lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times employed in embassages to the Turke) to pray aid
F of the German Princes against the common Enemie. Who according to the great[nesse] of the danger, in large termes promised their helpe. The first that made head was *Ernestus* Archduke of Austria the Emperours brother, who with fiue thousand souldiers came from Vienna to Stiaria, commonly called Greis, the Metropolis of Stiria: to whom repaired daily more strength out of Carinthia.

Wihitz the Metropolitical Citie of Croatia yeelded to the Turks.

In

The Christians ouerthrowne.

In the meane time the Turks armie daily increasing in Croatia, inclosed six thousand foot- G
men and fiue hundred horsemen of the Christians; who had taken the mountaines, woods,
and streict passages, and so hardly beset them, that of all that number few escaped with life:
among whom many valiant souldiers and expert captaines were slaine; namely *Iames Prantz*,
George Plesh and *Iohn Welnerdurff*. The Bassa after the barbarous manner of the Turks, to
make his victorie seeme more famous, laded six waggons with the heads of the slaine Christi-
ans. The Turks thus raging in Croatia, brought a general feare vpon all Hungarie, Bauaria,
Bohemia, Stiria, Carinthia, Silesia, and the rest of the Prouinces thereabouts. Whereupon
the Emperor calling together the States of Silesia and Moldauia, declared vnto them the im-
minent danger; persuading them to ioine their forces with the rest, for the repulsing of so dan-
gerous an enemie, and so imminent a danger.

After long delay, *Ernestus* the Archduke the tenth of August came to the Emperor his bro- H
ther, with the Embassadors of Hungarie; and the seuenth day after were called together the
Embassadors of the kingdomes and prouinces of the Empire: where it was throughly deba-
ted, how the Turks were to be resisted, and their attempts infringed; as also from whence for-
ces, money, and other warrelike prouision was to be raised. For now it was manifestly seene,
that longer to delay the matter was dangerous: and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg or great
Commander of Grecia, with threescore thousand select souldiers both horse and foot, of long
time exercised in the Persian war, was ere long expected; who joyning with the rest of the
Turks armie, might do great matters both in Hungary and the places adjoyning. For preuen- I
ting of which so great and manifest dangers, they sate dayly in counsell in Prague, yea often-
times euen from morning vntill night: for the Hungarians, and especially the Lord *Nadasti* a
most noble and valiant gentleman amongst them, instantly vrged to haue succours sent into
Hungarie; forasmuch as the Turkish Emperour, if he should get into his hands the rest of the
townes and castles yet holden by the Christians in Hungarie, it was to be feared lest he should
in short time after endanger the whole state of Germanie: the strength whereof the Turke fea-
red not so much, as he did those poore reliques of Hungarie. Others were no lesse careful of
the dangers of Croatia and Stiria, as more proper to themselues, the enemy now there raging.
In these so great dangers, the Hungarians with the rest of the distressed, cried vpon the Empe-
rour for helpe; and he likewise called vpon the Princes of the Empire. Diuers assemblies
were made in Bohemia, Hungarie, Morauia Silesia, and the other prouinces of the Empe- K
rors, and Embassadors sent from almost all the German Princes to the Emperour: all was full
of consultation, but as for helpe that came in very slowly; yet such as was to be had, was
forthwith sent into Croatia, to defend the fortresses there against the further attempts & pro-
ceedings of the furious enemie.

Certaine vaine attempts of the Turks.

The eighteenth of September, the Turkes with all warlike prouision vpon the sudden by
night assaulted the strong castle of Tocxay in the vpper Hungarie, in hope to haue surprised
it: but finding it a matter of more difficultie than they had before imagined, they departed
thence, and attempted the lesser Comara, which standing in a marish ground, was also easily de-
fended. At which time also the Bassa of Buda with his power entred into the frontiers of the
Christians, but hauing well viewed the cities, townes, castles, and forts vpon those borders, L
and finding nothing for his purpose, he without any thing doing returned againe to Buda.

The six and twentieth day of September, *Hassan* the Bassa of Bosna incamped with his Ar-
mie betwixt the riuers of Kulp and Sauus, and in the darkenesse of the night passing ouer part
of his armie into Turopolis, with fire and sword most miserably spoiled all that pleasant and
fertile Island; the lord of Bonny, to whom the keeping thereof was committed, labouring in
vaine to defend the same.

Turopolis spoyled by the Turks.

About the end of this moneth, the Bassa of Ziget, with the Sanzackes of Mohas, Koppan,
and Quinque Ecclesiæ, and other Turkes of great name, came with a strong Armie, and en-
camped betweene Ziget and Rodesto. And shortly after newes was brought to the Empe-
rours Court, that Kanysia a Citie of Stiria (not farre from the riuer Zala) was hardly besie- M
ged by the enemie, and that the Turks in comming thither had taken many Christians Cap-
tiues, whom they had sent to be sould at Constantinople: and that there was in the Turkes ar-
mie about an hundred and sixtie thousand men. But forasmuch as the Christian army daily in-
creased also, and was now growne to the number of threescore thousand, men began to hope
well,

A well, that the enemies rage would be stayed from any further proceeding. About the same
time, *Ernestus* the Archduke appointed General of the armie, with the Marquis (son to *Fer-
dinand* the Archduke) his lieutenant, came both vnto the armie.

In these preparations, about the beginning of October heauie newes was brought vnto the
Emperors court, how that 7000 men, whom he but a little before had sent into Croatia vn-
der the conduct of *Thomas Artelius Beane*, *George Gleichspacher*, and *Dionysius Denke*, to hinder
the course of the Turks proceedings, being incamped betwixt Wihitz and Carolstat; and ha-
uing the twelfth of September discouered from an high hill certaine companies of the Turkes
(which were indeed of purpose come thither to view the armie of the Christians) sent out fif-
tie horsemen to discouer the Turks armie where it lay, and what it attempted. Who finding no
B moe of the Turks than those whome they had before seene from the mountaine; returned
againe vnto the armie with such simple intelligence: whereunto the Christians giuing credit,
became secure in their tents, as men out of feare of the enemie, and so kept but negligent
watch. But in this so great securitie, the enemie on a sudden came vpon them, and with an
hundred thousand men brake into their trenches: where the Christian footmen for all that, for
the space of foure houres maintained a notable fight, wherein many were on both sides slaine.
But the poore Christians being beset round, and oppressed with the multitude of their ene-
mies, were slaine almost all: yet the Captaines seeing the danger, by speedie flight saued their
liues: for which their cowardise and careless negligence, they were afterwards apprehended
and beheaded. Almost all the common souldiers were there slaine: yea such as fell aliue into
C the hand of the enemie, were most cruelly cut in pieces. The spoile also of the tents of the
Christians fell vnto the enemie; wherein beside the aboundance of other things, they found
sixtie thousand dollars, brought but two dayes before from Lintz for the souldiers pay. The
Turks after their barbarous manner, in ostentation of their victorie, laded fourteene waggons
with the heads of the slain Christians, which they sent vnto diuers of their places thereabours.
This was indeed a great victorie, but gained by the Turks with much bloud: for the Christi-
ans fighting as men desperate, slew of their enemies aboue twelue thousand, and died them-
selues as men rather with number oppressed, than with true valour vanquished.

The castle of S. George surprised by the Turks.

The night following, the Turks vpon the sudden in the dead time of the night surprised the
castle of S. *George*, and without respect of age or sex, cruelly put to the sword all them that
D were therein, except an hundred and fortie persons, whom they carried away captiues; and so
setting the castle on fire, departed. At the same time diuers companies of the Turkes were
seene about Siseg, who led away with them about six hundred Christians into most miserable
captiuitie. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the calamities of this so miserable a wa-
sted countrey, three hundred waggons charged with all manner of prouision sent out of the
prouinces there by for the relefe of the garrison soldiers in Croatia, were all intercepted by
the Turks, and so carried away.

The Emperour prayeth aid against the German Princes.

The Emperor considering these proceedings of the Turks, and that their strength daily in-
creased, gaue notice by writing, to all the Princes and States of the Empire, what incursions
E the Turks had of late made into Croatia and the frontiers of Hungary, with other places neere
vnto them: and that the Beglerbeg of Grecia, with the Bassa's of Bosna, Buda, and Temesuar,
without regard of the league yet in force, had taken diuers cities, townes, castles, and strong
places, and so extended the bounds of their dominion aboue fortie German miles, hauing slain
or carried away into captiuity the poore inhabitants of those countries; and now to be grown
to that height of pride, that except their farther proceedings were with like forces repressed,
they would in short time set foot into Germany it selfe, and possessing themselues of Stiria and
Carinthia, would from thence daily more and more incroach vpon the Empire: which to hin-
der, was not in his power only, but required their helpe in general. Wherefore he requested
them now at length, in so publique a danger to open their coffers, and to send out their Forces
F so great a danger, moued not only the Princes and States of the Empire, but others also far-
ther off, to yeeld liberal contribution vnto so necessarie and general a cause.

The Turks now hearing of the great preparation of the Christian Princes, beside the armie
which was alreadie in the field, and that they had made a strong bridge ouer the riuer of Dra-
uus, which they had also fortified; thereby in safetie at their pleasure to transport their army:

without

The Christians ouerthrowne.

In the meane time the Turks armie daily increasing in Croatia, inclosed six thousand foot- G
men and fiue hundred horsemen of the Christians; who had taken the mountaines, woods,
and straict passages, and so hardly beset them, that of all that number few escaped with life:
among whom many valiant souldiers and expert captaines were slaine; namely *Iames Prantz*,
George Plesh and *Iohn Weluerdurff*. The Bassa after the barbarous manner of the Turks, to
make his victorie seeme more famous, laded six waggons with the heads of the slaine Christi-
ans. The Turks thus raging in Croatia, brought a general feare vpon all Hungarie, Bauaria,
Bohemia, Stiria, Carinthia, Silesia, and the rest of the Prouinces thereabouts. Whereupon
the Emperor calling together the States of Silesia and Moldauia, declared vnto them the im-
minent danger; persuading them to ioine their forces with the rest, for the repulsing of so dan-
gerous an enemie, and so imminent a danger.

After long delay, *Ernestus* the Archduke the tenth of August came to the Emperor his bro- H
ther, with the Embassadors of Hungarie; and the seuenth day after were called together the
Embassadors of the kingdomes and prouinces of the Empire: where it was throughly deba-
ted, how the Turks were to be resisted, and their attempts infringed; as also from whence for-
ces, money, and other warrelike prouision was to be raised. For now it was manifestly seene,
that longer to delay the matter was dangerous: and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg or great
Commander of Grecia, with threescore thousand select souldiers both horse and foot, of long
time exercised in the Persian war, was ere long expected; who joyning with the rest of the
Turks armie, might do great matters both in Hungary and the places adjoyning. For preuen-
ting of which so great and manifest dangers, they sate dayly in counsell in Prague, yea often- I
times euen from morning vntill night: for the Hungarians, and especially the Lord *Nadasti* a
most noble and valiant gentleman amongst them, instantly vrged to haue succours sent into
Hungarie; forasmuch as the Turkish Emperour, if he should get into his hands the rest of the
townes and castles yet holden by the Christians in Hungarie, it was to be feared lest he should
in short time after endanger the whole state of Germanie: the strength whereof the Turke fea-
red not so much, as he did those poore reliques of Hungarie. Others were no lesse careful of
the dangers of Croatia and Stiria, as more proper to themselues, the enemy now there raging.
In these so great dangers, the Hungarians with the rest being distressed, cried vpon the Empe-
rour for helpe; and he likewise called vpon the Princes of the Empire. Diuers assemblies
were made in Bohemia, Hungarie, Morauia Silesia, and the other prouinces of the Empe- K
rors, and Embassadors sent from almost all the German Princes to the Emperour: all was full
of consultation, but as for helpe that came in very slowly; yet such as was to be had, was
forthwith sent into Croatia, to defend the fortresses there against the further attempts & pro-
ceedings of the furious enemie.

Certaine vaine attempts of the Turks.

The eighteenth of September, the Turkes with all warlike prouision vpon the sudden by
night assaulted the strong castle of Tocay in the vpper Hungarie, in hope to haue surprised
it: but finding it a matter of more difficultie than they had before imagined, they departed
thence, and attempted the lesser Comara, which standing in a marish ground, was also easily de-
fended. At which time also the Bassa of Buda with his power entred into the frontiers of the
Christians, but hauing well viewed the cities, townes, castles, and forts vpon those borders, L
and finding nothing for his purpose, he without any thing doing returned againe to Buda.

The six and twentieth day of September, *Hassan* the Bassa of Bosna incamped with his Ar-
mie betwixt the riuers of Kulp and Sauus, and in the darkenesse of the night passing ouer part
of his armie into Turopolis, with fire and sword most miserably spoiled all that pleasant and
fertile Island; the lord of Bonny, to whom the keeping thereof was committed, labouring in
vaine to defend the same.

Turopolis spoy-led by the Turks

About the end of this moneth, the Bassa of Ziget, with the Sanzackes of Mohas, Koppan,
and Quinque Ecclesiæ, and other Turkes of great name, came with a strong Armie, and en-
camped betweene Ziget and Rodesto. And shortly after newes was brought to the Empe-
rours Court, that Kanysia a Citie of Stiria (not farre from the riuer Zala) was hardly besie- M
ged by the enemie, and that the Turks in comming thither had taken many Christians Cap-
tiues, whom they had sent to be sould at Constantinople; and that there was in the Turkes ar-
mie about an hundred and sixtie thousand men. But forasmuch as the Christian army daily in-
creased also, and was now growne to the number of threescore thousand, men began to hope
well,

A well, that the enemies rage would be stayed from any further proceeding. About the same
time, *Ernestus* the Archduke appointed General of the armie, with the Marquis (son to *Fer-
dinand* the Archduke) his lieutenant, came both vnto the armie.

In these preparations, about the beginning of October heauie newes was brought vnto the
Emperors court, how that 7000 men, whom he but a little before had sent into Croatia vn-
der the conduct of *Thomas Artelius Beane*, *George Gleichspacher*, and *Dionysius Denke*, to hinder
the course of the Turks proceedings, being incamped betwixt Wihitz and Carolstat; and ha-
uing the twelfth of September discouered from an high hill certaine companies of the Turkes
(which were indeed of purpose come thither to view the armie of the Christians) sent out fif-
tie horsemen to discouer the Turks armie where it lay, and what it attempted. Who finding no
B moe of the Turks than those whome they had before seene from the mountaine; returned
againe vnto the armie with such simple intelligence: whereunto the Christians giuing credit,
became secure in their tents, as men out of feare of the enemie, and so kept but negligent
watch. But in this so great securitie, the enemie on a sudden came vpon them, and with an
hundred thousand men brake into their trenches: where the Christian footmen for all that, for
the space of foure houres maintained a notable fight, wherein many were on both sides slaine.
But the poore Christians being beset round, and oppressed with the multitude of their ene-
mies, were slaine almost all: yet the Captaines seeing the danger, by speedie flight saued their
liues: for which their cowardise and carelesse negligence, they were afterwards apprehended
and beheaded. Almost all the common souldiers were there slaine: yea such as fell aliue into
C the hand of the enemie, were most cruelly cut in pieces. The spoile also of the tents of the
Christians fell vnto the enemie; wherein beside the aboundance of other things, they found
sixtie thousand dollars, brought but two dayes before from Lintz for the soldiers pay. The
Turks after their barbarous manner, in ostentation of their victorie, laded fourteene waggons
with the heads of the slain Christians, which they sent vnto diuers of their places thereabours.
This was indeed a great victorie, but gained by the Turks with much bloud: for the Christi-
ans fighting as men desperate, slew of their enemies aboue twelue thousand, and died them-
selues as men rather with number oppressed, than with true valour vanquished.

The castle of S. George surprised by the Turks.

The night following, the Turks vpon the sudden in the dead time of the night surprised the
castle of S. *George*, and without respect of age or sex, cruelly put to the sword all them that
D were therein, except an hundred and fortie persons, whom they carried away captiues; and so
setting the castle on fire, departed. At the same time diuers companies of the Turkes were
seene about Siseg, who led away with them about six hundred Christians into most miserable
captiuitie. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the calamities of this so miserable a wa-
sted countrey, three hundred waggons charged with all manner of prouision sent out of the
prouinces there by for the relefe of the garrison soldiers in Croatia, were all intercepted by
the Turks, and so carried away.

The Emperour prayeth aid again of the German Princes.

The Emperor considering these proceedings of the Turks, and that their strength daily in-
creased, gaue notice by writing, to all the Princes and States of the Empire, what incursions
E the Turks had of late made into Croatia and the frontiers of Hungary, with other places neere
vnto them: and that the Beglerbeg of Grecia, with the Bassa's of Bosna, Buda, and Temeswar,
without regard of the league yet in force, had taken diuers cities, townes, castles, and strong
places, and so extended the bounds of their dominion aboue fortie German miles, hauing slain
or carried away into captiuity the poore inhabitants of those countries: and now to be grown
to that height of pride, that except their farther proceedings were with like forces repressed,
they would in short time set foot into Germany it selfe, and possessing themselues of Stiria and
Carinthia, would from thence daily more and more incroach vpon the Empire: which to hin-
der, was not in his power only, but required their helpe in general. Wherefore he requested
them now at length, in so publique a danger to open their coffers, and to send out their Forces
against the common enemie. Which request of the Emperor, with the due consideration of
F so great a danger, moued not only the Princes and States of the Empire, but others also far-
ther off, to yeeld liberal contribution vnto so necessarie and general a cause.

The Turks now hearing of the great preparation of the Christian Princes, beside the armie
which was alreadie in the field, and that they had made a strong bridge ouer the riuer of Dra-
uus, which they had also fortified; thereby in safetie at their pleasure to transport their army:

without

without further delay furnished such places as they had gotten, with strong garrisons, and so withdrew themselues into their owne territory: which they did the rather, for that the plague then raged sore in Constantinople, insomuch that there died a thousand a day. Which contagion had also taken hold of the Turkish armie; so that the Christians for feare of infection, forthwith set at liberty what Turke soeuer fell into their hands. And thus ended the troubles of this yeare, being as it were an introduction for greater to ensue the yeare following.

1593 *Diuers incursions of the Turks into the frontiers of the Christians in Croatia and Hungarie.*

The Turks together with the beginning of the new yeare began also their wonted incursions into the frontiers of the Christians. They of the garrison of Petrinia (a strong fort but lately and contrarie to the league built by the Turks vpon the Riuer of Colapis or Kulp, for the further inuasion of Croatia) made dayly incursions out of that new fort, and entring into the Iland Turopolis, spoiled and burnt the Towne and Castle of Beck-Vochobinam, and hauing made a great slaughter, carried away with them 400 prisoners. And in Hungarie the Turkish garrisons to supplie their wants made diuers inrodes vpon the Chistians, and did exceeding much harme: of which aduenturers six hundred in passing ouer the frozen lake, were all drowned in the middest thereof. In another place three thousand of them neere vnto Nuhuse diuided themselues into two companies, whereof the one shewed it selfe in the sight of the Townesmen, the other still lying close in ambush. They of the towne vpon the sight of these Turks, sallied out, and causing them to retire, followed them so farre, that they were past the place where the rest of the Turks lay: who presently starting vp, ran with all speed toward the towne, in hope to haue surprised it: and wanted not much of that they desired; for there was scarce an hundred of the Germans there in garrison left in the towne, who had scarce so much time as to draw vp the bridges: which done, they with the great ordnance from the wals enforced the Turks to retyre and forsake the towne. About the same time also the Turks in garrison at Petrinia sallying out vpon the sudden, tooke the towne of Martenize, which they spoiled; and hauing slaine and taken about seuen hundred persons, set fire on the towne, and so returned, hauing lost in this exploit not past an hundred and fiftie of their owne men. Not long after, the same garrison soldiers of Petrinia tooke another castle three miles distant from the riuer of Kulp, whereinto the Christians dwelling round about had for feare of the enemy conueyed all their wealth, with great store of victuals: all which the Turks tooke, and hauing slaine six hundred men in the castle, returned with an exceeding rich bootie to Petrinia: which they bought with the liues of fiue hundred of their fellowes, slaine in taking of the Castle. With like insolencie did also the other Garrisons of the Turkes rage in all the other parts of Hungarie. About Sassouia in the vpper Hungarie they carried away about three hundred Christian captiues. And in the nether part of Hungarie they tooke the strong castle of S. *Hedwig* vpon the lake of Balaton, which they spoiled and burnt: and so likewise the castle of Isna: but attempting the lesser Comara, they were by the garrison souldiers valiantly repulsed. They also fortified the castle of Stocke, which they had but a little before taken, that so it might serue for a safe refuge for their aduenturers. Which their manifold outrages, contrarie to the league, euidently declared the desire they had to begin that bloudie war which presently after ensued: and was indeed the more suspected, for that at the same time the Emperours Embassador *Fredericke Corcowitts* was by the commandement of *Amurath* shut vp close in his house at Constantinople, and not suffered to speake with any man, neither to write or to send any messenger to the Emperor: which caused him the more to suspect some great matter to be by the Turke intended, and therefore began to raise new forces. The Hungarians and Bohemians also seeing their Townes and Castles thus taken, their Prouinces spoiled, infinite number of people led away into captiuitie, and the enemie dayly encreasing in strength; at length agreed vpon their owne charges to maintaine a certaine number both of horse and foot for the repressing of these the Turkish incursions.

Now although the Emperor knew right well, all these outrages of the Turks, contrary vnto the league, could not be done without the knowledge and good liking also of *Amurath* (as before enformed thereof by his Embassador from Constantinople) yet to shew himselfe willing to haue the league on his behalfe kept, as also to make a further proofe of *Amurath* his resolution for peace or warre, he wrote vnto him as follow-

Rodolph

Rodolph the second, Emperour of the Romans, vnto *Amurath* the third, King of the Turkes.

Whereas nothing is hitherto on our behalfe omitted for the preseruation and continuance of the league and amitie betwixt your most excellent Maiestie and vs, by the renewed capitulations of peace; and that we haue with all sinceritie and loue performed, and are hereafter readie to performe whatsoeuer is on our part to be performed and done; and as we haue hitherto, so for euer hereafter also make offer of the same: we most assuredly promise vnto our selues on your Maiesties behalfe, that you in like manner will not suffer any thing on your part to be wanting; but gladly and willingly to do all things which shall be meete and needfull for the preseruation and keeping of this our mutual loue and friendship. Vpon which good hope grounding our selues, to declare our plaine meaning and sinceritie indeed, we will cause our honorable Present (which is now readie) to be brought vnto your most royall Maiestie, at such time as shall be agreed vpon betwixt our Embassador and you: vnto whom in all such matters as he by our commandement shall haue to deale with your most excellent Maiestie, your Visiers, or seruants, we request you to giue full credence. In the meane time your Excellencie shall doe well to prouide, that as we haue now seuerely commanded our subiects to keepe the peace vpon our frontiers, so that your souldiers also make no incursions as enemies into our territories, nor do in them any harme, but to endeauour themselues also to peace and quietnes: and especially that all such things as contrarie to the capitulations of the league haue been there of late taken from our people, or otherwise vnlustly possessed, may be againe restored, the losses recompenced, the new fort of Petrinia demolished, and the Bassa of Bosna and others the authours of breaking of the league, punished and displaced: whereby we shall gather your royal Maiesties most noble and kinde affection towards vs and our State, which as it shall be a thing most iust, so shall it be a singular confirmation of our league. But concerning these matters, and others to the same belonging, our Embassador is to declare our minde more at large, that so our prest acsire for the continuance of our league and friendship with your Maiestie, may more plainely be knowne. So wish we all health and prosperitie vnto your most royal Maiestie. From Prague the eighth of March 1593. The Emperors letters.

The Emperor also at the same time and to the same purpose writ to *Sinan Bassa* in this sort:

Rodolph the second, Emperour of the Romans, to *Sinan Bassa* the chiefe Visier, greeting.

We write at this present vnto your most Excellent Emperor our most honored friend and neighbour concerning such matters as we thought fit for the preseruation of the peace and league betwixt vs: for else vnlyotherwise we might seeme to haue forgotten our dutie. Now is shall well beseeme your vprightnes and good will, which we haue at other times proued, for the high place and authoritie which you hold [illegible] which we reioice to be againe restored vnto you) to giue vnto these things such easie passage [illegible] Maiestie, as that we may acknowledge your kindenesse and fauor, and haue occasion thereby [illegible] selues vnto you thankefull. First, we offer our selues most readie to continue the peace, and [illegible] whatsoeuer is according [illegible] the conuentions of the renued peace on our part to be performed [illegible] the honorable Present (which is not as yet by vs sent) when as our Embassador shall haue [illegible] ted any certaine time wherein it may be sent. And we also assuredly hope so to preuaile [illegible] rer, that on your part the places within our territories, by your people forcibly possessed [illegible] such things as haue been wrongfully taken away, may be againe restored, and the [illegible] The Bassa of Bosna also (who we thinke would haue been kept within the compasse [illegible] that time held the place of the chiefe Visier) and whosoeuer els, guilty of the wicked [illegible] to be worthily according to their deserts punished and displaced, and your soulders [illegible] to make any further incursions, nor to do any thing that may tend to the breaking [illegible] wise shall with new and straict commands most carefully restraine our garrisons [illegible] tiers, from all such incursions and enemies actions. But of these things [illegible] at large to entreat with you: vnto whose speech we desire such credence [illegible] we will so prouide, that you shall haue good proofe of our great good [illegible] eighth of March 1593.

Vnto which the Emperors letters, *Sinan* returned [illegible]

Sinan Bassa chiefe Visier to *Amurath* the third, Emperor of the Turks; vnto *Rodolph* the second, Emperour of the Romans, greeting.

Sinan Bassa his Letters to the Emperour.

By these presents your Maiestie to vnderstand, That two of your Maiesties Letters were brought hither before we were chosen and confirmed chiefe Visier in this most royal Court; wherein your Maiestie excuse your selfe, and shew the causes why the sending of the wonted Presents hath been so long deferred; by laying the fault vpon the insolencie of our garrison souldiers in Bosna, and the breach of the publique peace. Which your Letters being by vs read before our most mightie Emperour, his Highnesse in great choler burst out into these words, And thy sonne the Beglerbeg of Buda hath stil hitherto writ and giuen vs to vnderstand, that the vsual presents would certainly come, and that the King of Vienna would not in any case consent vnto the breach of the league, or of the amitie betwixt vs and him: and yet for all that, the Presents are not hitherto come; wherefore thy sonnes writings and relations are not true. *But now the Bassa of Bosna hath sent word vnto the Court, That your Maiestie will not send them, and all your doings to be but meere deceit and fraud. For which cause our most mightie Emperour hath remoued my sonne from his place in Buda, and rewarded the Bassa of Bosna with honorable garments, whereas my sonne is for your Maiesties sake displaced. Now on our behalfe nothing is done against the peace, but our souldiers as with a bridle kept in: whereas on your Maiesties part excursions and harmes into the territories of our Emperour neuer cease, especially into Bosna, whereinto your souldiers haue of late in warlike manner broken, although they were by our garisons ouercome, their great ordnance taken, and brought hither vnto the Court. Wherefore seeing the case so standeth, your Maiestie is to resolue vs vpon two points; whereof the first is, Whether you be minded to keepe friendship with vs as beseemeth; and to send hither the two last yeares Presents or not? And the second, Whether you will set at libertie our captiue Sanzackes, or no? Now if your Maiestie shall be content to keepe the league, and within these two moneths next, to send the two yeares presents, as also to dismisse our Sanzackes; the league shall on our part be likewise vnfeignedly kept, your Territories shall be in no case molested, such Christian captiues as your Maiestie shall require, be enlarged, and a most firme and sure friendship by vs continued. Whereas if you shall vpon any cause or excuse longer delay the sending of those honorable Presents, and vnto these our demands giue vs nothing but certaine vaine and windie answers; let God on high be therefore for euer praised: for then our most mightie and victorious Emperour, who wanteth neither abilitie nor power, hath commanded, That we our selfe should in person go in this war; and putting our confidence in the Highest, with the Armie of the right beleeuing Turkes to come into those parts. And therefore assure your Maiestie, that we will not faile there to encounter you: at which time shall appeare vnto the world, what is by God our Creator (whose holy name be for euer blessed) in his deepe wisdome preordained and set downe for vs. Wherefore seeing that all which concerneth the league, together with the safetie and quiet of our people on both sides, is vnto your Maiestie thus declared; you are to consider the end, and to follow our good aduice: whereas if otherwise you shall be the cause of the breach of this so wholesome a peace and vnitie (which we hitherto haue so sincerely and firmly kept) the excuse thereof both in this world and in the world to come, shall lie vpon your selfe. Now we request of you no more, but forthwith to send vs answer of these our letters. As for the rest, well may he speed that taketh the right way. From Constantinople the last of the moneth * Giumaa Zuleuel, in the yeare of our holy Prophet* Mahomet 10001. *

* *Which is the 16 of March, in the yeare of Christ 1593.*

Yet for all these faire offers of peace thus made by *Sinan Bassa* in his letters, was his purpose nothing lesse than to haue performed the same; seeking onely to haue drawne the two yeares presents from the Emperour, amounting to a great summe of money, and so neuertheless to haue prosecuted the intended war; the Emperour being the onely man of whom *Amurath* his great Master had amongst all the Christian Princes made choice of to exercise his force vpon. Of all which things the Emperour was not ignorant, being thereof (as we said) fully before by his Embassador aduertised from Constantinople.

These troubles of the Spring thus past, ensued the Sommer much more troublesome, for *Hassan Bassa* of Bosna, the author and deuiser of these broiles, ceased not for the increase of his credit, to worke what mischiefe he could against the Christians that bordered vpon him.

This

This great Bassa mortally hated the Gouernour, or as some call him the Abbot of Siseg, a strong castle scituate vpon the borders of that part of Croatia, yet holden by the Christians, where the riuer Kulp falleth into the famous riuer of Sauus or Saw (and was indeed the verie bulwarke of that countrey) the cause of which his hatred is reported to haue been this. The yeare before, the Bassa had sent a messenger to this Abbot, to require him to deliuer the castle or monasterie vnto him: which messenger for certaine daies the Abbot entertained with many honourable speeches, learning in the mean time of him so much as he possibly could of the Bassaes intention, with what power, in what place, and with what engines he had determined to besiege the castle. In the meane time it was discouered, that his Steward had long before plotted with the Turke to haue betraied the castle, and had for certaine yeres past receiued of him a yerely pension. Vpon which occasion, the Abbot caused both the messenger & his own steward to be apprehended, and so fast bound hand and foot, to be cast out at a window of the castle into the riuer of Saw. The Bassa seeing his messenger not to returne, sent another to the Abbot, grieuously threatning him, if he did not send him back again his messenger: whereunto the Abbot answered, That he had dismissed him certaine daies before, and therfore maruelled if he were not as yet returned: neuertheless concerning his demand, that he was resolued to yeeld the monasterie vnto the Bassa, against whose forces he saw himselfe vnable to hold it: requesting only, that it would please him to send some men of account to receiue it at his hand: for that it would be no small dishonot vnto him to deliuer it vp vnto common souldiers. The Bassa glad of this message, sent forthwith certaine principall men of great account, hoping now without any losse to haue that strong place yeelded vnto him, which had so long time stood in his way. Three daies after, certaine troups of horsemen sent from the Bassa, came to the monasterie as was appointed, and finding the gates open, entred, first the noblemen, and after them fiue hundred others or thereabouts: who were no sooner within the gates, but that the portculleis was let fall, and certain murthering pieces (secretly placed in the court for that purpose) discharged; with the violence whereof, the Turks that were alreadie entred, were most miserably rent in pieces, their heads, arms, and legs, flying in the aire; when presently the garrison souldiers starting out of their lurking places, made a quick dispatch of all them that had escaped the fury of the great artillerie. The rest of the Turks shut out, hearing the noise and crie of them within, turning their horses, betooke themselues to speedie flight. The great Bassa hearing of this slaughter of his men, and how he had beene deceiued, swore in great rage by his *Mahomet*, to rase this monasterie downe to the ground, and to pluck the Abbots skin ouer his eares: and so by threatning letters gaue him to vnderstand, as followeth.

Hassan Bassa of Bosna, vnto the Abbot of Siseg.

The threatning letter of Hassan Bassa of Bosna vnto the Abbot of Siseg.

It is not to thee vnknowne, how often wee haue sent vnto thee our messengers with letters, declaring vnto thee our loue and good will; requesting thee in friendly sort, and without further resistance to yeeld vp vnto vs thy fortresse of Siseg, not longer to be by thee holden. Vnto which our request thou hast hitherto most wilfully at thy pleasure opposed thy selfe, not without the slaughter of our men; and in so doing, hast giuen cause vnto the great Sultan to ouerthrow and rase that thy fortresse, whereof thou for the Emperour wilt needs be the chiefe. Thinkest thou it will be for thy good, or yet well taken, that thou hast so shamefully and perfidiously circumuented and slaine our Embassadors and seruants sent vnto thee? Nay assure thy selfe, that if Mahomet *grant vs life, we will neuer giue ouer the siege of that thy fort wherein thou so much trustest, vntill I haue before thy face ouerthrowne it, and (if thy God shall giue thee aliue into my hands) haue pluckt thy skin ouer thine eares, to the great reproch and shame of the Christians: for I am fully resolued, not to depart from this place, but to continue the siege thereof vntill I haue it. Let a little time yet passe, and thou shalt see thy selfe on euery side besieged thy fort with more and greater pieces of artillerie than euer, battered, and our power strong enough to constraine thee. Thou hast hitherto put thy greatest hope and comfort in the * Banne* Erodius, *for whom by the help of Mahomet we are too much strong. In briefe, we are of nothing more carefull than how to get thee into our power: for we do looke not for any mercie at our hands.*

Neither was the Bassa vnmindfull of his promise, or of the losse he had receiued the beginning of Iune with an army of thirtie thousand horse and foot,

Amurath himselfe and the great men of the court brought a mile on his way: hauing in charge G from the great Sultan, by the assistance of the Beglerbeg of Græce, the Bassaes of Buda and Temeswar, and other his Sanzacks and commanders in that part of his empire, to reuenge the death of his nephew, and the dishonor receiued at Siseg.

This war *Amurath* with great pride denounced vnto the Christian Emperour and the rest of the Princes his confederats in this sort.

Amurath the third, by the grace of the great God in Heauen, the onely Monarch of the World, a great and mightie God on earth, an inuincible *Cæsar*, King of all Kings, from the East vnto the West, Sultan of Babylon, Soueraigne of the most noble Families of Persia and Armenia, triumphant Victor of Hierusalem, Lord possessor of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, subuerter and sworne enemie of the Christians, and of all them that call vpon the name of Christ. H

The proud and blasphemous denuntiation of warre giuen out by Amurath against Rodolph the Christian Emperour

Wee denounce vnto thee Rodolph *the Emperour, and to all the Germane Nation taking part with thee, vnto the great Bishop also, all the Cardinals and Bishops, to all your sonnes and subiects: wee earnestly (I say) by our crowne and Empire denounce vnto you open warre. And giue you to vnderstand, that our purpose is, with the power of thirteene Kingdomes, and certaine hundred thousands of men, horse and foot, with our Turkes and Turkish armes, yea with all our strength and power (such as neither thou nor any of thine hath euer yet seene or heard of, much lesse had any proofe of) to besiege you* I *in your chiefe and metropoliticall cities, and with fire and sword to persecute you and all yours, and whosoeuer shall giue you helpe, to burne, destroy, and kill, and with most exquisite torments we can deuise, to torture vnto death and slay such Christian captiues as shall fall into our hands, or else to keepe them as dogs, captiues in perpetuall miserie; to empaile vpon stakes your faireſt sonnes and daughters: and to the further shame and reproch of you and yours, to kill like dogs your women great with childe, and the children in their bellies: for now wee are fully resolued to bring into our subiection, you which rule but in a small countrie, and by strong hand and force of arms keepe from you your Kingdome, as also to oppresse, root vp, and destroy, the keyes and See of Rome, together with the golden scepter thereof: and we will proue whither your crucified Iesus will helpe you or no, for you as yours perswade you. Beleeue him still and trust in him, and see how he hath holpen his owne bergers which haue put their confidence in* K *him: for we neither beleeue, neither can we endure to heare such incomprehensible things, that he can helpe, which is dead so many worlds of yeares agoe, which could not helpe himselfe, nor deliuer his owne countrie and inheritance from our power, ouer which we haue so long time raigned. These things O yee poore and miserable of the world, wee thought good to signifie vnto you, that you with your princes and confederats may know what you haue to doe and to looke for. Giuen in our most mightie and Imperiall citie of Constantinople, which our ancestors by force of armes tooke from yours, and hauing slaine or taken prisoners all their citizens, reserued such of their wiues and children as they pleased, vnto their lust, to your perpetuall infamie and shame.*

Sinan with his armie thus setting forward, kept still on his way towards Buda; but the Beg- L lerbeg of Græcia with a farre greater power marched towards Croatia, as well to relieue the forts distressed by the Christians, as againe to besiege the strong castle or monasterie of Siseg; which he with his huge armie at his first arriuall compassed about without resistance, & with continuall batterie ouerthrew the walls thereof, giuing no time of rest vnto the defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, & with restlesse labour notably repaired the very fearful women bringing tables, stooles, and whatsoeuer els came to hand, that might any wise help to keep the enemie out, of whom a great number was in the breaches slain: but what was that handfull against such a multitude? At length the 3 day of September the Turks by maine force entered the Monasterie, & put to sword all the soldiers therein: among whom were 200 Germans, of whom the Turks cut some in pieces, and the rest they threw into the riuer Kulp. [illegible] man there found among the rest they did flea quicke in detestation of his professio[illegible]d cutting him in small pi[illegible]urnt them to ashes. So taking the spoyle of all that was there to be had, and leauing a [illegible] garrison for the keeping of the place, they passed ouer Sauus, burning the countrie before him, and carried away with them about

Siseg taken by the Turkes.

A about a thousand poore Christians into perpetual captiuitie. These inuasions of the Turks caused the Emperor to craue aid both of the States of the Empire, and other forreine Princes farther off, which was by some easily granted, but not so speedily performed.

About this time *Peter* syrnamed *le Hussar* (for that hee commanded ouer those horsemen whom the Hungarians call Hussars) captaine of Pappa, by the appointment of *Ferdinand* countie *Hardeck* Gouernour of Rab, lay in wait for the Turkes Treasurer in Hungarie, who had the command of 5000 Turkes: him this Hungarian tooke at aduantage, as he was mustering and paying certain companies of his soldiers, mistrusting no such danger, and desperatly charging him, slew him with diuers of his men, and put the rest to flight, and so with the spoile and some few prisoners he returned againe to his castle, carrying with him the Treasurer.

B Now *Sinan* the Generall being come with his armie to Buda, resolued with himselfe to begin his wars in that part of Hungarie, with the siege of Vesprinium. This Episcopall citie was by *Solyman* the great Turke taken from the Christians in the yeare 1552, and againe by them recouered about foureteene yeares after, about the yeare 1566; since which time vntill now it had remained in the hands of the Christians. *Sinan* without delay marching with his armie to Vesprinium, compassed the city round, and encamping as he saw good, planted his batterie, wherewith he continually thundered against the city. The Christians there in garrison easily perceiuing that the city was not long to bee holden against so great a power, placed diuers barrels of gunpouder in certain mines they had made vnder the wals & bulwarks of the town, with traines that should at a certaine time take fire. Which done, they departed secretly out C of the city in the dead time of the night, hoping so in the darke to haue escaped the hand of the enemy: which they did not so secretly, but that they were by the Turks descried, and most of them slaine. *Ferdinand Samaria* Gouernor of the citie, after he had for a space valiantly defended himselfe, fell at last into the enemies hand, and so was taken aliue, together with one *Hofkirke* a German captain. The Turks entered the citie the sixth of October, striuing who should get first in, for greedinesse of the prey, when suddenly the ponder in the mines tooke fire, and blowing vp the very foundations of the wals and bulwarkes, slew a number of the Turks that were within the danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the citie.

Sinan Bassa besieged Vesprinium.

From Vesprinium the Bassa remoued with his armie to Palotia, and gaue summons to the castle: but receiuing such answer as pleased him not, he laied siege vnto it with all his power. D Which at the first *Peter Ornand* captaine of the castle cheerfully receiued: but being afterward without any great cause discouraged (the castle as yet being but little shaken, & but one man slaine, and the rest of the soldiers ready to spend their liues in defence therof) he sent vnto the Bassa, offering to yeeld the castle vnto him, so that he with his souldiers might with bag and baggage in safetie depart. Of which his offer the Bassa accepted, and granted his request. But hee was no sooner come out of the castle with his souldiers, and ready to depart, but the faithlesse Turke contrarie to his oath and promise caused them all to be cruelly slaine, except only the captaine and two other. After that, the Bassa without any great labor tooke in all the countrey thereabouts neere vnto the lake of Balaton.

Palotia yeelded vnto the Turkes

Now at last, though long first, about the middle of October the Christians began to muster E their armie, in number about 18000, all good and expert souldiers: with which power they shortly after passing ouer Danubius, at the first encounter with the Turkes, put them to the worse, slew a great number of them, and rescued a number of poore Christian captiues.

In the latter end of this month, countie *Hardeck* Gouernor of Rab, and General of the Christian armie in that part of Hungarie, departing from Comara with all his power, came and laid siege to the strong citie of Alba Regalis, which by the force of his artillerie he in short time made faultable; but in assaulting the breaches, was by the Turks there in garrison notably repulsed. So hauing made sufficient proofe both of the strength and courage of the defendants, & perceiuing no good could be done without a long siege, for which he was not as then prouided; after consultation had with the rest of the captaines, he resolued to raise his siege: which F he did the second of Nouember, remouing that day but halfe a mile from the citie, because he would be sure of all his armie. But as he was about the next day to remoue, news was brought him by his espials, that the enemies power was at hand, and euen now almost in sight: which proued to be so indeed. For the Bassa of Buda by the commandement of *Sinan Bassa* the Generall, was come forth with thirteene Sanzacks, and twentie thousand souldiers, thirtie field pieces,

Alba Regalis besieged by the Christians.

cc[illegible] and fiue hundred waggons laded with victuall and other warlike prouision, to raise the G
siege, and to relieue the citie; and was now euen at hand, comming directly vpon the Christians: whereupon the county, assisted by the countie *Serinus*, the lord *Palfi*, the lord *Nadasti*, *Peter le Hussar*, and other valiant captains of great experience, with wonderful celeritie put his army in order of battell, and so couragiously set forward to encounter the enemie. The Bassa seeing the Christians marching towards him, tooke the aduantage of the higher ground, and from thence discharged his field pieces vpon them; which mounted too hie, by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The Christians for all that desirous of battel, and nothing regarding the disaduantage of the ground, but calling vpon the name of the Almighty, mounted the hill, and ioyning battell with the Turks, by plaine force constrained them to flie. In this armie of the Turkes, being for most part horsemen, were about fiue thousand foot, and many of them Ianizaries, who in flying, oftentimes made stands, and wounded many, and yet neuertheless were almost all there slaine, with many others: amongst whom were three great men, the Sanzacks of Strigonium, Setchine, and Nouigrade; seuen Chiaus, and many other men of mark, the most valiant captains of the Turks borderers. The lord *Nadasti* with some others taking view of the Turks that were slaine and lost in this battel, deemed them to haue been at the least in number eight thousand: few prisoners were saued, all beeing put to the sword, which caused *Sinan* to sweare by his *Mahomet*, neuer more to spare any Christian. All the Turks artillerie, wagons, and prouision became a prey vnto the Christians: many ensignes were there found, and weapons of great value. It is hard to be beleeued, how much this victorie encouraged the Christians, & danted the Turks. Whereupon the countie with great ioy brought backe his armie to Alba H
Regalis, and encamped neere the bulwarke called Stopasch, where the Turkes most feared to be assaulted, *Palfi*, *Nadasti*, and some others, earnestly perswaded with the county, not to depart from the city before he had woon it: but he considering the hard time of the yere, the strength of the citie (which was now full of souldiers, by reason of them that were fled in thither from the late ouerthrow) with the want of things necessary [illegible] his army to maintaine a longer siege; and fearing also after long lying to be enforced wi[illegible] honor to forsake it, would not hearken to their perswasions, but calling a counsell, resolued [illegible]ise his siege, and to content himselfe with the victory he had already gotten; which was a[illegible]ard imputed vnto him for more than an ouersight. So setting fire vpon the suburbs of the [illegible], he rise with his army, and departed thence the fifth of Nouember, and returned to Rab. K

Sabatzka taken by the lord Teuffenbach.

Not long after, *Christopher* lord *Teuffenbach*, the Emperours Lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungarie, who lay encamped at Cassouia, with his armie of foureteene thousand souldiers remoued thence, & marching along the country two daies, came & laid siege to Sabatzka, one of the Turks strongest castles in those quarters, out of which they vsually did much harm among the Christians. This Castle *Teuffenbach* battered in three places, and hauing at length made it faitable, tooke it by force the nineteenth of Nouember, and put to the sword all the Turkes there in garrison, in number about two hundred and fiftie, and in stead of them left a strong garrison of his owne: whereby all the countrie thereabouts was restored to great quietnesse.

Filek besieged by the Christians.

Sabatzka thus taken, the Christian Generall remoued with all speed to Filek a strong citie L
of the higher Hungarie, which *Solyman* the Turkish Emperor tooke from the Christians in the yere 1560, and placed therein a Sanzacke, vnder the command of the Bassa of Buda. The Generall encamping before this citie, the next day after planted his batterie, and in most terrible manner without intermission thundered against the wals and gates of the citie. The Sanzacke Gouernour thereof, considering the power of the Christians, got out secretly by night with a few souldiers, to acquaint the other Turkish Sanzackes his neighbours with the comming of the Christians, and the number of their armie; and further to consult with them, how the city might be relieued. The Bassa of Temeswar, with the Sanzacks of Giula, Hadwan, Scantzag, and Solnok vndertooke the matter: and thereupon the Bassa sent for eight hundred Ianizaries, of la[illegible] *Sinan Bassa* in garrison at Buda and Alba Regalis; who all flatly refu- M
sed to goe to this [illegible]saying, That they would [illegible]ee led as beasts to the slaughter, as were their fellowes but a little before at Alba Reg[illegible] Neuertheless they enforced the Armenians, whome *Sinan* and his sonne had brought thither, to goe; but of Buda, Alba Regalis, and Scanboth, were sent onely fifteene hundred common souldiers. For all that, the

Bassa

A Bassa with the Sanzackes his followers, firme in their former resolution for the relieue of the distressed citie, hauing made great preparation, and raised an armie of 18000 strong, with manie field pieces, by night drew neere vnto Filek, and stayed within two miles of the citie. But the General of the Christians, with *Stephen Bathor* and the other captaines, vnderstanding of their comming, with 7000 good souldiers chosen out of the whole armie, went out prestently against them, and the one and twentieth of Nouember suddenly assailing them in their tents, ouerthrew them and put them all to flight, whom the Christians fiercely pursued with a most terrible execution. In this fight and flight there was slaine 6000 Turks, and but few or none taken. The Bassa himselfe, with the Sanzacke of Filek, and many others of great name, were found amongst the bodies of the slaine Turks. This victory gained with little or no losse, yeelB ded vnto the Christians a rich prey, many gorgeous tents and faire ensignes, much cattell, and 29 field pieces, with 200 waggons laded with victual and other prouision; all which they carried into the campe at Filek, and so more straitly besieged the citie than before. The same day the Lo. *Palfi* and *Martin Lasla* came to the camp with six thousand soldiers; and forthwith three Trumpeters were sent to them of the citie, That if without further resistance they would forthwith yeeld the citie, they should haue leaue in safetie to depart with life and goods, although the Turks had of late in like case broken their faith with the Christians at Palotta: but if they refused his grace, and would needs hold it out to the vttermost, then to denounce vnto them all extremities. For all this, the Turks nothing dismaied, refused to yeeld: whereupon the batterie began afresh, and in more terrible manner than before; so that though the Citie C was most strongly fortified both with walls and rampiers, yet had the Christians in three daies space with continual batterie made a faire breach into it, whereby they in despight of the enemie entred without any notable losse the foure and twentieth of Nouember, ransacked the citie, and burnt a great part thereof. The same day they also tooke the vttermost castle, wherein the Sanzacks palace stood. This castle standeth vpon a very high hill, strengthened both by art and nature, and had in it a strong garrison of valiant souldiers, who spared not lustily to bestow their shot amongst their enemies, of whom they slew a great number. Neuertheless the Christians after they had for the space of two dayes and two nights with a most furious batterie shaken the walls, by plaine force entred the castle the six and twentieth of Nouember, and put to sword all the garison souldiers, except such as had in good time forsaken this caD stle, and retired themselues into another more inward. Who being in number eight hundred, with their wiues and children, without hope of relieue, and seeing the cannon now bent vpon them, set out a white ensigne in token of parley: which granted, it was agreed that they should depart with life, and so much of their goods as euery one of them could carrie. Vpon which agreement the castle was yeelded the eight and twentieth day of Nouember, and the Turkes with a safe conuoy brought vnto the place they desired. In this castle was found a great booty, many pieces of artillerie, and much other warlike prouision, but of victuals small store. The Generall with the rest of the captaines entring the castle, fell downe vpon their knees, and with their hearts and hands cast vp to heauen, thanked God for their victorie, and for the recouerie of that strong citie; but especially for the deliuery of so many Christians out of the Turkish thraldome: for it is reported, that there were aboue eight hundred countrey villages subE iect to the jurisdiction of Filek, the poore inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the Turkish seruitude, by the taking of this onely citie. The Christians forthwith repaired the walls, bulwarkes, and trenches, and strongly fortified euerie place against the enemie: and so leauing a sufficient garrison in the citie and castles, departed with their armie, now in number about twentie thousand, towards Stuloch, six miles from Filek. But as they were vpon the way, newes was brought vnto the General, how that the Turks had for feare abandoned the castles of Dijwin and Somoske: whereupon he sent out certaine companies of soldiers to take in both those places: who comming thither, found them indeed forsaken by the enemy, but yet many pieces of artillerie and other warlike prouision there still left.

Filek taken by the Christians.

F In the latter end of Nouember the General marched with his armie towards Setschine, a strong towne in the dioceese of Agria; but the Turkes in that place had two or three daies before prepared themselues to flie, and sent their wiues, their children, and the best of their substance, some to Hatwan, some to Buda; and now hearing of the approch of the Christian Armie, set fire on the towne and fled. The Christians immediately entring, did what they could

Setschine, Blauensteine, and Sallek abandoned by the Turks.

to

Nouigrade be-sieged by the Christian.

pitching their tents, and incamping themselues: yet before night they had planted certaine great pieces vpon an high hill from whence them might see into the castle: whereof the master of the ordnance called three of the greatest about the going downe of the Sun to be discharged against the castle, to giue the Turkes to vnderstand that they wanted nothing for the siege. The same night also the Christians cast vp a great mount in the valley, from whence they presently ten dagges two into the castle: but early in the morning, the Sun being yet scarce spredd ouer the hils, they began to batter the castle, and the day out of ten great pieces did discharge 300 great shot against the Castle towards the Danow: for the Castle was on the vpper side strong, rocky, fortified with eight and three walls, and a deepe ditch betwen euery the same rocke, which compassed the castle round. And for the more strength therein was it fortified with pallisadoes made of strong timber. And there was no accesse into the walls yet by the commandement of the Generall, vpon the ceasing of the Christians preparing themselues to assault the breach, furnished with their weapons, carrying with them ladders and setting them on fire, burne the pallisadoes in diuers places, and opened the way vnto the walls: and encouraged with the successe, approched neerer, and slew diuers of the Turks vpon their rampiers. Who discouraged with their owne weakenesse, and the hardnes of the enemy, faintly defended themselues, and yet slew diuers of them, casting them downe from the walls with stones, timber, fire-works, and such like. This assault giuen in the night, was continued vntill foure a clocke in the morning, and so giuen ouer. Shortly after came the Archduke with 1000 horse into the campe, and caused the batterie to be againe renued; whereby it chanced that the chiefe canonier in the castle being a renegat German was taken with a great shot and slaine; whose death so dismaied the rest of the defendants, that they presently set forth three white flags in signe of parley: which for all that, the Christians seemed not to regard, but still continued their batterie. The Turks then pittifully crying out, named two captaines, whom they desired to haue sent vnto them, with whom they might fall to some reasonable composition. So for a while the batterie ceased, and those Captaines being sent vnto the Towne, brought nine of the best of the Turkes in the Citie with them vnto the Archduke: who by their Interpreter declared, that they well considered the force of the Christians, and seeing no reliefe to come from the Bassa of Buda, as he had promised, thought themselues to haue alreadie discharged the parts of good soldiers, and seeing no other remedie, were contented to yeeld the castle, yet so, as with bag and baggage they might in safetie depart. Whereunto the Lord *Palfi* (taking vpon him the person of the Archduke, for that he himselfe would not be knowne) answered, That forasmuch as they had not yeelded at the first summons, but holden it out to the losse of many of his mens liues, and his great charge, they were vnworthie any fauor; yet of his owne clemencie he would receiue them, if they would absolutely without any further condition yeeld themselues to his mercie. This answer being reported to the Sanzacke Gouernour of the Towne, pleased him not, and therefore said hee would still stand vpon his defence. Whereupon the Christians were about to haue begun a fresh assault. But after a new parley, it was at last agreed, That the Turkes yeelding the towne vnto the Archduke, should in safetie depart with their apparel and scimiters only. With which agreement two of the Turks were sent backe into the castle, & the rest detained. Foure houres the Turks in the castle delaied the time, as men doubtful what to do: but being earnestly called vpon for a resolute answer, and seeing the Christians readie againe to assault them, they for feare yeelded: and so 450 of them came forth, amongst whom was the Sanzacke gouernour of the towne, with his wife and daughter, the Sanzacke of Selendre (sent thither to haue aided him) and one Chiaus lately come from the Court. These great men brauely mounted, were commanded to alight from their gallant horses, and had in their steads other bad jades giuen them to ride vpon: and as they passed by, as well the women as the men were searched, that they carried with them nothing more than their cloathes: if any thing els were found, it fell vnto the soldiers share for good bootie. This strong towne of Nouigrade had continued in the possession of the Turks about 60 yeares, and serued as it were for a bulwarke to Pesth and Buda; which being now cut out of their hands, opened a way vnto their further harmes. The keeping of this towne was by the Archduke committed to the Lord *Rebei* a nobleman of Hungarie and kinsman to *Palfi*, with a strong garrison and certaine troupes of Hussars.

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the archduke.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade, after he had lost the towne, comming to Buda, was presently apprehen-

A apprehended by the Bassa, and laid in prison: who although he excused himselfe, by alledging that the towne was not possibly to be holden with so small a garison against so graet a power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of Buda, for not sending relief in time; and therefore appealed vnto the further hearing of *Amurath* himselfe: yet all serued him not, but was by the Bassa's commandment in the night hanged vpon a tree neere vnto the gate of the citie, and afterwards cut in pieces.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade hanged at Buda.

Whilest these things were in doing, the Emperors sent his Embassador to the great Duke of Muscouia, the King of Polonia, and the Prince of Transyluania, to proue how they stood affected towards those his wars against the Turke, and what aid he might procure from them. Into Muscouie was sent one *Warkutsch* a gentleman of Silesia; who comming to Musco, found
B in that Court the Embassadors of the Tartar, the Turke, the Persian, the Polonian, and the Dane. Of all these, the Embassadors of the Tartar and the Turke could haue no audience, but were with contumelious words reiected as miscreants. The Emperours Embassador was honorably entertained, and after the manner of that countrey, a large proportion of wine, mede, aquavitæ, flesh, fish, and fowle of sundrie sorts allowed him dayly all the time of his abode. At length hauing audience, he declared vnto the great Duke the cause of his comming, and in the name of his Master requested his aid against the Turke. Whereunto the Duke answered, That he would giue the Emperor towards the maintenance of his wars against the common enemy, 500000 duckets, and allow him yerely 400000 during the time of that war; requesting him not to make any peace with the Turke, and promising to send him aid also of men in this war,
C if he should so need. The Persian Embassador also honorably feasted the Emperors Embassador, and had with him great conference concerning the wars of the Christians with the Turks, and in his masters name promised the continuation of his warres against the Turke, so that the Emperor would likewisea promise not to haue any league with him, so to giue him leisure to turne all his forces againe into Persia. This Embassador after he had almost foure months tarried in Muscouia, returned to the Emperor. At which time Doctor *Wacker* the Emperors Embassadour into Polonia, returned also with joyfull newes, how that the Polonians with an armie of eight and twentie thousand had stopped the passage of an hundred thousand Tartars whom the Turke had sent for against the Emperor; and that if he needed, he should be aided with the Polonian Cossackes: but vnto the rest of his requests he could haue no answere of
D the States of that Kingdome, for that the King was then absent in Sweden; and was therefore referred to be further answered at his returne.

At the same time, Countie *Serinus* with three hundred harquebusiers and certaine troups of horsemen, and the footmen of Stiria and the countries thereabouts, assembled to the number of ten thousand, departed from Canisia, to besiege Bresenza a castle of the Turks. But they vnderstanding before of his comming, conueyed away the best of their substance, and setting the castle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of March. The Earle comming thither, tooke the forsaken castle, and put thereinto a garrison of his owne souldiers. In like manner he tooke also Sigesta, forsaken of the Turks, where he also placed a garrison of the Christians. And so going on to Babostcha, besieged it; which castle although it was strongly scituated in
E a marish, and could not easily haue beene woon, was for all that, for feare abandoned by the Turks, and so taken by the Countie: by recouerie of which places, there was a safe and easie way layd open euen to Ziget, the Bassa whereof stood in no small doubt to haue been euen then besieged.

Certain castles of the Turkes vpon the borders of Stiria taken by the County Serinus.

Amurath intending by all meanes he could to vex the Emperor, had determined to send his fleet into the Adriatique, to besiege Zegna a citie of the Emperors scituate vpon the sea coast, in the bay Quernero, called in antient time Flanaticus Sinus. Which the better to effect, hee sent one of his Chiaus Embassador to the Venetians, to request them, That his fleet might by their leaue passe alongst the Adriaticke, and haue the vse of their ports and harbours, as need
F vnto: fearing (and not without cause) the vnfaithfulnesse and treacherie of the Turkes, whose oathes and promises are no longer strong, or by them regarded, than standeth with their owne good and profit: neuertheless they most honourably vsed the Embassadour, and so sent him away without obtaining of that he was especially sent for.

In the vpper part of Hungarie *Christopher* Lord *Teuffenbach* the Archdukes Lieutenant hauing

Hatwan besieged by the Christians.

ing gathered an armie of twentie thousand soldiers, the sixteenth of Aprill laied siege to Hatwan a strong towne six miles from Buda, fortified with a triple ditch and bulwarkes of exceeding strength. Against which although the Christians could not do much either by mines or mounts, (by reason it was so enuironed with water) yet they so shut vp all the passages thereunto, that nothing could be brought or carried in or out of the towne. They of the towne seeing themselues thus blockt vp, by secret messengers certified the Bassa of Buda in what case they stood, praying of him aid: who with ten thousand chosen souldiers, which he had then in readinesse, and the Sanzacks of Sirnah, Giula, Lippa, Lerwoge, and Tschangrad, with fiue thousand moe, forthwith set forward toward Hatwan to raise the siege: and the last of Aprill being come within sight of the Christian armie, about one of the clocke in the afternoone encamped on the side of the riuer Sagijwa: but when he could not or els durst not, for the deepenesse of the way, the aboundance of the water, and neerenesse of the enemie, aduenture to passe the riuer, he retyred backe againe to passe ouer at Iasperin (otherwise called Iasbrin) where the riuer was joined with a bridge, and not far off a good foord also to passe ouer at; thinking so to haue come vpon the backes of the Christians, and with more safetie to haue relieued the besieged towne. But *Teuffenbach* perceiuing his purpose, forthwith after his departure passed the riuer with much difficultie, and ouertaking him with his armie the next day, being the first of May, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, betweene Zarcha and Fuscasalua, with his great ordnance disordered the rereward of the enemies battell; and comming on couragiously with his whole armie, began a most cruell fight: which the Turkes a great while endured with wonderfull resolution; but now destitute of their wonted multitude (their greatest confidence) and hardly layed vnto by the Christians, they in the end turned their backes and fled; whom six thousand Hungarians and Germanes fiercely pursued, and had the killing of them almost to Buda. In this battell the Christians tooke all the enemies great Ordnance, with seuenteene ensignes, and also the Castle of Iasperin, which the Turks had for feare abandoned; wherein was found good store of victuals, certaine great pieces, with much other warlike prouision. Of this so notable a victorie *Teuffenbach* by Letters presently aduertised the Archduke, after he was againe returned to the siege of of Hatwan. Which letters because they containe many particularities and circumstances of this battell, I haue thought it not amisse here to insert.

The copie of the letters of the L. Teuffenbach, to Matthias the Archduke, Generall of the emperours armie against the Turks.

Although (said he) *I haue by a speedie messenger vpon the very Kalends of May certified your Excellencie of the notable victorie which God of his great goodnesse gaue vnto vs the same day ouer our hereditarie enemie: yet afterward vpon diligent inquisition we vnderstood many particularities, as well of the Captiues themselues, as of the Inhabitants about Zolnocke, Pesth, and Buda; whereof I thought good to aduertise you. The Captiues themselues confesse, That the Bassa of Buda, with the Sanzackes of Zolnocke, Zarwacke, Giula, and Tschangrad, Cippato, Genne, and others, had with great celeritie raised an armie of thirteene thousand souldiers, amongst whom were many Tartars, with purpose to haue relieued the besieged Towne of Hatwan, and open the sudden to haue oppressed vs in our tents. Filled with which hope, they in great haste came with all their power the last of Aprill towards Hatwan: but forasmuch as they could not passe ouer the riuer Zagijwa by reason of the height of the water, they were the next day, being the first of May, conducted by the Captaine of Iasparin to a more commodious passage, so to come the neerer vnto vs, and the next day in the morning to haue surprised vs in our Tents. But our most mercifull God hath auerted this so great a mischiefe from vs, and turned it vpon their owne heads. For as it most constantly reported from Zolnocke, Pesth, and Buda, and confirmed by the Inhabitants of the same places, there are two thousand fiue hundred of the Turks slaine, and as many wounded, of whom many perished, and are found dead vpon the high-wayes leading to Pesth and Zolnocke: of these we haue sent a thousand heads to Cassouia, and caused many of the Turkes to be buried for feare of infection in this so great heate. Verily it was a bloudie battell; so that the old Souldiours say, they haue not remembred or seene the Turkes (no moe in number) to haue stood so long in battell, and to haue so fought it out without flying. Many men of great name and place there perished and fell, amongst [illegible] seemed the Sanzacket of Pesth. Nauigrade, and Temeske; Genne Alexius, Bogste, Mustafa, Marcianus, and certaine Chiaus lately [illegible] from the Court, with the Bassa his guard wherein were eight hundred right valiant soldiers, of whom [illegible] escaped with life. Many fell that would haue yeelded great ransome; but it was agreed vpon betweene the Germanes and the Hungarians, not to*

to spare any of the enemies, but to put them all to sword; and that whosoeuer did otherwise, it should be imputed vnto him for dishonour. So that more than sixteene common souldiers, none were taken prisoners, of whome wee might learne how things went amongst the Turkes, with other circumstances of the battell. Wee tooke thirteene field pieces, whereof foure were greater than the rest, which they called organes, and foure and twentie of the enemies ensignes. The Bassa of Buda (beside other three wounds by him receiued) was grieuously wounded in the side. Of our men were lost about an hundred, and many of them most expert souldiers: and about six hundred others grieuously wounded, of whom there is small hope, many of them beeing alreadie dead. Neither is the losse small wee haue receiued in our horses and armour, for there be few amongst the Germane horsemen, which haue not lost one, two, or three, of their horses or seruants, whereby our horsemen are wonderfully weakened: yet was the victorie great, to God be the praise, to him be the glorie and thankes therefore. Let vs in the mean time prosecute the siege begun. The last night I commanded the water to bee drawne another way, so that now our trenches may be aduanced many paces, and bulwarkes raised within two hundred paces of the wall. Wee haue alreadie planted fiue great pieces of artillerie in one bulwarke, and hope the next night to place fiue moe vpon a mount fast by, and will doe what shall be needfull for a straight siege: and when time shall serue, vndertake the towne with all our power, God grant vs therein good successe and victorie.

The Turks in garrison at Zabola, a fort there by, discouraged with the ouerthrow of their friends, forsooke the fort; which for strength and greatnesse was comparable with Tocay or Erla. Which strong place the Christians without any losse now recouered.

Strigonium besieged by the Christians.

Whilest this valiant captaine the lord *Teuffenbach* thus lay at the siege of Hatwan, *Matthias* the Archduke General of the Christian army in Hungarie, incouraged with the good successe he had at Nouigrad, came with his armie (being 44000 strong) before Strigonium (sometime the Metropoliticall citie of Hungarie, but now of long a sure receptacle of the Turks) and the sixth of May encamped his armie about a quarter of a mile from the castle in a most pleasant medow, from whence both the citie and the castle were plainely to be seene. Vpon whom the Turks out of the castle, and three gallies that lay vpon the riuer, discharged certain great pieces without any great harme doing: but after the Christian fleet was a little before night come downe the riuer, and with their great ordnance began to answer them againe, the enemy ceased shooting, and lay still that night. In the meane time it fortuned, that a Turkish youth taken in a garden there by, and brought into the camp and examined, confessed that there was no garrison in the citie, more than foure hundred Ianizaries, and that a new supply was dayly expected from Buda. The Christians laboring that night, were by the breaking of the day, come with their trenches to a hil ouer against the castle, where they placed their batterie, and forthwith began to batter the citie. The same day (being the seuenth of May) two and twenty Turks heads were presented to the Archduke, and foure men taken aliue, newly sent out of the citie to haue viewed the Christian campe. About night certaine bals of wilde fire were shot into the citie, whereof one fell vpon the tower called S. *Adelbert*, and set it on fire; wherewith first the Church, and afterward a great part of the towne fell on fire. The Sanzacks house, with all his horses and armor, and a great quantitie of pouder was then burnt, and inestimable hurt don in the citie. The next day the Christians had with continuall batterie made a breach in the castle wall: but adioyning vnto the wall was an high and broad sandie rampier, which could hardly be battered: for all that the Germans gaue a fierce assault to the breach, hoping to haue entred by the ruins of the wall, but not being able to get ouer the sandie rampier, were inforced with losse to retire. The day following they bagan again the batterie with eighteen great pieces; when about eight a clocke in the morning, the Rascians that were in the old citie gaue the Generall to vnderstand, That if he would at a place by them appointed, assault the greater citie, to draw the Turks thither, they would in the mean time deliuer vnto the Christians certaine little posternes, and receiue them into the old citie; vpon condition, that no violence should be done vnto them or theirs. Which being so agreed vpon, the Christians accordingly gaue the assault the eleuenth of May in the euening, and by the help of the Rascians tooke the citie; who according to promise, were all taken to mercie, and the Turks slaine, except such as by their good hap recouered the new towne. The keeping of this citie was committed to the charge of two companies of Germane footmen, and six hundred Hungarians, with three

The old citie deliuered by the Rascians vnto the Christians.

ndred Rascians and other townesmen. Thus was the old citie of Strigonium gained by the G
ristians, the suburbs whereof they presently burnt, neuertheless the new towne with the
astle was still holden by the Turks. Wherefore the Christians hauing cast vp certaine tren-
ches and mounts, and placed their artillerie as they thought most conuenient, began again to
The castle assaulted. batter the cast[illegible], and after they had by the fury of the cannon made it faultable, with great cou-
rage assailed the breach, which the Turks valiantly defended: so that the Christians were glad
to retire, leaving behind them about an hundred & thirty of their fellowes slain in the breach.
The Turks a little before the comming of the Christians, had fortified an hill, whereunto the
castle was something subiect, called of the Christians S. *Nicholas* his hill, this hill so fortified,
the Christians with continuall batterie and assault gained the 17 of May, and put all the Turks
left aliue therein to the sword; and turning the ordnance, from thence also battered the castle. H
The two and twentieth of May a little before the going downe of the Sun, certaine ensignes
of footmen were drawne out of the campe, to haue the next day assaulted the lower towne;
who taking the benefit of the night, attempting to haue entred the town in the dead time of the
night, were notably encountered by the Turkes, sallying out of the towne vpon them. The
Christians for all that hauing enforced them to retire, prosecuted their former resolution, and
with much adoe got ouer the vttermost wall: but finding there contrarie to their expectation,
such a deepe and broad countermure as was not possible to be passed, they stood as men dis-
maid: neither could they in the darkenesse of the night, well see how to get backe againe ouer
the towne ditch, but disorderly retiring, stucke fast many of them in the deepe mud, and there
perished. In this assault there were about a thousand of the Christians wounded and slaine: and I
albeit that they twice or thrice renewed the assault, yet preuailed they nothing, but were still
repulsed with losse. Many also of the the Turkish garrison were likewise slaine; yea the San-
zacke himselfe hurt with a great shot, with many other wounded men sent downe the riuer to
Buda, brought thither true newes of the aforesaid assaults, and of the state of the besieged.

The Rascians rise vp against the Turks. In the mean time news was brought to the c[illegible]nat *Sinan Bassa* the old enemie of the
Christians, and the Turkes great Lieutenant, co[illegible]towards Hungarie with a great armie,
and hauing by boates coueied ouer part thereof, was set vpon by the Rascians (these are poore
oppressed Christians dwelling on both sides of Danubius, who weary of the Turkish thraldom
and desirous of their antient libertie, haue oftentimes taken vp armes against the Turks as they
now did, encouraged by the good successe of the C[illegible]ians on the other side of Hungarie) and K
that after diuers skirmishes, they had taken thir[illegible] of the Turkes vessels, wherein besides
victuals and certaine great pieces of artillerie, they [illegible]nd about 2400 weight of pouder, 447
hundred of lead, 46454 bundels of match, 1200 great shot, whereof 1005 were of 66 pound
weight, and of small shot for harquebusiers 48500, with much other warlike prouision: a
great part whereof was brought into the campe at Strigonium, and the rest reserued to future
vses. This losse so troubled the great Bassa, that hee altered his purpose before entended for
Cassouia.

The fourth of Iune, about fiue hundred Turks sent vp the riuer from Buda, conducted by
two Sanzacks vnder two red and white ensignes, landed neere to Gokara on the further side of
Danubius, ouer against Strigonium: where after they had a while refreshed themselues, and L
left some few for the more assurance of the place, all the rest were conueied ouer the riuer in-
to Strigonium: where they had been long looked for, the old garrison being now sore weake-
ned by the former assaults. Foure daies after, the Turks encouraged with this supplie, sallied
out vpon a sudden, and had entred one of the forts of the Christians; but were forthwith again
repulsed, hauing lost six and twentie of their men, and two of their ensignes: not far off lay a
troupe of horsemen, who if they had in time come in, not one of the Turks had escaped. Long
it were to tell, how often and in what manner the Christians assaulted this citie, but were by
Fiue thousand Christians lost at the siege of Strigonium. the Turks so receiued, that in fiue assaults they lost fiue thousand of their men, amongst whom
were diuers captaines, lieutenants, antients, and others of good account: three and twentie ca-
noniers were also slaine, and ten great pieces of artillerie so spoiled, as that they were no more M
seruiceable. [illegible]on of this citie consisted for most part of the Ianizaries (the Turks best
souldiers) who[illegible] valor in holding out of this si[illegible]e, was both of their owne people and
their enemies much commended: whatsoeuer was beaten downe by day, that they againe re
paired by night, and still relieued with victuall and things necessarie from Buda, did what w[illegible]
possibl[illegible]

A possible to be done for defence of the city. About the same time certain Turks chancing vpon
a troupe of Germane horsemen, in sight slew about fiftie of them, and put the rest to flight:
whereupon an alarme being raised in the campe, many ran out to the rescue of their fellowes,
taking with them certaine small field pieces. Which the Turks perceiuing, began to flie: whom
the Christians eagerly pursuing, were suddenly assailed by other Turks, sallying out of a fort
fast by, and enforced shamefully to retire, and to leaue their field pieces behind them. Which
the Turks seazing vpon, cloyed them, brake their carriages, and made them altogether vnser-
uiceable.

All this while the Lord *Teuffenbach* lying at the siege of Hatwan, about this time requested *The Archduke sendeth aid to the siege of Hatwan.*
aid of the Archduke, for that his power was with often conflicts, hunger, and other difficulties
B alwaies attending long sieges, so much weakened, as that hee had scarcely six thousand sound
men in his camp: to whom the Archduke forthwith sent twelue hundred footmen, being loth
to spare any moe, for too much weakening of his owne armie.

Amurath disdaining to see the frontiers of his Empire in so many places impugned by the
Christians, and daily to receiue from them so great harmes, sought by all means to be reuen-
ged: wherefore beside the great power of his owne, which he was now about to send with *Si-*
nan Bassa into Hungarie, he had also procured from the great Tartar a wonderfull number of
those rough and sauage people, to be sent into Hungarie, there to ioine with his armie. These
wild people, to the number of seuentie thousand, according to direction giuen, breaking into
Podolia, Walachia, and Moldauia, gathered together an incredible number of oxen and kine;
C to this end and purpose, that driuing them before them, they might both be assured of victu-
als, and the safer trauell through a part of Polonia. But when they were come vnto the borders
of that countrie, and there found the power of *Samoschie* the great Chancellor and the Poloni-
an Cossacks in armes, they easily perceiued that they could not that way passe without great
losse. Wherefore they placed the aforesaid heards of cattell, some before, some behind, and
some on each side of the army, and so inclosed round about with those cattell as with a trench,
marched on. But when they were come neere vnto the Polonians, this rude deuice serued them
to no other purpose than the ouerthrow of themselues; for the Polonians discharging their
great ordnance, so terrified the cattell, that they turned vpon the Tartars; and ouerthrowing
D whomsoeuer came in their way, did exceeding much harm: whom the Polonians immediatly
following, and hardly charging the confused armie, armed only with bow and arrowes, after
some small fight put them at last to flight, and obtained of them a notable victorie, with an ex-
ceeding rich prey. Of the Polonians were lost about eighteene hundred, but of the Tartars
were slaine thirtie thousand. The rest retiring into Podolia, and passing the riuer Nester by the
way of Transyluania, where they did exceeding much harme, came to Temesware, and so af-
terwards further into Hungarie: vnto whom the Turks sent seuen hundred horsemen, to con-
duct them to the armie.

But to returne againe to the siege of Strigonium. The foureteenth day of Iune the Christi- *Strigonium assaulted.*
ans betweene eight and nine of the clocke in the morning, with great fury assaulted the towne
in three places: which assault they most notably maintained, vntill it was almost three a clock
in the afternoone. Neuertheless, the Turks so valiantly defended themselues, that at last the
E Christians were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with losse to retire. The Archduke from an
high place beholding the assault, had one of his footmen slaine fast by him with a small shot.
Many of the Turks were also slain in this assault, and amongst them one of the three Sanzacks
that defended the city. The night following there arose a most horrible tempest, with such ra-
ging wind, and abundance of raine, that many thought they should neuer haue seene day: with
the violence whereof the Archdukes tent was ouerthrowne, and diuers others blown downe
or rent in sunder, were in the aire carried from place to place. About the same time the Lord
Palfi within the sight of the castle cast vp a notable fort, with high mounts and strong trenches
(euen in the selfesame place where *Solyman* lay about fiftie yeares before, when he besieged &
F woon Strigonium (by which fort so built, the enemie was embarred to conuey any thing vp
the riuer for relief of the citie, to the great discomfiture of the besieged: for to haue hindred
the which worke, the enemy oftentimes sallied out, but to no purpose. This fort being brought
to perfection, the Christians tooke also another fort in an Island on the further side of the ri-
uer, which the Turks had but few daies before taken from the Christians, & cloyed the great
pieces

pieces therein: which fort the Christians now againe repaired, furnished it with a sufficient garrison and other great ordnance.

Strigonium fort battered.

These things thus done, the castle and the lower town were in fiue diuers places out of the new built fort, the old towne, and the Island, so battered with continual shot, that a man should haue said, that one stone would not haue been left vpon another, but that all should haue been beaten downe and laied euen with the ground. The seuenteenth of Iune one of the Christian canoniers so dismounted one of the great pieces in the castle, that the piece together with the Turkish canonier that had charge thereof fell downe out of the castle into the ditch. And the same day a mason that fled out of the castle into the camp, among other things reported, That many of the Turks were slaine with this continuall batterie and often assaults, and that not past an houre before, forty of them were slaine in one chamber, and now acknowledged themselues to be indeed besieged: and to haue resolued, that when they were brought to the last cast, then desperatly to sallie out vpon the Christians, and so either to returne with victorie, or to make shift euery man for himselfe as he might. Which his report seemed not altogether feigned: for about midnight a thousand of the Turks sallying out of the castle vpon the fort newly built vpon the riuer, in hope to haue surprised it, were by the Christians therein notably repulsed and inforced to retire; in which conflict fiftie of the Turks were slaine, and many mo wounded and taken prisoners. And the same day toward euening eight Turks of good sort being taken and brought into the camp, confessed, That but six daies before, they had seene seuen boats full of wounded and dead men sent downe the riuer from Strigonium to Buda. Whereby it was easily to be gathered, how bloudie a siege this was vnto the Turks, forasmuch as all those bodies were the bodies of men of good account and place; for the bodies of such common souldiers as were slaine, they still threw into the riuer running by.

The new built fort hardly assaulted by the Turks.

The fort newly built vpon the banke of Danubius, much troubled the besieged Turkes in Strigonium, because nothing could without danger of it be sent vp the riuer for their reliefe, Wherfore they by fit messengers sent word out of the castle to the Admirall of the Turks gallies lying below in the riuer, That he should at an appointed time come vp the riuer with his gallies as high as the fort, and on that side at least wise to make shew as if he would assault it: at which time they of the towne would be likewise ready to sally out, and to assaile it indeed on the other side by land. The Admirall accordingly came vp the riuer with his gallies, and by discharging of certaine great pieces, made shew as if he would on that side haue battered the fort: but was so welcommed thereout of, that he was glad with his rent gallies quickly to fall downe the riuer againe further off out of danger. But whiles the thundering shot was thus flying too and fro towards the riuer, they of the towne sallying out, assaulted the fort on the other side toward the land, and that with such desperat resolution, that some of them were got vp to the top of the rampiers, & there for the space of two houres maintained a most cruell fight: wherein many of them were slaine, and wounded, and the rest enforced with shame to retire.

The Christians thus still lying at the siege, & intentiue to all occasions; partly by their espials, and partly by such as they had taken prisoners, vnderstood, that a new supply both of men and victuals was shortly to be put into Strigonium: and therefore sent out certaine companies of souldiers, who lying in two conuenient places, the one vpon the riuer, the other by land, might intercept the said supply. Both which places were before by the prouident enemy possessed: who suddenly assailing the Christians comming thither, & fearing no such matter, slew some of them, & put the rest to flight: who neuertheles in their retreat, brake the bridge which the Turks had made of boats vnder the castle of Strigonium ouer Danubius. Of which boats some were carried away with the violence of the streame, and of the rest 30 fel into the hands of the Christians, without losse of any man more than fiue, who making too much haste, out of a little boat, fell into the riuer, and so perished. In this time, Fame the forerunner of all great attempts had brought newes into the Christian camp, That *Sinan Bassa* the Turks great Generall was comming to the reliefe of Strigonium: of whose power diuers diuersly reported. But the greater part doubting the worst, and wearie of the long siege and of the calamities incident thereunto, added still something to the last report, to make the danger of longer stay to seeme the greater: certaine it is, that the newes of the comming of so great and puissant an enemie raised many a troubled thought in the mindes of so great a multitude. Now were the besieged Turkes in great wants in Strigonium, as appeared by Letters intercepted from the Sanzacke

A zacke to the Bassa of Buda, declaring vnto him the hard estate of the besieged, and humbly craning his promised help, without which the citie could not for want of victuals possibly be defended by the fainting souldiers aboue three daies. Which letters being read in the camp, caused great preparation to be made for the continuing of the siege and the withstanding of the enemie, whose comming was euery houre expected. All this while the great ordnance neuer ceased on either side: whereby many were slaine, as well of the Christians as of the Turks; and amongst others many of the cannoniers.

But forasmuch as the rife fame of *Sinan Bassa's* comming encreased daily, and the Christian camp possessed with a general feare, gaue vnto the wise, iust suspition of some great mischiefe likely to ensue: *Matthias* the Generall entered into counsell with countie *Ferdinand Hardeck*,
B the Lord *Palfi*, the lord *Vngenade* President of the counsell for the warres, and *Erasmus Eraun* Gouernour of Comora, What were best to be done in so dangerous a time. Who with generall consent agreed betimes, before the comming of *Sinan*, to raile the siege, and to remoue with the armie into some place of more safetie. Which their determinat resolution, the day following, beeing the six and twentieth of Iune, they made knowne to the other Princes and great commanders in the army: who wonderfully discontented therwith, especially the Germans; both openly by word, and solemnly by writing, protested against the same, as most dishonorable, and altogether made without their knowledge or good liking. To whom the President of the counsell for their further satisfaction, declared, That the enemie was comming with a very great army, and euen now at hand, whose strength encreased daily, and with what
C power he had purposed to assaile them in their tents, was vncertain: besides that, it was manifestly knowne vnto the world, how that in the former assaults they had lost many of their best souldiers, beside others that died in the camp: and that the place wherein they lay encamped, was subiect to many dangers: for which so vrgent causes the Generall had resolued to raise his siege, and before the comming of so strong an enemy, to remoue his army into a place of more safety. Which reasons for al that did not so well satisfie the German princes and commanders, but that they still vrged their former protestation, requesting his excellencie to haue them excused before God and the World, if they yeelding to his command, as to their Generall, did that which they thought not altogether best, and which they would not otherwise haue done. For the more euidence whereof, the said German princes and great commanders caused their
D said protestation to be solemnly conceiued in writing, which they firmed with their seales, and subscribed with their owne hands in order as followeth: *Francis* Duke of Saxonie, *Augustus* Duke of Brunswick, *Sebastian Schlick*, county *Wigand Maltzan*, *Ernestus* of Alstan, *Henry Phlugk*, *Iohn Nicholas Ruswormb*, *Henry Curwigger Heerrath*, *Iohn* Oberhausen, *Henry Rottcirch*, *Melchior* of Nothwith.

The Archduke raiseth his siege & with his armie passeth the riuer.

But the Archduke with the rest constant in their former resolution, first sent away the great ordnance, and raising the siege the 28 of Iune, followed after with the whole army, passing ouer Danubius not far from Kokara, doubtfully expecting what course *Sinan* the great Bassa (who was then reported to be euen at hand) would take. Yet before their departure they set the old
E towne on fire, and rased the fort S. *Nicholas*, before taken from the enemie, which they had once purposed to haue kept. This vnexpected departure of the Christians much gladded the besieged Turks: who for want of victuals had not been able long to haue holden out. Yet lay the lord *Teuffenbach* still at the siege of Hatwan, labouring by all means to take from the besieged Turks their water, and with earth and faggots to fil vp their ditches; which worke he had now happily brought to some good perfection. Whereof they in the towne by letters aduertised the Bassa of Buda, and that except they were within the space of three daies relieued, they should bee enforced to yeeld the towne. Which their distresse the Bassa considering, with speed assembled all his forces, and so set forward to relieue them, hoping to haue come vpon the Christians before they were aware of his comming. But *Teuffenbach* vnderstanding therof,
Fiue thousand Turks slaine.
F vpon him, fearing no such thing, slew fiue thousand of the Turkes, put the Bassa to flight; and together with the victory obtained an exceeding rich prey.

Hatwan in vain assaulted by the Christians.

Now was there no lesse expectation and hope of the winning or yeelding vp of Hatwan, than was before of Strigonium: but according to the chance of war it fell out otherwise. For *Teuffenbach* hauing with continuall batterie laied the breaches faire open, and made choice of

such souldiers as he thought meetest for the assault, was in the performing thereof so notably repulsed by the Turkes, that he was glad to retire, with the losse of his best and most resolute soldiers: which put him out of all hope of taking the towne by force. For beside the losse of these good men, he had scarce so many sound men left, as might suffise to furnish his garrisons for defence of those frontiers: by reason that the Hungarians were almost al shrunk home, and of the Germans were left scarce two thousand. Besides that, he had oftentimes craued new supplies of the Archduke, but all in vain: for which causes he was glad to abandon two strong forts hee had built before Hatwan, and to leaue the towne, now brought to great extremitie. Thus two notable cities, which were now as it were in the hands of the Christians, & by the recouerie whereof, the broken state of the afflicted Christians in Hungarie had beene much strenthened, were as it were againe restored vnto the barbarous and cruell enemie.

Teuffenbach giueth ouer the siege of Hatwan.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of Strigonium and Hatwan, the Rascians (of whom we haue before spoken) striuing still more and more to rid themselues from the Turkish thraldome, gathered themselues together to the number of fifteene thousand, betweene Buda and Belgrade, vnder a Generall of their owne chusing. For feare of whom, the Bassa of Temeswar with an armie of fourteene thousand went to fortifie and victuall Lippa, doubting lest it should by them be surprised: but hauing done that he went for, in his returne hee was met with by the same Rascians, and twice fought withall in one day, and both times put to the worse, with the losse of the greatest part of his armie. After which victorie the Rascians tooke Beczkerek a strong towne standing in a marish foure miles from Belgrade, & slew al the Turks they found therein. After that, they tooke a castle called Ottadt, and dealt with the Turkes in like manner. From thence they went and besieged Beche, a Castle standing vpon the riuer Tibiscus or Teise, where the towne adioyning vnto it yeelded presently, but they in the castle standing a while vpon their guard, offered at last to yeeld also vpon certaine conditions. But the Rascians knowing that the Turkes thereabout had conueied into the castle the best part of their wealth, and withall that it was but weakely manned, would accept of no conditions, but needs haue it absolutely deliuered vp to their pleasure. In the mean time the old Bassa of Temeswar and his sonne, knowing it to tend to their dishonour to suffer this base people so to rage at their pleasure about them, gathered together 11000 Turkes, and so in great haste came to relieue the besieged castle. Vpon whom the Rascians turned themselues, and in plaine battell ouerthrew the Bassa, and so pursued the victorie, that of those 11000 Turkes scarcely escaped 1000: the Bassa himselfe being there slaine, and with him three Sanzacks, his sonne escaped by flight. In this battell the Rascians tooke 18 great pieces of artillerie: and not long after tooke also Werserza and Lutz, two strong places. After which so happie successe, they sent vnto the Archduke *Matthias* for aid, but especially for canoniers, professing themselues now vtter enemies vnto the Turkes. The Rascians also about Temeswar sent word vnto the other in the campe, that they would come and ioyne with them. And they which inhabit the countrey betweene the riuer Danubius and Tibiscus, by messengers sent of purpose vnto the Lord *Teuffenbach* (the Archdukes Lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungarie) offered in short time to send him ten or twelue thousand men, so that hee would receiue them and their countrie into the Emperors protection; which he easily granted them, and thereof assured them by writing. And to the Archduke himselfe they sent also their trustie messengers, requesting him to send them a Generall to lead them, promising vnto him all obedience: which messengers departing from them the fourteenth of Iune, shortly after returned with such answer as was thought most conuenient for their present state. Thus against the comming of *Sinan*, was Hungarie almost all on a broile.

A diet of the empire holden at Ratisbone for the withstanding of the Turkes

The Emperor long before distrusting the Turks purpose for war, and wel considering what a difficultie it would be for him with his owne forces onely to withstand so puissant an enemy as was *Amurath*, had by his Embassadors praied aid of diuers Christian Princes, but especially of them of the Empire, as those whom this war concerned most. Wherefore he after the antient and woonted manner of his State in so common and imminent a danger, appointed a generall assembly of the Princes and States of the Empire, to be holden at Ratisbone, in the latter end of Februarie: which for sundrie vrgent causes was put off vntill March, and againe vntill Aprill, and so afterward vntill May. At which time the Emperour in person himselfe, with the Princes Electors, and other the great States of the Empire, being met together with great pompe

A pompe at Ratisbone, and solemnely assembled in the Bishops palace, began there to sit in counsell the second of Iune. Vnto which Princes and States to assembled, after that the Emperour had first by the mouth of *Philip* Countie Palatine of the Rhine, giuen great thanks for their so readie apparance, & briefly declared the cause of their assembly; he himselfe after some complaint made of the Turkish infidelitie, in expresse words declared vnto them, how that he by his embassador then lying at Constantinople, had in the yeare 1591 made a league for eight yeares, with the present Turkish Sultan *Amurath*: which league *Amurath* himselfe had approued and confirmed, and thereof sent him publike and solemne instruments: wherein it was prouided, That no hostility should be on either side during that time attempted. And yet notwithstanding that, he, contrary to his faith giuen, as an hereditarie enemie of the Christians, had violated this league, and by sundrie incursions barbarously spoiled and wasted, not Hungary only,

The Emperour grieuously complaineth vnto the Princes Electors & States of the Empire of the infidelitie of the Turke, & craueth their aid.

B but other of his Imperial prouinces also: but especially by *Hassan Bassa* of Bosna, who first with a strong armie besieged, battered, and tooke Repitz an antient frontier castle, & after that, Wihitz, Drenik, Crassowitz, with other places of name; and had in his dominion and territorie built Petrinia, a most strong fort, hurtfull to all that country, out of which he had done incredible mischiefe in Croatia, Windismarch, and the most fruitfull Island Turopolis; and had out of those places carried aboue 35000 Christians into most miserable captiuity. Of which shameful iniuries and breach of faith he had many times by his Embassadors complained vnto the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople; and requested, that all hostility set apart, due restitution might haue bin made: but to haue therein preuailed nothing: and that the same Bassa in stead of

C condigne punishment, had bin for the doing thereof honored by the great Sultan his lord with honorable gifts, the sure tokens of his fauor. Whereby he was so confirmed in his barbarous proceedings, that he began to make open war, and hauing raised a full armie, and strengthened also with certaine companies of Ianizaries sent from the Court, had passed ouer the riuer Kulp, and besieged the castle of Sisek: but by the iust iudgement of God the reuenger of wrongs, had there receiued the reward of his faithlesse and cruell dealing, being there [illegible] and almost all his armie vtterly destroyed by his small forces, raised in haste for his owne full defence. Neuertheless the faithlesse Turke (as if he had bin highly wronged himselfe) haue made this his breach both of league and faith forthwith knowne to all the world

D commanding open war to be solemnly proclaimed against the kingdome of Hungarie, [illegible] Constantinople and Buda: and by the Beglerbeg of Græce to haue [illegible] the strong Fortresse of Sisek. Wherein on the other side, because nothing should be wanting, which might make his defiance of peace more known, [illegible] times by his Embassador put the Turke in remembrance of [illegible] his Faith. Who for all that had regarded nothing of his [illegible] Bassa, with the Beglerbeg of Græcia and many [illegible] garie, who with fire and sword enforced the Christians [illegible] left alone to serue the Turke, [illegible] tooke Vesprimium and [illegible] Bassa by commandement [illegible] imprisoned Eugenius Erasmus [illegible]

E [illegible]

nt of the Princes Electors of the sacred Empire, appointed that present Diet of the Empire; G
and not for the aforesaid causes only, but for diuers others both necessarie and weightie also:
as the general peace of the empire, the pacification of the Low-countries, the reformation of
justice, and amendment of the coine: but especially & aboue all other things, to make it known
vnto the world how much it concerned to haue the Turks pride betime abated, and some ef-
fectual defence for Hungarie (now in danger) at length prouided; being the most sure defence
and strongest bulwarke of that part of Christendome. And that whereas his owne hereditarie prouinces were not of themselues alone sufficient to maintaine so chargeable a war, he therefore requested the Electors, Princes, and States both present and absent, not to grudge to be present with their helpe, their counsell, and whatsoeuer els should be needfull against so puissant and dangerous an enemie. So ending his speech, he caused all his demands before conceiued into writing, to be read, and so deliuered vnto them. For answer whereunto the Princes Electors and others there present required time. Which granted, after many sittings and long H
consultations they at last with one consent answered, That it was a hard matter, by reason of the late dearth and other like occasions, for them to grant such helpe and aid as the Emperour had in writing required: yet hauing before their eyes the great and imminent danger wherin the Christian commonweale then stood, they not regarding their owne proper and neere difficulties, had in regard of his sacred and Imperial Majestie, for the comfort and defence of the endangered Christians, and for the repressing of the Turkish furie, of their owne free will and meere compassion, granted beside their accustomed contribution, such further reliefe for the space of six yeares, as they thought sufficient for the maintenance of a defensiue war, both for the present and for the time to come. What was by them further decreed concerning the Em- I
perors other demands, as not pertinent to our purpose, we willingly passe ouer.

Of all these things, as also whatsoeuer els had hapned at Strigonium, Hatwan, or other places of Hungarie, was not *Sinan Bassa* ignorant: who now euen vpon the departure of the Christians from Strigonium, was come with an huge army before Buda and Alba-Regalis: vnto whom fortie thousand Tartars, that by force had made themselues way thorow Podolia and the vpper part of Hungarie, had joined themselues: so that in his armie were reckoned aboue 150000 fighting men; to the great terror not only of Hungarie, Austria, Stiria, Croatia, Bohemia, and the prouinces thereabout, but also of the whole State of Germanie. With this great armie the old Bassa had purposed to haue ouerwhelmed the Christians in their campe at K
Strigonium: but now that they were before his comming departed ouer the riuer towards Comara, he resolued to keepe on his way, and to besiege the strong citie Iaurinum, now called Rab. And to make all sure before him, he thought it best to take in his way Dotis, a strong towne of the Christians in the mid way betweene Strigonium and Rab, about fiue Hungarian miles short of Rab. The Christian armie but newly passed ouer Danubius, in marching toward Comara, might see the mountaines and fields on the other side of the riuer all couered with the multitude of the Turks armie: who though they were indeed many, yet marching disperssedly, made shew of more than in truth they were. So both armies marching in sight the one of the other, and seperated only with the riuer, held on their way, the Christians to Comara, where they encamped vnder the very walls of the citie, yet in such sort as that they might afar L
off well descrie one another: and the Turks towards Dotis, where the Bassa with all his armie encamped the 21 day of Iuly. The night following, hauing planted his batterie, he began in furious manner to batter the castle, the chiefe strength of the towne, the Christian armie looking on, but not daring at so great odds to relieue their distressed friends. So whilest the Bassa granteth no breathing while vnto the besieged, but tyring them out with continuall batterie and alarmes, they of the towne dispairing of their owne strength, and to be able for any long time to hold out against so mightie an enemie, within three dayes after yeelded vp the towne, being in that short time sore battered, and in diuers places vndermined: yet with this condition, That it should be lawfull for the garrison souldiers and townesmen with their wiues and children, in safetie to depart. Which was vnto them by the Bassa franckly granted, but not so M
faithfully performed: for at their departure many of their wiues and children were stayed by the Turks, and the Lord *Baxi* gouernor of the towne cruelly entreated. Immediatly after, the Bassa without much ado tooke the castle of S. *Martins* also, not far from Dotis, being by the Captaine yeelded vnto him.

Sinan Bassa with an army of 150000 betweene Buda & Alba-Regalis.

Dotis and S. Martins yeelded vnto the Turkes.

In

A In the meane time the country villages round about forsaken of the poore Christians, were by the Turks most miserably burnt, and all the countrey layd waste. Yea some of the forerunners of the Turks armie passing ouer the riuer Rabnitz, ran into the country as far as Altenburg within fiue miles of Vienna, burning the country villages as they went, and killing the poore people, or that worse was, carrying them away into perpetual captiuitie: yet not without some losse, foure hundred of these roaming foreiners being cut off by the Lord *Nadasti*. *Palsi* also, and *Brun* gouernor of Comara, following in the taile of the Turkes armie, set vpon them that had the charge of the victuals, of whom they slew a great number, tooke 120 of them prisoners, and 150 camels, and thirtie mules laded with meale and rice, which they carried away with them to Comara.

B Dotis and S. *Martins* thus taken, *Sinan Bassa* constant in his former determination, set forward againe towards Rab, and being come within a mile of the citie, there encamped; the Christian armie then lying not far off on the other side of the riuer. The citie of Rab is a strong & populous citie, honored with a Bishops See, and was worthily accounted the strongest bulwarke of Vienna, from whence it is distant about twelue Germane miles, standing vpon the South side of Danubius, whence the riuer diuiding it selfe, maketh a most fertile Island called Schut; in the East point whereof standeth the strong citie of Comara. The defence of this citie of Rab was committed to Countie *Hardeck*, a man of greater courage than fidelitie, with a garrison of twelue hundred choice soldiers; vnto whom a little before the comming of the Bassa were certaine companies of Italians joined, who together with the citisens, made vp the num- *Rab.*
C ber of fiue thousand able men: a strength in all mens judgement sufficient for the long defence of that place. The last of Iuly, *Matthias* the Archduke about the going downe of the Sun departing out of the citie of Rab, ouer the riuer into the Island ouer against it, came *Sinan Bassa* with his huge armie and beset it round, casting vp trenches and mounts, whereon he skilfully placed his gabions and great artillerie, and whatsoeuer els was necessarie for so great a siege: and that with such celeritie as was to the beholders thought most strange. The second of August he with great furie battered the citie, and brought his trenches within musket shot of the walls. At which time foure thousand Tartarian horsemen swam ouer the Danubius betweene Rab and Comara, after whom followed six thousand Turkes, who being with much adoe got ouer to the farther side, suddenly surprised a fort of the Christians next vnto the riuer, and
D forthwith turning fiue great pieces of ordnance which they found therein, discharged them vpon the campe of the Christians: who terrified with the sudden accident, rise vp all in arms, and hardly charging those desperat aduenturers, slew many of them, especially such as seeking after bootie, had dispersed themselues from their fellowes, and forced the rest againe to take the water, wherein most of them perished. About fiue dayes after, the Tartarians (liuing for most part vpon prey) swam againe ouer the riuer, and vpon the sudden burnt a village in the Island, and slew certaine Christians in their tents; but being quickely encountered by the Christian horsemen, they were easily ouerthrowne and many of them slaine: the rest casting away their weapons, and forsaking their horses, ran headlong into the riuer, trusting more to their swimming than to their fighting: whom the Christians hardly pursuing, in the verie Ri- *The Tartarians the second time ouerthrowne.*
E uer slew about 2000 of them; and by this victorie obtained many of the Tartarians swift horses, with their scimiters, their bowes and arrowes, and such ensignes as they had. All this while *Rab battered.* *Sinan Bassa* without intermission lay thundering with 60 great pieces of batterie against the citie; but to little or small purpose, for as yet he had made no breach whereby to enter, but the harme that was done, was vpon the towers, or high built houses, or in the campe, by such randome shot as flying ouer the towne, fell by chance among the tents of the Christians. And the Ianizaries intentiue to all opportunities, in a great raine furiously and with a most horrible cry (as their manner is) assaulted an vtter bulwarke of the Christians, which they for feare forsook and retired themselues into the citie. Vpon which bulwarke so taken the Ianizaries had set vp three of their ensignes; when the Christians ashamed of that they had done, and better aduised, taking courage vnto them, forthwith sallied out againe, and couragiously charging the Ia-
F nizaries, but now entred, slew many of them, and recouered againe the bulwarke. *A Bassa slaine.*

Sinan Bassa leauing nothing vnattempted that might further his desire for the winning of the citie, was now casting vp a great mount against the citie: which whilest he daily surueyed, he chanced to fall sick, and therefore appointed one of the Bassa's in his own stead to ouersee the worke;

vorke; who whilest he was walking too and fro hastening the worke, and commanding this G
and that thing to be done, he was taken with a shot out of the towne and slaine.

The fifteenth of August certaine Turks before the rising of the Sun getting ouer Danubius in boats, assailed a fort of the Christians: which the soldiers that had the keeping of it, presently forsooke and left it to the enemie. Which *Iohn de Medices*, lately come into the campe with two thousand Italians, perceiuing, forthwith came to the rescue of the fort, draue out the Turks, and hauing slaine diuers of them, forced the rest into the riuer, where they were all drowned. At which time fiue thousand Tartars in another place passing ouer the riuer into the Island, were encountered by the Lord *Palfi* and the Hussars his followers, and without any great resistance put to flight, wherein many of them were slaine: the rest taking the riuer, were
A fight in the Riuer betwixt the Turks and the Tartars. in good hope to haue got ouer, and so to haue saued themselues: but other Turkes meeting H
them in the riuer, would with their weapons haue beaten them backe and stayed their flight: against whom the Tartars opposing themselues, made with them in the very riuer a most cruel fight, but with such losse vnto the Tartars, that of the fiue thousand which aduentured ouer, few returned to carrie newes vnto their fellowes, how they had sped. Now began great scarcitie of victuals in the Turks campe, so that the souldiers were faine to feed vpon vnripe fruit, and such other vnwholesome things; whereof ensued the bloudie flix and many other dangerous diseases: which raging amongst them, did wonderfully consume the Bassa's army. Beside that, they of the citie with continual shot had slaine many, and amongst them a son in law of the great Bassa's, whose death he is reported to haue taken so vnpatiently, that he fell sicke for griefe, but in short time after passed it ouer and recouered againe. I

The Tartars not yet warned by their often losses, but passing againe ouer the riuer into the Island the 19 of this moneth, were there 3000 of them slaine. In the meane time certain companies also of the Turks hauing secretly passed the riuer, in another quarter assailed the Christians in their campe: in which hurly-burly other of the Tartars got ouer the riuer not far from Comara, hoping now at length to performe some great matter, which they had before to their cost vainly attempted. But finding the Turks ouerthrowne before their comming, & the Christians (contrarie to their expectation) in armes readie to receiue them, they were easily discomfited, and two thousand of them slaine. In this conflict the Sanzacke of Strigonium, with two others, and many moe of great account among the Turks, perished. Shortly after, the Christians sallying out of the citie, slew a great number of the Turkes, and so retyred with small K
losse. Thus was the Turks armie dayly diminished, besides that the want of victuals with the bloudie flix so increased, that many perswaded the Bassa to haue raised his siege, and to haue remoued with his armie to some other more wholesome place and of greater plentie: but he resolutely set down not to depart before he had either woon the towne, or enforced them therein to yeeld, would not hearken to any persuasions to the contrarie.

Whilest *Sinan* thus lay at the siege of Rab, *Maximilian* the Emperors brother tooke Crastowitz a fortresse of the Turks vpon the borders of Croatia, and put to sword all the Turkes there in garrison. After that, he laid siege to Petrinia, a strong fortresse of the Turks, which they but a few yeares before had contrarie to the league built in the Emperors territorie, for the annoying of Croatia, and for the exceeding strength thereof was thought almost impregna- L
ble. Yet such was the industrie of *Maximilian* and his souldiers, that what with continual batterie and mines, they so terrified the Turks there in garrison, that they for feare set fire on the fort, and flying away by night, made shift euery man for himselfe as he might. Which they in the castle of Siseg hearing, set fire also vpon it, and so left it to the Christians. Whose example they also of Gara followed: by which so prosperous and happie successe of *Maximilians*, not the frontiers only, but euen the whole country of Croatia was for that time deliuered of a wonderfull trouble and no lesse danger.

A great skirmish betwixt the Turks and the Christians. The eight and twentieth day of August twentie thousand of the Christians passing ouer the riuer by a bridge out of the Island, and ioyning with them of the Towne, sallied out vpon the M
Turks campe. The Hungarian Heidons in the foreward at the first onset tooke two of the Turks bulwarks, and hauing beaten out the enemies, cloyed certaine of their great pieces: but the Turks returning with greater power, enforced the Christians to retire, & recouered again their lost bulwarkes. In this conflict many were slaine, as well Christians as Turkes. In the meane while *Thonhause* a great captain of the Christians, and *Geitzhofer*, Countie *Hardeck* his lieute-
nant,

A nant, with 1500 Hungarians and German foot came in great boats to haue holpen their fellowes, but landing somewhat too late, they were by the enemie beaten backe, and enforced with such speed to retire, that many of them being not able to recouer the boats, were drowned in the riuer, amongst whom *Geitzhofer* himselfe perished, and *Thonhause* was deadly wounded in his brest. Yet the Christians not discouraged with this losse, but gathering themselues together vnder the very walls of the citie, gaue a second assault vnto the enemie. In the foreward were the footmen, who were by the enemies horsmen easily repulsed; but by the comming in of the Lord *Rhinsberg* (who was at the first onset slaine) the Turks were enforced into their trenches, except some few, which diuided from the rest, hid themselues in the Vineyards, but being found out by the Christians, were there all slaine. In this skirmish the Lord
B *Palfi* was grieuously wounded in his thigh. Of the Christians were slaine 400, and of the Turks about 2000. These conflicts endured from seuen a clocke in the morning, vntil twelue, *Two thousand Turks slain, & 17 of their Ensignes taken.*
at which time the Christians returning into the citie, and so into the campe, amongst other spoiles, carried away with them seuenteene of the enemies ensignes.

No day now passing without some skirmish, at length the ninth of September 10000 Turks, some in boats, some by other meanes, hauing got ouer the riuer of Danubius into the Island of Schut, suddenly set vp the Christians, all sleeping in securitie, and little fearing any such danger: of whome they slew about two thousand, and after some small fight put the rest to most shamefull flight, in such sort, that *Matthias* the Archduke himselfe with the other noblemen and captaines had much ado by flight to escape. Thus whilest euery man surprised with feare,
C made what shift he could for himselfe; the enemie in the mean time entred the trenches, tooke their tents, their great ordnance, the shot and pouder, and all the mony which but a little before was brought for the soldiers pay; besides about a thousand waggons and two hundred boats well loaded with prouision for the campe, and ten gallies, wherein were an hundred and twentie pieces of great ordnance. The losse receiued this day was valued at 500000 duckets. And *A great spoile taken by the Turks.*
albeit that this victorie cost the Turks two thousand and fiue hundred of their liues, yet thereby they gained the masterie both vpon the riuer and the land, so that now roming far & neere without resistance, they spoiled the countrey all about, and burnt certaine countrey villages not far from Vienna: so that for many miles space the countrey townes were for feare of the
D enemie forsaken by the inhabitants; of whom some were taken and slaine, some carried into captiuitie, and some others (reserued to a better fortune) with such things as they had, got themselues farther off into places of more securitie. And the more to encrease these calamities, the Tartars shortly after passing ouer Danubius neere vnto Altenburg, first sacked Weisenburg, and after burnt it, with certaine towns thereabout: but aduenturing to haue gone farther into the countrey, they were with losse enforced to returne.

Whilest the Turkes thus preuaile in Hungary, *Cicala Bassa* the Turkes Admirall then at sea with a fleet of gallies, landing his men in diuers places of Italie, did exceeding much harm, but especially in Calabria, where he vpon the sudden surprised Rhegium, rifled the towne, and afterwards burnt it. From thence taking his course towards Sicilia, hee in the sight of Messana landed certaine of his men; who aduenturing too far ashore, were by the country people ouer- *Rhegium raced by the Turks.*
throwne and put to flight. So the Turks returning againe to Rhegium, vtterly raced what they
E had before left of that towne. In the mean time not far from Messana, euen in the sight of the garrison of the towne, they tooke a certaine ship comming out of the East countries, and three other comming from Apulia. Afterward chancing vpon certaine gallies of the East, they changed some few shot with them, but to no great purpose: and so turning their course, and sailing alongst the coast of Calabria, they oftentimes landed certaine companies, which skirmishing with the Calabrians, had sometime the better, and sometime the worse, and so with such fortune as befell them, were againe receiued into their gallies. They of Messana, vnto whose eyes those dangers were daily presented, both by letters and speedie messengers gaue the Viceroy knowledge thereof (who then for his pleasure lay at Palermo) requesting his present aid: but he
F dallying off the time, they for the more safegard of the citie and of the sea coast, of themselues raised fiue hundred horsemen, whom they committed to the leading of *Philip Cicala*, the renegate Turkish Admiralls brother; and beside stored the Citie with all such things as they thought necessarie for the enduring of a siege, if it should chance the Turke to haue any such purpose: of all which they certified the King of Spaine, as also of the negligence of the
Viceroy,

Viceroy, requesting his speedie aid against these terrors of the Turks. In the meane while the Neapolitans for safegard of their coast put to sea 30 gallies: vnto whom the Pope, the Duke of Florence, the Genowaies, and the Knights of Malta joined also theirs, in all to the number of about 80 gallies, vnder the conduct of *Auria*. The prouident Venetians also, although they were as then in league with the Turke; yet for the safetie of their State put to sea a fleet of about an hundred saile, some ships, some gallies, vnder the leading of *Foscarin* their Admiral. Which two fleets sailing vp and downe those seas, deliuered Italie, Sicilie, Dalmatia, with many prouinces and Islands of the Christians, of a great feare.

Rab assaulted by the Turkes.

Sinan Bassa hauing before encouraged his soldiers with great hope and large promises, commanded an assault to be giuen to the citie of Rab: which was accordingly by them begun the 23 of September, the Sun being as yet scarce vp, and furiously maintained all that day from morning vntil night. But they of the towne so valiantly defended themselues, that at last the Turks were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with losse to retire. Neuertheless the next day the assault was again renewed, & most desperatly continued by the space of two daies: where-

Twelue thousand Turkes slaine.

in 12000 of the Turks there lost their liues, the other with shame retiring themselues into their trenches. In few days after, the Turks by a mine blew vp one of the bulwarks of the town, with the fall whereof the towne ditch was in that place somwhat filled: whereby the Turks with all their power attempted thrice the next day to haue entered, but were by the valour of the defendants still notably with losse repulsed. Yet notwithstanding all this cheerefulnesse and couragiousnesse of them in the towne, the puissant enemy ceased not with continual batterie and furious assaults to attempt the citie, vntill that at length he had gained two of the bulwarks, from whence he might to his great aduantage, by the rubbish and earth fallen out of the battered bulwarks and rampiers, haue accesse vnto the towne, to the great terror of the defendants. Whereupon Countie *Hardeck* the gouernor (who corrupted by the Turke, had of purpose many times before said that the towne could not possibly be long defended) now tooke occasion to enter into counsel with the other captains of the towne (diuers of whom he had alreadie framed to his purpose) what course were best to take for the yeelding of it vp. And so after a little consultation, holden more for fashion sake, than for that he doubted what to doe; resolued to send a messenger vnto the Bassa, for a truce to be granted for a while, to see if haply in the meane time some reasonable composition might be agreed vpon. Yet the gouernor considering into what scorne and danger he should expose himselfe, by yeelding vp of so strong a towne; to colour the matter, and to excuse his doings vnto the rest of the nobilitie and garrisons of Hungary, caused a publike instrument to be made in his and all the rest of the Captains names conceiued in writing: wherin they solemnly protested vnto the world, That forasmuch as it was impossible (by reason of the weakenesse of the garrison) for them longer to defend the town against so mighty an enemy, without new supplies in stead of them that were slain (which they had oftentimes in vaine requested) they were therefore of necessity enforced to come to composition with the enemie. Which protestation so made, the gouernor with the chiefe captains confirmed with their hands and seals. So after a truce granted, and pledges giuen on both

County Hardec corrupted by the Turke, yeeldeth the strong Towne of Rab vnto Sinan Bassa.

sides, at length it was agreed vpon, That all the garrison soldiers, together with the County and other captains, should in armes with ensignes displaied with bag and baggage depart in safety, and with a safe conuoy be brought to Altenburg. Which agreement, though by oath confirmed, was not on the Turks part altogether performed: for when the County had the 29 day of September at 10 a clocke in the forenoone deliuered vp the city to the Bassa, and the Christian garrison was all come out, the Countie himselfe with a few of his friends was with a conuoy of Turks brought in safety to the appointed place: but the Italians and other garison soldiers that came behind, and ought to haue bin by the gouernor protected, were contrarie to the Turks promise, spoiled of all that they had, and hardly escaping with life, came that night to Hochstrate, and the next day to Altenburg. Thus was Rab, one of the strongest bulwarkes of Christendome, traiterously deliuered vnto the most mortal enemy of the Christian religion; being euen then when it was giuen vp, victualled for a yeare, and sufficiently furnished with all things necessarie for defence: all which prouision, together with the citie, fell into the hands of the faithlesse enemy. A losse neuer to haue bin sufficiently lamented, had it not bin about foure yeares after, euen as it were miraculously againe recouered, to the great rejoycing of all that side of Christendome, as in the processe of this Historie shall appeare.

Sinan

Sinan glad of this victorie, as the greatest trophey of his masters glorie ouer the Christians, gaue him speedie knowledge therof, both by letters and messengers. Of whom he was for that good seruice highly commended, and afterward bountifully rewarded: for now had *Amurath* alreadie in hope deuoured all Austria, with the Prouinces thereabout. The great Bassa, because hee would not with too long stay hinder the course of his victorie, without delay repaired the rent citie, new fortified the battered bulwarkes, enlarged the ditches, and filled the Cathedral church with earth, in maner of a strong bulwarke, wherupon he planted great store of great ordnance: and with exceeding speed dispatched all things necessary for the holding of the place. In the meane time he sent certaine Tartars to summon the towne and castle of Pappa; which castle and little town subiect thereunto, the Christians the night following, set on fire, because it should not stand the enemy in any stead for the farther troubling of the country; and so fled.

Rab repaired by the Turke.

Komara besieged by Sinan Bassa.

The Bassa hauing at his pleasure disposed of al things in Rab, and leauing there foure thousand Ianizaries, and two thousand horsemen in garrison, departed thence with his army & laid siege to Komara, a strong towne of that most fertile Island which the Hungarians call Schut; which scituated in the very point therof about foure miles from Rab, is on the East, South, and North, inclosed with the two armes of Danubius. All these waies *Sinan* with his fleet (which he had there notably well appointed) laied hard siege vnto the towne, and gaue thereunto diuers assaults: and by land, the Beglerbeg of Græce ceased not both by continuall batterie and mines, to shake the wals and bulwarks thereof. Thus was the citie on all sides both by water & by land hardly laied vnto. But the Christians within, with no lesse courage defended themselues and the city, than did the Turks assaile them; shewing indeed, that the liberty of their religion and country, was vnto them dearer than their liues. *Matthias* the Archduke in the mean time, not ignorant how much it concerned the emperor his brother to haue this city defended, hauing after his late ouerthrow gathered together a good army of Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians, resolued to go and raise the siege: and so marching forward with his army, came and encamped the 28 day of October at Nitria, about fiue miles from Komara. Now were the Tartars a little before departed from the camp, with purpose to returne home: yea the Turks themselues wearie of the siege, and wanting victuall both for themselues and their horses, began also as men discouraged to shrinke away. Which the Bassa wel considering, thought it not best with his heartlesse souldiers and army now sore weakened, to abide the comming of the Christians: and therfore vpon their approch he forthwith forsooke the city, which he had by the space of three weeks hardly besieged, and by a bridge made of boats transported his army and artillerie ouer Danubius to Dotis, where he the next day after brake vp his army. Immediatly after the Turkes were thus departed, the Archduke arriued at Komara, where he with great diligence caused the breaches to be repaired, the mines to be filled vp, & new bulwarks and rampiers to be made in diuers places for the more strength of the citie, leauing the charge thereof still vnto the lord *Erasm* the old Gouernor, who in the defence therof had receiued a grieuous wound in his right knee: of whom also this notable fact is reported. The Bassa in time of the late siege of Komara, vnder the colour of a parley, had sent fiue Turks into the city, to the Gouernor, but indeed to proue if he were by any means to be woon to yeeld vp the citie, and not to hold it out to the last. The faithfull Gouernor, hauing giuen them the hearing vntil they had discharged their whole trecherie, presently caused foure of their heads to be stricken off, and to be set vpon long pikes vpon one of the bulwarkes for the Bassa to looke vpon; but the fift (the beholder of this tragedie) he sent backe vnto the Bassa, to tell him, That although hee had found one in Rab to serue his turne, he was much deceiued, if in him hee thought to finde Countie *Hardeck*, and that he wished rather to die the Emperors faithfull seruant in the bloud of the Turks, than to betray the city committed to his charge.

Sinan Bassa raiseth his siege.

Countie *Hardeck* late Gouernour of Rab, generally before suspected to haue treacherously betraid that strong towne vnto the Bassa, was therefore sent for to Vienna, & there by the Emperors commandement committed to prison. Where among many things laid to his charge, as that hee should in the beginning of the siege negligently haue suffered many things to bee done by the enemy, which afterwards turned to the great danger of the towne: and that in the time of the siege, he had caused some of the canoniers to discharge certain great pieces against the enemie, with powder only without shot: and that seeing one piece among the rest to do the

enemie

...mie much harme, he had caused the same to be remoued, and so placed, as that it serued to little or no vse: beside that, he (as it should seem) making small reckoning of the towne, should oftentimes say, That if the Turkes should win it, he should be but one towne the richer: with diuers other such things, giuing iust cause of suspition. The thing that lay most heauy vpon him, was the ... ony of one of *Sinan Bassa* his chamber, who being taken yong by the Turks, and seruin... Bassaes chamber, was now fled from the Turks, and comming to the Archduke in the time of his siege, declared vnto him, that there was treason in his campe: and that he but three daies before by the commandement of his master, had deliuered two bags full of duckats vnto two Christians, of whom the one had a notable scarre in his face, and was afterwards knowne to haue bin one of the Counties seruants. Vpon this and such like proofes, the Countie was after many daies hearing, in open court, by the iudgement of seuen and forty noblemen and captains of name, condemned of treason, and adiudged to be hanged, his dead body to remaine vpon the gallowes by the space of three daies, and all his lands and goods to be confiscat: the rigor of which sentence was afterward by the Emperor mitigated, and the traitor by him adiudged to haue his right hand (by him before giuen vnto the Emperor, in pawne of his faith) and his head strucke off vpon a scaffold at Vienna, and so buried. Which seuere sentence was afterwards accordingly put in execution: for the tenth of Iune following, the traitor being brought to the scaffold built of purpose in the hie street of Vienna, after the sentence of his condemnation there solemnly read, commending himselfe vpon his knees to the mercy of God, with his eies couered, and his right hand laied vpon a blocke couered with blacke, had both his hand & head so suddenly strucke off by the executioners, as that the beholders could hardly iudge which of them was first off. His dead body with his head and hand, was presently by his seruant wrapped in a blacke cloth, and layed in his coach, which stood there by of purpose couered with blacke, and was afterwards buried amongst his ancestors.

Bonaty Hardeck condemned & executed for betraying of Rab.

The Tartars but lately before departed from *Sinans* campe, passing ouer Danubius at Strigonium, had purposed through the vpper part of H...garie, and by the borders of Transyluania and Moldauia, to haue againe returned into th... untry: of whom two companies falling into the hands of the lord *Palfi*, were by him cut off ... vtterly defeated: the rest comming vnto the borders of Transyluania, and finding the passages so beset by the Prince and the Vaynod of Valachia, as that they could not without most manifest danger passe that way, returned againe the same way they came: and hauing ribe... and burnt certaine townes and villages in the vpper Hungarie about Tockaie, passed the riuer againe at Strigonium, and wintering at Vesprinium, Palotta, and other places in the Countrey which is about Rab, liued vpon the spoyle of the poore distressed Christians, vpon the frontiers of Austria, euen as farre as Meinerstorf.

These Tartars (of whom we haue so often spoken) at their first comming to the aid of *Sinan*, by direction from the Turkish Sultan, staied vpon the frontiers of Transyluania, of purpose to haue surprised that country, and either to haue thrust *Sigismund Bator* the yong prince out of the gouernment thereof, or else to haue sent him in bonds to Constantinople: for it was commonly reported, That he wearie of the heauie tribute which he yerely payed vnto the Turke, and had now after their greedie manner been diuers times enhaunsed; had purposed to reuolt from the Turkish Sultan, and to enter into confederation with the Christian Emperor. Which innouation and change, certaine of the Nobilitie and chiefe States of Transyluania, sought by all means to hinder: and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entring into conspiracie with the Tartars, vndertooke to deliuer the whole country into their hands, & to send the Prince prisoner to Huft, where the Tartars then lay vpon the borders encamped. Wherefore dissembling their purpose, they cunningly perswaded the Prince, that *Samosche* the great Chancellor of Polonia, in the confines of his countrey lay with a great power expecting his comming, to consult with him of matters of great importance. And the better to colour this their trecherie, they had counterfeited letters to that effect from the Chancellor to the Prince, and had wrought so effectually, that the Prince not suspecting any such treason, gaue credit to their perswasions, & so put himself vpon his way towards ... Chancellor (as he supposed:) but by the way, he was aduised by some of his friends whi... got some suspition of the matter, not to goe any farther, for that his comming was not entended by the Polonians his friends, (as he was perswaded) but by the Tartars his enemies, who lay in wait for him at Huft, to bereaue

reaue him of his life and gouernment. The Prince astonied with the nouelry of the matter, listned vnto their perswasion, and retired with his traine to the strong fort of Kehwere; where he stayed foureteene daies, as if it had been onely for feare of the Tartars. In the meane time, hee gaue notice to the Nobility and Gouernours of the countrey, his friends, of the imminent and common danger; who forthwith repaired vnto him in armes. But the traitours proceeding in their purpose, ceased not to perswade *Bornemissa*, who had the leading of the Princes army, that to fight with the Tartars was a matter of no small danger: and that therefore if he wished wel to his country, he should not haue to do with them, but onely shew himselfe neere vnto them, and that he was not vnprouided for them: which was accordingly done, and the Transyluanian armie brought so nigh vnto the Tartars, as that they might heare the noise of their drums and trumpets. Whereby the Tartars as by the watchword, perceiuing themselues discouered, and nothing to fall out according to their expectation, as had bin vnto them promised for the betraying of the Prince; they remooued thence, and by another way breaking through the midst of Transyluania, and so into Hungarie, rifled and burnt fiue hundred villages, slew al the males that were aboue twelue yeares of age, and carried away the rest vnto the Turkish army then lying at the siege of Rab. In the meantime the traitors (when as this first plot serued them not) conspired to set vp one *Balthazor Bator*, the yong Princes nigh kinsman, and with the good fauour of *Amurath* to preferre him to the soueraigne gouernment of their countrey. Which their purpose the Prince perceiuing, and doubting altogether to trust vnto the fidelitie of his owne subiects; writ to his neighbors the Rascians, and other his confederats, praying their aid in this his so dangerous and doubtfull estate. Which after he had receiued, he appointed a generall assembly of all his states to be holden at Clausenburg, and that vpon a great paine to be inflicted vpon all such as should not there personally appeare: so at the prefixed day all came, except the Cardinall *Bator* and *Stephen* his brother, who guilty of so foule a treason against their owne bloud, were now before fled into Polonia. Being all thus met together, the Prince commanded the gates of the citie to be shut, and diligent watch and ward to be kept, forbidding by open proclamation, That any man vpon pain of death should so much as speake of any imagined treason. And at the same time politickly caused to be published in writing, how that the Germans had in the farther side of Hungarie got a notable victory ouer the Turks; for ioy whereof he commanded bonefires to be made, and the great ordnance to be in triumph shot off, with many other signes of ioy and gladnesse: and withall caused a notable banquet to bee prepared, whereunto together with others, were inuited also all the chief of the conspirators: of whom, euen as they were at dinner & least feared any such matter, he commanded fourteen to be apprehended and committed to prison; and the next morning caused fiue of them to be executed in the open market place. The principal of whom, who had vndertaken to haue himselfe slain the Prince, after three or foure light cuts in the necke, he caused to be drawne in pieces with foure horses: the other foure, namely *Alexander*, and *Gabriel Gengi*, *Gregorie Diace*, & *Ladislaus Sallentz* were beheaded, and their dead bodies al that day left in the market place for the people to behold: the rest were also afterwards worthily executed; and *Balthazor Bator*, whom the conspirators had intended to haue exalted, strangled. Hauing thus reuenged himselfe vpon his enemies, he by a publicke edict diuulged through all his dominion, gaue leaue to all his subiects in general, of their owne charge to take vp armes against the Turks, & whatsoeuer they could take from them, to haue it to themselues, as good prise gotten from their lawfull enemies. By which vnwonted libertie, the Transyluanians encouraged as with a great bounty, armed themselues on all hands, to the number of forty thousand; who being mustered and sworne to hold together against the Turks, made their first expedition towards Danubius: where at their first arriual, by good hap they light vpon certain of the Turks ships laded with prouision for the campe, and merchandise of all sorts, and much treasure: of which rich ships, they at the first onset tooke seuen, but the eighth (beeing indeed the Admirall) escaped their hands. In these ships they tooke an exceeding rich bootie, slew many of the Turks, and in token of the victorie, carried backe vnto the Prince seuen of the Turkish ensignes. This victorie caused great ioy in Transyluania, euery man of so prosperous a beginning, conceiuing good hope of most happie successe. It is reported, that *Sinan Bassa* hearing of this losse, should say, That if this prouision had come to him in safety, he could with that treasure more easily haue bought Vienna in Austria, than he had Rab in Hungary. After this victory the prince laid siege to

Great harme done in Transyluania by the Tartars.

The conspirators against the Prince, apprehended and executed.

to Temeſwar, but hearing of the returne of the Tartars from the Turks campe, and that they were comming toward Tranſyluania (as is before ſaid) he left Temeſwar, to looke to the defence of his owne countrey. G

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Conſtantinople

Not long [illegible] about the two and twentieth of December a tumult riſe among the Ianizaries of the court at Conſtantinople, which grew to ſuch an height, that in the heat thereof one of the Baſſaes was by them ſlain, with ſome others of good account, and one of *Amuraths* ſons ſore wounded, and with much adoe ſaued. Vpon conceit whereof, *Amurath* for anger & griefe fell into a fit of the falling ſickneſſe (whereunto hee was much ſubiect) and was therewith for the ſpace of three daies and three nights ſo grieuouſly vexed, as if he ſhould haue preſently giuen vp the ghoſt: ſo that the citie was filled with heauineſſe and feare, and the great men of the Court were euen ready to thinke vpon a new Lord. This tumult of the inſolent Ianizaries H

Amurath ſicke.

many ſuppoſed to haue been the cauſe of *Amurath* his death, which ſhortly after enſued: his griefe and maladie encreaſing daily by the euill news ſtill brought vnto him both by meſſengers & letters, eſpecially out of Tranſyluania, where the Prince waiting vpon euery occaſion, was ſtill at hand with the Turks, cutting them ſhort in euery place; and in ſundrie rodes which he made vpon them this moneth, tooke many of their caſtles and forts from them. He had at that time in the field in diuers places three armies: one vnder the conduct of *Geſty Ferens*, in the country of Lugaz, neere vnto Temeſwar: another vnder the leading of *Michael Horwat*, on the ſide of Danubius, to intercept the Turks comming to Buda: and the third commanded by *Caſpar Cornoyſe* in the countrie neere to Giula, vnto whom came ſhortly after fifteene hundred horſemen out of the vpper Hungarie.

1595 The Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund Bator* thus lately reuolted from the Turke, for the I ſtrengthning of his ſtate thought it beſt betime to enter into confederation with his neighbors of Valachia and Moldauia (who moued by his example, ſhortly after in like maner alſo caſt off the ſeruile yoke of the Turke) but eſpecially with the Chriſtian Emperor *Rodolph*. For which purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors honourably accompanied: who comming to Caſſouia in Hungarie the fourteenth of December, arriued at Prague the twelfth of Ianuary, with twenty waggons, and an hundred and fiftie horſe, where they were by the Emperors appointment moſt honourably receiued and royally entertained: and after a few daies hauing deliuered vnto the Emperor the ſumme of their embaſſage, which was for a confederation to be made betweene the Emperour and the Prince: after much graue conſultation and ſerious diſcourſe it was fully K concluded and agreed vpon: the chiefe points whereof I thought it not amiſſe here in briefe to ſet downe, for the ſatisfying of ſuch as deſire to know in what termes that worthy Prince next neighbour vnto the Turke then ſtood with the Chriſtian Emperour.

The capitulations of the league betwixt the emperor & the Tranſyluanian prince.

Firſt it was agreed vpon, That the Emperour for himſelfe and for the States of Hungarie ſhould promiſe to proceed in his wars begun againſt the common enemie, and not to conclude any peace with him, without the knowledge and good liking of the Prince. And that in all concluſions of peace to be made betwixt him and the Turke, the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, ſhould be alwayes compriſed: in regard whereof, the Prince likewiſe promiſed for himſelfe and the States of Tranſyluania, to proſecute the commenced warre, and not to enter into any league with the Turke, without the knowledge and conſent L of the Emperor and the Nobilitie of Hungarie, and this to be confirmed by ſolemne oath on both ſides.

Secondly, that the Prouince of Tranſyluania with all the parts and confines thereof hitherto poſſeſſed by the Prince of Hungarie, ſhould remaine vnto the ſaid Prince *Sigiſmund* and to his heires male, with all the profits ariſing thereof, in ſuch ſort as they had done in the time of *Iohn*, *Stephen*, and *Chriſtopher*, his predeceſſours, to haue therein a moſt free and abſolute authority: yet ſo, as that they ſhould acknowledge his Imperiall Maieſtie and his lawfull ſucceſſors for their lawfull ſoueraignes; vnto whome they ſhould alwayes ſweare their fealtie, but without any homage doing: and that to bee performed by his ſucceſſours at the time of the change, but by the Prince himſelfe, preſently after the confirming of this league. But that for M lacke of heires male, the countrey of Tranſyluania with all the territories thereunto annexed, ſhould diſcend vnto his ſacred Maieſty and his ſucceſſors the Kings of Hungarie, as a true and inſeparable member thereof: whereunto the Prince and all the States of Tranſyluania ſhould bind themſelues by ſolemne oath. But yet that at ſuch time as the heirs male ſhould faile in the line

A line of the preſent Prince, and that the country of Tranſyluania ſhould according to theſe preſent conditions be deuolued to the crown of Hungarie; as well his preſent Imperiall and Royall Maieſty as his ſucceſſors, ſhould keep inuiolate the antient lawes, priuiledges, and cuſtomes of that countrey, and alwaies appoint one of the nobilitie of Tranſyluania to be Gouernour or Vayuod of the ſame, and no other ſtranger.

Thirdly, that his Mateſtie ſhould acknowledge the Prince of Tranſyluania for an abſolute Prince, and by ſpeciall charter confirme vnto him the title of *Moſt excellent*.

Fourthly, that his Imperial Maieſty ſhould procure one of the daughters of the late Archduke *Charles* his vncle, for a wife for the Prince, that as they were now to be ioyned in league, ſo they might be ioyned in affinitie alſo.

B Fifthly, that the Emperor ſhould procure him to be made one of the order of the Golden Fleece.

Sixtly, that the Prince might with more cheerefulneſſe and ſecuritie make war againſt the common enemy, his imperiall and royall Maieſty ſhould not at any time, howſoeuer things fel out, forſake the ſaid Prince or any of the countries ſubiect vnto him: and euen now preſently to aid him according as the preſent occaſion required, and afterward (if greater need ſhould be) with greater help, whether it was by his Generall of Caſſouia, or others: and this giuing of aid to be on both ſides mutuall and reciprocall, according as the neceſſity of the one or other part ſhould require: and that where moſt need was, thither ſhould moſt helpe be conuerted.

Seuenthly, that the ſacred Roman Empire ſhould take vpon it the protection and defence C of the Prince and his territories. And that his Imperiall Maieſtie ſhould create the ſaid Prince and the Princes his ſucceſſors, Princes of the Empire: yet ſo, as that they ſhould haue neither voice nor place among the ſaid Princes.

Eightly, that whatſoeuer caſtles, townes, cities, or other places of ſtrength, ſhould by their common forces be taken or recouered from the common enemie, at ſuch time as his imperiall Maieſtie ſhould ſend into the field a full armie, ſhould be all his Maieſties: but ſuch places as the Prince ſhould by his own forces or policie gaine from the enemie, ſhould remain vnto the Prince himſelfe. Yet that what places ſoeuer the Prince ſhould recouer, which at any time before belonged to the kingdome of Hungarie before it was taken by the Turke, thoſe he ſhould D forthwith deliuer to his Maieſtie, as ſoone as reaſonable recompence were by him therefore made vnto the Prince.

Ninthly, his ſacred Maieſtie ſhould promiſe of his own bountie to giue vnto his Excellencie ſufficient aid for the fortifying and defence of ſuch places as ſhould be thought neceſſarie for the behoofe of the Chriſtians: as againſt the ſaid Prince ſhould likewiſe promiſe not to ſpare his own cofers or forces, that the ſame places ſhould be throughly fortified and defended for the behoofe of his Maieſtie and the common good of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Laſtly, that foraſmuch as the euents of war are vncertain, and many things ſuddenly happen contrary to mens expectation, if ſuch neceſſity ſhould chance vnto his Excellencie or his ſucceſſors (which miſhap God forbid) that hauing ſpent themſelues, they ſhould not be able longer to defend their ſtate & country, but that the mighty enemy preuailing, they ſhould at laſt be enforced to forſake the ſame: in this their extremitie, his imperiall & royall Maieſty ſhould E promiſe both for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors, within the ſpace of one moneth to aſſigne ſome certain place in ſome other of his dominions, where the ſaid prince & his ſucceſſors might honorably liue: and the like regard to be had alſo of other ſuch principal men, as ſhould together with the Prince aduenture their liues and liuings in defence of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Which articles of confederation agreed vpon, & ſolemnly confirmed, the ſame Embaſſadors were with all kindnes, bounty, & magnificence diſmiſſed and ſent back again vnto the Prince: who was not himſelfe in the meantime idle, but labouring by all the means he could to draw vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia (a man of no leſſe worth than himſelfe) and *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia, both of them then the Turks tributaries; & by them to alienat from F the Turke both thoſe countries, that ſo with their combined forces they might the better defend their liberty, and withſtand their common enemy: wherein he did ſo much, and preuailed ſo farre with them both, that caſting off the Turks obeiſance, they ſhortly after to the great benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, and no leſſe hinderance of the Turkes proceedings in Hungarie, ioyned hands both together with him for the recouery of their loſt liberty. Which reuolt

reuolt of these bordering Princes, for that it so much concerned the common good, as that the safegard of Austria, and of the remnants of Hungary, with some good part of Germanie also, is euen by them that in those matters saw much, not without cause supposed to haue rested therein; & that this noble Vayuod (of whom much is to be said hereafter) was the second actor herein, it shall not be from our purpose to see the manner of his reuolt also from the Turke, as we haue already the Transyluanians. For the more euidence whereof, as for the honor of the man (whilest he liued, a most worthy member of the Christian commonweale) we will a little step backe to see how hee obtained of the great Turke this so honourable a preferment, as was the Vayuodship of Valachia, not without his reuolt long now to be holden.

Valachia oppressed by the Turkes.

Alexander the late Vayuod of Valachia, a Moldauian borne, and by *Amurath* himselfe promoted to that dignitie; proud aboue measure of this his so great a preferment, as also of his owne nobilitie, and the deceitful fauor of Fortune still fawning vpon him; not only oppressed his people himselfe with intollerable impositions, but to be in farther fauor with the Turkes, brought into that country (too much before exhausted) such a company of them, as that they seemed now almost wholly to haue possessed the same, oppressing the poore Christians (the naturall inhabitants) with new exactions, and more than tyrannicall iniuries, euen such as were not elswhere by the Turks themselues vsed; not only breaking at their pleasure into their houses, and dispoiling them of their goods, but taking tythe also of their children, as if it had bin of their cattell, a thing neuer before there seene: and for the satisfying of their beastly lust, rauishing their wiues and daughters, euen in the sight of their husbands and parents, with diuers other such outragious villanies, not with modestie to be rehearsed. So that by this meanes he had violently taken from his Christian subiects all hope of recouerie of their antient libertie, had it not as sometime it falleth out in these worldly things both vnto men & commonweals, which brought vnto the last cast, & euen as it were to the bottome of dispaire, by the goodnes of God, contrary to all hope, find sometime such vnexpected help and reliefe, as that thereby they, beyond their hope, euen to the astonishment of the world, mount vp again vnto a greater lustre of their state than was that from which they before fell: it had euen so by the singular mercy of God now hapned vnto the Valachians, not knowing which way to turn themselues. There was at Crailowa (a city in the confines of Valachia towards the confines of the Hungarians and Turks, where the Gouernor of those borders is for the defence therof with a strong garrison alwaies resiant) a noble gentleman called * *Ion Michael*, son to *Peter* the Palatine of that countrie, the aforesaid *Alexander* his predecessor: who as he was vnto the people for the honor of his father, the prerogatiue of his birth, the comelinesse of his person, and talnesse of his stature, well knowne; so was he for his zeale towards the Christian religion, his loue towards his country, his kindnesse towards his equals, his courtesie towards his inferiours, his vpright dealing, his constancie and bounty vnto them, no lesse gracious; & for other the noble vertues of his heroical minde and naturall disposition for the performance of great matters, his deepe wisedome and quicke foresight, his sweet and pleasing speech, void of all affectation, vnto all good men most deare: whose fame, both for the honor of his house, & of his own vertues, still more & more encreasing, and rife in the eares of *Alexander* the Vayuod, was the cause that he commanded him as the ready or rather naturall competitor of his state and honor, to be secretly apprehended, and so taken out of the way; wherof he by good fortune hauing intelligence, and carefull of his owne health, for safegard of himselfe fled first into Hungarie, and there not staying long (God so directing him) went to Constantinople in the yeare 1591, to sue for the Vayuod his place, all the nobilitie of his country and the Prouinces thereunto adioyning, secretly reioycing thereat. About which time the chiefe and most graue of the Valachian nobilitie and counsellors prostraiting themselues at the feet of *Amurath*, most grieuously complained vnto him of the manifold and intollerable iniuries they had already sustained, and were still like to endure, without hope of redresse, from *Alexander* their Vayuod, and the followers of his court; the Turks garrisons and merchants with plentifull tears orderly declaring many his most foule and detestable facts, and afterward highly commending *Ion Michael* for his rare vertues, as the true heire of their prouince; most humbly requested *Amurath* either to haue him appointed the lawful Gouernor of their country, or else some other place by him assigned for them to dwell in, wishing any where to liue, rather than vnder the heauie command of so mercilesse a man as was *Alexander*. For the furthering of which their sute, *Michael* his vncle by the

* Ion *signifieth with the Valachians as much as Christian, which some mistaking, cal this Michael also by the name of John.*

A the mothers side, a Greeke borne, and a man for his exceeding wealth in great fauour in the Turks Court, spared for no cost. So *Michael* by the goodnesse of God was by *Amurath* with great solemnitie created Vayuod of Valachia, and the oppressed and almost forlorne state of that sometime most flourishing countrey by little and little well relieued (although not altogether without most sharpe and violent remedies, such as extremities oft require) began now againe to lift vp the head, and to aspire vnto the antient libertie and honour thereof. At the beginning of whose happie soueraignetie, *Alexander* his predecessour in his owne conscience guiltie of his euill and shamefull gouernment of that so notable and great a prouince, and now in feare to be called to account, secretly fled. But certaine yeares after remouing to Constantinople with his wife, and there attempting diuers euill meanes for the obtaining of the Pala-
B tinat of Moldauia, and for those his vnlawfull practises accused by the Palatine his Agent; he was by the commandement of *Amurath* taken in his owne house, and there in his princely apparell most miserably strangled vpon Palme Sunday, in the yeare 1597, about six yeres after his departure out of Valachia.

Michael by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia.

Alexander strangled at Constantinople.

Michael thus made Vayuod of Valachia, long it was not but that it fortuned the reuerend Father *Cornelius de Nona*, sent from Pope *Clement* the eighth vnto the great Duke of Muscouie; in his returne conferring with *Sigismund* the Transyluanian Prince, and *Aaron* Palatine of
C Moldauia, enformed them of the great consent of diuers zealous Christian Princes, for the maintenance of the war against the dangerous and common Enemie; with many graue and effectuall reasons persuading them (but especially for that they were themselues Christians) in that Christian quarrel to ioine vnto them their forces also, raised in those their countries neere vnto the great riuers of Danubius and Nester: but vnto *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, hee could not for diuers his other important businesses then come: whom for all that, the aforesaid Transyluanian Prince *Sigismund* his neighbour desirously sought to draw into the fellowship of this war, euen for the same reasons almost wherewith he had been himselfe mooued. First, by diuers great reasons remouing such doubts as might justly seeme to hinder him from giuing thereunto his consent; and then by declaring the Turkish insolencie daily increasing, with the infinite grieuances by them deuised against the miserable Valachians; when as the incursions of the Turks or Tartars, or their passages that way (no lesse troublesome than their inrodes) was almost euery moneth to be feared, their armies as friends to be in Winter and
D Sommer receiued, their souldiers to their great charges relieued, and their commanders and captaines rewarded. Valachia thus impouerished, was not able (as he said) to pay the great sums it did alreadie owe, neither was to expect any releasement of the euils it was wrapped in, much lesse was it able to suffice vnto the grieuous exactions to be thereunto by them afterwards imposed. None of his predecessors (as he said, and as truth was) had for many yeares now past, for any long time, or with any securitie held their state or gouernment: but that either by the calumniation of the Enuious, or bribes of their ambitious competitors, brought into suspition with the Sultan, they were violently thrust out, or most cruelly put to death. In briefe, he said it was a wise mans part, not without most manifest and weightie reasons, to
E promise vnto himselfe better fortune, or more assurance of his state, than had his vnfortunate predecessors before him; but warned by their harmes, betimes to prouide for his owne safetie. By which persuasion he so preuailed, that the Vayuod (whose name, whose fame, whose wealth and life together with his subiects was all thereby indangered) although he would not (for the weightinesse of the matter) at the first yeeld thereunto; yet assuredly promised, with his friends and the rest of the Nobilitie of his countrey to consider thereupon. Hauing it by the Prince plainly laid downe before him, how a sufficient number of souldiers might at all times be raised, their pay prouided, and aid still sent him as need should be, from the German Emperor, or himselfe out of Transyluania: as also that *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia would at all times be readie to combine himselfe vnto them; that so with their vnited forces they might vpon the banks of Danubius and Nester easily repulse the incursions both of the Turkes
F and Tartars their enemies: the Christian Emperor in the meane time with lesse trouble proceeding in his wars against the Turke in the other side of Hungarie.

Now whilest this plot was thus in laying, and matters too and fro debating, not altogether without the Turks suspition; *Sinan Bassa* comming with a great armie into Hungarie, had taken the strong Towne of Rab, as is before declared: with which mischance so much concer-

ning

ing the poore remainders of Hungarie, the Vayuod not a little moued, began more deeply to G
conſider of his owne eſtate. And as he was a man of a great ſpirit, and no leſſe zeale toward his
countrey, grieuing to ſee his ſubiects committed to his charge, to be ſo daily by the inſolent
Turks ſtill mo[re] and more oppreſſed: he (as he had before promiſed to the Tranſyluanian) cal-
led an aſſembl[y] of all the States of Valachia, to conſult with them what were beſt to be done
for the remedie o[f] ſo great euils, as alſo for the preuenting of greater, not without cauſe then
to be feared. Where by the general conſent of them all it was agreed, rather to joine with the
Emperor and the other Chriſtian Princes in confederation, as they had bin oftentimes by them
requeſted, than longer to endure that heauie yoke of the Turkiſh thraldome and ſlauerie.
Michael the Vayuod of Valachia reuolteth from the Turks. Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thouſand of the Hungarian garriſon ſouldiers, H
now before for that purpoſe ſecretly layd vpon the frontiers of his country; and calling vpon
the name of *Chriſt Ieſus*, in one day to begin withall, ſlew about two thouſand of the Ianizaries
(who without his leaue had in that country proudly ſeated themſelues) with all the reſt of the
Turks (in the midſt of their inſolencie) together with the traiterous Iewes, not leauing one of
them that he could come by aliue in all the open countrey. And purpoſing to driue them out
of their ſtrong holds alſo, and ſo to make a cleane riddance of them, he within fourteen dayes
after ſet vpon Dziurdzowa, a great towne of the Turks vpon the banke of Danubius, which he
burnt all ſauing the caſtle, and hauing there made a great ſlaughter, and loded with the ſpoyle
of the Turks, returned to Bucharesta the chiefe ſeat of his Palatinat.

But long it was not after this his ſo great preſumption, but that he perceiued the Turks in re-
uenge thereof to ſeek after his life: although he yet ſeemed to yeeld his obedience vnto *Amu-*
rath, and to haue done that he did as enforced thereunto by the inſolencie of the Turks, & for I
the neceſſarie reliefe both of himſelfe and his ſubiects. For the ſame moneth (Rab being, as is a-
foreſaid, taken by *Sinan*) one of the Turks * Emirs, diſcended of the great familie and ſtock of
**The Turks call all them that are diſcended of the ſtocke of their Prophet Mahomet, by the name of Emirs, or Lords.*
Mahomet their falſe prophet, and then Cadileſcher (a man of great account and place amongſt
the Turks) accompanied with 2000 choſen ſouldie[rs] of the great Sultans chamber, and
many of the Zauſij and Spahi, vpon the ſudden came to Bucharesta vnder the colour of refreſh-
ing themſelues after their long trauell, but indeed with purpoſe to haue taken the Vayuod:
where they without controlment committed all kind of outragious villanie; and taking vp all
the chief houſes in the citie, imperiouſly demande[d] of the Vayuod (who then lay in his palace
neere vnto the new monaſterie without the city, but [w]ithout any caſtle or defence, vpon the K
riuer Dembowiza) 10000 florens for a Preſent, with victuals and other neceſſarie proui-ſion
for his followers. And preſently after being certainly informed that he lay there but ſlenderly
accompanied, and almoſt himſelfe alone, the Emir himſelfe on foot with a thouſand of his ſol-
diers, went out of the city, as if it had bin but for his pleaſure, and in curteſie to haue ſeene him.
Of which ſo ſuſpitious a gueſts comming the Vayuod vnderſtanding, got him betimes away
into the campe of his Hungarian mercinaries, which then lay but faſt by: when the Turke thus
deceiued of the hope he had before conceiued for the taking of him, craftily ſent certaine of
his followers, to know of him to what end he in time of peace did entertaine ſuch a number of
Hungarian ſoldiers? Whereunto the Vayuod cunningly anſwered, That they were at the firſt
entertained for the taking of *Peter* the ſonne of *Alexander*, ſometime Palatine of Moldauia: L
who although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged vpon an hooke at Con-
ſtantinople, yet that thoſe ſoldiers were for their readie ſeruice, of neceſſitie ſtill to be bilited
in the countrey vntill ſuch time as their pay might be prouided. Which the Turke hearing,
commanded the Vayuod forthwith to diſcharge them as men vnneceſſarie, and to his ſubiects
troubleſome, promiſing the next day to lend him a tunne of gold to pay them their wages.
Which feigned promiſe the Vayuod ſeemed thankfully to take; yet neuertheleſſe comman-
ded the Hungarians forthwith in armes to ſtand in readineſſe in the campe, for the intercepting
of the Turks, if haply by him diſtreſſed, they ſhould betake themſelues to flight: whileſt he
in the meane time with his courtiers and other ſouldiers ſecretly aſſembled into a vally there
by, came ſuddenly vpon the Turks (not as then dreaming of any ſuch thing) compaſſed about M
the Innes wherein they lay, and ſetting fire vpon th[em] in fiue places, notably forced them
both with fire and the ſword, the two greateſt extremities of war; ſeeking now for nothing
more than the juſt reuenge of his ſpoiled Citie, his forced Virgins, and wronged ſubiects.
Howbeit the Turkes [fo]r a ſpace right valiantly defended themſelues, and by plaine force
(although

A (although in vaine) ſought to haue broken thorow the midſt of their enemies, and ſo to haue
fled. Yea many of them by force of the fire driuen out of their lodgings, and tearing off their
burning cloathes, fought ſtarke naked: but moſt of them which could, fled vnto the palace
where the great Emir lay, there with him readie to die or liue. All which, their laſt endeuors
of deſperation the Vayuod eaſily fruſtrated, with two great pieces of Artillerie opening a way
for his ſoldiers vnto them. So that the proud Emir now in deſpaire (like the hunted Caſtor)
threw downe out of a window a great cheſt full of gold and pretious ſtones, and other jewels
of great value, if happily he might haue ſo appeaſed the Vayuods wrath; humbly now re-
queſting no more, but to haue his life ſpared; fearefully promiſing a large ranſome for him-
ſelfe and thoſe few which were yet left aliue with him. Howbeit the Vayuod mindefull of *The Cadileſcher with all the Turkes his Followers ſlaine.*
B the manifold iniuries by them done vnto him and his ſubiects, and nothing mitigated or mo-
ued with the rich ſpoiles thruſt vpon him, or the large promiſes the Turks had made him;
commanded all thoſe his enemies now in his power, to be ſlaine euery mothers ſon: of whom
his ſouldiers had a wonderfull rich ſpoile, although much more was loſt in the fire: and ſo gi-
uing thanks vnto God for the victorie, reſted with his people a while at quiet. Yet within
leſſe than a month after, he ſent *Albertus Kiral* his Lieutenant with an armie to Phloch (a great *Phloch ſpoiled by the Vayuod.*
open vnwalled towne on the farther ſide of Danubius, equally diſtant from Vroſzok and Ni-
copolis) from whence the Turks oftentimes paſſing ouer that frozen riuer into Valachia, had
there done great harme: which towne not inferior vnto a good citie, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed,
and ſacked it, put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, except ſuch as were before his com-
C ming fled. And ſhortly after (the more to annoy the Turks) marching againe ouer the frozen
riuer to haue ſurpriſed Herſowa a walled citie but one dayes journey from Brailoua, he was by *Herſowa taken.*
the way vpon the yce encountred by the Turks, whom he there in a great conflict ouerthrew,
and hauing ſlaine many of them, and put the reſt to flight, holding on his intended journey,
tooke that rich citie, which he rifled and burnt downe to the ground all except the caſtle,
which was yet by the Turks valiantly defended: and ſo with the ſpoile of the citie returned
againe ouer the riuer, there to refreſh his ſouldiers, wearied with labour and the extremity of
the Winter weather. And yet not ſo contented, within ſix dayes after paſſing againe ouer the
riuer, and hauing vpon the ſide thereof in a great battell ouerthrowne the Turks garriſons,
tooke Siliſtra a great citie of Macedonia built by *Conſtantine* the Great (being the ſeat of one
D of the Turks Sanzackes, and well inhabited with rich merchants) which faire citie he ranſac- *Siliſtra burnt.*
ked, and hauing ſlaine moſt part of the inhabitants, burnt it downe to the ground as he had the
other, no leſſe terror than griefe vnto the Turks.

But whileſt the aforeſaid confederation betwixt the Emperor and the Tranſyluanian prince *Amurath dieth*
was yet in hand, and the troubles in Valachia thus ariſing, *Amurath* the great Sultan grieuou-
ſly troubled with the Stone, and attainted with the falling ſickneſſe his wonted diſeaſe, and in-
wardly alſo tormented with the late inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and reuolt of the countries
of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, (no ſmall hinderance to the proceeding of his wars
in Hungarie) as a man both in ſoule and bodie tormented, with great impatiencie and agonie
of mind departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1595; when
E he had liued one and fiftie, or as ſome ſay two and fiftie yeares, and thereof raigned nineteen.
At the time of his death ariſe ſuch a ſudden and terrible tempeſt at Conſtantinople, that ma-
nie thought the world ſhould euen preſently haue been diſſolued. His dead bodie was not
long after with great pompe tnd ſolemnitie buried by *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, in a Moſchie
which he himſelfe had before built at Conſtantinople.

FINIS.

ing the poore remainders of Hungarie, the Vayuod not a little moued, began more deeply to G
consider of his owne estate. And as he was a man of a great spirit, and no lesse zeale toward his
countrey, grieuing to see his subiects committed to his charge, to be so daily by the insolent
Turks still more and more oppressed: he (as he had before promised to the Transyluanian) cal-
led an assembly of all the States of Valachia, to consult with them what were best to be done
for the remedie of so great euils, as also for the preuenting of greater, not without cause then
to be feared. Where by the general consent of them all it was agreed, rather to joine with the
Emperor and the other Christian Princes in confederation, as they had bin oftentimes by them
requested, than longer to endure that heauie yoke of the Turkish thraldome and slauerie.
Michael the Vayuod of Valachia reuolteth from the Turks. Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thousand of the Hungarian garrison souldiers, H
now before for that purpose secretly layd vpon the frontiers of his country; and calling vpon
the name of *Christ Iesus*, in one day to begin withall, slew about two thousand of the Ianizaries
(who without his leaue had in that country proudly seated themselues) with all the rest of the
Turks (in the midst of their insolencie) together with the traiterous Iewes, not leauing one of
them that he could come by aliue in all the open countrey. And purposing to driue them out
of their strong holds also, and so to make a cleane riddance of them, he within fourteen dayes
after set vpon Dziurdzowa, a great towne of the Turks vpon the banke of Danubius, which he
burnt all sauing the castle, and hauing there made a great slaughter, and loded with the spoyle
of the Turks, returned to Bucharesta the chiefe seat of his Palatinat.

But long it was not after this his so great presumption, but that he perceiued the Turks in re-
uenge thereof to seek after his life: although he yet seemed to yeeld his obedience vnto *Amu-*
rath, and to haue done that he did as enforced thereunto by the insolencie of the Turks, & for I
the necessarie reliefe both of himselfe and his subiects. For the same moneth (Rab being, as is a-
foresaid, taken by *Sinan*) one of the Turks * Emirs, discended of the great familie and stock of
Mahomet their false prophet, and then Cadilescher (a man of great account and place amongst
the Turks) accompanied with 2000 chosen souldiers of the great Sultans chamber, and
many of the Zausij and Spahi, vpon the sudden came to Bucharesta vnder the colour of refresh-
ing themselues after their long trauell, but indeed with purpose to haue taken the Vayuod:
where they without controlment committed all kind of outragious villanie; and taking vp all
the chief houses in the citie, imperiously demanded of the Vayuod (who then lay in his palace
neere vnto the new monasterie without the city, built without any castle or defence, vpon the K
riuer Dembowiza) 10000 florens for a Present, with victuals and other necessarie prouision
for his followers. And presently after being certainly informed that he lay there but slenderly
accompanied, and almost himselfe alone, the Emir himselfe on foot with a thousand of his sol-
diers, went out of the city, as if it had bin but for his pleasure, and in curtesie to haue seene him.
Of which so suspitious a guests comming the Vayuod vnderstanding, got him betimes away
into the campe of his Hungarian mercinaries, which then lay but fast by: when the Turke thus
deceiued of the hope he had before conceiued for the taking of him, craftily sent certaine of
his followers, to know of him to what end he in time of peace did entertaine such a number of
Hungarian soldiers? Whereunto the Vayuod cunningly answered, That they were at the first
entertained for the taking of *Peter* the sonne of *Alexander*, sometime Palatine of Moldauia: L
who although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged vpon an hooke at Con-
stantinople, yet that those soldiers were for their readie seruice, of necessitie still to be bilited
in the countrey vntill such time as their pay might be prouided. Which the Turke hearing,
commanded the Vayuod forthwith to discharge them as men vnnecessarie, and to his subiects
troublesome, promising the next day to lend him a tunne of gold to pay them their wages.
Which feigned promise the Vayuod seemed thankfully to take; yet neuertheless commanded the Hungarians forthwith in armes to stand in readinesse in the campe, for the intercepting of the Turks, if haply by him distressed, they should betake themselues to flight: whilest he in the meane time with his courtiers and other souldiers secretly assembled into a vally there by, came suddenly vpon the Turks (not as then dreaming of any such thing) compassed about M
the Innes wherein they lay, and setting fire vpon them in fiue places, notably forced them
both with fire and the sword, the two greatest extremities of war; seeking now for nothing
more than the just reuenge of his spoiled Citie, his forced Virgins, and wronged subiects.
Howbeit the Turkes for a space right valiantly defended themselues, and by plaine force
(although

**The Turks call all them that are discended of the stocke of their Prophet Mahomet, by the name of Emirs, or Lords.*

A (although in vaine) sought to haue broken thorow the midst of their enemies, and so to haue
fled. Yea many of them by force of the fire driuen out of their lodgings, and tearing off their
burning cloathes, fought starke naked: but most of them which could, fled vnto the palace
where the great Emir lay, there with him readie to die or liue. All which, their last endeuors
of desperation the Vayuod easily frustrated, with two great pieces of Artillerie opening a way
for his soldiers vnto them. So that the proud Emir now in despaire (like the hunted Castor)
threw downe out of a window a great chest full of gold and pretious stones, and other jewels
of great value, if happily he might haue so appeased the Vayuods wrath; humbly now re-
questing no more, but to haue his life spared; tearefully promising a large ransome for him-
selfe and those few which were yet left aliue with him. Howbeit the Vayuod mindefull of *The Cadilesher with all the Turkes his followers slaine.*
B the manifold iniuries by them done vnto him and his subiects, and nothing mitigated or mo-
ued with the rich spoiles thrust vpon him, or the large promises the Turks had made him;
commanded all those his enemies now in his power, to be slaine euery mothers son: of whom
his souldiers had a wonderfull rich spoile, although much more was lost in the fire: and so gi-
uing thanks vnto God for the victorie, rested with his people a while at quiet. Yet within
lesse than a month after, he sent *Albertus Kiral* his Lieutenant with an armie to Phloch (a great *Phloch spoiled by the Vayuod.*
open vnwalled towne on the farther side of Danubius, equally distant from Vroscozok and Ni-
copolis) from whence the Turks oftentimes passing ouer that frozen riuer into Valachia, had
there done great harme: which towne not inferior vnto a good citie, he suddenly surprised,
and sacked it, put to the sword all the inhabitants thereof, except such as were before his com-
C ming fled. And shortly after (the more to annoy the Turks) marching againe ouer the frozen
riuer to haue surprised Hersowa a walled citie but one dayes journey from Brailoua, he was by *Hersowa taken*
the way vpon the yce encountred by the Turks, whom he there in a great conflict ouerthrew,
and hauing slaine many of them, and put the rest to flight, holding on his intended journey,
tooke that rich citie, which he rifled and burnt downe to the ground all except the castle,
which was yet by the Turks valiantly defended: and so with the spoile of the citie returned
againe ouer the riuer, there to refresh his souldiers, wearied with labour and the extremity of
the Winter weather. And yet not so contented, within six dayes after passing againe ouer the
riuer, and hauing vpon the side thereof in a great battell ouerthrowne the Turks garrisons,
tooke Silistra a great citie of Macedonia built by *Constantine* the Great (being the seat of one
D of the Turks Sanzackes, and well inhabited with rich merchants) which faire citie he ransac- *Silistra burnt.*
ked, and hauing slaine most part of the inhabitants, burnt it downe to the ground as he had the
other, no lesse terror than griefe vnto the Turks.

But whilest the aforesaid confederation betwixt the Emperor and the Transyluanian prince *Amurath dieth.*
was yet in hand, and the troubles in Valachia thus arising, *Amurath* the great Sultan grieuou-
sly troubled with the Stone, and attainted with the falling sickenesse his wonted disease, and in-
wardly also tormented with the late insolencie of the Ianizaries, and reuolt of the countries
of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, (no small hinderance to the proceeding of his wars
in Hungarie) as a man both in soule and bodie tormented, with great impatiencie and agonie
of mind departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1595; when
E he had liued one and fiftie, or as some say two and fiftie yeares, and thereof raigned nineteen.
At the time of his death arise such a sudden and terrible tempest at Constantinople, that many
thought the world should euen presently haue been dissolued. His dead bodie was not long after with great pompe and solemnitie buried by *Mahomet* his eldest sonne, in a Mosche which he himselfe had before built at Constantinople.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Amurath the third.	Emperours of Germany	Maximilian the second.	1565. 12.
		Rodolph the second.	1577.
	Kings, Of England,	Queene Elizabeth.	1558. 45.
	Of France,	Charles the ninth.	1560. 14.
		Henrie the third.	1574. 14.
		Henrie the fourth.	1589.
	Of Scotland,	James the sixth, that now raigneth.	1565.
	Bishops of Rome,	Gregory the XIII.	1572. 12.
		Pius the V.	1585. 5.
		Vrban the VII.	1590. 12 dayes.
		Gregorie the XIV.	1590. 10 months 10 dayes.
		Innocent the IX.	1591. 2 months & one day.
		Clement the VIII.	1592.

Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere possit:
Quid prohibet magnis nomen inesse tuum?
Qui subiecta vides, tot dissona regna, tot vrbes!
Et nulli cedens, sceptra superba geris.
Cum tamen ignores, quid sit sapientia Christi,
Omnia quæ jactas sunt, Mahomete, *nihil.*

RICH. KNOLLES.

In English thus:

If ought there be might make thee great that on the earth is found,
What then should let thy name among the greatest for to sound?
That sees thy kingdomes and thy townes, so many and so great:
And giuing place thy selfe to none, do'st sit on royal seat.
Yet sith thou knowest not aright for grace by Christ to call,
All that thou boast's, ô *Mahomet*, is nothing worth at all.

R. K.

THE

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET,
THE THIRD OF THAT NAME,
SEVENTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

1595 THe death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was not forthwith made knowne in the Court, but with wonderful secrecie concealed, not onely for feare of the Ianizaries, (who in time of the vacancie of the Empire alwaies do whatsoeuer pleaseth themselues) but also for that the people hauing in distrust the fierce nature of *Mahomet*, *Amurath* his eldest sonne, were generally better affected to *Amurath* the yonger brother, a Prince of a more milde spirit and curteous disposition, vnto whom they in heart wished those stately honours, which could by no meanes without the great wrong and preiudice of his elder brother, and danger of the whole state, be giuen vnto him. Ten dayes after, came *Mahomet* in post from Amasia to Constantinople, and was there by the great Bassa's and other his mightie fauourits saluted Emperour: which done, he presently after caused all his brethren to be inuited to a solemne feast in the court: whereunto they (yet ignorant of the death of their father, came cheerefully, as men fearing no harme; but being come, were there all by his commandement most miserably strangled: and at once to rid himselfe of the feare of all competitors (the greatest torment of the Mightie) he the same day (as is reported) caused ten of his fathers wiues and concubines, such as by whom any issue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the sea.

Mahomet saluted Emperor of the Turkes.

He murthereth his brethren.

The Ianizaries in a tumult.

The Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court not before acquainted with the death of *Amurath*, neither with the choice that the great Bassa's had without their priuity made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to see themselues so disappointed of such spoiles as they reckon due vnto them in the time of their vacancie; as men discontented, rise vp in a rage, and made such hauock and spoile in the Imperial city, as greater they could not wel haue made, had there biin as yet no Emperor chosen at all; and not so contented, were now euen vpon the point to haue rifled their new Emperors court, and to haue laid violent hands vpon the person of himselfe, in reuenge of the tyrannie by him executed vpon his brethren and fathers wiues (which inhumane cruelty the Turkish Emperors easily excute by the name of the policie of their state.) For the appeasing of which so dangerous a tumult, *Mahomet* called vnto him certaine of the chiefe men among these seditious, such as were thought to be able to do most with them, whom he fought by faire perswasions and large promises to win vnto him, and by them to pacific the rest. Which serued him to little or no purpose, vntill such time as the great Bassa's themselues came out with their followers: who with many faire perswasions, mixt with most grieuous threats, and firme promise of a generall pardon, with much ado appeased the tumult: yet for the more safetie, kept all the chiefe streets of the citie with a strong watch and ward. This broile thus ouerblowne, a new tent was by the commandement of the new Emperor set vp before the Temple of *Sophia*: wherein on the right hand was placed the dead bodie of the late Sultan *Amurath* his father, and on the left hand the bodies of his nineteene strangled brethren, layed forth

The tumult appeased.

A forth of purpose, as an heauie spectacle for the people to behold: who all not long after were together with their father with great solemnitie after the Turkish maner buried, and *Mahomet* himselfe (being about nine and twenty yeares old) now openly proclaimed great Emperor of the Turks, and lord of all, from the rising of the Sun, to the going downe of the same. After that, returning to his pallace, he made vnto his Bassaes and other great men a sumptuous and royall feast, as the manner was: but whilest they were in the midst of their mirth, vpon the sudden all the city was again in an vprore, & the people in arms, in such sort, as that it was thought scarce one man would haue escaped aliue from that banket, had not the chiefe Bassa with his grauitie and wisedome and wonderfull labor in good time appeased their fury, and withall to their greater terror, caused al the great ordnance in the city to be brought forth into the streets ready charged, to be shot off amongst them.

The Ianizaries againe in an vprore.

B Whilest these troubles thus passed at Constantinople, vpon the late confederation made betweene the Emperor, the Transyluanian Prince, the Valachians and Moldauians, diuers fortunate inrodes and skirmishes were by them made in the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, many strong places were surprised, many rich booties taken, and notable exploits done, which we will but briefely passe ouer, as the precedents of a greater war. The city of Weitze, before taken by the Turks, was now againe in the beginning of this yere recouered: and the Christians about Scuthia, in number about foure thousand, breaking into the Turkes frontiers, carried away an exceeding rich prey, with diuers notable captiues. The like did also the Christians of Viuaria: at which time also the garrison souldiers of Altenburg making a rode into the coun-

Diuers fortunat rodes made by the Christians vpon the Turks.

C trie about Rab, encountered with foure thousand Turkes, of whom they slew two hundred, tooke certaine prisoners, whom they sent some to Presburg, some to Altenburg: and *Sinan Bassa* the late Generall returning towards Constantinople with much treasure, which he had greedily scraped together in the late wars in Hungarie, was by the Valachians set vpon by the way not far from Belgrade, and stript of all that he had, hauing much adoe to escape himselfe with some few of his followers. The same Valachians, together with the Transyluanians, vnder the conduct of their valiant captaine *Gestius Ferens*, entring further vpon the Turks, tooke from them diuers of their townes and castles, as Pondesie, Nicoplise, Killa, and Rebnichi, and meeting with twelue thousand Tartars, slew a great number of them, and put the rest to flight.

D With this insolencie of the Valachians his late tributaries, but now his enemies, the Turkish Emperour was highly offended: and therefore sent one *Bogdanus* a Valachian borne, descended of the Palatines house, with a great power to expulse the old Vayuod, and to possesse himselfe of that honour, as his tributarie; promising vnto him all fauour and kindnesse. *Bogdanus* thus supported and furnished, came with his power into Valachia; yet thought it best before hee attempted any great matter, to expect the comming of the Tartars left the last yeare in Hungarie by *Sinan*: of whose comming the Valachians and Transyluanians hauing vnderstanding, met them by the way, and ioyning battell with them, slew eight thousand of them, put the rest to flight, and so returned: vnto whom presently after this victorie the Transyluanian Prince sent fourteene thousand souldiers moe to aid them against the Turks. But *Bogdanus* vnderstanding both of the ouerthrow of the Tartars and the comming of this new supplie, durst not proceed any farther in his enterprise, but kept himselfe stil in his trenches. Not long after,

E by the commandement of the Turkish Emperour, *Han* the Crim Tartar with a great power of his Tartarian horsemen entered into Moldauia, with purpose to haue by fire and sword reduced that countrey againe vnto the Turkes obeisance: of whose comming *Aaron* Vayuod of Moldauia hauing knowledge, and aided by his neighbour *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, so belayed the Tartars, that hee in three diuers battels ouerthrew them, and hauing slaine twelue thousand of them, enforced the rest to retire againe out of his countrey: and following the course of this victorie, presently after tooke Bendar, Schinitz, Tigna, Mechnis, with some other Castles and fortresses of the Turkes neere vnto the riuer of Danubius, all which hee furnished with his owne garrisons; and withall tooke in the rich Countrey of Bobraga, the

F inhabitants thereof willingly submitting themselues vnto him, as men wearie of the Turkish thraldome. With like good fortune, aided by the Polonian Cossackes, hee ouerthrew *Iaicula* the sonne of *Bogdanus*, sometime Vayuod of Moldauia, now sent by *Mahomet* with a great power, as a most fit instrument to trouble the Vayuod, and to recouer againe that countrey: with whom *Aaron* couragiously encountering at Scarpetra, a mile from Danubius, ouer-

ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and hauing slaine eight thousand of his Turkes, put him to G
flight, and tooke the spoile of his whole campe. Neither yet so contented, marched presently to Nesster Alba, where he put the Turkes in a great feare, and afterwards burnt the suburbs of the citie, and so retired.

How *Mahumeth* the late Sultan in the beginning of these troubles, had at Constantinople shut vp in prison *Frederick Krecowitz* the Emperors Embassador, is before declared. This Embassadour *Sinan Bassa* brought with him the last yeare when he came into Hungarie, who after many indignities by him suffered both vpon the way and at Belgrade, there died: fiue of whose seruants the false Bassa caused to be kept in straight prison, as guiltie of their masters death, so to auert the infamie thereof from himselfe. But now lying himselfe at Belgrade for the better mannaging of this yeares warres, vpon the comming of a new Treasurer from the Court, H
he caused the fiue poore prisoners to be brought before him, and most impudently charged them with the death of their master: saying, that they should answere for the same vnto God and their Emperour; and that his purpose in bringing of him from Constantinople, was to no other end, but to haue vsed his helpe in concluding a peace betweene the Great Sultan and the Emperour, and so to haue set him with all his at libertie: But now that hee was dead, he would send them his treacherous seruants to the Emperour to bee by him examined: and withall to tell him, That hee was sent from the Great Sultan, (whose power was not by any but God onely to be withstood) to besiege Vienna, which he could (as he said) the last yeare haue taken with lesse labor than he had done Rab: and that therefore it were best for him betime to seeke for peace, before so great a power had taken the field: and that for farther in- I
structions, he would referre them to his sonne the Bassa of Buda, to whom he sent them from Belgrade, together with the new come Treasurer. Being come to Buda, they were forthwith brought before the Bassa, and amongst them the late Embassadors Secretarie, vnto whom after he had said somwhat of the hard dealing with the Embassador and his followers, he declared, that he had alwaies disliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes entreated his father for their liberty; and now at last to haue obtained, that the Embassador being dead, his seruants might be set free: and so put them in good hope, that they should in short time be restored to their wonted libertie. In the meane time, that one of them should go vnto the Emperors Court, and there speake with one of his Secretaries, whom he had before aduised to bethinke himself of peace: vnto whom also he afterwards [illegible] on what conditions he thought peace K
might be at the Sultans hand obtained. Which were, If all the castles and strong holds taken by the Emperours forces in these wars, as Filek, Setchine, and Nouigrade, with their territories, should be restored, Siseg in Croatia surrendered; if the Emperor should from thenceforth refuse to aid or protect the Transyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians, and leaue them to the Great Sultan to bee chastised as rebels; if finally the Emperour would at once send vnto the Turks Court his woonted tribute for the yeres past, and so yerely afterwards: so he could be content by the mediation of his father, to attempt to appease the fierce and inueterat displeasure of the Sultan, and to further the treatie of peace. This he commanded the Secretarie to write, and to send it by the yong lord *Perling*, and to require thereof answer: yet that he should go with this condition, That if the said *Perling* within the space of fiue and twentie daies re- L
turned not with answer, all the rest should for his default lose their heads. A subtill deuice and full of deceit, wherein the craftie Bassaes, both the father and the son, sought for nothing else but to see what confidence the Christians had in themselues, and to breake the confederation made betweene the Emperor, the Transyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians: and that other Princes, whom God had stirred vp in defence of so iust a cause, hearing of a rumour of peace, might grow cold, and deferre to send their promised aid. For now the Turks had found by experience, how hurtfull and dangerous the reuolt of the three countries of Transyluania, Moldauia, and Valachia was vnto them, as they which brought ten hundred thousand duckats yearely into the great Sultans Treasurie: besides that, those people now become their enemies, were of all other fittest to intercept all manner of prouision to be brought by land either M
to or from Constantinople, were it victuall or other warlike prouision. Notwithstanding this motion of peace made by the two Bassaes, *Sinan* the [illegible]assa in the mean time, with great diligence at Belgrade prepared al things necessary for war, and caused three bridges to be made, whereby hee might in diuers places as hee thought best, transport his armie ouer Danubius; and

The Emperors embassador dieth in prison at Belgrade.

A and at the same time sent for the garrisons round about, and other souldiers before billited in the countrey, and put in readinesse all things necessarie for a most mortall warre.

The Bassaes subtill demands answered with like.

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the Emperors court with answer to the letters written by the Embassadours Secretarie, at the commandement of the Bassa; the effect whereof was, that he had receiued his letters by *Perling*, and did thereby vnderstand what had passed betweene the captiue seruants of the late Embassador, and *Sinan Bassa* at Belgrade, and also betweene them and *Sinan Bassa* his son at Buda; and that the Emperors minde was neuer other, but that a firme peace might haue been made between him and the Sultan; and that the Emperour had done nothing else by his Embassador at Constantinople, or by others in other places, but that such reasonable conditions might haue beene found out, as might haue ended
B those wars, and haue on both sides deliuered their innocent subiects from their great and daily calamities; which might easily haue been done, if *Sinan* the author and fautor of this warre, had with like desire furthered the peace. But that it was manifest vnto the whole world, that all complaints of infinit grieuances, being by the Embassador, yea and by the Emperour himselfe, by his letters laid open vnto the Sultan and his chiefe Bassaes, had not only nothing preuailed, but also to haue beene with great contempt reiected, and the treatie of peace once begun, to haue by the insolencie of the Bassa of Bosna bin interrupted: That the Emperour, because the matter should not breake out into open warr, had sent his double tribute into the confines of Hungarie, which was a great while laid vp at Comara vntill the Sultans minde were
C known. But when all his designes tended to war, and the Christian Prouinces were by his robbers on euery side spoiled, the inhabitants led away into most miserable captiuitie, the townes and villages burnt, yea whole countries lay desolate, and all manner of outrages were vpon a meere pride and contempt as it were of the whole world exercised: then the Emperour to haue taken his refuge vnto the defence of his iust cause, and to haue vsed such remedies as are both before God and the world to be allowed, and so by lawfull war to haue repulsed warre. And that although all had not the last yeare prospered in his hand, but that he had receiued some losse: yet that *Sinan Bassa* him selfe, & the Bassa of Buda his sonne with other of the wiser sort of the Turks must needs confesse that to haue chanced, not by their wisedome, policie or power but by the sufferance of God, by a rare misfortune, through the inexcusable negligence and treason of such as he had put in trust with the confines of his empire, worthie most seuere
D chastisement. And that no man could denie, but that great powers of the Turks, had not once, but oftentimes bin ouerthrowne and discomfited, by small handfuls of the Christians: therefore their power not to be so inuincible, as they vainly vanted of. But wheras it is written, that the great Visier *Sinan* and the Bassa his sonne are of opinion, that the Emperor is brought to so low an ebbe, that he must be glad to accept of most hard and dishonorable conditions of peace propounded by them: therein they erre much, and deceiue themselues far; for by the power of God they should shortly by experience know, that his imperiall Maiestie wanteth neither power nor wealth, to repaire the losse receiued through the treason of them he trusted, yea and to recouer whatsoeuer he had lost else: and that it should in short time be witnessed vnto the whole world, by the help of God and the defence of a most iust cause, that the Emperour
E was not so poore and weake as they supposed him to be. Yet as he of his owne naturall goodnesse and clemencie, with his owne incomparable losse and harme, had alwayes sought for the quiet and profit of his subiects, and to the vttermost of his power staid the effusion of innocent bloud; so now also forgetting all iniuries, he could happily be content to thinke of an honorable peace: whereunto he was more enclined than to protract the warre with the vnspeakeable harmes of the subiects on both sides. Yet aboue all things it behooued *Sinan* to know, that he was to restore all such castles and townes as haue in this warre beene taken by the Turkes, beginning at Wihitz in Croatia euen to the last innocent subiect by them carried away into captiuitie. And that the Transyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians (people many ages ioyned and vnited as inseperable members to the kingdome of Hungarie, as vnto the true bodie, and
F now of late by the practise and treacherie of certaine rebellious persons seperated from the same) were from henceforth to be left vnder the protection and gouernement of his imperiall Maiestie, and neuer more to be impugned by the Turkes. If these things were done, and ordertaken that the iniurie and disgrace done vnto the Emperors late Embassador (a fact that all the Princes of the world cried shame of) might not remaine vnpunished: and that his seruants in

in durance at Buda and Constantinople, might be restored vnto their woonted libertie, then some good forme of peace, and bounding of their territories might happily be agreed vpon: without which conditions, all talke of peace was but vaine; for that God the iust and mightie protector of such as put their trust in him, would not faile to helpe his imperiall Maiestie, with the rest of the confederat princes, in their so iusta quarrell, and abate the pride of such as trust to their owne strength and power.

This answer the captiues at Buda were commanded to giue vnto the Bassa, either by writing or by word of mouth: and withall earnestly to request him both for their owne libertie and their fellows, wrongfully detained at Constantinople. Which if it could not be obtained, yet to comfort themselues with that, that they should in bounteous manner receiue from the Emperour such allowance, as should suffice to prouide them things necessarie: as he had granted to *Perling*, whom he might haue iustly detained and not sent him backe againe, but for his oathes sake being no lawfull prisoner. Thus were the vnreasonable conditions of peace craftily by the Bassa propounded, by others answered: but by whom he knew not, no mans name being set thereunto.

The Emperor not ignorant with what an enemie he had to doe, and of nothing more carefull than of the kingdome (or more truly to say, of the reliques of the kingdome) of Hungarie, lying now as it were in the Lyons mouth, ceased not to pray aide, not of the Princes Electors onely, but of others also farther off; yea euen as far as Italie and Spaine, but especially of the King of Polonia, as his neere alliance & neighbor. Vnto whom both he and the States of Hungarie sent their Embassadors, at such time as he, moued with the daily incursions of the Turks and Tartars into the countries adioining vpon his, had for the safetie of his owne Kingdome, called a parliament of all his States in Februarie last, at Cracouia. Wherof *Mahomet* the Great Turke hearing, sent also two of his chiefe Chiaus, his vsuall Embassadors vnto the king and his States so assembled, to craue his aid in his wars in Hungarie: which if the king should not refuse, then to promise him to want no coine to pay his souldiers; and that *Mahomet* mindfull of so great a courtesie, would at all times be ready to requite him with like, when his occasions should require. These Embassadors, hauing obtained safe conduct from *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia for their passage through his countrie; comming thither, were by the Vayuod himselfe honourably entertained and welcomed, and so brought into a faire lodging, where they discoursed with him of many matters. But the Vayuods followers, grieued to see so great honor done to these their sworne & mortall enemies, with weapons in their hands brake into the roome where the Embassadors were, and without more adoe slew them both: and in the same fury setting vpon the rest of the Turks their followers, cut them all in pieces, so that of them none came into Polonia to do their great Masters message, either yet returned to Constantinople to carrie newes of the rest, but there altogether perished. Of which outrage *Mahomet* yet vnderstanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatening all euills both to the Moldauians and Valachians, and forthwith sent out other Embassadours to the same purpose; who with better fortune afterwards in safetie arriued in Polonia.

The Turke embassadors sent vnto the Polonian king slain in Valachia.

The Tartars in many places (as is before declared) ouerthrown, and many strong castles and forts taken from the Turkes by the Transyluanians, Valachians, and Moldauians, the Turkish affaires going to wracke in those quarters, and sore shaken on that side of Hungarie, *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperour called home to the Court *Sinan Bassa* his Generall in Hungarie, to conferre with him (as it was thought) of some great matters. In whose place he sent *Ferat Bassa*, hee who sometime had the leading of *Amuraths* great armies against the Persians: who now departing from Constantinople, came to Belgrade in Aprill, and there tooke the charge vpon him. Where at his first comming, in the night time all the ropes and cordes of the tents were suddenly cut in sunder, and so the tent let fall about his eares: which some supposed to haue beene done to his disgrace, by the procurement of *Cigala Bassa* before by him wronged; or as others thought, by the insolent Ianizaries, who disliking of him, did it despight, wishing rather to haue beene led by *Mahomet* himselfe. Now at his comming, the Famine which the last yere began amongst the Turks, was growne exceeding great, not at Buda and Belgrade only, but euen generally in most places of Hungarie possessed by the Turks: insomuch, that the Tartar women that followed the campe, were faine to roast their owne children & eat them. This Famine was also accompanied with a most terrible Plague, whereof great numbers of the

The Plague & Famine among the Turkes.

the Turks and Tartars died daily: so that of fourescore fiue thousand Tartars which came the last yeare into Hungarie, now remained scarce eight thousand, the rest being all deuoured with the Sword, Famine, and the Pestilence.

Great were the harmes the Turkes still dayly receiued from the late reuolted countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, the Christians of those places seeking by all meanes to annoy them. *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, not contented with that he had already done, but entring into the Turks frontiers, surprised Scihmele, together with the castle; wherin he found foureteene field pieces, amongst which were two which had vpon them the armes of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and other two hauing vpon them the armes of *Huniades*, which pieces he afterward sent as a Present to the Transyluanian Prince. After that, he tooke Orosige, a famous port towne, the dwelling place of the Turks great purueyor for butter, cheese, and hony, and such other prouision for the court, wherein he found such store of the aforesaid prouision, as might well haue sufficed eight thousand men for a whole yeare: and still prosecuting his good fortune, took from the Turks Kilee and Galempe, with the strong castle of S. *George*, commonly called Grigio, and at length besieged Laganoc.

Michael Vayuod of Valach. a doth the Turks great harme.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias* the Archduke and Generall of the Christian armie, from the assemblie of the nobilitie of Hungarie at Presburg, to Vienna, and so from thence to the Emperor his brother at Prague; who appointed him General of the lower Hungarie, and *Maximilian* his brother Generall of the vpper Countrey: giuing them for their Lieutenants, vnto *Maximilian* the Lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the Countie *Charles Mansfelt*, by him sent for out of Flanders, and after created one of the Princes of the Empire. *Iohn de Medices*, who was yet in Hungarie, he made Master of the great ordnance, with charge to fortifie Komara; which he so well performed, as that it was thought nothing in strength inferior to Rab. All this while the Emperor ceased not by his Embassadors and letters to solicite the Christian Princes, for the repressing of the common enemie to put too their helping hands: and so much preuailed with them, that out of his owne hereditarie prouinces, & from other Princes his friends, he had this Spring raised a right puissant and strong army for the defence of Hungarie: which how it was raised, & from whom, it shall not be much from our purpose briefly to remember, as the chiefe strength vnder God, whereby the Christian commonweale was this yere most noably defended. Out of the higher Saxonie came a thousand two hundred horsmen, and out of the lower Saxonie six hundred: from Franconia a thousand horsmen: from Sueuia foure thousand footmen: out of the Countie of Tirol as many: from Bauaria three thousand: out of Bohemia two thousand men at armes, six hundred light horsemen, and six thousand footmen: from Silesia a thousand fiue hundred horsemen: from Lusatia fiue hundred horse and a thousand foot: from Morauia a thousand horse, and two thousand foot: out of Austria two thousand horse and six thousand foot: from Hungarie fiue hundred horsemen and a thousand foot: from the nobilitie of Sueuia and Franconia foure thousand foot: from the King of Spaine out of the Low-countries vnder the conduct of *Charles* Countie *Mansfelt*, two thousand horsemen and six thousand foot: vnto these the Bishop of Rome added two thousand horsemen, and eight thousand foot: the great Duke of Florence sent fiue hundred horse & three thousand foot: the of Duke Ferrara a thousand fiue hundred footmen: the Duke of Mantua a thousand foot: & the Duke *Vrbine* fiue hundred horse. Al which being put together, fill vp the number of fifteene thousand nine hundred horsemen, and fiftie thousand fiue hundred foot. Which notable armie, raised from the power of diuers Christian Princes, and conducted by worthy Chieftaines, had by the goodnesse of God much better successe this Summer against the antient enemies of Christendome, than had the like armie the yeare before, as in the processe of this Historie shall appeare.

The notable army of the Christians, & from whence it was raised.

Among the worthie Commanders that were in this puissant army, *Charles* Countie *Mansfelt* the sonne of *Peter Ernestus* the old Countie, from his youth brought vp in armes, was by the King of Spaine at the request of the Emperour sent with the aforesaid forces of two thousand horse and six thousand foot out of the Low-countries, as a man for his approued valor & direction, fit to mannage these dangerous warres against the Turke vnder *Matthias* the Archduke, as his Lieutenant Generall: who hauing raised the appointed forces, for most part Wallons, departed from Bruxelles about the midst of Februarie, and by the way taking his leaue of his aged father at Luxenburg, and trauelling through Germanie, came in March to Prague, where

where he was by the Emperour and the Archduke his brother most honourably entertained, and shortly after with great solemnitie created one of the Princes of the Empire. His forces following after him, were by the way staied, partly by the inundation of waters (the riuers they were to passe ouer at that time rising to an vnwonted height) partly by the iealousie of some of the German Princes, who denied them passage through their territories, vntill such time as that the Emperour by his letters had opened vnto him the way: which Princes for all that stood vpon their guard, and so gaue him passage.

Now ran great rumors of the wonderfull preparations of the Turks, as also of the Christians; Fame after her woonted manner, encreasing the report of all things aboue measure; which caused the Turkes with exceeding care to looke to the fortification of their frontier townes, especially of Rab and Strigonium, as did the Christians to the fortification of Komara and Altenburg. In the meane time many hot skirmishes passed betweene the Christians and the Turkes, especially in the late reuolted countries of Transyluania and Valachia, wherein the Turkes were still put to the worse, to the great discontentment of their Emperour. Neere vnto Temeswar the Bassa of Buda was ouerthrowne, by the valiant captaine *Gestius Ferentz*, and the Transyluanians. And in Valachia the Turks Generall entering with a great armie, was there also by the Lord *Nadasti* and the Valachians, aided with the Transyluanians, in a great battell discomfited and ouerthrowne. Eight thousand of the Turks heads in token of this victorie the Lord *Nadasti* sent to Alba-Iulia to the Transyluanian Prince, and certaine ensignes, amongst which one was most richly garnished with precious stones and pearle, thought to be worth thirtie thousand dollars; which the Prince afterward restored againe to *Nadasti*, offering him great possessions in Transyluania, if he could haue beene content there to haue seated himselfe.

Perat Bassa ouerthrowne in Valachia.

All this Spring the Turks countenanced their warres with greater boasts and threats, than true force; giuing it out, That they would in short time worke wonders both by sea and land. For the more credit wherof, *Murat Rays*, a notable pyrat was sent out with twelue gallies, who landing here and there vpon the coasts of Italie, did some harme, causing it to be reported in euery place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater war, and that a wonderfull fleet was to follow him: which raised a great feare, as well in other places, as in Italie. Howbeit, no such fleet afterwards appeared: for why, the Turkish Emperor, much troubled with the reuolt of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, and the great mortalitie then raging both among his souldiers and their horses, was not at time to looke into the sea, hauing his hands full enough with the troubles of Hungarie, where his men of war enioyed little rest in the frontiers of his territories.

Sigismund the Transyluanian Prince, had vpon some iust causes, of late suspected *Aaron* the Vayuod of Moldauia, to haue intelligence not only with the Polonians, but also with the Cardinall *Bator* and other his mortall enemies, and secretly to haue been about to make his peace with *Mahomet*, and so againe to fall off from him vnto the Turke: which vehement suspition growing daily more and more, was about this time manifestly confirmed by certain letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preuenting whereof, the Prince caused *Aaron* to be apprehended, and with his wife and sonne to be sent as prisoners to Prague: in whose roome he by the consent of the nobilitie of the countrie, placed one *Stephen Rozwan*, a wise and discreet man amongst them, and such an one as had been vnto him alwaies faithfull. So as much as in him was, prouiding, that that countrie should not be rent from him and the vnion of the other. But against the secret practises of the Polonians, he protested openly by letters vnto the Emperour, by the power of God, and aid of his faithfull subiects, to redresse those so great iniuries himselfe by the sword.

Mahomet sendeth Embassadours to the prince of Transyluania.

In the middest of these troubles came three Chiaus, Embassadors from the Turkish Sultan vnto the Prince, to persuade him againe to put himselfe into his protection, and to giue him passage through his countrey, as in former time, into Hungarie; promising him, that all the iniuries by him or his people done, should be for euer forgotten and forgiuen: and that he should haue those three countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, as his owne free inheritance, without paying any tribute, and so to be accounted as the Turks most louing friend and vassall. What the Prince answered thereunto, was not knowne, but by his doings afterward: it was easily to be gathered, that hee hearkened not vnto the deceitfull charmes of the faithlesse

faithlesse tyrant, trusting more vnto the league he had with the Christian Emperour. These Embassadors were scarce gon, but that a secret messenger came with letters from the chiefe of the Christians in Bulgaria to the Prince, declaring vnto him, That if he did with any good successe prosecute his wars, they would be readie to follow his fortune, and to joine hands with him against the cruel tyrant, and to shut vp all the passages that way into Valachia, Moldauia, and Hungarie.

Whilest these troublesome times thus passed in Transyluania and Hungarie, one of the old Ianizaries called *Wasuode Giezi*, an old souldier, but a confident bold spoken fellow, moued as should seeme with the discontentments of the time, came vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan at Constantinople, and there openly set vpon him with this rough and abrupt speech:

How long at last, most mightie Emperour, wilt thou endure thy selfe to be seduced and blinded by the great Bassa's of thy Court, and Commanders of thine Armies? How long wilt thou suffer thy selfe to be deceiued, to the great danger of thy selfe, and hart of thy Subiects? Seest thou not how ouerthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly they, mooued onely with their owne couetous and ambitious humour, haue hitherto deals with thee and thy father? especially in that, that perswaded by them, thou hast dishonourably broken thy league, and taken vp armes against the Christian Emperour. At length open thine eyes and see their deceit, and how much they abuse thy power. Sinan Bassa, who must haue himselfe honoured and exalted aboue all others, hath not by strong hand honourably woon Rab, as hath been the manner of thine Auncestors, but hath craftily bought it with thy money, and thereby cast thee into a most dangerous war and infinite troubles. O Rab, Rab; now the cause of great triumph and reioycing, as if thereby all Christendome should in short time be subdued to thy Scepter. But thou art therein much deceiued; thy barnes, thy store-houses, as are Transyluania, Valachia, Moldauia, Bulgaria, and other Prouinces adioyning, from whence this thy Imperial citie of Constantinople, with the countrey about it, thy Court, yea thy selfe art to be relieued, are by this war shut vp; so that downe the riuer of Danubius out of the West, or by the Euxine out of the East, thou art not able to looke for any prouision. From whence then o most mightie Emperour, wilt thou maintaine thy selfe, thy Court, this populous Citie, and the Countrey hereabout? Not to speake in the mean time of thy mightie Army now in Hungarie, flesh, fish, corne, all manner of victual are now at such a price, that the common souldier cannot buy them. In this extreame dearth of all things, not men onely, but euen the very beasts and cattell starue for hunger. Thy horses go fat perhaps into Hungarie, but neither thou nor thy select soldiers can liue by grasse and weeds, all that is left in that countrey. This miserie and calamitie of thy people thou seest daily, and yet thou wilt not with sound iudgement lift vp thine eyes, to see from whence these harmes come, and how that they by thee put in greatest trust, studie not for thy profit or the profit of the commonweale, but onely how by all meanes to enrich themselues.

The presumptuous speech of one Wasuode an old Ianizary, to Mahomet the great Sultan.

Mahomet much mooued with the confident speech of the old Ianizarie, commanded him to be forthwith committed to ward, and by faire means to be examined, by whose setting on, and for what cause he had so boldly vttered this rude speech vnto his Soueraigne, and what further thing he had intended: but the rest of the Ianizaries hearing thereof, rise presently in a tumult, and by strong hand tooke him out of prison, and by solemne oath combined themselues to defend him, euen to the spending of their owne bloud; whereat *Mahomet* was glad to winke.

The greatest part of the aid promised by the Christian Princes for the maintenance of this yeres wars against the Turke being now come to Vienna in Austria, Countie *Mansfelt* Lieutenant General vnder the Archduke, forthwith called a Councell of the Colonels, captains, and other great commanders of the armie, to consult with them what course to take for the beginning of this great war: as whether they should presently lay siege ro some towne of the Enemies, or else to expect him in the plaine field, and to giue him battell. All things well considered, and that resolued vpon which was thought most expedient, he remoued from Vienna to Altenburg, where he mustered his whole armie; and departing thence, with some few of his followers came to Walkenburg, a village vpon the side of Danubius, where he made choice of a place to incampe his army in: which after he had marked out, hee returned againe with speed to Altenburg, and by open proclamation thorow the Campe gaue straight commandement, That against a certaine houre euery man should be in readinesse to remooue and set forward

The armie of the Christians mustered at Altenburg.

ward toward the enemy: but diuers of the souldiers, and especially the Germans, began forth- G
with after their wonted manner to cry out for their pay before they would stir any farther: so
that the Countie was glad by a second proclamation to command them to rise, promising
them their pay within eight days. But they still standing vpon their former resolution for their
pay, refused [illegible] archer to follow their captaines, and sent six of the best sort among those mu-
tinous soldiers to the Countie, in the name of all the rest to demand their pay; whom he forth-
with commanded to be all hanged: but three of them hauing reasonably excused themselues,
he let them go, and causing the other three to cast lots for their liues, hanged vp two of them.
Which seuere execution so terrified the rest, that vpon the signe giuen they all rise, and with
the rest of the armie followed the Countie. The whole army being come to Walkenburg vnto
the place where they were to encampe; the Countie himself with others of the nobility began H
with spades and shouels to dig and cast vp the trenches; and so wrought vntil they sweat again;
with whose example all the rest of the armie, of what degree soeuer, being moued to labor, had
in short time cast vp a very great trench from Danubius vnto the Marishes, large enough for
80000 men to incampe in, the great worke with restlesse labor going forward both night and
day vntill it was fully finished. The Countie lying thus intrenched with his armie, was still
carefull by his espials to vnderstand where the enemie lay, and what he did. He was ready still
to heare all, but to beleeue that which seemed most like to be true: what he purposed, he kept
most secret, so that the enemy could neuer discouer any of his designes (wherein the Generals
of late yeres before him had much erred:) and commonly his most certaine resolutions were
shadowed vnder the open shew of some other matter nothing meant: securitie he much abhor-
red, as neuer free from danger: and although it was by diuers messengers brought vnto him, I
That the enemy was but of small strength, vnable to meet him, disorderly incamped, and in
great distresse for want of victuals; yet would he giue little credit thereunto, as knowing such
reports to haue oftentimes bin giuen out by the Turks, of purpose to lul the Christians in se-
curitie, the more easily to oppresse them. The Christian armie thus strongly entrenched, and
the trenches planted with great ordnance, the Countie himselfe with certain troupes of horse-
men would oftentimes shew himselfe before Rab, and sometime before Doris, viewing some-
time the one place, and sometime the other, as if he had verily purposed to haue besieged one
of them: and to giue the greater shew that he had so determined, he caused the ground to be
marked out for his armie most conueniently to incamp, and for the casting vp of his mounts. K
Which caused the Turks of Strigonium, Vesprinium, Iauarin, Comara, Agriotta, and other places farther off, to
send part as well of their warlike prouision, as of their garrison souldiers, some to Rab, some to
Doris, for the defence of those places, neere vnto the which they thought vnto danger. The Countie in
the meane time hauing now put all things in readinesse, came with his army and sat downe be-
fore Doris, demanding to haue it yeelded vnto him. And the more to confirme the Turks that
he would assuredly besiege that place, he began to cast vp his trenches, and to raise his mounts
as seemed most conuenient; straitly commanding euery man of what condition soeuer, to put
his hand in some measure to the furtherance of those works: and the more by his own example
to encourage others, would oftentimes himself carry a faggot or some other thing before him
vpon his horse for the raising of the mount. For all that, certaine Hungarian gentlemen disdai- L
ning such base labor (as they deemed it) refused to do any thing therein: which the Countie
perceiuing, straitly charged one of them by his example, to carry a fagot to the mount: which
the Hungarian gentleman refusing, the Countie therewith much mooued, laid the fagot he was
carrying himselfe, before the Hungarian vpon his horse, charging him to see that he caried it to
the appointed place: the Hungarian disdainfully taking it, carried it vntill he thought he was
out of the Counties sight, and then in scorne threw it down: which the Countie (hauing still an
eye after him) perceiuing, commanded him to be taken, and all armed as he rid to be presently
hanged vpon the next tree for his obstinacie. Which wholsome seueritie, both then and after-
wards caused others more diligently to do what they were commanded by their superiours.
It happened about this time, that three Turkes being taken prisoners, were brought into the M
camp: whom the Countie straitly examined of many matters. But the first of the three could
neither by faire or foule means be induced to answer to any thing that he was asked; and was
therefore by the commaundement of the Countie in the sight of the other two cut into small
pieces. Who terrified with his dismembring, confessed many things wherof they were asked:
and

The vigilant carefulnes of Countie Mansfeld.

Both besieged by the Christians.

An obstinate Turke.

A and among others, That the Turkish Sultan had determined to turne his greatest forces into Transyluania, Moldauia, and the vpper part of Hungarie; and therefore would this Sommer send small forces or els none at all into those quarters.

Now was Dotis so belayd by the Countie, as that no man doubted but that he had thereon purposed to haue gaged his whole forces, when suddenly the last of Iune, commandment was giuen through the campe, That euery man vpon signe giuen, should be in readinesse to follow his leaders, for that the Countie had determined forthwith to remoue: yet whither the army was to be remoued, few or none knew, more than certaine of the chiefe commanders. As for to go to Strigonium, few there were that so much as dreamed thereof, all was kept so secret: yet was it the Counties purpose euen from the beginning to attempt the winning of that city; which the Archduke had in vaine the last yere besieged. The next night being both darke and foule, the Countie rise with all his army, and the next day being the first of Iuly, came to Strigonium, they of the citie not hearing of his comming before they saw him vnder their walls. Wherefore the Turks in the suburbs called the Rascian city, and they in the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill, despairing of the keeping of those places, setting fire on the houses, and defacing the fort so much as in that sudden feare they possibly could, fled into the lower towne. The next day the Countie without resistance tooke the foresaid places forsaken by the Turks, which he manned with certaine companies of Wallons, and made a bridge of boats ouer Danubius, cast vp certaine mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the siege. In three dayes he had againe repaired the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill abandoned by the Turks, and therein placed foure great pieces of artillerie, wherewith he began to batter the lower towne, & in other C places to strait the besieged more than they had bin the yere before. The Bassa of Buda not ignorant of the want both of men and munition in the besieged city, (and the rather, for that they had but a little before sent part of their garrison with shot & pouder to Rab and Dotis) attempted thrice (as he did many times after during the time of the siege) to haue by the riuer put new supplies both of men and munition into the citie: but was still by the diligence of the Christians excluded, and enforced with losse to returne. In short time the lower towne, which they call Wasserstat, or the Water-towne, was with continual battery sore beaten, so that scarcely any house or building was left whole; and a counterscarse made the last yeare, beaten downe. Whereunto certaine Wallons were sent, onely to haue viewed the bredth and manner of the D ditches: after whom certaine companies of the Hungarian Heidons presently followed, without any command of their captaines; who with great courage got to the top of another high counterscarfe, & there set vp some of their ensignes. Which the Turks beholding, & comming on close together, by plain force enforced them with losse to retire. Among these Hungarians were diuers also of the Wallons slaine, with some others of good name and place, to the great griefe of the County, being not a little offended with that disordered seruice: yet day & night the battery ceased not, and the Christians out of their trenches with their musket shot slew many of the Turks vpon the walls, receiuing little hurt againe, the Turks still shooting sparingly, for feare of wanting shot and pouder at their greater need; yet that they spent they bestowed so well, that amongst others they had slaine foure of the Christian canoniers, and one Wallon E captaine. About the midst of Iuly the Countie with continual batterie had made the Water-towne (as he thought) faultable: and therefore sent certain companies to begin the assault: who hauing passed the counterscarfe, found the ditch full of deepe mud, and but newly cut broader certain paces by the Turks, so that it was thought scarce possible to be passed without a bridge; behind which ditch was an high wal with strong bulwarks, and within all this was another new cast ditch, and vpon the very brinke thereof a thicke and high parapet: all which for all that, certaine companies of Wallons with great labor and danger aduentured to passe: but such was the valour of the defendants, and the small number of them that came on to the assault, with the disaduantage of the place wherein they stood, that at length they were glad to retire with the losse of many of their fellowes. The Christians in the beginning of this siege had taken a little F Island in the riuer before the city, which was kept with some few companies of the Lord Pals his Heidons, whereof the Turks hauing intelligence at Buda, with three gallies and certaine other vessels, landed in the Island 3000 soldiers, which slew the Heidons, vnto whom no succor could be suddenly sent, and so recouered againe the Island: wherein they left a sufficient garrison for the keeping thereof, furnished with all things necessarie, and so departed.

Countie Mansfeld remoueth with the armie from Dotis to Strigonium.

The Christians repulsed.

About

About three dayes after the former assault, the Christians in hope of better successe, the G
second time assaulted the Water-towne, in which assault the chief leaders were the lord *Grein*
and *Anthonie Zinne* a famous captaine, had he not stained his honour with Countie *Hardeck* at
Rab; but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now together with the rest appointed to that
seruice, most courageously assault the breach, but were againe by the Turks notably repulsed,
and enforced at last to giue ouer the assault, and so to retyre with the losse of 150 men: among
whom *Zinne* himselfe was slaine, with one Captaine *Ruger*, and some of the Counties owne
Guard: the Lord *Grein* was wounded in the head, and the younger Lord *Schuendi* with diuers
other Captaines grieuously hurt. The next day after, 600 of the mountaine people came into
the campe vnto the Countie, with supplications to request him, Not to giue ouer the siege vn-
till he had woon the Citie; promising him in the name of those Townes and Villages from H
whence they were sent, Of their own charges to repaire for him what harme soeuer he should
do in the Citie for the taking thereof, yea though he should lay it euen with the ground: for
why, the harmes they dayly receiued from the garrison of that Citie were wonderfull.

Strigonium very full of Strigonians.

At the same time also he was aduertised by his espials (of whom he maintained many for the
discouerie of the enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the Turkish Sultan had writ vnto the Bassa of
Buda, carefully to prouide that his beloued citie of Strigonium tooke no harme, and not to
spare either for men or money in time to relieue it: and therein to do nothing without the ad-
uice and good liking of his old and faithfull seruant *Alis Beg*, who of long time had gouerned
and also defended that citie: and to the intent that nothing should be wanting for the perfor-
mance hereof, that he had sent *Alexander* Aga of the Ianizaries from the Court (whose seruice
he might euill haue spared) whose approued counsel and helpe he might also vse in all things: I
for that he had rather lose some other whole kingdome, than that one citie: And that there-
fore he should beware that it were not by the enemie woon, or by any composition yeelded:
wherein if he failed, he threatened vnto him his heauie displeasure, not to be appeased with-
out the price of his head. Which so seuere a commandement of the great Sultans the Bassa sent
to them of Strigonium; with most grieuous threats from himselfe, if they, terrified with any
batterie, vndermining, or assault, should yeeld the citie, & not hold it out as became valiant sol-
diers vnto the last man; swearing to impale them alliue on stakes that should consent to the yeel-
ding vp thereof. The old gouernor *Alis Beg* hauing receiued this so straite a command from him
that was both able and like ynough to performe what he had threatened; vtterly to deter the K
souldiers from once thinking of yeelding, caused diligent enquirie to be made throughout the
garison, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yeelding vp the citie, or otherwise
murmured against their captaines or commanders appointing them to any seruice: and such as
he found to haue so done, he to the terror of others caused to be presently executed: and after
that went downe himselfe into the lower towne, to see that nothing were there wanting or
amisse, where most danger was. But when he would haue again returned into the vpper town,
he was stayed by the Ianizaries, who told him, That seeing he was of so valiant and couragi-
ous a mind, and their gouernor, he should there stay with them, and take such part as they did,
were it better or worse: and so would he, or would he not, there needs stay he must.

Now the Bassa's of Buda and Temeswar, with diuers Sanzackes as well of those parts of L
Hungary which the Turks possessed, as other places, were assembling their forces for the relief
of the besieged in Strigonium: wherof the Transyluanian prince hearing, made shew as if he
would forthwith haue besieged Temeswar, so that the Bassa thereof leauing the intended ex-
pedition for Strigonium, was glad to returne for the defence of his owne charge. They also
of Stiria, Carinthia, and Croatia, with the troupes of Countie *Serinus* had so stopped all the
passages, that twelue thousand Turks which were comming from Zigeth and the places there-
about, could by no meanes come to ioine themselues with their fellowes for the relieue of the
distressed citie.

The higher city of Strigonium battered by the Christians.

The Countie leauing nothing vnattempted or vndone that might help for the gaining of Stri-
gonium, had made a notable fort vpon S. *Thomas* hill, and therein placed fiue great culuerins: M
wherewith he furiously battered the higher city, and did therein great harme: and thereby al-
so brought to passe that no man could go vp or downe the hill betwixt the vpper towne and
the lower; but he was in danger to be fet off with those pieces, or the musketiers, who defen-
ded by those great pieces, lay vpon the side of the hill in caues and bushes, awaiting for such as
should

A should go vp or downe betwixt the two townes. Thus the Christians at one time battered
the vpper towne, the lower towne, and the strong towne and fort of Gokara, standing on the
farther side of Danubius ouer against Strigonium, besieged by the lord *Palfi*. But of all these
places, Gokara was with the furie of the great ordnance most shaken: which the County per-
ceiuing, caused the batterie to be encreased, and so continued, vntill he had beaten downe the
counterscarfe, and made certaine faire breaches in the wall. Whereunto the Moraians (vnto
whose lot it fell) the one and twentieth of Iuly gaue an assault in fiue diuers places, whom the
Lord *Palfi* seconded with his Hungarians, of whom certaine were of purpose appointed, be-
side their armes, to bring things with them for the firing of the towne; which they in the time
of the assault found means so well to bestow, that in a while the towne was all on a light fire. *Gokara taken by the Christians.*
B The Turks at first made notable resistance, but finding themselues ouerpressed, and seeing the
towne now on a fire about their eares, which with the wind so encreased, that it caught hold
of the lower towne on the other side of the riuer; they retired to the riuer side, where some
of them by boats got ouer to Strigonium, other some perished in the riuer, the rest falling into
the hands of the Christians, were by them all put to the sword. Gokara thus taken, and the
fire quenched, the Christians repairing the breaches, and storing it with all warlike prouision,
left in it a strong garison. Within a night or two after, were two hundred of the Turks horse-
men descried in a field fast by, which caused an alarme to be raised in the campe, as if the
whole armie of the Turks had been at hand: howbeit those horsemen retiring, and no other
appearing, it was afterwards knowne, that they were only scouts sent out by the Turks to take
C view of the armie of the Christians, in what sort they lay incamped.

The latter end of this moneth it fortuned, that a young country fellow secretly sent out of
the citie by the gouernor, and falling into the hands of *Palfi*, was by him sent to the Countie;
by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, from whence he came, whither he was going,
and whereabouts? Whereunto the youth frankly answered, That he was sent from the gouer-
nor with letters to the Bassa of Buda; which he presently drew out of his bosome, and deliue-
red them vnto the Countie: who after he had read them, caused them to be closed vp againe,
and so deliuered to the yong man, with some few crownes, commanding him to carrie them to
the Bassa, as he was about, and in his returne to bring him the Bassa's answer, promising for his
D so doing to reward him bountifully: which the yong man vndertooke to do, and so departed.
Now the purport of the gouernours letters was, That if the Bassa did not within six or seuen
days send him aid and relieue him, he should for want of victuals & other things necessary for
the holding out of the siege, be inforced either to abandon the city, or to yeeld it vp into the
enemies hands. Wherunto the Bassa returned answer by the aforesaid messenger, that he would
within the appointed time be with him, willing him in the meane time to be mindefull of his
wonted valor, and not to be with any thing discouraged: appointing him the day, the houre,
the way, the meane, with all the other circumstances how he would relieue him. Which letters
the yong man according to his promise deliuered vnto the Countie: who thereupon prouided
accordingly for the welcomming of the Bassa. Within a day after also, one of the Turks cano-
niers considering the danger the city lay in, and fearing that it would be lost, fled out of it into
the campe: who besides that he aptly declared the state of the city, and the wants the besieged
E were in, did also afterwards good seruice during the time of the siege. The Turks had in this
while many times sallied out to their great losse: yet now vpon hope of better successe, they
aduentured the nine and twentieth of this moneth to sally out againe, but with like fortune as
before, leauing fourscore of their men behinde them, hauing slaine but fiue of the Christians.

Now had the Turks in great wants by the space of a moneth right worthily defended Stri-
gonium, expecting still for relefe. At length newes was brought into the campe, That the Bassa
of Buda with 20000 men was comming to raise the siege: who the second of August came ac-
cordingly, and with his armie encamped within foure miles of the Christians: lying so nigh,
that certaine of the Turks horsemen seeking after bootie, came very neere vnto the campe of
the Christians, and out of the pastures, euen vnder their noses, carried away some few horses:
against these desperat aduenturers, certaine troups of the Hungarian and German horsemen is-
F suing out, had with them an hot skirmish: but the Turkes of purpose retiring as men ouer-
charged, and the Christians still following on, had at length drawne them vnto the place
where diuers other troupes of the Turks lay in ambush for them, who now starting forth, on
euery

A skirmish betwixt the Turks & the Christians.

euery side hardly charged them. The Hungarian light horsemen well acquainted with such skirmishes, seeing the danger, presently fled and left the Germanes to themselues: who for a while valiantly encountered their enemies, but oppressed with multitude, were glad at last to flie also. In this skirmish of the Christians were lost and grieuously wounded about 100. The Turks encouraged with this so prosperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their armie, being b[illegible] resolued, by plaine force to open themselues a way into the citie, and so to relieue the besieged. Of all these things was not the Countie ignorant, as thereof forewarned by the Bassa's letters before deliuered vnto him; and had therefore with his armie strongly belted all the wayes vnto the citie. Neuertheless the enemie came still on between the hils *S. Thomas* and S. *George*, and neere vnto the suburbs called the Rascian citie, put themselues in order of battell, as did also the Christians, giuing the enemie leaue to come euen to their trenches. In the mean time the Lord *Palfi* with his Hungarian horsemen fetching a compasse about the hill on the one side, and the lord *Swartzenburg* with his horsemen on the other, had so inclosed the Turks behind, as that they could not without great danger retire. Both armies orderly ranged, and the signal of battell giuen, the Turks hauing before without any great harme done discharged 17 field pieces, came on after their wonted manner with a most hideous cry, and at the first onset, with their Turkish arrowes, as with a thick shoure darkned the skie: when on the other side the German and Wallon horsmen with their petronels sent their deadly shot as thicke as haile amongst them againe; and the men at armes after them taught the Turks to their cost, how vnfit their light and halfe naked horsemen were in a set battell to meet with them so wel appointed: in a trice, but not without great slaughter, the battel was brought to the sword, and to be tried by true valour: There was to be heard a cry heauens high, the thundering of artillerie both great and smal, the clattering armor, the glistering weapons, the neighing of the horses, the crying of the wounded, the heauie groanings of the dying, with the noise of the trumpets, drums, and other warlike instruments, made deaf the eares of the hearers, presenting vnto them nothing but horror and euen present death. It was a most miserable sight to see so many men in so short time slaine: for the b[illegible] scarce endured halfe an houre, when many thousands of the Turks lay dead vpon the ground, and the rest seeing the victory incline to the Christians, betooke themselues to flight, leauing behind them their great ordnance and whatsoeuer els they brought for the reliefe of the besieged: whom so flying, the lords *Palfi* & *Swartzenburg* (who had before taken the straits where by they were to passe between the mountains) so receiued with their fresh horsmen, that of them that came that way few escaped. The Bassa himselfe, who stood vpon the hil, seeing the discomfiture of his men, fled also himselfe: the Bassa of Natolia with about 200 of the Turks moe by good fortune got into Strigonium. The number of the Turks slain in this battel was great, and is of diuers diuersly reported, some saying that there were slain 14000, and some fewer. Besides them that were slaine, many were also taken, and some of them men of great name and place. There was also taken 27 ensignes, with a multitude of camels, asses, and mules, laded with mony, shot, pouder, and other necessarie prouision: all which, brought thither for the relief of the besieged, became a prey vnto the Christians. In the heat of this battel they of the city sallying out, had entred a fort of the Christians vpon the riuer side, but were againe presently driuen out, and with losse enforced to retire. After this victorie the Countie sent certaine companies of the Hungarian and Germane horsemen with 500 waggons to the enemies campe not far off in the mountaines: who comming thither found it vtterly forsaken by the enemie, but wel stored with all manner of necessarie prouision, which they carried all away, together with 600 tents, many whereof were lined with damaske, satin, and other silke, richly embroidered or layed with gold lace or gold twist. The Bassa's rich Tent taken by the Colonell of the horsemen, was afterwards by him giuen vnto the Countie, as was also the plate and money there found, all which he diuided among the souldiers according to their deserts. In the Turks campe were also found certaine heads of the Christians, with the dead bodie of the Lord *Brandenstein*, slaine in the conflict but the day before, which the Christians carried away with them into the camp, and there honorably buried them. Those that remained of the Turks army hid themselues in the mountains and woods, and so holpen by the darkenesse of the ni[illegible] made best shift for themselues that they could. The Bassa himselfe accompanied but with twentie horse came to Buda about midnight, and by his comming filled the Citie with great heauinesse, euerie man lamenting his

A cruell battell betwixt the Christians & the Turkes before Strigonium.

The Turkes ouerthrown.

his lost friends. The Hungarian Heidons best acquainted with the countrie, pricking vp and down the mountains and by-waies, for certain dayes after the battell, brought in daily into the camp such prisoners as they tooke, or els the heads of such Turks as they slew. Of this so notable a victory, the Countie by a speedy messenger certified the Archduke at Vienna, who rewarded him for his good news with a chaine worth fiue hundred duckats: and presently caused the song of thankesgiuing to be sung in the church of the Augustine Friers, and afterward in all the churches of the citie. The Countie also to gratifie the Emperor, sent him by the lord *Chalon* his nephew, vnto Prague, two of the chiefe prisoners taken in the late battel, with foure horsemens Guidons cunningly made of horse haires, such as are commonly carried before the greatest commanders of the Turks armies, and foureteene other ensignes of the Turkes, with foureteene most goodly horses of the Turks, for a Present.

The next day after this battell, the Countie sent the Lord *Palfi* with an interpretor vnto the citie, to demand it to be yeelded: who hauing audience, declared vnto the Turks in what danger they were, that the helpe they looked for was now quite ouerthrowne, new reliefe could not but in long time be sent vnto them; and that therefore it should be good for them, whilest yet they might, to be well aduised, and betime to bethinke themselues of yeelding vp the citie, lest haply when they would, it then would not be accepted: promising to intreat with the Generall, that they might in safetie depart, and with sure conuoy be brought vnto such place of safetie as were conuenient. Whereunto the besieged Turks answered, That the Christians had now fiue weekes lien at the siege, and must yet lie three weeks longer: and that whereas of late some few of their friends came to haue relieued them, & had failed therein; there was yet an hundred thousand moe to come after them, who if they should not be able to perform that they came for, yet that they would not for that deliuer or forsake the citie, before they were readie to be drawne out of it by the heeles, and that yet they would then take three daies to resolue thereupon.

Now had the Christians with long and continuall batterie sore beaten both the vpper and the lower towne, which batterie they now maintained with greater fury than at any time from the beginning of the siege, and within the city their wants encreased daily, hauing nothing left to liue vpon but a little wheat and barly, with some horse flesh: vnto whom thus distressed, the lord *Palfi* by the commandement of the Countie (to trie what confidence they yet had in themselues) the ninth of August, sent two Gentlemen to the citie, to do a message from him to the Gouernour. Who aduertised thereof, being a very aged and courteous man, accompanied with the Aga of the Ianizaries, came to the wals to heare what they had to say; where one of the said gentlemen in few words deliuered him this short message.

The message sent by the lord Palfi to the Gouernor of Strigonium.

My most gracious Lord the Lord Palfi, *most worthie Gouernour greeteth thee well, and knowing thee to bee a Captaine both valiant and wise, and one that hath alwayes courteously vsed such as haue fallen into thine hands, hath compassion of thy desperate obstinacie: and therefore, whereas thou art to looke or hope for nothing else but present death and destruction, hee as thy neighbour and a louer of thy vertues, aduiseth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt saue thy selfe and thine from most vndoubted and imminent death and vtter confusion, without delay to deliuer vp this citie, which thou canst not longer hold.*

The resolute answer of the old Gouernour, to the message sent him by Palfi.

Vnto whom the old Gouernour thus without stay courteously answered:

Thy speech my friend, and thy masters aduice are vnto me both vain. Tell the Lord Palfi *in my name, that I cannot pleasure him with the least stone in this citie. One foot I haue already in the grave, and wil with honour carrie these my gray haires into the same: and am yet comforted with a most certaine and vndoubted hope, that my most dread and mightie Soueraigne, and my Lord* Sinan Bassa *will not forsake mee: yea and that if they should write vnto mee, that they could finde no meanes or way to relieue me (which I am sure they can) yet would I well and at leisure consider, whither it were fit for me to deliuer vp this Citie or not; seeing that of the defence thereof, dependeth all mine honour and credit. Besides that what reward they haue on both sides, that so easily deliuer ouer the cities they haue in charge, all the world doth see.*

With this answer he sent them away. All this while the Aga of the Ianizaries standing by, spoke not one word, but sighing in silence and grinding his teeth, declared by his countenance his indignation and inward griefe.

In the mid way betweene Buda and Strigonium, in the middest of the riuer of Danubius lieth

lieth a little Iſland called Vizze, wherein many rich clothiers dwelt: this Iſland the Hungarian Heidons ſpoiled, and in returning thence, met with 24 wagons laded with corne, going to Buda, which they tooke, with eight and twentie priſoners which they brought into the camp. G

The lower towne taken by the Chriſtians.

The lower towne being with long and continuall batterie made faultable, was by the Chriſtians the thirteenth of Auguſt, in three diuers places at once aſſaulted. The Bauarians were by lot to giue the firſt charge, who in the performing thereof, beginning to faint (for that they were notably repulſed by the Turkes) but ſeconded by them of Reitnaw and Sueuia, pluckt downe a great paliſado, filled the ditches, remoued whatſoeuer ſtood in their way, and ſo long fought with the Turks in the breaches, that by the comming in of the Marqueſſe of Burgawe with ſix enſignes of freſh men, they preuailed vpon the enemie, and ſo altogether brake in the towne. In the midſt of this dangerous fight was the Marqueſſe himſelfe, who both with his H preſence and cheerefull ſpeech ſo encouraged his ſouldiers, that they as men fearing no perill, ran headlong into all danger vntill they had entred the towne: there might a man haue heard a moſt miſerable crie, eſpecially of women and children throughout the citie; when as the Chriſtians breaking in on euery ſide, ſlew whoſoeuer came in their way, without reſpect of age or ſex, ſparing neither woman great with child, neither the little children hanging at their mothers breaſts. Yet did not all that were entred, ſo much attend the preſent execution, as ſome of them did the ſpoile and prey; and eſpecially the Hungarians, vnto whom all was good booty, euen the very hinges of the doores and windowes: whereby many eſcaped into the caſtle and vpper towne with the Baſſa and *Alis-Beg* the old Gouernour. The Chriſtians had not many houres poſſeſſed the towne, but that diuers fires began to breake out in diuers places, but I by what meanes was not at the firſt knowne. At laſt it was found out, that the Turks doubting the loſſe of the Towne, had before where they thought beſt left gunpouder, which taking fire by matches left burning for that purpoſe, ſhould at a certaine time ſet all on fire: by which meanes many moſt horrible fires were raiſed in the town, which conſumed many goodly buildings, and other things which might haue ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead, and could hardly be in a day or two quenched.

Earle Mansfild died at Komara.

This ſo ioyfull a victorie ſaw not he, by whoſe good direction next vnder God it was gained, the worthie Countie: for hee a few daies before being fallen ſicke of a feauer, taken by drinking too much could drinke in his heat, with immoderat pains taking in the late battell, & ſo afterwards falling into a great flix with a feauer, was by the counſel of his phyſitians (for the K better recouering of his health) remoued to Komara, as a place of more quietneſſe: hauing before his departure ſent for the Archduke Matthie into the camp, and for *Blankemier* into Bauaria to ſupplie his owne roome. But his diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, became at laſt deſperat, ſo that the phyſitians themſelues now diſpaired of his health. Yet lying thus drawing towards his end, he almoſt euery houre inquired how the armie did, and whither the citie were yet taken, or what hope there was of the taking therof. But when it was told him a little before his death that the lower towne was woon, he thereat greatly reioiced, and the next day being the fourteenth of Auguſt, towards night quietly departed this world, to the great loſſe of the Chriſtian commonweale, and the exceeding griefe of the whole armie. A man euen from his childehood brought vp in armes, of ſtature great, but of courage greater, and painful aboue meaſure, L not the leaſt cauſe of his vntimely death. All the time of this ſiege he took little reſt either by day or night, ſcarce ſo much as to lie downe vpon his bed in two or three nights together. The little meat he did eat, he moſt part eat it ſtanding or walking, yea & ſomtimes on horſbacke: he was a moſt ſeuere obſeruer of martiall diſcipline, which cauſed him to be of his ſoldiers both beloued and feared. His bowels were with due ſolemnitie buried at Komara where he died, but his bodie was brought backe againe to Luxenburg, there to be honourably enterred with his anceſtors.

About which time *Theodore* the great Duke of Muſcouia, hearing of the wars betwixt the Emperor & the Turke, ſent two Embaſſadors with letters and Preſents to the Emperor: which Embaſſadors comming to Prague the ſixteenth of Auguſt, accompanied with two hundred M and fiftie horſe, were by the Emperours appointment, honourably receiued and entertained. And afterward hauing audience, firſt deliuered the letters of credence from the great Duke, reported to haue beene of this purport.

Tour

The copy of the great dukes letters vnto the Emperour.

A *Your Maieſtie hath ſent vnto vs your Embaſſadour* Nicholas Warkouſie, *requeſting our brotherly aid againſt the hereditarie enemie of all Chriſtianitie, the Turkiſh Sultan. Wherefore we alſo deſiring to liue with you our deere and welbeloued brother in all perpetuall amitie and friendſhip, ſend vnto you by our faithfull counſellor and ſeruant* Michael Iwanowitze, *and* Iohn Sohnie, *aid out of our treaſurie againſt the ſaid enemie: vnto whome we haue alſo giuen other things in charge to be propounded to your Maieſtie, requeſting you to giue vnto them in all things full credit. Giuen in the great Court of our power at Muſco, in the yeare of the world 7103, and from the nativitie of Chriſt 1595, in the moneth of April.*

What things in particular theſe Embaſſadors were ſent for, was not commonly knowne, but among others it is ſaid, That the Muſcouite requeſted the Emperor to ſend an embaſſador vnto the Perſian king, to draw him alſo into the league with them againſt the Turke: which Embaſſadour ſhould firſt come into Muſcouia, and that way to paſſe into Perſia. The Preſents which the great Duke ſent vnto the Emperor, were, an hundred and fiftie thouſand Florens of gold, great ſtore of moſt rich furs, and precious perfumes, deemed to be of exceeding value, two white Faulcons, and three Leopards aliue. And *Iwanowitze* the Embaſſador himſelfe, preſented vnto the Emperour of himſelfe, certaine rich Turkie, Perſian, and Babylonian hangings and carpets, certain timbers of Sables, with other rich furs no leſſe precious than Sables, ſo many as eight porters could hardly carrie. Theſe Embaſſadors tarried at Prague vntill the ſeuen and twentieth day of December, and then taking their leaue, returned with the Emperours anſwer to the Duke.

Alis-Beg the old Gouernor of Strigonium ſlaine with a great ſhot.

C But to returne againe vnto Strigonium. The Chriſtians now poſſeſſed of the lower towne, bent their whole batterie vpon the higher towne, where it fortuned the fourteenth of Auguſt that the old Gouernour *Alis-Beg*, whileſt he was carefully walking from place to place to ſee where moſt danger was, had his arm ſtruck off with a great ſhot, of which hurthe preſently died. He was a man of great grauitie, about the age of fourteſcore yeres, & had of long time notably both gouerned and defended that famous citie, the loſſe whereof was like enough to haue been vnto him greater griefe than was the loſſe of his life there. Much about the ſame time alſo died the Aga of the Ianizaries, being before mortally wounded. Both the chiefe commanders thus ſlaine, the Ianizaries with the other ſouldiers and citiſens made choice of the Baſſa D of Natolia (who as is aforeſaid eſcaped out of the late battell into the citie) for their Gouernor) who with heauie cheere tooke vpon him that forlorne charge. The Chriſtians not ignorant of the death of theſe two worthy men, in whoſe great and approued valor they ſuppoſed the chiefe defence of the citie to haue reſted, were in good hope that now the reſt would the more readily hearken to ſome good compoſition, and therefore ſent a meſſenger to demand if they would yet whileſt there were ſome mercie left, yeeld the citie. Who though they had loſt their chiefe Commanders with the greateſt part of the garriſon, and were in great wants both of victuals and all things elſe neceſſarie for their defence; yet their anſwere was in few words, That they would hold it out euen to the laſt man. The greateſt cauſe of which their obſtinat reſolution, was the ſtrait charge the Baſſa of Buda had giuen them for the defence thereof: beſides that, they accounted their city holy, as won by their magnificent Emperor *Solyman*, whom the Turks generally yet haue in a deuout remembrance, and therfore thought it a great E impietie to deliuer it vp vnto the Chriſtians. The next day after came *Matthias* the Archduke into the campe; who after he had well viewed the whole armie and the manner of the ſiege, he called together into his tent the chiefe commanders, namely the Marqueſſe of Burgaw his couſin, *Iohn de Medices* the Florentine, and the Lord *Palfi* the Hungarian; to conſult with them, what were further to be done for the winning of the citie. Shortly after, he commanded the citie to be at once in two places aſſaulted, which was by the Wallons and Germanes couragiouſly performed: but ſuch was the valour of the defendants, that when the Chriſtians had done what they could, they were glad at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault, and with loſſe to retire.

F About this time came the Duke of Mantua, with the three Counties his brethren to the ſiege, and now the Turks began againe to draw together neere vnto Buda, there to make head for the reliefe of Strigonium, and to be reuenged of the loſſe they had there before receiued. Whereof the Archduke hauing intelligence, ſent out againſt them eight thouſand choſen ſouldiers out of the campe, who ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Turks in their campe, before the riſing of the Sunne made a great ſlaughter amongſt them, and tooke certaine priſoners, of whome the

Sanzacke

Sanzacke of Copan was one: and so with victorie returned to the siege.

The beliegued Turks in Strigonium vnderstanding of this ouerthrow of their friends, from whom they expected most speedie reliefe; and beside the terror of the continuall batterie and still feared assaults, pinched also with extreme wants of all things; began now to faint. Wherefore the Bassa with the other captains, ouercome with the aforesaid difficulties, and the generall outerie of the fearful people, resolued with one consent to come now to parley, and vpon reasonable conditions to yeeld vp the citie: whereupon a flag of truce was set vp, and parley craued. Which granted, the Archduke after the going downe of the Sun came into the lower town, where nine of the Turks attended his comming: who entring into parley, required that they might vnder safe conuoy with bag and baggage depart, & so leaue him the citie: which the Archduke would not by any means agree vnto. At length with much intreatie, they obtained that they might vpon the same conditions depart, that the Christians did at Rab; with their scimitars by their sides, & so much of their goods as they could carrie vpon their backs, vnto such ships as were to be appointed for the cariage of them to Buda. For the performance whereof, hostages were on both sides giuen: and so the next day (being the 2 of September) they began to come out of the citie, moe in number than either the prisones taken in the time of the siege had confessed, or the Christians had thought. Thirty ships were appointed for the conueying of them down the riuer to Buda, which not sufficing, many of them tarried in the city vntill the next day, at which time the Bassa with the sicke and wounded sailed to Buda, the prisoners and pledges on both sides being before faithfully deliuered. Thus by the goodnesse of God and the good conduct of a few valiant Christians, was Strigonium the Metropolitical citie of Hungarie, after it had 52 yeares groaned vnder the miserable yoke of the Turkish seruitude, againe restored vnto the Christian commonweale: which the Christians forthwith repaired and new fortified, as was thought best for the defence thereof against the enemie. All which being done, about the midst of this month the Archduke sent eighteen thousand to besiege Vicegrade, otherwise called Plindenburg, a strong castle of the Turks vpon the riuer betweene Strigonium and Buda; which castle they tooke. Which when they of Buda vnderstood, they were strucken with such a feare, that many of the better sort were readie to forsake the citie; insomuch, that the Bassa to stay their flight, was glad to command the gates of the citie to be shut vpon them, and no man suffered to passe out. This good successe of the Christians in these warres, caused great reioicing to be made in most parts of Christendome.

Strigonium yeelded vnto the Christians.

The castle of Vicegrade taken by the Christians.

All this while the Christians were thus busied at the siege of Strigonium, the Transyluanian Prince was not idle, but in diuers places did the Turks exceeding much harm; so that now his name began to be dreadful vnto the. It is reported that the same day that the county *Mansfelt* departed at Komara, that the Prince at Alba-Iulia with great solemnitie married *Maria Christina*, the daughter of the late Archduke *Charles* the sonne of the Emperor *Ferdinand*; her other sister *Anna* being before married vnto *Sigismund*, now King of Polonia: for so it was agreed for the more assurance of the league betweene the Emperor and him, that he should take his wife out of the house of Austria, which he now did. Of this solemnitie the Turks (his euill neighbours) hauing intelligence, assembling to the number of 30000 or more, thought as vnwelcome guests to haue come vnbidden or vnlooked for thereunto: but the vigilant Prince vnderstanding of their comming, prouided for their entertainment accordingly, and setting his pleasures for a while apart, and comming vpon them when they least looked for him, in a great battell ouerthrew them, and slew most part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant victor, the whole spoile of his enemies.

About the same time the Transyluanians also besieged Fagiat a town holden by the Turks not far from Temeswar, where after they had lien twelue daies, they of the towne dispairing to be able long to hold out, came to parley, and couenanting to depart with bag and baggage, began to goe out of the towne. But in their departure, vnderstanding that the Bassa of Temeswar with the Sanzacks of Lippa and Ienne were comming to their reliefe, they that were yet in the towne began to finde delaies, and they that were alreadie gone out began to returne. Wherewith the Transyluanians much moued, by plaine force entered the towne, & put them all to the sword: and afterward turning vpon the Bassa, who with ten thousand Turks and certaine field pieces was comming to haue relieued the towne, had with them a cruell battell; wherin most part of the Turks fell with smal losse of the Transyluanians: who so eagerly pursued

A sued the victorie; that the Bassa himselfe had much adoe with fiue hundred others to escape. The two Sanzackes, with diuers others of good place, were taken and sent prisoners to the Prince. Not long after, about the latter end of August, the Transyluanians also besieged Lippa, a famous citie of Hungarie, standing vpon the riuer Maracz, not far from Temeswar, which the Turkes being not able longer to hold, fled into the castle: where finding themselues in no great safetie, after three daies siege they came to parle, and so yeelded, vpon condition that they might in safety depart with so much of their goods as they could themselues carrie. About which time also the Bassa of Bosna with ten thousand Turkes and Tartars went forth to haue againe recouered Babotsca, a frontier towne, before taken by the Christians; which the Stirians and the rest of the Christians dwelling thereabouts, betweene the two riuers of Sauus and Drauus, vnderstanding, conducted by the Lords *Herbenstein*, *Leucowitz*, and *Eckenberg*; that had the charge of those frontiers, ouertooke the said Turks and Tartars neere vnto Babotsca, fought with them, and in the plaine field ouerthrew them.

Lippa taken by the Transyluanians.

B

Mahomet not a little grieued with the good successe of the Christians in euery part of Hungarie, and aboue measure offended with *Ferat Bassa* his General, through whose negligence all or at least wise most part of this had hapned (as he was by the enuie of *Sinan Bassa* persuaded) sent for *Ferat* home, and in his place sent out *Sinan*. Of which the great Sultrans displeasure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned thereof by her that best knew, euen the Sultrans mother, and aduised not to come in sight vntill his peace were made. Who neuertheless trusting to his owne innocencie (the comfortable, but most dangerous and weake stay of the great) and

Ferat Bassa sent for to Constantinople, & there strangled

Sinan Bassa sent in Ferats stead.

C doubting not to answere whatsoeuer *Sinan* should bee able to charge him with, came to the court: where he was by the commandement of *Mahomet* shortly after strangled, and his goods to the value of fiue hundred thousand duckats confiscated.

Among all the dangerous enemies of the Christian common-weale, was none at this time more cruell than was *Sinan*, an Epyrot borne, a fishers sonne, of a rough and vnciuile dispositi-

on, now about fourescore and three yeares old, euen from his youth brought vp in the wars: and yet (as his Motto was) breathing nothing but *Bloud and Warre*. He had many times fortunatly led the huge armies of the Turkish Emperours, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *Amurath*, and is now sent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fittest man to reduce the late reuolted countries

D of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, to their former thraldome: which hee before promised vnto *Mahomet*, vpon perill of his head to doe. Hee hauing raised a right puissant army, by a bridge made of boats (after a moneths labour spent therein) passed ouer the great riuer of Danubius into Valachia: of whose comming the Transyluanians, with the Valachians and Moldauians hauing knowledge, had before so shut vp the passages of the countrie, as that he could not without much danger haue farre entered; and were also readie with their vnited forces euen at his first entrance to giue him battell. Which hee not refusing, there began a most mortall and cruell fight, with much bloudshed on both sides. Thrice were the Transyluanians enforced to retire, but still relieued with new supplies, and knowing that they then carried in their armes the welfare of their whole Countrey, came on fresh againe, and as hardly charged the Turkes, as they had beene by them charged. Thus with doubtfull for-

A mortall battell betwixt Sinan and the Transyluanian Prince.

E tune and great slaughter was the battell maintained from the morning vntill night, victorie with doubtfull wings houering now ouer the one side, now ouer the other: vntill that at length, the Turkes ouercome by true valour, their battells beeing quite disordered and broken, were now glad to seeke to saue themselues by flight. In this battell, being fought the eleuenth of September, besides many thousands of the common souldiers, were slaine also diuers of great account amongst the Turks: and amongst the rest *Haider Bassa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead euen in the same place where the battell was fought. *Sinan* himselfe, in making too much haste to get ouer the bridge, fell into the deep mud, and in that generall confusion of his armie, was like enough there to haue perished: but as the common Prouerbe goeth, *Seldome lyeth the Deuill dead in a dike*, the old Veiliarde was with much adoe

The Turkes ouerthrowne.

Sinan in flying like to be drowned.

F drawne out by them of his guard, and so saued to further mischiefe. Neuertheless, the danger was so great, that for certaine dayes it was commonly reported, that hee was there drowned, most of his owne people not as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. All the spoile of the Turks became a prey vnto the Christians, as did also their great ordnance, & many of their ensignes; amongst which was one greene one, which they accounted religious, as

sacred to their Prophet *Mahomet*, whereunto they in time of their greatest distresse flie, as vnto their last refuge: there was taken also all their tents, with great aboundance of victuals and other warlike prouision. G

The old Bassa thus ouerthrowne, full of griefe, and euen mad for despight, posted himselfe in all hast to the Court, thinking it better himselfe to make the best of that which was indeed nought, than [illegible] it made worse than nought by the enuious report of others: and withall to fill the mi[illegible] the great Sultan with desire of reuenge, which no man so much longed at ter, as himselfe: wherein he so discreetly vsed the matter, as that the late losse was easily passed ouer, as receiued by the common chance of war, or any other occasion els whatsoeuer rather than by any default of his; and new commission giuen him for the raising of another armie for the subduing of the late reuolted countries. In the meane time, to shew his hatred vnto the Christians, and to please the eyes of them of the court with the nouelti e of the sight, he caused an hundred and twelue Christian captiues whom he had in prison at Belgrade, to bee brought in chains like beasts to Constantinople, and so being led through the principal streets of the city, to the vain contentment of the citizens, to be brought to the court gate for the Sultan to looke vpon, and the courtiers to deride: from whence they were after many vnspeakable indignities conueyed to most miserable and loathsome prisons, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation. H

The Turkes enter Croatia.

About this time the Turks vnder the command of the Bassa of Bosna, to the number of almost twentie thousand, made a rode into Croatia, where they were by the Christians vnder the leading of the Lord *Eckenberg* and *Leuewitz* ouerthrowne and almost all slaine: the Christians following the chase euen into the Turks frontiers, burnt fifteen of their villages, & took the castle of Varuiuar: immediatly after, their forces encreasing by the comming in of the Lord *Herbenstein*, Gouernor of Valeria and Windismarche, and certaine other troups of horsemen out of Carinthia and the countries thereabouts, they returned the thirteenth of September to besiege Petrinia, otherwise called Petrowina; which because they were in hope to take by assault, they euen at their first comming couragiously assailed. But after two houres hard fight, finding both greater resistance, and more diff[illegible] than they had before supposed to haue found, and that without great ordnance (which could not in short time be got ouer the mountains) there was no good to be done, they were glad to giue ouer the assault, & with such losse as they had receiued, to returne to Siseg, there to consult further of the matter. But the same night a fugitiue horseman fled from the enemie [illegible] e to the camp and told the Christians, That *Rustan Beg*, Gouernor of Petrinia was in the i[illegible] assault wounded in the breast with a small shot, and dead: and that the Turks in the towne discouraged with his death and the late ouerthrow of their friends in Croatia, would vpon the first sight of them abandon the town, if they would but againe returne to besiege it. Vpon which good hope the Christians presently rise, and set forward again towards Petrinia: which the Turks (hearing of their comming) had before, as the souldier reported, for feare abandoned. So the Christians without resistance entering the towne, found therein some pillage, but better store of shot and pouder: and presently sending for certain troups of horsemen to pursue the flying Turks, took diuers of them, and among the rest the late Gouernors Lieutenant, whom they brought backe againe into the towne. Thus was Petrinia againe recouered from the Turks, to the great quiet and safetie of all that side of the countrie. I

Petrinia taken by the Christians. K

L

Sigismund the Transyluanian Prince not ignorant with what an enemie he had to do, either of the malice of old *Sinan*, who he knew would not be long before he returned, or yet of the secret practise of the Polonians, for the withdrawing of the countrie of Moldauia from him, sought now by all means (as it stood him vpon) to make himselfe so strong as he could against so many stormes arising. It fortuned that euen at the same time the Zaculians (better known by the name of Siculi) in former time a free people, but as then tributary vnto the Turks, bordring vpon the Northeast part of Transyluania; now weary of the Turkish thraldome, and seeing the good successe of the Prince, and the late reuolted countries their neighbors, offered vnto the Prince their seruice; promising of their owne charge to maintaine forty thousand men in the field during his wars with the Turke, and yearely to pay him of euerie house a dollar, with a certaine measure of wheat, oats, and barly, after the manner of [illegible]ir owne countrey: and further, That if God should blesse him with a son to succeed [illegible]is gouernment, euerie housholder M

A shold[illegible] should giue vnto him a good fat oxe. For all which seruice they craued no more, but that they might as his subiects liue vnder his protection; yet so, as to be gouerned by their owne ancient lawes and customes. Of which their offer the Prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their campe, and all the people sworne to the performance of the aforesaid agreement. And hauing at that present but fiue and twentie thousand in the field, they without delay sent out their officers to presse out fifteene thousand moe, for the filling vp of the promised number of fortie thousand; wherewith they came vnto the Prince, who taking a view of his armie, found himselfe to be now fourescore thousand men strong to welcome the Bassa withall when he should come againe into his countrey. The prince taketh a view of his armie.

B Now had *Sinan* with great speed raised an armie of 70000 choice soldiers, amongst whom were many whole bands of the Ianizaries, the strength of the Turkish empire. With which power ioined vnto the reliques of his other broken forces, he thought himselfe strong enough for the subduing of the Prince: vnto whom came also afterward *Hassan Bassa* the son of the great Bassa *Muhamet*, one of the Turks most renowned men of warre, and *Bogdanus* the late expulsed Vayuod of Valachia, with many others of great name. With this armie the old Bassa by a bridge which he with exceeding charge had made of boats, passed ouer the great riuer of Danubius at a towne called Zorza or Giorgo (with vs S. *George*) in Valachia, a great way beneath that place where sometime the Emperor *Trajan* built his famous bridge of stone, worthily accounted amongst the rare and wonderfull buildings of the world. From Zorza hee marched with his armie to Tergouista, (sometime the Vayuod his chiefe citie, but then in the power C of the Turks) where is a notable monastery, which he conuerted into a castle, fortifying it with deepe trenches and strong bulwarks, and good store of great ordnance, purposing to make that the seat of his war, vntil he had againe restored those late reuolted Countries vnto the Turkish Empire, which he vpon paine of his head had vndertaken to performe. The Prince both by messengers and letters vnderstanding of the Bassa's arriual there, and hauing his armie in good readinesse, set forward to meet him and to giue him battell. But being come into Valachia, and there incamped, it is reported, That [illegible] Eagle descending from an high rocke there by, called, The Kings rocke, and houering [illegible] the Christian armie, flew about the Princes Tent, and there lighting, was taken and presented to the Prince, who commanded her to be kept as the presage of his good fortune, holding on still his way; and the fifteenth of October beeing D come within halfe a dayes march of Tergouista, he vnderstood by two Christians lately escaped from the Turks, That two dayes before, the Turks hearing of his comming were strucken with such a generall and sudden feare, that *Sinan* had much ado either by faire meanes or by foule to stay the Ianizaries from flight; and that [illegible] he had done what he could, yet that certain companies of them were quite fled and gon. But the truth was, That *Sinan* seeing the generall feare of his armie, and he himselfe no lesse fearefull than the rest; vpon the Princes approch fled with all his armie, leauing behind him for hast his tents, his great ordnance, with much victuals & other warlike prouision, carrying with him only such things as were of most value. As for the city of Tergouista, with the castle which he had made of the monasterie, he committed to the keeping of *Hassan Bassa* and *Bogdanus* the late Vayuod, now become a renegate E Turke, with a garrison of 4000 chosen soldiers, promising within a few dayes if need should be, to relieue them, but fled himselfe in all haste with his armie to Bucharesta, a dayes journey from Tergouista. From whence he presently writ backe againe to *Hassan Bassa*, willing him if he could to defend the castle; but if he should thinke it not possible to be kept against the power of the Prince, then betime to forsake it and to shift for himselfe. But these letters being intercepted by the Christians, neuer came to the Bassa's hands. Not long after the departing of *Sinan*, the Prince comming to Tergouista, entred the forsaken campe, where he found many tents with some ordnance, and great store of victuals, and without further delay summoned both the citie and the castle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Hassan* considering the flight of *Sinan*, the power of the Prince, and withall doubting if need F should be, to be relieued by *Sinan*, whom he not without cause suspected not to loue him, was about vpon some reasonable composition to haue yeelded vp both the city & the castle: whereunto the garrison soldiers (being most part of them Ianizaries) would not in any case giue their consent, but stood vpon the defence of the place. Wherupon the prince began furiously to batter both the city and the castle, and after some few houres battery, by assault tooke both, & put to Siman Bassa by a bridge made of boats passeth ouer Danubius into Valachia.

Hassan Bassa taken.

to sword the whole garison; only *Hassan Bassa*, as taken with his owne hand, he spared, and two other Sanzacks. *Bogdanus* the renegate was there slaine among the rest. The Christians had there a rich prey, besides 42 great pieces of ordnance, and good store of all manner of warlike prouision. *Hassan* thus taken, grieuously complained, That *Sinan* had of a malicious purpose exposed him to manifest peril, for the grudge he bare vnto his dead father the Visier *Mahomet*; vpon which cause he could neuer be reuenged, he now by sinister means had cunningly performed it vpon his son: yet he craued of the Prince to be wel vsed, offering for his ransome 100000 Hungarian duckets. Whilst the prince yet thus lay at Tergouista, came thither 4000 Turks, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence, sent forth to spoile the countrey, and to seeke after prey, thinking to haue there found him still: who now falling into the hands of the Christians, were there all slain, and 60000 head of cattel recouered, which these Turks had taken out of Valachia and Moldauia, & should by *Sinans* appointment haue bin sent to Constantinople. For Valachia and Moldauia do so abound with corne and cattell, that they plentifully serue the Imperial city of Constantinople not only with corne and flesh, but also yerely send at the least 150 ships thither by the blacke sea, laded with other kinde of victuals. Of which so great commodities the Turks were now depriued, by the reuolt of the aforesaid countries.

The fritfulnes of Valachia & Moldauia.

The Prince leauing a strong garrison in Tergouista, set forward with his armie towards Bucaresta, hoping there to haue found *Sinan*. But he hearing of the losse of Tergouista, and thinking himselfe in no good safetie at Bucaresta, fled thence also to Zorza. The Prince comming to Bucaresta, found it abandoned by the Turks, and so took it without resistance, yet had there in certaine field pieces, with good store of shot and pouder left there by *Sinan*. Hauing there stayed a while for the manning of the place, hee set forwards againe towards Zorza; and that with such speed, that he ouertooke great numbers of the Turks, whom he put all to the sword: so that the fields betwixt Bucaresta and Zorza were in many places couered with the dead bodies of the Turks. Neuertheless he could not make so great haste, marching still in good order, but that the fearefull Bassa disorderly hasting, was about some six houres or more before come to the bridge he had with great charge made ouer the riuer of Danubius; the forme whereof you may here see:

Bucaresta taken by the Prince.

The picture of the Bridge made ouer Da[nubius] by Sinan Bassa, Anno 1595.

Sinan flyeth ouer Danubius.

Ouer the hithermost part of which bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greatest part of his armie (before the comming of the Prince) got ouer into an Iland in the midst of the riuer, wherin he had at his comming ouer incamped: but doubting now there to stay, with all the speed he could got him ouer the other part of the bridge also vnto the farther side of the riuer, with so many of his men as in so short time possibly could. Where to stay the farther pursuit of the Prince, hee brake the bridge on that side, and set fire vpon it: and thereby cut off also many of his owne men that were not as yet come ouer. Whom the prince inclosing, forced many of them into the riuer, where they perished; the rest flying into the Iland, were by the Christians fiercely pursuing them, either there slaine, or seeking by the other part of the bridge to haue got ouer, (whereof the farther end was before broken downe by *Sinan*, and the hither end toward the Iland now cut off by the Christians) were together with the bridge carried away by the violence of the riuer, and so altogether perished. Other some of the Christians in the meane time tooke the bridge that leadeth vnto the castle of Zorza, which standeth compassed about with an arme of Danubius, and being not very great, was kept by a garrison of seuen hundred select souldiers. Vnto which castle the prince presently laied siege, (the resolute souldiers being not by any meanes to be persuaded to yeeld it vp, but to hold it out euen vnto the last man) and after he had sore battered it, by plain force tooke it, and put to the sword all the garrison soldiers he could lay hands vpon. About an hundred of these Turks seeing they must needs fall into the power of their enemies, desperatly leapt from the top of the castle into the riuer, where not one of them escaped, being all either drowned or slaine with small shot. In the winning of this castle, two hundred and fiftie of the Christians were lost, and many wounded: but of the Turks and Tartars, betwixt the eighteenth and the last of October, perished aboue six and twentie thousand. In this castle were taken thirtie nine great pieces, with such store of armour and other warlike prouision, as might haue serued for an whole kingdome, and foure thousand Christians beside women and children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of Valachia, restored to their former libertie. With whom the Prince after he had set all things in order, returned in great triumph to Tergouista, and so afterwards to his palace at Alba-Iulia, where, as also at Claudiopolis and other cities through his dominions, he caused publike prayers with thankesgiuing to almightie God, to be deuoutly made for so great a victorie: ■ did also *Michael* the Vayuod in Valachia; who in all these great wars against the Turks was nothing inferior vnto the Transyluanian himselfe. A greater losse than this, the Turkish Emperor receiued not at land in many yeares before, being by this so happie & victorious a Prince, and the reuolt of these three countries, depriued of so much territory as they had not from the Christians of long time gained. It was by some of them of the better sort of the Turks that were taken, reported, That *Sinan Bassa* should oftentimes say, That this yong Transyluanian Prince had bereft him of all the honor & renown he had with great trauel got in the course of his long life; and that although he had escaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cause for him in these his great yeares, euen in the winding vp of all, to lose his life together with his goods and honor. Now was the Transyluanian Princes name (after the ouerthrow of this great Bassa) become dreadful vnto the Turks, and also famous through all Christendome. Which as it hath filled the eares of many with admiration, so haply may the liuely representation of his feature by cunning hand set forth, feed the longing eyes of some with delight, and serue in better stead than the rude description of his person.

The Prince returneth with victorie to Alba-Iulia.

The opinion Sinan Bassa had of the Transyluanian.

SIGIS-

SIGISMVND Prince of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia.

Miles eras Christi, nulli pietate secundus
Et solus patriæ gloria magna tuæ
Inclita. Si virtus, qua te super æthera vexit,
Tam stabili cursu continuata foret.

R. KNOLLES.

Of Christ thou wast a souldier true inferiour vnto none;
Thy countries joy and glorie great, vnto the world wel knowne.
If worthie vertue that thee rais'd aboue the starrie skie,
With stedfast pace had run the race so well begun by thee.

Ienna yeelded to the Transyluanians.

Whilest this worthie Prince was thus busied in this expedition against *Sinan*, he caused the castle of Ienna (standing vpon the highway betweene Temeswar and Giula) to be besieged by certaine of his captaines appointed to that seruice; in which castle lay one of the Turks Sanzackes with a garrison of 700 Turks, who much troubled such as passed that way. They now brought to some extremitie, and terrified with the successe of the Prince, offered to giue vp the castle, so that as souldiers with their scimiters by their sides they might in safetie be brought to Panoda. Which their offer being accepted of, and they now vpon their way, the Hungarian light horsemen that should haue conducted them, e[illegible]med that these Turkes now vnder their charge had secret intelligence with the Turks in [illegible]rison at Giula and Temeswar, That they should lie in ambush for them neere Panoda, and so cut them off by the way; set

A set vpon these Turks whom they should haue conducted, and cut the throats of foure hundred of them: and yet still holding on their way, met with these Turks that lay in ambush for them, whom they after a sharpe skirmish ouerthrew, and hauing slaine a great many of them, put the rest to flight. By the taking of Ienna the wayes thereabout were quieted, especially for them of Waraden. The Sanzacke of Ienna reported, That *Mahomet* had a little before sent word vnto his Bassa's and Sanzackes in Hungarie, That such castles and townes as they thought were not to be defended against the Christians, they should betimes as occasion serued, yeeld them vp, or forsake them, so to spare the needlesse losse of his good soldiers: of whom he had with so many townes and strong holds lost no smal number this yere in Hungarie. Ienna thus taken,
B diuers of the richer sort in Temeswar fearing to be euen presently besieged, sent their wiues and children with their treasure and such other things as they made most reckoning of, out of the citie in waggons to be conueyed vnto places of more safetie: of which waggons, seuentie were by the Christians (lying thereabout in garrison) intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich bootie.

Mahomet hauing this yere fully purposed the vtter ruine of the Transyluanian prince, & the reducing of the countries of Transyluania, Moldauia, and Valachia, vnto his obeisance by the great Bassa *Sinan*: had for the better effecting thereof, before prouided that the Crim Tartar (readie still at his call) should with his owne people (whereof he hath great store) and certaine bands of the Turks, at the same time inuade Moldauia; and possessing himselfe of this country, to place one *Sidriake* Vayuod, in stead of *Stephen* placed by the Prince, and to people the coun-
C try with his Tartars, in reward of his good seruice, as he said; but indeed to haue them always neere at hand to do his commandements in Hungary, Polonia, Transiluania, or the other countries of the Christians thereunto adioyning. The Tartar according to his appointment, came with 70000 Tartars, accompanied with their wiues and children, to haue planted themselues in the countrey, at the very same time that *Sinan* came to Tergouista. But being come vpon the frontiers of Moldauia, to haue put in execution what he was by *Mahomet* commanded, he found there *Zamoschie* the great Chancellour of Polonia readie with a strong armie to oppose himselfe against him, and to stay his farther passage. Whereupon some light skirmishes passed betweene the Tartars and the Polonians: where the Tartars were still put to the worse with the losse of three thousand of their men. The Tartar *Cham* with *Sidriake* the Vayuod ap-
D pointed by the Turke, finding themselues, though in number moe, yet in strength inferior vnto the Polonian, and that without his good leaue he could not passe; sent vnto the Chancellor to excuse that was alreadie past, as done without their consent by the insolencie of their soldiers; and to tell him, That their comming was not to fight with him, as hauing expresse commandement from the great Sultan *Mahomet*, in no case to disturbe the league betwixt him and the Polonians, but quietly to passe by their frontiers into Moldauia, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayuod his tributary, in stead of *Stephen* that now vsurped the place by the appointment of the Transyluanian; which that they might do, they craued his leaue as friends to passe. Whereun-
E to the Chancellor answered, That he was come thither by the commandement of the King, to defend those countries from the inuasion of such as had in them no right: and that there had of long time bin an antient league betwixt the Polonian Kings and Turkish Emperours, vpon certaine conditions, which he would for his part keepe inuiolate, with the fauor of the Turkish Emperor, yet so, as that the kingdom of Polonia tooke no harme thereby, and that they might quietly liue by him as their good neighbor; which league he protested not to haue beene by him, but by them infringed: as for to giue them passage, he said he could not. Messengers pas-
sing thus to and fro, and some parley had, at last certaine articles were agreed vpon, to the reasonable contentment both of the Tartar and of the Chancellor (though not of *Sidriake*, disappointed thereby of his Vayuodship) as also of the Turkish Sultan, whose pleasure they both seemed to haue in speciall regard. Hereupon the Tartar with his multitude presently returned,
F leauing the Chancellor to his owne designes. Now was it commonly thought, that the Chancellor had done the Transyluanian prince great seruice by keeping out of the Tartars, & much honor was by many that saw least spoken of him therefore. But far was it from his thought to do the Transyluanian therin any such good, at whose glory he enuied, and had with the cardinal and his brother, the Princes vnkles (but most deadly enemies) secretly conspired, so much as in them was, his vtter ruine and ouerthrow: wishing those Countries rather in the subie-

Mahomet stirreth in the Tartars to inuade Moldauia.

&ion

tion of the Turke, than to see them so honorably at libertie, gouerned by the Prince: such is the force of malicious enuie, the inseperable companion of worthie vertue. Which the Chancellor (otherwise a man of great fame and honor) began now openly to poure forth: for presently after the departure of the Tartars, hee with all his power passing ouer the riuer Nijester or Tyros, in[illegible]ldauia, euen at such time as the prince was going against *Sinan* at Tergouista, first seised vpon the castle of Chotijm, which he furnished with his owne souldiers: and from thence marching to Zorona, the metropolitica l citie of that prouince, and seat of the Vayuod, had it yeelded vnto him; and so proceeding on, had in short time almost the whole countrey deliuered vnto him; *Stephen* the Vayuod placed by the Prince, flying from place to place before him, from whom he lest feared any such thing, hauing made account of no other enemies but of the Turks and Tartars. *Stephen* the Vayuod thus driuen out, and the Chancellour possessed of the country, he presently placed one *Hieremias* Vayuod in stead of *Stephen*, to hold that honor of the Polonian king as his soueraigne. Yet neuertheless to satisfie the Turke, hee sent a messenger to *Sinan Bassa*, then but newly come to Tergouista, requesting him not to take it in euill part, that he had entered into Moldauia, and there placed a new Vayuod, but in the name of the great Sultan *Mahomet* to confirme this his doing, and the Vayuod by him placed; promising the country of Moldauia to remaine tributarie still vnto the Sultan, and that this new Vayuod should forthwith pay vnto him what tribute was behinde, and from thenceforth a far greater tribute yerely than had the country of Moldauia before. Whereunto the hautie Bassa (then fearing nothing lesse than that which immediatly after hapned, to be driuen out of those countries by the Prince) proudly answered, That it was not the great Sultans minde, that the Polonians should at all inuade Moldauia, for that beside he could without their helpe reduce those countries to his obedience, he had giuen that countrey vnto the Tartar, in reward of his good seruice already done in Hungarie and other places; whose subiects the Tartars would ere long be readie with their wiues & children to take possession of. Neuertheless the Chancellor proceeded to defend the new Vayuod by him placed: which was no great matter for him to do, *Sinan* the Turks champion (as is before declared) being presently after ouerthrown, and driuen quite out of those countries by the Prince. Who if he had not then gained the victory, the Chancelor had not now holden Moldauia, but the Turke, whose quarrel he seemed rather to fauor than the princes. The Chancellor to colour this his inuasion, pretended that the countrey of Moldauia did of antient right belong vnto the kingdome of Polonia: which the Transyluanians tooke to be no other but meere and open wrong. This supposed title, such as it was, the Chancellor had so fashioned out vnto the king and the States of that kingdom, that they referred it to his discretion to inuade the country, and remouing the Vayuod placed by the Prince, to place another in his stead: & the rather to perswade them, labored by many forced reasons to shew the power of the Transiluanian prince to be so far inferior vnto the Turks, that it was to be feared he should at length be thrust out of all his dominions, and so they together with Moldauia become subiect to the Turks: which if it should so come to passe, then should the Polonians haue an vntrusty and troublesome neighbour. And that therefore it were better that Moldauia were possessed by them that were better able to defend it than was hee, that so the Turke might be kept farther off from Polonia. Which occasion he said was not longer to be delaid, but now betime to be laied hold vpon: perswading himselfe to find such grace and fauor with the Turkish Emperour, as that he should be therewith right well contented: which was like enough for a time to be, for that the Transiluanian should thereby be much weakened. By these and such like reasons, framed to serue his owne turne, the Chancellour so preuailed with the King and the States of the kingdome, that he receiued (as I said) full authoritie to proceed in the matter as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the Prince, and benefit of the Turk: the late chosen Vayuod not long after opening a way in three places for the Tartars into Transyluania, one by the country of Siculi, another by the way that leadeth to Alba-Iulia, and the third by Valachia.

The reasons pretended by the Chancellor for the inuasion of Moldauia.

The late chosen Vayuod opens three ways vnto the Turks & Tartars into Transyluania.

The Transyluanian Prince seeing the country of Moldauia by the practise of the Chancellor thus taken from him and disseuered from the other vnited prouinces, to the great weakning of his estate; after the flight of *Sinan*, sent certain companies both of horse and foot, to *Stephen* the late Vayuod, but now driuen out by the Polonians, to proue if happily he could by that meanes driue out the Polonians againe, and recouer his former dignitie. With this ayd sent from

from the Prince and others that fauored his quarrell, he ioyned a bloudie battel with the Polonians: but being therein by them ouercome and taken, and for a space kept (as the Prince feared, to haue been deliuered vnto the Turke) he was by them (as is reported) cruelly afterwards put to death.

This foule dealing of the Polonian in Moldauia much grieued many good Christians, as tending to the generall hurt of the Christian commonweale. For which cause the Emperor by his Embassadors sent for that purpose vnto the Polonian king, sought to perswade him to desist from such inuasion of the Transyluanian Prince by his Chancellour, as nothing standing with his honour; and that some good reconciliation might be made betweene the Prince and the Cardinall *Bator* & his brother, the Princes vncles, authors of all these troubles. To which purpose also the Pope sent a messenger with like instructions and letters vnto the king, perswading him, not so to prosecute his wars against the Prince, but to turn his thoughts vnto a more peaceable and Christianlike course, especially with him with whom he was so neere linked in marriage. To the like effect he writ also vnto the Cardinall *Bator*, and after many graue admonitions peremptorily cited him to Rome. But forasmuch as the proceedings of the Polonian against the Prince are more plainly to be gathered by the Popes letters vnto the King, it shall not I hope be mistaken, if I here set them downe thus as I finde them by others reported.

The Popes letters vnto the king of Polonia to dissuade him from inuading the Prince.

Pope Clement *the eighth, to our best beloued sonne in Christ*, Sigismund, *by the grace of God King of Polonia, with the benediction Apostolicall sendeth greeting. By how much greater affection of fatherly loue wee embrace your Maiestie in the Lord, so much the more feruently wee wish all your actions te bee adorned with the greatest commendation of true godlinesse and wisedome, both before God and men: Whereof it proceedeth, that wee are so much the more vehemently and grieuously moued, if we heare any such thing of you, as may seeme not agreeable to your vertue and approoued zeale toward the Catholicke Religion, or tending to the obscuring of the glorie of your name, as is now brought vnto vs concerning the affaires of Moldauia; whereof not without great griefe wee write vnto you. And to rehearse things a little before past: With what earnestnesse and feruencie dealt I with you, that for Gods cause, and the defence of the health and libertie of the Christian commonweale against the tyrannie of the Turks, you would combine your selfe with our most dearely beloued sonne* Rodolph *the Emperour, and diuers other Christian Princes? and that you should not let slip so notable an occasion, so worthily to deserue of God, of the Catholicke faith, and of the Christian commonweale in generall? And albeit wee then thought, as well for many your owne priuat respects, as also of your Kingdomes, That you were to be borne withall and excused if you did not now openly descend into this confederation of the Christian Princes against the most mortall and common enemie, neither apertly ioyne your forces or giue aid for the repressing of his insolencie; yet wee alwayes assured our selues, that no let should in any case proceed from you, whereby either the Emperour or the other Christian Princes should be the rather hindered, iustly to prosecute their iniuries, or to cast off from their necks the heauie yoke of the most cruell tyrant: whose desire of soueraigntie is not comprised within the compasse of any bounds. But that you should in fauour of the Turkes impugne the Catholicke Princes and defendours of the Christian faith, and so ioyne hands with the enemies of the Crosse of Christ, as that by your helpe their force and furie should be encreased, and ours not onely weakened, but in the very course of victorie hindered, and cast into most grieuous perils; this we haue not only not thought of you, but not so much as once suspected: yea and can now scarce be perswaded to beleeue those things to bee done by you, which are reported vnto vs as most true and vndoubted. For the report goeth, That you hauing intelligence with the Turkes and Tartars, haue with them conspired, and namely against our welbeloued sonne* Sigismund, *Prince of Transyluania, who with inuincible courage fighteth the battels of the Lord: and lest hee should bee able to abate the force and attempts of the most proud Enemie (which by the singular mercie of God he hath hitherto aboue his owne power performed) but rather bee enforced much to feare his owne estate, a new Vayuod and Prince as it were by a triumuirate authoritie and compact to bee placed in Moldauia, and him by the Turkes, you, and the Tartars together, to be made Gouernour of that Countrey. Which vnto vs seemed so new and so strange, and contrary to the good opinion wee had alwayes conceiued of you, yea and so vnbeseeming your zeale and wisedome, that for griefe and admiration I had almost cryed out with the Prophet,* You heauens be amazed at this, and you gates thereof be you exceedingly heauie. *For what could be suspected or imagined farther from the expectation of vs and all good men, or more incredible, than that* Sigismund *the*

the most religious King of Polonia and Sweden, who had alwayes professed himselfe a most earnest de- C
fendor of the Catholicke religion, who was ready euen with his owne blood to redeeme the victorie of
the Christians, and glorie of the Crosse, against the most wicked enemies of the same, to be vpon
the sudden become so vnlike vnto himselfe? And (so much as in him was) to cut off the hope
and [illegible] of that religious warre, and to doe harme to a Christian and Catholicke Prince, nay to
re[illegible]ague and friendship, euen with the most barbarous nations and the Tartars, the
perpetuall enemies of himselfe, and of the Kingdome of Polonia. For which causes our minde is tor-
mented with such bitternesse of griefe, that we could not but by speedie messengers write vnto you con-
cerning this matter, that hereby you might the sooner see the greatnesse of our griefe: and wee also
without delay might signifie vnto you, what our fatherly loue towards you requesteth in so important a
matter. For happily wee will send one euen of purpose to you concerning this cause, the care whereof H
grieueth vs more than can well be expressed. Wherefore most dearely beloued sonne, wee exhort you,
and in the most effectuall manner wee can, aduise you and beseech you in the Lord, more attentiuely to
consider what great displeasure both of God and man this your action and resolution may procure, what
a losse it may bring vnto your crowne and dignitie. For beleeue vs, that are to you in stead of a father
in Christ, who loue you not fainedly, but faithfully, and indeed; who wish for your glorie in this world,
and your eternall felicitie in the world to come: beleeue vs (I say) this doth much blemish your fame
with all Christian Kings and Princes, all men take it in euill part, and detest it as a thing monstrous,
that it should by your meanes bee wrought, that the Christian affaires should not prosper, that an he-
reticall Prince, who had vowed himselfe for Christ and his country, should not haue prosperous suc-
cesse in this so religious and necessarie a warre against the Infidels, Turkes, and Tartars, no lesse yours, or I
peradventure also more yours, and other Christian Princes enemies, than his. But what doe we say? you
to hinder the proceedings of the Transyluanian Prince? this were happily but a small matter: nay veri-
ly, by this meanes not onely a Christian and Catholicke Prince, and valiant champion of the Christian
faith (a vertue both admirable and amiable in the verie enemie) but your owne brother in law, bound
vnto you with so many bonds of affinitie, whose children shall be as it were your childrens brethren, is by
this meanes brought into great danger, and exposed vnto the furie of the most mercilesse Turkes. What
doe you then my most dearely beloued sonne? Beware that all men, both now liuing, and hereafter to come,
condemne you not of the greatest inhumanitie: But beware yet more, that you seeme not ingratefull not
onely to your owne nigh kinsman, but to God himselfe, who hath bountifully blessed you with two great
Kingdomes, and so many good things: and that you prouoke not him to wrath against your selfe, K
that reuelleth and confoundeth all euill and wicked deuices: and that this mischiefe that you haue
brought vpon your brother, by the iust iudgement of God redound not to the greatest destruction of you
and your Kingdome, which he in mercie forbid. [illegible] you thinke, that the Transyluanian being ouer-
come, you shall in safetie liue from the treacherie of the Turke? Doe you not know him to be a faithlesse
man, which measureth all things by his owne profit, which keepeth faith with none, but as standeth with
his owne commoditie, who with an vnsatiable desire gapeth after euery Kingdome, nay thirsteth after the
destruction of all Christendome? Thinke also my sonne, what wrong you shall doe vnto the Emperour
your cosin, out of whose Imperiall blood you haue begotten sonnes and heires, and by the grace of God
shall moe, but also our dignitie, and the dignitie of this Apostolicall seat (which you haue alwayes so
deuoutly honoured) is thereby hurt, and your most deare mother (which wee know you of all other L
least would) the Romane Church is offended, which for the maintenance of this sacred Warre is
at great and wonderfull charges: and our forces, which by you ought to haue beene relieued and en-
creased, beeing in so vnfit a time by these stirres in Moldauia dissenered and diminished, and the
enemies on the contrarie part encreased and strengthened, into what danger and distresse may both our
armie of the Church and the Emperours fall? And withall, how greatly all the manner and mana-
ging of this whole warre is thereby confounded, there is no man that seeth not. Yea and this moreouer,
which no little concerneth the dignitie of vs and this holy See, wee haue vndertaken and certainely
promised to our most dearely beloued sonnes Rodolph and Sigismund, that your royall Maiestie should
not in any thing hinder or hurt their affaires: neither did wee hereof assure them vpon a light occasi-
on, but mooued with great reason, not onely for that we deseruedly ought so to promise of you in so iust M
a cause, but also for that it was so vnto vs plainely and expressly written by the reuerend Father, the
Bishop of S. Seuerus, our Apostolicall Nuntio with you, whom wee know to bee both vnto vs faith-
full, and to you dutifull: neither can we by any meanes [illegible] of, because he hath writ vnto vs con-
cerning so weightie a matter, that he receiued it euen from your owne mouth. Which things so standing
seeing

A *seeing you of your selfe see the manifold absurdities of this fact on euery side, not to speake of the haynousnesse thereof: we request you againe, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to applie the necessarie remedies to these hurts. The Transyluanian Prince your brother in law, denoted to your selfe, and desirous of your fauor, either protect with your defence, or at least wise hurt him not: yea hurt not the whole State of the Christian common-weale, and relieue not by any meanes the quarrell of the enemies of Christ. If you haue any controuersie with the Prince* Sigismund, *or desire of him any thing, referre it vnto vs, that is to say, vnto your most louing father: you know your affaires to be of vs fauoured, and wee hope by the power of God that it may easily come to passe that some conuenient means may be found whereby peace and quietnesse may be confirmed betwixt you, and good vnity grow betwixt you two brethren our sonnes, and so all the root of bitternesse and displeasure to be vtterly pluckt out of your minds. This haue*

B *I writ vnto you my sonne, frankly and from a sincere heart, though truly much grieued, because we loue you, and are much carefull of your honor and good: Shew you again in deed that you take it so, as written from your father, and that you altogether preferre our fatherly and wholesome exhortations before the sinister persuasions of others. Farther concerning these matters, you shall vnderstand by the same Bishop our Nuntio now with you, to whom you may (as you haue done) giue credit in all things, as to our selfe.*

These letters dated from Rome the eighth day of Nouember, were deliuered to the king in December, with others to the Cardinall and Chancellor, whom the Pope sharply reproued as the authors and contriuers of all these mischiefes.

C The Tartar Cham before stirred vp by the Turkish Emperour *Mahomet*, for the inuasion of Moldauia (as is already before declared) about this time sent his Embassador also vnto the Polonian king, for the confirmation of such articles as he had before agreed vpon with the Chancellor: which because they manifestly declare the ground and purpose of his entended expedition into Moldauia, with the foule collusion of the Chancellor with the Turks and Tartars against the Transyluanian Prince, I thought it not amisse, or from our purpose (for the more manifestation of that which is already said) here to set them downe, as they are translated out of the Tartar language.

The copy of the Letters of the Tartar vnto the king of Polonia.

D *Cham* Kazikiery *vnto the King of Polonia and Sweden our brother, one of the great Lords among the Christians, humbly boweth his head. First wee signifie vnto you, that* Aaron *Palantine of Moldauia was a forsworne traitour; who hauing gathered a power of the Valachians, and ioyning vnto him the Polonian Cossackes spoiled the territories of the great Sultan. But afterward dissention arising among them, the Hungarian Cossackes liuing in Valachia, sent* Aaron *in bonds vnto the King of Vienna: after him followed another traitour called* Rozwan, *who also hauing raised certaine companies of souldiers, began in like manner to forrage the countries of the Turkish Emperour thereabout: which as soone as he had knowledge of, he writ vnto mee his brother, That I should with all possible speed goe into Valachia to chastise these rebells, to burne their houses and townes; and hauing with the edge of the sword slaine their men, to carrie away with me their wiues and children into captiuitie. Hauing this in charge, I the great Cham of the great territorie of the great Lord* Karykterey, *with my brother*

E Letikerry Galga, *and other my brethren and Counsellors, warlike and valiant Captaines and Marzii, mounting my horse, came with mine armie into Valachia vnto the riuer Prut where it meeteth in another riuer called Cocora: here we chanced vpon a faithfull seruitor of yours, our brother the Chancellor, who was also come a little before vs into Valachia; with whom after some light contention when we began to be more tractable, he declared vnto vs, that he was of purpose come into Valachia to place there a new Vayuod, which (as he said) of antient right belonged vnto the Polonians; without any wrong or preiudice therein to be done to the couenants and league they had with the Emperor of the Turks; and farther that his desire was, that one* Ieremias *whom he had appointed Vayuod, might haue the command of that Prouince; and that the antient amitie, such as was in the time of Sultan* Solyman *and Cham* Dawlethgerd, *might be faithfully kept. Which when I had for my part faithfully sworne to doe, and he*

F *likewise had caused the same to be done by such of his as he had therefore sent vnto me, we decreed together, that the Cossackes on the farther side of Nijester (disordered and rebellious men) should be vtterly rooted out, that they should not hereafter doe any harme in the territories of the great Sultan and that the Presents vsually sent vnto vs of long, euen since the time of Sultan* Solyman, *should no more be detained, nor any harmes be hereafter done in any part of our dominions. And therefore when the Chan-*

celler had promised vnto vs; that he would take order that these Cossackes should be vtterly destroyed, and also consented, that according to the pleasure of the royall maiestie of you my brother, Hieremias *should hold the Vayuodship of Valachia: which I forthwith by letters signified vnto the Turkish Emperour. Now if it be so, that your Maiestie shall giue your consent vnto those things which we haue here agreed vpon with your ... cellour, you shall then for euer finde brotherly friendship with me, my brother, and all other our captains and Murzis: but if you shall not destroy these Cossackes, you shall not then perform the oath and couenants made. These things we haue commanded to be declared vnto you by our Embassador our brother* Gianach Metagra, *whom we request your Maiestie courteously to entertaine, and by him to send the Presents vnto vs: for wee will not now this yeare send any other. Giuen at the riuer Prut in the yeare of* Mahomet 1004.

The Presents offered by the Tartar embassador to the king of Polonia

After the Tartar Embassador had deliuered those letters vnto the king, with a speech in effect to the same purpose, he in the name of the Cham gaue vnto him an horse and an arrow for a Present: & afterward being brought to a lodging appointed for him, was commanded there to expect his answer. At length his dispatch was giuen him in letters sealed vp, which he tooke much against his will, requesting the king to send an Embassador vnto the Cham: and farther by word of mouth, to tell him what to answer vnto his Lord. But other answer could hee get none, than was alreadie deliuered him in writing: and so rewarded with a gowne furred with Sables, was dismissed without the Present requested by the Cham, or any Embassador to accompanie him.

Thus the Transyluanian Prince, on the one side mightily impugned by the Turke, and on the other by the setting on of the Turke readie to haue been no lesse endangered by the inuasion of the Tartar, receiued greater harme from the Polonians beeing Christians, than from both those great Mahometane Princes: the Polonian in some sort performing for the Turke, what hee had plotted to haue beene done by the Tartar: and so by the taking away of Moldauia from the Prince, not onely weakened his strength, but also opened a way for the barbarous enemies into his Countrie. Howbeit ... is that the Polonians alledge for the excuse of themselues, and the defence of that which was by the great Chancellor then done in Moldauia: which for that it cannot be better told than by the great Chancellour himselfe, let vs heare how he by his letters answereth the matter, euen vnto *Clement* the Pope himselfe.

Iohn Zamoschie vnto Cl... eighth the great ... p.

Za moschie the great Chancellor his Letters vnto Clement the Pope.

Most holy and blessed father in Christ, and most gracious Lord, after the kissing of your most blessed foot, and my most humble commendations, I haue by your Holinesse Letters directed both vnto the Kings Maiestie and my selfe, vnderstood as well his royall Maiestie and my most gracious Lord and Master, as also my selfe as his seruant to be both accused vnto your Holinesse: as if by those things by vs done in Moldauia, the endeauours of the Christians had beene hindered, and the power of the enemie confirmed. Whereof I am not with many words to purge my selfe vnto your Holinesse, forasmuch as I assure my selfe your holinesse to haue alreadie fully vnderstood both what the things were that were done in Moldauia, and how they were done: partly by the Kings Maiesties Letters, and partly by his principall Secretarie, for that cause especially sent vnto your Holinesse. Yet doubt I not to request this one thing of your Holinesse, that if it hath knowne me for a man, I will not say of any capacitie or wit, but euen of the least experience in the world, or of any religion at all, so to persuade it selfe of mee, nothing to haue beene done, especially in this matter, either rashly, or to the hinderance of the Christian common-weale. I will not now repeate what mine opinion was concerning the league and confederation to bee made with the rest of the Christian Princes, for the combining of their forces against the common enemie, especially his sacred Maiestie: as also what mine owne labour and endeauour was in the last assembly of the States in the high Court of Parliament. Which thing after it was euen by them whomesoeuer most concerned, either delayed or neglected, or vtterly cast aside, and yet his Maiestie had still a great desire to doe the Christian common-weale some great good, I also to the vttermost of my power laboured to that end; that by the common decree of the Kingdome, an expedition might be made into Tartaria, not so much in reuenge of the iniuries done by that enemie in these late

late yeares past, as so in the meane time to tame him from the neckes of the Christians, as that he should not ioyne his forces with the Turkes: or if it so pleased God to blesse those our endeauours, vtterly at length to root out that so great a mischiefe. But how it came to passe that this expedition, so much by the King desired (yet scarcely begun or taken in hand) tooke not effect; it is not me ... full for me ... declare, for that I suppose your Holinesse hath by others, especially your Nuntio, vnderstood the same. In the meane time, by others and often messengers newes was brought, That Sinan Bassa *with a great armie was alreadie come ouer Danubius; and I by letters from the Vayuod of the farther Valachia was aduertised, how that he, not able to encounter him, had forsaken that Prouince which at the first impression taken and almost vtterly wasted by* Sinan, *he was now come fast vpon Transyluania, and in Moldauia the Tartar was still expected, insomuch that* Rosman *(who hauing taken prisoner* Aaron *the Palatine whom hee serued, in his house, and so himselfe inuaded the Palatine) began now also to quake for feare, and to craue helpe of mee, or rather to seeke how hee might flie away (as not long after he did) neither hauing any great strength about him, or expecting any greater from the people of that country: for why, that Prouince was brought so low by the miseries of the former yeares, but especially by such as had euill gouerned the same, that at such time as I entered into Moldauia, I assure your Holinesse there were not in it of housholders aboue 15000, and those also for the most part poore country people of the basest sort, in whom there could neither be any great helpe, neither if they had been able to haue done any thing, durst* Rosman *haue trusted himselfe with them, vpon whom he had with all kind of crueltie tyranized. Chotim a castle in the very confines of this kingdome, was kept with no greater garrison than 200 Hungarians who perceiuing themselues neither of sufficient strength to hold the place, nor to withstand the enemie, they also by and by followed after* Rosman. *All the rest of the Prouince was not onely vnarmed, but altogether poore and naked, without any certaine gouernment, without counsell, without strength, and without any defence at all, two castles onely excepted: which standing vpon the confines of Polonia, might haue serued better for the enemie, out of them to haue infested vs, than for the defence of Moldauia against them: so that had the enemie once set foot into that Prouince, neither could it without a great power haue beene recouered, neither being recouered, could easily haue beene defended against so puissant an enemie: and that which worse was, was not it selfe alone to haue bin consumed with that fire, but like enough to haue carried away with it Podolia also, bordering vpon it, with a great part of Russia. Wherefore in this state of things, when as both that Prouince was in greatest danger to haue beene lost, and so many enemies houered not more ouer the heads of al Christendome, than ouer this Kingdome, what was of vs to be done? I know to whom I speake these things, euen vnto him, not onely whose diuine wisedome, but singular loue also towards my natiue country is to mee most knowne. Verily I entered into Moldauia with no great armie, yet such an one as haply (as in like case it often chanceth) Fame had made among st the enemies a very great one: so that* Sinan *fearing if he should thrust himselfe with his armie into the straits whereby hee was to breake into Transyluania, to bee shut in by our armie, stayed his iourney: and the Tartar the more earnestly he was called vpon by* Sinan *(by reason of the fame of this our armie resolued to make himselfe so much the stronger. So that whilest hee assembleth the Nogaian Tartars and others farther off, and so from all parts raiseth the greatest power he could, the matter was delaied almost vnto the end of November: at which time he with a most huge armie, accompanied with* Sendziak Iehiuense, *and a great power of the Turkes raised out of their Prouinces thereby, came directly vpon mee in the fields of Coroce.* Sendziak *the Tartar Cham his sisters sonne, now called himselfe the Bassa of Moldauia, as did the Tartars eldest sonne name himselfe Prince of another part of that Prouince also: for so that country was to haue bin diuided betwixt them, that that part which was next vnto the Tartars dominions, should bee allotted vnto the Tartar, and the other part confining vpon this Kingdome, to be gouerned by* Sendziak, *as Bassa thereof, and so to make it the seat of a perpetuall warre; from whence Podolia, Russia, and the lesser Polonia might bee with continuall incursions wasted euen before our faces: concerning which matter they now dispersed their Letters, wherein they published the power and authoritie giuen them from the grand Seignior, exhorting the people of that country to receiue the same. A whole day wee fought with this multitude, our men alwaies by the goodnesse of God hauing not onely the vpper hand, but without any notable losse almost, yet not without great slaughter of theirs: and would to God I had had such strength, as that not onely the conditions of peace, but euen the enemies themselues might haue beene in my power. But when wee were oftentimes come to parle (they still requiring the same) and so at length vnto conditions of peace, if such were giuen them, as whereby this onely Kingdome had without the wrong of any other beene deliuered from so great and sudden a danger, what reasonable man could finde fault there-*

therewith, if wee should haue preferred the health and welfare of our countrey (whereunto all good men owe all they haue) before other weens profits? But now these things were so done, as that it was no lesse prouided for the good of the neighbour Christians, yea and happily not the least for theirs, who for the same slander this Kingdome vnto your Holinesse: the furie of Sinan Bassa was by this meanes repressed, whe[illegible] he feared to be shut vp in the straits by our armie now come into Moldauia, and expected t[illegible]ars comming, spent almost all the rest of the Summer idely and without any thing doing. Th[illegible]r himselfe was not onely turned from the bowels of Christendome, whereinto hee had purposed (as the yeare before) to haue entered, wee hauing with our owne breasts receiued his force and furie: but beeing brought vnto conditions, was expressely enioyned in a most short prefined time, and without any more harme doing to returne againe into his countrey by the selfesame way hee came, and by no other: whereby it is come to passe, that vntill this day Christendome hath not this yeare yet felt the Tartars weapons. But vnto Transyluania and Hungarie, what a space and power was giuen for them to gather their strength and forces together, and out of the same places to oppose them against the enemie, when as our armie kept them safe at their backes, and eased not onely Moldauia, but Valachia and Transyluania also of that care? Whereas if this cause of delay had not beene obiected vnto the Turkes first, and after vnto the Tartars; not to say any thing of the Turkes; the Tartars at the verie selfesame time that the Transyluanian armie was gone into Valachia against Sinan, might haue broken into Transyluania before it could haue returned home, or else marching directly towards that armie, might haue met with it out of Transyluania. As for Moldauia, which together with the memorie of the Christian name, yet left in it, had vtterly perished, it was most manifestly preserued by the comming of our armie. Which what end it would haue had, if the enemie might at his pleasure haue raged as hee did in the farther Valachia, those most bitter remembrances in it yet at this day smoking, doe well declare: out of which it is well knowne moe thousands of Christian captiues to haue beene carried away into most woefull captiuitie, than almost out of any other Prouince in all the time of these miserable warres. Which although it bee thus, yet boast wee not thereof, neither send wee any triumphant Letters vnto your Holinesse, nor brag wee of our good seruice done for the Christian commonweale; contenting o[illegible]ues with the conscience of the thing it selfe. In the meane time wee are accused vnto your Holines[illegible]t for what cause? If any man complaine for the taking of Moldauia, I will not say it was by them before willingly forsaken, whilest I was yet in the frontiers thereof; but that this Kingdome hath a most antient right vnto it, and such a right as that when our Kings beeing busied in their warres against the Muscouite, the Cruciat Teutonie brethren, or others; some others also troubling the state thereof, it for a time became a prey vnto the Turkish Tyrants, yet in all the Leagues made or re[illegible]twixt this Kingdome and them, was still excepted, That all such things as the Palatine [illegible]ute was of dutie to performe vnto the King, should by him still bee performed. Which K[illegible] of Polonia, and namely Augustus himselfe, the last of the Iagellonian race, appointed diuers of those Palatines themselues. Which although they be things most manifest, yet hauing more regard vnto the welfare of that Prouince, as a Christian countrey, than of our right, wee restored the same into the same state wherein it hath beene for many yeares before these * warres. Wherefore if any man thinke any thing done, whereby the enemies of the crosse of Christ might bee eased or strengthened, or the defendours of the Faith hindered, it is so farre from any such thing to bee done, that rather (as is before declared) the enemies force is repressed and auerted, and greater meanes giuen vnto the Christians afront to impugne them, the enemie being at their backes by vs shut from them. But I feare that they haue not fully enformed your Holinesse, how these things were done, who haue reported vnto your said Holinesse not onely the name of the Turkes to haue beene proclaimed together with the Polonians in Moldauia, but also the name of the Tartars the proper enemies of the Polonians, and by the power and Decrees of them three, as it were confederat together, things to haue beene ordered in Moldauia. Which their complaint if it tend to that end, as if a confederation were made with them, I frankely confesse certaine conditions to haue beene giuen them, but such as whereby is prouided not onely for the quiet and securitie of this kingdome, but no lesse also for the whole Christian commonweale, as is before declared. All which things for al that, although they were done for the good of this Kingdome, and all Christendome in generall, yet were they so done, that they were all by mee referred vnto the Kings Maiestie and the States of the Kingdome: so that at this present the kingdome is at free liberty either to [illegible] in confederation with the rest of the Christian Princes; or if that cannot vpon certaine and ind[illegible] conditions be agreed vpon, yet with no mans iniurie or hurt to ratifie this, ioyned with the hea[illegible]nd good of a great part of the Christian commonweale:

* Viz. to become tributary vnto the Turks

commonweale: only God grant that the Christian Princes may seriously think both of this so Christian a confederation against the common enemie, and strine also all together against the enemie with their weapons, and not with misreports and slanders one against another. They are not to assaile the enemies feet, but his throat: neither is the seat of the war to be placed in the borders of Polonia, where it concerneth themselues much to haue all things rather peaceable behinde them; but let the war be vndertaken with no lesse charge and preparation, than if the enemies royal seat were to be assailed; which standing in an open and plaine Countrey, shall alwaies without much ado be his that being strongest can take it. This haue I written at large, as my purpose was, all which I most humbly beseech your Holinesse with your diuine wisedome to consider of, and with your woonted clemencie to accept the same. And so prostrate at your Holinesse feet, I most humbly commend me to your clemencie. From Zamoschie the tenth of Ianuarie, 1596.

Thus much the great Chancellor in defence of himselfe and of that he had done in Moldauia: which howsoeuer it contented the Pope, well I wot it nothing pleased the Emperor, and much lesse the Transyluanian Prince, now not a little weakened by the taking away of the countrey of Moldauia from him.

To end this troublesome yeare withall, many sharpe and bloudie skirmishes yet daily passed in diuers places of those frontier countries, the Turks almost in euery place still going to the worse. In the beginning of Nouember, *Leuewitz* gouernour of Carolstat the second time surprised Wihitz in the frontiers of Croatia, where these wars first begun: but being not able to take the castle, contented himselfe as before with the spoile of the city, and afterward setting it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* also attempted Zolnoc: and the Christians in garison at Strigonium and Plindenburg, now become neere neighbors vnto the Turks at Buda, did with continual inrodes not a little molest them both all the latter end of this yeare, and the beginning of the next. And the Turkes in Braila in Valachia vpon the side of Danubius, fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be besieged by the Vayuod, forsooke the citie, and in such hast passed the riuer, that in that tumultuous passage three hundred of them perished. *Sinan Bassa* by the Transyluanian Prince of late driuen out of Valachia, was not long after sent for to Constantinople: but the craftie old fox not ignorant of the fierce nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late misery of *Ferat*, found occasions to delay the time so long, vntil that he was sent for again, and after that, the third time also. In the mean while he had so wrought by his mighty friends in court, & by rich rewards, mightier than they, that at his comming to the court he was there honorably receiued, as the chiefest of the Bassa's, and being afterwards offered to be discharged of the wars, as a man of aboue fourescore yeares old; he refused so to be; saying, That hee was borne and brought vp amongst soldiers and martial men, and so wished among them to dy: as not long after he did; dying as was thought of conceit of the euil successe he had in his wars against the Transyluanian.

Sinan Bassa sent for to Constantinople.

His death.

Mahomet the Turkish Emperor exceedingly grieued with the losse of so many his cities and strong places this yere lost, as namely Strigonium, Vicegrade, Siseg, Petrinia, Lippa, Ienna, Tergouista, Bucharesta, Zorza, and many others of lesse name: and both by letters and messengers vnderstanding daily of the slaughter of his people, and wasting of his frontiers, commanded great preparation to be made against the next Spring; giuing it out, that he would then in person himselfe come downe into Hungarie with such a power as neuer had any his predecessors the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, and there take most sharp reuenge of all his former wrongs. Neuertheless these his so hastie designes were by the plague and famine (which then both raged extremely in most part of his Empire) and by other great occurrents of the same time, so crossed, that by that time the Spring came, he scarcely wel knew which way to turne himselfe first. For beside these troubles of the West, of themselues ynough to haue filled his hands, the Georgians in the East, a warlike people, moued with the good successe of the Christians in Valachia and Hungary, had taken vp armes against him; and the old Persian King but a little before dead, had left that great kingdome to his sonne, a man of greater spirit than was like to endure the manifold iniuries before done vnto his father by the Turks, to the great dishonour of that kingdome, and preiudice of himselfe. Of which things the Bassa of Tauris gaue him ample intelligence, wishing him betimes to prouide for such stormes: which ioyned to the rest, filled his head with many troubled thoughts, whereunto we leaue him vntil the next Spring.

Mahomet perplexed.

The

The Transyluanian Prince carefull of his estate, and not a little troubled with the disseuering of Moldauia, thought it not vnfit for his affaires, now after the flight of *Sinan* and discomfiture of the Turks, to go in person himselfe vnto the Emperor, to declare vnto him the wrong done him by the Polonian; and further to confer with him concerning the mannaging of the wars against r[illegible]nmon Enemie. So hauing put all things in readinesse for his journey, hee
1596 set forward in Ianuarie 1596, and by the way of Cassouia the fourth of Februarie arriued at Prague in Bohemia, where he was by the Emperors appointment most honourably entertained. But immediatly after his comming thither he fell sicke of an Ague, which grieuously vexed him by the space of three weekes. In the latter end of Februarie hauing somewhat recouered his health, he went to the Church: where after his deuotions done, he was by the Deane of the Cathedral Church welcommed with a most eloquent Oration, setting forth his worthie praises, and further animating him vnto the like exploits against the common Enemy of all Christianitie. Whereunto he forthwith answered in Latine so eloquently and so readily, that all men maruelled that heard him: protesting in his speech, That as he and his subiects had not hitherto spared their liues or goods in defence of the common cause; so would they not afterwards spare the same, but aduenture all for the benefit of the Christian Commonweale: well hoping, that the Emperor and the other Christian Princes would not as occasion should require be wanting vnto him with their forces, or the Clergie with their prayers: which done, he doubted not (as he said) by the power of God, but to obtaine more notable victories than he had yet against the Turks the enemies of God.

The Siculi rebel against the Prince.

Whilest he yet thus lay at the Emperors Court, it fortuned that the people called Siculi, offended to haue their liberties in some part infringed in the late assembly of the States holden in Transyluania in December last, rise vp now in armes in diuers places, refusing to yeeld their former obedience to the Prince. A matter like enough to haue wrought him much trouble, and supposed not to haue bin done without the priuitie of the Cardinal his vncle: but by the wisedome and courage of such as he had in his absence put in trust with the gouernment of his Country, diuers of the ringleaders of this rebellion [illegible] apprehended, and in diuers sorts executed: and three hundred of their complices to the terror of their fellows had their noses and eares cut off. By which wholsome seueritie all those troubles were appeased, and the country againe quieted.

At the same time also the Transyluanians obtained [illegible] the Turks a notable victorie, with an exceeding rich booty. *Mahomet* the Turkish Sulta[illegible] about this time sent a new Bassa for the gouernment of Temeswar: against whose com[illegible]e old Bassa before Gouernor had in seuentie fiue waggons trussed vp a wonderfull [illegible] of wealth, which he had there gotten in the time of his former gouernment, to haue [illegible]e together with himselfe with a strong conuoy conducted to Belgrade. Of this his purpose the Hungarian Heidons lying at Lippa and Ienna hauing intelligence, lay in wait for him vpon the way, and in his passing by set vpon him: where in a sharpe conflict they ouerthrew the conuoy, and slew the Bassa, whose head they sent for a present to the Princesse at Alba Iulia, and tooke the spoile of the Bassa's carriages, wherein was taken a wonderfull wealth, for in one of those waggons is reported to haue been found twentie thousand of Hungarian duckets.

The Bassa of Temeswar slain and a great booty taken.

In this absence also of the Prince, 10000 of the Rascians reuolting from the Turk, came and offered their seruice vnto the Princesse: whereof she by letters with great speed certified the Prince her husband; who thereupon hasted to dispatch with the Emperor, and hauing procured both from him and the Pope the promise of some aid to be afterwards sent him, tooke of him his leaue, and being honorably accompanied, departed from Prague to Vienna, where he arriued the 11 of March, sitting in a princely chariot drawne with six most beautifull horses, the gift of the Emperor. At his comming thither he was met by the nobilitie of the countrey, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Popes nephew, who presented him with three goodly horses for seruice, richly furnished. Him the prince tooke into his charet, and so accompanied entred the city, where he was with all due honor receiued and ioyfully entertained, and so brought vnto the Emperors palace, where by the learned students of [illegible]t Vniuersitie, was for his pleasure acted before him the notable historie of *Iosua*. Hauing [illegible] there three dayes, and purposing to haue in his returne visited his mother in law at Gre[illegible] in Croatia; newes was brought him, That the Turkes and Tartars by the setting on of *Stephen Bathor* his Vncle, were about to

to breake into Transyluania. Wherefore changing his purpose, he departed thence to Presburg, and so with all speed kept on his way towards Transyluania; where he to the great ioy and comfort of his subiects in general, arriued in safetie in the beginning of April.

In this while many hot skirmishes passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks in the frontiers of their territories; and now the plague and famine which had of long raged in Constantinople and other places of the Turks dominions, began to assuage. Of which so great calamities as had deuoured many thousands of his people, the Turkish Emperour finding himselfe somewhat eased, forthwith caused the continuation of his wars against the Emperour and the Transyluanian Prince, to be three dayes together proclaimed in Constantinople, and a great armie to be raised to be sent into Transyluania and Hungarie: giuing it out, that he would with that so puissant an armie in person himselfe come into Hungarie. At which time it was also reported, That he had alreadie sent his tents and other his necessary prouision before to Hadrianople: for now was nothing more odious in the Turks Court, than the name of the Transyluanian Prince.

warres proclaimed in Constantinople against the emperor & the Transyluanian Prince.

Of all these things was not the Emperor ignorant, as fully thereof certified both by letters and espials, as also by the vniforme confession of such Turks as were daily taken prisoners. For which cause he also with as much speed and care as he could prouided for the raising of his armie, as he had the yere before; as also for the leuying of mony, and prouision of all things necessary, that the enemy at his comming might not find him vnprouided. Neither spared he to pray aid of the other Christian Princes his neighbors, especially of the Polonian, whome hee had diuers times sought after to haue drawn him into the confederation with the other Christian Princes against the Turke. To which purpose he now also sent vnto him the Bishop of Preslaw and the Lord *Poppelius* his Embassadors: as did the Pope also send vnto him the Cardinal *Cajetane* his Legat; and the Princes Electors also their Embassadors: vnto whome the Polonian gaue good hearing and good words, but would not by any meanes be perswaded to breake his league with the Turke, or to afford any aid vnto the Christians; although the cardinall with many pregnant reasons shewed him what small assurance there was in the Turkes leagues, and how dangerous it might be to his state, if the Turke making peace with the Emperor, should turne his force vpon him, which it was like enough he would, as knowing no man longer for friend, than stood with his profit, beside the immortal blemish of his honor, by diseuering himselfe from the vnion of the Christian Princes, to hold friendship with the Turks and Infidels. But all this and much more to no purpose, so resolutely was the Polonian set downe for the keeping of the Turks fauour. So that of all the Christian Princes so neere vnto the deuouring Enemy, none stood the Christian commonweale in lesse stead than he. Which for all that, most men imputed not so much vnto the King, as to others about him, especially to *Zamoschie* the great Chancellor, by whome that state was most swayed, who was not onely supposed but openly reported to haue secret intelligence both with the Turke and the Tartar.

All this while the lord *Palfi* gouernor of Strigonium ceased not with continual inroades to vex the Turks euen to the gates of Buda, as did also the other Christian captaines in other places of the Turks frontiers in Hungarie. Neere vnto Buda were two great country villages for most part inhabited by Christians, who hauing giuen their oath of obedience vnto the Turke, liued a miserable life for the paiment of an excessiue tribute yearely. These poore Christians wearie of the Turkish thraldome, and the continual spoile of their labours by them of Strigonium; by secret messengers requested the lord *Palfi*, of mercie to carrie them with their goods and cattel away into some other place of the Christian territorie, that so they might yet liue amongst Christians, as he had but a little before done for them of old Buda. Vnto which their so reasonable a request the Christian gouernour charitably hearkened; willing them against a certaine appointed time to put themselues with all their things in readinesse. There was of these Christians about 755 families, who with their wiues and children, and such trash as they had packt vp into 80 waggons, drawne with fourteene or sixteene oxen a piece, at the appointed time about midnight committed themselues with all that they had vnto the conduct of them of Strigonium, sent out of purpose for them; by whom they were in safetie brought to Strigonium. Amongst them were many rich men, who brought with them good store of coyne, with an exceeding great number of cattell. Vnto these new come guests *Palfi* assigned certaine fields betwixt Strigonium and Vinaria, on the North side of Danubius; where they

they so commodiously liued, as was possible in so troubled an estate of a countrey.

Six hundred of the garison soldiours of Lippa slaine by the Turks.

Shortly after, 600 garison soldiers of Lippa seeking after bootie, and aduenturing too farin. G to the enemies territorie, were discouered by the Turks scouts, and so beset by the Turks and Tartars billited in the country about Temeswar, that there was no way left for them to escape. Which they well perceiuing, resolued among themselues (as became valiant men) to fight it out euen vnto the last man: and with no lesse resolution performed what they had before determined; for being on euery side beset and hardly charged by their enemies, they as men before resolued to die, although scarce one to twentie, fought most desperatly, seeking for nothing els but to sell their liues as deere as they could vnto their enemies: and so fighting were all slaine, except some few which by great fortune escaped, leauing vnto the enemie a right bloudie victorie. Yet by this losse of so great a partie was the garrison of Lippa greatly weakned, which H the enemy knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to besiege the Towne. Which *Barbelus* the gouernor (a most valiant man) wisely foreseeing, sent in post vnto the Transyluanian Prince, to request him with all speed to send him foure or fiue thousand good souldiers, with which power he doubted not by the helpe of God, to be able to defend the towne against all the forces the enemy was at that time able to bring against it. Vnto whom the prince without delay sent 8000, who all in safetie in good time arriued at Lippa: for shortly after

Lippa besieged by the Turks and Tartars.

their arriual, 40000 of the Turks and Tartars came and sat downe before the towne, enclosing it on euery side, and so lay for certaine dayes without any thing doing worth the speaking of; they of the towne in the meane time doing them all the harme they could with their great shot, which they sent amongst them not sparingly. But they had not so long lien, but that news I was brought into the camp, That the Transyluanian Prince was with a great power comming thither to relieue the towne: whereupon they presently rise, and retyred to the place where they had before encamped, about two miles from Lippa; where certainly vnderstanding that the Prince neither was, neither could in short time be in such readinesse as was before reported, they forthwith returned, and more straitly besieged the town than before. They had now brought with them seuenteene pieces of battery waggons laded with shot and pouder, and fortie six others laded with scaling ladders and other warlike prouision: thus appointed they began to batter the towne, and afterwards gaue thereunto diuers desperat assaults; which the Christians valiantly receiued, and stil with great slaughter repulsed their enemies. For that strong town was with towers and bulwarks flanking one another, so fortified, that out of them K the Christians with their murthering pieces made great spoile of their enemies, and stil enforced them with losse to retyre, no bullet almost falling in vaine. In the heat of one of these assaults the gouernor caused one of the gates of the towne to be set open, hauing before within the towne placed sixteene great pieces at the very entrance of the same gate, charged with all kind of murthering shot. Vnto which gate as of meere desperation set open by the defendants, the Turks and Tartars desirous of reuenge, came thronging as thicke as might be, thinking to haue thereby entered: when suddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with the aforesaid murthering pieces cut downe as with a sithe, and so againe, and the third and fourth time, before they could cleere themselues of the danger thereof, their heads, armes, and legs, and other rent limbs, flying in the aire most miserably to behold. Neuertheless the siege L was by them continued, & the often assaults so resolutely maintained, as if they had therupon purposed to haue gaged all their liues. But this so obstinat a resolution was by an vnexpected accident when they least thought, conuerted into such a desperate feare and astonishment, that they vpon the sudden (no man forcing them) forsook their trenches wherin they lay incamped, and leauing behinde them their tents, their great ordnance, and what soeuer els they had, they betooke themselues to a most disordered flight. The Transiluanians, who by chance were euen then comming thither, pursuing them, slew diuers of them, and tooke some others of them prisoners. At this siege the Bassa of Temeswar himselfe was mortally wounded, and *Hamat* Sanzacke of Giula with diuers others of good place slaine, and 4000 of the common soldiers. The cause of the Turks so great and sudden feare was this, Whilest the Bassa of Temeswar lay M at the siege of Lippa, as is afore said, they that were left in the citie fearing no harme, liued in great securitie; in the meane time the gouernour of [illegible] sent out six thousand souldiers towards Temeswar, now in the absence of the Bassa to [illegible] after bootie: who comming to Temeswar with great speed, rifled the suburbs of the [illegible] slew all the Turks they could light vpon

A vpon, and set at libertie a thousand captiues: and so hauing trussed vp their bootie, set on fire all the suburbs, and departed. Which fire grew so great and so terrible, that it was plainely seene into the campe at Lippa, making a shew as if the whole citie had beene on a light fire. Which so daunted the hearts of the Turkes at the siege, that they presently fled (as is before said) leauing all that they had behinde them.

Plenia a towne of the Turkes sacked by the Christians.

The Transyluanian all this while busied in raising of his army, and prouiding of things necessarie for the maintenance of his warres, was come into the confines of Hungarie, towards Temeswar, euen as the Turkes fled from Lippa. At which time certaine Hungarian Heidons that serued him, getting ouer Danubius not far from Nicopolis, tooke Plenia a little towne of the Turks, which they ransacked and burnt, and hauing slaine in the country thereabout aboue B three thousand of the Turks, returned with a rich prey vnto the Prince.

Clissa lately surprised by the Christians, lost againe to the Turks.

Not long before, the Christians had surprised Clissa a strong frontier towne of the Turks in Dalmatia not far from Spalato: which towne the Bassa of Bosna sought now again to recouer, and thereto laied hard siege. For the reliefe whereof, *Leucowitz* gouernor of Stiria and the other prouinces thereabouts belonging to the house of Austria, and the gouernour of Zeng with a fleet of two and fortie ships, wherein they had embarked 4000 souldiers well appointed with all things necessarie, set forward toward Clissa: and by the way lighting vpon a galley of the Venetians bound with certaine warlike prouision towards the Turkes campe, tooke her as good prize, and rifled her. This fleet with a faire wind arriued at Siret, neere vnto Trau, where the gouernor landing his men, marched that night part of his way toward Clissa, and C all the next day lay close. The night following they set forward againe, and hauing marched fifteene miles, came vnto the enemies campe before day: where setting vpon the Turkes in their trenches, fearing no such peril, they brought such a general feare vpon the whole campe, that the Turks as men amased, fled some one way, some another, euery man (as in such sudden feare it commonly happeneth) making shift for himselfe, leauing whatsoeuer they had in their trenches behind them. The Christians contented so to haue put their enemies to flight, fell presently to the spoile, as more desirous thereof, than by the hastie pursuit of their enemies to put themselues in possession of an assured victorie. Which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and from the hils with the dawning of the day discouering the smal number of the Christians, and D how they were disordered, they gathered themselues againe together, and comming downe, inclosed on euery side the disordered Christians (greedily hunting after the spoile) and slew them downeright. *Leucowitz* himselfe with the gouernor of Zeng and some others got into Clissa, where hauing stayed two days, and doubting to be able to keep the town, they secretly by night issued out with 600 men, in hope to haue recouered their fleet: but the Turks suspecting such a matter, had so beset the passages, that of all that companie, *Leucowitz* had much ado himselfe with three others to escape. The enemie now againe possessed of his trenches, layd straiter siege to the towne than before: which they of the garrison perceiuing, and now out of hope of reliefe, agreed with the Bassa, that they might with bag & baggage depart, and so yeelded vp the towne. Thus Clissa one of the strongest townes of Dalmatia, through the greedy couetousnesse of the disordered soldiers, fel againe into the hands of the Turks.

Sombock taken by the lord Palfi.

About the same time, *Palfi* gouernor of Strigonium vnderstanding of the meeting together E of certaine notable aduenturers of the Turkes at Sombock a Castle almost in the mid way betwixt Alba-Regalis and Buda, raised the greatest strength he could, and so with certaine pieces of artillerie, and other things necessarie for an assault, set forward from Strigonium the two and twentieth of May, before the rising of the Sun, and about three a clocke in the afternoone came to the aforesaid castle; whereunto he presently gaue a most terrible assault, which he neuer gaue ouer vntill he had taken it: for after that he had by the space of three houres together with great danger maintained a most desperat assault, at length he with much difficultie preuailed, and put to the sword all the Turks he found therein, man, woman, and child; and with the rest, fiftie Ianizaries but that day come thither. This castle was of great beautie, and F most pleasantly scituated, whereunto the Bassa of Buda oftentimes for his pleasure repaired: for which cause *Palfi* was very desirous to haue taken it without spoiling: but the fire he had therein alreadie raised so preuailed, that it burnt downe all the goodly buildings thereof, with great store of victuals and other prouision, nothing remaining but what the Christians had saued for themselues.

The

Temeſware beſieged by the Tranſyluanian prince.

The Tranſyluanian Prince hauing raiſed a great armie for the reliefe of Lippa, being by great chance a little before his comming relieued, came & laid ſiege to the citty of Temeſwar: where he had not long lien, but that the Turks and Tartars fearing to loſe that ſo famous a citie, aſſembled together from all places thereabouts to the number of 40000, and ſo came to raiſe the ſie[illegible] whole comming the Prince hearing, roſe with his armie, and went to meet them, and had w[illegible]nem a great and terrible battell, the victorie for a great while ſtanding verie doubtful, yet ſeeming to incline rather to the Turks and Tartars, than to the Chriſtians: but at length the Turks diſordered with the great artillerie, and the Tranſyluanians charging them afreſh, began to giue ground, and ſo at laſt to betake themſelues to plaine flight. In this battell were ſlaine of the Turkes and Tartars 5000, and of the Chriſtians 1500. It was for a time reported, That the Prince himſelfe was in this battell ſlaine: which was not ſo, being reſerued to the further plague of the Turks, and comfort of his afflicted Countrey. After this victorie he returned againe to the ſiege, which he more ſtraitly continued than before, leauing nothing vnattempted that he could poſſibly deuiſe for the winning of the citie. Where whileſt he yet thus lay battering the citie both night and day, newes was brought him, That *Giaffer Baſſa* and the Tartars were comming with a great armie to the reliefe of the beſieged. Whereupon he conſidering his owne ſtrength and the power of his enemies, and that the aid promiſed him both from the Emperour and out of Hungarie was not yet readie, with great griefe of minde raiſed his ſiege, and retired with his armie to Lippa, there expecting new ſupplies as well of his owne as from his friends. Whileſt he yet there lay, he was certainly aduertiſed, That the Baſſa of Natolia (the forerunner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*) was come to Belgrade with fourteene thouſand horſe and foure thouſand Ianizaries to joine with the Baſſa of Buda for the relieuing of Temeſwar; whoſe forces joined together were in number about threeſcore thouſand: and that *Mahomet* himſelfe (of whoſe comming had been rife report all this yeare) was now comming after with a far greater power. Whereupon he departed from Lippa, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo returning to Alba-Iulia, called there an aſſemblie of all his States, for the repreſſing of ſo puiſſant an enemie.

The Prince raiſeth his ſiege.

Mahomet for the better ſucceſſe of his wars in Hungarie had drawne forth the Tartar with a mightie power: who although he was at the firſt ſo vnwilling to that ſeruice (conſidering the great loſſes he had therein before receiued) that he would not, as he ſaid, ſend ſo much as one Aſſe thereunto: yet ouercome with great gifts, and the reſpect he had of the Turkiſh Sultan, was now ready with a ſtrong army vpon the front[illegible] of Moldauia, to meet him in Hungarie: vnto whom the late choſen Vaiuod ſent certain [illegible]nts, with ſuch ſtore of victuals as he could poſſibly prouide for him. Yet foraſmuch [illegible] was not that way to paſſe without the leaue of the Polonian, *Mahomet* had both by lette[illegible]nd diuers his Embaſſadors entreated with the Polonian king for his paſſage: as alſo for the confirmation of the antient league he and the Polonian kings his predeceſſours had to their good of long time had with the *Othoman* Emperours; from which he well knew the Chriſtian Emperor, with diuers other the Chriſtian Princes to ſeeke by all meanes to withdraw him. *Mahomet* alſo not ignorant, how hurtfull and dangerous the confederation betwixt *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia & the Tranſyluanian was vnto him and his deſignes, ſent vnto him an Embaſſador, by the ſhew of great dangers to deter him from the Tranſyluanian, and by many glorious promiſes to allure him to ſubmit himſelfe again vnto his protection, and in token of his fielitie to deliuer vnto the Sultan two of his frontier townes, ſuch as he ſhould require; in regard whereof he ſhould together with the Sultans fauour receiue golden mountaines. Whereunto the Vayuod anſwered, That as yet he was not wearie of the friendſhip he held with the Prince: and for the townes he required, that they were not in his power to giue, as belonging to the Prince, vnto whom he ſaid he would write, and ſtay the Embaſſador in the meane time vntill he had from him anſwer.

The Emperor on the other ſide had with all carefulneſſe ſo far as in him was, prouided that his army might be ready to take the field with the beginning of the Spring: but as it commonly chanceth, the ſpeedie proceedings of great actions (wherein the hands of many mighty is required) to be much hindered by delaies, ſometimes of one, and ſometimes of another; ſo fel it out with him now: for albeit that his owne forces were [illegible]ome good time readie, yet was the Spring, yea and a good part of Sommer alſo far paſt, be[illegible] the aid promiſed from other Princes met together. At length after long expectance, when ſome conuenient number for an armie

armie was from diuers places come together at Vienna: they were by the lord *Swartzenburg* and their other commanders brought forth into the field, and not far from Altenburg encamped, within the ſelfeſame trenches that were the laſt yeare caſt vp by countie *Mansfield* for the ſafetie of his armie; there to expect the comming downe of the great ordnance and other prouiſion by the riuer from Vienna, as alſo the reſt of the Chriſtian forces dayly looked for. From Altenburg the Chriſtian armie remooued to Komara, and not ſtaying there long, the foure and twentieth of Iuly marched towards Vacia, otherwiſe called Woczen: but before it came thither, the Turks hearing of the approch of the Chriſtians, for ſooke the town, and with their cartell and beſt part of their ſubſtance fled to Peſth, carrying alſo away with them the great ordnance; the greateſt whereof they buried by the way, which was neuertheleſſe afterwards found out by the Chriſtians. And although the Turks at their departure had ſet fire both vpon the towne and the caſtle, yet the Chriſtians left therein did what they might to quench the ſame: by whoſe diligence and the helpe of two thouſand footmen, and certaine troupes of horſemen ſent thither by *Swartzenburg*, a great part both of the towne and the caſtle was preſerued: the whole Armie of the Chriſtians following after, encamped in the open field, and with their horſemen braued the Turks euen to the gates of Peſth. This ſo ſudden a comming of the Chriſtians, brought a great feare both vpon them of Peſth & Buda; inſomuch, that they ſent their wiues and children, with the chiefeſt of their ſubſtance downe the riuer vnto places of more ſafetie, and farther off from danger: which was done ſo diſorderedly (as it happeneth in ſuch common feares) that many of them for haſt thruſt one another into the riuer, and ſo periſhed.

Vacia abandoned of the Turks, is taken by the Chriſtians.

Hitherto in the former wars againſt the Turke, had *Matthias* been Generall of the Chriſtian armies: but now of late, *Ferdinand* the Emperors vncle Countie of Tirol being dead, *Matthias* was by the Emperor his brother preferred to the gouernment of that rich countrie and the prouinces thereabouts, not inferior to ſome kingdomes; and *Maximilian* his younger brother appointed General in his ſtead: who departing from Vienna in the latter end of Iuly, came into the camp the fourth of Auguſt, where he was by the Lord *Swartzenburg* his Lieutenant, and the Lord *Palfi*, honourably and with great triumph receiued.

Now were the Chriſtians threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, and hauing fortified Vacia, and therin placed a conuenient garriſon, reſolued by common conſent to beſiege Hatwan, a ſtrong towne of the Turks in the vpper Hungarie. And thereupon riſing with their armie from Vachia the thirteenth of Auguſt, came the fifteenth of the ſame month about noone & ſat down before the towne; and that with ſuch ſpeed, that they were before ſeene of the Turks in the town, than that they heard any thing of their cõming: inſomuch, that at the firſt ſhew of them, they of the towne tooke them to haue been ſome come out to ſeeke after bootie; and therfore ſallying out vpon them, skirmiſhed with them a while, vntill they perceiued the whole battell comming. The Chriſtians approching the towne, encamped themſelues, as they thought moſt conuenient, and began in three places to batter the counterſcarfe. This frontier towne of the Turks, beſides that it was kept with a ſtrong garriſon, was alſo ſtrengthned with a broad ditch, and fortified with a broad counterſcarſe and ſtrong paliſadoes. Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege, the Turks ſallying out of the towne, brake into their trenches, and there did great harme; and like enough they were to haue done more, had not the horſemen in good time come in vpon them and enforced them to retire. In this ſally, amongſt others was one *Greis* a notable captaine ſlaine, being ſhamefully forſaken of his owne men; who for that their cowardiſe, were all in the ſight of the whole armie diſarmed, and ſo turned out of the camp as men vnworthie any longer to beare armes. One morning alſo as the Chriſtians were at their deuotions in their trenches, a Turkiſh prieſt from out of an high tower not far off, railed moſt bitterly vpon them, curſing and deriding them: wherewith one of the Chriſtian canoniers much moued, made a ſhot at the tower, which he ſo well beſtowed, that therewith he ſtruck downe the tower, together with the Idolatrous prieſt, as he was yet railing & blaſpheming. At length the Chriſtians had with exceeding labor & continual batterie made the town faultable: wherwith the Turks diſcouraged, offered (but al too late) to yeeld vp the towne vpon the ſame conditions that they of Strigonium had: whereunto they receiued no anſwer; yea commandement was giuen throughout the campe, That no man vpon paine of death, ſhould haue any parley with them. Shortly after, all things being now in readineſſe for the aſſault, the Chriſti-

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Cowardiſe punished.

Hatwan woon by the Christians.

ans one day about fiue a clocke in the afternoone, assaulted the towne in foure places; and after three houres hard fight, by strong hand tooke it, with the schriching and lamenting of the women and children, and other fearefull people, who now gaue themselues all lost and forlorne.

Extreme cruelties.

Foure houres execution was done vpon all that came to hand, without respect of age, sex, or condition: women were slain great with childe, and yong children hanging at their mothers breasts; it boo[ted] not to crie for mercy, the bloudy sword deuouring all. The fury of the Wallons here exceeded, who ript the children out of their mothers wombs, and made thongs and points of the skins of men and women, whom they had slain quicke. Which their cruelty they afterwards excused when they were therefore reproued, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turkes hereafter not so wickedly to blaspheme against Christ, or with such their wonted and barbarous cruelty to torment the Christians that fell into their hands, for feare of like themselues. In this assault and furie perished of the Turks about foure thousand, & of the Christians not past three hundred. In this towne beside that which the fire deuoured, was found a very rich prey. The first that entred the towne was one *Terskie* a notable captain, with his companie: after whom followed *Ruswurme*, who each of them were thought in their entrance at the breach, to haue slaine with their owne hand eight or ten Turks.

Mahomet the great Sultan commeth to Buda with an army of two hundred thousand.

Now in the meane time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to Belgrade, remoued thence to come downe into the heart of Hungarie, sending *Cicala Bassa* before him: and at length after long looking for, the second of September arriued at Buda, hauing in his armie about two hundred thousand men, and three hundred field pieces. From thence he presently sent fortie thousand to Temeswar; but staied there himselfe with the rest of his armie.

The Christians yet lying at Hatwan, and doubting lest the Sultan suddenly passing the riuer should come vpon them not yet readie for battell; departing thence, and retiring backe againe, came and encamped not far from Vachia. And albeit that the Archduke before his departure from Hatwan, had left a conuenient garrison for the keping of the towne; yet such was the terrour of the Turkes approch, that the next day after, they that were there left in garrison forsooke the towne, and setting it on fire, followed themselues after the campe. This comming of the Turkish Sultan to Buda, brought also a great feare vpon them [in] Vienna, as much doubting lest he should that way haue turned his forces, which caused them both day and night to labor for the better fortification of the citie, and for the prouision of all things, [as] if [it] had bin for a present siege.

But *Mahomet* not prouided for the vndertakin[g] so strong a place, and not ignorant of the disgrace his great grandfather the victori[ous] had sometime receiued vnder the wals thereof; had no purpose thereto, as haun[ting] his thoughts quite another way. In the vpper part of Hungarie is an antient famous city, well fortified and honoured with a Bishops See called Agria, not far from Hatwan: vpon this city, as the chiefe fortresse of the Christians in those quarters, had *Mahomet* at his comming into Hungarie cast his eies, and began now that way to make head, with purpose by taking of that citie, and placing there of a strong garrison, to hinder the vniting of the Emperors forces with the Transyluanians, for the mutuall strengthning of the one the other by the way of the vpper Hungarie. Which the Archduke perceiuing, sent thither forthwith the valiant Colonell *Terskie* with a notable companie of Italians and Germanes, and a thousand other harquebusiers, who all arriued there in safetie. At which time also the lord *Teuffenbach* sent into the citie three thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of countie *Turne*, with good store of warlike prouision needfull for the defence thereof. The one and

Agria beseged by Mahomet.

twentieth of September, *Mahomet* attended vpon by the great Bassaes, *Ibrahim*, *Giaffer*, *Hassan* and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men came and encamped betweene the two riuers of Danubius and Tibiscus, couering [the] great [part] of the countrie with his tents. Approching the citie, he with wonderfull celeritie cast [vp] great mounts, and from them with such furie battered the wals, that the Christians [were] night and day to stand in armes for the defence thereof. And although that the wals [were] great, & in many places so weakly fortified as that they were not but by a [few] to be defended against so puissant an enemie; and that therefore the defenders [might] lawfully might euen the first day haue set the citie on [fire] and retired themselues [into] which was both faire and strong, and the only place to [be] trusted vnto: yet for [the] daies they valiantly defended the whole citie against the fury of the

them great harme. But seeing the danger greatly encreasing, and that the citie was not longer to be holden, they set it on fire; hauing before conueied all the best of their substance with themselues into the castle: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, brake so suddenly into the city, as if they would together with the Christians haue entred the castle also; but in the attempt therof they were notably repulsed & many of them slain. Adioyning to the castle was a great and strong bulwarke, against which the Turks for certain daies furiously thundred with their great ordnance, & that without intermission: and hauing in diuers places sore shaken it, in the space of two daies assaulted it 12 times, but not without the wonderfull losse of their men: & yet gaue it not so ouer; but as men with their losse more enraged, came on againe with greater fury than before, & so at last by plaine force tooke it: and there put to the sword all them they found therin, except such as by good hap got betimes into the castle. This bulwarke thus lost, the Christians the next day sallying out, again recouered; wherein they slew a great number of the Turks, with the losse of some thirtie men, and as many moe wounded. The besieged now diuers times both by letters and messengers craued aid of *Maximilian* the General, giuing him to vnderstand, that they could not long hold out for want of shot and pouder, if they were not betimes relieued (whereof the enemie also was not ignorant) yet were they resolued to hold it out euen to the last man; although the great Sultan had oftentimes by messengers sent of purpose, willed them to yeeld it vp, with promise that they should in safety with life & goods depart; otherwise threatning vnto them greater extremities than was of late shewed vnto the Turks at Hatwan, if they should as obstinat men hold it out [against him]. [But] nothing auer answered him any thing; for *Terskie* had forbi[dden] midst of the market place had caused a paire of gallowes [to be set vp] thereon, whosoeuer he were, that should once [speake] [While] the besieged thus [were] in hope of relief, [and] the Sultan towards Roma hauing retired [with] what too long exceeding the [time] to make some [assault] [But] such was the for[tune] [of] [the] [Turkes] [in] [the] [ditches] [and] [with] [great] [ordnance] [from] [the] [bulwarke] [vpon] [the] [Turkes] [that] [were] [already] [come] [ouer] [the] [riuer] [vpon] [the] [comming] [of] [the] [enemie] [to] [begin] [with] [them] [hereunto] [appointed] [so] [fiercely] [charged] [them] [that] [they] [ouerthrew] [them] [and] [not] [them] [only] [but] [certaine] [companies] [of] [them] [that] [were] [in] [another] [place] [come] [ouer] [the] [riuer]: [and] [not] [so] [contented] [but] [following] [them] [they] [had] [in] [chase] [put] [to] [flight] [them] [also] [that] [stood] [on] [the] [farther] [side] [of] [the] [riuer] [of] [whom] [they] [slew] [a] [great] [number] [& by the comming on of the rest of the armie, tooke from them an 190 great pieces of artillerie: whereof so great a feare rise in the enemies camp, that *Mahomet* with *Ibrahim* the great Bassa seeing the discomfiture of the armie, fled in all haste towards Agria, shedding some teares by the way as he went and wiping his eyes with a piece of *Mahomets* garment, which hee for reuerence carried about him as a relique. It drew now towards night, and the Archduke was about to haue caused a retreat to be sounded, and that day to haue done no more. But the Transyluanian Prince, the Lord *Palfi*, and the rest, perswaded him in that so great feare of the enemie to prosecute the victorie; and the rather, for that the Turks began againe to make head, and to repaire their disordered battels. Wherefore the Christians still keeping their array, charged afresh the front of their enemies restored battell, consisting of fortie thousand men, and that with such violence, as that they in short time had slaine the most part of them, and put the rest to flight: and with the like good fortune charging the bodie of the maine battell, forced the discouraged Turkes with great slaughter into their owne campe. Now commandement was before giuen throughout the Christian army, that no man vpon paine of death should in seeking after spoile breake his array, or forsake his place, before the victorie were assuredly gotten. But they in this hot pursute breaking together with the Turkes into their tents, and there killing a great number

Ten thousand Turks passe the riuer, and are [to]gether with the Tartars put to flight.

the reasons they could deuise, diſſuaded them from ſuch cowardiſe, putting them in mind of G
the oath they had taken: which not preuailing, they afterwards vpon their knees requeſted
them as men to hold it out yet a while, in hope of ſpeedie reliefe: yea *Terskie* with his hands
caſt vp entreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out, but needs yeeld, then they
ſhould firſt kill him with their owne hands, that he might not liue to ſee ſo great a diſhonour.
But what auaile[d] perſuaſion with men poſſeſſed with ſo great feare? And in the meane time
two hundred and fiftie of the common ſoldiers, among whom were many Italians, ſecretly eſ-
caping out of the caſtle fled into the camp, of whom diuers became renegats & turned Turk;
which added to the former feare, ſo much diſcouraged the minds of the reſt, that they forth-
with required to come to parly with the enemy, and ſo agreed, That they might with bag and
baggage and their ſwords by their ſides in ſafetie depart: the great Sultan giuing his faith for H
the performance thereof, with hoſtages deliuered on either ſide. So the 13 of October about
noone, the garriſon ſoul[diers] came out of the caſtle in number about two thouſand: but they
were not gone far, but that they were in a great plaine ſet vpon by the Turks and Tartars, and
there cut in pieces, ſome of them were ſlain quicke, and ſome other of them otherwiſe ſhame-
fully diſmembred; the Turks in the meane time vpbraiding them, and ſaying, That faith was
not to be kept with them that had ſo cruelly before dealt with them of Hatwan. This perfidi-
ous dealing much offended diuers of the better ſort of the Turks, inſomuch, that ſome of
them complained thereof vnto the Sultan; who (as is reported) cauſed ſome of the chiefe au-
thors thereof to be put to death: and afterward by open proclamation commanded, that if any
of the Turks or Tartars had taken any of them priſoners, they ſhould forthwith ſet them at li-
bertie. Thus is the famous citie of Agria, of long time a Chriſtian Biſhops ſeat, now become a I
ſure receptacle for the Turks and Infidels.

Agria yeelded vnto the Turks

Petrinia beſieged by the Turkes.

Whileſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the ſiege of Agria, the Baſſa of Boſna with certain other of the Sanzackes thereabouts, hauing raiſed a great armie, came & beſieged Petrinia in the borders of Croatia: which he at his firſt comming ſo furiouſly battered by the ſpace of ſeuen daies, that it was of many thought not poſſible for it to hold [out] two daies longer. In the mean time the Lord *Herbenſtein* and *Leukowitze*, with all the po[wer] they could make out of Croatia and Windiſmarch, came towards Petrinia: but hauing no meanes in ſo great haſte to make a bridge ouer the riuer of Kulp, they retired towards Siſeg, there to paſſe ouer. The Turkes hearing of their retire, and ſuppoſing them to haue fled for feare, put ſixe thouſand horſemen ouer K
the Riuer to purſue them: Vpon whome the Chriſtians turning, and charging them home, ouerthrew them; and hauing ſlaine many of them, [drou]e the reſt headlong into the Riuer, where moſt of them periſhed. The Chriſtians [nev]ertheleſſe keeping on their way to Siſeg, there the next day by a bridge paſſed ouer the Riuer, and ſo marching towards Petrinia, and beeing come neere vnto the towne, were encountered by eight thouſand Turkes, whom they alſo put to flight; and by certaine priſoners there taken, vnderſtood that the Baſſa the day before was riſen from before the towne and gone: which they at the firſt beleeued not, but comming thither found it ſo, to their owne good contentment, and the great ioy of the late be-
ſieged.

Petrinia releeued.

Maximilian the Generall marching on faire and ſoftly from Strigonium, at length the ſeuen- L
teenth of October came to Caſſouia, foure daies after that Agria was loſt; and there met with
the Tranſyluanian Prince, who was come thither with eighteen thouſand men, and forty field
pieces to aid him: of whom eight thouſand were mercinarie horſemen, fifteene hundred were
of the nobilitie of his country, and the reſt footmen. The next day after, they ſetting forward
from Caſſouia, ioyned themſelues with the reſt of the armie led by the Lord *Teuffenbach* and
Palfi, and ſo of all their vnited forces made one armie, conſiſting now of two and thirtie thou-
ſand horſemen and eight and twentie thouſand foot: who drew with them an hundred and
twenty field pieces, and twenty thouſand wagons, wherewith they euery night encloſed their
armie as with a moſt ſure trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards Agria,
with a full reſolution to giue the Turks battell, whereof the whole armie ſeemed to be very M
deſirous. By the way at length they came to a faire heath two miles long and foure broad,
where they were to paſſe ouer a certain riuer, the paſſage whereof *Giaffer Baſſa* had before ta-
ken with twentie thouſand Turks and Tartars, the reſt of the Turks armie lying ſtill not farre
from Agria. Now the purpoſe of the Baſſa was, to haue enlarged the paſſage of the riuer, and
ſo

A ſo to haue made way for the whole armie, to haue afterwards paſſed to the other ſide, as moſt commodious for many purpoſes, eſpecially for water; wherof they ſo might themſelues haue had plentie, & yet kept the Chriſtians from it. But of this his purpoſe, by the comming of the Chriſtians he was quite diſappointed: for the next day being the 23 of October, they skirmiſhed with him in diuers places, eſpecially at the paſſage of the riuer; where at the firſt incounter he loſt 300 of his men, and in the end ſeeing himſelfe too weake to withſtand the whole power comming on, fled to the Sultan, hauing loſt two of his enſignes & 20 field pieces, but of his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approch of the night hindered the purſuit of the Chriſtians, who were now become maſters both of the paſſage of the riuer, and of
B the place where the Baſſa lay: which they finding not ſo commodious for them as they had at the firſt ſuppoſed (eſpecially for lacke of wood, the weather being then extreme cold, as alſo hearing of the approch of the Sultan with his whole army) they forthwith forſook the ſame, and retired again ouer the riuer to the place where they lay before, incloſing themſelues with their waggons, as if it had beene a city ſtrongly encloſed with woodden wals. The next day which was the 24 of October, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his armie ſhewed himſelfe vnto the view of the Chriſtians, and ſent 3000 Tartars to paſſe the riuer: of whom the Chriſtians ſlew a great number with their great ſhot, and put the reſt to flight. Both the armies were populous and ſtrong, and couered a great deale of ground, a moſt goodly ſight to behold: both drunke of the ſame riuer, as well the men as their horſes, and therefore kept continuall watch
C all that night on both ſides of the riuer, eſpecially at the paſſage. In the morning betwixt ſix & ſeuen a clocke, *Mahomet* with his armie ranged in order of battell, came within ſight of the Chriſtians, his ſquadrons as it were couering all the country on that ſide of the riuer as far as the Chriſtians could well ſee; and now againe ſent part of his army ouer the riuer: with whom the Chriſtians ſkirmiſhed from morning till night, both the armies parted but by the riuer, all this while ſtanding faſt, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both ſides well wearied, and many ſlaine, the Turks retired again ouer the riuer to the camp: in the mean time (as if it had bin by conſent) they reſolued on both ſides the next day to trie the fortune of a battell; and ſo commandement was giuen through both the armies, for euery man againſt a certaine appointed time to make himſelfe ready. So the next day, being the 26 of
D October, *Mahomet* brought forth his armie again out of his camp, which was not far from the Chriſtians; and began now to draw downe towards the riuer. Neere vnto this place were the ruines of an old Church, where *Mahomet* placed certain companies of Ianizaries, and 24 field pieces, and commanded ten thouſand of his ſelect ſouldiers to paſſe the riuer, which they readily did. The Chriſtians alſo ready for battell, and now thinking it time vpon the comming ouer of the enemie to begin; with part of their armie thereunto appointed, ſo fiercely charged the Turks that were already come ouer, that they quickly ouerthrew them, and not them only, but certaine companies of Tartars alſo that were in another place come ouer the riuer: and not ſo contented, but following them they had in chaſe, put to flight them alſo that ſtood on the farther ſide of the riuer, of whom they ſlew a great number, & by the comming on of the
E reſt of the armie, tooke from them an 190 great pieces of artillerie: whereof ſo great a feare riſe in the enemies camp, that *Mahomet* with *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the armie, fled in all haſte towards Agria, ſhedding ſome teares by the way as he went and wiping his eyes with a piece of *Mahomets* garment, which hee for reuerence carried about him as a relique. It drew now towards night, and the Archduke was about to haue cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and that day to haue done no more. But the Tranſyluanian Prince, the Lord *Palfi*, and the reſt, perſuaded him in that ſo great feare of the enemie to proſecute the victorie; and the rather, for that the Turks began againe to make head, and to repaire their diſordered battels. Wherefore the Chriſtians ſtill keeping their array, charged [with] the [fron]t of their enemies reſtored battell, conſiſting of fortie thouſand men, and that [with] ſuch violence, as that they in ſhort time had ſlaine the moſt part of them, and put the reſt to flight: and
F with the like good fortune charging the bodie of the maine battell, [fo]ced the diſcouraged Turkes with great ſlaughter into their owne campe. Now commandement was before [gi]uen throughout the Chriſtian army, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould [in] the [hea]t breake his array, or forſake his place, before the victorie were [ab]ſolutely [gotten]. But [the] this hot purſute breaking together with the Turkes into their [tents] and there falling [to] [the] ſpoile

A great and long skirmiſh betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

Ten thouſand Turks paſſe the riuer, and are together with the Tartars put to flight.

number of them, and seeing in euery place great store of rich spoile, contrarie to the aforesaid commandement, left the pursuit of the enemy, & disorderly fell to the spoile of the tents, vntil they came to the very tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the mischiefe, with a most sudden change of fortune. For here these greedie disordred men, not now worthy the name of soldiers, light[ed] on a strong squadron of resolute men, with good store of great ordnance readie charged, w[hi]ch they discharged amongst the thickest of their enemies, and rent in sunder a number of them, and after that, came on resolutely themselues: when in the meane time *Cicala Bassa* with his horsemen yet vntouched, brake in vpon them also, and with the terror of his comming brought such a feare vpon them, that they began amaine to flie, especially the Hungarians & Germans, most busied in the spoile. Neither could they in that feare, by any threats or intreatie of their commanders be perswaded to make a stand, or so much as once to looke backe, or to shew any token of true valour: which their hasty flight was the ouerthrow not of themselues only, but of others also that would haue fought, for whilst they fled headlong vpon the spur, and could not be staid, they ouerran their owne footmen, & so furthered the enemies victorie. Thus for want of good order, through the greedy couetousnes of a sort of disordered men the most notable victory that euer the Christians were like to haue had ouer the Turks, was let slip out of their hands. Many noble gentlemen & commanders, in seeking to stay the flight of their own men, were here slain: & although the enemy followed the chase scarce halfe a mile, yet were the Christians possessed with such a feare, that they fled amaine all ouer the country with greater shame than losse, no man pursuing them. The Archduke himselfe seeing all desperat, fled to Cassouia. The Transyluanian of all others most orderly retired himselfe towards Tocaij, hauing not lost in this battell aboue 200 men, and of them neuer a man of name. All this losse he imputed to the couetousnesse of the Hungarians, and cowardise of the German horsemen. The Lord *Bernstein* hauing charge of the great artillerie, fled also, and made shift for himselfe, as did *Palfi*, and in fine all the rest. Neither was the feare lesse amongst the Turks (a wonderful thing to be spoken) than it was among the Christians: for the night following they for feare of the return of the Christi[ans] leaving vp the best of their things, fled also towards Agria. And it was afterwards known, ti[hat] the Turks great ordnance, tents, & baggage stood three daies in their trenches, either altogether vngarded, or so slenderly guarded, as that they might haue bin easily taken by the Christians, if they would but haue made head againe. Yea *Mahomet* himselfe is reported oftentimes to haue confessed the danger and feare he was then in to haue been taken, & all his army des[troyed] if the Christians had (as they should) pursued the victory, and not so basely turned [to] the spoile: by which danger he then warned, afterwards euer shunned to aduenture his [pe]rson to the like perill in the field. In this battel of Karesta (for so it is of a place therby call[ed] & at the siege of Agria, were lost of the Christians about 20000, and of the Turks 60000. *Mahomet* after this victory fortified Agria, and for the keeping thereof left in it 10000 souldiers, and so returned to Belgrade.

The Christians in seeking too greedily after the spoile, ouerthrowne and discomfited.

Twentie thousand Christians slain, & threescore thousand Turks.

The Bassa of Buda perswading himselfe that the Christians after so great an ouerthrow could not this yeare to any purpose recouer their strength, came with all the power he was able to make, and the fourth of Nouember besieged Vacia, in hope to haue easily carried it: but finding there greater resistance than hee had before imagined, and hearing that the dispersed Christians in the vpper part of Hungarie were making head for to come to the reliefe of the towne, he more afraid than hurt, brake vp his siege, and so returned to Buda: for indeed the dispersed reliques of the late army of the Christians were drawing together, but vnarmed & vnseruiceable, as hauing in the late flight shamefully cast away their armes, and therefore could haue done the Bassa small harme if he had continued the siege.

Vacia besieged by the Bassa of Buda.

Mahomet thinking it honor enough for him to haue thus woon Agria, and driuen the Christians out of the field, diuided his armie into two parts at Belgrade: whereof the one he billetted in the countrey thereabout, to be ready for all euents, and with the other hee returned to Constantinople: but by the way he was set vpon by *Barbelius Ianuschie* the Transyluanian princes Lieutenant, and the Vayuod of Valachia, who with a great power both of horse and foot being got ouer the riuer Danubius, and secretly fauored by the country people, lay in ambush for him in places of aduantage, and still following in the [re]re of his army, cut off 7000 of his men before he could be rid of them: and so with much trouble arriued at length at Constantinople, where we will for this yeare leaue him, vntill we heare of him more.

Maximilian with a small retinue arriued at Vienna in the latter end of Nouember, where he found the Viscont of Burgaw, *Swartzenburg*, and some other of the commanders of his late armie; most of the rest, especially the Italians, being slaine. The small remainder of this vnfortunate yere was spent with often skirmishes and inrodes one into anothers frontiers, as the manner of war is, without any other great thing done worth the remembrance.

Rodolph the Christian Emperor, notwithstanding the late discomfiture of his armie not farre from Agria, made choice againe of his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke for the managing of his forces for his next yeares wars against the Turke. Whereunto the Pope by his legat *Fran. Aldobrandino* promised of his owne charge to send him 10000 Italians, vnder the conduct of the duke of Mantua; as did also the German Princes their woonted aid, with some others. All which slowly at length meeting together neere vnto Possonium and Altenburg, in the months of Iuly and August; departing thence, marched to Pappa, which after eight dayes hard siege they took, and so againe retired to Altenburg, where they tooke a general muster of the army, and afterwards in the beginning of September shewed themselues before the strong towne of Rab: where the lord *Bernstein* approching too neere the walls, was with a shot slaine. Neuertheless the rest there stayed, vntill that hearing of the comming of *Mahomet Bassa* the Turkes General with a great armie, they left the siege, and the 24 day of September passing ouer the riuer Danubius, into the Island Schut towards Comara, there on the North side of the riuer encamped. Where they had not lien past eight dayes, but that the castle of Dotis standing vpon the South side of Danubius, was by the Bassa before their faces, and as it were euen vnder their noses besieged and taken; the whole armie of the Christians in the meane time as idle beholders looking on, but not daring to relieue their distressed friends: but afterwards arising, marched to Vacia; where hearing of the Turks comming against them from Pesth, they set fire on the castle, and so retyred alongst the North side of the riuer, vntil they came ouer against Vicegrade a castle of their owne on the farther side of Danubius; where by the good direction of the lord *George Basta* a most expert captaine, and lieutenant General of the armie, they encamped so strongly, as that the Turks after many braue attempts giuen to haue forced them in their trenches, were glad with some losse to depart.

Pappa taken by the Christians.

Dotis taken by the Turks.

Neither went things this yere better forward with the Christians in other places than in this side of Hungary: for *Sigismund* the Transiluanian prince by his Chancelor besieging the strong city of Temeswar in October, was by the valour of the defendants, and the vnseasonablenes of the weather enforced to raise his siege, and [go] with dishonor to depart. *Michael* also the Vayuod of Valachia, who moued with the example [and] persuasions of the Transyluanian Prince, had reuolted from the Turks, and done them great harme (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often inuasions and the spoile of his country, almost brought to vtter desolation, many thousands of his subjects being by the Turks and Tartars carried away captiues, and his townes and castles for most part rased; to giue his people a time of breathing, submitted himselfe againe vnto the Turkish obeisance, solemnely receiuing at the hands of one of the Turkes Chiaus (for that purpose sent from Constantinople) an ensigne in token of his submission vnto the Turkish Emperor, as also of his fauor towards him. Which the more to assure him of, he by another honorable messenger shortly after receiued from *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperour more kind letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayuodship of Valachia by the grand Seignior his solemne oath, vnto *Michael* the Vayuod and his son *Peter*, then about thirteene yeares old, for the terme of both their liues, without disturbance, paying but the halfe of the old yearely tribute by the Turks before demanded. So glad they were vpon any condition to haue reduced that martial man with his country vnto their obeisance: and in token of further grace, together with these letters he receiued also a goodly horse, most richly furnished, with a faire scimiter and an horsemans mace, in signe of the martial power and gouernment committed vnto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and honors the Vayuod seemed thankfully to accept: neuertheless not daring too far to trust vnto the Turkish faith, of the smal assurance whereof he had before had sufficient experience, he still kept strong garrisons vpon the frontiers of his countrey, with such other forces also as he was woont, excusing the same to be done for feare of the Tartars; by whom he also excused himselfe, for not going with the Turkes Generall this yeare into Hungarie, as he was by speciall messengers from the grand Seignior himselfe requested; telling him that he might not in any case

Michael the Vayuod yeeldeth his obeysance vnto the Turke, and yet refuseth to aid him against the Christians.

ease so do, for feare of the Tartars most horrible incursions, and the spoiles of his countrey: G
yet knew he right well, how that they were by the great Sultan his expresse commandement
charged not to do any harme either in Moldauia or Valachia, as they went into Hungarie. But
this warie V[illegible]wod not greatly trusting either the Sultan or them, as also loth himselfe a Chri-
stian, to [illegible]he Christians his friends and late confederats, excused himselfe by the ne-
cessarie care he had of his subiects and country, and so requested that his reasonable excuse to
be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be said hereafter. Thus
passed this yeare without any great thing done more than is before declared; both these great
Princes, the Emperor and the Turkish Sultan, being warned by the last yeres work what it was
to put al to the fortune of a battel: & therfore now contenting themselues to haue shewed their
1598 forces, as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this yeres wars more in shewes than deeds. H

What great things might by the Christian princes at vnitie amongst themselues be done
against the Turke, is by the considerat right easily to be gathered: but especially by the notable
victorie of the famous Transyluanian prince *Sigismund*, who confederated but with his poore
oppressed neighbours the Valachians and Moldauians, and strengthened with some small aid
from the Emperor and the Hungarians, not only deliuered those three countries from the hea-
uie burthen of the Turkish thraldom, but vanquished also their most renowned captains, ouer-
threw their mightie armies, burnt and spoiled their Countries, rased their townes and cities;
which as it hath beene before in part declared, so if it should be all particularly set downe, be-
sides that it would be tedious, so also might it haply seeme almost incredible. Beside which
calamities of war (commonly more felt of the subiects than of the prince) the great Sultan him- I
selfe found no small wants, as well in his coffers, as other his necessarie supplies for the mainte-
A great tri-bute. nance of his wars, especially in Hungarie; the onely countrey of Moldauia before these trou-
bles yeelding vnto him yerely a tun of gold, 2000 horses for seruice, 10000 great measures
of wheat, with as much barly, and a wonderfull proportion of butter, hony, and other victuals;
the other two prouinces paying the like or more, as yerely tribute: whereof he had of late, to
his great discontentment, by the general reuolt of [illegible]ree countries been quite disappoin-
ted. But this so wholesome a confederation (to the gr[illegible]t hurt of the Christian commonweale,
& benefit of the Turks) now broken, & Moldauia by the Polonians disseuered from the rest, &
again made tributary to the Turk, as is before declared, & now Valachia also in a sortac know-
ledging the Turks obeisance; the noble Transyluani[illegible]rince, who hitherto with great cheer- K
fulnesse and courage had fought the most Christia[illegible]s against the Turk, now left as it were
all alone, and doubting how with his ow[illegible]s to be able long to defend his country
against the Turke and the Polonian, w[illegible]ured not much lesse than him: lest the same
should together with himselfe, fall into the hands of the Turks or some other his enemies, by
a wonderfull change voluntarily resigned this his countrey of Transyluania vnto *Rodolph* the
The Prince of Transyluania resigneth his countrey vnto the Emperour. Christian Emperor and his heires for euer: and so leauing his wife in Transyluania, went him-
selfe into Silesia, there to take possession of the dukedomes of Oppel and Ratibor, which toge-
ther with the yerely pension of 50000 Ioachims, or the reuenues of the Bishoprick of Vratis-
lauia, he had in lieu thereof receiued of the Emperor: whereupon the possession of Transylua-
nia, by the general consent of all the States of that countrey, was in the beginning of this yeare L
1598, deliuered vnto the Archbishop of Vacia, the County *Nadasti*, and Doctor *Petzi* the em-
perors commissioners; and a solemne oath of obedience and loyaltie taken of them all in gene-
ral: albeit the aforesaid Commissioners, as also the Emperor himselfe would haue persuaded
the Prince, either not at all, or at lestwise not so suddenly to haue forsaken his country, but to
haue still kept the gouernment thereof himselfe yet for a yeare or two; well foreseeing, that
the same could not so conueniently be gouerned by any other, as by himselfe, a natural Prince
therein borne, and exceedingly beloued of his subiects. The same commissioners also in Iune
Michael the Vayued submitteth himselfe with his people vnto the Emperors protection. following going into Valachia, there tooke the like oath of obedience of *Michael* the Vayuod
and his people: who loathing the Turkish soueraignetie, all willingly yeelded themselues vnto
the Emperors protection. These commissioners also at the same time came to agreement with M
the Tartars Embassadors, offering vnto the Emperour peace and aid for the yearely pension of
40000 duckets, and as many sheep-skin gownes the[illegible]al manner of apparel.

All this while continued the Diet of the empire, be[illegible] in December last past at Ratisbon,
Mathias the Emperors brother being there his deputie, and in his Majesties name demanding a
greater

A greater aid for the maintenance of his wars against the Turk the common-enemy, than was by
the Princes and States of the Empire offered: where after great and long deliberation, a large
proportion was by them all agreed vpon for the defraying of the charges of those wars & de-
fence of the Christian commonweale, to be paied in three yeares next, and so thereupon was
the assemblie dissolued. But as they were returning home, behold contrarie to all hope, Rab
one of the strongest fortresses of Christendome, three yeares before betrayed vnto the Turks
by Countie *Hardeck*, was now by the wisedome and valour of *Adolphus* Baron of Swartzen-
burg, the Emperors lieutenant in the lower Hungarie, againe recouered, to the great griefe of
the Turks, and wonderfull rejoycing of the Christians, in such sort as followeth:

This noble gentleman the lord *Swartzenburg*, of no lesse courage than experience, then lying
B at Comara, and still in doubt lest the Turks so neere vnto him at Rab, should attempt somthing
against him and his charge, prouided for his owne defence all that Winter time with a strong
garrison, keeping continuall watch and ward, although it were as then no time for the enemie
with any armie to keepe the field. So Winter passing, and the Spring approching, it fortuned
Two Italian prisoners flying out of Rab discouer the state of the towne to the Lord Swartzenburg. that the 22 day of March, about 7 a clocke in the night, the gates being shut, were heard neere
vnder the walls of the towne, two men, who by their speech seemed to be Italians: with great
instance requesting, for the safegard of their liues, to be let in, for feare of the enemies pursuit.
Which by one of the sentinels was forthwith reported vnto the gouernor: who doubting it to
be some subtill practise of the enemie, commanded them there to take their fortune vntill the
morning: at which time they were receiued into the citie, and being brought before the Go-
C uernor, prostrating themselues forthwith at his feet, pittifully requested him to haue compassi-
on of their miserie, and to comfort them with his charitable relief, that so they might at length
returne againe into their countrey. Who at the first asked them, what countrymen they were,
and from whence they came at that time of the night? Whereunto they answered, That they
were Italians, and that they had but euen then escaped out of the cruel hands of the Turkes at
Rab. But desiring to know of them some news, they after their manner humbled themselues,
shewing by their gesture not to know any. Yet would he needs vnderstand of them the parti-
cularities, when and how they were taken by the Turks, and the means they had vsed to escape
out of that cruel seruitude, in all order as had befalne them. Where the yonger of them begin-
ning, told him, that now almost two yeres ago, at such time as the Christians were ouerthrown
D by the Turkes vnder Agria, and euery man in that confusion then seeking the best and neerest
way to saue themselues; they hauing by flight now escaped the greatest danger of the enemy,
and so trauelling ouer the country towards Vienna, were to their great misfortune (by an hun-
dred Turks come out of Rab to scoure the country, and to seeke after prey) taken prisoners, and
as slaues committed to the chaine, where they had almost two yeres, vntil now, with great pa-
tience serued. These two fugitiues by their outward appearance seemed to be men of good spi-
rit and valor, which caused the gouernor the more desirous to know of them the meanes they
had vsed for their escape. So the yonger proceeding in his tale, gaue him to vnderstand of the
whole matter, telling him, That they had bin three months before still carefully deuising how
to recouer their lost libertie, which now seemed to make some offer of it selfe vnto them: for
E that since the time that the Emperors army rise the last yere from before the towne, they were
not kept so straight or looked vnto as before, but lay as men by the Turks not much regarded:
which caused them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to resolue either the
sooner to dy, or to set themselues at liberty. And that so one day as they were carrying certain
munition from the palace of *Graffer Bassa* for the soldiers, they secretly conueyed three pieces
of cord of some reasonable bignesse, herewith by night to let themselues down from the wal,
and so as they might to escape: which stolne cord that it should not be seene, and so their pur-
pose suspected, they buried in the ground. But the night being come for them to effect in what
they had so long desired, and they roming vp and downe in the darke, and still finding one let
or other, they were enforced for that time to stay, and to defer it vntill the night following:
F which being come, and choice made of a most conuenient place, they made fast the cord
aboue, and so thereby slid downe, first the elder, and then the younger; who not know-
ing how to swimme, was yet by the good direction and helpe of his fellow conducted ouer
vnto the farther side of the broad and deepe ditch: and that so, in the night (so darke as that one
of them could hardly see the other) they were come by chance to Comara, thinking to haue
taken

taken the way to Vienna. The gouernour thus fully instructed of their escape, demanded of them further, how the strong town of Rab was by the Turks gouerned and garded: who told him, very euill, and with small care, especially since the departure of the Emperors campe: and also that foure gates of the towne were filled vp with earth, which if they were broken open, would all fal into the town ditch, and so further them that would attempt to enter, with diuers other parties. Whereof the Gouernor hauing well considered, thought with himselfe, that if by some ingenious deuice he might by night with some good strength vpon the sudden enter the towne, it might happily be so againe recouered. Vpon which so great a designement he thought good to consult further with the lord *Palfi*, whom he requested, in all hast & with as much secrecie as was possible, with 1600 foot and as many horse as he could make, to come vnto him to Comara. Who vpon this aduertisement staid not, but presently giuing order vnto his men, set forward by night, and the 26 of March before day, with 1400 foot and 120 horse arriued at Comara; where they were all joyfully receiued, and the gates after they were entered, again fast shut, and so kept for feare of the enemies secret spies, of whom no man can be too warie, be he neuer so wise. Now whilest these soldiers were refreshing themselues, in the mean time the gouernour with the Lord *Palfi* discoursed to the full concerning the intended enterprise: which resolued vpon, they found themselues vpon the view of their men to haue 2600 foot of the garrison soldiers, and 300 horse, all good and couragious men, and well appointed for the intended seruice: who there staying two dayes after their comming, and many of them in the meane time (after the manner of their religion) confessing themselues, and receiuing the Sacrament, were become so couragious, as that they doubted not in the quarrel of the Christian religion to encounter a far greater number of the Turks than themselues. And the more to stir them vp, the Lord *Palfi* at the same time deliuered vnto them a notable speech; not for all that telling them whither they were to go: but, That they were his Christian soldiers & brethren, vnder his leading both of long and late time: who neuer by him deceiued of their wonted pay at such time as it was due, would not now as he hoped forsake him. And albeit that he well knew them to haue deserued at his hands a greater contentment; neuertheles being himselfe depriued of his reuenue by these late warres, and his possessions subiect euery houre vnto the incursions of the Turks, could not therefore according to his desire, and their deserts, shew vnto them the great good will he bare them: Yet now and euen presently was come the time wherein they might not onely abundantly enrich themselues, but also adorne their heads with an immortal crowne of glorie, and make themselues for euer famous, by performing the most happie and glorious exploit that euer was by valiant souldiers attempted or atchieued in that part of the world. And to the intent that they might know how dearely he accounted of the life and honor of euery one of them, he would therefore himselfe with the lord *Swartzenburg* (of whom proceeded all that faire deuise and new stratagem) be present with them in the action: and that therefore they were not to thinke that they were led forth to any priuat danger, farther than their commanders themselues; whose folly were to be accounted great, if rashly and vpon no good ground they should aduenture their liues and honours together: whereof they ought not now to doubt, hauing by a thousand proofes known, how much they had been of them always regarded. And that therefore it behoued them so much the more to shew their valor in this piece of seruice vndertaken for the great benefit of the Christian commonweale, and the honour of Christ Iesu, vnto whom they were with one accord to make their prayers, with his mightie hand to strengthen their hearts, and with glorious victorie to bring to happie end the intended exploit against his enemies, to the honour of his name, and the aduancement of the Christian religion and faith. At the end of which speech all the souldiers cried aloud, That they were most readie to do any their commands, and to follow them whithersoeuer. So order was taken, that within three houres they should euery man be prest and readie with their armes according to their places: and so hauing wel refreshed themselues, about eleuen of clocke the seuen and twentieth day of March they in good order began to set forwards toward Rab. But for that the multitude of souldiers oftentimes giueth the enemie warning of that is intended against him; *Palfi* gaue order to one *Iohn Stroine* his Sergeant Major, to follow faire and softly after him, with 1700 horse and foot, which hee well performed. And so vpon the breake of the day they began to draw towards Rab, and there lay close in ambush all that day vntill night, about seuen miles short of the towne: refreshing themselues in the meane time

The notable speech of the Lord Palfi vnto his soldiers.

time with plentie of victuals, which they had brought with them from Comara. Night (the fauorer of deceit) being come, in two houres march they began to draw neere to Rab, & there staied about fiue houres: from whence they sent before them a French enginer, a man of great judgement, with thirteen others (before rewarded with 1500 duckets) hauing with them 4 petards, engines of force to blow vp into the aire any thing whereunto they be fastened, be it neuer so great and weightie; where by good chance they found the draw-bridge downe, and the portculleis vp: for that the Turks then casting no perill, expected euery houre for certain waggons with prouision from Alba-Regalis. By which good hap the Christians vnperceiued coming to the gate, & thereunto fastning their petards, in good order gaue fire to the same, which presently tooke not hold: yet were they not far gon, but that they were by a sentinel descried, who demanding what they were, was presently answered by the violent engines, which in a trice tore in sunder the gate, with some part of the wall and of the fortifications neere vnto it. When now the watch (but all too late) began to giue the alarme, and the Christians in the forward thrusting presently in, took the gate, none of the Turks yet cõming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entring. The first that appeared were 200 Turks, which with their woonted cry *Alla*, *Alla*, in such hideous manner as if they would therewith haue rent the heauens, would haue staied the Christians from farther entring, but were themselues ouercharged by 300 which were alreadie entred. At which time also the Bassa came on with more than a thousand following him, and that with such courage and furie as was neuer greater to be seene in any Turke: where after a most terrible fight maintained by the space of two houres; the Bassa himselfe being slaine, the Turks began a little to retire, whereby a thousand Christians mo had leisure to enter: when straitway after came *Giaffer* the great Bassa with aboue 1000 tall souldiers following him, all the inhabitants also of Rab running after him, & that with such force, that they constrained the Christians to retire vnto the gate whereby they entred. Who resolued rather honorably to die within the towne, than with dishonor to be forced out, there with incredible courage sustained the greatest impression of the furious enemie: where was to be seene the true Christian valour for the performance of so great an exploit well worthie of eternall memorie. But this Bassa also (the other being dead of a wound in his necke) encountered by the lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that sharpe conflict shewed great tokens of his valour, was there at length slaine also: both whose heads strucke off, were for a present afterwards sent to the Emperor at Prague, with all the particularities of the whole action. But now the Turks perceiuing that all their chiefe commanders were slain, retired most part of them into the citie: some 300 of them crept vndereath one of the bulwarks, where stood certain barrels of gunpouder, which they desperatly set on fire, and so together with themselues blew vp 300 Christians that were aboue vpon the bulwarke; the greatest losse the Christians had in all that victorie, who were otherwise supposed not to lose therein aboue 200 of their men. Thus the Turks discomfited, and altogether full of feare, losing both their force and courage, fled in euery place before the Christians, they in euery corner making of them a most horrible slaughter. The Turkish women all this while out of their windowes and other high places, ceased not to cast downe stones, timber, and such like things vpon the heads of the Christians, whom they thought by all meanes to annoy, and to helpe the Turks. The bloudie execution continued all that day vntill night; the Christians still finding one or other hidden in the most secret places of the city, vpon whom to exercise their wrath: who ransacking also euery corner thereof, were by the wealth therein found greatly enriched. But comming to the palace of *Giaffer* the great Bassa, they found such great store of rich furniture, as better beseemed some great Prince than a Turkish slaue. There they found also letters written in characters of gold from the Bassa of Buda to this Bassa, greeting him, and promising him in his behalfe to deale with the Grand Seignior against the next Spring, with the first that his armie should take the field, that he might therein haue some honorable place of command, to the end he might in the field shew his greater valour, and no longer lie idle in that strong towne. So found they there also many things written from the Great Sultan himselfe vnto this Bassa, with great store of coine, which all fell to the souldiers share; insomuch that by this so notable an exploit so well performed, the publique State, together with the souldiers priuat was not a little bettered. There amongst other things were recouered threescore and six pieces of Artillerie, which were knowne to haue been sometime the Emperors, and foure and twentie others, which the Bassa had

Rab surprised by the Christians.

Two of the Turks Bassas slaine.

A great booty.

had caused to be brought from Buda, with great store of shot and pouder and other small pie- G
ces, and meale sufficient to haue serued foure thousand men for a yeare and a halfe, but of wine
(little vsed of the Turks) onely foure vessels. In the Bassa's palace was also found of armour
and weapons of all sorts great store, with abundance of cloath and apparell, which was all gi-
uen in spoile to the souldiers. Thus Rab one of the strongest fortresses of Christendome, not
full foure yeares before besieged by *Sinan Bassa* with a hundred and fiftie thousand men, by
the space almost of three monthes, and then at length by the treason of the gouernour to him
betraied; was now in one night by the valour and policie of a few resolute men, to their im-
mortal glorie againe restored to the Christian commonwealth the nineteenth day of March in
the yeare 1598. Of which so notable a victorie the Christians reioyced not a little both in
Hungarie and elsewhere: the great Sultan with the Turkes no lesse grieuing and storming, as H
well for the losse of the towne, before got with no small charge, as for the death of his peo-
ple there slaine, to the number of about six thousand and moe, with the losse of scarce six hun-
dred Christians.

Yet for all this, *Mahomet* the great Sultan ceased not to make great prouision for his wars in
Hungary, and that greater than before; and so with greater furie also to prosecute his wrath-
full indignation to be reuenged vpon the Christians. Whereunto order was giuen vnto *Ibram*
Bassa his brother in law, and General of his armie, with all conuenient speed to take the field:
A great tumult betweene the Ianizaries and the Spahi. which for all that fell out far otherwise; for that now thinking to haue had all things in good
forwardnesse, a great dissention rise betwixt the Ianizaries and the Spahi; the Ianizaries being
the best footmen, and the Spahi the best horsemen of the Turkish Empire; both the faithfull I
keepers of the person of their Prince, and the greatest strength of his state: whereby it com-
meth to passe, that in setting forward towards the wars, these two sorts of valiant souldiers, the
one standing vpon their strength, and the other vpon their honor, and both jealous of their re-
putation and credit, haue no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and especially of late
in this corruption of their martial discipline vnder their degenerate Emperours, fall at odds
among themselues, as now they did, to the great hinderance of their affairs, and trouble of their
General. Insomuch that to appease this tumult he was glad to put to death certaine of the in-
solent Ianizaries refusing to set forward as they were by their Aga commanded. But proceed-
ing further, and thinking to haue executed some others of them also, to the further terrour of
the rest, he was by them and their adherents, put in such feare of his life, that to auoid the pre- K
sent danger, he was glad to excuse himselfe by his lieutenant, laying all the blame vpon him as
the cause thereof: who was therefore as a sacrifice deliuered vnto the fury of the Ianizaries, by
whom he was there presently slain, with some others of the Bassa's followers. So these broils
with much ado ouerpast, *Ibrahim* hauing taken a general reuiew of his armie at Sophia, there
stayed, expecting order from the great Sultan where to begin his wars, in Hungarie or in Tran-
syluania; for as yet that was in question: which could not well be before the beginning of July,
by reason of the scarcity of victuals euen then arising in the campe; for the supplying whereof
Mahomet himselfe had no small care. But this long delay was the cause that a great number of
the Ianizaries comming from Hadrianople, and hearing by the way, that the General would
not as yet set forward, not knowing the cause of his stay, and doubting to be deceiued of their L
promised entertainment, were about to haue returned backe againe; which known at the court,
commandment was presently sent thence vnto the General, without longer stay to set forward
toward Hungarie, which the more hastened his departure with his armie.

In this the Turks so long delay, the Christians had good leisure to prepare their new forces,
being now the latter end of Sommer: for well they might thinke that the enemie slept not,
knowing what prouision he had made as well in Constantinople as in other places. Where-
fore reasonably doubting, that Sommer well spent, and August now at hand, he would not so
late turne his forces into the lower Hungarie, they thought it best to prouide for the safetie of
the vpper countrey: And to the end that the enemie approching those frontiers, might there
finde forces readie to encounter him, the lord *George Basta* a man of great experience and valor M
was appointed Lieutenant Generall for that countrey; to the great contentment of the souldi-
ers in generall; all shewing themselues most readie at his command. The Lord *Swartzen-*
burg in the meane time remaining in the lower Hungarie at Rab, with eight thousand good
souldiers: and the Archduke *Mathias* at Vienna for the dispatch of *George Basta*, and the hasting
of

A of him forward: for that the vpper Hungarie to the great hurt thereof began now to feele the
incursions of the Turkes and Tartars: besides that, hee was afterwards to returne himselfe to
speake with the Emperour his brother, still expecting a Chiaus of the Turks by the appoint-
ment of the grand Seignior, sent by the way of Polonia for Prague, to intreat with the Empe-
rour concerning a peace.

They of Buda in the mean while seeing the delay of the Turks, of whom not one band yet
appeared in those quarters; and on the other side perceiuing the great preparation of the Impe-
rials, and the great garrison at Rab so neere at hand; began now to doubt some new resolution
of the Christians: wherein they were no whit deceiued; for no armie of the Turks being then
in field in the lower Hungarie, and the country plaine and open, the lord *Palfi* with a conueni- *Buda besieged by the Christi-ans.*
B ent power, and certaine pieces of batterie, set forward to attempt the enterprise, and the 16 of
October with 16 pieces of artillerie began to batter the citie of Buda, to the great feare and
discomfiture of them within: hauing first taken the fort S. *Gerarde*, with hope to haue gained
the rest also. For which cause, the men, the women, and all that dwelt in the citie, most instant-
ly besought the Bassa, not to indure the destruction of the same, with the inhabitants & wealth
thereof altogether; but being not able long to hold out against so furious a batterie, in time to
hearken vnto some reasonable composition, that so they might yet euery man at least with
life depart. Whereunto the Bassa for all that would not hearken, but put them still in hope
that they should be presently relieued. Howbeit the batterie still continuing, and they not able
longer to indure the force of the Imperials, nor any reliefe yet comming, they were glad at
C length to abandon the citie with the losse of two thousand of the Ianizaries, and but 300 of
the Christians slaine, and 800 hurt: the rest of the Turks at the same time retiring themselues
into the castle, where they might for a space deeme themselues safe. So the Lord *Palfi* posses-
sed of the citie, with all his forces laid siege vnto the castle, which although it were in some
places shaken with the continual furie of the cannon, yet were the defendats still ready to make
good the same: insomuch that *Palfi* vpon good hope of successe giuing thereunto a general as-
sault, was by their valor enforced to retire; they within in the meane time with great labor &
industry repairing the breaches and gaules made by the artillerie. So that *Palfi* considering the
difficultie of the assault, thought it better by vndermining to shake the rocke whereon the ca-
D stle stood, than by a new assault to expose so many worthie men vnto so manifest a danger:
which his purpose by the enemie discouered, was by them also by countermining disappoin-
ted: yet for all that were the Christians still in good hope by another mine not yet by the ene-
mie perceiued, to sort to the full of their desire: and the more, for that they saw not so much
brauerie or shew of courage in the defendants as before. Who now kept themselues silent and
quiet, as if they had bin consulting about the yeelding vp of the castle, as men bereft of al hope
of reliefe and succor; the Christians being now possessed of a strong abby and fortresse fast by,
and hauing broken downe all the bridges ouer the riuer Danubius, in such sort, as that the be-
sieged could not receiue any reliefe either by land or water. But forasmuch as the time of the
yere began now to grow tedious, & the Winter weather sharpe, the Christians thought it not
best there long to protract the time; and therefore resolued to present vnto the castle another
general assault, and at the same instant to blow vp the mine: but in giuing this assault, they were
E againe repulsed with the losse of 200 men. At which time also a number of the Turks sallying
out of the castle, couragiously encountered the Christians, but not with successe answerable to
their valor, being there almost all cut in pieces: neither did the mine take the desired effect,
but being blowne vp did little or no harme at all. So that the Christians wearie of their long
suffering of the extremitie of the weather, and withal considering the great courage of the de-
fendants, were euen vpon the point to haue risen: yet willing to giue a fresh attempt by the
mine, they began againe to worke in the same, and in hope to preuaile, began to parly with the
defendants about the giuing vp of the castle: but all to little or no purpose; for that the mine
hauing taken no effect, the souldiers could hardly be drawne on through the deep and muddie
F ditches to giue a new assault. In fine, seeing no hope to preuaile, and hearing also of the com- *The Christians depart from the siege of Buda.*
ming of a great armie of the Turks for the reliefe of the besieged, they raised their siege; & at
their departure burnt their suburbs, carrying away with them a great booty: and so retiring to-
wards Strigonium, expected further direction where to Winter. Where shortly after order was
taken, that the forces disbanded should be dispersed, some into the garrisons, and some into
the

the countrie thereabout;to the intent they might so be in the more readinesse with the first of the next Spring to take the field,or as occasion should serue to be otherwise imploied.

But *Sigismund* the Transyluanian Prince in the meane time repenting himselfe of the vnequal exchan[illegible]he had made with the Emperor,in disguised apparel hasting in post out of Silesia came to C[illegible]burg in Transyluania:and there was ioyfully receiued of his subiects,& taking of them a new oath of obedience,by messengers sent of purpose certified *Maximilian* the Archduke(appointed by the Emperor for the gouernment of Transyluania,and now vpon his way as far as Cassouia) of the causes of his returne, persuading him rather to conuert his forces against the Turks for the recouerie of Agria,than to trouble himselfe to come any farther for Transyluania, now againe by him to the great contentment of his subiects repossessed: as did also the Princesse his wife (*Maximilian* his Cousin German) wishing him to consider what hurt and dishonour he should doe vnto the Emperour his Maiestie, himselfe, the Roman Empire, and the whole Christian common-weale in generall, if in so dangerous a time he should attempt any thing against the Prince her husband, and vnto him by her so neerely allied.

Veradinum besieged by the Turkes.

Now the Turks great armie being come into the vpper Hungarie, lay encamped vnder the wals of the strong citie of Veradinum,where that worthie captain *George Basta* was Lieutenant Generall for the Emperor;but not hauing such strength,as without further helpe to go against so mightie an enemie, or to relieue the besieged citie,not as then furnished with a sufficient garison,he gaue knowledge thereof vnto *Maximilian* the Archduke,who(as is aforesaid)with a conuenient power was but a little before come to Cassouia; to haue gone into Transyluania, had he not there by the way been stayed by Embassadors from the Prince *Sigismund*,but lately before returned out of Silesia;and hauing againe taken vpon him the gouernment,by these his Embassadours requested him no further to trouble himselfe with that iourney, offering to giue him aid against the Turks whensoeuer he s[illegible]require it.The besieged neuertheless in the meane time notably defended themselues, an[illegible]h certaine braue sallies did the enemy great harme;stil expecting that *Basta* the Lieutenant,or the Transyluanian Prince, or *Maximilian* the Archduke, or they all with their vnited forces should send them reliefe: vnto whom they gaue knowledge the nineteenth of October,how that the Turks with all the force and furie they had vsed,had as yet little preuailed,being by their valor stil repulsed,and with many sharp sallies to their great losse encountered,and [illegible]of their great ordnance cloyed, in such sort,as that they were in good hope to protra[illegible]me: until they might by them their friends be relieued : yet not doubting,but that the T[illegible]cording to their woonted manner,would doe what they might to subdue them. [illegible]ing to whose expectation, the Transyluanian Prince with a great power taking the field to haue relieued them, was letted so to do by the Tartars,to that purpose stirred vp by the Turks:so that he could by no means ioine his forces with *Maximilian*,for looking to the safetie of his owne people and countrey.Yet in token of forwardnesse,he sent certain companies of braue souldiers vnto the Lieutenant *Basta*;who vnderstanding that of 2000 good souldiers in garrison in the citie at the beginning of the siege, there were scarce 700 left aliue, all the rest beeing with continuall assaults slaine or mortally wounded, vsed a notable stratagem to delude the enemie withall : for hauing put his men in good order,and comming brauely on,as if he would euen presently haue ioyned battel(a thing which the Turkes most desired)whilest they likewise with great stir were putting themselues in order of battell;and wholly busied therein,he by another way(of the Turks least suspected) cunningly thrust into the citie eight hundred good soldiers,and that done, presently retired againe into his trenches,wherein he strongly encamped,feared not all the Turks forces: who thinking euen then to haue come to a day battel,and still in vaine expecting the same,returned deceiued by this fineneſse. And so shortly after (enforced by continuall foule weather) raised their siege,not without great difficulty & danger(relief lying so neere at hand,and the defendants strengthened with new supplies)to haue been longer maintained.So passed the troubles of this yeare, with no gaine but great losse of the Tu[illegible]s: who at their departure enforced by the vnseasonablenesse of the weather and feare tog[illegible], left behind them in their trenches many tents with some great pieces of artillerie,being [illegible]ble to conuey the same by water to Buda:and withall fearing greatly to be encountered by the forces of *Basta*, strengthened with new supplies euen then sent vnto him from the Emperour.

A new supplie put into Veradinum by Basta

The

The Archduke *Mathias*,*Swartzenburg*,and the other commanders of the armie in the lower Hungarie,beeing twelue thousand strong, with the garrison souldiers of Rab, Strigonium, and Komara,in the meane time because they would not stand idle,together with the Hungarian horsemen,ouerran all the country thereabout euen vnto the gates of Buda : in good hope also to haue met with eight thousand Turks(as they were by their espials aduertised)comming towards Pesth with victuals for the relieſe of the castle of Buda.

Whilest things thus passed in Hungarie,*Mahomet* to shew his greatnesse,as also the more to keepe the Christian Princes in suspence, sent *Cicala* (or as the Turkes call him *Cigala*) *Bassa* his Admirall with a great fleet to sea : wherewith being come vpon the coast of Sicilia;he requested the Viceroy of that Kingdome,to send him aboord his fleet the Ladie *Lucretia* his mother,which dwelt in Messina,for that he greatly desired to see her,and to do her honour;promising so quietly to depart without any harme doing. And the Viceroy againe considering how that the angry renegat for the like courtesie to him at another time before denied,had in his rage done great harme all alongst the sea coast;couenanting with him to send her in safetie backe againe,sent her honorably accompanied aboord the Admirall gallie : whom *Cicala* her son receiued with great ioy and triumph, and hauing kept her with him one day with all the honour that might be,according to his promise sent her backe againe to Messina; and so without any harme done for her sake to any part of Christendome,peaceably returned backe again with his fleet.

Now in the mean time *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia with good forces of his own,because he would be doing something also , resolued to giue an attempt vpon Nicopolis,a city of the Turks in Bulgaria : and so giuing order to his people,caused a bridge to be made ouer Danubius to passe that great riuer by. Whereof the Bassaes of Silistria and Badoua vnderstanding,thought it good with all their power to disturbe him in that worke : and so comming,as the said bridge was by the Vayuod his souldiers laid ouer the riuer vpon boats, without farther stay attempted to haue broken the same, to the intent that the Vayuod should not that way passe. Who hasting thither with his armie,rescued his worke,and enforced his Bassaes to forsake the exploit by them begun : where betwixt them for a space was fought a most hard conflict,vntill at length the Turks were with a great slaughter ouerthrowne,and so glad some here,some there,by flight as they might to saue their liues. After which victorie,he without let passing ouer the riuer with his whole forces,came and encamped vnder the wals of Nicopolis : where they of the citie vnderstanding of the late slaughter of the Turkes,and finding themselues not able to hold it out against the force and valor of the Valachies,and now out of hope of any help or relief in time to come from the Turks,without farther resistance yeelded themselues into the power of the Vayuod: who hauing sacked the city and set it on fire,carried thence a great spoile and bootie,with a number of the Bulgarians: chusing out the best and most able bodies amongst them to serue him in his wars,and appointing the rest to inhabit and manure the wasted places of Valachia.The report of this ouerthrow giuen vnto the Turks by the Valachian,with the sacking of Nicopolis,running abroad,brought a general feare vpon the Turks euen in the imperial city of Constantinople.For the staying wherof *Mahomet* commanded the chiefe of his Bassaes, with a great power of tumultuarie soldiers taken vp in hast to go forthwith against the Vayuod to stay the course of his farther proceedings, to the dismaying of his people;himselfe thundring out most horrible threats against him: who encouraged with his late victory,and well acquainted with the Turks maners,little regarded the same,as knowing that he was not with words but with armes to be vanquished.

Nicopolis sacked and burnt by the Vayuod

1599

Now *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperour oppressed with melancholie to see himselfe at once assailed with the Plague then raging in Constantinople,the bloudie wars in Hungarie, and the horrible mortalitie and losse of his people in both places ; and withall not ignorant of the euil successe of his armie at Veradinum, and of the great harme done at Nicopilis by the Valachian;yet for all that,ceased not in what he might to prouide for so many euils,but gaue order to *Taut Bassa* with all speed to set forward (as we haue said) from Constantinople toward Valachia ; as from whence hee feared the greatest danger : who without delay to make the Vayuod to vnderstand how highly the great Sultan was displeased with him, put himselfe vpon the way with six hundred Ianizaries towards Hadrianople, with purpose there to Winter vntill the Spring,and so to expect the comming of the rest of the armie, that so with the same,

same, vnited vnto the forces of *Mehemet Satergi* (who the last yeare besieged Veradinum) hee might in the field appeare more terrible vnto his enemies. The Christian Emperor also at the same time rested much discontented, that his people in so faire a way for the winning of the castle of Buda, had yet failed thereof: the Wallons laying the fault vpon the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Polsi*, and the rest of the commanders, that it was not woon; for that when they as valiant men offered to haue done therin the vttermost of their deuoire, their leaders had made choise by the spade and mattocke rather than by the sword to performe the same.

The Turks again spoiled by the Vayuod.

But *Michael* the Vayuod seeing the Turks not a little dismayed with the sacking of Nicopolis, began afresh to their greater terrour and hurt to make new inrodes vpon them, in such sort, as that he was entred an hundred miles into their territorie: against whom *Mehemet Satergi* (as yet the Turks General in Hungarie) comming with his forces, he againe retired, carrying away with him the spoile of the countrie by him wasted.

Buda distressed

They of Buda in the meane time fearing some sudden assault to be giuen vpon them, and suffering within great want of victuals, expected long to be relieued both with victuals and other necessaries: vnderstanding yet withall, that the grand Seignior had caused it to bee giuen out in Constantinople, That he was raising a great power of his best and most expert souldiers, and had therefore sent for vnto the court all his old men of war, such as had serued in the wars of Persia, to be now againe employed in Hungarie. Where the Turks in the meane time prouiding to relieue the distressed citie of Buda both with men and many other necessaries; certain resolute Hungarians vnderstanding by their espials, that one of the Turks Bassaes with 3000 soldiers was comming thither to encrease the garrison, laid themselues close in ambush in a place whereby the Turks were to passe: where they had not long staid, but that the Turks as men without feare disorderedly passing by, were by them with such force and fury assailed, that in a moment, when they least thought, they were ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the losse of many of their horses, much money and iewels, and many captaines there taken prisoners, the Bassa himselfe with much adoe hardly escaping into the citie. But shortly after, 400 Christians scouring the countrie about Buda, and hauing taken a good bootie of cattell and other pillage, returning loded with the prey, were by the way assaulted by the Turkes, and enforced to forsake the same, and to fight for their liues: whom for all that, they notably repulsed, with the slaughter of diuers of them, & so again recouering their bootie, returned with victorie. And about this time or not long after in the vpper Hungarie, a great power of the Turks and Tartars hauing forraged a great part of the country, and done the Christians great harm, came before Cossouia, making shew as if they would euen presently haue besieged that citie: which put the inhabitants in such feare that many of them without further deliberation fled forthwith as fast as they could into the mountains, thinking themselues more safe there than in the citie. Neuertheless, by the perswasion of *George Basta*, the Emperors Lieutenant in those parts, 2000 valiant and expert souldiers staid there with him, expecting what the Turks would do; who approching the wals, demanded of them in the citie a great sum of mony by way of contribution; threatning otherwise the vtter ruin and destruction thereof. Which their proud demand was by *Basta* stoutly reiected, and they with the losse of a great many of their liues inforced to get them farther off. Wherfore seeing themselues not able to preuaile against a city so well prouided, they for feare by night rise, and departed quite another way than that whereby they came, doing great harm still as they went. The free Haiducks of Valachia, also, a warlike kind of people, liuing for most part vpon prey, & willing to shew some token of their hatred toward the Turks, by certain bridges passing ouer the Danubius, encountered with the Bassa of Natolia with a great power, whom they ouerthrew with much slaughter of his people, and the losse of his brother there slaine also: and so afterwards ouerrunning the country, did there exceeding harme, and tooke the same Bassa his sonne prisoner. Thus passed the Winter with many light skirmishes and incursions in diuers parts of Hungarie and other the frontier countries; which had done great harme, had it not beene before hand well prouided for by the Imperials; who in most places strengthened with new supplies, stayed the furie of their barbarous enemies. *Maximilian* the Archduke in the meane time comming from Prague to Vienna, found himselfe there to haue in his campe but foure & twentie thousand foot and ten thousand horse, readie against the next Spring (diuers of the Germane Princes this yeare not sending thither any aid at all, by reason of their troubles neerer home, with the Spaniards

the Spaniards in the lower side of Germanie) which made him the more to dread the enemies comming, whome knew after his accustomed manner would that Summer appeare in the field with a farre greater number. But to haue holpen this want, the great Duke of Muscouie about this time, by his Embassadors amongst other things requested leaue of the Polonian, for forty thousand horsemen to passe through his country, which horsemen he had determined (as hee said) to send in aid of the Emperor against the Turke. Which his request the Polonian would by no meanes grant, as dangerous to his estate. Wherefore the Mulcouite offended with the Polonian, sent other his Embassadors vnto the Emperor by sea: who embarked in an English ship in the port of S. *Nicolas*, and sayling about the kingdomes of Sweden, Norway and Denmarke, after long trouble at sea, at length arriued at Stoad, and so from thence by land trauelling to Hamborow, Lubecke, and Maidenborow, and in euery place honourably entertained, came at last vnto the Emperour into Bohemia, then lying at Plisena, for that the plague was then hot at Prague: where they hauing with great state deliuered their Presents and Letters of credence vnto the Emperour; had audience, and were by him most honourably vsed. Yet the Polonian hauing thus denied the Muscouite passage, suffered the Turks Embassadour, who called himselfe *Gabriel*, a Iew, to passe through his Countrey vnto the Emperour, to entreat with him of a peace to bee made betwixt him and the Turke. Which *Gabriel* comming to Prague as Embassadour from the great Turke, and hauing no letters of credence to shew for his negotiation (for that they were, as he said, vpon the way taken from him by the Polonian Cossackes, and certaine of his retinue slaine) was there taken for a spie, and so sent to Vienna: where at his first arriuall hee was well vsed in a common Inne: but the night following being taken in his chamber by the Martiall, was so clapt fast in prison, with as many yrons vpon him as he could beare, and all his followers with gyues vpon their legs compelled as slaues daily to worke in the towne ditch.

The Turks embassador taken for a spie, and imprisoned at Vienna.

About this time also *Sigismund* the Transyluanian Prince (whom hitherto all men admired as a man euen sent from heauen, for the benefit of his countrey and of the Christian commonweale) by a wonderfull change gaue a most manifest token of a diuers and vnconstant nature, to the great wonder of the world: for hauing broken the agreement made with the Emperor the last yeare, and being secretly in post returned out of Silesia into Transyluania, and againe (doubting of his owne abilitie for the keeping of that countrey) in the beginning of this yeare 1599, by his Embassadors the Bishop of Alba-Iulia, and *Stephen Paschai* his Chauncellor, sent of purpose vnto the Emperour, request him to haue the first agreements againe renewed, and the principalitie of Trebnits in Morauia, to be added vnto the two Dukedomes of Oppel and Ratibor in Silesia, with fiftie thousand duckats to be yearely paied vnto him out of the chamber of the Empire: and a generall pardon to be giuen vnto all the Transyluanians that followed him had of late reuolted from the Emperour, and their antient liberties to be againe vnto euery one of them confirmed. With all which conditions obtained at the Emperours hands (as of him that saw how need full it was for him by any meanes to keepe that strong country in his power) the same Embassadours with their dispatch returned from Prague the nineteenth of Aprill.

Sigismund yeeldeth his country of Transyluania vnto the Cardinal Bathor his cousin.

But *Sigismund* in the meane time at home, was entred into new conceits with certain of the Polonian nobilitie, far differing from the former agreement with the Emperour: and hauing sent for one of the Turkes Chiaus from Constantinople; and for his Cousin *Andrew Bathor* the proud Cardinall out of Borusia, and so meeting with them in an obscure village in the confines of Transyluania, towards Polonia, accompanied with certaine of the chiefest of the States of his countrey: there in the presence of the Polonians and of the Turkish Embassadour, resigned all the right and title he had in the countrey of Transyluania, vnto the Cardinall his cousin; commanding all the States there present to sweare vnto him their obedience and fidelitie who shortly after together with the Polonian Embassadour, sent one of his especiall fauourits to Constantinople, to desire safe conduct for his Embassadours to he sent thither to conclude of all matters with the Turke. Which messengers so sent, together with the Polo-

Polonian Embaſſador, were both courteouſly receiued in the Turks court, and as with an e- G
ſpecial fauor rewarded with right ſumptuous garments, and charge giuen them, That the Car-
dinall within three months next ſhould ſend thither a ſolemne Embaſſador, with the old accu-
ſtomed tribu[illegible] the Turke demanded. Thus through the inconſtancie of the Prince, the am-
bition of ti[illegible]d Cardinall, and the foule colluſion of the Polonian, the countrie of Tran-
ſyluania (one [illegible] the ſtrongeſt forteſſes of that ſide of Chriſtendome) falling from the obedi-
ence of the Emperor, and ſo in ſort bereft from the Chriſtian common-weale, became againe
tributarie vnto the Turke; moſt good men deteſting the lightnes of the one, the ambition of
the other, and the ſlineſſe of the third.

Now the Turks of Buda not able longer to endure the great famine therein, had moſt ear- H
neſtly requeſted reliefe from the other Turks their friends in Hungarie; who on all hands ran
to haue relieued them: but comming neere thereunto, could not put therin ſuch prouiſion as
they had brought for the relief of the ſame, being letted ſo to do by the Imperials; who about
a league off diligently attended euery motion of the enemy: from whence the Lord *Swartzen-*
burg in the night ſecretly approching one of the gates with his followers, thought with a Pe-
tard to haue broken it open, and ſo to haue entered. Which his deuiſe taking not effect, as did
that at Rab, the gate being within ſtrongly fortified by the enemy, he was inforced to depart,
being alſo diſcouered by the Turks from the wall. Now ſhortly after, the Baſſa of Buda with
ſix hundred horſe iſſuing out of the city to haue met with victuals that were comming thither,
fell into an ambuſh of the Haiduckes, who after their manner fiercely encountered him, and
putting him to flight, tooke him priſoner, his horſe in his chaſe falling vnder him: whom his
ſouldiers ſeeking to reſcue, there began a new skirmiſh, encreaſing their former ouerthrow I
with the loſſe of the greateſt part of them that were left: amongſt whom the Baſſa his ſonne,
with the Aga of the Ianizaries there, loſt their liues alſo. Which conflict thus ended, the Baſ-
ſa was with ſafe conduct brought to the camp, & there with great threats enforced to reueale
the ſtate of his city, with other the ſecret deſignes [illegible]he Turks. Whereupon the Haiducks re-
turned again towards Buda, ſeeking by all means t[illegible]p the comming of victuals thither, ſo in
hope at length to haue gained the diſtreſſed city. But whileſt they thus lay vpon the paſſages,
behold newes was brought vnto them, how that the Baſſa of Boſna, with the Sanzacks of Si-
geth, Quinque Eccleſiæ, & Coppan, with 10000 Turks were comming to oppreſſe them, and
to open the paſſages by them holden. But they know[illegible]ing their owne ſtrength, and nothing fea- K
ring ſo ſmall a force, ſtaid not for their commi[illegible]vent to meet them; & in a place of good
aduantage waiting for them, vpon thei[illegible]ce, with great aſſurance & courage char-
ged them, brake their array, and ſlew [illegible]t part of them, together with the Baſſa him-
ſelfe: yet with ſo much adoe, as that had not the Lord *Palſi* in good time ſent in vnto their aid
certaine companies of freſh men, it was not without cauſe doubted but that the Haiducks had
bin put to the worſe, about three hundred of them hauing there already loſt their liues. The
Tartars yet neuertheleſſe in good number held on their way towards Buda, with purpoſe to
haue ouerrun the country, and ſo haue withdrawne the Imperials from the city: but foraſmuch
as that baſe nation was knowne to be good for nothing but to rob and ſpoile, the Lord *Swart-*
zenburg his regiment only going againſt them, & encountering them, ouerthrew them in ſuch L
ſort, that part of them beeing there ſlaine in fight, and part for feare driuen into Danubie, the
greater number of them there moſt miſerably periſhed.

Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in the vpper Hungarie, at the ſame time lay at Caſſouia,
with eighteene thouſand men, doubting leſt the enemies army, which he heard to be at hand,
ſhould come to beſiege that city. In the meane time, *Ibrahim Baſſa* Generall of the Turks for-
ces came to Solnoch with an armie of fiftie thouſand ſtrong, among whom were ten thouſand
Ianizaries: but for all that, vnderſtanding that *Baſta* nothing diſmaied awaited his comming
at Caſſouia, not thinking it good to goe any farther (his ſouldiers being alreadie wearie with
long trauell) neither yet ſafe there to ſtay ſo neere vnto his ſtrong enemie, retired backe again
vnto Belgrade, a place of more ſtrength and ſecuritie expecting a great fleet of ſhips, which M
charged vpon the Danubius, were to bring victuals fo[illegible]e armie, as alſo for the reliefe of Bu-
da, Alba-Regalis, and other ſuch diſtreſſed places, wi[illegible]rs great pieces for battery, & other
leſſe artillerie vpon carriages, with a number of ladde[illegible] other inſtruments of warre, decla-
ring their purpoſe for the performance of ſome notable exploit, all guarded with fiue thou-
ſand

The Baſſa of Buda taken priſoner.

The Turks ouerthrown, & the Baſſa of Boſna ſlaine.

A ſand Turkes, which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderſtanding, the
Lord *Palſi* diſpatched his Lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the Captain of the Huſſars
with his followers, all good and valiant ſouldiers, to cut off this conuoy: who to make the
matter ſhort, ſuddenly aſſailing them, and ſo comming to handie blows, cut in pieces the con-
uoy, and rifled the ſhips, of whom the greater part were there ſunke in the deep riuer; and ſo
tooke an exceeding great bootie, deemed to be worth a million of gold: where among other
things of great value, there was found aboord 100000 Dollars, which were all diuided a-
mongſt the ſouldiers as a reward of their trauell. This great ouerthrow once knowne [illegible] Buda,
Alba-Regalis, and the cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a great feare: yea the armie of
Ibrahim grew thereby much diſcontented, as being at once diſappointed both of their victuals
B and their pay. Beſides that, the Imperials ouerran all the countrie thereabout, ranſacking, ſack-
ing, and deſtroying the country villages and caſtles without mercy, although the poore inha-
bitants offred them large contribution to haue ſtaid their fury, which would not be accepted.
Vpon this notable ouerthrow alſo the Lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with al his forces
to come again to the ſiege of Buda, in hope in ſo great a diſcõfiture & want of victuals to haue
had it deliuered vnto him; and for that purpoſe ſent for certain great pieces of artillerie to Vi-
enna. But whileſt things went thus well in the lower Hungarie, Colonell *Rodoler* of S. *Andrews*
in the vpper country, tooke occaſion alſo vpon this ouerthrow of the Turks, with 500 horſe
and 600 foot, to ſhew himſelfe with this ſmall companie before Agria, hauing yet left the
greateſt part of his forces a little off in ſecret ambuſh: which ſmall companie the Baſſa of
C Agria beholding, preſently put himſelfe in armes, and ſo ſallying out, began an hot and braue
skirmiſh: when ſuddenly the other ſouldiers left in ambuſh, ſtarting out, & couragiouſly aſſai-
ling their enemies, brake their order, & put them to flight, purſuing them at the heeles euen to
the gates of the city: and had there been a greater force of footmen, it was verily thought, that
the Turks (diſmaid with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of
the place, and the Chriſtians euen then become maſters of the city, which had bin the cauſe of
their notable ouerthrow in the yere 1596. Neuertheleſſe they with great brauerie and ſmall
loſſe retired, hauing ſlaine a great number of the Turks, and carrying away with them an hun-
dred priſoners, with a bootie of fiue hundred horſe, and much other cattell.

The Turkes receiue a notable ouerthrow vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The free Haiducks alſo ſtrengthened with new ſupplies, had done great harm in the coun-
D try about Buda, ſcouring freely all ouer it, finding none to oppoſe themſelues againſt them: for
which cauſe the poore Chriſtians, which yet dwelt in that countrey, riſe vp againſt the Turks,
promiſing their obedience vnto the Emperor: and moreouer, to the intent they might be no
more moleſted by the Imperials, offered to take vp armes themſelues againſt the enemy, & to
the vttermoſt of their power to hinder his paſſage both by land and water. Theſe ſame Hai-
ducks alſo had broken down all the bridges which the Turks had made betwixt Buda & Alba
Regalis, to the end they ſhould not that way commodiouſly bring either victuals or munition
from the one place to the other: and the lord *Palſi* and *Nadaſti* vnderſtanding by their eſpials,
That the Tartars diuided into three companies, had ouerrun a great part of the countrey, and
with a great bootie were retiring towards Buda, preſently went out againſt them, and inforced
E them to fight: which barbarous people, better enured to filch than to fight, there loſt all their
liues, together with that they had before ſtolne. After which victorie, theſe valiant men tur-
ning their forces againſt certain other places of the Turks there by, tooke two of their caſtles
with much rich ſpoile: which caſtles they ſacked and burnt, together with the great towne of
Zolna, breaking downe alſo the bridge vpon the riuer Traua.

Now at this time the Turks at Buda held themſelues malecontent within the citie, hauing *The Turks for feare forſake the city at Buda, and flie vnto the caſtle.*
no Gouernour, their Baſſa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themſelues pinched
alſo with great want of victuals. Wherefore doubting ſome ſudden attempt of the Chriſtians
as men diſmaied, they for their more ſafety retired themſelues into the caſtle, a place of great
ſtrength, leauing the citie vnto the Imperials then ready to haue beſieged it: but doubting of
F the Turks great army, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the auantgard thereof
being come to Moarcſh, where *Sartes Baſſa* was alſo looked for; the report being giuen out,
that the Turkes hauing relieued Buda, would goe to beſiege Caniſia or elſe Strigonium, they
ſtayed to goe any farther, as men in doubt what to reſolue vpon. So were ſent certaine Co-
lonels and other Captaines with their ſouldiers, to fortifie certaine paſſages whereby the

Turkes

The christians vpon the approch of the Turkes great armie retyre.

Turks armie was to passe. The rest in the mean time retiring, for that the puissant enemy began now to approch; as also for that they knew the great desire that *Ibrahim Bassa* had to recouer againe Strigonium, and had therefore sent a great number of Tartars to forrage and waste the countrey, and so suddenly hauing relieued Buda and Agria, there to resolue whither to turne his forces. The imperials in the meane time incamping neere vnto Hatwan and Zolnoc, to hinder the Turks from victualling of Buda, as they desired, cut off fiue hundred of them at their first arriual, who to that purpose were going towards Buda; and tooke also one of the Turkes Chiaus prisoner; who sent from *Ibrahim* the General, was going to Agria to put them in hope of their speedie relefe. They also at the same time attempted to haue surprised Zolnoc: where a good number of them with certaine petards approching the gates, in hope so to haue broken them open, being discouered by the Watch, were enforced to retire, leauing fortie behinde them slaine, and carrying away with them many moe of their fellowes wounded: in reuenge whereof the rest shewed their furie vpon the countrey thereabout, destroying the villages, and intercepting a great deale of munition, which together with other victuals they met by the way as it was going to Buda and Agria.

Sommer now almost spent, *Ibrahim* the great Bassa in the beginning of September came to Buda with an armie of an hundred and thirtie thousand strong, and from thence in the name of his great lord and master gaue the Emperor to vnderstand at Prague, That for the sauing of further effusion of innocent bloud, and not for any feare or distrust of his owne strength and power, he could be content to hearken vnto some reasonable conditions or treaty of peace. Whereunto both these great Princes (hauing well wearied themselues with these long wars, and exhausted their treasures) seemed not now vnwilling, expecting (as was thought) nothing more than for the honor to be the first entreated: and the rather, for that the old Sultanesse, *Mahomet* his mother (who by the weakenesse of her sons gouernment, such as neuer was in any the *Othoman* kings or emperors before, did beare the greatest sway in his affaires) did what she might to further the same. Wherefore in the latter end of September a place was agreed vpon for a parley for peace, which was in an Island in the riuer Danubie beneath Strigonium: whither the lord *Swartzenburg*, *Nadasti*, *Palfi*, and the Bishop of Vacia, being come for the Emperour; and *Amurath* the Bassa of Buda, with the lieutenant General of the Tartars, and some others for the Grand Seignior: The Turks at the first, after their vnreasonable manner, demanded to haue Rab, Strigonium, Filek, Setchin, and all the rest of the townes and castles in fiue yeres before taken from them by the Christians, to be now againe surrendred vnto them, with a certaine yerely tribute by the Emperor to be paid yerely the great Sultan at Constantinople; as also there to haue his Embassadour liegier continually attending vpon the Turkes Court: for which they offered to deliuer againe vnto the Emperour the citie of Agria onely. All which their proud and vnreasonable demands being by the aforesaid Commissioners on the Emperours behalfe rejected, they were contented to come to some more reasonable talke, offering to leaue vnto the Emperour Rab and Agria (whereof Rab was his owne alreadie) onely for Strigonium, exchanging as it were Strigonium for Agria. Which when it could neither be obtained, the parley was so broken off, and nothing concluded, and so the warres againe continued, without any memorable thing more this yeare betwixt them done, either on the one side or on the other; the Christians contenting themselues to haue distressed the chiefe Cities the Turkes held in Hungarie; and the Turkes no lesse apayed to haue relieued the same.

A parley for peace.

Michael the Vayuod with a great armie entreth into Transyluania.

But whilest things thus passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks in Hungarie, *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, yet the Emperours friend and confederat, and vnder his protection, certainly enformed his life to be sought after in the Turkes Court by the ambitious Cardinal *Bathor* his enuious neighbour, but lately become the Prince of Transyluania (as is before declared:) by commandement from the Emperor, and to be reuenged of so great a wrong, as also betimes to prouide for his owne safetie, with an armie of threescore thousand strong suddenly entred into Transyluania, in most horrible manner burning the countrey, and killing the people before him as he went. Where whilest the Cardinal (who was thought to haue purposed to haue serued him in like sort, had hee not beene by him preuented) was making head against him, he in the meane time had the citie of Corona (commonly called Brasso) with the strong castle of Fogaras yeelded vnto him: from whence he marching toward Alba-Iulia, the

A the 26 of October, with all his armie, before diuided into three parts, but now againe vnited, came into the plains neere Temison, about three leagues from Hermenstat; where vnderstanding that his lieutenant corrupted by *Ibrahim Bassa* had promised to kill him; and now wel assured thereof, to rid himselfe of that danger, with his owne hands presently cut his throat, and so dispatched him. When by and by after came vnto him the Popes Nuntio, sent by a finesse from the Cardinal, accompanied with another Embassadour, the better to countenance out the matter; telling him, That the same Embassador had commission from the Emperour, to will him forthwith to desist from armes, and without further delay to depart out of Transyluania. Which thing seeming vnto the Vayuod verie strange, and almost impossible, he desi-

B red to see the said commission. Whereunto the Nuncio before instructed, answered, That hee had left it with the Cardinal. But I (said the Vayuod) haue one here present from the Emperor of another purport, which I purpose fully to put in execution: yet was he for that day entreated by the Nuncio to stay his army. And so in the mean time lying both stil and in great suspence, the Vayuod desired to know of the Nuncio, the cause why the Cardinal forgetting himselfe, so troubled that country, by intruding himselfe thereinto, to the great preiudice of them vnto whom it of better right belonged, not attending vnto the gouernment of the Church, better beseeming his calling than the mannaging of armes, to the disturbance of the Christian peace. Whereunto he receiued no answer. So the 28 of October, a day dedicated to the commemoration of the Apostles *Simon* and *Iude*, these messengers were sent backe againe vnto the Cardi-

C nal, who presently returned them backe vnto the Vayuod with new instructions (being then busie with his yong son, in setting his men in order of battell presently to go against the Cardinal) of whom they could get no other answer, but that he was resolued forthwith to come vnto the trial of a battel with him. So the two armies lying incamped not past a quarter of a league the one from the other, and the same day meeting together, joined a most terrible & cruel battel, which for the space of fiue houres was with such desperate obstinacie fought, as if they had euery man vowed to haue carried away the victorie ouer his enemie, or there to haue left themselues dead vpon the ground; vntill the Cardinals people at length ouercome in a long and bloudie fight, were there vtterly ouerthrowne: amongst whom were 30000 Turkes and Tartars, sent vnto him from *Ibrahim Bassa* the Turks General. The Cardinal himselfe tee-

A terrible battel betwixt the Vayuod & the Cardinall.

D ing the discomfiture of his armie, was by some reported to haue saued himselfe by flight; but by some others was said to haue bin drowned in passing a riuer, as he fled from the Valachians that had him in chace. But the truth was, That the Vayuod now master of the field, sent out certaine troups of horsemen diuers wayes stil to pursue him: and himselfe with the rest of his armie prosecuting the victorie, came to the Cardinals campe, now by the Transyluanians and Turks quite forsaken, wherein he found 45 pieces of artillerie, with great store of coine and wealth, beside a number of tents and horses, all which became vnto him a prey. From thence he marched vnto Alba Iulia, where he was with great joy receiued of his friends and confede-

E rats there: for though the greater part of the Transyluanians, especially the nobilitie, had together with the Cardinal submitted themselues vnto the Turks protection, and followed his ensignes; yet were there diuers others also who still fauoured the Emperor, and therefore rejoiced not a little of this victorie. The Vayuod after that, sent his lieutenant to Claudiopolis, to see if they would yeeld also: which they willingly did, with many other cities and castles in diuers parts of that countrey, which hauing none to rest vpon, now yeelded also: in such sort, that shortly after all Transyluania submitted it selfe againe vnto the Emperors obeisance, and swore vnto him obedience; most of the nobilitie of that country being either slain in the battel, or afterwards put to death by the Vayuod: amongst whom were fiue, which corrupted by the Cardinal, had before vndertaken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of Nouember, after diuers reports of the Cardinals escape, his vngracious head was for all that presented to the Vayuod: which to the terrour of others, being for a while set vp in Alba-Iulia (where hee but a little before had commanded as a Prince) was afterwards taken downe, and sent for a Present from the Vayuod vnto the Emperour and the Archdukes his brethren; his head-

The Cardinalls head sent for a Present vnto the Emperor.

F lesse bodie being afterward by the commaundement of the Vayuod honourably buried in a Monasterie at Alba-Iulia, in the same Tombe he had before made for his brother beheaded by his Cousine *Sigismund Bathor*. The Cardinals Treasure also fell into his hands, which was said to haue beene three millions of gold. Thus the Countrey of Transyluania lately

before

before by the Cardinal yeelded vnto the obeisance of the Turke, was againe by this worthie Vayuod recouered and restored vnto the Christian empire; the proud Cardinal cast out and brought to confusion, hauing not yet possessed these his new honors full eight moneths. His cousin *Sigismund* the late Transyluanian Prince, who almost all this while had stayed at Borusia, and in dis[illegible]apparell seene Danske, and diuers other the free cities thereabouts, now hearing newes of the Cardinals ouerthrow, secretly got him away from thence into Polonia, to seeke againe his new fortunes. The lord *Swartzenburg* at the same time vniting his forces in the lower Hungarie with them of Stiria, and now twentie thousand strong, sought by all means to reduce so many places vpon those frontiers as he could, vnto the Emperours obeisance, and so tooke in aboue 200 villages: but afterward thinking to haue surprised the strong castle of Capisuar, and by night secretly approching one of the gates with a petard, which took not the expected effect, he was discouered by the watch, and so by the garrison soldiers (now raised with the alarum) repulsed, and enforced to retyre with the losse of about a hundred men, and diuers others wounded, all men of good account: in reuenge wherof *Swartzenburg* afterwards sent out diuers troupes of horsemen, which scouring all ouer the country as far as Sigeth, burned it also, and so returning carried away with them a great bootie.

Ibrahim Bassa hearing of this ouerthrow of the Cardinal, with al the forces he had sent him, much troubled therewith, sent newes thereof in post to Constantinople; the brute whereof brought a general feare vpon the whole citie also, insomuch that Commission was forthwith sent vnto him from the great Sultan, giuing him power (if it might be) to come to some honorable peace with the Emperor, and to bring it with him to Constantinople: whither hee was shortly to returne; being now no longer time to keep the field with his armie, which beside the cold season of the yeare, suffered great want of bread, the plague also then raging therein, with the death of many his best souldiers both horse and foot, beside the wonderfull mortalitie of their cattell also: in such sort that the souldiers not able longer to endure the famine and wants increasing, fel to robbing of one another, and so at length into mutinie; wherein diuers of them being slain and cut in pieces by their fellows, the [illegible]e most part brake in sunder of themselues, and so by diuers wayes returned home, not well trusting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the preparation of the Turkes, their armie being discomfited with wants and the euill successe of their affaires as well in Hungarie as in Transyluania. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Bassa for the reliefe of those evils, at his returne bring any conclusion of peace vnto his great lord and master, as was [illegible]ly expected.

The Turks great army of it selfe dissolued.

Cusabin Bassa of Caramania riseth vp in rebellion against the great Sultan.

Now beside these troubles of Transyl[illegible]and the other reuolted countries, *Cusabin* (or [illegible] some call him *Cassan*) the son of one of the [illegible]nesses, brought vp in the Seraglio according to the manner thereof, and hauing long serued in the wars of Persia & Hungary, and so at length made Bassa of Caramania, a man of great spirit, and not able to indure the imperfections he daily saw in the *Othoman* Empire, and the cowardise of the grand Seignior; vpon the report of the euill successe of the affaires of Hungary on the one side, and the desire he saw in the Persians to recouer their lost fortresses, on the other, & grieued also with more particular wrongs concerning himselfe; as a man altogether discontented, resolued to take vp armes: and calling vnto him his soldiers, and (as he was a well spoken man) laying before them the deformities of the present state, gallantly persuaded them, with the promise of honour, soueraigntie, and rich rewards, what an easie thing it were to chase the grand seignior out of Asia, and to set themselues with all that part of the Empire at libertie. And so euen at the first hauing woon vnto him 3000 harquebusiers and 5000 horsemen, tooke the field, to the great hurt of the Turks, and trouble of the State. A strange matter in that tyrannical Empire. The newes whereof comming in post to the Court, Commission was forthwith directed vnto foure of the Sanzackes of Asia neerest vnto him, for the speedie suppressing of that rebellion but euen then arising. Wherof *Cusabin* vnderstanding, and that they with ten thousand horse & foot were comming to oppresse him, without further stay, went couragiously to meet them, and so encountering of them, ouerthrew them with a great slaughter, and tooke from them their baggage with six pieces of ordnance. And after with his people seised vpon all the castles thereabouts, giuing whatsoeuer he found therein for a prey vnto his [illegible]diours: who also much enriched themselues with the spoile of the Iewes, as the people whome they most hated, and neuer rested vntill hee had made almost all the Countrey of Caramania his owne. After that, hee laid

A laied siege to Cogna a city in the confines of Natolia, which was forthwith yeelded vnto him. And yet not so contented, gaue it out by open proclamation, that for the reformation of the disordered state, he would ere long go to besiege the Imperial citie of Constantinople: and that therefore all such as would follow him should of him be entreated as his friends and companions, threatening vnto the rest most cruel death and destruction. Of which his proceedings *Mahomet* (as then disporting himselfe in his gardens of pleasure in the countrey all alongst the side of Propontis) vnderstanding, and fearing to be there surprised, or that some sudden innouation might be raised in the citie, hasted with all speed to Constantinople, and from thence in all haste dispatched *Mehemet* one of the Visier Bassa's the sonne of *Sinan*, with all the forces he

B could make to go against him. Who passing ouer into Asia with a great power, and yet fearing to come to the trial of a battel with him, whom he knew to be a man of himselfe desperately set, and not a little fauored also euen of his owne souldiers; so secretly wrought by large promises; that *Cusabin* his footmen were euen vpon the point to haue forsaken him. Which hee quickly perceiuing, fled forthwith through Siria into the countrey of Arabia with his horsemen and the horsemen of *Simon* the Georgian: purposing the next Spring by the helpe of the Arabians & Persians, to appeare in the field with greater forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Bassa following, came with his armie to Aleppo, there to Winter, and to expect the returne of the rebell together with the Spring. This so dangerous a rebellion, with the troubles of Transyluania and Valachia, were the cause that the grand Seignior, seeing him-

C selfe in so many places forsaken of his subjects, was the readier to incline vnto peace with the Emperor: whereunto for all that, the Emperor was not hastie to hearken, but vpon honourable conditions; as knowing that the Turke required the same not for any desire hee had to liue at quiet, but for that his troubled affaires both at home and elsewhere abroad so required, his Ianizaries and other men of war in this his so weak gouernment being grown so insolent, as that they were hardly to be by him commanded; openly threatening in their discontented humors, not only the deposing of the principal officers about him, but of himselfe also, and of the banishment of the Sultaneese his mother; saying, That shee had bewitched him, to the end shee might her selfe rule, which she indeed did in all his greatest affaires. But the rebell *Cusabin* the next yeare growne againe very strong, was now come into the field, and euen ready to haue

D giuen the Bassa battell: who as he was a man of great wisedome and experience, well considering with what a desperat enemie he had to do, thought it best againe to proue if his rebellious followers might by faire meanes be drawne from him: and so comming neere vnto him, by open proclamation promised a free and general pardon to all such as had followed the Rebell in those wars, if forsaking him, they should forthwith returne home to their dwellings, and so to the obedience of their just and lawfull prince and soueraigne. Which general pardon so proclaimed was the ruin of *Cusabin*, for that the greatest part of his followers now enriched with the great booties they had gotten, and now also hauing free pardon offered them, returned home into their owne countries, there at ease to liue of their euill gotten goods, leauing their captain with some few others which stayd with him, with little hope to be saued. So that with-

E in a few days after, *Cusabin* thus forsaken of his followers was himselfe taken and brought to Constantinople, where shortly after he was with most exquisit torments tortured to death.

Mehemet one of the Visier Bassa's sent against the Rebell.

Cusabin the rebell taken and tortured to death at Constantinople.

1600

The troubles of this yeare thus past, *Rodolph* the Christian Emperor with the beginning of the next (whilst the ground yet couered with snow, and the vnseasonablenesse of the weather would not suffer the soldiers to keepe the field) caused a Diet of the Princes of the Empire to be called, to consider with him of such helps as were by thē to be giuen against the next spring for the maintenance of the wars which yet he had against the Turk: who all promised to send their soldiers, with their pay and such further contribution as might serue for the maintenance of that defensiue war against the common enemy: whereunto also *Clement* now Bishop of Rome (this yere of Iubilie) put to his helping hand, as he had diuers times before, by sending thither such aid both of men and mony as he had before promised: so that by this means great prepa-

The Emperour maketh prouision against the Turke.

F ration was made by the Christians for the taking of the field with the first of the Spring. At which time the Turks also began to stir: who although *Ibrahim Bassa* their General, by the appointment of his great lord was then in some speech with the Emperor about a peace, yet ceased not they in the mean time that this treaty was from day to day prolonged, with their companies scattering here and there to do what harme they could vpon the frontiers of the Empe-

rours

rors territories, the cause why he with more speed called vpon his friends for their promised aid. And for the better managing of this yeres wars against the Turke, he appointed duke *Mercurie* (who had drawne a great number of Frenchmen both horse and foot out of France) Generall of all his forces, sending *Ferant Gonzaga*, syrnamed the Lame (whom for his approoued valour and experience in martial affaires, he had sent for to Mantua) gouernour into the vpper Hungarie. So the soldiers now day by day by companies resorting from diuers parts into Austria, were from thence sent vnto such places as were by the Turks most molested, so to represse their often incursions, as in many places they did. For eight thousand of the Turks going out vpon the sudden to haue surprised Pappa, were by the garrison soldiers of that place encountered and ouerthrowne. And on the other side, whilst *Ferdinand* the Archduke was assembling his people in Croatia, for the defence of that country against the incursions of the enemie, sixe thousand Turks without resistance entring the same as far as Buccari, and burning the country villages as they went, had taken many prisoners with a great bootie of cattell; and so (merrie and out of feare) being about to haue returned, were suddenly set vpon by the Countie *Serinus* in certaine strait and troublesome passages where they least feared any such matter, and ouercharged also with their prey, were (I say) easily by him for the most part ouerthrowne, and the rest put to flight, and so the prisoners with all the rest of the bootie again recouered. At which time also one of the Imperial Colonels with fifteene hundred horse making an inrode into the countrey about Alba-Regalis, and meeting with the Turkes and Tartars thereabouts, slew six hundred of them, and tooke diuers of their captaines prisoners. Six thousand other Tartars also at this time returning out of Hungary home towards their owne country, were by the Cossackes neere vnto the Blacke sea set vpon with such force, that many of them being slaine, the rest for feare ran into the sea, leauing all the prey they had got in Hungary, vnto their enemies. In the heat of these broiles, the noble lord *Palfi* gouernor of Strigonium, a man that all his life long had done great seruice for his prince and countrey, and whom we haue so often in this historie remembred, died the three and twentieth of March in his Castle at Biberspurg, to the great griefe of many, especially the Hungarians his countreymen. And for that Strigonium (so neere vnto the Enemie) required in his stead to haue a right valiant and couragious gouernor, the Emperor appointed the Lord *Swartzenburg* to that charge; the fame still running, that *Ibrahim Bassa* would come thither with the great armie he was in prouiding, if the peace went not forward; which was now still lesse and lesse hoped for, by reason of his proud and insolent demands.

The death of the lord Palfi.

The French-men and wallons mutinie in Pappa.

But whilest these troubles with such others too long to rehearse, thus passed in diuers parts of this miserable countrey of Hungary, the French-men and Wallons in garrison at Pappa (a strong frontier town of the Emperors in the lower Hungarie) for want of pay began to mutine. For which cause it was thought good to the chiefe commanders, to haue them thence remoued, and others placed in their room; Which they perceiuing, and withall knowing themselues too strong for the rest of the garrison, all Hungarians and Almaines, not partakers of their conspiracie; they first resolued to thrust their owne captains out of the towne, as lets vnto their desires: and then laying hands vpon *Michael Marotti* the pay-master, and other the Hungarian and Dutch commanders, with their soldiers, tooke from them their weapons, and cast the said *Marotti*, with the other captaines, and some of the better sort of their soldiers into yrons, exacting of the rest as well Hungarians as Dutch, in number about a thousand persons, 1000 duckets; threatening otherwise to deliuer them into the hands of the Turks: and albeit that *Marotti* offered for his libertie eighteene hundred duckets; yet would they not be so contented, but spoiling both him and the rest of all they had, with their apparell and weapons furnished such Turkes as were there prisoners, and so sent them away to Alba-Regalis: and afterwards rifling euery mans house as if they had beene enemies, tooke from them whatsoeuer pleased themselues: and that which worse was, to encrease these outrages, compacted with the Turks of Alba-Regalis and Buda, for the pay which they said the Emperor owght them, to deliuer them the towne: certifying them withall, how that the Lord *Swartzenburg* within two dayes was comming with money to giue them contentment; promising if he came into the towne, to deliuer him with the same into their hands: or to be the more sure of him, they might if they so pleased intercept him at the passage Zesneghe, whereby he must needs come. For the more credit of which their wicked purpose, they sent an ensigne of the Emperours, as a token

Pappa offered vnto the Turks by the Mutiners.

A token vnto the Turkes at Alba-Regalis; who for all that altogether beleeued them not, yet wishing further to trie them, sent them for hostages two Chiaus; from whom the rebels sent also two others of the better sort of them to Alba-Regalis, with conclusion, that the fiue and twentieth of Iune at the furthest the mony should be paid, and the town deliuered. For the receiuing whereof, and for feare of some hidden treason, the Turks and Tartars began to make themselues strong: the Imperials also doing what they might for the appeasing of so dangerous a tumult. So the tenth of Iune the Lord *Swartzenburg* with two thousand horse and foot came within two miles of the towne, and from thence sent 24 horsemen to dissuade the rebels

B from yeelding the town vnto the Turks, & to tell them that they should shortly receiue their pay: who shamefully deriding them, sent them backe againe in wise as they came: so that *Swartzenburg* perceiuing himselfe with so small forces to be able to do nothing against them, neither yet by faire means to persuade them, retired again to Rab, vntill some greater strength were come vnto him. Immediatly after, doctor *Petzen* Counsellor for the wars, a man of great authoritie, grauitie, and wisedome, was by *Matthias* the Archduke with foure hundred horse conducted to Pappa, to see if he by his discretion could haue dissuaded them from their so vngodly a purpose, for the yeelding of the towne vnto the enemie: whom they not only refused to heare, although he spake vnto them most kindly, but also bent their muskets and harquebusies vpon him, threatning to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When shortly after,

C twentie of the Hungarians imprisoned in a cellar in the town, brake out, and comming to Rab, brought newes thither, That the Frenchmen and Wallons in Pappa were at variance amongst themselues about the yeelding vp of the towne vnto the Turks (some better minded than the rest, not willing to consent thereunto) insomuch, that they in the castle shot at them in the town, and they again at them in the castle: and that they had already receiued from the Turks twenty thousand duckats, with some prouision of victuals, & were shortly after to receiue from the

D king them by the hands, telling them, that hauing assurance of their pay, they desired no more: But hauing now receiued in so many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they were well able to deale with, shutting the rest out, they cut them all in pieces, and afterwards in derision called vpon the high Dutches to come on in like manner. Three hundred of these rebels at the same time had laied themselues in ambush by a mill fast without the towne, who by the Wallons & Haiducks without discouered, were also by them charged: vpon whom for all that, by reason of the shot out of the towne, they could do no good; but hauing lost three hundred men, and among st them *Hanniball Kralez* the Lord *Sharpfenstein* his Lieutenant Gene-

E rall, and one *Della Margose* the chiefe enginer, they retired: which losse the desperat rebels (if it had been in their choice) had wished rather to haue happened vnto the Dutches than to the Wallons or Hungarians. About three daies after, three of these rebels being by chance taken prisoners by the Imperials, and brought to Rab, were not only apparelled but also trimmed after the Turkish fashion, as men not desiring longer to be accounted Christians, the rest of their fellows in the towne also imitating the Turks fashions, as wel in their apparell as in their manner of seruice: yet for all that, would not these metamorphosed monsters yeeld the towne vn-

F to the Turkes, before they had the full sum by them agreed vpon, the Bassa of Bosna beeing commanded from the grand Seignior in all haste to prouide it for them, and so to receiue of them the town. Neuertheless, for their more strength and their more credit with the Turks, they receiued into the town one ensigne of the Turks, with certain wagons of victuals; brought thither with so strong a conuoy as that the Imperials durst not meddle therwith: in which wagons (being discharged) they sent in bonds 600 Hungarians and Dutch, men, women, and children, prisoners to Alba-Regalis; being all of them glad to be so sent away, in hope to find more fauor & courtesie at the hands of their enemies, than they had found with these renegat Christians. So shortly after, these rebels sent out certaine messengers vnto the Gouernor of Alba-Regalis, to know his full resolution: which messengers (conducted by certaine Turkes of great account) were vpon the way by the free Haiduckes all intercepted, and the messengers taken, with

A most wicked fact.

with 100 Turkes moe. In the mean while *Michael Marotti*, before imprisoned by the rebels in Pappa, by letters secretly aduertised the Lord *Swartzenburg* of a certaine place, whereby hee might (as hee said) easily enter the towne, and the rather, for that the rebels were at variance amongst themselues. Who thereupon the 12 of July came to Pappa with nine thousand horse and foot, [illegible] disappointed of his purpose for entering the towne, hardly neuertheless belaied the same [illegible] whom the mutiners many times desperatly sallied out, & right valiantly encountered them, albeit that they were still, without any notable losse, by their enemies (too strong for them) beaten backe again into the towne. In one of which sallies it fortuned one of their captains to be taken, who to the terror of the rest was presently slaine quicke, & his head and skin vpon a pike set vp before the towne, for his fellowes to behold. But the Lord *Swartzenburg* still more and more preuailing vpon them, they sent secretly for aid to the Turkes: whereof he for all that getting intelligence, sent also for three regiments of souldiers moe to come vnto him to the siege: by whose comming he wel strengthened, and bringing his approches neerer the towne, tooke from the rebels the mill, a strength which they very vnwillingly lost, as in hope thereby to haue the more easily receiued aid from the Turks; who hauing made preparation to haue relieued them, were letted so to do by the rising of the water, which had spoiled all the prouision for their relieue at the bridge of Esseg, as also hindered them for marching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their trenches euen to the town ditches, out of which they had let out all the water: where some of the townsmen escaping out of the towne, declared, how that the mutinous soldiers within labored both day and night to fortifie the towne, but to be in their worke much letted by the continuall assaults of the Imperials: as also that they now had neither bread nor wine, nor other victuals left, more than a little salt, and threescore horse, of which they had already begun to eat: and that although they were not altogether so valiant, yet that they had resolued to die by the hands of the souldiers, as men expecting no other mercy. Yet shortly after, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of July, they desperatly fell out vpon the trenches of *Marspurgisch* a Dutch captaine, of whose souldiers they slew many, being drunke, & driuing the rest out of [illegible] trenches, raised a great alarme. Which the Lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, hasted thither to the rescue; where with an vnluckie musket shot he was struck in the head and slain. Whereof the rebels got knowledge the same euening, and *Del la Mota* their Generall in reward of that seruice gaue vnto them that had made that sallie a thousand dollars to be diuided among them. The dead body of that so worthy a man, as had done great seruice for the Christian common-weale, was afterwards with great solemnitie brought to Rab, and there honorably entered. The like desperat sally they made againe the next day, and slew of the Imperials an hundred and thirtie, and tooke certaine prisoners: and in retiring backe againe into the towne, cryed aloud, That when they lacked meat, rather than they would yeeld the towne, they would eate Christians, whereof *Marotti* should be the first.

The Lord Swartzenburg slain.

Peace abroade. Warre at home.

The Lord *Swartzenburg* thus slain, the gouernment of the army was by *Matthias* the Archduke committed to the Lord *Redern*, a noble man both valiant and learned; who although he were very sickly, came vnto the camp before Pappa the 8 of August; where vnderstanding that the rebels now brought vnto extremitie, had a purpose by night to flie away & so be gon, he caused a more vigilant & strong watch to be kept; when lo according to his expectation the next night after, about two houres before day they began to issue out: whereof the watch giuing knowledge to the Generall, they were indeed suffered to go out as vnperceiued, but presently after at their heels were sent out the Lord *Nadasti* & the Earle of *Thurn*, with 200 Hussars, and after them the chiefe Colonel & Countie *Solms*, with part of their horsmen also, who in 3 diuers places ouertaking them neere vnto a great wood called Packem, slew most part of them: *Del la Mota* their chiefe captain or ringleader being slaine by the chiefe Colonell, because he would not yeeld, & his head afterwards by him presented vnto the Generall in the campe: 200 Wallons the Hussars vnder the leading of the Lord *Nadasti*, Countie *Solmes*, and Counry *Thurn*, found out in the wood; who albeit that they for a space made great resistance, yet in the end were inforced to yeeld, and so with their two ensignes were brought into the campe. The Hussars also vpon another passage light v[illegible]ther 200 moe of these rebellious Wallons, who because they stood strongly vpon the [illegible], and were more desperately set than the rest, the Generall sent out other 200 of the Colonels horsemen vpon them, by whom

A whom and the Hussars they were almost all slaine: diuers others of them also were slaine in comming out of the towne, and in the marishes thereabouts. Their Generals Lieutenant with such other of their principall commanders as were taken, were by the Lord *Redern* commandement deliuered vnto the Prouost Martiall; the rest of the rebellious traitors he at the request of the souldiers diuided into diuers parts of the armie, there to the terror of others to be executed, from whom the souldiers could hardly be perswaded euen for the present to hold their hands. But afterwards hauing brought them to Rab, & leaue giuen them to do with them their pleasure, they as farre exceeded in the cruell manner of their execution, as had they before in their outragious dealings, especially the Hungarians and Wallons, notwithstanding most of
B them were of the Wallon countries. Some of them they impailed, some they brake vpon the wheele; some of their skins they cut off their bodies as it were into thongs, and so poured into the wounds vinegar, salt and pepper; from some others they cut of their priuities, some they rosted, and some they put into the Tenalia; vpon some they dropped molten pitch, and then casting gunpouder vpon them, so burnt them to death; other some they hanged vpon yron hookes; and some they put in the ground vp to the chin, and for their disport with yron bullets bowled at their heads. In all which torments no signe of compassion was to be seene, the
C tormētors, to make their pain the greater doing nothing but deride them: the miserable wretches in the meane time confessing the hainousnesse of their offence, and crauing for death as a fauor. A most horrible thing it was to see, how whilest some were thus tortured, others were brought to see the same miseries they themselues were by and by to endure. Amongst the rest of these exquisite torments, one *Peter Orsy* caused one of the mutiners to be sowed vp in the belly of a mare, with his head hanging out, and so to be rosted, in which miserable torment he liued three houres, and then died: after which, he caused the lothsome body so rosted, to be giuen to them that lay staruing vpon the wheele to eat. Thus was the dangerous mutinie at Pappa with much adoe ended, and that strong towne like to haue bin lost, preserued: the rebels themselues being become a dreadfull example to all posteritie, for all them to looke vpon that shall attempt the like villanie.

Now at this same time also, though neither the Christians nor the Turks had as then any great army in the field, yet many an hot and bloudy skirmish passed daily betwixt them in one
D place or other of Hungarie: all which to recount as it would be much tedious, so in silence to passe them all ouer, were greatly to wrong those worthy personages by whom they were not without their great aduenture done. Among the rest one *Nicholas Horbath* County *Serinus* his Lieutenant, with 150 souldiers, and *Andrew Thussi* another great Commander, going forth to seeke for bootie; *Thussi* hearing that the Turks were abroad for the surprising of certaine Haiducks then gone out, staied fast in a secret place vntill he might heare further newes, *Horbath* another way still going on. Now it happened that the Bassa of Sigeth hauing bin abroad, in returning home by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him ouerthrew him, and slew most of his men, *Horbath* himselfe by flight hardly escaping. But *Thussi* hearing this skir-
E mish, as lying close not far off, and now hasting thither to haue bin partaker thereof, found the Bassa yet in the field on foot, viewing the bodies of the slaine: vpon whom he came so suddenly and with such force, as that the Bassa with his disordered men had much adoe to take horse, and so without any great resistance to betake himselfe to flight: after whom the Hungarians fiercely following, slew many of the Turks, & amongst the rest the Bassa himselfe, whose head presently cut off, *Horbath* sent to the Countie *Serinus*, who shortly after by *Thussi* himselfe sent it to *Matthias* the Archduke. This Bassa was a man of great strength and courage, a most expert and aduenturous captaine, about 36 yeares old, and for his valour of a common souldier created a Bassa by the great Sultan. His head beeing brought to Vienna, and there shewed to the Bassa of Buda then their prisoner, and he demanded, whether he knew it or not, sighing answered, that he knew it well, and that it was the head of the Bassa of Sigeth, a brauer man than whom the Sultan had none in all his Empire; earnestly withall desiring to know how
F he was slaine. And not long after, the aduenturers out of Comara, Strigonium, and other places thereabout hauing made a great partie, and taken a great bootie from the Turkes at a faire at Gombar, and by Tra and Esseg, thinking to haue passed Danubius in hope of a greater bootie, seuen hundred of them being passed the riuer, were by the new Bassa of Sigeth and others with fiue thousand Turkes in an hot skirmish ouerthrowne; yet not without their great losse also;

Two Bassaes of Sigeth slaine one after another.

also: the Bassa himselfe with two other Sanzackes and fiue hundred Turks being there slain, G
and but fiftie of the Christian aduenturers left dead in the place, the rest disorderedly retiring
to their boats, being for most part drowned in the Danubie. The free Haiduckes also surprised
Iula and set fire, in which confusion the Turks flying into the castle, for haste thrust one
another from the bridge into the castle ditch; wherein so many of them were drowned, that a
man might haue gone drie foot ouer vpon the bodies of the dead. They tooke there also six
hundred prisoners with much other bootie, & deliuered two hundred Christians which were
there captiues. And albeit that these Haiducks after this exploit done were hardly pursued by
the Turks from other places, yet they in safety retired with such bootie as they had alreadie
gotten.

Iula surprised and burnt by the free Haiduckes.

But now to leaue these the troubles of Hungarie for a while, as the forerunners of greater
ere long to ensue; let vs againe looke backe into Transyluania and Valachia, to see how *Michael* the Vayuod now in the meane time behaued himselfe there. The Cardinall *Bathor* ouer-
throwne and slaine, and the countrey of Transyluania againe brought vnder the Emperors
obedience; the Vayuod by his Embassadors gaue him forthwith to vnderstand of all his pro-
ceedings, with the whole successe thereof, as also of a purpose he had to inuade Moldauia: for
that it was commonly reported, and also beleeued, That *Sigismund* the late Prince (not a little
moued with the death of the Cardinall his cousin, and the reuolt of his countrie) aided by the
Turks, the Tartars, the Polonians, and Moldauians, would now attempt some great matter for
the recouerie of Transyluania: All which was shortly after the rather thought to be true, for I
that diuers of his spies beeing taken, some at Clausenburg, some at Nessen, beside the Letters
that were found about them from him vnto the Nobilitie and States of Transyluania (persua-
suading them to reuolt from the Vayuod vnto him, and that his meaning was shortly to come
with a great armie out of Polonia for the repulsing of him) they also of themselues confes-
sed, How that *Sigismund* in disguised apparell had himselfe been in Transyluania, to conferre
with diuers his secret friends concerning that matter. Which his Embassadours the Emperour
honourably entertained, and by them confirmed vnto the Vayuod the gouernment of Tran-
syluania, sending also vnto him diuers honourable Presents, forbidding him neuertheless to
inuade Moldauia, for feare of raising a new and dangerous war against the Polonians also, vn-
der whose protection and the Turks the Palatine thereof then rested. According vnto which K
command the Vayuod stayed his intended expedition; yet sending some good part of his
forces vnto the Frontiers of Moldauia, for feare of *Sigismund* whome hee heard to bee hat-
ching some mischiefe in Polonia, and ent[illegible]en to lie vpon the frontiers of that country. Some
few moneths thus passing, *Husraim Aga* (a[illegible]ue reuerend old man, and much employed by the
Turkish Sultan) with fiue other Turks of good account, Embassadours from the great Sultan,
and a great retinue following him, came to Cronstat in Transyluania where the Vayuod then
lay. Of whose comming the Vayuod hearing, with foure thousand horsemen most brauely
mounted, went halfe a mile out of the citie to meet them: the footmen in the meane time on
both sides of the street standing in good order, from the gate of the citie whereby they were
to enter, euen vnto the Vayuods lodging, where stood also his guard all in red and white silke. L
So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their horses, with great reuerence saluting
the one the other: when presently the Embassador embracing the Vayuod, vngirt his scimi-
tar, and in the name of the great Sultan put another about him, so richly garnished with gold
and precious stones, as that no part of the scaberd was therefore to bee seene: besides this,
he presented him with a faire plume of blacke Hearnes feathers mixed with some white (a
right goodly ornament, in forme of a great bush) which the Vayuod would not in the field
put vpon his head, although he were thereunto by the Embassadour most earnestly requested,
but caused it to be carried before him: he also presented him with two very faire red ensignes,
in token of the Turkes fauour and protection; the one for himselfe, and the other for his sonne
Petrascio: moreouer, he gaue vnto him two exceeding faire horses richly furnished, with foure M
others, and a most faire Faulcon. The Vayuod himselfe was most brauely mounted, and (af-
ter the manner of his countrie) had ten very faire spare horses led before him. At whose ente-
rance into the town, all the great ordnance was discharged with great vollies of small shot: and
so the Embassador still riding on the left hand of the Vayuod, being brought to his lodging, had
six of his chiefe followers euery one of them presented with a rich robe of cloth of gold: in
requitall

The gouernement of Transyluania by the Emperour confirmed vnto Michael the Vayuod.

A requitall whereof the Embassadour rewarded an hundred of the Vayuod his followers euerie
one of them with a good suit of apparell: with this Embassador of the Turks was also the Po-
lonian Embassador, whom the Vayuod in like manner honourably entertained. These Embas-
sadors (as was thought) did what they might to haue drawne this worthy and renowned man,
together with the countries of Transyluania and Valachia, from the Emperour vnto the Turks
obeisance: howbeit he seldome or neuer spake with them, but that either before or after hee
had conference with the Lords *Vngnad* and *Zeckel* (the Emperors Commissioners) concerning
their requests; alwaies protesting vnto them, not to yeeld to any thing without the Emperors
consent and good liking. Whereof *Mahomet* aduertised, and that he was not by any thing yet
said or done, to be remoued from the Emperor, gaue him by the same Embassadors to vnder-
B stand, How that he was in some speech with the Emperor concerning peace (as indeed he then
was by messengers from the Bassaes at Presburg) which if it sorted to effect, that then it should
be well, but if not, that then it should be good for him whilest yet he had time, wisely to con-
sider of his owne estate, and to submit himselfe vnto his protection who was able to defend
him, rather than for the vain praise of a certain foolish constancie, to aduenture himself with all
that he had vnto most certaine danger and destruction: promising him in recompence of that
his loyaltie, to giue vnto him for euer, the countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia,
and at his need to furnish him both with men and money; offering moreouer to make him a
great Commander in his armie in Hungarie, and the Bassa of Temeswar as his friend to be at
all times readie with fiftie thousand horse and foot (as need should be) to assist him against the
C Emperour, reseruing vnto himselfe whatsoeuer hee should more win for him: for all which
bountie and kindnesse, requiring only to haue him vnto him loyall. All which his large offers
the Vayuod little regarding, declared the same vnto the Emperors Commissioners: yet still
protesting neuer to start, but to stand fast for the Christian Emperour. Notwithstanding as a
man desirous to better his estate, he tooke hereupon occasion to request of the Emperour the
countrie of Transyluania, by him so lately taken in, vnto him and his sonne in inheritiance for
euer, with such frontier townes as in former time belonged vnto Transyluania: and that what-
soeuer he should win from the Turkes, might be his and his sonnes: He also requested, that all
the preferments and dignities in former time granted by his Imperiall Maiesty vnto *Sigismund*
D the late Prince, might now be bestowed vpon himselfe; & for his seruice done, to be furnished
with money for the payment of his souldiers: And that the Emperor with the other Princes
of the Empire should assure him, That if he were taken by the Turk, they should ransome him:
but in case he were by the great power of the Turke driuen out of those countries, then by
the Emperours appointment to haue some conuenient place allotted vnto him in the vpper
Hungarie to liue in, with the yerely pension of an hundred thousand dollars. All which his re-
quests if it would please him to grant, he promised this yere to do so much against the Turke,
as had not in an hundred yeres bin don before: with vant, that if he had had the imploiment of
the money which was spent in the time of this war, he would not haue doubted but to haue
brought all the countries from the Euxine (or Blacke sea) to Buda, Alba Regalis, and Solnock,
vnder the Emperors obeisance. A large promise indeed, but hardly to haue bin performed by
a far greater Prince than he.

E Thus whilest things stood in discourse after the Cardinals death, *Sigismund* the late Prince
in the meane time supported by the Polonians, with the aid of the Turks, the Tartars, and the
Moldauians, was ready to haue inuaded Transyluania: yea the Tartars (as the forerunners of
his greater power) were already entred the Countrie, and had out of the frontiers therof car-
ried away some bootie. Wherefore the Vayuod vnderstanding, in great hast assembled his for-
ces out of all places, which in short time was growne to some good head, the countrie people
together with the free Haiducks (an aduenturous and resolute kind of souldiers) in great num-
ber daily resorting vnto him. So being now eight thousand strong, & most of them braue and
lustie men, he with them and 20 pieces of artillerie remoued to Cronstat the foure and twen-
F tieth day of Aprill, sending part of his armie (which euery day more and more encreased) be-
fore him to Nessen: where all his forces being assembled to the number of almost fifty thou-
sand horse and foot, he with great celeritie passed the rough and high mountaines into Mol-
dauia without resistance, but yet not without some trouble, his souldiers by the way beeing
glad sometimes to eat the leaues of trees, the enemie hauing of purpose before carried away
what-

Michael the Vayuod goeth against Sigismund Bathor & the Vayuod of Moldauia.

whatsoeuer hee could that might haue yeelded him reliefe. Of whose speedie comming and great strength, *Sigismund* and *Ieremias* the Vayuod of Moldauia hearing, and vpon the reasonable estimat of their own forces finding themselues too weake to incounter him, retired themselues [illegible] Moldauia into the frontiers of Polonia, there to gather greater strength, & so to meet him. [illegible]s yet *Ieremias* the Vayuod had not receiued from the Turke such forces as were vnto [illegible] promised, and as he still expected. *Michael* the Vayuod in the meane time (his enemies thus fled) with fire and sword entering into Moldauia, tooke in the greatest part thereof, the feareful country people still yeelding vnto him as he went: and the rather, for that *Ieremias* their Vayuod (placed by the Polonian, but tributarie vnto the Turke) had laid vpon them a most grieuous imposition, as vpon euery man a duckat a month, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in Moldauia, *Michael* the Vayuod (hauing still in his companie on of the Emperours commissioners in Transyluania, most rrustie seruants, who might faithfully report vnto them the whole manner of his proceedings) after the departure of *Sigismund* and *Ieremias* his enemies, staied not long; but hearing that they were retired towards the confines of Polonia, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of May found them by the castle Othuue neere vnto the riuer Nester, being thirtie thousand strong; Polonians, Moldauians, Turks, and Tartars: with whom he ioyned a most fierce and cruell battell, which begun about ten a clocke before noone, was with great courage but greater obstinacie on both sides maintained vntill the euening. At which time the fortune of the Valachian preuailing, his enemies at last betooke themselues to flight, of whom were there slaine eight thousand, beside many others of them drowned in the riuer Nester: where of the Valachians were lost two thousand onely. Concerning *Sigismund* and *Ieremias*, diuers reports were after this ouerthrow giuen out; some saying that they were slain, and some, that they were in flying, drowned: howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight escaped, to the greater trouble of themselues, as of their afflicted countries also. *Michael* after this so notable a victorie, taking in the rest of Moldauia, caused the people to sweare their obedien[illegible] vnto the Emperor, himselfe, and his son, to the great offence of the Polonians, not a little (as [illegible] tooke it) wronged therein; but especially of the great Chancellor, an old enemy vnto the house of Austria. Whereof ensued greater troubles in those frontier countries than before, to the further effusion of more Christian bloud, much better to haue been imploied against the fatall enemy, in defence of the Christian commonweale. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier countries of Transyluania, Valachia, & Moldauia, the surest bulwarkes of that side of Christendome, and most exposed vnto the furie of the common enemy, were now once again vnited vnder the obeisance of the Emperor, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Christi[illegible]mmon-weale, and hurt of the Turks; if they might haue so continued, as God wot they di[illegible] not long.

Sigismund and the Moldauian ouerthrown by Michael the Vayuod.

Moldauia subdued by Michael.

Now the Vayuod notwithstanding this so great a victory, well considering that he of himselfe could hardly keep this new gained prouince of Moldauia against the power of the Turke, (pretending that to him it belonged as his own to giue to whom he pleased:) as also against the Polonians (not more desirous to restore *Ieremias* againe into Moldauia, than the Prince *Sigismund* into Transyluania) without the helpe of some other more mightie Prince whome hee might rest vpon; by his Embassadors (sent for that purpose) offered the soueraignetie of al those three countries vnto the Emperor, with condition, that he should appoint him perpetuall Gouernor of the same vnder him. The Emperour also vnderstood, how that *Mahomet* the great Turke had not long before againe sent vnto him another of his Chiaus, commanding him without delay to restore the countrie of Transyluania vnto the Prince *Sigismund* (vnto whom he was by the mediation of the king of Polonia now before reconciled) threatning otherwise with fire and sword to destroy Valachia, and by force of armes to depriue him both of Transyluania and his life together. Wherefore the Emperour doubting lest the Vayuod either for feare, or for the better assuring of his owne estate, should to his preiudice fall to some agreement with the Turke, yeelded to all that his Embassadors had of him requested; with condition, that he should be bound as need should require to serue with his people against the Turke, and that in Transyluania neere vnto his owne [illegible]son should be alwaies resident one of the Emperors counsellors, as Superintendent ouer the [illegible]ole countrey. Wherewith the Vayuod beeing contented, the Emperour sent thither Doctor *Petzen* with six thousand souldiers, and a great summe of money to pay the Vayuods souldiers, as he had before requested; and so

A so to take of them an oath, That they should from thenceforth become his Majesties faithfull seruants. Which Superintendent so by the Emperor sent, the Vayuod receiued with great honor, as vnto him of all others most welcome. Neuertheless being againe returned into Transyluania, it was not long but that (without regard of him) he began with new exactions to oppresse the people of the country, and in some sort to tyrannise ouer them; vsing great seueritie against diuers of the nobility also, especially such as he knew to haue taken part before with the Cardinal, or now of late with *Sigismund* his cousin, or any way to haue fauored his quarel. All which he did without the consent or good liking of *Petzen*, contrary to his promise made, No more to imbrue his hands in the bloud of the nobilitie of Transiluania, without the knowledge or consent of his Imperial Majestie or the Superintendent by him appointed: which for

Michael tirannizeth in Transyluania.

B all that, if he had not done, he could not possibly haue kept them (disdaining to be gouerned by him) vnder his obeisance. Neuertheles the Transyluanians taking it in euill part to be so oppressed, and the nobility almost extinguished, yea and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by generall consent as if it had bin but one man, rise all vp in armes against him: insomuch that he finding himselfe with his Valachians and other his fauourits too weake for them, retired with all such as would follow him, into the mountains; and from thence sent presently for aid vnto the lord *George Basta* (a worthy captaine, and then the Emperors Lieutenant in the vpper Hungary) for the subduing of these rebellious people, and the reducing of them to their former obedience. Who by letters from *Matthias* the Archduke, at the instance of the Vayuod commanded so to do, with about 6000 horse and foot and 8 field pieces remoued from Cassouia in the vp-

The Transyluanians rebell.

C per Hungarie the 4 of September. Where by the way came vnto him Embassadors also from the people of Transyluania now vp in armes, and confederat also against the Vayuod: who in like manner also requested his aid, pretending themselues to be the Emperors most loyal subiects, but not vnder the gouernment of such a tyrant as was the Vayuod: alledging and exaggerating many his most cruel actions, and cleerely protesting, That for the present want of a good gouernour, they were enforced for the safegard of their liues to band themselues together: which if haply it might be in any thing preiudicial vnto the Emperours claime and interest, which he with so great toile and cost had procured in that prouince, it was against their wills, as enforced by necessitie to do that they did in defence of themselues. Which Embassa-

D dors so sent from the people, *Basta* with all speed dispatched away backe againe, comforting them without farther stir to expect his arriual in Transyluania: yet couenanting withall, That they should before conceiue into writing the oath of their fidelity and allegeance vnto his Imperial Majestie. Now might many and important considerations trouble the mind of *Basta* in so doubtfull acase. To giue aid vnto the Vayuod against the people, was the expresse order from *Matthias* the Archduke the Emperors lieutenant General: but to aid the people confederat against him, as they had requested, seemed now both more profitable and honest, especially hauing most certaine tokens of the small and doubtfull faith of the Vayuod; who only by dis-

E putation interessed in that prouince, was not so carefull of another mans; neither seeming to haue regard of *Petzen*, or of his owne word giuen for not further imbruing his hands in the bloud of the Nobility of Transyluania, without the Emperours knowledge and leaue: vpon which promise was likewise grounded the Archdukes order for giuing of him aid: so that such breach of his faith, & contempt of *Petzen*, had hastned the conspiracy of the people against him, despairing of all other health than that which by force of armes they could procure vnto themselues. To stand doubtfull himselfe, or to hold others in suspence, vntil that by currors in this new case he might receiue new instructions from the Emperor or the Archduke, had in it too much danger, as giuing leisure to each party to make sides, & to increase the slander of the last yeare, That he might so easily (and especially from the Valachian) haue assured that prouince to his Majestie, had he not bin an heartlesse man of no resolution, euen such an one as durst not looke vpon a cat (as some had said) all which might not a little pricke an honorable mind. To

F take part with the people confederat against the Vayuod, if it should not happily fall out at the first encounter, might betwixt the two contendants giue an entrance vnto the third, either the Turke or the Polonian in the fauour of *Batbor*: but if it should sort to the quite contrarie, and so himselfe to lose the day; then he saw himselfe void of all defence against the malicious, especially in that the world commonly measureth the wisedome vsed in any action, according to the successe thereof, than which nothing can be more vnreasonable, but aboue all others, in

in matters of war. In this ſo troubled a tempeſt of contrarie winds, of power to haue driuen a right good mariner out of his courſe, *Baſta* laid hand vpon the helme of good meaning, and ſpread the ſailes of ſuch diſcretion, as taught him in matters of war to be lawful for a General to depart euen from the inſtructions of his Prince, not concerning the end, but the meanes leading to that end: eſpecially when the preſent occaſion ſo requireth, which the Prince could not with reaſon before comprehend, as depending of the moſt mightie fortune of war, which ſuffereth not ſo much delay as to expect counſell from far. So in this ambiguitie *Baſta* reſolued to joyn himſelfe vnto the confederats, moſt in his judgment concerning his Imperial Majeſty, as being the vttermoſt ſcope of his ſo great coſt & charge, to keep the country of Traſyluania at his deuotion, which conſiſted in the people, and not in the woods or mountaines: the matter being not great by what meanes ſoeuer it were done, ſo that it were honorable and honeſt.

Baſta taketh part with the Tranſyluanians againſt the Vayuod in whoſe aid he was ſent.

Vpon this deſire *Baſta* ſet forward, and the 14 day arriued at Torda, and there joined himſelfe vnto the confederats, to the great wonder of the Vayuod, in whoſe helpe he was ſent: where repoſing himſelfe one day, conſulting and conſidering of their forces, about 12000 ſtrong, with foure field pieces, beſides eight of his owne, with the ſix thouſand ſouldiers hee brought with him, in all about eighteene thouſand, he determined not to giue leiſure vnto the Vayuod to call vnto him farther helpe, hauing now with him about twentie thouſand foot and twelue thouſand horſe, with ſeuen and twenty field pieces: amongſt whom were diuers of the Siculi, in hope of their antient libertie, men of good account and ſort, with a mixture of the Coſſackes, Valachians, Raſcians, and Seruians, people of prey ſeruing only to ſpoile: whome *Baſta* knew to be far inferiour in courage to his twelue thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, not onely for the valour of his owne men accuſtomed vnto the frontier ſeruice, but alſo for the confederates, who engaged with their goods, liues, and honour, and deſirous to be reuenged of the Vayuod, were like enough to ſtand well by it. Wherefore he ſet forward the ſixteenth day, and in two dayes march came within ſight of the Vayuod: who hauing ſent out certaine great troups of horſemen to take view of the enemie, and ſeeing them repulſed, ſet fire on Miriſlo a village faſt by, out of which they had before drawne certaine ſmall field pieces into the campe.

Miriſlo is a village two leagues on this ſide of Alba-Iulia, directly vpon the high-way ſtretching from the ſide of Maracza nauigable riuer, vnto the foot of an hil; alongſt which the riuer running, ſomtimes neerer, and ſomtimes farther off, together with the riſing of the hill, maketh an vnequal liſt of ground, in ſome places half a mile broad and more, and in ſome other ſhut vp as it were into a narrow throat, as in the ſame place where the aforeſaid village ſtandeth, & where the Vayuod lay incamped in a place of great aduantage, behind a great trench drawn from the riuer, croſſe that little ſpace of ground betwixt the mountaine and the riuer. On this ſide, which from Miriſlo the farther a man goeth the farther the plaine enlargeth, *Baſta* encamping cloſe vnto the village, oppoſed againſt the comming of the enemy 3 great *corps du gard*, two of them Hungarians, towards the hill fauored with a Church, and the third toward the riuer, of the Almaine footmen, vnder the charge of Countie *Tomaſo Caurioli* of Breſcia, Sergeant Major of the field, with all the artillery: who as in a place neere and very open vnto the enemy, there intrenched himſelf, ſtil approching neerer and neerer both on the one ſide and the other. Towards the euening of the ſelfeſame 17 day came to *Baſta* one *Peter Armenio* with Letters from the Vayuod, containing, That hauing vnderſtood of his arriual in the campe of the Conſpirators, he now further deſired to know whether it were by the conſent and commandment of the Emperor or not: and how it came to paſſe that he would ſo doe, conſidering the diuers chances of war, the ſword hanging as it were euen ouer his head if he ſhould chance to loſe the battell? Whereunto *Baſta* anſwered, That the morrow following he would ſhew him the authoritie he had from the Emperour (alluding to the Imperial Standard he carried with him:) and that as concerning the fortune and danger to enſue, he referred that wholly vnto the will and pleaſure of the Almightie, the juſt Iudge of all controuerſies. But in the meane time he exhorted him to leaue that Prouince he had ſo euill gouerned, vnto his Imperial Majeſtie, as he was in duty bound; promiſing him free paſſage into Valachia, and giuing him time to conſider thereupon vntill 8 a clocke the next morning, after which time it ſhould be free for euery man to doe for himſelfe what he could. Which anſwer the Vayuod hauing read, inflamed with diſdaine, with many proud words full of threats and diſgrace, although it was then night, preſently

ſently cauſed by the ſound of the drum and trumpet the battell to be proclaimed againſt the next day.

On the other ſide, *Baſta* after he had aſſured his camp, hauing not onely ſent, but gone himſelfe to haue the counſel of his owne eies, for his better vnderſtanding how the enemy lay; and finding no reaſonable means for him there to attempt any exploit by, as well for the ſtrength of the trench before the front, & in part along the ſide of the enemies camp, as alſo for the danger of a riſing ground on the left hand, whereunto all the plain betwixt the enemies camp and the village was ſubiect, thought it beſt to remoue, & to make a ſhort retreat about the ſpace of an Italian mile, according to the commodiouſnes of the place; thinking it no hard matter, of ſo proud an enemy, and not altogether ſo well acquainted with martiall ſtratagems, to gain a notable victory. This his purpoſe propounded in counſel, was greatly diſliked of the captains of the confederates: vnto whome it ſeemed more ſafety to aſſault the Vayuod, yet lying in his ſtrength, than to retire before the face of an enemy ſo ſtrong & aduenturous: for that ſuch a retreat according to the manner of that country, would be deemed no other than a plain flight: and to breake his order & ariſe, was (as they ſaid) but to diſcourage his own people, and to encourage his enemies. But *Baſta* the better to perſuade them, promiſed therein to ſhew to them a more cunning kind of fight than was yet vnto them knowne; & declared the aſſurance that he in his owne perſon, with the Almains in the rereward would giue them in that retreat, in ſuch ſort, as that they ſhould not loſe ſo much as a man, much leſſe they needed to feare to fal into any diſorder in ſo ſhort a ſpace, his purpoſe being only to giue the plain vnto the enemy, wherin to ſhew himſelfe into the open field. So the retreat being agreed vpon, the morning following being the 28 of September, the three *Corps du guard* (before ſpoken of) were betimes called backe, and the baggage ſent away: after which followed the Tranſyluanians and Hungarians, the Almaines in the rereward encloſing the great ordnance.

The battell of Miriſlo betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta the emperors lieutenant.

The Vayuod aware of their departure, ſent forth with a great troup of horſemen, eſpecially of the Coſſackes, to take view of them, and to skirmiſh with them; which were ſo far kept off by a company of musketiers in the rereward, as that they could not come ſo nigh as to do any harme, although that all the way they went they were by them ſtil charged, to the great contentment of *Baſta*, to ſee ſo good a beginning of his deſignes as might bring them all to their wiſhed effect. But when hee ſaw the great artillerie vpon the carriages to come out of the village, a certain ſigne that the enemy ſet forward with al his forces, he marched faire & ſoftly to giue him hope to ouertake him: and ſo retired as far as he thought good from the village, hauing before thought of a conuenient place wherin his people might with room enough vpon aduantage ſtay: when as about halfe a mile from him, and as far from the village, he might ſee the enemy march with his people in order of battell; then began he to march towards him alſo: & perceiuing the enemy to come on in one only thick front, by reaſon of the ſtraitnes of the place, hauing on the right hand towards the riuer placed as it were all his horſmen, & towards the mountaine his footmen alone, and 500 foot placed aloft without any artillerie, as it ſeemed he would haue done, hauing planted ſome below at the foot of the hill in the way, and he in the midſt, euen before the front of the battell, where the horſemen came after the footmen; he alſo placed his ſquadron in one front onely, to the intent not to be incloſed by the enemie on the flanke of his army. The body of his main battell conſiſted of one great ſquadron of about 3000 Almaine footmen, flanked on each ſide with 150 Rutters of Sileſia: before the ſquadron toward the right hand he had ſet a looſe wing of three hundred musketiers: in the right wing towards the hill he placed a companie of launces, with two ſquadrons of the countrey footmen: and in the left wing toward the riuer one ſquadron of Tranſyluanian footmen, & two of launces, for that the enemie was at that time very ſtrong in horſemen: the Coſſacks, archers, and harquebuſiers he placed in the rereward: of his great artillerie he would make no vſe, for that hauing not much, he would not ſtand vpon the defence thereof, but deſired rather with all ſpeed to come to the ſword with the enemy, vnacquainted with ſuch cloſe fight, foot to foot; and well the leſſe fit, by reaſon of their light armor. And therfore he thought it beſt firſt to ſet forward his ſquadron of Almaines to giue the charge, bending towards the right hand, amongſt the thickeſt of the footmen towards the artillerie at the foot of the hill, as there whereas was the ſtrength of the enemies infanterie. And doubting in the performing hereof, to be charged on the left ſide with a great ſquadron of about 3000 launces, which ſeemed to

to ſtand vpon that wing to giue the firſt charge, he gaue order vnto *Rodoulz* his Lieutenant, and C
Colonell of the Rutters, which had the leading of the left wing, that he ſhould at a certaine
ſigne giuen, ſet forward towards the left hand, for the charging of that great ſquadron. So his
people being [illegible] in order, and the manner of proceeding ſet downe, he putting on his helmet,
with [illegible] countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted he ſhould ſhew vnto the Vayuod,
that his Tru[illegible]mon could doe more than his ſcimitar: And himſelfe ſetting forward betwixt
the ſquadron of the Almaine footmen and the wing of the musketiers, about two houres after
noone, marched faire and ſoftly towards the enemy: who without mooving expected the
diſcharging of their artillerie; whereunto the neerer that the enemie came vnto it, the leſſe
harme it did him, by ſhooting either ouer or ſhort in the field, which eaſily aſcended. The
wing of musketiers went directly to giue a charge vnto the artillerie; and the ſquadron toward H
the foot of the hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they might be enfor-
ced to ſpend their firſt vollies, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to retire, preſently
came in, all afront, iuſt vpon the ſigne giuen; and ſo with his Almaine footmen and the Rutters
on the right hand, encloſed and compaſſed in behinde the greateſt part of the enemies foot-
men. At which very inſtant, the Rutters on the left hand alſo ſo couragiouſly charged vpon
the three thouſand launces, that better could not haue beene deſired of any band of moſt old
Michael the Vayuod ouerthrowes. and expert ſouldiers. The lances retiring without any hurt, and the firſt volley diſcharged, for-
ced the infanterie, and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the wings charging, there enſued
preſently a great ſlaughter and ouerthrow, onely fortie of *Baſta* his men being ſlaine, and as
many hurt; where of the enemies were loſt in the battell ten thouſand: and greater had the I
ſlaughter been, if the village and approch of the night had not couered many of them that fled,
and ſtaied the purſuit of the victors that followed them. Which putteth me in remembrance
of the great victorie that *Scipio Aſiaticus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were ſlaine of the
Romans but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the wings ſtood for a time doubt-
full) there being loſt of the enemies aboue fiftie thouſand. Howbeit there were afterwards
found in all (as was by the peaſants of the country reported) twentie thouſand ſlaine in this
battell. By this victorie *Baſta* recouered many enſignes and much armour, before ſent by
the Emperour vnto the Vayuod, together with all his tents and baggage. And preſently
after the ouerthrow, there were many troupes of horſemen ſent out euerie way with procla-
mation, to ſpare the liues of ſuch of the Siculi as ſhould lay downe their armes: of whom K
many were ſent priſoners vnto diuers places, eſpecially to Fogaras, a ſtrong Towne
towards Valachia. As for the Vay[illegible]himſelfe, hee with certaine Coſſackes eſcaped
by flight.

The morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the Countie *Caurioli*, to enforme the em-
perour of all the particularities of the ſucceſſe of that expedition: who ſeemed to bee there-
with pleaſed, yet neither gaue reward vnto the Countie, neither commended *Baſta* in that hee
had done (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue therof) although he had in writing before ap-
proued his reſolution and motion made in fauour of the Confederats. Staying that day in that
The Chiaki was the chiefe man and as it were the ring-leader of the Transyluanian new rebellion. quarter, *Baſta* gaue order vnto the Chiaki, to ſend out a thouſand horſemen to purſue the fly-
ing Vayuod: who in ſtead of ſo doing, ioyning themſelues with other their conſorts, ſetled L
themſelues to ranſacke Alba-Iulia, vnder the colour, that there was the Vayuods wealth and
ſubſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither merchant nor citiſen: which
worthily ſeemed vnto *Baſta* a great wrong, for to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and the guiltie
to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſte he might thitherwards with all his camp,
and ſo ſtayed one day not farre from thence, to haue giuen ſome redreſſe vnto the ſpoyle that
had happened; yet was all that his labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater ſort and chiefeſt
amongſt them had their handes therein, with whome hee thought it more wiſedome as
then to diſſemble, than to fall into any tearmes of ſeueritie, without hope of doing any
good. So he reſolued in all haſte to march towards Fogaras (whither he heard ſay the Vay-
uod was come with new forces out of Valachia and Moldauia) and in ſixe dayes march M
came to Cibinium, where he receiued certaine newes, That the great Chancellour of Po-
lonia, and *Sigiſmund* (ſometime the Tranſyluanian Prince) were with a ſtrong armie vpon
the Frontiers of Moldauia; hauing ſent before them *Moyſes* the Siculian, with about
eight thouſand of the Siculi (his ſouldiers) to what purpoſe was eaſie to bee ſeene. Which
aduer-

A aduertiſement interrupted the courſe of *Baſta* his victorie; for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to
purſue the enemie, and to leaue behinde him a doubt of ſo great importance: and eſpecially,
for that he thought he could not aſſure himſelfe of the aid of the countrey people, in caſe that
Sigiſmund their old Prince were once ſeene in Tranſyluania. Wherefore he thought good to
ſtay where he was, to prouide for all euents as need ſhould be; and ſo reſolued to ſend the Chi-
aki, and one *Ladiſlaus Pithi*, to parley with *Moſes*, who made a ſhew of no great moment of his
good will towards the confederats. In the meane time came two meſſengers from the Vay-
uod, offering in his name, that he ſhould do whatſoeuer were in the behalfe of the Emperor to
be impoſed vpon him. Vnto whom theſe conditions were by *Baſta* and the reſt of the Coun-
cell propounded; Firſt, That he ſhould for euer reſigne all the claime he had or might haue in- *A reconciliation made betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta.*
B to the country of Tranſyluania: then, That he altogether with his armie, ſhould giue his oath
of fidelitie vnto his Imperial Majeſtie: alſo, That hee ſhould forthwith through Valachia go
with his army vnto the frontiers of Moldauia, to ſtay the Polonians from farther entrance: and
moreouer, to giue his wife and little ſon in hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With
which meſſengers was ſent one *Sebaſtian Techelli*, to receiue the oath and promiſed hoſtages:
vnto whom was appointed for the place of their ſafe keeping, the Biſhops caſtle in Alba-Iulia,
the Vayuod hauing before requeſted, That they might be ſo kept in Tranſyluania: although
Baſta thought it much better to haue had them kept in the vpper Hungarie. This agreement
being made, *Baſta* kept on his way towards Fogaras, which he found alreadie poſſeſſed by the
Chiaki, and ſo from thence to Corona. After which, the Vayuod diſtruſting of the articles
C agreed vpon, went directly into Valachia, but not at all into Moldauia; not ſo much diſcomfi-
ted with the forces of the Polonians whom he went againſt (not doubting to giue them a great
ouerthrow) as for the diſtruſt he had of *Moſes* the Siculian, who in the battel might ſhew him-
ſelfe his enemie behinde him. Now whether it were for the diſtruſt he had in his owne follo-
wers, or only for feare of treaſon by the Polonians plotted, being not likely that they with ſo
ſmall forces were come to fight, without ſome greater ſecret deceit; he not knowing whom to *Michael for feare of being betrayed vnto the Polonians, takes his flight into the mountaines.*
truſt or to feare, of his owne accord tooke his flight into the ſtrength of the mountaines, with-
out any great loſſe of his people, hauing left his baggage behinde him, which was aſſailed and
taken by the Haiducks and ſuch other ſharkers enured to prey, and alwaies readie in like occa-
D ſion, helpe to ſpoile and chaſe them that are alreadie running: although that afterwards in di-
uers skirmiſhes with the Turks (who to cauſe him the rather to turne his backe vnto the Polo-
lonians, had preſumptuouſly ſcoured vp and downe the country) he loſt many. In fine, giuing
Moldauia loſt, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold only Valachia his old gouern-
ment. Euen he which but a little before commanded aboue an hundred thouſand ſouldiers in
field; he, which in deſpight of who ſaid nay, was able to command Valachia and Moldauia, and
happily the other countries alſo neere vnto him, as hauing receiued the command of Tranſyl-
uania as gouernor for the Emperour; he that made Conſtantinople to tremble, and found no
Empire equall to his deſignes. But it fareth oftentimes with the Great, as with birds of prey,
who greedily ſeeking to prey vpon others, become themſelues a prey vnto other greater than
themſelues: for they neuer contented, and attributing onely vnto their owne valour and wiſe-
dome, their owne proſperous proceedings, are the true ſhewers of the vnſtable wheele of for-
E tune: or what ſay I of Fortune? being rather the verie children of Follie. So commonly fal-
leth it out with Princes (eſpecially the new) which in the garboiles of war betwixt their migh-
tie neighbours, not gouerned by their owne wiſedome, reſt themſelues onely vpon the aduice
of their Counſellours, are by them led they wote not whither, for the greateſt intereſt they
haue in them. For had the Vayuod had but the leaſt in-ſight into politicall gouernment, hee
might well haue vnderſtood, that amongſt ſo many mightie Princes he could not much grow
or yet well root himſelfe, without the aſſured ſtay of ſome one or other of them. He ſhould al-
ſo haue knowne within what compaſſe a new prince ought to haue vſed ſeueritie and rigour;
and that he ought to obſtaine from all offence in good or otherwiſe, which might any way
F procure vnto him the diſpleaſure or hatred of his ſubjects. Whereas his Counſellours not ſo
much reſpecting his profit as their owne, had not the power or not the will to perſuade him ſo
by good meanes to plant himſelfe ſure in Tranſyluania; but ſo both caſt him headlong from
his high eſtate, and at the ſame time furthered the loſſe of Caniſia, a matter of important con-
ſequence.

Now

Now lay *Bassa* encamped in the field in Transyluania, when a messenger came vnto him G
from the great Chancellour of Polonia, to declare vnto him, That it was not his purpose to
trouble Transyluania, hauing no such order from the King: albeit that hee would aduise the
Transyluanians, if they wished to liue in quiet, to make choice of a Prince of their owne nati-
on, and such an one as the Turke should well like of, whereas otherwise they should but seeke
their owne destruction, together with their neighbors. Which his counsell was well marked
of them all, albeit it was thought by many of the wiser sort, not so much to proceed of any
good meaning he had towards the Transyluanians, as of an old grudge and inueterate hatred
he had alwayes borne against the house of Austria, as also, that he euen then countenanced the
Prince *Sigismund* with his armie to no other end, but by him to raise vp new stirs in that Pro- H
uince, and so to draw it from the Emperors obeisance, although thereby it became againe tri-
butarie vnto the Turke, who in all these matters had a great hand. Yea some sticked not to say,
That he couertly aimed at that Principalitie for his sonne, howsoeuer he masked the same vn-
der the shew of *Sigismund* the late Prince. But vnto him answer was giuen by the Transyluani-
ans, (with thanks for his good will) That in all their consultations they would haue a princi-
pal regard of their owne welfare, together with the common. Which answer he hauing recei-
The chancellor placeth a new Vayuod in Valachia in stead of Michael, by him driuen out
ued, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the brother of *Hieremias* the Moldauian) Vayuod of Vala-
chia in stead of *Michael* by him driuen out, and so leauing a conuenient number of souldiers
with him, returned himselfe towards Polonia. Vnto which election so made by the Poloni-
ans the Turks craftily gaue place, knowing well to play the foxes where they could not play
the lyons; wisely for a time comporting the iniurie: and the old Chancellor as crafty as they, I
hauing a secret purpose by occasion of these present troubles, to prefer his sonne at length vn-
to the principalitie of Transyluania, and thereunto also to joine the countries of Moldauia and
Valachia, had therein of purpose placed the aforesaid *Simon*, a man of no valor, and of a small
apprehension, whom he might againe at his pleasure displace, and joine those prouinces vnto
his new purchase: which he could not so well do if he should haue there placed a man of grea-
ter reach and courage. So worke the heads of the [illegible], and so trauell the braines of the am-
bitious aspiring.

Bassa vnderstanding of the retyring of the Polonians, entered into consultation with the
False rumours raised to haue terrified Bassa.
Chiaki and other the principal men of that Prouince (which lodged with the armie in the K
countrey villages thereabout) for calling together the States and people, to make choice of
some such men as they thought meetest to be sent vnto the Emperor, to know his pleasure for
the gouernment of that Prouince. But neuertheless in the meane time, whilest there was no suspition
of the forreine enemie, began to worke certaine malecontents, which thinking with greater li-
bertie to liue vnder a weake Prince, than vnder one of greater power; with one voice cryed
out, That *Sigismund* with a great power was entred into the confines of Transyluania, one
whiles towards Valachia, another while by the way of Moldauia; and that the strength of
the countrey and others there by still resorted vnto him: with other such like inuentions, of
purpose deuised to haue made *Bassa* suddenly departed, or at leastwise to haue troubled the
Dyet or assemblie called, & the consultation also. But he wel aduised of their purpose, moued
not out of his quarter, but there lay verie priuatly, to declare thereby the great confidence he L
had in the thankfulnesse of the nobilitie of that country, as by him deliuered from the oppres-
sion of the Vayuod: as also to make them to vnderstand, That the gouernment to be appointed
was not to be setled in the sole power of a tyrant, but in the fidelitie of the subjects, protected
vnder a most gentle, royal, and most fatherlike gouernment, not ambitiously sought after, but
voluntarily of themselues offered, & for the common good, by the Emperor accepted. Beside
that, he knew right wel how that *Castaldo* (in like case before in the yere 1551, sent into Tran-
syluania with 8000 Almaines) left behinde him his armie, and without any precedent courte-
sie went priuatly to Alba-Iulia, where Queene *Isabel* had for her defence assembled a Dyet of
all the States, and there by wel handling of the matter, got to *Ferdinand* the Emperor that king-
dome, which he could not by the feare of his forces haue gained: for which doing, Writers M
attribute vnto him the name of great wisedome, notwithstanding that the yeare following
he was forced to abandon his conquest, but yet not through any default in himselfe.

But it is truly said, That men pleasured, according to the occasion change their manners, as
doth the camelion his color according to the place: nothing being by nature so short, nothing of

A of lesse life than the remembrance of a benefit with the vnthankfull, which the greater it is,
the more it is repaied with vngratitude; either by making it to haue been of little worth, or to
haue proceeded not of courtesie, but from some other more priuat & proper considerations of
the giuer. The diet aforesaid being assembled, diuers broils were there raised by the malecon-
tents, as vsually it commeth to passe where the people haue to do with the gouernment; apt to
be moued with euery rumour, alwaies ready to change their opinion as straight glutted there-
with, headstrong, faithlesse, all in words to no end: some of them in that assemblie cryed out,
that the Almains might be paid, discharged, and thanked for the pains they had taken for them
as their neighbors, with offring to do them the like pleasure as their occasions should require:
B otherwise cried to haue them put all to the sword, so much they were deuoid of reason: others
cried out as fast, that they were not by any means to endure the gouernment of *Maximilian* the
Archduke, but by some nominated vnto them would needs haue a Prince of their own coun-
trey, and such an one as the great Turke should well like of, as the Chancellour had persuaded
them. *Bassa* for all that not dismaid with so vnexpected an encounter (albeit that he began to
suspect that he had lost all his labor, if he were not in short time with greater forces relieued)
at such time as the Chiaki with other the chiefe men amongst the people, came as their maner
was euery other day to visit him: with conragious speech and vnappalled countenance told
them plainely, That he well perceiued their drift and purpose; and yet doubted not either of
C the great benefit they had from him so lately receiued; & in case it might happen them little
to esteeme of those things (greater than which could not happen amongst men) that yet they
should well know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully resolued not to stir
one foot thence with his forces, but rather to lose his life, which hee would for all that sell as
deare as he could. Whereunto answer was giuen with much courteous speech, That he should
not giue eare vnto any the speeches of the light vulgar people; but to content himselfe that the
nobility, in whose hands the chiefe power of that prouince was, had not don any thing not be-
seeming themselues. So after much dispute, were appointed 3 persons according to the three
estates (the Nobility, the Commons, & the State in general) to go vnto the Emperor, to request
of him *Maximilian* the Archduke for their Gouernor: with speciall request also, that it would
D please him not to ouercharge with forrein souldiers that Prouince already sore impouerished;
especially hauing in it selfe people sufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble to en-
counter with the Turks, than the heauy & slow Almains, and they also of double charge. These
difficulties with much ado thus appeased by such as stood fast for the Emperor, *Bassa* thought
it not good again to call any such assembly, hoping that time and the Emperors great wisdome,
would for all these matters find conuenient remedy. Yet saw he plainly, the mind of the people
was to resolue to remaine for euer free, if they should haue come to a second consultation; and
in them a princely desire to command rather than to be commanded: yea in that selfesame Di-
et the Chiaki was declared Gouernour on the behalfe of the people, with authoritie in many
things of himselfe to determine without calling together of any assembly of the rest of the
E States: which they said they did only vntill they were by his Imperiall Maiesty prouided of a
Gouernour. Neuertheless *Bassa* wel perceiued more than a Tribunitial power to be now ioy-
ned by the people vnto the Emperours Commissioners, knowing that this Chiaki was in great
hope to haue bin proclaimed Prince of the confederats, in case they had not bin presently re-
lieued against the Vayuod: & hauing in him yet noted still his great ambition, for that marching
from Torda toward the Vayuod, he caused to be carried before him a speare with an Hungari-
an cap, and a plume of feathers vpon a lance, in token of his chiefe command, albeit that after-
wards at the complaint of *Bassa*, pretending therin a wrong to be done vnto his regiment mar-
ching vnder the Imperiall standard, he tooke it down: neither was he then a little suspected to
haue suffered his souldiers to haue sacked Alba-Iulia, as also to haue surprised Fogaras, and to
haue vsed diuers other means all tending vnto popularitie and ambitious aspiring: wherein he
F deemed it yet better to dissemble than to proceed farther, and then to do it indeed when hee
had power sufficient.

The stoutspeech of Bassa, vnto the Chiaks and the rest of the nobilitie of Transyluania.

The next day following came all the Counsel of that prouince, with the Deputies (appoin-
ted to haue gone vnto the Emperor) & the people vnto the house of *Bassa*, requesting him (al-
though such their manner of comming might seeme to exceed the bounds of request) that he

would send his Germanes out of the countrey, and so after so many troubles to giue it leaue a little to breath: as for himselfe, that he might stay at Alba-Iulia, vntil the men deputed to that purpose might go vnto his Maiesty with their requests. *Basta* not a little troubled with such an Imperious request, and now (but not before) perceiuing the occasion of this great discontentment, saw himselfe much deceiued in a most materiall point, and the ground of all this action, by trusting too much vnto his owne too small forces, too weake for the defence of his owne person, much lesse to keepe vnder so populous a Prouince, such as before in the yeare 1552 vnder the leading of *Castaldo*, had of it selfe sent out 70000 fighting men for the besieging of Lippa, and now vpon the sudden 12000 with a few noblemen in the face of a mighty and armed enemy, where they now held an armed consultation with him, the nobilitie meeting together with their great retinues; and so much the greater, by how much the suspition was the more by them feared, for them to be enforced to resolue vpon any thing contrary to their good liking: whereas he contenting himselfe only with their oath without any other hostages, and so giuing aid vnto the confederats, had put himselfe vpon their faith, together with all his people, into the midst of Transyluania; a matter of far greater importance than any pledge they were able to haue giuen him. Besides that, of the 6000 men which he had brought with him into that countrie, three thousand fiue hundred of Silesia now brought to 2000, could not be perswaded longer to stay without their pay before hand, the pay of their countrie beeing alreadie spent: and the rest drawne out of the garrisons of the vpper Hungarie, or els there pressed, were at a certaine time to returne. Yet neuertheless hee attempted in some sort to satisfie their request, for not grieuing of the country, by requesting of them to deliuer vnto him some strong place, whereinto he putting his men into garrison, they might so lie without any further charge or trouble to the country, liuing vpon their own wages. Which when he could not obtaine, and withall considering, that if those few of his people which yet remained could be contented to stay with him, the retaining of them might giue occasion vnto the desirous of new stirs vpon euery the least disorder of the souldiers to alter the matter at their pleasure (as had hapned vnto the eight thousand Almaines of Castaldo, driuen sometimes out of that countrey vnder the colour of some insolencie by them committed, although others had been the chiefe doers thereof, namely about some twentie Polonians) he resolued of all these things to giue notice to the Court, and so faire and softly to march with his souldiers vnto the confines of that countrie, & to saue his eight pieces of artillerie with his other munition in Samos Viuar castle, a strong fortresse a good way within the confines, which together with the strong castle of Kuiuar, *Aga Leche* an Albanoise and Generall of the Vayuods horsemen deliuered to *Zakell* Captaine of Zaccomar, one of his Maiesties Commissioners; who there prouided for the Gouernor *Basta* his familiar fauorit: although that the Transyluanians had with great promises sought to haue crossed such deliuerie of the aforesaid Castles, and to haue had them in their owne power.

The errour of Basta.

The discretion of the doer is not alwaies to bee deemed by the euent of the thing done.

Wherfore *Basta* not deceiued, but by necessitie enforced, yeelded that he could not hold, and gaue that he could not sell, making a vertue of necessitie; deceiued in the euent of the matter which he had propounded vnto himselfe from the beginning, for the assurance of that country to the Emperor; by an excusable error, if it be true that some wise men say, nothing to be more vnreasonable than by the euent of matters to iudge of their wisdome by whom they were managed; which consisteth not in diuining before of the certainty of the euent, but in the reasonable coniecture thereof, by the means leading therunto, than which nothing is more deceitful, as not depending from our own actions only, but from other mens also more grosse and vnreasonable: none knowing better how much the wisedome of man deceiueth it selfe, than those which are vnto themselues true witnesses of the euent of their owne consultations. Neuertheless the matter was afterward so well handled by *Basta*, *Petzen*, & others the Emperors great fauorites in Transyluania, that in a Diet holden by the Transyluanians, he was with a conuenient guard againe by them receiued as the Emperors Lieutenant, vntill further order were by him taken for the gouernement and assurance of that countrey: the Chiaki and his complices faintly consenting thereunto, as not greatly pleased therewith. Neither had *Basta* much cause to be proud of such his gouernment, hauing therof no longer assurance than pleased that fickle people to affoord him: yet sith no better could be had, he must take it as he might, deeming it better in some sort for the present to hold it for the Emperor, than not at all: with which his weake

A weake state amongst moe enemies than friends, we wil for a while leaue him.

But whilest things thus passed (as we haue said) in Transyluania and Hungarie (the treatie for peace betwixt the Emperor and the Turke being vanished into smoke;) *Ibrahim Bassa* the Turks Generall in Hungarie, hauing all the last Winter made great preparation for the inuasion of the Emperors territories, and the doing of some notable enterprise for the recouerie of his reputation somewhat impaired by the euill successe of the last yeres wars; & euen in these his greatest preparations of this yere, not a little troubled by the mutinie of the Ianizaries and Spahi for want of their pay at Constantinople, as also with the rebellion in Caramania: now at length in the latter end of August (by order from the Grand Seignior his great Lord and master) began to set forward with his armie from Belgrade, supposed to be aboue two hundred thousand men strong. And comming to Babotsca, a strong fortresse of the Christians in the nether Hungarie, sat downe before it, and hauing planted his artillerie, furiously battered it, with purpose to haue the next day assaulted it: but the captaine of the castle considering the weaknesse of his garrison to withstand so puissant an enemie, and that the wals to be alreadie sore shaken with the fury of the great ordnance, came to a reasonable composition with the Bassa, and so deliuered vnto him the place. Which exploit done, and the castle to him surrendred, he marched from thence to Canisia, a strong town in the frontiers of Stiria, of most men before supposed a place impregnable; for that it was scituat in a very deep marish, and furnished with a strong garrison of valiant souldiers, part Hungarians and part Almaines: after this strong towne *Ibrahim* the great Bassa especially longed, so to free those frontiers of the Turks from the often incursions that the garrison souldiers of that place made therein; as also by the taking of that so strong a fortresse from the Christians, to open a more free and safe passage for the Turks into Austria, to the indangering of other places of the empire also farther off. Wherfore encamping his great armie on the side of the marish which compassed the Isle round whereon the towne stood, he began with fagots and earth to fill vp the marish, so to passe ouer his armie; they in the town in the mean time not ceasing with their thundring shot to disturbe them, and to do them what harme they might: who for all that, proceeding in their worke, had brought it now almost close vnto the Island, where whilest they were about to haue landed, they were by the souldiers of the garrison so encountered, that hauing lost a number of their men as well Ianizaries as others, with two of their best captains also, they were by plain valor enforced to retire. But preparing themselues against the next day with a greater force to haue again returned vnto the assault of the Isle, they saw the Imperiall armie now at their backs, and come so neere them, that with their artillerie they did them great harm; which put them in no small feare, seeing themselues inclosed betwixt the towne and the camp, and both out of the one and the other to receiue no small hurt, as well with the small shot as the great: besides that out of the camp diuers whole bands sometimes sallied, discharging great vollies of shot euen into their trenches. In the Imperiall army were about two and forty thousand horse and foot, men of diuers nations, vnder the leading of duke *Mercurie*, now Generall of the Emperors forces in Hungarie; with whom were also the Lords *Nadasti*, *Esdrin*, *Bacchian*, and the Gouernour of Croatia; with diuers other famous captaines, come thither for the reliefe of Canisia, a place of so great importance for the defence of that side of the country, and to helpe that it fell not into the power of the barbarous enemie. But *Ibrahim Bassa* vnderstanding by his espials the small number of the Christians; and well knowing how much he was too strong for them by reason of his great multitude, went out against them, & finding them as ready as himselfe, ioyned battell with them, with great slaughter of men both on the one side and the other: which bloudy fight (the victory yet standing doubtfull, but in all mens iudgement more inclining vnto the Christians than to the Turks) was at length by the comming on of the night broken off. At which time the Christians retiring themselues into their trenches, the Turkes stood all the night in the field with their weapons in their hands; as fearing to haue been again in the night by their enemies assailed. Meane while the Christian captaines in the camp at variance among themselues, and so not now to be commanded by Duke *Mercurie* their Generall; at such time as the Turkes, presuming on their multitude dared them to battell the next day, could by no means be perswaded to go out against them, or once to stirre out of their trenches. Insomuch that the Generall of the Tartars thereupon taking courage, made an inrode into the Countrie thereby, and meeting with two hundred wagons laded with victuals going vnto the Chri-

Canisia besieged by the Turkes.

The battell betwixt the Christians and the Turkes before Canisia.

[illegible] and so carried them quite away. Whereof [illegible] hauing no wherewithall, and ouer it was [illegible] of victuals at time to [illegible] they were glad in night-time to [illegible] very secretly to flie [illegible] by the Turkes perceiued, with [illegible] as hauing the ayde of [illegible] [illegible] grew vnknown, and [illegible] all the language [illegible] became another [illegible] [illegible] of two places of [illegible] [illegible] of Canisia, which [illegible] relieued, [illegible] to buy the Turke and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the late rebell, called the *Scrinane*, and one of his greatest fauorits, seeing how hardly not one-
ly *Cussabin* himselfe, but the rest of his followers had bin handled by the Turks, began to make
head, and to call vnto him all such as loued their liberty: vnto the sweet name whereof, so ma-
ny were [illegible] ne come about him, as that out of them he formed such an armie, as made
him not [illegible] all vnto the Turks his enemies. Against whom, *Mehemet Bassa* going with all
his power to [illegible] oppressed him, found him with those his rebellious folke, worse to courageous (for the desire they all had to breake out of the *Othomin* slauerie, and to liue in such liberty
as was promised them by their captaine and Generall) that ioyning battell with them, hee re-
ceiued of them a notable ouerthrow, in so much that fearing to haue lost his whole army, he was
glad to retire, and to send out commissions for the raising of greater forces. Sultan *Mahomet* in
the mean time, whither it was for feare of this new rebellion, or for that he vnderstood of the
Embassadors sent from the Persian vnto the Christian Princes, began to suspect lest that king
should breake the league he had with him, & so to his further trouble take vp armes also against
him. Wherefore vpon a Turkish pride he sent an Embassador into Persia, to giue the King to
vnderstand, That for the more assurance of the league betwixt them, he demanded to haue one
of his sons sent vnto him in hostage, as a pledge of his brothers faith. Which so proud a demand
the Persian king tooke in such disdaine, that he commanded in his rage the Embassador to be
forthwith slaine: but that his fury being by his graue counsellors somewhat appeased, he remit-
ted the seuerity of that his rigorous command, and sparing his life, was contented, that in de-
spight and contempt of him that had sent him, he should be put to the Bastonado only: and so
grieuously threatned, sent back again vnto his master. Who hauing receiued this shamefull an-
swer, and in doubt of some further matter from that angry king, commanded new and strong
garrisons to be put in all his strong holds confining vpon the Persian kingdome.

The Turkish Embassador euill entreated by the king of Persia.

1601 This troublesome yeare of Iubile thus past, the Emperor much troubled with the losse of
Canisa, and in doubt of worse to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Bassa*, whom for all that he trusted
not, did afresh intreat with him concerning peace, seeing also the great need he had of
greater aid to withstand the mightie power of the [illegible]ke, with great instancie requested aid of
the Pope and of the other Princes of Italie: who considering also how much it concerned the
rest of the Christian common weale, to haue the frontiers of Hungary defended, condiscended
vnto the Emperours request: and to the Pope with the beginning of the Spring sent him eight
thousand souldiers in pay, vnder the leading of *Io. Francisco Aldobrandino* his nephew their
Generall, who with the like charge had now serued euer since the yeare 1599: King *Philip*
also at the instance of the Emperor gaue [illegible]der vnto the Countie *Fuentes* to send into Croatia
certaine bands of Dutches; who by [illegible]tion from him, were forthwith conducted to Mil-
laine: The great Duke of Florence, also sent vnto him two thousand souldiers, vnder the lea-
ding of *Francisco de Monte*; with whom also by his appointment went the Lord *Io. de Me-
dicis*, whom *Ferdinand* the archduke forthwith requested for to be master of his camp: thither
came also the Duke of Mantua with an honorable companie both of horse & foot, being forth-
with by the Archduke made his Lieutenant Generall. And so whilest these people assembled
together into Croatia, the Emperour sent also another good armie into Hungarie, drawne for
most part out of Germanie, which vnder the leading of the Archduke *Matthias* his brother,
& the Duke *Mercurie* his Lieutenant General, went into those parts to withstand the Turke. A
third armie hee also made of the Imperials: which strengthened with the forces of *Don Fer-
rant Gonzaga*, Gouernour of the vpper Hungarie, ioyned themselues with *Bassa*, for the re-
couerie of Transyluania, out of which hee had beene of late driuen, as shall heereafter be
declared.

The aid sent out of Italy vnto the emperor.

And so whilest these armies were in preparing, many hot skirmishes passed in Hungarie be-
twixt the Christians and the Turks, the losse falling sometime to the one side and sometime to
the other. But the time now come that souldiers might wel take the field, *Ibrahim Bassa* being
now before dead at Belgrade, whilest he was yet entreating of a dissembled peace, and *Hassan*
one of the Visier Bassies by *Mahomet* appointed Generall in Hungarie in his place: yet delay-
ing his comming, the parley for peace laied aside (as neuer indeed by the Turks intended, but
only by them entertained to dallie off the time to their [illegible]e more aduantage) Duke *Mercurie*
Generall of the Emperors forces taking the offer of so fit an opportunitie, came with his armie
from Comara (where he had lien expecting the euent of the parley) and layed siege to Alba
Rega-

Ibrahim Bassa dieth at Belgrade.

Alba Regalis besieged by duke Mercurie.

A Regalis, one of the chiefest and strongest cities of Hungarie: which seated in the midst of a ma-
rish, was thought almost impregnable, being hardly to be approched but by three orbs, which
strongly fortified and defended by the marish, serued the citie in stead of three most sure bul-
warks; within which stood also the citie it selfe, well defended with a good wall and a ditch.
This city the Duke for certaine daies continually battered, as if he had purposed at length to
haue taken it by assault: but in the mean time certainly informed by a fugitiue (but lately fled
out of the city) that the broad lake on the other side of the city ouer against the place where
he lay, was not so deep, but that it was to be passed (contrary to the opinion both of the Turks
captiues, and of the naturall inhabitants, whom he had vpon that point examined) and that the
B Turks presuming vpon the strength therof, & thinking themselues on that side safe, had turned
almost al their care & forces vnto that side of the city which was now by him battered, with-
out regard of any great perill to be from the other side feared: he appointed the Lord *Russ-
worm* with his souldiers to make proofe if the Sigeth suburbs (for so they were called) on that
aforesaid side of the city so little regarded by the Turks, were not to be surprised: for that these
suburbs being taken, the city could not long hold out: for the vndertaking of which enterprise,
Russworm was both by the captiue Turks & country people there dwelling, much discoura-
ged, they al with one consent affirming, That albeit he should finde no other difficulties in the
C attempting therof, yet the lake it selfe was not possible to be passed: who neuertheles not alto-
gether trusting them, sent certain of his men secretly to trie the matter: who hauing so done,
brought him word, That the lake was vndoubtedly (though with much difficulty) to be passed.
Whereupon he with 1000 select souldiers with euery one of them a good faggot on his backe
beside his armes, to fil vp the deepest of the marish, by night entred the same; wherein he had
not gon far, but that he almost with the danger of his life found it much deeper & more trou-
blesome than the spies had vnto him before reported: but carried with an inuincible courage
himselfe, & his souldiers moued by his example, he still went on, they also following of him. It
is almost a thing incredible, to tell what these aduenturous men indured, plunged in the deepe
mud among the flags and bulrushes, going still vp in water and mud vnto the waste euen where
the marish was the shalloweſt; where also if one missed but a step, hee was by and by ouer
head & eares, and in danger to be drowned, if he were not by his fellows presently holden: yet
D at length by Gods help hauing with the losse but of 6 or 7 men a little before day gotten ouer, the
duke by an appointed signe aduertised therof, with greater stir and tumult than at any time be-
fore assailed that side of the city where he lay, as if euen then & there he had onely meant to
haue ingaged his whole forces for the winning therof. When in the mean time the Lord *Russ-
worm* on the other side with his resolute souldiers, with ladders prouided for the purpose scaled
the wals of the suburbs, and almost vnperceiued, recouered the top therof (the Turks being at
the same time wholly bent for the defence of the other side of the city, where most stir & ap-
parent danger was) and so being got into the suburbs, with a great and terrible crie assailed the
Turks, who surprised with an exceeding feare, and not wel knowing which way to turn them-
selues, without any great resistance fled into the city, the Christians following them at the
E heels, & making of them a great slaughter. In which so great a confusion, euen where was least
feared, the Duke by other his souldiers tooke the rest of the suburbs as he had before determi-
ned, the Turks there also for feare forsaking them, & retiring with all the hast they could vnto
their fellows in the citie, there to liue or die together. The Christians in these suburbs, beside
much other rich prey, tooke also 14 great pieces of artillerie, with good store of shot & pow-
der. The suburbs (the greatest strength of the city) thus happily taken, the Duke againe sum-
moned the citie, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him: whereunto the Turks gaue no other
answer but by their pieces, which they discharged vpon the Christians so persuading them to
yeeld. Wherwith the Duke much displeased, sent them word, That he would send them other
manner of messengers to morrow, and by Gods help sup with them in the citie, although hee
were not vnto him welcome. Neither failed he of that his promise: for the next day hauing
F out of the suburbs by the fury of his artillerie made two faire breaches in the city, he by the
ruines thereof with great slaughter of the enemie entred the citie, albeit that the Turkes did
what they might to haue defended the same, by casting down vpon the Christians as they en-
tered; darts, wild-fire, & such like things, vsually prouided for such purpose. But seeing now no
remedy, but that they must needs giue place to the fortune of their enemies, they fled amaine
into

The suburbs of Alba Regalis surprised by the lord Russworm

Alba Regalis taken by the christians.

into their houſes, there to defend themſelues, or els to die: many of which houſes they had before of purpoſe ſo vndermined, as that they could eaſily ouerthrow them, & ſo ouerwhelm as many as ſhould come within the danger of them: which ſo ſtrange a reſolution was by many of them as deſperately performed, inſomuch that the goodly church, the palace, with many other ſumpuous buildings, were left vnto the Chriſtians all rent & torn, not much better than rude heaps of rubbidge and ſtones. Howbeit the Baſſa vpon promiſe of life, yeelded himſelfe, and was by the Duke preſently ſent vnto the camp; the reſt of the ſoldiers being (as in ſuch caſe it commonly hapneth) all or moſt of them put to the ſword. The greateſt part of the prey fell vnto the Wallons; who by heaps breaking into the richeſt houſes, not only tooke what themſelues light vpon, but ſtript the Germans alſo of ſuch things as they had by chance gotten, to their great heart-burning & griefe: yea theſe rauenous and irreligious men not ſo contented, opened the tombs of the Hungarian kings, there long before buried, to ſpoile euen the dead of ſuch things, as had for honors ſake bin long before interred with them (if haply any ſuch thing were there to be found) ſhewing themſelues therein more barbarous than the Turkes, who by the ſpace of 60 yeres hauing had the city in their poſſeſſion, had yet ſpared thoſe reuerent monuments, and ſuffered the reliques of thoſe worthy Princes to reſt in peace. Of this taking of Alba-Regalis, the Baſſa of Buda long before taken priſoner, and then lying at Vienna, hearing, abſtained from meat with his two ſeruants a whole day, proſtrate vpon his face, praying vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, who had (as he ſaid) all this yere been angry with the Turks. Which had the ſiege of Caniſia taken the like effect, had then vndoubtedly been vnto them moſt vnfortunat: but God in his wiſedome ſtill tempereth the ſweet with the ſoure.

Aſſan Baſſa commeth out of ſeaſon to haue relieued Alba Regalis.

Now in the meane while was *Aſſan* the Viſier Baſſa and Generall of the Turks army, with ſuch ſouldiers as were already aſſembled at Belgrade, comming to haue relieued Alba-Regalis: and albeit that he vnderſtood by the way as hee marched, that the citie was by the Chriſtians won, yet held he on his intended iourny: and ſo taking with him the Baſſa of Buda with the other Sanzacks and Commanders of the townes and caſtles thereabout, had formed an army of about threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, but for moſt part raw and vnexpert ſouldiers: with which power hee ſtill held on his way towards Alba-Regalis, as well thereby to giue ſome contentment vnto the angry Sultan his Maſter, as in hope alſo to ouerthrow the Chriſtian army, or at leaſtwiſe to find the city as yet vnrepaired, and ſo to regain it. But vain was that his deſignement, eſpecially for the recouerie of the city: for that the Duke had no ſooner taken it, but that he forthwith cauſed the breaches to be repaired, and for the more aſſurance of it, put into it a ſtrong garriſon of old expert ſouldiers: and being himſelfe about twentie thouſand ſtrong, and hearing of the Baſſaes comming, ſet forward to meet him, & being come neere vnto him, began an hot and bloudie skirmiſh with him. Yet the Baſſa to proſecute his intended purpoſe for the recouerie of Alba-Regalis, the next day ſent away part of his armie, to make proofe if happily the city might yet be againe recouered; and himſelfe in the mean time with the reſt of his army offered battell vnto the Chriſtians, ſo to buſie them, that they ſhould not be able to trouble them whom he had ſent to Alba-Regalis, or to relieue the city, if it ſhould chance to be by them diſtreſſed. When as the Duke, before enformed of the baſeneſſe of the ſouldiers in the Baſſaes armie, and that although he were for number of men far aboue him, yet that for old, hardy, and expert ſouldiers he was ſtrong enough for him, valiantly went out and encountered him: and ſo euen at the firſt onſet by plaine valor diſordering the formoſt ſquadrons of the Turks battell, enforced them to retire with the loſſe of ſix thouſand men; among whom were the Baſſa of Buda, ſix Sanzacks, with diuers other Captains and Commanders of good place and marke. At which time he alſo tooke from them diuers pieces of great artillerie, and had vndoubtedly with a notable ſlaughter ouerthrowne all the reſt of the Baſſaes army had not a great ſquadron of the Tartars euen at that inſtant ſhewed themſelues at the backs of the Chriſtians, and ſo ſtaying them, giuen leiſure vnto the Baſſa again to reſtore his diſordered battell. Whereupon the Duke contenting himſelfe with the victorie he had already gotten, in good order retired again into his trenches, hauing in this conflict not loſt aboue three hundred of his people. But whileſt both armies thus lay, and new ſupplies ſtill repairing vnto them, expecting but when they ſhould come to a generall day of battell; the Ianizaries ſtill murmuring, that it was now no time of the yeare longer to keepe the field, by their importunitie enforced the Baſſa to retire to Buda, and there to diſband his armie. In which his retreat

The victorie of the Chriſtians ouer the Turkes.

The Baſſa of Buda ſlaine.

A retreat many were by the Chriſtians cut off in the taile of his armie, and a number of priſoners taken, and amongſt the reſt fiftie of the French mutiners of Pappa; whom the Archduke *Mathias* at the inſtance of duke *Mercurie* afterwards pardoned. Neither ſped they much better, that were ſent by the Baſſa to haue attempted the taking of Alba-Regalis; for being come neere thereunto, they were ſo welcommed with great ſhot out of the citie, and charged with often ſallies by the ſtrong garriſon, that ſeeing no hope to preuaile, they were glad to riſe and to returne againe vnto the Baſſa that ſent them.

About the ſame time that the duke began to beſiege Alba-Regalis, *Ferdinand* the Archduke hauing receiued great aid from the Pope with the other Princes of Italy and the King of Spain, and ſo now 30000 ſtrong, by the aduice of the duke of Mantua his lieutenant General, reſolued to beſiege Caniſia; which to haue again recouered out of the hands of the Turks concerned much, not them of Stiria & Auſtria only, but the other prouinces ajoining, yea and Italie it ſelfe alſo: whereupon he with his armie in good order came the tenth of September and encamped before it; the Duke of Mantua and *Don Iohn de Medices* with 2000 harquebuſiers and two cornets of horſe being come the day before to take view of the town, at whom the Turks made diuers ſhot, but without any harme doing. And albeit that the Turks there in garriſon (in number not paſt a thouſand, accounting amongſt them 300 of the Wallons ſomtime of the garriſon of Pappa) with their often & gallant ſallies greatly troubled the Chriſtians, and that great bands of other Turkes came many times out of the ſtrong townes and fortreſſes thereby, to skirmiſh with them, and to ſee if they could put any moe ſoldiers into the towne for the more aſſurance thereof; yet ſuch was the carefulneſſe of the Chriſtian Commanders, and valour of their ſoldiers, that the Turks both in the one place and in the other were ſtill repulſed and put to flight, with the loſſe alſo of ſome of their ſmall caſtles and forts thereabout. To approch this ſtrong towne, and to plant a batterie againſt it, ſeemed to be a matter of great difficultie, for that it was (as we haue elſwhere ſaid) enuironed round with a mariſh: yet means was found to drie it a little, and to fill it vp on the one ſide, and to come ſo neere the towne, that hauing planted three tyre of artillerie againſt it, the Chriſtians began furiouſly to batter it, beating downe both the walls, the houſes and other buildings therein. Yea at length they had brought their approches ſo neere, that they were come with their trenches euen cloſe vnto the towne ditch, perſuading the Turkes, now whileſt they might vpon good conditions, to ſurrender the towne, and ſo to ſaue their liues. Whereunto their fierce and enraged mindes were ſo farre from hearkening, that brauing the Chriſtians they ſaid, That they would in deſpight of all their forces keepe the place for their Sultan, do what they could. Whereupon the Archduke and the Duke of Mantua, by the aduice of *Medices* and the reſt of the principal captaines and commanders in the armie, reſolued to giue a general aſſault vnto the towne. In the mean time newes was brought into the campe of the winning of Alba-Regalis, which there made great reioycing; in ſigne whereof the Chriſtians (as their manner is) in triumph many times diſcharged their great ordnance; and by fit men perſuaded the garriſon ſouldiers in Caniſia to yeeld, and not to caſt themſelues into ſuch danger as had their fellowes at Alba-Regalis; for that in ſo doing they ſhould not onely ſaue their liues, but eaſily alſo obtaine ſuch other conditions as they could reaſonably deſire; whereas otherwiſe they ſhould to their coſt finde the Chriſtians ſtrong enough to conſtraine them, which muſt needs bring with it their vtter ruine and deſtruction. Whereunto the Garriſon ſouldiours (amongſt whome the renegare Wallons were the chiefe) contemptuouſly anſwered, That they little feared ſuch weake aſſailants: and with great crie and ſcorne commaunding the meſſengers to depart, in token of their confidence, as alſo not to ſeeme inferiour vnto the Chriſtians, oftentimes to ſmall purpoſe diſcharged their great ordnance, as had the Chriſtians the day before. Now though the walls of the towne were with continual batterie ſore ſhaken, and the breaches almoſt laid open; yet was the intended aſſault for a while delaied, vntill the bridges might be made that were to be layd ouer the towne ditch for the Chriſtians to paſſe ouer vpon. But all things (as was thought) now in a readineſſe, and the Florentines with ſome other of the Italians (whoſe lot it was to giue the firſt aſſault) being come forward, the bridge whereby they were to paſſe the towne ditch, was found both too ſhort and too weake for them to get ouer vnto the other ſide by: ſo that ſinking vnder them, not the ſouldiers only, but euen the Commaunders themſelues (and namely *Herberſteine*) were in great danger to haue been loſt. By which

Caniſia beſieged by Ferdinand the Archduke

which means they hindered, & the enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them, and C
their musketiers stil playing vpon the afront, they were enforced to retire, leauing behind them
300 of their men s[illegible]. Yet were not the Christian commanders any thing therewith discou-
raged, but being generally resolued not to giue ouer that they had taken in hand, vntil they had
brought it to effect, began to make such prouision as they knew to be needfull to preserue their
army vnder, against the violence of the winter weather, as also to hinder that no victual might
be brought vnto the towne, so by famin at length to enforce the Turks and Wallons to yeeld:
who although they were alreadie pinched with wants, insomuch that horse-flesh was daintie
cheere with them; yet for all that they nothing abated of their woonted fiercenesse, but being
againe required to yeeld, vouchsafed not to answer them one word, but in stead thereof shooke H
their naked swords afar off at them, in token of their vndanted courage. But yet for all this re-
solution of the commanders for the continuance of the siege, *Aldobrandino* General of the Ita-
lians being now a little before dead of an old infirmitie that he had, the Italians began at the
first some few of them secretly to withdraw themselues out of their quarter: but afterward by
greater numbers to depart, and so to returne againe into their country; alledging for their ex-
cuse want both of pay and victuals. But the rest better minded, vnderstanding that the Turkes
were risen from before Alba-Regalis, and the rest of their armie disbanded, began to enter in-
to new hope by some deuice or other to passe the ditch, and so by force to take the towne: and
the rather, for that they were by a French fugitiue enformed both of the weakenesse & wants
of the besieged. Whereupon they began afresh to make new engines for the approching of the I
walls, without danger of the enemies ordnance any more to flanke them. At which time also,
viz. the fourth of Nouember the Lord *Russworm* came vnto the campe, sent thither from duke
Mercury with 8000 soldiers, after that *Hassan Bassa* had broke vp his army: by whose comming
they were also the more encouraged to prosecute that they had taken in hand. Neither failed
the Turks in the meane time with often sallies to trouble the Christians; attempting aboue all
things to haue fired their tents, for that so lying open [illegible]hat so cold a season of the yeare they
must thereby of necessity be enforced to raise their siege and be gon. But the successe of these
their so great designes was not answerable to their hopes, being still to their losse beaten backe
into the towne by the Christians: whom it behooued to looke well about them, for that the
besieged desperatly set, and all resolued rather to die than to yeeld, aduentured themselues to
all dangers, neuer ceasing to do what they might to put the Christians out of hope for winning K
the towne. But whilest the Turks with d[illegible]btfull and as it were desperat hope so defend the
place, and the Christians growne stronger i[illegible]e comming of their friends, lay in hope to win
the same; lo, in the later end of Nouember, the North winde accompanied with a deep snow
so furiously raged, that it ouerthrew the greatest part of the tents and pauilions of the Christi-
ans, and as it were buried their whole armie in the snow and yce, in such wise, as that in *Ferdi-*
nand the Archdukes campe (being reasonably well prouided for) were 1500 men with 300
horses starued and frozen to death. At which time the state of them that came with the Lord
Russworm was most miserable; who wearied with the siege of Alba-Regalis, and as it were
spent with the dirtie trauell of the deepe way, had not brought with them their tents or other
prouision, and were therefore enforced to lie abroad in so cold and vnseasonable a time: with L
whose miseries although their good General was much grieued, yet to do the Christian com-
monweale seruice, he with them right patiently endured. In which so great an extremitie, the
Archduke with the rest of the commanders vpon view taken, wel considering what smal hope
there was in good time to take the towne, the vnreasonablenesse of the Winter weather still
more and more encreasing; thought it better betime to rise, than longer to expose their army
vnto most certaine destruction, either of the enemie or the cold. Which was done with such
haste and confused tumult, as that their rising seemed rather an hastie flight, than honourable
departure; leauing behinde them for haste their great ordnance, with their tents and baggages;
a common voice still running, That they were well if they might but saue themselues: so that
the soldiers euery man mindfull but of himselfe, and in feare to be pursued by the enemie, no M
man chasing them, fled, but stil accompanied with such f[illegible]rious winds, snow, and extreme cold,
that with all the labor they could take they could get the[illegible] no heat, but fell downe to the earth
many of them frozen, and so once falling, neuer rose more, being vnable for want of heate to
helpe themselues: in which case they were not to expect for helpe from others, euery man ha-
uing

The Christians by tempest and extreamitie of weather enforced to giue ouer the siege of Canisia.

A uing enough to doe to looke vnto himselfe: so that vpon the way whereby the armie went
thus dispersed with the weather, lay aboue fiue hundred dead of cold, beside foure hundred
others left sicke in the forsaken trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the armie were
thought to haue beene all put to the sword by them of the garrison of Camsia.

But hauing thus passed through these troubles of Hungarie, it is time now also to looke
backe againe into the frontier countries of Transyluania and Valachia; which to haue kept in
the Emperors obeisance, and so preserued as a liuely member of the Christian commonweale
no lesse concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier territories, which are ma-
ny. *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, the last yeare for his crueltie first driuen out of Transyl-
B uania by *Basta*, and afterwards out of Valachia by the great Chancellor of Polonia (as is afore-
said) and another placed in his stead; as a man forsaken euen of his owne better fortunes, and
not well knowing which way to turn himselfe, thought it best now at last to submit himselfe
vnto the Emperor, if so happily by his meanes he might in some sort repaire his broken estate,
and so at leastwise recouer his gouernment in Valachia. So resolued, he set forward, and in the
beginning of this yeare, *viz.* the three and twentieth of Ianuarie, with fiue and thirtie of his
followers and six coaches arriued at Prague, where he was by the Emperors appointment ho-
nourably receiued, and his cost at the Emperors charge defraied. Vnto whom he excused him-
selfe of the seueritie by him vsed in Transyluania (the cause of those late troubles in that
country) as enforced therunto by the stubbornesse of the Transyluanians themselues, whom
C he found still enclined to rebellion, & vnwilling to be commanded by any but by themselues.
Which his excuse (as true) was wel admitted, and he with all kindnesse vsed. Now at this same
time *Basta* lying also in Transyluania, as Gouernor for the Emperor, right slenderly accompa-
nied (as is before also declared) the parliament at Clausenburg beeing ended, and all contro-
uersies (as was thought) well composed, now without feare one night, the watch beeing set,
went to bed to take his rest, where he had not long lien, but that certaine of the Transyluanian
Lords, among whom the Chiaki was chiefe, came with their followers, and surprising the
watch, and entering the Pallace, brake into the chamber where he lay, took him out of his bed,
and so kept him prisoner all that night. And the next morning going forth, about twelue miles
off met with *Sigismund Bathor* their late Prince, before secretly by them called in, whom they
D honourably conducted to Clausenburg, and there deliuered vnto him *Basta*, the late Gouernor
for the Emperor, whom he commanded to be cast into yrons: and so going to the palace, gaue
like order for the apprehending and safe keeping of the rest of the nobilitie also, such as had
taken part with *Basta* in the behalfe of the Emperour. For now the Transyluanians were diui-
ded into three parts: whereof the one stood for the Emperor; the second for *Istuan Bathor* (pre-
tending, that vnto him belonged the soueraignetie of that Prouince) but the third and farre the
greatest, for *Sigismund* their antient Lord and leader, who now by meanes of the King of Po-
lonia reconciled vnto the great Turke, and in this troublesome time by his fauourits called
againe into his countrey, was by them ioyfully receiued at Alba-Iulia, Clausenburg, and the
rest of the chiefe cities of Transyluania. Who now thereof againe possessed, for the better
E assuring of his estate forthwith writ vnto the Emperor what had happened, requesting him to
content himselfe, that hee was desirous of his loue and fauour, promising to bee alwayes his
good friend and neighbour, and for euer to keepe good amitie with him: giuing *Basta* also
(whom he had now at the intercession of certaine great friends againe enlarged) to vnderstand,
That he was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging vnto his principality, as also to
cease from further molesting of his people that were now voluntarily againe returned vnto
his obedience: which his request was neither of the one, nor of the other much regarded or
hearkened vnto: For the Emperour vpon the first aduertisement of this so great an altera-
tion in Transyluania, calling vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod (not so much troubled with the
strangenesse of the matter, as for that his wife and sonne, whome hee had left as hostages with
Basta, were now come into the hands of the Transyluanians his mortall enemies) and satisfy-
F ing him in many things that hee had before requested, tooke order with him, That with all
conuenient speed returning home againe into Valachia, where hee was now much longed
for (the people generally disliking of the simple Vayuod, by the great Chancellor set ouer
them) and gathering together such power as he could, he should ioyne himselfe with *Basta* his
Lieutenant Generall, vnto whom he had alreadie sent great companies both of horse and foot
for

Michael the Vayuod submitteth himselfe vnto the Emperour.

Basta taken prisoner by the Transyluanians.

Sigismund recouereth his state in Transyluania.

which means they hindered, & the enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them,and C
their musketiers stil playing vpon the afront,they were enforced to retire,leauing behind them
300 of their men slaine. Yet were not the Christian commanders any thing therewith discou-
raged,but being generally resolued not to giue ouer that they had taken in hand,vntil they had
brought it to effect,began to make such prouision as they knew to be needfull to preserue their
army vnder,against the violence of the winter weather,as also to hinder that no victual might
be brought vnto the towne,so by famin at length to enforce the Turks and Wallons to yeeld:
who although they were alreadie pinched with wants, insomuch that horse-flesh was daintie
cheere with them; yet for all that they nothing abated of their woonted fierceneſſe,but being
againe required to yeeld,vouchsafed not to answer them one word,but in stead thereof shooke H
their naked swords afar off at them,in token of their vndanted courage. But yet for all this re-
solution of the commanders for the continuance of the siege, *Aldobrandino* General of the Ita-
lians being now a little before dead of an old infirmitie that he had, the Italians began
first some few of them secretly to withdraw themselues out of their quarter: but afterward by
greater numbers to depart,and so to returne againe into their country; alledging for their ex-
cuse want both of pay and victuals. But the rest better minded,vnderstanding that the Turkes
were risen from before Alba-Regalis, and the rest of their armie disbanded,began to enter in-
to new hope by some deuice or other to passe the time,and so by force to take the towne:and
the rather,for that they were by a French Engineer [illegible] for the approching of the
of the besieged. Whereupon they began [illegible]
wals, without danger of the enemie [illegible]
viz. the fourth of Nouember [illegible]
Mersury with 8000 soldiers, [illegible]
tirey were also the more encouraged [illegible]
[illegible] Christians; attempting aboue all
[illegible] so cold a season of the yeare they
[illegible] being still to their losse beaten backe
their so great designes [illegible]
into the towne by the [illegible]
besieged desperately for [illegible]
all dangers,neuer ceasing to do what they might to put the Christians out of hope for winning
the towne. But whilest the Turks with [illegible] coming of their friends,lay in hope to win
place and the Christians growne stronger [illegible]
the same; lo,in the later end of Nouember, [illegible] winde accompanied with a deep snow
so furiously raged, that it ouerthrew the greatest part of the tents and pauilions of the Christi-
ans,and as it were buried their whole armie in the snow and [illegible]
nand the Archdukes campe (being reasonably well prouided [illegible]
horses starued and frozen to death. At which time the state of [illegible]
Russworm was most miserable; who wearied with the siege of [illegible]
spent with the dirtie trauell of the deepe way,had not brought with [illegible]
prouision; and were therefore enforced to lie abroad in so cold and [illegible]
whole miseries although their good General was much grieued,yet
noweale seruice,he with them right patiently endured. In which [illegible]
Archduke with the rest of the commanders vpon view taken, wel co[illegible]
there was in good time to take the towne, the vnreasonableneſſe of [illegible]
more and more encreasing; thought it better betime to rise,than longer
vnto most certaine destruction,either of the enemie or the cold. Wh[illegible]
haste and confused tumult, as that their rising seemed rather an haste[illegible]
departure; leauing behinde them for haste their great ordnance,wh[illegible]
a common voice still running, That they were well if they might [illegible]
the soldiers euery man mindfull but of himselfe, and in feare to be [illegible]
not chasing them,fled, but still accompanied with such [illegible]
[illegible] with all the labor they could take they could get the[illegible]
[illegible] of them frozen, and so once falling, neuer rose more, being [illegible]
[illegible] which case they were not to expect for helpe from [illegible]

The Christians by reason and extremitie of weather inforced to raise their siege.

[illegible] palace at [illegible]
[illegible] his death a[illegible]
[illegible] hall [illegible]
[illegible] ke to time
[illegible] letters declaring the treas[illegible] perors com-
[illegible] the Emperor [illegible] especially for that his souldiers
[illegible] times. [illegible] Imperials there present and
[illegible] Wonderfully [illegible] with his death and [illegible] plainly declaring his
[illegible], and [illegible] moreouer, that he was worthily slaine [illegible] that if they had knowne
[illegible] such traiterous purpose,they would themselus long before haue [illegible]ken of
[illegible] Now vnto his souldiers *Basta* offered, at their choice, either to
depa[illegible] without danger; or els taking the oath of obedience vnto the Em-
[illegible] much part of them did. The tumult appeased, the dead
[illegible] a whole day for the souldiers to gaze vpon, and so after-
[illegible] but of late,and many times before,had so fortunatly ouerthrown
his [illegible], vnhappie man himselfe now ouerthrowne by his owne ambition and vncon-
stancie.

Basta now deliuered of the great feare he had before of the Vayuod, what by force,what *The Transyl-*
by agreement,in short time took in most part of the country: for that the Transyluanians see- *uanians submit*
D ing the small power of *Sigismund*,& well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayuod so *themselues vn-*
much of them hated,as also to auoid the dangers euen presently hanging ouer their heads from *to Basta.*
the Imperials, if they should in any thing shew themselues obstinate against them; submitted
themselues wholly to the courtesie of *Basta*, so that the places were but few that yet held out
for the Prince *Sigismund*: who in the meane time was doing what he might for the raising of a
new army (hauing not altogether with this late ouerthrow forthwith also lost his hope) by the
help of the Turks, Tartars,and Polonians,to recouer again the possession of his state, and by
force of armes to chase out the Imperials. But he being brought to so low an ebbe,and almost
all the country of Transyluania possessed by *Basta*,who would not haue thought but that now
after so long trauels it would haue remained wholly at the Emperors deuotion? and so many,
that thought themselues to see much,said assuredly it would. But see the change, and what
E themselues,than in disliking to morrow what they best liked to day,foolish,senceleſſe,impro-
uident,rash,headstrong,violent,and aboue all things mutable, and vnconstant. So now for all
that *Basta* had done for the assurance of this countrie vnto the Emperor (being so much as most
men thought to haue bin sufficient,and indeed as much as was possible for him to do) euen in
the winding vp of this yeare 1601, the Transyluanians vnderstanding that *Sigismund* with a
great army of Polonians,Turks,& Tartars,was now comming against the Imperials,most part
of them presently tooke vp armes in his fauour; saying, That their first oath voluntarily giuen
vnto him as their naturall Prince & Gouernor, was more to be respected than any other after- *The Transyluā-*
F wards by force extorted from them by a forrein Prince. Insomuch that *Basta* perceiuing with *nians reuolt a-*
what a tempest he was like euen presently to be ouerwhelmed,to saue himself and his people *gain vnto Si-*
from the rage thereof,withdrew himselfe with his followers vnto a strong town in a corner of *gismund their*
that country: from whence he with all speed sent vnto the Emperor for greater aid,as wel for *old Prince.*
the defence of the place he yet held,as for the subduing again of that rebellious people. After *Basta flyeth*
whose

for the expulsing of *Sigismund* out of Transyluania, and the reducing againe of that Prouince G
vnder his obeisance. Whereupon the Vayuod forthwith returning into Valachia, and assembling about ten thousand of his friends, all good and expert souldiers, went to seeke for *Basta* as he had with the Emperour agreed; whom he found ready in the field with about twentie thousand horse, but newly departed from Veradinum: where mustering their army, they with their vnited forces entred into Transyluania, there to put in execution what the Emperor had commanded. Where the Vayuod in disdaine of the people which loued him not, with fire and sword wasted all the country before him as he went: not without the great discontentment of *Basta*, to whom it seemed not good to make desolat that country which he was in good hope should in short time be his Lord and Masters the Emperours. But *Sigismund* vnderstanding both of the comming of his enemies, and of the harme they did in his countrey, rise from Solnock, where he lay encamped with his army, and so to hinder their further proceeding went to meet them: howbeit being come so neere vnto them as that hee might well discouer them, he would not come to the triall of a battell with them, which was by them offered; but fortified himselfe in his trenches, so seeking but to delay the time vntill the comming of the Tartars, which were to haue come vnto him from the Chancellor of Polonia, as also of six thousand Turks to haue been sent him from the Bassa of Belgrade. Where hauing afterward vnderstood that the passage of the Tartars to haue bin sent him, was stayed by *Don Ferrant Gonzaga* the Emperors Lieutenant in the vpper Hungarie; & that the Turkes staying at Giula, would come no farther except they had their pay before hand: finding him- I
selfe too weake with his owne power to encounter with his enemies, he rise with his armie, with purpose to haue retired a little backe, and to haue taken certaine strait passages whereby the enemy must needs passe, so by the aduantage of the place to haue holpen his owne weake strength. But *Basta* and the Vayuod perceiuing his rising (whereunto they were still attentiue) followed him with such speed, that they ouertooke him before hee could get thither, and so hardly pressed him, that needs he must turn his face and ioyne battell, or els suffer his people altogether like beasts to be slaine. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to doe what was by men to be done for the obtaining of a notable victorie, yet such was the valour of the souldiers of *Basta* and the Vayuod, that in a great fight hauing disordered his footmen, they put them to flight, and so cut them all in pieces. Which the Prince beholding, and not able to K
remedy the matter, betime fled with his horsmen from the fury of his enemies, and so retired to the vttermost confines of Transyluania, hauing in this battell lost ten thousand of his faithful souldiers. Whereupon Claudiopolis and diuers other cities and townes of that countrey, returned againe vnto the Emperors obeisance.

Sigismund ouerthrown by Basta & the Vayuod, flieth out of Transyluania

In the prosecuting of this victory, the Vayuod to satisfie the hatred he had of long borne against the Transyluanians, did what spoile he could, vtterly wasting all the places whereby he passed: which *Basta* not liking, requested him to vse his victory with more modestie, and to haue more respect to what he did, especially vnto such places or persons as of themselues returned vnto the Emperours obeisance. Whereunto he proudly answered, That he would doe what he thought good, without his appointment or the Emperours either, especially in that L
country which he had now with his own sword twice conquered: & that therfore *Basta* might command them that were by him to be commanded, as for himselfe he acknowledged no soueraigntie that either *Basta* or the Emperor had ouer him. Vnto which his so presumptuous a speech *Basta* replied not, but yet much therewith discontented, began to enter into a great suspition from what ground those his hautie conceits (easily by his words to be gathered) might grow. And so from that time better obseruing his proceedings, perceiued him to haue intelligence with the Turkes, with purpose to ioyne hands with them, that so by their help chasing the Imperials out of Transyluania, he might hold it to himselfe as tributarie to the *Othoman* Emperour, of all others best able to defend him. Which to bee true (beside diuers other strong presumptions) he certainly vnderstood by certain letters of his written to that purpose, M
intercepted by his souldiers and brought vnto him: whereupon he became verie pensiue and heauy, for the great power the Vayuod was of in those countries, as also for the great strength he had euen then present about him, and wherewith he was as it were then guarded. So consulting with certaine of his Colonels and chiefe Commanders of his armie, what were best to be done in that dangerous a case, whereof so much depended: A Wallon captaine offered himselfe

A himselfe to go into the Vayuod his campe, and there in his owne tent to kill him as a traitour. Which his offer well liked off, and he as ready to performe as he was to promise, going into the Vayuods camp accompanied with some threescore men, and finding him in his tent, boldly stepping to him, willed him to yeeld himselfe the Emperours prisoner: whereat he beeing about to lay his hand vpon his scimitar, the Wallon captaine with an halbard thrust him into the breast, at which very instant another with a sword at one blow claue his head down to the shoulders. An vnworthy death for so worthy a captain, had not ambition (the torment of great spirits) carried him too high with the wings of immoderat desire, beyond the bounds of loyalty and reason. But there he lieth now dead among his friends, whom the great Turke somtime more feared euen in his palace at Constantinople, than he did al the rest of the Emperors com-
B manders. Presently vpon his death a great tumult and hurly burly was raised by the souldiers in his camp: but *Basta* forthwith shewing himselfe with all his souldiers in armes, and withall producing the letters declaring the treason by the Vayuod contriued with the Bassa of Temeswar against the Emperor, all was againe appeased: but especially for that his souldiers now saw themselues without an head, and too weake also for the Imperials there present and already in armes. In the Vayuods tent were also other letters found, so plainly declaring his secret colluson with the Turke, and treason against the Emperor, that the Valachians who at the first were wonderfully moued with his death, and hearing the same read, rested not now only contented, but said moreouer, that he was worthily slaine, and that if they had knowne him to haue had any such traiterous purpose, they would themselus long before haue taken of
C him deserued punishment. Now vnto his souldiers *Basta* offered, at their choice, either to depart whither they would without danger; or els taking the oath of obedience vnto the Emperour, to enter into his; pay which most part of them did. The tumult appeased, the dead body of the Vayuod was layed out a whole day for the souldiers to gaze vpon, and so afterward buried. So lieth he, that but of late, and many times before, had so fortunatly ouerthrown his enemies; vnhappie man himselfe now ouerthrowne by his owne ambition and vncon-
stancie.

Michael the Vayuod slaine.

Basta now deliuered of the great feare he had before of the Vayuod, what by force, what by agreement, in short time took in most part of the country: for that the Transyluanians seeing the small power of *Sigismund*, & well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayuod so much of them hated; as also to auoid the dangers euen presently hanging ouer their heads from the Imperials, if they should in any thing shew themselues obstinate against them; submitted themselues wholly to the courtesie of *Basta*, so that the places were but few that yet held out for the Prince *Sigismund*: who in the meane time was doing what he might for the raising of a new army (hauing not altogether with this late ouerthrow forthwith also lost his hope) by the help of the Turks, Tartars, and Polonians, to recouer again the possession of his state, and by force of armes to chase out the Imperials. But he being brought to so low an ebbe, and almost all the country of Transyluania possessed by *Basta*, who would not haue thought but that now after so long trauels it would haue remained wholly at the Emperors deuotion? and so many, that thought themselues to see much, said assuredly it would. But see the change, and what small assurance euen the greatest haue of the constancy of the vain multitude: neuer more like
E themselues, than in disliking to morrow what they best liked to day, foolish, senceless, improuident, rash, headstrong, violent, and aboue all things mutable, and vnconstant. So now for all that *Basta* had done for the assurance of this countrie vnto the Emperor (being so much as most men thought to haue bin sufficient, and indeed as much as was possible for him to do) euen in the winding vp of this yeare 1601, the Transyluanians vnderstanding that *Sigismund* with a great army of Polonians, Turks, & Tartars, was now comming against the Imperials, most part of them presently tooke vp armes in his fauour; saying, That their first oath voluntarily giuen vnto him as their naturall Prince & Gouernor, was more to be respected than any other afterwards by force extorted from them by a forrein Prince. Insomuch that *Basta* perceiuing with
F what a tempest he was like euen presently to be ouerwhelmed, to saue himself and his people from the rage thereof, withdrew himselfe with his followers vnto a strong town in a corner of that country: from whence he with all speed sent vnto the Emperor for greater aid, as wel for the defence of the place he yet held, as for the subduing again of that rebellious people. After whose

The Transyluanians submit themselues vnto Basta.

The Transyluanians reuolt again vnto Sigismund their old Prince.

Basta flyeth

whose departure *Sigismund* without resistance entring the country, was of the people in gene- G
rall ioyfully receiued as their most lawfull Prince and soueraigne, and all the honor done vnto
him that was by them possible: in which his so princely, but dangerous estate, now twice in
lesse than the space of one yeare by him regained, and yet thereof no whit assured, we will for
a while leaue him, to ioy therein with his subiects.

The Bassa of Agria ouerthrown by Ferrans Gonzaga.

But whilest his state thus turneth vpside downe in Transyluania, the Bassa of Agria going
out with ten thousand Turkes in hope to haue surprised Toccaie (a strong hold of the Chri-
stians in the vpper Hungarie) was encountered by *Ferrant Gonzaga* the Emperours Lieute-
nant there, and by him ouerthrowne, and with great slaughter of his Turks chased to the gates
of Agria. H

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor this yeare also no lesse troubled with the procee-
dings of the *Scriuano* in Caramania and Natolia, than with the euill successe of his affaires in
Transyluania and Hungarie. For the *Scriuano* by his last yeares victorie growne into great cre-
dit with the common people, and still by them more and more followed; to maintain the re-
putation of his credit, came now again this yere with a great power into the field, to meet with
Mahomet the great Bassa and Generall of the Turks armie; who with fiftie thousand good sol-
diers (a power thought sufficient to haue represt him) was ready to encounter him. With
whom the *Scriuano* ioyning battel, in a great fight cut in sunder a great part of the Bassa's army,
and so became master of the field, forraged all the countries adioining almost as far as Aleppo;
still calling the people vnto libertie, and causing himselfe to be proclaimed the true defender
of the Mahometane Faith, and of the libertie of those countries with him combined: in such I
sort, as that it now stood the great Turke vpon to send another great armie to the aid of *Ma-*
homet the discomfited Bassa. With whom also the *Scriuano* (presuming of his former fortune)
comming to a day of battell, and ouercharged with the multitude of his enemies, was at the
first encounter with his people put to the worse: but forthwith by his good direction hauing
repaired his disordered battell, and thereby giuen as it were new courage to his fainting soul-
diers, he with a great slaughter disordered also the Bassaes armie. Yet hauing not any other
firme state or stay to rest vpon, more than the fauour and reputation he held with these his re-
bellious followers, of whom he had now lost a great many, he thought it not best to aduen-
ture too farre (not knowing how presently to repaire his losses) but contenting himselfe with
what he had already don, retired with his army into the strength of the mountains, there that K
Winter to liue vpon the spoile of the countries adioyning, and the next yere to do more harm
than euer he had done before.

The Ianizaries in mutinie at Constantinople.

Beside all which former troubles, the plague also this yeare sore raged both in Constanti-
nople and many other places of the Turkish empire. At which time also the Ianizaries at Con-
stantinople hauing receiued some disgrace by some of the great Sultans fauorits, & with great
insolencie requiring to haue their heads, caused their Aga well accompanied presumptuously
to enter into the Seraglio to preferre this their request: whom *Mahomet* to the terror of the
rest, caused for his presumption to be taken into the midst of the Spahi, and so by them to be
cut in pieces; which was not done without the great slaughter of the Spahi themselues also,
slaine by the Ianizaries. Whereupon the other Ianizaries arising vp in arms also, and euen now
ready to haue reuenged the death of their captaine, were yet by the wisedome of *Cicala Bassa*,
bestowing amongst them a great summe of money, againe appeased, without further harm do-
ing. Which their so great insolencie *Mahomet* imputing vnto their excessiue drinking of wine,
contrary to their law of the great Prophet; by the persuasion of the Mufti, commanded al such
as had any Wine in their houses in the citie of Constantinople and Pera, vpon paine of death
to bring it out and to staue it, except the Embassadours of the Queenes Maiestie of England,
the French king, and of the State of Venice: so that as some report, wine for a space ran downe
the channels of the streets in Constantinople, as if it had beene water after a great shower
of raine.

1602 *Sigismund* the Transyluanian prince now of late againe possessed of Transyluania (as is be-
fore declared) could not yet well assure himselfe of the keeping thereof: for that he with the
Transyluanians of his faction alone, was not able to withstand the force of *Bassa*; who still
strengthened with new supplies both of men and all things else necessarie for the wars from the

A the Emperor, was now with a great power alreadie entred into Transyluania: the Polonians
busied in the warres of Sueuia, and the Turks with their other greater affaires, neither of them
sending him their promised aid, the greatest hope and stay of himselfe in that newnesse of his
estate. Wherefore seeing himselfe euery day to lose one place or other, and fearing also lest
his souldiers for want of pay should in short time quite forsake him and goe ouer to *Bassa*; he
thought it best betimes and whilest he had yet something left, and was not yet altogether be-
come desperat, otherwise to prouide for his estate, especially hauing small trust in the Turks,
to whom he had been before so great an enemie. Wherefore he dealt with *Bassa* for a truce or
B for some good attonement. Wherewith *Bassa* beeing content, and the Embassadors sent, the
matter was so handled with the Emperor, that *Sigismund* to make an end of all these troubles,
was contented to the behoofe of his Imperiall Maiestie, to resigne vnto *Bassa* his Lieutenant
all such places as he yet held in Transyluania, vpon much like conditions he had about three
yeares before made with him: and so in all, and for all, to submit himselfe vnto his Maiestie.
Which intended surrender of the Princes being bruted in Transyluania, *Zachel Moises* his
Lieutenant (& now in field with the Princes forces) not able to endure or to heare that that no-
ble Prouince should again fall into the hands of the Germans; encouraging his souldiers, went
vpon the sudden to assaile *Bassa*, in hope to haue found him vnprouided, & so discomfiting his
C armie, to haue driuen the Imperials quite out of Transyluania: but he an old and expert Com-
mander, perceiuing euen the first mouing of the Transyluanians, with great celeritie put his ar-
mie in good order, and so ioyned battell with them: wherein he with the losse of some fiue *Zachell Moises ouerthrown by Bassa.*
hundred men ouerthrew *Moyses*, with his armie of Transyluanians, Turks, and Tartars hauing
slaine aboue three thousand of them, and put the rest to flight: *Moyses* himselfe with some few
others being now glad to take their refuge into the frontiers of the Turks territories towards
Temeswar. But when *Sigismund* vnderstood what his Lieutenant had without his knowledge
done, he in token of his owne innocencie went himselfe vnto the Imperial camp, accompanied
only with certain of his gentlemen, and there vnto *Bassa* excused himselfe of that which was
by his Lieutenant against his will, and without his priuitie done; frankly offering to performe
whatsoeuer was on his part to be performed, according to the agreement made betwixt the
D Emperor and him. And so presently calling his garrisons out of all such strong places as were
yet for him holden, he surrendred them to *Bassa*; & so forthwith honorably accompanied, put
himselfe vpon his way towards the Emperor. After whose departure out of Transyluania, all
that Prouince voluntarily and without more adoe yeelded to *Bassa* as to the Emperors Lieu-
tenant: who presently called an assemblie of all the Nobilitie of the countrie, taking of them
an oath for their obedience and loyaltie vnto the Emperor. Thus by the wisedome and prow-
esse of this worthy commander, is the country of Transyluania once againe brought vnder the
Emperors obeisance; a matter of far greater importance, than to haue woon the strongest citie
the Turke holdeth in Hungarie.

Great troubles in Valachia.

But whilest these things thus passed in Transyluania, great troubles arise in Valachia (the
E countrie next adioyning) for that the people of that Prouince not able longer to endure the
great insolencie of the Turks (who after the death of *Michael* had by their power made one
Jeremias Vayuod there) by a generall consent tooke vp armes, and proclaiming one *Radoll* (a fa-
uorit of the Emperors) Vayuod, chased *Jeremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of the
country: who flying vnto *Simon* Palatine of Moldauia, his friend, by his means and the helpe
of the Turkes, returning vnto Valachia, draue out thence *Radoll* againe: who beeing now at
this present with *Bassa*, with about ten thousand Valachians his followers, earnestly re-
quested of him (now that hee was so quietly possessed of Transyluania) to helpe him
with his forces for the recouerie of Valachia. And *Bassa* well considering how much it con-
cerned the quiet and sure keeping of the possession of Transyluania for the Emperour, to
haue that so neere a Prouince to friend, easily yeelded to his request; and gaue him a great
F Reglment of his old approoued souldiers, and so sent him away to recouer his estate: with
whome (at his enterance into Valachia) the Moldauian meeting with a great power both
of his owne and of the Turks, come thither in the fauour of *Hieremias*, there was fought
betwixt them a most terrible and bloudie battell, the glorie whereof fell vnto *Radoll*, hee
carrying

whose departure *Sigismund* without resistance entring the country, was of the people in gene- G
rall ioyfully receiued as their most lawfull Prince and soueraigne, and all the honor done vnto
him that was by them possible: in which his so princely, but dangerous estate, now twice in
lesse than the space of one yeare by him regained, and yet thereof no whit assured, we will for
a while leaue him, to ioy therein with his subiects.

The Bassa of Agria ouerthrown by Ferrant Gonzaga.

But whilest his state thus turneth vpside downe in Transyluania, the Bassa of Agria going
out with ten thousand Turkes in hope to haue surprised Toccaie (a strong hold of the Chri-
stians in the vpper Hungarie) was encountered by *Ferrant Gonzaga* the Emperours Lieute-
nant there, and by him ouerthrowne, and with great slaughter of his Turks chased to the gates
of Agria. H

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor this yeare also no lesse troubled with the procee-
dings of the *Scriuano* in Caramania and Natolia, than with the euill successe of his affaires in
Transyluania and Hungarie. For the *Scriuano* by his last yeares victorie growne into great cre-
dit with the common people, and still by them more and more followed, to maintain the re-
putation of his credit, came now again this yere with a great power into the field, to meet with
Mahomet the great Bassa and Generall of the Turks armie; who with fiftie thousand good sol-
diers (a power thought sufficient to haue represt him) was ready to encounter him. With
whom the *Scriuano* ioyning battel, in a great fight cut in sunder a great part of the Bassa's army,
and so became master of the field, forraged all the countries adioining almost as far as Aleppo;
still calling the people vnto libertie, and causing himselfe to be proclaimed the true defender
of the Mahometane Faith, and of the libertie of those countries with him combined: in such I
sort, as that it now stood the great Turke vpon to send another great armie to the aid of *Ma-*
homet the discomfited Bassa. With whom also the *Scriuano* (presuming of his former fortune)
comming to a day of battell, and ouercharged with the multitude of his enemies, was at the
first encounter with his people put to the worse: but forthwith by his good direction hauing
repaired his disordered battell, and thereby giuen as it were new courage to his fainting soul-
diers, he with a great slaughter disordered also the Bassaes armie. Yet hauing not any other
firme state or stay to rest vpon, more than the fauour and reputation he held with these his re-
bellious followers, of whom he had now lost a great many, he thought it not best to aduen-
ture too farre (not knowing how presently to repaire his losses) but contenting himselfe with
what he had already don, retired with his army into the strength of the mountains, there that K
Winter to liue vpon the spoile of the countries adioyning, and the next yere to do more harm
than euer he had done before.

The Ianizaries in mutinie at Constantinople.

Beside all which former troubles, the plague also this yeare sore raged both in Constanti-
nople and many other places of the Turkish empire. At which time also the Ianizaries at Con-
stantinople hauing receiued some disgrace by some of the great Sultans fauorits, & with great
insolencie requiring to haue their heads, caused their Aga well accompanied presumptuously
to enter into the Seraglio to preferre this their request: whom *Mahomet* to the terror of the
rest, caused for his presumption to be taken into the midst of the Spahi, and so by them to be
cut in pieces; which was not done without the great slaughter of the Spahi themselues also,
slaine by the Ianizaries. Whereupon the other Ianizaries arising vp in arms also, and euen now
ready to haue reuenged the death of their captaine, were yet by the wisedome of *Cicala Bassa*,
bestowing amongst them a great summe of money, againe appeased, without further harm do-
ing. Which their so great insolencie *Mahomet* imputing vnto their excessiue drinking of wine,
contrary to their law of the great Prophet; by the persuasion of the Musti, commanded al such
as had any Wine in their houses in the citie of Constantinople and Pera, vpon paine of death
to bring it out and to staue it, except the Embassadours of the Queenes Maiestie of England,
the French king, and of the State of Venice: so that as some report, wine for a space ran downe
the channels of the streets in Constantinople, as if it had beene water after a great shower
of raine.

1602 *Sigismund* the Transyluanian prince now of late againe possessed of Transyluania (as is be-
fore declared) could not yet well assure himselfe of the keeping thereof: for that he with the
Transyluanians of his faction alone, was not able to withstand the force of *Bassa*, who still
strengthened with new supplies both of men and all things else necessarie for the wars from the

A the Emperor, was now with a great power alreadie entred into Transyluania: the Polonians
busied in the warres of Sueuia, and the Turks with their other greater affaires, neither of them
sending him their promised aid, the greatest hope and stay of himselfe in that newnesse of his
estate. Wherefore seeing himselfe euery day to lose one place or other, and fearing also lest
his souldiers for want of pay should in short time quite forsake him and goe ouer to *Bassa*; he
thought it best betimes and whilest he had yet something left, and was not yet altogether be-
come desperat, otherwise to prouide for his estate, especially hauing small trust in the Turks,
to whom he had been before so great an enemie. Wherefore he dealt with *Bassa* for a truce or
B cessation from armes, vntill Embassadors might be sent vnto the Emperor, to entreat with him
for some good attonement. Wherewith *Bassa* beeing content, and the Embassadors sent, the
matter was so handled with the Emperor, that *Sigismund* to make an end of all these troubles,
was contented to the behoofe of his Imperiall Maiestie, to resigne vnto *Bassa* his Lieutenant
all such places as he yet held in Transyluania, vpon much like conditions he had about three
yeares before made with him: and so in all, and for all, to submit himselfe vnto his Maiestie.
Which intended surrender of the Princes being bruted in Transyluania, *Zachel Moises* his
Lieutenant (& now in field with the Princes forces) not able to endure or to heare that that no-
ble Prouince should again fall into the hands of the Germans; encouraging his souldiers, went
vpon the sudden to assaile *Bassa*, in hope to haue found him vnprouided, & so discomfiting his
armie, to haue driuen the Imperials quite out of Transyluania: but he an old and expert Com-
C mander, perceiuing euen the first mouing of the Transyluanians, with great celeritie put his ar-
mie in good order, and so ioyned battell with them: wherein he with the losse of some fiue *Zachell Moises ouerthrown by Bassa.*
hundred men ouerthrew *Moyses*, with his armie of Transyluanians, Turks, and Tartars hauing
slaine aboue three thousand of them, and put the rest to flight: *Moyses* himselfe with some few
others being now glad to take their refuge into the frontiers of the Turks territories towards
Temeswar. But when *Sigismand* vnderstood what his Lieutenant had without his knowledge
done, he in token of his owne innocencie went himselfe vnto the Imperial camp, accompanied
only with certain of his gentlemen, and there vnto *Bassa* excused himselfe of that which was
by his Lieutenant against his will, and without his priuitie done; frankly offering to performe
whatsoeuer was on his part to be performed, according to the agreement made betwixt the
D Emperor and him. And so presently calling his garrisons out of all such strong places as were
yet for him holden, he surrendred them to *Bassa*; & so forthwith honorably accompanied, put
himselfe vpon his way towards the Emperor. After whose departure out of Transyluania, all
that Prouince voluntarily and without more adoe yeelded to *Bassa* as to the Emperors Lieu-
tenant: who presently called an assemblie of all the Nobilitie of the countrie, taking of them
an oath for their obedience and loyaltie vnto the Emperor. Thus by the wisedome and prow-
esse of this worthy commander, is the country of Transyluania once againe brought vnder the
Emperors obeisance; a matter of far greater importance, than to haue woon the strongest citie
the Turke holdeth in Hungarie.

But whilest these things thus passed in Transyluania, great troubles arise in Valachia (the
E countrie next adioyning) for that the people of that Prouince not able longer to endure the
great insolencie of the Turks (who after the death of *Michael* had by their power made
Ieremias Vayuod there) by a generall consent tooke vp armes, and proclaiming one *Radoll*
(ouer it of the Emperors) Vayuod, chased *Ieremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of
country: who flying vnto *Simon* Palatine of Moldauia, his friend, by his means and
of the Turkes, returning vnto Valachia, draue out thence *Radoll* againe: who beeing
this present with *Bassa*, with about ten thousand Valachians his followers
quested of him (now that hee was so quietly possessed of Transyluania
with his forces for the recouerie of Valachia. And *Bassa* well consider
cerned the quiet and sure keeping of the possession of Transyluania
haue that so neere a Prouince to friend, easily yeelded to his request
F Regiment of his old approoued souldiers, and so sent him away
whome (at his entrance into Valachia) the Moldauian meeting
of his owne and of the Turks, come thither in the fauour
betwixt them a most terrible and bloudie battell, the

Eee

carrying away the victorie. In which battell two of the Turks Bassaes were there slaine, with a great number of others both of the Moldauians and Turks. After which victorie *Radell* recouered againe the soueraignetie of Valachia, for which he was beholding to *Basta*: and shortly after with the same aid cut in pieces a great power of the Tartars, that were comming to haue aided the Moldauian.

Troubles in Hungarie.

Now in the meane time in Hungarie also passed many an hot skirmish betwixt the Christians and the Turks, whose garrisons at Buda and in other places in the lower Hungarie, attempting to haue surprised Alba-Regalis, & discouered by the Christians, were with great slaughter enforced to retire. At which time also, Countie *Serinus* vnderstanding by his espials, that the Turks with two hundred waggons with munition and victuals were going to Cantsia, vpon the sudden set vpon them, and hauing slaine and put to flight the conuoy that guarded them, carried the waggons with all that was in them away with him. And shortly after, the free Haiducks of Comara in a great party going out towards Buda to seek after booty, & hauing taken threescore Turkes prisoners, and so with them about to haue returned home; vnderstanding by the way, that *Ali* sometime the Bassa of Buda, and now Gouernour of Pesth, was with a small retinue about to come downe the riuer Danubius from Buda towards Belgrade, there to meet the Visier Bassa, but then comming into Hungarie; they slew all the prisoners, and hauing got two small boats, about fifteene miles beneath Buda lay in wait for the Bassa: who according to their expectation comming downe the riuer, was by these aduenturers fiercely assailed, and of his thirty followers hauing foureteene slaine, being himselfe also shot in two places of his bodie, was there with a great bootie taken, and so brought to Comara, and shortly after presented vnto *Matthias* the Archduke at Vienna: who amongst other things, certainly enformed, that *Hassan Bassa* was with a great armie by the commandement of the great Sultan *Mahomet* comming to besiege Alba-Regalis, and that hee was now vpon his way as farre as Belgrade; presently sent thither the Countie *Ysolan* Gouernour thereof, who with much adoe got into the citie, the Turks hauing already taken all the passages, to haue hindered the Christians from putting in either men or munition, more than was therein alreadie. Howbeit the Countie now got in there, and being no lesse good engineer than a valiant Commander, caused all them in the citie to labor vpon the rampiers: so that beside the naturall situation thereof, which was very strong, he had in short time so fortified it, as that in most mens iudgement it seemed a place almost impregnable. This *Ali Bassa* was sometime the great Turks butler, but after the taking of Agria, made Bassa of Buda; which great place hee held but three moneths, being by the enuie and ambition of some, but especially of *Amurath Bassa*, remooued thence, and made Gouernour of Pesth: from whence now going downe the Riuer to Belgrade, it was his fortune to be thus taken by the Haiducks, vnto whom he offered for his ransome three hundred thousand Sultanines; and had with him when he was taken seuentie thousand Duckats.

Ali Bassa taken prisoner.

A great ransome offered by Ali Bassa.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the losse of Alba-Regalis (taken from him by the Christians the last yeare) and now resolued for the recouerie of the same, to ingage if need should be a great part of his forces; had caused an armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand strong, to meet at Hadrianople for that purpose, vnder the leading of *Hassan Bassa* one of the chiefe Visiers, to be sent into Hungarie. Who by the way of Belgrade comming to Buda, and from thence to Alba-Regalis, there the twelfth of August incamped (as he had oftentimes before threatned) with the multitude of his tents couering all the countrie round about, as if it had bin a white snow: where hauing well entrenched himselfe, & planted his artillerie, hee began a most terrible & furious battery, in such sort as if he had not meant to haue made a breach only, but to haue beaten the citie euen from the face of the earth, which seemed now to tremble vnder his feet, and the clouds to rend with the thundring of his great ordnance: & for that the marish and deep ditches were a great let vnto his men for to come vnto the assault, he caused them with the number of his pioners to be filled vp (a worke thought almost impossible) & so brought on his men to assault the counterscarf, which the gouernor had caused to be made before the city for better defence therof: which assault cost him much bloud, by reason of the wonderful valor of the defendãts: yet in the end the great number of the Turks preuailing, the Christians were inforced to forsake it & retire into the city: but shortly after sallying out again, they

Alba-Regalis besieged by the Turkes.

they with such force assailed the Turkes now got within the counterscarse, that hauing slaine most part of them that were entred, they forced the other out againe: at the brute wherof, an alarm being raised throughout the camp, infinit numbers of the barbarous enemies came running thither with such sauage fury, that without regard of their liues they as desperate men pressing still on, fell twice as many as before: insomuch that the Christians weary of that long and bloudy fight, & on euery side charged or rather ouerwhelmed with the enemies shot, were glad againe, but not without great losse to abandon the place. With which skirmishes and diuers others that they had, the number of the defendants was greatly diminished, to keepe a weake citie, shewing as yet the ruins of the late siege, when it was by the Christians woon; the breaches therof being but euil repaired, & the mines yet gaping, requiring great & strong fortifications to hold out and endure any long siege against so puissant an enemie. Yet was not the courage of the valiant County *Ysolan* the Italian Gouernor, any whit therwith abated, but by his letters gaue the Archduke *Matthias* to vnderstand in what case things stood with them in the city; requesting him with al speed to send him relefe, for that otherwise the city, so weakely both manned & fortified, would be in danger to be lost; many of the garrison soldiers being already slain in the defence thereof, and diuers of the Hungarians forsaking the wals, daily flying vnto the Turks campe; promising yet neuertheless himselfe to do the vttermost of his deuoir. Vpon the receit of which letters, the Archduke gaue order vnto the lord *Russworm* (master of the campe) to go forthwith to Comara, & there with such forces as were from diuers places come thither, to goe forth and to prooue if by any meanes the weake garrison of Alba-Regalis might so be relieued, by putting in some good supply of fresh soldiers. According to which command, *Russworm* comming thither, without delay tooke the field with 12000 men which he found there, to see if he might with them, put into the city the desired relefe. But whilest the matter was in the performance therof too long delaid, by discord arising betwixt him and the other colonels, about the maner of relieuing the town, the Bassa had time to effect his purpose; who the 28 of the same moneth of August, after a long and terrible batterie, caused a generall assault to be giuen vnto the citie: which the Turkes from time to time renuing, continued all that day and the next night, with some part of the day following also, without ceasing: so that the defendants now much weakned, and they also that were left, so wearied or wounded, as that they were not well able to make any longer resistance (and the countie himselfe, who gaue as it were life vnto them all, being now also carried away dangerously hurt in the thigh with a musket shot) there was a signe of parly giuen vnto the enemy: which the Bassa granting, and the fury of the assault staid, certaine of the chiefe captains and commanders in the citie, going vnto the Gouernor, put him in mind of the weakenesse of the place, of the force of the enemie, of the number of his most valiant men slain, of the want of the defendants. They had (as they said) done enough for their honor, hauing endured so many and so great assaults, in a place not defencible: & enough to discharge their fidelitie, hauing holden it out to the vttermost of their power. That they could do no more than they had done, being not relieued; and that the same bond which bound them to defend the place, bound the Emperor also to relieue them, seeing that otherwise it was not in their power to maintain it. That they had, with the losse of their liues and bloud, shewed their fidelitie vnto the Emperor, no sufficient armie appearing from him (according to his promise) for their succor. That to fight any longer was but to encrease the glory of their enemies, and their owne losses: seeing that after they had don what they possibly could, exposed to a thousand dangers, they should neuertheles be vanquished, and the citie taken. That the same consideration which carried valiant minds vnto the effects of honour when they are relieued with hope, dissuaded them being out of all hope of any happy end of their troubles: & to lose themselus to no purpose, was as great a signe of folly, as to let slip a faire opportunity, was a signe of cowardise. That they were to expect nothing but extreame miserie, if the enemy should againe force them; the breaches being so broad, as whereby they might easily enter: and their own best men slain, that should keep them out. And that therefore he should do well, to come to some good composition with the enemy, whilest they had yet something to yeeld vp vnto him, and that he stood in some feare of them; & not to expect, whilst they were spoiled of al means, either to resist him by force, or to bind him by courtesie: nothing remaining for them in the place, but death, if they should obstinatly stand to-

A long and terrible assault.

Reasons whereby the besieged captains perswaded the Gouernor to yeeld the citie.

to the defence thereof; nor no way left to saue their liues, but by yeelding.

With these persuasions the Gouernour moued, came to a parley with the Bassa, being right glad thereof; as well knowing that a towne besieged comming to a parley, is commonly more than halfe woon: and glad by any means to gain it, for that therof depended the assurance both of his head and honour: where after some short talke it was agreed, That the County should yeeld the towne into the hands of the Bassa, with all the great ordnance, and other warlike munition therein: and that the countie with his garrison, should with bag & baggage in safety depart with their armes, by the suburbs leading toward Rab; and with a good conuoy in safety to be brought halfe way thither: This capitulation agreed vpon, and by the Bassa and the county signed, euery man assured himselfe of the Bassaes faith, and thereon rested. But what faith is to be expected from a faithlesse man? Vpon the first brute of this composition, yea and before it was altogether well concluded; whilest the merchants in the towne were seeking for waggons to carry their merchandise, and the souldiers for horses to carrie their baggage, the scarcenesse thereof bred a great confusion and stir among the people; as commonly it falleth out in things done in haste, but especially where men for safegard of their liues, in their flight for haste fall into a thousand errors: so whilest some in this hurly burly were quarrelling about their horses and carriages, and other some were opening the gates to be gone; others were as busie in robbing and pilfering the baggages of their captaines and companions; miserable men, who all appointed for a prey vnto the greedy and mercilesse Turks, yet fel to preying one vpon another. Which disorders encouraged the rest of the souldiers to fall to pillage all also, some loading themselues with such goods as the merchants had for lacke of carriages left behind them; and other some euen with the goods of their owne captaines: which the souldiers appointed for defence of the breaches seeing, left their charge, and came thronging into the towne, & thrust themselues in amongst the pilferers, as if the pillage of the towne had bin vnto them by triumphant victory assured, and that they themselues had bin victors, and not men vanquished. The Tartars lodged at the foot of the breach, seeing it forlaken, and without any great strength to defend it, let not this opportunitie slip, but pressing on without any great resistance, entred the same; and so in a trice full thirtie thousand of them [illegible]st into the towne, and there surprised the vanquished Christians, at once loaded with prey, feare, and despaire. After whome, euen by the same breach, the Turks entered also, to be partakers of the spoile: so that in a moment the town was full of enemies both Turks and Tartars. The Turks beside the bootie they took themselues, fell to quarrelling with the Tartars, for some part of theirs; and so long as there was any thing that might please their eies, or fill their hands, they abstained from slaughter & bloudshed, busying themselues with that which for the present was more for their profit: but the pillaging ceasing, by reason there was [illegible]more to be had, then the perfidious wretches fell to massacring of the miserable Christians, the sword deuouring al that they could light vpon, so that all the citie flowed with bloud. Neither was there any end thereof, vntill that by the comming in of the Bassa the slaughter was stayed; by which meanes Countie *Ysolan* the late Gouernour with some other captaines and souldiers were saued, hauing escaped the enemies fury.

In this massacre were slaine 3000 Christian souldiers, beside others of the citisens, in number not few. The captaines that were spared, were led prisoners to Constantinople, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation: and with them the Countie *Ysolan*, for his valor and noble courage vnworthy of so hard a fortune. Howbeit, that he by liuely and pregnant reasons shewed, both himselfe & the rest to be vniustly detained, as taken prisoners contrary to the publicke faith vnto them before giuen; within the assurance of the capitulation agreed vpon with the Bassa, and out of the actions of war. Whereunto it was againe answered him, That the towne when it was taken, was yet still in his power, and he at choice whether he would deliuer it or no. That if he would by the yeelding vp of the town challenge his liberty, according to the articles of the capitulation, he ought then to haue deliuered it as was agreed, & not to haue suffred it to haue bin taken by force, according to the ordinary proceeding of war: the laws whereof do iustly condemne to death, or to captiuity, such as are by force of arms vanquished. That euery town which during the treaty of capitulation is by force taken, followeth the course of the latter condition and state, & not of the former, seeing that it is conquered and not deliuered

The capitulation betwixt the Bassa and the countie, for the yeelding vp of the city of Alba Regalis.

Great disorder and confusion among the besieged.

Alba Regalis taken by the Turkes.

The Christians cruelly murdered in Alba-Regalis.

County Ysolan carried away prisoner to Constantinople.

red. That this is the reason that they are punished by the rigor of armes, which haue not bin carefull to preserue themselues by the sweetnesse of peace: for that a man is not to expect of his mortall enemie any other curtesie, than that which necessity caused him to promise, which he may for his owne good againe violate, as he for the good of his enemie against his wil hath granted. With which quirkes and quillets the Countie deluded, say what he could, was carried away prisoner to Constantinople, where wee must for a while leaue him. And so the Bassa hauing in eighteene dayes taken Alba-Regalis, (now being eleuen moneths possessed by the Christians) caused the breaches he had made, to be againe repaired, and the citie well prouided for both of victuals and munition, leauing therein a strong garrison of 6000 souldiers; and with his people hauing ouerrun all the countrey as far as Strigonium, rose with his armie and retyred againe to Buda: where as he was making a bridge of boats ouer the Danubius betwixt Buda and Pesth, for the more easie transporting of victual, and better relieuing of the one the other as need should require; and hauing brought that worke to passe, and about to haue gone to the siege of Strigonium; commaundement came from the Great Sultan, That hee should with all speed returne to Constantinople, for that *Mahomet* accounting of him as of a most valiant man, was now minded to employ him in his warres against his Rebels in Natolia, where things now went not well, as shall be hereafter declared. Vpon which commaundement, the Bassa gaue leaue to all such in his armie as had charge of any place, forthwith to return to their seuerall places of gouernment: appointing some others with thirtie thousand souldiors, in the companie of *Bashel Moyses* (but of late Prince *Sigismund* his Lieutenant) to go with him into Transyluania: who after the ouerthrowe he had there receiued by *Basta*, was come vnto this great Bassa, offering vnto him, with such an aid as was now appointed for him, and the helpe of such other his friends as he had in Transyluania, to chase *Basta* with his Germanes from out thence, and to reduce that Prouince againe vnto the deuotion of the *Othoman* Emperours, as it had in former time beene. And so by the way of Belgrade *Hassan Bassa* himselfe with the rest of his Armie hasted towards Constantinople. Which hee was thought the more willingly to do, for that the Great Sultan before his setting forth had put him in good hope to marrie one of his Aunts (a woman of great wealth and honour) if by the winning againe of Alba-Regalis he should make himselfe worthie so honourable a match, after which he now longed.

But long it was not after his departure, but that the Imperials now at last assembled together at Comara, to the number of about 30000 men, with twelue * Nassadies and two gallies, some by water, some by land, marched downe alongst the riuer to Strigonium; where were also 20 other ships readie to receiue them, and so all embarked, were by the Lord *Russworm* and other the Imperial Captaines conducted to Buda, there with some notable enterprise to redeeme the disgrace by them before receiued in not relieuing of Alba-Regalis. Whose comming was so sudden and so vnlooked for of the Turks there, as that they had not any time to take in any greater helpe or prouision than was alreadie in the citie. And for as much as the Christians knew the good successe of this their enterprise taken in hand, not so much to depend of their strength, as of their politique proceeding and speedie dispatch of the matter begun, they thought it not good to vse any long delay, or to spare for any labor, but so soon as they might, by taking of the Water-city (or as some call it, the Iewes suburbes) so to cut off the passage of them of Buda to Pesth, as also from thence to trouble them in the castle and the vpper city of Buda. Which their intended exploit they happily attempted and brought to passe in this sort: The citie of Pesth standing right ouer against Buda, is (as we haue oftentimes before said) diuided from the same with the great and swift riuer of Danubius; ouer which the Turkes vpon boats had with great labor and cost of late built a most easie and commodious bridge for passage or carriage of things from the one citie to the other. This bridge the Imperials thought necessarie first to breake, the more easie to besiege either the one or other city; and for that purpose had by a strange deuice built a ship, which by the force of the streame carried downe the riuer, and resting vpon the bridge, should by a wonderfull power breake the same. Which ship the Turkes seeing comming downe the riuer with the rest of the Fleet after her, they ran by heapes, especially out of the Water-Citie, to the bridge for the defence thereof: where whilst they were thus busied, Countie *Saltze* on the other side by land with a petard blew vp one

The Nassadies are a certaine kinde of boats which the Hungarians vse vpon the Riuer of Danubius.

The lower city of Buda taken by the Christians.

one of the gates of the city, and so entering and killing all such as he light vpon, came vnlooked for vpon the backs of the Turks at the bridge, of whom some he slew, some he draue into the riuer, who there perished; the rest in number not many, by speedie flight retiring themselues into the citie: whereupon he had now brought such a generall feare, that they all as well the souldiers as the citizens, with the Christians at their heeles, with as much haste as they could tooke their refuge into the vpper citie of Buda, much stronger and better fortified than was the lower citie. At which time the bridge was by them vpon the riuer broken also, so that now the one citie could no more thereby relieue the other as before.

The Water-citie thus woon, and the bridge broken, the next was for the Imperials to besiege either the one or the other city. But for that they of Pesth might with their great Ordnance much anoy them in the besieging of the castle and the vpper city of Buda, they thought best to begin with it first: which they did in much like sort as they had before done at the lower citie of Buda, the same deuice againe wel prospering in their hand. For the Lord *Russworm* with the fleet vpon the riuer making a great shew as if he would euen presently on that side haue entered, had with the stirre by him raised, drawne downe most part of the garrison souldiors vnto that side of the towne, where most shew of danger was: whilest in the meane time Countie *Sultze* with the gouernor of Althem (before vndiscouered) vpon the sudden by land scaled the other side of the citie, and gained the walls, the Turks yet dreaming of no such matter. But hereupon began a terrible outcry, the Turkes standing as men astonied, especially now feeling the Christians weapons in their bodies, before they knew they were got into the citie. In this so great an amazement such of them as could fled into the strongest towers, the rest hid themselues in cellars and other the most secret corners they could finde, out of which they were afterwards by the Christians drawne and slaine. They which were retired also into the towers and other stronger places of the city, seeing the great ordnance bent vpon them, and now out of all hope of relicfe, offered to yeeld; requesting only, that they might with their wiues and children with life depart; promising for that fauour so shewed them, to persuade them of Buda also in like manner to yeeld. Vpon which promise, that their poore request was granted, and the Lord *Nadasti* with certaine other Captaines sent with some of these citizens of Pesth, with their wiues and children to Buda: who comming thither, according to their promise most earnestly requested them of Buda to yeeld, for that they were not now to expect any further helpe, and that by their tooliish obstinacie they should be the cause of the death of them, their friends, their wiues, and children. Vnto whom also, to mooue them the more, the Lord *Nadasti* promised in the name of General, That they should all excepting some of their chiefe Commanders in safetie depart. Howbeit they of Buda would not hearken thereunto, but stood still vpon their gard. In this city of Pesth, well inhabited with Turkish Merchants, the Christians found great store of wealth, which all became a prey vnto the souldiers, with a thousand horses for seruice, many great pieces of artillerie and much other warlike prouision.

The citie of Pesth taken by the Christians.

Pesth thus woon, and a strong garrison left therein, they returned againe ouer the riuer to besiege the castle and vpper citie of Buda, which they attempted by vndermining the same, as also by batterie, hauing placed some of their great ordnance so high, that they could at their pleasure shoote into the middest of the streets of the Citie; wherewith they much troubled the Turks, not a little before discouraged with the losse of Pesth; thundering also at the same time with their other batteries in diuers places of the walls both of the castle and of the citie. Where vnderstanding that the Turkes garrisons of the frontier Townes and Castles thereabouts (hearing of the siege) were comming to the relicfe of their distressed friends, they sent out their horsemen with some part of their footmen against them: who meeting with them, gaue them a great ouerthrow, and so with victorie returned againe vnto the rest of the Armie lying at the siege, being still in hope either by force or composition to become Masters of the citie.

The vpper citie and castle of Buda besieged by the Christians.

But whilest they lay in this hope, and hauing the twelfth of October brought their approches neerer vnto the walls had there planted certaine notable pieces of batterie, with purpose the next day with all their power to haue assaulted the Citie; behold, the Visier Bassa hearing (by the way as he was going to Belgrad, & so to Constantinople) that the city of Pesth was

was woon, and Buda besieged; changing his mind, returned in haste with such forces as he had yet left; and so vnlooked for, came and sat downe before Pesth, being not then aboue fiue and twentie thousand strong, but those all for the most part old and expert souldiers. But whilest the Bassa thus lay at the siege of Pesth on the one side of the riuer, and the Imperials at the siege of Buda on the other, diuers braue attempts were in both places giuen both on the one side and the other. The Christians in Pesth besieged by the Turks, hauing amongst them diuers braue captains, and desirous of honor, one day vnder their conduct sallied out of the citie to skirmish with the Turks; and comming with them to the sword, by plaine valor disordered them; and enforced them to flie, & so allured with the sweetnesse of the victory, pursued them euen to the trenches: from whence a great squadron of the Turks horsemen and harquebusiers at the same instant issuing out, and with their multitude ouercharging the Imperials, constrained them of force to retire: in which retreat, Countie *Maximilian Martinengo* (one of these aduenturers) doing what hee might both with his valour and direction to haue stayed the disordered retreat of the Christians, was with many others slaine: wherewith the rest discouraged, tooke their refuge towards the citie. Which they of the garrison beholding, sent out certaine companies to relieue them; by whose comming out, the furie of the Turkes was not onely represt, but they also euen vnto their trenches again repulsed. Shortly after which hot skirmishes, the Lord *Russworm* with the other Christian Captains on the other side of the riuer, hauing with continuall batterie made such a breach into the castle, as that the same seemed to be now faultable, in good order came on with certaine companies of their footmen appointed for that seruice (and so couragiously assailed the breach: where the Turks, who before had expected this assault, hauing in best sort they could repaired the breach, and on both sides thereof placed diuers murthering pieces, with great store of dangerous fire-workes, at such time as the first companies of the Christians fought couragiously to haue entred the breach, ouerwhelmed them with that deadly fire, and so rent them with their murthering shot, that they no faster entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and slaine: with the sight whereof, they which were appointed to second them, nothing discouraged, but seeking desperately to haue entered, and with the taking of the castle, and slaughter of the Turks, to haue requited the death of their fellowes, were themselues in like sort welcommed. So that now a thousand of them being lost, the captaines considering how much the losse of so many braue souldiers concerned the whole enterprise taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained without the losse of the greatest part of them, they caused a retreat to be sounded, and so the assault for that time to be giuen ouer.

A notable skirmish betwixt the Christians and the Turks.

But long it was not that the Visier Bassa (thus retired as aforesaid) had lien before Pesth, but that by reason of his sudden returne, great wants began to arise in his camp; his souldiers for want of food beeing glad to eat their dead horses, a pound of bread being sold for two Hungarian Duckats, and a bushell of oates for fiue, and yet hardly so to be gotten: which wants in that so wasted a country still more and more encreasing, & many of his souldiers secretly stealing away from him, he had much adoe by al the means he could vse, to persuade them there to stay eight daies longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done, than some few weake attempts giuen, and some light skirmishes made, rather for fashions sake than for any hope of preuailing, and the want of all things still encreasing; hee with the rest of the Commanders fearing some sudden mischiefe to bee done them by the hungrie and discontented souldiers, the second of Nouember, causing his baggage to bee trussed vp in the dead-time of the darke and silent night, rise with his armie, and so in haste retired directly to Belgrade, leauing behind him in his campe three hundred dead horses, not yet eaten by his hunger-starued souldiers. Immediatly after whose departure, the Lord *Nadasti* and some other of the commanders in the armie, with fiue thousand souldiers and certaine great pieces of artillerie, some by land, some by water, went downe alongst the riuer to Adom, a faire well built towne vpon the banke of Danubius, about foure Hungarian miles from Buda, and seruing as it were for a storehouse for the garrison there: Which towne *Nadasti* summoned by his Hussars sent before, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Which they of the towne at the first refused to doe: but afterwards seeing a far greater power come, prouided of great ordnance and all things else requisit for a siege, they with the sight therof discouraged, without more ado offered

The Visier raiseth his siege.

red to yeeld the towne, so that they might with bag and baggage in safety depart: which they did, the Christians conducting them as far as Feldwar, which castle was also at the first summons, by the perswasion of them of Adom deliuered vnto them: for they of the castle, by them enformed of the great strength of the Christians, and of the store of great ordnance they had brought with them, and that they staid therewith but fast by, were easily perswaded to hearken to their friendly, and so yeelded. Which done, the free Haiducks the same night surprised also the castle of Pax: from whence the Christians still marching on alongst the riuer, tooke in also the citie of Tolna.

But whilest *Nadasti* with the rest were thus busied in taking these castles and towns alongst the South side of Danubius, they in the camp at Buda were aduertised of the new designes of the Turkes Lieutenants and Captaines thereabout, for the reliefe of the besieged: as that the Bassa of Bosna, with the Gouernors of Canisia, Sigeth, and others, had assembled an army of thirtie thousand for the raising of the siege. Wherefore the Christians doubting as they lay at the siege dispersed, to be by them oppressed, leauing their tents in their trenches, gathered themselues together into the Water-citie: which the Turks out of the vpper citie quickly perceiuing, as feeling themselues now at some more liberte, presently sallying out, took both the trenches and the tents so left, with no small slaughter of such as were left for the keeping of them: and so possessed of the trenches and the tents, held them by the space of two houres, vntill they were by strong hand by the Christians beaten out, and so with some losse inforced againe to retire into the citie. The Lord *Nadasti* also, with the rest that had taken the aforesaid castles and towns vpon the side of Danubius, making a rode towards Alba Regalis, in their returne within a mile of Buda light vpon a thousand Turks there gathered together, most part of whom they slew, and hauing put the rest to flight, took some fifty of them prisoners. At which time also another of the Imperiall Colonels meeting with certaine other companies of the Turks comming to the reliefe of the besieged, not far from Buda, slew most part of them, took an hundred and threescore of them prisoners, with a number of horses and much other rich bootie, all which he brought into the campe. Neither were they at the siege in the mean time idle, their great artillerie still thundering against the wals both of the castle and the citie: so that by the fury of the cannon hauing beaten downe a strong tower next vnto the Danubius, not far from the kings stable, they were a little before night about to haue there entered, when suddenly such a tempest of winde and raine arise, as that they could not possibly vse their pieces, or well any other weapon: so that the heauens as it were then fighting for the enemy, they were enforced for that time to giue ouer the assault begun. Which storme was no sooner ended, but that two thousand of the Turkes both horse and foot, to keepe the Christians otherwise busied, suddenly issuing out of the citie, charged vpon the Stirian horsemen; who presently relieued by the men at armes, so welcommed them, that hauing lost an hundred and threescore of their men, they were glad with more speed to retire, than they came out. But seeing some of the Christians that so hardly pursued them, some slaine, and some hurt from the wals; taking heart againe, the next day (being the eleuenth of Nouember) they sallied out againe; where albeit that a great number of them were slaine, yet fell they out againe the third day also, and were againe by the Countie *Thurne* with great losse of their men beaten backe into the citie: where in pursuing of them, the Christians were by certaine Ianizaries (laid close for that purpose) suddenly assailed and dangerously gauled, the Countie himselfe being hurt in his left arme, and some other captaines slaine. In all which sallies, although the Turks were still put to the worse, yet thereby they gained time in some good sort to repaire againe their breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the siege, certainely enformed that a world of the fierce and rude Tartars by the incitement of the Turke (hauing made themselues way through Valachia) where comming as farre as Temeswar to relieue Buda; thought it not best (especially now that Winter was come) to abide the comming of that so great a Northern tempest, but betimes whilest they had yet space, to raise their siege and be gone: Which they did the sixteenth of Nouember, leauing the Water-citie, with all that they had got about Buda, againe vnto the enemie: onely Pesth they furnished with victuals and all things else necessarie, leauing therin almost ten thousand soldiers in garrison, for the defence therof against the barba-

The siege of Buda for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Christians.

rous enemy. As for Adom it was strengthened with a garrison of Hungarians only, with their wages offred to be paid before hand; which for all that, they refused to accept; alledging that for the great danger this place was exposed to aboue others, they could not safely take their oath for the defence thereof: yet offering withall to vndertake the charge, and to do what beseemed valiant soldiers, in such sort as that all men should well vnderstand, that nothing euill should happen thereunto through their default or negligence.

The siege of Buda for feare of the Tartars thus giuen ouer, and the Imperials departed and gon, the Turks forthwith came downe out of the higher citie into the lower, declaring their ioy for the recouerie thereof, by the often thundring of their great ordnance, with diuers other signes of triumph. But whilest in their iolitie they spared not by the mouth of the cannon to send commendation to them of Pesth, they from them againe receiued the like; but in such rude manner, that the Turks wearied with such greetings, requested them to spare their shot and pouder, and quietly to liue by them as became neighbours for that Winter vntill the next Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this strife should be ended by their Emperors, the weaker yeelding vnto the stronger either the one or the other citie. Yet for all this their great ioy, their cheere in Buda was not great, victuals by this siege being become so scarce, that it was by the Turks feared, That if the Christians had there longer lien, they should for verie want haue been enforced to haue yeelded the city. Of which their need their friends not ignorant, and hauing made what prouision they were able for their relieue, were with a great conuoy bringing the same towards Buda: whereof the garrisons of Comara and Strigonium hauing intelligence, went presently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid way betwixt Alba-Regalis and Buda, ouerthrew the conuoy, and carried away all that prouision of victuals; like vnbidden guests making themselues merrie with that which was neuer prouided for them.

Mahomet much troubled with the Scriuano.

These doubtfull wars of Hungarie, with the general reuolt of Transyluania much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan; but nothing like vnto the warres he had in Asia against the *Scriuano* and the rebels his followers; the euill successe whereof (as most dangerous to his State) so much tormented his haughtie minde, as that it would scarce suffer him to thinke of any thing els. For the Rebel encouraged with the successe of the last yeares wars, and stil growing stronger and stronger, (by reason of the great number which, allured with the sweet name of liberty, hope of prey, or the good entertainment by him giuen, dayly more and more reforted vnto his campe) had this yeare ouerrun a great part of the Turks dominions in Asia, putting all to fire and sword that stood in his way, ransacking also diuers walled and fenced cities by the way as he went. Which he might the more easily do, for that the Ianizaries of Aleppo and Damasco, with many other their partakers and fauourits, which might greatly haue hindered his proceedings, were at the same time also vp in arms, and together by the eares amongst themselues, to the great benefit of the *Scriuano*: who in the midst of the course of these his desired fortunes, fell sicke of a natural disease, and so died. By whose death the rebellion was no whit appeased, (as commonly in like case it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in short time grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before: for the *Scriuano* was no sooner dead, but that a yonger brother of his no lesse warlike & couragious than himselfe (to the great contentment of the rebellious) stept vp in his place, fiercely prosecuting the wars his brother had before him taken in hand. Against whom *Hassan Bassa* by commandement from the grand Seignior with a great armie setting forward, with hope in that newnesse of his command to haue oppressed him, and so to haue quenched that so spreading a fire; at length met with him, that was easie enough to be found, and joyning battell with him, was by him in a great and bloudie fight ouerthrowne and slaine together with his whole army, except such as by speedy flight saued themselues from the furie of their fierce enemies. So that *Mahomet* the great Sultan now enforced to employ his best commanders and soldiers into those parts for the subduing of him, for that cause called *Mahomet* the Visier Bassa out of Hungarie to serue against this new Rebel: who in the meane time following the course of his victorie, made hauock of all as he went, taking vnto his owne vse all such tribute as was in those Countries and others also farther off, due vnto the great Sultan; hauing of late exacted onely of the citie of Ancyra and

The death of the Scriuano.

The Scriuano his yonger brother take- vpon him the leading of the Rebels in his brothers stead.

Hassan Bassa slaine, and his armie ouerthrowne by the rebels.

red to yeeld the towne, so that they might with bag and baggage in safety depart: which they did, the Christians conducting them as far as Feldwar, which castle was also at the first summons, by the perswasion of them of Adom deliuered vnto them: for they of the castle, by them enformed of the great strength of the Christians, and of the store of great ordnance they had brought with them, and that they staid therewith but fast by, were easily perswaded to hearken to their friendly, and so yeelded. Which done, the free Haiducks the same night surprised also the castle or Pax: from whence the Christians still marching on alongst the riuer, tooke in also the citie of Tolna.

But whilest *Nadasti* with the rest were thus busied in taking these castles and towns alongst the South side of Danubius, they in the camp at Buda were aduertised of the new designes of the Turkes Lieutenants and Captaines thereabout, for the reliefe of the besieged: as that the Bassa of Bosna, with the Gouernors of Canisia, Sigeth, and others, had assembled an army of thirtie thousand for the raising of the siege. Wherefore the Christians doubting as they lay at the siege dispersed, to be by them oppressed, leauing their tents in their trenches, gathered themselues together into the Water-city: which the Turks out of the vpper city quickly perceiuing, as feeling themselues now at some more libertie, presently sallying out, took both the trenches and the tents so left, with no small slaughter of such as were left for the keeping of them: and so possessed of the trenches and the tents, held them by the space of two houres, vntill they were by strong hand by the Christians beaten out; and so with some losse inforced againe to retire into the citie. The Lord *Nadasti* also, with the rest that had taken the aforesaid castles and towns vpon the side of Danubius, making a rode towards Alba Regalis, in their returne within a mile of Buda light vpon a thousand Turks there gathered together, most part of whom they slew, and hauing put the rest to flight, took some fifty of them prisoners. At which time also another of the Imperiall Colonels meeting with certaine other companies of the Turks comming to the reliefe of the besieged, not far from Buda, slew most part of them, took an hundred and threescore of them prisoners, with a number of horses and much other rich bootie, all which he brought into the campe. Neither were they at the siege in the mean time idle, their great artillerie still thundering against the wals both of the castle and the citie: so that by the fury of the cannon hauing beaten downe a strong tower next vnto the Danubius, not far from the kings stable, they were a little before night about to haue there entered, when suddenly such a tempest of winde and raine arise, as that they could not possibly vse their pieces, or well any other weapon: so that the heauens as it were then fighting for the enemy, they were enforced for that time to giue ouer the assault begun. Which storme was no sooner ended, but that two thousand of the Turkes both horse and foot, to keepe the Christians otherwise busied, suddenly issuing out of the citie, charged vpon the Stirian horsemen; who presently relieued by the men at armes, so welcommed them, that hauing lost an hundred and threescore of their men, they were glad with more speed to retire, than they came out. But seeing some of the Christians that so hardly pursued them, some slaine, and some hurt from the wals; taking heart againe, the next day (being the eleuenth of Nouember) they sallied out againe; where albeit that a great number of them were slaine, yet fell they out againe the third day also, and were againe by the Countie *Thurne* with great losse of their men beaten backe into the citie: where in pursuing of them, the Christians were by certaine Ianizaries (laid close for that purpose) suddenly assailed and dangerously gauled, the Countie himselfe being hurt in his left arme, and some other captaines slaine. In all which sallies, although the Turks were still put to the worse, yet thereby they gained time in some good sort to repaire againe their breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the siege, certainely enformed that a world of the fierce and rude Tartars by the incitement of the Turke (hauing made themselues way through Valachia) where comming as farre as Temeswar to relieue Buda; thought it not best (especially now that Winter was come) to abide the comming of that so great a Northern tempest, but betimes whilest they had yet space, to raise their siege and be gone: Which they did the sixteenth of Nouember, leauing the Water-citie, with all that they had got about Buda, againe vnto the enemie: onely Pesth they furnished with victuals and all things else necessarie, leauing therin almost ten thousand soldiers in garrison, for the defence therof against the barba-

The siege of Buda for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Christians.

rous

A rous enemy. As for Adom it was strengthened with a garrison of Hungarians only, with their wages offred to be paid before hand; which for all that, they refused to accept; alledging that for the great danger this place was exposed to aboue others, they could not safely take their oath for the defence thereof: yet offering withall to vndertake the charge, and to do what beseemed valiant soldiers, in such sort as that all men should well vnderstand, that nothing euill should happen thereunto through their default or negligence.

The siege of Buda for feare of the Tartars thus giuen ouer, and the Imperials departed and gon, the Turks forthwith came downe out of the higher citie into the lower, declaring their joy for the recouerie thereof, by the often thundring of their great ordnance, with diuers other signes of triumph. But whilest in their jolitie they spared not by the mouth of the cannon to
B send commendation to them of Pesth, they from them againe receiued the like; but in such rude manner, that the Turks wearied with such greetings, requested them to spare their shot and pouder, and quietly to liue by them as became neighbours for that Winter vntill the next Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this strife should be ended by their Emperors, the weaker yeelding vnto the stronger either the one or the other citie. Yet for all this their great joy, their cheere in Buda was not great, victuals by this siege being become so scarce, that it was by the Turks feared, That if the Christians had there longer lien, they should for verie want haue been enforced to haue yeelded the city. Of which their need their friends not ignorant, and hauing made what prouision they were able for their reliefe, were with a great conuoy bringing the same towards Buda: whereof the garrisons of Comara and Strigonium
C hauing intelligence, went presently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid way betwixt Alba Regalis and Buda, ouerthrew the conuoy, and carried away all that prouision of victuals; like vnbidden guests making themselues merrie with that which was neuer prouided for them.

These doubtfull wars of Hungarie, with the general reuolt of Transyluania much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan; but nothing like vnto the warres he had in Asia against the *Scriuano* and the rebels his followers; the euill successe whereof (as most dangerous to his State) so much tormented his haughtie minde, as that it would scarce suffer him to thinke of any thing els. For the Rebel encouraged with the successe of the last yeares wars, and still growing stron-
D ger and stronger, (by reason of the great number which, allured with the sweet name of libertie, hope of prey, or the good entertainment by him giuen, dayly more and more reforted vnto his campe) had this yeare ouerrun a great part of the Turks dominions in Asia, putting all to fire and sword that stood in his way, ransacking also diuers walled and fenced cities by the way as he went. Which he might the more easily do, for that the Ianizaries of Aleppo and Damasco, with many other their partakers and fauourits, which might greatly haue hindered his proceedings, were at the same time also vp in arms, and together by the eares amongst themselues, to the great benefit of the *Scriuano*: who in the midst of the course of these his defired fortunes, fell sicke of a natural disease, and so died. By whose death the rebellion was no whit appeased, (as commonly in like case it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in short time grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before: for the *Scriuano* was no sooner
E dead, but that a yonger brother of his no lesse warlike & couragious than himselfe (to the great contentment of the rebellious) stept vp in his place, fiercely prosecuting the wars his brother had before him taken in hand. Against whom *Hassan Bassa* by commandement from the grand Seignior with a great armie setting forward, with hope in that newnesse of his command to haue oppressed him, and so to haue quenched that so spreading a fire; at length met with him, that was easie enough to be found, and joyning battell with him, was by him in a great and bloudie fight ouerthrowne and slaine together with his whole army, except such as by speedy
F flight saued themselues from the furie of their fierce enemies. So that *Mahomet* the great Sultan now enforced to employ his best commanders and soldiers into those parts for the subduing of him, for that cause called *Mahomet* the Visier Bassa out of Hungarie to serue against this new Rebel: who in the meane time following the course of his victorie, made hauock of all as he went, taking vnto his owne vse all such tribute as was in those Countries and others also farther off, due vnto the great Sultan; hauing of late exacted onely of the citie of Ancyra

Mahomet much troubled with the Scriuans.

The death of the Scriuano.

The Scriuano his yonger brother taketh vpon him the leading of the Rebels in his brothers stead.

Hassan Bassa slaine, and his armie ouerthrowne by the rebels.

and

and the countrey thereabout, three hundred thousand duckets: so by exacting of great summes G
of mony from the countrey people (such as be his enemies) heaping vp great treasures for the
maintenance of his wars.

Diuers incursions of the Tartars into the frontiers of the Emperours territories, and much harme by them there done.

Now though *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor had called home *Mahomet* the Visier Bassa out of Hungarie, against the rebels in Asia, (as is aforesaid) yet had he before prouided, that for the better assurance of his townes and territories in Hungarie, the Tartar *Han* with a great power of his Crim Tartars should euen against that time come downe into that countrey. Which rough and needie people dwelling neere vnto the fennes of Meotis, for pay or prey always readie to do the *Othoman* Emperors seruice, setting forward vnder the leading of their great *Han* himselfe, and of his two sonnes, and by plaine force breaking through Valachia, H
though not without great losse of their men (being fought with by the Valachians and free Haiducks a whole day) were now in the later end of December with their huge companies come into Hungarie; the *Han* himselfe with fortie thousand to Quinque Ecclesiæ, and his sons with twentie thousand moe into Possega (a fertile countrey lying betweene the great riuers Sauus and Drauus) where they spoiled all as well the Turks as the other poore Christians, pretending all that frontier countrey with the whole command thereof to be giuen vnto them by *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor in reward of their good seruice. But long they lay not there quiet, but that to shew for what they came, they enforced the Christians thereabout to victual Canisia for the Turks: and so breaking into Stiria, not far from Caramant (the neerest Fortresse of the Christians towards Canisia) carried away aboue two thousand Christians captiues: and shortly after surprising Keschemet a great and populous towne, slew most part of I
the inhabitants, and carried away the rest prisoners. Other some of them also at the same time making an inrode to Sharuar, and hauing burnt twentie villages downe to the ground, carried away thence about a thousand soules into most miserable captiuitie and thraldome. They also at their first comming relieued them of Buda the Lord *Nadasti* with his Hussars, who before kept them from victuals, not being able for the great number of them, now longer so to do. By them also the Turks encouraged, tooke and burnt certaine places possessed by the Christians neere vnto Buda, putting them all to the sword that they found therin. So that the poore countrey of Hungarie (neuer to be sufficiently pitied) with the rest of the countries and prouinces belonging vnto the house of Austria, and confining vpon the Turke, were not so much eased by the calling home of the Visier Bassa with his army, as they were now annoyed by the comming of these roguish Tartars, a people wholly euen from their infancie giuen to the spoyle. Against whom for all that, the Christians hauing their ordinarie garrisons, began now euen in the depth of Winter to oppose some other of their forces also: the Palatine of Rhine sending ten companies of horsemen to Possonium, from thence to be sent to Sharuar for the defence of Stiria: and *Collonitz* (but lately knighted by the Emperour) for his part raising foure hundred horse, a thousand Hussars, and three thousand of the free Haiducks for the repressing of those Tartars: the Duke of Brunswick also at that time for the same seruice sending thither a thousand horse with two thousand foot, against those sworne Enemies of the Christian Religion.

* * *

THE

A THE troubles of this yere thus ouerpast, Alba-Regalis being by the Christians lost, Pesth with some other places woon, Tranſyluania recouered, Buda besieged, the Visier Bassa returned, and the Tartars come into Hungarie, Ianuarie with a sharpe frost began to open the next yere, by force whereof the riuers in many places, but especially in those more Easterly countries, were not onely frozen ouer, but seemed rather euen wholly turned into yce: Danubius that great riuer (for all his swift course) beeing then also (as it is often) so hard frosen, that men and carts might safely passe too and fro thereupon. Which so hard a season for all that did no whit freese but rather encrease the hot desires of the greedie Turks, still breathing after the vtter spoile and ruine of the Christians dwelling neere vnto them. For which B
purpose, they euen in this dead time of the yeare, and extremitie of nature (which commonly affoordeth vnto most mortall enemies a cessation from armes) out of their garrisons of Sigeth, Buda, Canisia, Alba-Regalis, Baborz, and such other places, raised an armie of eighteene thousand strong, to haue forraged and ouerrunne the Christians, with their territories confining vpon them; Quermanie with the countrey thereabout beeing the places by them assigned to haue felt the first force of their sudden rage and furie. Of which their designes *Collonitz*, Gouernour for the Emperour in those parts, vnderstanding, to preuent the same, and to meet with their forces, with all speed put into the suburbes of Quermanie a thousand Reisters, and two thousand Lansquenets; and in the Burroughes thereabours laded the regiment of the C
Countie *Reingraue*, with six companies of the Cossackes, foure thousand Haiducks, foure hundred Carabins, French, and Wallons, two hundred horse of the Regiment of *Collonitz*; with whome was *Collonitz* himselfe, commanding ouer all these troupes: a man for his worth euery way answerable vnto his charge. Who for the more assurance of this Countrey, ouer which the enemie now houered, commaunded all the inhabitants thereabout to take vp armes; and withall, with good and strong barricadoes to strengthen the wayes, and stop vp the passages into their countrey: which they right cheerefully performed, with their weapons in the one hand, and their spades and shouels in the other. Of which their so great resolution the Turkes vnderstanding, changed their purpose. For they considering the assured danger they were to vndergoe, in forcing of these troupes, standing vpon the wals of their de- D
fence, & strong in their resolution, changed their former designe, for the inuading of Quermanie (where they for the space of fiue weekes together had by the Christians been expected) and vpon a new resolution marched along by Roquesbourg, with purpose to haue loaded themselues with the spoyle of the countrey thereabout. Which their new designe caused *Collonitz* to gather together his forces to crosse and frustrate them therein: which hee did by fauour of the riuer, which both strengthened him against their incursions, and was well to be defended. But the Turkes, whose purpose was not to fight, but to haue robbed and spoiled the countrey at their pleasure, finding now contrarie to their expectation, such strong re- *The Turkes for feare of the Christians cowardly retires.*
sistance, and their designes disturbed, in fine, gaue ouer their enterprise, and so againe retired; contenting themselues to gather a conuoy of victuals to put into Canisia, which then lay in E
great extremitie for want thereof. Which victuals they drew out of the villages thereabout, and so came to Babotz, to march to Canisia, a towne most commodious for such an assemblie, and for the relieuing of Canisia. Of this their purpose *Collonitz* (who spared for no cost) by his espials aduertised, euen hee which before was appointed as a prey vnto his enemies, began now to plot with himselfe, that they should become a prey vnto him: their cowardise, by so many precedent effects declared, had giuen him the meanto aduenture vpon them, and the hope to ouerthrow them. A necessarie consideration in martiall affaires, for Commanders to put in execution their designes, at what price soeuer: for that it is better to lose in the performance of them, with the preseruation of their reputation, than otherwise to gaine with the losse thereof: for that it preserued, still striketh a feare of their valor into the mindes of their enemies, oftentimes ouercome euen with this their apprehension thereof: Whereas F
otherwise they might happily ouercome, in the assurance by them conceiued of their enemies cowardise.

Collonitz lieth in ambush for the Turkes.

Vpon which resolution this brane Colonell the foure and twentieth of March with his troupes marched towards little Comara, about two leagues from Canisia, and lay with them

1603 *A great frost.*

An army of the Turkes raised out of their garrisons.

Collonitz his armes against the Turkes.

them close in ambush in the woods neere vnto two marishes, ouer which the Turks had made two bridges to passe the great artillerie and wagons vpon: the Turks being well neere 20000 strong, and our men but 8200, whereof there were 2200 horsemen, and 6000 foot, a small number in comparison of their enemies. But whilest that those men lie thus close in ambush, with a purpose to doe some notable exploit, let vs in the meane time run to Pesth, to see what there in the meane time passed.

The Turkes after the losse of Pesth much grieued to haue this impostume so neere their hearts, sought to breake it to our hurt, employing all their treacherie to gaine our garrison souldiers, and with their forces to distresse them of victuals. And the Christian armie was no sooner risen from before Buda, but that the Turks came downe againe into their base towne, which they found much ruinated and in euill estate. But the ioy of their conquest buried in it all the obiect of their sorrow, and the feeling of their griefe; the lesser passions alwaies giuing place vnto the greater, and sorrow finding no place at all in the middest of their immoderate ioy. Whereof they gaue a number of testimonies, by the thundring of their great ordnance, by fires of ioy, and vollies of smal shot: all which their fury they discharged vpon them of Pesth; who with the like courtesie requited them, sending them backe againe bullets for bullets. Which now became a common exercise among the canoniers, passing the time in these actions, more vpon a brauerie than to any purpose, small harme being done thereby either on the one side or on the other: in such sort, that in the end the Turks better aduised, requested our men to cease from such shooting, as they on their part would doe likewise, and to expect the end of the negotiation of peace, of a certaine begun (as they said) betwixt their Princes; but meaning indeed by this meanes to spare their pouder, shot, and paines, and to reserue them to their better vses.

Buda distressed for want of victuals.

And yet for all this triumphant ioy, the Turks in Buda were in great want of victuals, the late siege hauing deuoured all their prouisions, and no new supplie thereof as yet come vnto them: insomuch, that their greatest care was now how to come by victuals, without which they must needs forsake their city. Of which the great necessity the other garrisons in the places thereabout aduertised, assembled themselues to take order therefore; and hauing prouided 200 wagons, loded with all manner of necessary prouisions at Alba-Regalis, with a conuoy of 6000 souldiers put themselues vpon the way toward Buda. Of all which their proceedings the garrison of Strigonium hauing got vnderstanding, and ioyning vnto them the garrison of Comara, met with them vpon the way betwixt Alba-Regalis and Buda, and charged them; and so with great confidence on both sides came to handie blowes, the Turks being in number stronger, and our men in valour and resolution; the waggons in the meane time standing still, as the motiue of the charge, and appointed for a prey vnto the victors. But our horsmen beeing for the most part Hussars, well acquainted with such charge, with their diuers courses greatly troubled the enemies, our footmen in the meane time charging them also with a number of harquebusiers: against whom the Turkes with the same armes and like courage defending themselues, and many of them being slaine, and the waggons gained from them, gaue place vnto their valour, and so were almost all cut in pieces. The waggons thus surprised, were diuided as a rich bootie among the victors: fortie whereof were sent vnto the garrison at Pesth; who were well content that the enemies trauell and wealth had been gathered for their good, and without their owne paines to solace themselues with the fruit of their enemies labours.

The Turkes in carrying a conuoy of victuals to Buda ouerthrowne by the Christians.

But what should we say? The most sure resolutions are sometimes by chances crossed, and tempests otherwhiles ouertake vs, euen in the enterance of the desired port. The Turkes of Buda vnderstanding of the bruit of this medley, and that it was for their bread, posted in hast to haue succoured their troupes, and arriued at the same time that our men victoriously led alongst by the Riuer of Danubius the waggons they had before gained. At the sight of which obiect, they animated with hunger after the victuals, and with desire to bee reuenged vpon the men, charged them. But our men, who thought of nothing more, but that they were victorious, and possessors of their enemies bootie, seeing these new come enemies so furiously to charge them, daunted with the present perill, and with the consideration thereof onely possessed, bethought themselues of nothing else, but how to saue themselues, and

A and to leaue their honour, bootie, and the field, all as spoiles vnto their enemies. The furious countenance of the Turkes, and their number surmounting ours by 1500, so bereft them of their resolution for to fight for their liues and waggons, as that they without more adoe quite forsooke them, accounting themselues happie enough if they might but saue themselues. And the Turkes without farther pursuing of them, contented to haue recouered their victuals, left them, and so returned homeward, driuing their waggons along the banke of Danubius. But see the wind which by and by changed, and hauing as it were with a sudden tempest vndertaken euen at the enterance of the port to swallow vp both the one and the other, sent the garrison of Pesth vpon them of Buda to stay them. Great changes of fortune in one moment of time, which mocketh men with shewes, bringing forth effects quite contrarie to their expe-

B ctation. These Turkes stayed vpon their retreat by the comming of these new come aduersaries, did euen as ours had done before. For not willing to prefer their good before their life, and more greedie of victuall than of battell, they quitted their prize, and retired. For our men in number two thousand, were seized of a forrest about the middest of the way whereby the Turks were to passe, & which they could by no means shun; and diuided into two companies, kept themselues close there in ambush, resolutely attending for the comming of their enemies. Of which their purpose the Turks not aware, and still pressing on forward, found themselues hardly charged, before they could see them by whom they were so charged; one of our companies charging them afront, and the other behind. So that the Turks inclosed betwixt them, and in so great and sudden a feare not knowing against whom to defend themselues, without

C any great resistance betooke themselues to flight, leauing their waggons, and casting away their armes: yet so, that a number of them were left dead vpon the place, some others of them taken prisoners, and the rest chased euen vnto the gates of their citie. But our men beeing victors, with the waggons, and a number of prisoners returned home, and by the mouth of their great artillerie gaue a thousand testimonies of their victory vnto the sorrowfull cowards; who themselues also carried the heauie newes thereof vnto the rest of their fellowes shut vp within the citie of Buda.

The connoy of victuals again recouered from the Christians by the garrison of Buda.

The same connoy of victuals recouered from the Turkes by the garrison of Pesth.

But see againe the change of Fortune, constant only in vnconstancie, as the sequell shortly after shewed. Danubius that great riuer was then also (as it is often) so hard frozen, that men and carts might now safely passe too and fro thereupon. In which so hard season, the Turkes

D in garrison at Buda hauing once vpon the frozen Riuer braued the Christians in Pesth, and the two and twentieth of Ianuarie in like brauerie comming out the second time, were by the garrison souldiers of Pesth put to flight, and by two hundred of the most forward and valiant souldiers hardly pursued; vpon whome, not onely they which fled, but other of the Turkes also out of Buda in greater number returning, chased them likewise backe againe euen to the bridge, whereby they were to haue passed into the Citie: which now drawne vp for feare of greater harme from such a number of Turkes as were now come out, and were readie to haue entered at the heeles of the flying souldiers; the poore soules so shut out, and too weake for such a multitude as then had them in chase, were there euen in their friends sight euerie man slaine, the Turkes themselues with little harme returning to

E Buda.

The garrison souldiers of Pesth ouerthrowne by the Turks of Buda.

Neither long lasted the ioy of this victorie: for within a few dayes after, one *Leibner* a Captaine of the Christian garrison in Pesth, more grieued than the rest with the losse of so many valiant men, and some of them his frends and companions also; certainely vnderstanding that certaine of the chiefe of the Turkes of Buda, with two of their greatest Commanders, and a great traine of gallant Gentlewomen, were for their pleasure the next day about to goe vnto the hoat Bathes neere vnto Buda; and taking with him threescore musketiers, the night before secretly vpon the yce passed ouer the Riuer, and so not farre from the Bathes lay close in ambush, expecting the comming of their desired prey. In which expectance they lay not long, but that these Turkes casting no perill, came accordingly as they

F could haue wished, and in those pleasant Bathes merrily bathed and solaced themselues: Fooles to seeke after the pleasures of peace amidst the gulfe of the miseries of warres, and euill aduised to assure themselues of faire weather in a storme so neere at hand. For in the middest of all their delights these resolute men came suddenly vpon them, not fearing any such

The Turkes in bathing themselues at Buda, by them of Pesth surprised and slaine.

such danger, and slew all the men, sparing none but one boy and the Gentlewomen: who in the time of the conflict, naked as they were, ran as fast as they could into the Citie, feare hauing in them ouercome the modestie of their sexe. Which exploit done, the Captaine leauing the Turkes slaine in the Bath (now become red with their bloud) returned with his souldiers, laded with the rich bootie, and merrily sporting at the naked gentlewomen: with whose fearefull crie the Bassy of Buda stirred vp, sent out certaine of their garrison after them, but to no purpose; for why, they were in safety before got home. By continuance of this frost, by reason whereof victuals could not be sent down the riuer, the souldiers in garrison at Pesth were driuen to such wants, as that dogs and cats were accounted good meat among them; the Turkes their enemies still roaming about in the fields, to keepe them from victuals, and to encrease their necessitie.

Great want of victuals in Pesth.

Of these necessities the Turkes of Buda were partakers also, hunger-starued as were the other, but yet euerie day in the field to seeke reliefe. They knew right well, that hunger was hard to bee deceiued, beeing still in action and vigilant: and therefore they sought some meanes how to deceiue our men, still attending vpon them, and so to assure themselues of victuals. To which end they gaue it out, and made shew as if they would haue besieged the fort of Adom, distant about two leagues from Buda: Vnder the colour whereof, they receiued into their citie a conuoy of fiftie waggons laded with victuals and munition: which our men hindered not, for that they had no suspition of any such purpose of theirs. With which relicfe the Turkes encouraged, gaue knowledge thereof vnto their ouerthwart neighbours in Pesth by a thousand great shot, which they in thundering manner sent ouer the Riuer vnto them, as from men of courage, and deuoid of feare. Howbeit, that this action was more vaine than profitable vnto the Turkes, who for the dispence of their shot and powder gained not so much as the life of one souldier, nor one stone out of the walls of Pesth. Vpon this jolitie these same garrison souldiers of Buda shortly after thought to haue vpon the sudden surprised Palotta, a small Castle of the Christians, by night: but beeing in good time discouered, were deceiued of their hope, and with the losse of an hundred and twentie of their men enforced to retire: vnto whome *Gaspar Horwad* Captaine of the Castle, by a countrey peasant before sworne to doe the errand, sent a little pot full of salt, and a bottle of wine, willing them (in derision) with that salt to season the Venison they had taken in their late hunting, and to emptie that bottle to quench their thirst, and to cheere them vp after their late conquest.

Buda victualled.

The Turkes seeking to surprise Palotta, themselues ouerthrowne.

This jeast more prouoked these enemies, galled so to heare of their shame and losse; in such sort, that in reuenge thereof they discharged a shower of thundering great shot and small bullets vpon the garrison of Pesth, which in great abundance fell out of the cloud of their rage. But all to small purpose: for that their cannons beeing euill leuelled, ouershot the towne, carrying with their thundering bullets more feare than they did hurt: yea that worse was, the ruine made by their great batterie fell vpon their owne citie. For while they were thus thundering, fire by negligence of the cannoniers fell into one of their barrels of powder, which taking hold of another, and so running along, as if it had been by a traine of purpose layed, burst out with such force, that it ouerthrew a long peece of the wall of Buda, which in the fall thereof ouerwhelmed a great number of the souldiers neere vnto it. The noise of this thunderclap was great, and the force thereof terrible, so that it reuiued them of Pesth with some good hope, by this breach to force the place, the Turkes beeing from thence retired. Vpon which occasion the Gouernour of Pesth resolued to giue an assault vnto the place, and to make vse of the meane that Fortune, without his paine or trauell, had put into his hand. Whereupon taking with him a thousand Almaines, and three hundred Hungarians, he foorth with (in hope of good successe) marched toward the breach; and happily had preuailed, but that by the way they by chance met with a companie of Turkes, who gaue an alarme vnto them of the vpper towne, who vpon that brute of their approch manned their wals, and with great speed repaired the breach. Now all that they of Pesth could doe, was to reuenge themselues vpon these Turks whom they had met withall, who were there all slaine, except some few, whom they saued, and carried prisoners vnto Pesth, to be by them instructed of the enemies affairs.

A breach made in the walls of Buda by the negligence of a cannonier.

The Turkes by ouer-throwne.

Abou

Silistria spoiled by the Vayuod of Valachia.

A About this time *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia aduertised, that the Turkes in garrison at Silistria were gone abroad into the countrey to seeke after bootie and victuals, with his souldiers passed forthwith ouer the Riuer Danubius vpon the yce, to surprise the towne, now bared of the garrison: whose men for the desire of the riches of the place, and for feare lest the garrison souldiers should returne before they had gained the place, with redoubled force and courage so assailed the towne, that the Turkes dismayed, and deeming the number of the Christians that so furiously assayled them to bee greater than indeed it was, by reason of the greatnesse of the enterprise by them taken in hand; after some small resistance, left the way open for them to enter: who forthwith ouer the dead bodies of their B enemies thrust into the town, took the whole spoyle thereof (which was both great and rich, as being a towne well peopled) & so set fire vpon it, to the intent that it should no more serue for a place for the enemie to retire vnto. The Vayuod thus victorious and rich, returned with his souldiers laded with spoyles of their enemies, before that the Turkes could gather themselues together to hinder their retreat. And vnto *George Basta*, who was then in Transyluania in armes against the Turks, for his part of the bootie he sent him thirteene of the enemies Ensignes.

But our troups are now too long in their ambush, where the valiant *Collonitz* holdeth them close, attending the comming of the Turkes, and of their conuoy to Canisia; now wee must draw them out of their Sentinels and see what effects their designes shall bring forth. These C braue souldiers had now lyen three dayes in their ambushes without discouering of any enemie, vntill that the sixth of March three espies fell into their hands, whome the Turkes had sent forth before, to discouer what enemies were then abroad in the field. But these faithfull Infidels so taken, would not by any meanes discouer any thing hurtfull vnto their friends, or profitable for ours: So that in fine the Generall mooued with their obstinacie, commanded one of their heads to be strucke off, to terrifie the other two, and by force to draw from them that which faire entreatie and persuasion could not. The other two that were yet aliue dismayed with this spectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at last constrained to confesse, That they were the enemies spies, sent forth to view the country, to see if the Christians had any forces there, able to let their cannons and waggons to enter into Canisia: which not D appearing, and they reporting vnto their companies, that the countrey was cleare, that then within two dayes after the conuoy was to passe euen by the same place where they then lay, to be put into Canisia, setting forth from Babotz two houres before day. Our men thus informed of the enemies designes, forced their hope to defeat them, and againe retired themselues into their ambuscado's, attending for their hoped prey, in such sort, that our men in their conceits held the victorie now as good as gained; howbeit, that it was yet but in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter, was, that within two houres after the taking of these spies, the Haiduckes, layed without the principall ambuscado, and hidden in the thickets and bushes, discouered a cornet of horsemen, with fiue ensignes of the Turks, come out of Canisia, marching to meet with the conuoy, in safetie to conduct the same in- E to the towne. At which ouerture the Hungarians awaked, gaue knowledge vnto the Generall of the arriuall of the enemie, to the end he might resolue what was best in that case to be done. Which opportunitie *Collonitz* embracing, and making much of time, put his horsemen in good order, to enclose the Turkes betwixt the marish and the wood, and to cut them so enclosed in pieces. The Turks hauing discouered nothing but the marishes and the woods, held on their way, and so as men hauing their hands and feet bound, fell into the power of their enemies. For beeing come into the danger, the Christian Carabins charged them in the head of their companies as they marched, and disordered them; The Hungarians fell vpon their flankes, which they opened; and the horsemen pressed them at their backes. These poore miserable men so enclosed, not knowing against whome first to defend themselues, and seeing death vpon euerie side of them, became as beasts to bee sacrificed vnto the furie of the Christians. The small resistance that they made deserued not the name of a fight, F beeing all slaine, and hauing themselues not slaine one man; layed by heapes one vpon other, not hauing ouerthrowne so much as one of their enemies: In such sort, that of six hundred men that were there together, there were not foure of them saued. Their horsemen which

Three of the Turkes spies taken.

The Turkes by Collonitz ouerthrowne.

…ſuch danger, and ſew all the men, ſparing none but one boy and the Gentlewomen: who in the time of the conflict, when they were fast asleep, could not make their escape. Hauing in this manner ouercome the hardnesse of their enterprise, they spoyle the Campe, and vnderstanding that the Turkes were become lords of the towne, they presently returned with the spoyle, and ioyning at the ſame gate ſword in hand with the Turkes, they made way through the middest of them, and ſo escaped. Which exploit done, the Captaine commanded that the towne ſhould be ſet on fire in ſundry places, and ſo burnt vp. Which being done, they returned with the ſpoyle vnto their Campe, and ſo vnto their Prince. By reaſon of the greatneſſe of the enterprise, and the ſpeedy execution thereof, they were accounted good men at armes among them. The Turkes ſeeing the towne burning about their eares, to ſcape them ſelues from the flames, and to recouer their ſpoyle.

Buda ſpoiled by the Turkes.

Bonfinius Rer. Hung. dec. 4. lib. 8.

The Turkes beſiege the caſtle of Peſth, and are beaten from it.

The Turkes of Buda were perſuaded alſo, vnder hand, by the Hungarians, that the Prince of Tranſyluania was their friend, hoping that he would ſhortly ſend them ſuccour. They knew right well, that Vngnad was hardly beſieged, being but a ſmall and weake: and therefore they sought time, meaning to entertaine our men, till ſuccour came vpon them, and ſo to affaile them on both ſides. To which end they gaue out, and made bruit among the Hungarians, that they would haue reſigned the Port of Buda, vnder the colour whereof, they receiued into the towne a number of little waggons laden with victuals and munition, which ſhould ſerue them for that time: and for the ſuſpition of any ſuch purpoſe of theirs. With which reliefe the Turkes encouraged, gaue knowledge thereof vnto their ouerthwart neighbours in Peſth by a thouſand great ſhot, which they in thundering manner ſent ouer the Riuer vnto them, as from men of courage, and deuoid of feare. Howbeit, that this action was more vaine than profitable vnto the Turkes, who for the diſpence of their ſhot and powder gained not ſo much as the life of one ſouldier, nor one ſtone out of the walls of Peſth. Vpon this the ſame garriſon ſouldiers of Buda ſhortly after thought to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed Palotta, a ſmall Caſtle of the Chriſtians, by night: but beeing in good time diſcouered, were deceiued of their hope, and with the loſſe of an hundred and twentie of their men enforced to retire: vnto whome *Gaſpar Horuad* Captaine of the Caſtle, by a countrey peaſant before ſworne to doe the errand, ſent a little pot full of ſalt, and a bottle of wine, willing them in deriſion, with that ſalt to ſeaſon the Veniſon they had taken in their late hunting, and to empty that bottle to quench their thirſt, and to cheere them vp after their late conqueſt.

This jeaſt more prouoked theſe enemies, galled ſo to heare of their ſhame and loſſe; in ſuch ſort, that in reuenge thereof they diſcharged a ſhower of thundering great ſhot and ſmall bullets vpon the garriſon of Peſth, which in great abundance fell out of the cloud of their rage. But all to ſmall purpoſe: for that their cannons beeing euill leuelled, ouerſhot the towne, carrying with their thundering bullets more feare than they did hurt: yea that worſe was, the ruine made by their great batterie fell vpon their owne citie. For while they were thus thundering, fire by negligence of the cannoniers fell into one of their barrels of powder, which taking hold of another, and ſo running along, as if it had been by a traine of purpoſe layed, burſt out with ſuch force, that it ouerthrew a long peece of the wall of Buda, which in the fall thereof ouerwhelmed a great number of the ſouldiers neere vnto it. The noiſe of this thunderclap was great, and the force thereof terrible, ſo that it reuiued them of Peſth with ſome good hope, by this breach to force the place, the Turkes beeing from thence retired. Vpon which occaſion the Gouernour of Peſth reſolued to giue an aſſault vnto the place, and to make vſe of the meane that Fortune, without his paine or trauell, had put into his hand. Whereupon taking with him a thouſand Almaines, and three hundred Hungarians, he foorthwith (in hope of good ſucceſſe) marched toward the breach; and happily had preuailed, but that by the way they by chance met with a companie of Turkes, who gaue an alarme vnto them of the vpper towne, who vpon that brute of their approch manned their wals, and with great ſpeed repaired the breach. Now all that they of Peſth could doe, was to reuenge themſelues vpon theſe Turkes whom they had met withall, who were there all ſlaine, except ſome few, whom they ſaued, and carried priſoners vnto Peſth, to be by them inſtructed of the enemies affaires.

A breach made in the walls of Buda by the negligence of a gunner.

Aboue

Siliſtria ſpoiled by the Vayuod of Valachia.

A About this time *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia aduertiſed, that the Turkes in garriſon at Siliſtria were gone abroad into the countrey to ſeeke after bootie and victuals, with his ſouldiers paſſed forthwith ouer the Riuer Danubius vpon the yce, to ſurpriſe the towne, now bared of the garriſon: whoſe men for the deſire of the riches of the place, and for feare leſt the garriſon ſouldiers ſhould returne before they had gained the place, with redoubled force and courage ſo aſſailed the towne, that the Turkes diſmayed, and deeming the number of the Chriſtians that ſo furiouſly aſſayled them to bee greater than indeed it was, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe by them taken in hand; after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, left the way open for them to enter: who forthwith ouer the dead bodies of their B enemies thruſt into the town, took the whole ſpoyle thereof (which was both great and rich, as being a towne well peopled) & ſo ſet fire vpon it, to the intent that it ſhould no more ſerue for a place for the enemie to retire vnto. The Vayuod thus victorious and rich, returned with his ſouldiers laded with ſpoyles of their enemies, before that the Turkes could gather themſelues together to hinder their retreat. And vnto *George Baſta*, who was then in Tranſyluania in armes againſt the Turks, for his part of the bootie he ſent him thirteene of the enemies Enſignes.

But our troups are now too long in their ambuſh, where the valiant *Collonitz* holdeth them cloſe, attending the comming of the Turkes, and of their conuoy to Caniſia; now wee muſt draw them out of their Sentinels and ſee what effects their deſignes ſhall bring forth. Theſe C braue ſouldiers had now lyen three dayes in their ambuſhes without diſcouering of any enemie, vntill that the ſixth of March three eſpies fell into their hands, whome the Turkes had ſent forth before, to diſcouer what enemies were then abroad in the field. But theſe faithfull Infidels ſo taken, would not by any meanes diſcouer any thing hurtfull vnto their friends, or profitable for ours: So that in fine the Generall mooued with their obſtinacie, commanded one of their heads to be ſtrucke off, to terrifie the other two, and by force to draw from them that which faire entreatie and perſuaſion could not. The other two that were yet aliue diſmayed with this ſpectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at laſt conſtrained to confeſſe, That they were the enemies ſpies, ſent forth to view the country, to ſee if the Chriſtians had any forces there, able to let their cannons and waggons to enter into Caniſia: which not D appearing, and they reporting vnto their companies, that the countrey was cleare, that then within two dayes after the conuoy was to paſſe euen by the ſame place where they then lay, to be put into Caniſia, ſetting forth from Babotz two houres before day. Our men thus informed of the enemies deſignes, forced their hope to defeat them, and againe retired themſelues into their ambuſcado's, attending for their hoped prey, in ſuch ſort, that our men in their conceits held the victorie now as good as gained; howbeit, that it was yet but in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter, was, that within two houres after the taking of theſe ſpies, the Haiduckes, layed without the principall ambuſcado, and hidden in the thickets and buſhes, diſcouered a cornet of horſemen, with fiue enſignes of the Turks, come out of Caniſia, marching to meet with the conuoy, in ſafetie to conduct the ſame in- E to the towne. At which ouerture the Hungarians awaked, gaue knowledge vnto the Generall of the arriuall of the enemie, to the end he might reſolue what was beſt in that caſe to be done. Which opportunitie *Collonitz* embracing, and making much of time, put his horſemen in good order, to encloſe the Turkes betwixt the mariſh and the wood, and to cut them ſo encloſed in pieces. The Turks hauing diſcouered nothing but the mariſhes and the woods, held on their way, and ſo as men hauing their hands and feet bound, fell into the power of their enemies. For beeing come into the danger, the Chriſtian Carabins charged them in the head of their companies as they marched, and diſordered them; The Hungarians fell vpon their flankes, which they opened; and the horſemen preſſed them at their backes. Theſe poore miſerable men ſo encloſed, not knowing againſt whome firſt to defend themſelues, and ſeeing death vpon euerie ſide of them, became as beaſts to bee ſacrificed vnto the furie F of the Chriſtians. The ſmall reſiſtance that they made deſerued not the name of a fight, beeing all ſlaine, and hauing themſelues not ſlaine one man; layed by heapes one vpon other, not hauing ouerthrowne ſo much as one of their enemies: In ſuch ſort, that of ſix hundred men that were there together, there were not foure of them ſaued. Their horſemen which

Three of the Turkes ſpies taken.

The Turkes by Collonitz ouerthrowne.

which followeth them, seeing them surprised, in stead of relieuing them, shamefully fled, and thinking by flight to saue themselues, whilest their companions were in manifest G
perrel, their liues before their honour: For if it been a shame for souldiers in fight to flie with the safetie of their friends, it must needs be an irreparable dishonour to flie and leaue them to the slaught[illegible] Honour Carabins taking the occasion for their aduantage, no more spared their horses in [illegible] suit of these Infidels, than they had done their hands in the defeating of their fellowes: but pursuing amaine after these fugitiues, slew a number of such of them as were worst mounted, and pursued the rest euen to the gates of Canisia. Those of the towne at this tumult raised an alarme, shot off their great artillerie, and discharged many vollies of smal shot against our men, as well to stay the pursuit of our men, and to saue their owne, as to giue warning vnto them that were to bring the conuoy, that our men were in the field, ready to surprise H
them. But during this fight, three of the Turks horsemen passing well mounted, and exceeding hardie, aduentured to passe by our troups, and vpon the spurre to meet with them which were bringing of the conuoy, and to giue them warning of the ouerthrow, and that they should again returne to Babotz. Which their so braue an attempt Fortune fauoured, as not willing to frustrat the desert of so well deseruing valour. And the Turks vpon the way with the conuoy, now vpon this aduertisement returned, and retired themselues againe into the Castle from whence they came.

Babotz in vain besieged by Collonitz.

But our men aduertised of this their retreat, & as it were deceiued of the hope by them conceiued for the intercepting of the conuoy, vndertooke an exploit much more hautie, braue, & dangerous: for forthwith they made head toward Babotz, with a resolution to carry the place; I
and though they were almost sixteene miles from it, yet they resolued to goe thither, and to make themselues masters therof. And so marching cheerfully on, therein vsed such diligence, that about nine of the clocke at night they arriued at the place: whither they were no sooner come, but that they did what they might to daunt their enemies, to make their conquest the more easie. The greatnesse of the attempt it selfe serued well to that purpose, but yet the beleefe more, if they could driue into their enemies [illegible] the sufficiencie of their forces, for the performance of so great an exploit. Which caused them to sound their trumpets, to strike vp their drums, to remooue their artillerie, to ruffle with their armes, to keepe a stirre with their souldiers, and to make the noise not of a small, but of a puissant and great armie. But the Turks in number twice so many as were our men, and within a good and strong place, were not with K
such a bruit to be carried away, but standing fast vpon their guard and resolution, prepared themselues for fight, and how to receiue our men, if they should attempt to assaile them. Now whilest the alarme thus sounded, our companies aduanced themselues, repeating oftentimes the name of *Iesus*, and making themselues ready for to fight. This skirmish began with a thousand cannon shot which the Turks out of their Castle deliuered vpon the troups of the Christians, and their muskets still playing from the curtaine of their wals, so that the castle seemed as if it had been a mountaine of fire. All which terrors no whit staied the hope of our resolute footmen, who passing thwart these flaming showers, marched along the counterscarp of the ditch toward the gate of the towne, to haue broken open and forced the same. The Turkes at L
the same time were come forth out of the towne, making shew as if they would haue sallied forth vpon our men, and haue fought with them. But at the same instant that they charged the front of our footmen, they were by them so encountered and beaten backe, that hauing lost some of their men, they were glad againe to retire into the towne: where they did there endeuor to defend themselues, not daring afterward to fight without the fauor of their wals: within which it stood them vpon to haue both courage and power, being still furiously assailed by our men, who planted vpon the towne ditch, with their muskets and harquebuses so plied the Turks vpon their wals and in their holds, as that they durst not shew themselues or looke out for the showers of lead which they thundered vpon them. And assuredly, if our men had then had instruments wherwith to haue opned the gates or the wals, as wel as their muskets & harquebuses had made a breach into the resolution of the Turks, the town had vndoubtedly bin M
ours: but this designe being not before foreseene, neither intended, wanted the meanes to put it in execution; so that, for want of Petards and of scaling ladders, the place remained still the Turkes, and saued it selfe out of our hands. In fine, our men hauing beene foure houres in fight before

A before it, both doing and receiuing harme, and finding no meanto enter the place, were enforced to found a retreat, and to leaue it.

In which retreat the Christians burnt certaine villages of the enemies, rather to shew that they had beene there, than for any their valour therein: seeing that things insensible, which follow the order of their nature, are without offence, and they which hurt them without reason. This done, they of purpose retired to little Comara: for the long time that they had kept the field, the diuers exploits by them done against the enemies, and the common report of the vanquished, had stirred vp the enemies, so that they began now on euery side by heapes to flocke together, to swallow them vp, and euen now pressed vpon their retreat. So *Collonitz* in B despight of the enemie, in safetie brought backe his souldiers: and being entered into Comara, caused the heads of the principall of the slain enemies to be set vpon the pikes of the palisadoes, & vpon a great pine tree standing before the gate, which for this purpose had almost all the branches lopped off. An action learned from the cruelty of the Turks, and now done by the Christians, more to astonish and deterre them from this their cruell custome, than for any glorie or profit ensuing thereby: seeing that to tyrannize vpon a dead body, is but a signe of cowardise, and an action altogether vnprofitable.

Collonitz retireth to Comara.

This done, our men departed from this castle, as men worne, and almost spent with trauell and wearinesse, but yet more with famine. For why, they thinking to haue executed but that designe which had put them in armes, and that in so short a time also, had taken no prouision of C victuals with them: so that they were all pined with hunger, ouercome with watching, and halfe dead with labour. Their horses also in like sort languished, the countrey being alike cruell both to the one and to the other. For beside that it was vnfruitfull for such as held the field (all the fruits thereof beeing gathered together and carried into the towns by the men of warre) it was not possible for our men to forrage, or to seeke for victuall there, and to come to an happie end of their designe, for that they had raised an alarme abroad in the countrey, and so perhaps might themselues haue become a prey vnto them, whome they ought to prey vpon. Which was the cause that our souldiers had for the space of three daies eaten nothing but crabbes and acorns which they found in the woods which couered their ambushes: so that beeing now come vnto this Castle, they deuoured a world of victuals, and requested D euerie one of them to returne againe vnto their garrisons; their bodies weakened with hunger, beeing scarce able to beare their armes. But that was not all; for departing from little Comara, they were aduertised, that the Turkes shut vp the wayes whereby they were to make their retreat home; in hope easily to ouercome men alreadie with hunger brought low, and to kill the bodies which trauell alreadie had spent. Howbeit, the great courage of our men frustrated this the enemies designe, and saued themselues. But so farre off was it that this aduertisement dismaid *Collonitz*, that euen to the contrarie it the more encreased his cou- *The notable resolution of Collonitz.*
rage, as appointed for his glory: being glad to haue such an occasion offered him for the shewing of his valor, although it were through the middest of danger, death, and slaughter. So that in stead of shunning the combat, whereas it was reported, that the Turks with great assurance E marched neere vnto a Castle of the Christians, to make head vpon a passage whereby our men were to retire; hee turned head toward the same place, with a firme resolution, with true valour vpon the sudden to encounter the enemie, which had thought to haue surprised him by cowardise. And the souldiers, weakened with hunger, although they well apprehended the danger of this designe; yet resting vpon the great resolution of their Generall, and considering the necessitie they had to goe farther for their safetie, vpon a good courage were content to follow whither soeuer their Generall would: who led them directly vnto the aforesaid Castle, where it was expected that the Turkes should haue charged them. But being come thither, there was no bodie to be seene: and yet our men, as hungrie as they were, stayed there one day in ambush, expecting the comming of their enemies; who for all that, hauing no minde to meet them, appeared not, but gaue them time and libertie in safetie to F retire themselues euery man vnto his own garrison, to refresh themselues, and to recouer their strength.

But now whilest our men of Warre, after these troubles in Transyluania and Hungarie, repose themselues; let vs in the meane time take our journey to Constantinople, and goe vnto the marriage of *Hassan Bassa* one of the Visiers of the Graund Seignior, and last yeare

yeare Generall of the Turks armie in Hungarie.

At such time as he departed from this great Citie, to goe vnto the conquest of Alba-Regalis, *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperour, resolued to set all vpon the regaining of this citie, caused to be presented vnto him a Crowne and a Sword, the one in reward of his valour, if hee returned with victorie from this exploit, and the other in reuenge of his cowardise, if he failed in the performance thereof: promising him indeed his sister in marriage, amongst other the glorious rewards and trophies of his victorie: and threatning him with death, as a punishment amongst the griefes of his dishonour. But it came to passe, that by the cowardise of our men, he came vnto the effect of his desire (as is aforesaid) and tooke the citie, which promised vnto him the glorious triumph in Constantinople. And vnder the sweet influence of this Planet he returned to Constantinople, where he found all things in readinesse for the satisfying of his expectation, and the aduancement of his glory. He is magnificently receiued of his Prince, courteously saluted by all the nobilitie, and with greatest reuerence possible honoured of the people. And as he had happily discharged his charge, he found in like manner all things prepared and in readinesse for the performance of the promise of the grand Scignior his Lord and Master: who had caused them to be in most sumptuous manner prouided for the solemnizing of the marriage, and the contentment of the Bassa. But nothing now wanting that hee could haue desired or wished, more than the very solemnizing of the marriage it selfe, and that also euerie day of all men expected; the Ianizaries and Spahi, with the other souldiers of the Court, to the number of fiue and twentie thousand, euen vpon the sudden, when as no such thing was feared, came and in armes presented themselues before the Diuano, or Tribunall, holden for the chiefe administration of Iustice in the Turkes Palace, the first foure dayes in euerie weeke: and hauing set guards at the Court gates, the more safely to execute what they were before resolued vpon, proudly demanded to haue audience for certaine of the Spahi and Ianizaries, of whom they had made choice, in the names of them all to deliuer vnto the great Bassaes their grieuances, and the causes of their assemblie. Who as soone as they were entered into the Diuano before the Bassaes (of whom the most couragious of them was not without feare, as looking for nothing but for present death) they at the first demanded to haue *Hassan Bassa* deliuered vnto them: Who thinking that his head should haue serued for a sacrifice to pacifie this their furie; as a man altogether dismayed, wan and pale, passed through this mutinous multitude, to haue gone vnto the great Sultan, protesting of his owne innocencie, and calling vpon his Prophet *Mahomet*, to discouer vnto them the truth of all things. But they, after a thousand iniuries and reproaches by them heaped vpon him, rudely demanded of him, whence it proceeded that whilest hee with a great part of the forces of the Empire was busied in Hungarie, for the recouering of Alba-Regalis, there was in the meane time no good order taken for the repressing of the Rebell in Asia; who by sufferance was (as they said) now growne so proud, as with Ensignes displayed to come within three or foure dayes iourney of Constantinople, the Imperiall seat of the *Othoman* Emperors. Whereunto hee in no small feare answered, That he for his part had done his duetie, as well while hee had the charge of the armie in Asia, as now of late whilest hee had the like charge against the Christians in Hungarie, as euen the enemies themselues could witnesse. But seeing himselfe euen readie to die, hee yet requested them, That his guiltlesse death might bee vnto the State in general profitable: and in discharging of his conscience, to declare vnto them the causes of this contempt and neglect, for the suppressing of the Asian Rebell, which they were so desirous to know. It proceedeth (said hee) onely from the euill gouernement of the Grand Sultans mother (who then all commanded) and from the negligent carelesnesse of the Capi-Aga. Which his speech although they with much impatience and storming gaue eare vnto, yet hearing him so well to excuse himselfe, and to lay the blame there where they were well content it should rest; they gaue him leaue to goe to the great Sultan, to request him that they might speake with him; and further to deale with him, that they might haue the head of them who had beene the cause of this dishonorable seruice, or otherwise cowardly behaued themselues in the managing of the warres against the rebels in Asia: Threatning him withall, That if hee failed to performe this his charge, hee should not faile to feele the heauie effects of their iust furie. An heauie charge, yet glad was the Bassa to vndergoe the same, to rid himselfe out of their hands, where hee saw himselfe in greater danger, amongst them,

Hassan Bassa after the winning of Alba Regalis honorably receiued at Constantinople

The Spahi and Ianizaries in mutiny, demād audience of the great Bassaes.

Hassan Bassa in great feare of his life.

them, most of whom had sometimes serued vnder him, than amongst so many his most mortall enemies: but what remedie? he must now so do or die therefore; for which he was the more to be excused. So in great feare comming vnto the great Sultan, almost as fearefull as himselfe, he shewed vnto him the great danger like euen presently to ensue, by the mutinie of his best souldiours, and guarders of his person: persuading him, betime to appease their fury, before they had embrued themselues with bloud; for feare of further danger like enough to ensue, as well vnto his owne person, as vnto the rest of his most faithfull and trustie Counsellors, from such furious headstrong men, vp in tumult with their armes in their hands. And although that a Prince ought not for the greatnesse of his Estate to do any thing as thereunto forced by his subiects, lest in so doing he might breed in them a contempt of himselfe, and increase their insolencie; that yet neuertheless in this action, being altogether extraordinarie, he was not to rest vpon that point: for that these mutinous souldiers turned not their weapons (as they pretended) against his Imperial power and soueraigntie, but rather to the contrarie, against the contemners thereof, seeking to be reuenged vpon them that had done him such euill seruice for the maintenance of his Honour and Majestie, and for the punishment of the insolent and disloyall. And that therefore the justice of the cause requiting and couering the malice of the fact, he was of opinion, That it were best for him to yeeld a little vnto the zeale of these his best souldiers, and to satisfie their just desire, although they had by verie euill and vnlawfull meanes sought for the same. And therefore aduised his Majestie, in some sort to satisfie the just complaints of these men, armed for the reuenge of his honour: and to chastise the chiefe Commanders of his Asian Forces, such as by whose treacherie or cowardise his seruice being neglected, had armed these men against them: with the same hand punishing such as had wronged his Majestie in honour, and appeasing the discontented for the good of his seruice. *Mahomet* thus by the Bassa persuaded, as also to shew himselfe in his Majestie vnto these his discontented Subiects, one part of their desire; the necessitie of the cause so requiring, in his Imperial seat presented himselfe vnto them, accompanied with the Mufti (the great Mahometan Priest) and some few others of the reuerend Doctors of their Law: who by the Sultan commanded to sit downe, and the Bassa's standing vp (so great the respect is to men of that sort, euen in a barbarous Nation of so small respect) the chiefe of the seditious stepping forth, demanded leaue to speake both for himselfe and the rest. Which being granted, he boldly thus began;

Hassan Bassa perswadeth the Great Sultan to giue way vnto the Ianizaries, and to grant their request.

Most happie and mightie Emperour, we the Spahies and Ianizaries thy obedient Slaues, full of griefe and discontentment to see a great part of thine Empire in danger to be lost; desire to know of thee the cause why thy Greatnesse doth not remedie it, and employ the meanes which God hath giuen thee. They suppose that the Rebels courses in Asia are vnto thee vnknowne, seeing they haue beene so hardie as to come in Armes so neere vnto thy Imperial Citie, the place of thine abode, and that without any let or resistance. They desire to know if all this haue beene made knowne vnto thee, and whether thou wilt take vpon thy selfe the care of the gouernment of thy great Monarchie, or no; which through the negligent carelesnesse and euill gouernment of some by thee put in trust, is like vnto a bodie with great and well proportioned members, but of little or no strength or power. Or else, that thou void of care, canst be content that all should be dismembred, and so euery man to take vnto himselfe what he can lay hand of, as the rebels do in Asia.

The grand and rude speech of one of the Ianizaries vnto Mahomet the Great Sultan.

Now let no man maruell at this presumptuous rude speech of a proud Ianizarie vnto his soueraigne: for why, they are the men which may most boldly speake in Turky, they are the stay of the Turks Empire, the great Sultans children acknowledging no other father but them: nay rather the Great Turke himselfe is their creature, for they raile him vp and confirme him in the Empire: they are his greatest strength, and vnto them he is most beholden. If *Mahomet* were with so insolent a speech much moued, he was not iustly to be therefore blamed: howbeit being beset with such a furious multitude with weapons in their hands, and hauing no means to withstand their fury, he wisely dissembled his inward choler, and with a faire countenance and a majestie full of mildenesse, with the best and calmest words he could deuise, sought to appease them: imputing the disorder and euill successe of his affaires vnto the vnfaithfulnesse of his ministers, and the concealing of the truth thereof from him. Saying moreouer-

Mahomet by the perswasion of Hassan Bassa sheweth himselfe to the mutinous souldiours of the Court.

Sultan Mahomet with milde words seeketh to appease the mutinous souldiours of the Court.

ouer, That before this their complaint he had resolued to reforme these matters, and to take from them all occasions of discontentment, or for them to vse any such speech as was not beseeming them; whose obedience and respect of loyal dutie vnto him their Soueraigne, should haue beene an example vnto the rest of his subiects. Vpon which speech, they fiercely demanded of [illegible] Bassa, Why he had not giuen an account vnto his Majestie, of the Rebels proceedi[illegible] Who answered, That he had neuer failed of his dutie therein, but that he had beene alwayes hindered so to do by the Capi-Aga; saying, That it was not needfull to trouble him their Soueraigne therewith, (hauing committed these matters to others) but to reforme and amend them as well as they might otherwise, without giuing of him any such distaste concerning these matters. And further, That the cause of all these disorders proceeded from the Empresse his mother, the Capi-Aga, and some few others, vnto whom he had commended the mannaging of those his affaires. With which his answer the Mutiners more mooued, furiously said, That they were thither assembled to demand the heads of such offendors; being resolued to take another course, if he should refuse to grant it them: [meaning thereby to make a new Emperour.] Whereunto for all that, the great Sultan answered, That it was no reason, neither that hee would for their humours put such as they demaunded innocently to death; but willed them to rest themselues contented, vntill it might by order of justice be tried whether they had deserued death or no, and that then he would giue them euen his owne sonne, if he were found culpable. But the mutiners constant in their resolution, againe replied, That he had not by justice put his brethren to death, but for the preseruation of the State: and that those whom they so demanded were so guilty of that wherewith they were charged, as that they deserued not to haue an orderly trial: That the lawes, how just soeuer, should be vnprofitable, and justice iniurie, if they were not by them to be punished; and that therefore it must needs be so, or els that they would take therein a course themselues. As for the Empresse his mother, they were contented that she should be confined vnto some place farther off, and no more to meddle in matters of State. A strange thing it was, to see so great a Prince so to be forced by the sedition and mutinie of his [illegible], to deliuer so great an officer of his Court as was the Capi-Aga, with such others as they required, to be vsed at their discretion. But the violent resolution of these most insolent men so vp in mutinie, made the Sultan *Mahomet* wisely to yeeld to what they demanded, causing the Capi-Aga and the others to be brought forth; who presented themselues vnto their furie as men alreadie halfe dead. *Mahomet* did what he might to haue saued them, but the mutiners with a great and dreadfull clamour still cried out to haue them dispatched: neither could they be appeased vntil they saw their heads strucke from their bodies. For [illegible] losse of whom so deere vnto him, *Mahomet* inwardly grieued; to be in some part reuenged commanded the executioner to proceed, and to do vnto some other of the chiefe Bassa's (whom he knew to be much beloued and respected of the Ianizaries, and whom he could haue been content to haue been rid of) as hee had done vnto the Capi-Aga and the rest: but then the murmuring and mutinie of the Ianizaries was in such sort increased, and as it were redoubled, as that *Mahomet* was for feare forced with patience to temper his choler, and by giuing way so to appease them. The Empresse the Sultans mother for all that was not then confined, but reserued to the further troubling of the State.

Hassan Bassa excuseth himselfe, and layeth the fault vpon the Empresse Mahomet his mother and the Capi-Aga.

The Capi-Aga with some others executed.

Mahomet glad to giue way vnto his mutinous souldiors.

Other cruelties of Sultan Mahomet.

With like tyrannie, and no lesse injustice, *Mahomet* but a few dayes before had caused *Capin* one of his great Bassa's to be beheaded; but whether it were for the desire he had of his wealth and riches, or for the enuy of his honor and valor, was vncertaine: howbeit the former cause seemed vnto many to be the more probable, for that *Mahomet* immediatly after his death tooke the whole spoile of his wealth, and seised vpon all his goods except 400000 duckets, which *Caly Bassa* father of the dead Bassa had detained for himselfe. Which his purloyning *Mahomet* hauing discouered (as the eye of the couetous man is alwayes fixed vpon his prey) demanded one day of the Bassa, If it were true that he had retained vnto himself those 400000 duckets. Which fact the Bassa, partly for feare, and partly for couetousnesse constantly denied, and swore himself to be guiltlesse from any such crime. Whereupon he was forthwith taken, and thinking by lying to haue saued his life, was for [illegible]th put to death, without any further examination of the matter, hauing his head strucke off. Such is the small assurance euen of the greatest that liue in tyrants courts. Neither rested his greedie minde so contented with the

the Bassaes bloud, for why, that serued but for a shew; it was his wealth must worke that cure, which was all forthwith seised vpon, rifled, and carried away to satisfie in effect the greedy appetite of the hungrie tyrant, who changed the dowrie and succession of the wife and children of the dead Bassa, into bonds, chaines, prisons, and slaueries.

Mahomet another Bassa with these cruelties dismaied, and perceiuing the like euill hap and danger to hang ouer his owne head, that had ouerwhelmed *Calil* and his sonne; resolued to haue prouided for himselfe against this mischiefe, by flying vnto the rebels in Asia. But this his purpose discouered by certaine spies (which serue as means to open a way vnto the Turks crueltie) and he with one of the chiefe followers of *Capin Bassa* taken by the Ianizaries, were both by them cut in pieces.

Mahomet Bassa by the Ianizaries slaine.

But whilest these things thus passed at Constantinople, the rebels with all diligence prosecuted their rebellion in Asia, and bent their forces against the great townes there. Their army was exceeding great, euery man ioyning himselfe vnto the first forces which were in good estate, being not as yet by any greater power represt, and rich with the spoiles that they had taken. These men had besieged Angore a great and strong towne in Asia, and seemed resolutely set downe for the carrying thereof. Whereof the citizens being afraid, and out of hope of relieue, came to parly, offering vnto them a sum of money to redeeme themselues and their citie: and so in fine agreed to giue them 200000 Duckats; vpon the readie payment whereof, the rebels without more adoe presently departed.

The successe of the rebels in Asia.

Shortly after, the new Captaines of Sultan *Mahomet* arriued there also, whom he had placed in the places of them whom he had before executed for the appeasing of the souldiers of the court, who would needs make it treason, and put to death the citizens, for hauing giuen such money as is aforesaid, vnto the rebels, though it were done for the preseruation of their liues: as if the lawes were to be respected in the horrours of necessitie, or that life were to become a slaue vnto riches, and riches not made for the vse of mans life. Well, needs they would for this supposed treason (as they pretended) haue put them to death, and sacked their citie; but indeed all was in their greedie furie to haue carried away that which the rebels had in their mercie left them. These poore citizens with this so cruell a resolution dismayed, and out of all hope of finding fauour at such mercilesse mens hands, resolued now to hazard all, and so vpon the sudden taking vp armes, stood vpon their owne defence. Hereupon arose a great and cruell fight betwixt these souldiers and the citizens, both the subiects of one Prince, and all of them of one and the selfesame superstition: but the one side armed with pride and couetousnesse, and the other with necessitie and despaire: howbeit at last the iuster cause preuailing, the citizens ouercame these new come souldiers, and hauing slaine a great number of them, chased the rest out of the citie. This euill encounter of these new Captaines euen at the first enterance into their charges, giuen them by the subiects themselues, encreased the rebels courage, so that they being in number fortie thousand, vnder the leading of one of the Tartar Han his brethren, besieged Burze a great and rich Citie, being the store-house for the warlike prouisions of Asia, and the place whereunto the Turkes customes, taxes, and subsidies of Asia were brought, and there kept. These men after certaine dayes bestowed in the siege, and great resistance made by the besieged, at length by force carried the place, slew the inhabitants, and sacked the citie. Which exploit gracing their fortune with honour and booty, increased also their power and reputation, so that redoubled on all sides, and increased with courage and spoyles, *Mahomet* dismaied, resolued by faire meanes to appease them, and to entreat with them of peace. This good fortune had drawne vnto their part the Gouernor of Babylon, either wearie of the seruice of the Turke, or desirous by the ruine of the State in generall, to increase his owne power: whose reuolt greatly increased the rebels power, and diminished the grand Seigniors. Beside these mishaps also, the great Shaugh of Persia (commonly called the Sophi) thrusting himselfe into these disorders, to make his gaine, and to fish (as they say) in a troubled water, had now taken Gorbery, a strong town vpon the borders of the Turks empire, and was making himselfe ready for new conquests. All which tempests arising as it were in one together, caused *Mahomet* to strike saile, and maugre his Imperiall dignity and honor, to seek for peace; which indeed could not be great in such weakenesse of his nature, neither braue in such his great want of courage. For great dignities and honors without valor to maintaine them, are but like rich garments which couer bodies almost rotten, but heale them not.

The Turkes together by the eares among themselues.

Mahomet

Mahomet desirous to come to some good agreement with his rebellious subiects, at length (but not without his great dishonour) obtained the same; granting to them all their demands, disarming them by yeelding vnto them, and not by valour: and giuing vnto *Zellalie* one of their chiefetaines, the honourable place of the Bassa of Bosna, to content his ambition, and to binde him therewith to doe his seruice. The readie way by sufferance to encrease the disloyall subiects courage, instead of stopping their furie by the seueritie of Iustice: for to grace a rebell with offices of authoritie, is but to arme him with lawfull power, for him the better to vndertake whatsoeuer shall best fit his appetite and desire, vpon the hope of his owne priuat and certaine profit or aduancement.

The captaines and souldiers murmure against their Sultan Mahomet.

Mahomet his other captains and men of war, seeing this dishonorable peace of their Prince, and preferment of the rebels, honored with honors and dignities, in stead of paines and punishments which they should of right haue for their rebellion indured; began to enter into great murmuring and discontentment against their great Sultan. They considered his vniust dealing and bate feare, in aduancing the rebels vnto such honors and dignities, as of right belonged vnto his most faithful and loyall officers and seruants, by such their vnworthie preferments making them slaues vnto his enemies, and vassals vnto the rebels: they, to their dishonour and losse, by their insolencie and treacherie, inioying the honours and preferments of right due vnto their faithfull and loyall seruices. Which dangerous persuasions transported them so far from their allegeance and dutie, as to vndertake a greater and more perillous matter against his crowne and dignitie, than had the rebels before by taking vp of armes in the field against him, whereunto the assured knowledge they had of his cowardise encouraged them also: so that their resolution was to thrust him out of his Imperiall State, and to set vp his eldest son called also *Mahomet* in his place. These are the ordinarie effects of iniustice and cowardise, the ouerthrow of Princes; their iniustice through crueltie arming all creatures against them; and their cowardise through contempt disperseth with euery man for his dutie: so that hee must bee iust, that will keepe his subiects in order; and valiant, that must hold them in awe.

Mahomet in danger to haue beene deposed from his empire and his eldest son set vp in his place.

Vnto these discontentments these mutiners ioyned also (as I said) the slothfulnesse, effeminatnesse, and insufficiency of *Mahomet*, vnfit to deale in matters of estate, and altogether vnable to manage armes. He was too cowardly, as they thought, to represse their valor by force, and too weake to crosse their designes by wisedome: which not a little encouraged them in that their so desperat and dangerous a resolution. They drew also into this their plot the Sultanesse *Mahomets* his chiefe wife, and mother to the yong Prince: who blinded with ambition (the bane of great spirits) had not the hap to reiect their persuasions, as dangerous vnto her and her son, but shutting her eies against the due consideration of loyaltie and duty, cast both her selfe and her sonne headlong into the midst of most desperat dangers.

This proiect (of no lesse importance, than of the deposing of one of the greatest Monarchs of the World) resolued vpon, some of these men, according to the manner of the Turkes, ioyning superstition vnto their designes, consulted with an Astrologer, concerning the successe of the actions of the young Prince, whome they were about to enstall in his fathers Imperiall throne. This man to be excused in his trumperies, seeing that to deceiue is the chiefe point of his art, erected the figure of the Princes natiuitie, consulted with his spirits, considered the celestial bodies, and in fine arriued at the point of his iudgement, for the good and welfare of the Prince: and thereupon dispatched an Eunuch towards the Sultanesse, with these pleasing speeches, That she should be of good courage, and in assured hope that the young Prince her sonne within a few daies should haue the Imperiall crowne set vpon his head, and the royall scepter put into his hand: his art (as he said) promising vnto him these honours, by the fauor of the cœlestiall bodies, of whome he had learned these newes; and by the conference with spirits, from whom hee had this assurance. But ô the vaine and foolish knowledge of man against God! attributing vnto the second causes, that which altogether belongeth vnto his owne power; robbing him of his owne prouidence, which extendeth ouer all, to giue the same vnto creatures, which neither haue their owne being, neither are able of themselues to bring forth, or to worke any effects at all without it! and that more is, to giue certaine credit vnto the enemie of all faith and beliefe, euen to the Father of leasing, who taketh as much glorie in falshood, as God himselfe doth in truth; as being the proper marke of his power. For it chanced

ced that these letters sent by the Eunuch to the Sultanesse, were intercepted & brought vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan, whom they most concerned: whereupon it so fel out, that he which tooke vpon him to foretell the long life and empire to befall to another man, could not foresee the end of his own life, which followed him fast, euen at the heeles, being himselfe by the commaundement of the great Sultan, with the young prince, the Eunuch, and fiftie others of the conspirators, & such as were consenting vnto the conspiracie, most cruelly strangled, and the Sultanesse her selfe drowned. Howbeit some report this yong Prince to haue bin strangled vpon suspicion of conspiring against his father, with the rebels of ASIA: which after his death being found not to be so, the Bassa which put that suspicion into *Mahomets* head, to haue bin therefore worthily hanged. But with these contentments taken from the crosses of our enemies, let vs againe returne vnto HVNGARIE.

Mahomet causeth his eldest sonne, with diuers others to be strangled.

The last yeare ended with the great bruit of the comming of the Tartar Han, with a great army into HVNGARIE, and now he had dispatched his Embassadors towards the king of POLONIA, to demand of him tribute, and passage through his countrie. Great and proud demands to be both at once required. But the King of POLONIA requited him againe with the like, denying him both the one and the other, roughly answering of his threats. Which so resolute and blunt a refusall, caused the proud tyrant to change his intended course, & for feare of being defeated by the Polonians in passing through their countrie, (as the Tartars had often beene) before he could come into HVNGARIE, tooke another way, and turned with his Armie toward VALACHIA. Of whose comming *Radul* the Vayuod vnderstanding, and that beside the forraging of his countrie, they had a purpose to displace him, & to set vp another Vayuod in his stead; with great diligence gathered together the greatest power that he could, and so marched vnto the borders of his country, there to attend the comming of these Tartars, and to stay them from entring. Which in effect fell out according to his desire, for the barbarous people beeing arriued, and attempting with all their force to haue entred, were by this little armie encountred; which commanding the countrey, tooke all the aduantages of the strait passages, and there notably repulsed the fierce enemie. Two of the first encounters fel out fortunately vnto the Valachians, who therein slew about 3000 of the Tartars; whose auantgard for all that still came on, and at the third encounter so long maintained the fight, that their whole Armie was now come in, and hardly charged the Valachians; whose fortune surcharged, began then to change, the hardie beeing constrained to bow vnder the multitude, & valor forced to yeeld vnto number. Which was not done without a long and cruel fight, both armies encountring with great courage and furie, the one for the defence of their countrie, and the other for an entrance vnto their conquests. Howbeit the strong enemie at length preuailed, and entring into VALACHIA, brought in with it ruine, death, and destruction.

The Polonian denieth the Tartars passage through his countrie, vnto Hungarie.

Diuers hard cõflicts betwixt the Tartars & the Valachies in their passage through Valachia.

The Tartars hauing by force thus opened themselues a way through VALACHIA, and grieuously spoyled the countrie, were come with their armie to QVINQVE ECCLESIÆ, a towne in HVNGARIE, to ioyne their forces with *Hassan Bassa*, now after his marriage returned into this countrey with a great armie to continue his charge: who caused the Tartars to bee mustred in his presence, and found them to be fortie thousand strong. Men of great courage against the weake, but meere cowards before the couragious: who in stead of assaulting the walls of any strong towne, fell vpon the cottages of poore countrey villages, ransacking and pilling the poore inhabitants, as well in the villages of the territories subiect vnto the Turks, as in the territories of the Christians; constraining the poore people, contrarie to their conscience, and to the preiudice of their faith, to sweare to serue the Turke: Besides that, they enforced them to furnish them with all warlike prouision and munition, which they put into CANISIA, but a while after that our men had defeated the Garrison there. Neither were they so contented, all the neighbours beeing thereabouts subiect to this tempest: for they passed into STIRIA with their families, and ouerran a part of that Prouince, spoyling it of men, cattell, & goods; leauing in stead of them, destruction, miserie, and death; and carried away with them two thousand poore Christians for slaues, whom they sold vnto the Turks, and made great profit of them. From thence they went into the Countrey of SHAVARIE, and embruing themselues with the bloud of the Christians, rifling their Villages, and after that burning them; carrying away with them a thousand Christian captiues into most miserable bon-

The Tartars in Hungarie.

Great spoyle made by the Tartars in Hungarie, Stiria, & Shauarie.

Collonitz oppoſeth his forces againſt the Tartars.

bondage and ſlauerie. Which cruell outrages afterward thruſt the valiant Colonell *Collonitz* into the field, againſt theſe barbarous people, to ſtay their incurſions, and to defeat them if he could. G

This worthie Commander had but a few dayes before been much troubled in appeaſing the Frenchmen and Wallons in garriſon in the villages about ROQVESBVRG, riſen vp in mutinie for their pay: whoſe hot and moued ſpirits he by his wiſedome ſo calmed, as that they were content againe to be ſworne to the Emperor, and ſo idyned themſelues vnto the armie of *Collonitz*, which was then 10000 good men ſtrong.

In the meane time, the Tartars greedie of prey, and ſtill ſeeking after bootie, ranſacke and ſpoyled fiue and twentie country villages about VERADEN; all which they afterward burned alſo, carrying away with them a great bootie both of men and cattell, no man reſiſting them: At which time other companies of them alſo inuading the Countie *Serin* his Iſland as farre as RACKENSPVRG, made in it great ſpoyle, as had their fellowes elſewhere, and beſide other bootie, carried away with them two thouſand Chriſtian Captiues. Theſe outrages of the Tartars armed the Countie on the one ſide, and *Collonitz* on the other; who couragiouſly oppoſing themſelues againſt theſe Barbarians, for a time ſtayed their incurſions, they not daring to abide the force of this little Armie, ſufficient enough for the valour thereof, to haue ouerthrowne that of their enemies, for number dreadfull. This made them to turne their courſe another way into SCLAVONIA, being in number fiue and thirtie thouſand men, leauing nothing behind them there but death and deſolation, for the number of priſoners and great booties which they carried from thence. Amongſt other their ſpoyles, it was their fortune by the way to meet with ſixe hundred of the Chriſtian ſouldiers, of whome not one eſcaped their hands, but were ſlaine euery mothers ſonne. At length it ſo fortuned, that certaine of their Troupes in roaming abroad, fell into the danger of the Countie *Serin*, who with his Followers ſtill houered aloofe off for feare to bee of their great multitude ouerwhelmed: a part whereof now falling into his hands, were by his ſoldiers ouerthrowne and all cut in pieces, and a number of Chriſtian Captiues by them taken, deliuered out of chaines, and ſet at libertie. Which exployt was greater for the feare it brought vpon the Enemie, than for the ſlaughter there made. For the Tartars, ſtill in doubt to meet againe with the Chriſtian Troupes (who left not one of them aliue that they could light on) were glad now to keepe themſelues cloſer together, and ſo did a great deale the leſſe harme than when they without feare roamed vp and downe at their pleaſure: ſo that euen by this little victorie the Countrey receiued ſome comfort, and the Earle greater honour; Small helpes beeing infinite Treaſures in time of neceſſitie, which out of it would not bee to bee reckoned of. H I K

The Tartars repreſſed by countie Serin.

The Garriſon Souldiers of CANISIA, of late defeated by *Collonitz* in going to meet the Conuoy comming toward them with victuals (as is before declared) the reſt of the Garriſon deſirous to be reuenged, were conſulting of the meanes how to bring the ſame to paſſe. It fortuned that at the ſame time there was a fugitiue Chriſtian Soldier in the towne, who made ſhew of a man male-content, deſirous to turne Turke: of whom the Turks made much reckoning, for that he ſeemed to know much of the deſignes of the Chriſtians, and the meanes how to croſſe them: Whereof hee ſo aſſured them, as if the matter had been now alreadie done; promiſing to bring them euen into the middeſt of the Chriſtian Campe, and to deliuer it into their hands and power. Howbeit his meaning was nothing leſſe; for ſeeing the Turkes much buſied with carrying in of victualls into the Caſtle, brought into the Towne after the ouerthrow of their Fellowes before ſent forth for the bringing in thereof, and wholly intentiue to that buſineſſe; knowing the place in the Caſtle where the powder and munition lay, hee at the ſame time by a traine layd fire thereunto, and afterward, amiddeſt the tumult and the ſturre, by a loope hole in the wall, got himſelfe out of the Towne, and came to *Collonitz*, who with his Troupes lay neere there by in ambuſh, expecting the opportunitie to performe ſome notable exployt vpon the ſucceſſe of ſo dangerous an aduenture, whereunto hee had before been made priuie. Neither fayled the fire any thing of the accuſtomed violence thereof, but ſeemed rather to redouble the ſame, it had ſo ſuddenly conſumed the Buildings, Munitions, and perſons. All the place felt the furie thereof; the Cannons, Cannoniers, Souldiers, and whatſoeuer elſe, was ſubiect vnto L M

A notable exployt done by a fugitiue Chriſtian.

A vnto this dreadfull blaſt: all was ſhaken and turned vpſide downe, yea the fire burſt out of the caſtle, and burnt the greateſt part of the towne alſo. There was a confuſion of feare, miſhap, and miſerie together, the terror whereof cauſed many of the Turkes to caſt themſelues ouer the walls, in hope ſo to haue ſaued their liues: but whileſt they thought ſo to haue eſcaped the danger of the fire, they preſently fell vpon the edge of the ſword: for meeting with the ſouldiers of *Collonitz* (who lying in ambuſh neere thereby, awaited the opportunitie in that ſo confuſed a tumult, to haue ſeiſed vpon the place) they were all either taken priſoners, or ſlaine. But ſee the hap, how one croſſe chance of fortune ouerthrew this ſo notable a deſigne, as had it beene well followed, might in one moment haue recouered that ſtrong place, which had before for the ſpace of many dayes endured the greateſt forces of the *Othoman* Emperour; neither yet was then ſo loſt, but through the infamous treacherie of our owne men. B

You haue heard before, how that *Collonitz* had by faire perſuaſions, rather than by true effects, appeaſed the French men and Wallons, vp in mutinie for their pay; ſo that by him perſuaded, they had againe giuen their oath of fidelitie vnto the Emperour, and to follow his Armie. But now when Occaſion ſerued, and held out as it were both her armes vnto the Chriſtians, for the regaining and conqueſt of CANISIA, theſe French men and Wallons, the greateſt part of *Collonitz* his ſtrength, iniuriouſly refuſed her ſo faire an offer; and at ſuch time as they ſhould rather haue fought naked, than haue failed in their dutie, (it beeing to haue gained a moſt great and rich conqueſt) for want of pay (as they pretended) turned their backes, and being by no intreatie or perſuaſions to bee mooued, to the diſcouragement of the reſt, who were better minded, and their owne eternall infamie, withdrew themſelues from the Armie. So that *Collonitz* rather by the wicked vnfaithfulneſſe of his owne diſloyall ſouldiers, than by the valour of his enemies, diſappoynted of his purpoſe, was to his great diſcontentment, contrarie to that he hoped, enforced to retyre without any thing more doing. C

A faire opportunitie for the recouerie of Canſia, ouerſlipped through the diſloyalty of the French & Wallons.

While this exployt, ſo well begun, but euill performed, was in hand, the Turkes and Tartars aſſembled together, made a cruell ſpoyle in the country about RAB, euen almoſt vnto the Gates of the Towne, carrying away with them a great number both of men and beaſts. In fine, it chanced that the Huſſars of the Lord *Nadaſti* came that way, who vnderſtanding what had happened, with all ſpeed made after theſe Robbers, ouertooke them in their retreat neere vnto ALBA REGALIS, ſlew a great number of them, and inforced the reſt to leaue a great part of their prey behind them. With which bootie recouered euen out of the Lyons mouth, they returned to RAB; of whom the poore inhabitants and country people, with teares ſtanding in their eyes, requeſted to haue againe their own goods. But War, the enemie of Charitie, and nurſe of barbarous Crueltie, had ſo hardned the hearts of theſe men of Warre, as that they were not to bee mooued to reſtore them their Cattell againe, but that they muſt redeeme them for preſent money, which they did, and ſo receiued them. D

The Tartars defeated by the Huſſars of the Lord Nadaſti.

Now the noble *Collonitz* ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſhamefully forſaken of his owne Souldiers, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, and the Turkes and Tartars in great numbers comming to the reliefe and repairing of this ſo ſore ſhaken towne; and out of hope to do any good thereon, full of griefe and indignation returned towards COMORA. And howbeit that euill happe had cruelly fruſtrated the glorie of his enterpriſe, yet the Heauens, in deſpight of Fortunes frowne, left not this noble and valiant Captaine altogether without honour, but as amorous of his vertues and valour, preſented vnto him in this Winter of Fortunes diſpleaſure, ſome trophies of glorie. For vpon the way as he was returning home he met with 2000 Turkes, whom after ſome ſmall reſiſtance he cut all in pieces; miſerable ſacrifices, appointed vnto the furie of his wrath. In this fight their enſignes were all taken, and a number of priſoners, the chief of whom, together with the Enſignes, he ſent to PRAGVE, as a Preſent for the Emperour, and a token of his good ſeruice. E F

2000 Turks defeated by Collonitz.

The report then was, That the Turkes and Tartars with their vnited forces had forraged SCLAVONIA, taken diuers ſtrong holds, burnt a number of villages, and carried away eight thouſand Chriſtians priſoners, beſide a great number moe ſlaine with the ſword, or conſumed

med with fire, and all the Cattell of the Country driuen away: and that being with this booty come to QVINQVE ECCLESIÆ, they had there receiued command with *Mahomet Bassa*, to besiege COMORA, and that all the Commanders of the Turkes Armie were thereupon resolued. All which reports no whit dismayed the valiant *Collonitz*, or any thing altred his designes; but hauing fortified COMORA against the intended siege of the Turkes, and taken from thence foure culuerins, according to a former purpose by himselfe intended, resolued now to take from the Turkes the castles of LOQVA and BOVLONNEVAR, the garrisons wherof greatly annoyed the territories of the Christians, and hindred the designes of this great Captaine. These two Castles are scituate vpon a great marish which seperateth HVNGARIE from RASCIA, and are therefore as bounders of Hungarie, and strong enough to be defended against a small armie.

The castle of Loqua besieged by Collonitz.

Vpon which resolution he set forward with his small and valiant power, and the fourth day arriued within the sight of LOQVA, a Castle well manned, and furnished with all things necessarie for the defence thereof. The army lodged, *Collonitz* with a drum summoned the besieged to yeeld vp the place, with promises of curtesie if they should now accept of the same whilest it was offred them: Which they stoutly refused to doe, swearing to the contrary, That they would die and liue within those their walls. *Collonitz* seeing them so resolued, first caused a Mill to be assaulted, which placed ouer against the castle, and well fortified, serued it in stead of a bulwarke, and seemed hard to be taken: howbeit his men, loath to haue their good fortune euen in the beginning checked, gaue thereunto so braue an assault, that after the enemie had done what he could for the defence thereof, they became masters of the place, carried it, and therein lodged: but finding it dangerous to bee kept, and to stand them in small stead, they set it on fire, and afterward planted foure Culuerins in batterie before the Castle. But as they were thus busied, the Turkes couragiously sallied out vpon them, not doubting to aduenture themselues, for the hope they had to bee in short time by their great Armie relieued. In this sallie they met afront with the Haiduckes, whom they fiercely charged, and so gauled them, that hauing slaine thirtie of them, they retyred without any losse; forthwith discharging so many thundring shot and arrowes vpon our men, as that they well knew not how to saue themselues from the danger of them, in such sort, that all the ways to approch the place being stopped, they began to deuise how to set the castle on fire: Which they by certaine fire-works attempted, but to final purpose, the fire being no sooner kindled, but that it was forthwith by the Turkes quenched. This done, and our men disappointed of their hope, they deuised to set fire vpon the timber which ioyned the palisado to the Castle stretching toward the port. Which their attempt sorted but to small effect also, the fire burning but slowly to do the enemies any great harme. All which deuices failing, they resolued by plaine force to assault the Castle, and to scale the same: which enterprise resolued vpon, the Haiduckes carrying before them certaine strong and thicke plankes of wood, in stead of targuets, to defend them from the small shot and arrowes of their enemies; by this deuice gained the palisado placed vpon the ditch: and being there in some safetie, with their muskets and harquebusies so applied the besieged, that they draue them from their curtaines, and made that they durst no more shew themselues vpon the walls. And immediately after, two companies of the Haiduckes placed ten ladders against one of the towers of the Castle, and so with their Ensignes in their hands couragiously mounted the ladders, in hope to haue gained the place: but the Turkes as men resolued to liue and die in their castle, valiantly repulsed those Haiduckes, and by force drew in vnto them from off the ladders, the two Ensigne-bearers of the Haiduckes, whose heads they cut off, and cast them downe vnto their fellows, which were yet comming vp the ladders; and the two Ensignes so gained vpon the wals, they placed in the middest of their owne, as the trophies of the spoyles of them who would haue spoyled them. With which so great courage of the enemies, and death of their fellowes, our men not a little dismayed, kept themselues close at the foot of the wall; as afraid any further to force the place, which to their losse they saw stored with such valiant men to defend it.

Notable resistance made by the besieged Turkes.

Collonitz perceiuing this discomfiture of these men, and well assured that the castle was not but by valor to be woon, immediatly drew out of euerie companie of the County *Ringrane*, cer-

A certaine of the best and most resolute Souldiours to renew the assault: Which so honourable a charge they cheerefully vndertooke, and as men of courage, began forthwith to mount the ladders. Which the Haiduckes beholding, againe tooke courage, and partly ashamed of themselues; and partly to be partakers of the spoyle and prey, if they should preuaile, did what they might for the winning of the place, striuing now who should doe best. Which assault was with such furie and preasse of men maintained, that the Turkes not able longer to withstand so great forces, were constrained to yeeld both themselues and their Castle vnto the furie of their angrie enemies. Which castle indeed cost much Christian blood; but yet more of the Turks: for the Haiduckes armed with rage and reuenge, slew almost all in the castle, as well Rascians as Turks, and tooke the rest prisoners. Among others there was an Hun-

The Castle of Loqua by the Christians take and sacked.

B garian renegate there taken, whom for hast they beheaded, beeing not at leisure to empaile him, the ordinarie punishment for such faithlesse miscreants. But during this spoyle made by men chafed with furie, the wind and fire were on their part exercising of their rage also. For the fire which they had cast vpon the palisado, and which they had before neglected, as of little or no force, now increased with the wind, by little and little getting hold of one thing after another, hauing burnt the palisado, got hold of the castle also; whereunto the Souldiours (loaded with prey and bootie, the things they most desired) had no regard at all: so that the fire vtterly consumed the Castle, with whatsoeuer else had escaped their greedie hands.

The Turkes in garrison at BOVLOVVENAR (a fortresse but a league distant from this burnt

C Castle) seeing these flames of fire, and doubting what might betide themselues, began to consult what course were best for them to take, as either to attend the comming of the enemie, and so to abide the chance of warre, or else betimes to prouide for themselues by flight: the consideration of their honour and dutie perswaded them to stay, but the ruine of their neighbours, as strong and valiant as themselues, perswaded them otherwise. In fine, the care of the preseruation of their liues preuailed, and the resolution was, That they should flie. And so putting all their household-stuffe and goods into certaine boats there readie vpon the Lake, they by the middest thereof fled: foolishly perswading themselues, that our men comming thither, and finding nothing there, would not long there stay, but bee gone; after whose departure they might as they thought returne againe vnto their old dwellings, and in

The Turkes for feare forsake the Castle of Boulounenar.

D the meane time hid themselues in the marish, vntill that the enemie were past. But our men comming thither, and finding no man in the Castle, neither yet any thing else that could well be carried away, wondered to see that there were any men so cowardly, as for feare to abandon such a place, as for the strength thereof might haue beene an example to others to stand vpon their guard and defence, they sought out euery corner thereabout, to find out whither the Turkes were fled. At last after much diligent search, they found certaine boats which the Turkes had sunke in the channell neere vnto the castle gate, which caused them to thinke that they were fled by water, and happely were in some place not far off. These boats were forthwith drawne vp out of the water, and found furnished with oares and such other things as belonged vnto them. Which done, *Collonitz* chose out certaine of the most valiant and re-

E solute of the Haiducks, whom he commanded in those boats to follow after the Turks in the Lake. Who accustomed to such exployts, and not ignorant of the places and secrets of their Countrie, went aboord, and did as they were commanded. Neither had they gone past two leagues vpon the lake, but that they discouered a party of these fugitiues hid in a little island, awaiting the end of this tempest, to recouer againe that which they had forsaken. The Turks dismayed with the sight of these men, and forced by necessitie stand vpon their guard, welcommed them with certaine little faulcon shot which they brought with them in their boats, thinking to haue hindered them from landing. But they were too well acquainted with such musick, to be moued therewith: besides that, the desire of the booty, which was by the Turks brought out of the castle into the isle, exceedingly animated them for the gaining

F therof, so that al fear of danger set apart, they landed in the Isle. Whom so landing, the Turks with great courage receiued; so that betwixt them was fought a greater fight than is for so smal a number on both sides to be beleeued, only valor and not number holding the ballance of the victorie. But in the end, the chiefe of the Turkes, and he which was their gouernour in BOVLOVVENAR, slaine, the rest discouraged came to parley, yeelding themselues with their

The Turkes first out of the castle of Boulounenar surprised and ouerthrowne.

their wiues and children, and all that they had, as a prey vnto the victors. The prisoners were brought backe againe vnto the Castle, vntill the next day, that our men hauing put a good and strong garrison of foure hundred Haiduckes, and two hundred Hussars into BOVLOVVE-NAR, with their prisoners, and their bootie returned toward COMORA: where they, notwithstanding diuers reports of the assembly of the Turks garrisons for the surprising of them vpon the way, safetie arriued, with a rich bootie, and a number of wagons loaded with the spoiles of their enemies. The emperour had for his part thirteene ensignes, beside the places woon; which being nigh vnto CANISIA, much bridled the spoylings and incusions of that garrison.

Moyses by *Basta* ouerthrown flyeth vnto his strong castle of Solomose.

But leauing these endlesse troubles of HVNGARIE for a while, let vs now again looke into TRANSILVANIA, to see what they there do. *Moyses* the rebel by *Basta* the Emperors lieutenant (as we haue before said) ouerthrowne, and disappointed of his hope, betooke himselfe vnto a strong castle of his owne, called SOLOMOSE, therein feare attending the final successe of his affaires. *Basta* in the meane time being as wise to make vse of his victorie, as he was valiant to obtaine the same, subdued the rest of the countrie, repressed the rebels, stopped the way of sedition, and put *Moyses* in dispaire of all safetie. Who seeing himselfe brought vnto

He with his wife and familie flieth vnto the Turkes.

such extremitie, offered to yeeld his castle vnto the Turkes, and so without farther acquainting of any man with his purpose, thrust himselfe with his wife and family, and all the rest of his substance into TEMESVVAR, a strong citie of the Turkes not far off: whom the Bassa in shew most courteously receiued, and the rather, for that he was in good hope to make a prey of the great wealth of this new-come fugitiue: who had not there long staied, but that he had persuaded the captain of GIVASGAR, a strong frontier castle there by, to deliuer the same to the Turks, and that without the priuity of the garison soldiers, for that he doubted that they would hardly be therunto drawn: who yet getting knowledge therof, put their captain in remembrance of his duty, beseeching him not to draw such an infamy both vpon himselfe and them, by committing so foule a fact. But afterwards finding him resolutely set downe for the betraying of the Castle, they suddenly layd hands on him, and struck of his head; and so with the bloud of their traiterous captain, hauing auerted the eminent danger, with great honour held the place.

Basta besiegeth the Turkes in the castle Solomose.

Moyses now as he thought in safetie at TEMESVVAR, was yet still plotting how to trouble the state of TRANSYLVANIA, and raise new sturs therein; and to that end sent a number of spies with letters of credence vnto the principall men of that countrie, assuring them of great and sufficient aid from the great Turke, if they would but take vp armes for their libertie (as he termed it) and shew themselues in field against the Imperialls. Neither was *Basta* in the meane time careless of him, or negligent in his so weightie affaires; but knowing that he as a notorious rebel had yeelded his Castle vnto the Turkes, and was himselfe retyred vnto TEMESVVAR, forthwith made choice of six thousand of the best souldiers in his whole Armie, and so set forward to besiege it: whom at his arriuall the Turkes there in garrison derided, in hope to frustrate his designes. For why, they thought that their Castle seated vpon a steepe high hill, fortified with good and strong walls, enuironed with a broad and deepe ditch, and not subiect vnto batterie, could not but with much labour, great danger, and long time, bee gained out of their hands, it being impossible (as they supposed) for their enemies to make a breach, or find an entrance thereinto. And indeed our men seeing the strength of the place, and the difficultie to force it, stood at the first as men dismayed at the foot of the hill where the Castle stood; yet more discouraged with the impregnablenesse of the place, than with the valour of the defendants. But what cannot industrie and valour do? in seeking about to find some means to make shew of their courage & valor, they discouered a little sharpe steepe hill ouer against the castle, from the top whereof the castle was to be battered, and the besieged distressed: but to bring the cannon thither, and especially with horses, was impossible, by reason of the steep roughnesse of the ascent thereunto, with broken and hanging rocks, ouergrowne with trees and bushes, as if it had bin another Alps, not but with fire and vinegre to be opened: yet in fine, our men resoluing to gaine the place, did themselues that which their horses should haue done but could not, & by force of hand drew their cannon vp to the top of the hill, & hauing planted it ouer against the midst of their enemies great ordnance, began to batter the castle: which done, they day & night made their approches, fortified their forts & trenches,

trenches, brought on their warlike munitions, and put all things in such order, as if they would euen by plaine force haue carried the place. But the Turkes more admiring the valorous resolution of our men, then resoluing themselues vpon their resistance, being not many in number within the place, and seeing themselues to haue to do with men of inuincible courage, laying aside both their hope and weapons, craued to come to a parley. Which granted, it was at length agreed, That they should deliuer vp the Castle, leauing behind them their great ordnance, their munition and ensignes, and so with their armes, and liues onely saued, to depart. A great and glorious conquest got with small charge, onely by resolution gained by our men without perill: those being indeed the true victories, which neither draw bloud out of the veines, nor teares out of the eyes.

The castle of Solomose by the Turks yeelded vp to Basta.

This strong place so gained, contrary to the common opinion conceiued thereof, led the whole prouince as it were by the hand vnto the obeisance of the emperour: in such sort, that *Basta* hauing called together all the principall men of TRANSYLVANIA, declared vnto them the iustice of his cause, the right of the Emperour, with the malice and treachery of the Turks and rebels: how they might liue in assurance with the one, and become miserable with the others: That the Emperour was alwaies armed for their defence and health, desiring nothing but their welfare and preseruation; whereas their enemies to the contrary sought altogether their ruine and decay: That as they were not to expect light flames of fire out of the sea, no more they were to looke for aid from those their mortall enemies, whom they knew to haue before decreed to haue put them all to death, and to haue giuen their countrey vnto the Tartars their enemies: That this disaster had not now beene to fall vpon them, either euer haue been by them perceiued, without the aid of the Emperour; who opposing himselfe against this fire, had quenched it and put it out; preseruing them with his great charge, and sauing them euen in the middest of their greatest perils and dangers. That they should therefore remember these his so great benefites, to the intent to make him recompence according to the publique faith, which bindeth vs to the reward of good deserts: and that all the recompence that the Emperour desired, was the welfare of the estate, as concerning their owne good: insomuch, that hee desired nothing of them but their obeysance, for being bound to defend them and preserue them to his power: whereby it should come to passe, that he should be satisfied for his trauels, and they preserued from their enemies; the prince and the subiects together iointly working their mutuall health and welfare, each of them according vnto their proportion, for that this mutuall performance of duties preserued the sceptor for the good gouernment of their estate. Whereunto their answer was, That they besought him that their countrey might be relieued from the croud and cruelties of the men of war, and deliuered from the intollerable burthens of tributes, which so heauily oppressed it: that these obiects and inconueniences could not keepe them constant in their obedience; seeing that they both felt them, and receiued them from the hand of them, to whom they had yeelded their obedience, in hope to haue beene by them relieued: That the new feeling of the wound did continually renew in them the hatred, and the obiect of their harms still kept both their eies and their minds occupied vpon them who were the causes thereof; so that they could not well either looke vpon them or make reckoning of them: That therfore it would please him to ease them of their grieuances, in recompence whereof they would pay him 15000 Hungarian duckats yerely for to pay his men of war, and would farther furnish them with al prouisions necessarie; it being a thing more honorable and profitable also vnto a prince, moderately to vse his subiects means to keep his state in perpetuitie, than through couetousnes to deuoure them in one day, in their losse to vndoe himselfe for euer. This their offer was by *Basta* accepted, and the minds of these people by this contentment giuen them, kept in their dutifull allegeance and loyaltie vnto the Emperour.

Basta his admonitions to them of Transyluania.

The answere of the Transyluanians vnto the admonitions of Basta.

But whilst *Basta* thus trauelled for the quieting of TRANSILVANIA, *Moyses* the rebell in the meane time was for his part no lesse busied for the disturbing thereof againe; insomuch, that hauing by the appointment of the Visier Bassa receiued tenne thousand Tartars in his aid, and assisted with a great number of Turks, he with ensignes displaied, entred into TRANSILVANIA, protesting there to dye, or to be reuenged of *Basta*, who had before chased him out thence. And the better to effect this troublesome designe, hee now had made choice of a most fit time for the performance thereof. *Basta* vpon the trust he had of the publique faith which

New enterprises by the rebell Moyses in Transyluania.

He with ensigns displaid entreth into Transylua-nia.

which he came to take of the Transyluanians, for their allegeance vnto the Emperor, which assured him from all stirs and tumults in that prouince, being with a small power come from CLAVDIOPOLIS in HVNGARIE, and then lying at WISCEBOVRG, vpon the confines of HVNGARIE. Which his journy, and the necessity of his presence in HVNGARIE for the defence thereof, had caused the Transyluanians to beleeue, that he should for that yeare stay in HVNG[illegible] as Generall of the Emperours armie there. Vpon which persuasion of his absence [illegible]y of them began againe to hold vp their heads, and to entertaine high conceits of new [illegible]rs, whereunto *Moyses* by his espials had prepared them, and now by his presence now a little incouraged: insomuch that many as wel of the nobilitie as others, ioyned themselues vnto him, and his increased armie against the Imperials.

Moyses with his power beeing come into the prouince, first forced a castle, about three leagues distant from WISCEBOVRG, and slew all the garrison therein. Which exploit incouraged him farther, ful of hope in the absence of *Basta*; and seeing himselfe now the absolute master of the field, which he at his pleasure without resistance forraged, robbed, and spoiled, with his men loaded with bootie, besieged WISCEBORVG, a little towne vpon the confines of HVNGARIE and TRANSILVANIA, neither by art nor by nature strong, but exposed as a prey vnto him that is in the field strongest, if succours be not at hand to relieue it. Howbeit weak as it was, it held out three weeks siege, and hauing a breach made in the wals endured two assaults against all the forces of the rebell. After which the besieged thinking themselues to haue sufficiently discharged their dutie, in holding out so long, and induring of so much, and out of hope to be relieued by the weake forces of *Basta*, came to parley with the enemie, and their liues and goods saued, yeelded vnto him the towne, and so departed themselues to VARADIN.

Wiscebourg besieged by Moyses.

Wiscebourg yeelded to Moyses.

Now albeit that there were no great forces of the Emperours on foot in TRANSILVANIA, yet the hungrie Haiduckes for all that fayled not to follow these warres, euen amidst the great clouds of their enemies, and were euer taking of some prey or bootie from the enemie, the chiefest and almost the onely meanes whereby they liue. In which doing, as they benefited themselues (the chiefe Mot[illegible] of their aduentures) so they not a little eased the countrey, by repressing the excursions and pillages of the Turkes, whereof the countrey had indured the furie. Where, amongst other prisoners by them taken, it was their fortune to light vpon a Chiaus of the Turkes come from CONSTANTINOPLE, going toward the rebell *Moyses* from the great Sultan *Mahomet*. Who by them examined, confessed, That *Moyses* was a man in great grace and reputation with his Lord and Master the Graund Seignior: And that hee was sent to assure him thereof; as also of all the needfull assistance of his Prince, if hee in [illegible] faithfully and effectually serue him in TRANSILVANIA, and bring it vnder his subiection and power, as hee had promised and sworne. In which doing, he should not onely gaine the credit of a noble and faithfull seruant towards him, but should farther obtaine thereby the honour to bee the Lieutenant Generall of his armie in this Prouince; the great Sultan (as hee said) hauing meanes as easie as wordes to aduaunce his faithfull seruitours, who might draw more good fortunes in one houre out of this infinite fource of felicitie and greatnesse, than they could in a thousand yeares out of the pouertie of the Princes of EVROPE. Hee sayd also, That the Great Sultan had on foot an armie of a hundred and fiftie thousand men strong, for the conquest of PESTH, and STRIGONIVM, furnished with all things necessarie, which had now alreadie turned head toward HVNGARIE, had it not been for the rebellion of some of his disloyall subiects, whom for all that hee would in short time chastise, and so turne his whole forces vpon the Emperour.

Moyses in great fauour with Mahomet.

A General besieged, looseth his reputation.

Moyses proud of his late conquest, and hauing found a great deale of great Ordnance in WISCEBOVRG, resolued to prosecute his victorie, and to besiege *Basta* in SOMOSINNAR, whereinto he had thrust himselfe, with the rest of his small forces; But *Basta* better acquainted with martial affaires than hee, and knowing that a generall departed from his charge, and brought to the mercie of a wall for his chiefe defence, hath lost his credit and reputation with his friends, and they also in hope of safetie from him thought it best first to take order for the strengthening of the [illegible]ce, so to put *Moyses* out of hope of the winning thereof, and afterward as he might to prouide for the safetie of himselfe and his.

Where-

Basta prayeth aid of the Gouernor of Cassoua.

A Wherefore he in good time aduertised the Gouernour of CASSOVA (who was neerest vnto him) of *Moyses* his designes, and of the necessitie wherewith he was himselfe enclosed. Who forthwith conceiuing the consequence of so great an exploit, as concerned both the losse of the place, and of so great a commander as was *Basta*, a losse irreparable; presently commanded six companies of horsemen to thrust themselues into the place, for the better defence thereof. These horsemen either afraid of the rebels armie, or else fauouring his proceedings, without respect of that they had in charge, or of their honour (things deerer vnto men of worth than their liues) without any attempt at all giuen returned again to CASSOVA; hauing with their pilfering and outrages by the way much offended and prouoked the minds of the countrey people by him spoiled. But being now better aduised, and repenting themselues
B of their faults, and crauing pardon of their Gouernour, who was about with the rest of his power to haue cut them in pieces, they offered him for satisfaction, six of the principall authors of their disloyaltie; who were all forthwith executed, and their quarters (to the terrour of others) hanged vp vpon Gibbets by the high waies side. But *Basta* by their trechery lay in the meane time without succour, forsaken by his friends, and the place wherin he lay, in danger to be taken: when the Transyluanians dwelling neere thereby resolued to relieue him as well for feare of the Turks bondage, as for the tyrannie of *Moyses*; one of whose Secretaries with letters of credence then threatened all the countrey with fire and sword, and al kind of miseries, if the inhabitants helped not with all their power to force the place and to win it. Which threats by *Moises* published before he had any absolute power, dismaied euery man:
C for why, they could not hope for any moderation or kindnes in the prosperitie of him, who in the time of his aduersitie gaue such apparent testimonies of his crueltie. So that the people, doubting this angrie man, resolued to preuent his so grieuous threats by relieuing of *Basta*, who onely was able to stop him. Amongst others, *Radul* Vayuod of VALACHIA mindful of the aid that *Basta* had giuen him against the Tartars, and willing now as a friend to reach his hand in time of his so hard distresse, immediatly rayseda power of eight thousand Valachians, which he presently sent to the reliefe of *Basta*. *Moyses* aduertised of their comming, and farther vnderstanding that *Basta* hauing well fortified the place, was departed thence, hauing before his departure assuredly promised his men there lett to relieue them, and that hee was now in the midst of the field gathering together his armie, changed both his resolution
D and purpose, of himselfe raised his siege, and so departed. After which, mishaps began to fall vpon him by heaps. The Turks forthwith forsooke him, taking their way to TEMESVVAR, whither they were by the Bassa called backe, to represse the Haiducks, who were now euery day euen at the gates of the citie. These actiue and couragious men for their profit attending vpon al occasions, knowing that the better part of the garrison of TEMESVVAR, was gone to aid *Moyses*, vpon the sudden had desperatly assailed the suburbs of that strong citie slain, all that they found there, rifled them & burnt them: & so loaded with a great & rich prey both of cattel and other things, returned to VERADIN, no man pursuing of them: And not so contented were euery day abroad seeking after new bootie; which was the cause that the Bassa now called backe the Turks from *Moyses* home againe into their garrisons.

The Vayuod of Valachia sendeth aid to the relicfe of Basta.

Moyses raiseth his siege.

The Bassa of Temeswar calleth home his Turkes out of Transiluania, for the repressing of the Haiducks.

E *Moyses* notwithstanding this departure of the garrison Turks of TEMESVVAR, was yet master of the field, *Basta* with his small forces not daring to oppose himselfe against him, yet by far too strong for him, the succours from the Vayuod of VALACHIA beeing not yet come which he daily expected, howbeit that many hot skirmishes passed betweene the straglingF soldiers on both sides, as they by chance met together roaming abroad in the countrey seeking after bootie. *Moyses* therefore seeing not any sufficient enemie to appeare in field able to stay him, laid siege to CLAVDINOPLE, a great but weak citie, and not very wel manned; for that it was thought a place fitter by the weakenesse thereof to weaken and destroy such as should vndertake the defence thereof, than sufficient to be maintained by their valour. Nenertheless, the garrison souldiers and the inhabitants (more to make a shew of their fidelity and allegeance toward the Emperor, than for any hope they had to maintain the place) standing vpon their guard & defence, *Moyses* was constrained to plant his great ordnance against it, and to batter it, which he did, and in a very short time with the fury of the cannon had beaten down the bulwarkes and flankers thereof, and made a faire breach in the wall, ready now to haue giuen thereunto an assault, and to haue entred. Whereupon the besieged not ignorant,

Claudinople besieged by Moises

Claudinople yeelded to Moyses.

rant of their owne weakneſſe, came to parley, and agreed to giue vp the citie, the citizens ha- G
ning their liues, goods, libertie, and religion ſaued, to ſtay there ſtill, and the ſouldiers with
their armes and baggage to bee in ſafetie brought ouer the mountaines into ſome place of
ſuretie. The taking of this citie much encouraged the rebell, reſolued there to make his reſi-
ſtance, and [illegible]eat of his principalitie. Full eares of corne draw birds to piek vpon them, and
the good fortunes of Generals, ſouldiers to follow them: they forſake none but ſuch as are
before forſaken of their better fortunes; to become ſlaues vnto gaine, and enemies vnto ho-
nour. The Turkes and Tartars thirſting after theſe commodities, and allured with the ſmell
of riches, repared thither on euery ſide; in ſuch ſort, that the army of *Moiſes* increaſed in num-
ber, his mind with hope, & his fortune with power. Armed with theſe aſſurances, he ſent for
his wife & familie then at TEMESVVAR to come vnto him to CLAVDINOPLE, to be par- H
Moyſes ſendeth for his wife and familie to Temeſwar. takers with him of his good hap. And for that purpoſe ſent a conuoy of 400 Turks to con-
duct them on the way thither. Who being come to TEMESVVAR, and about to haue led the
wife & family of *Moſes* out of the citie, were not ſuffered by the Ianizaries that had the gar-
ding of the towne, ſo to do: who told them, That the great Sultan had in former times found
ſo many diſloialties, trecheries, & treaſons in the Hungarians, Tranſyluanians, and Valachi-
ans, to the great hurt and hinderance of his eſtate, that hee could no more aſſure himſelfe of
The Ianizaries of Tameſwar refuſe to deliuer Moyſes his wife and familie. them: and that doubting of the fidelitie of *Moiſes*, being a Tranſyluanian, hee was reſolued
to keepe this gage for his more aſſurance: aſſuring him withall, That his wife and family be-
ing in his power, ſhould receiue nothing from him but fauour and grace, ſo long as he recei-
ued from him the effects of his loyaltie, but that hee ſhould neuer hope to inioy them but in I
TEMESVVAR, or ſome other ſuch like place aſſured for his ſeruice. *Moſes* aſtonied at this an-
ſwer, was much mooued againſt the great Sultan, complained in his ſoule, that having rui-
nated his faith, his honor, & the welfare of his country, to aſſure him of his fidelitie towards
him, hee yet doubted of his conſtancie, as if all theſe crimes did not bind him to ſerue him
with his perſon for euer, were it euen but for feare of puniſhment from them whom hee had
ſo grieuouſly offended.

In the meane time the ſuccours ſent from the Vayuod of VALACHIA were vpon the bor-
ders of TRANSYLVANIA vnder the conduct of *Marſa* the Vayuod his lieutenant, and *Baſta*
was gathering together his forces, to recouer again his former ſtate; expecting euerie houre
the comming of two thouſand horſemen out of SILECIA, with which vnited power hee K
was in good hope to diſcomfit the rebel, & to recouer his former loſſes. Al which, *Moſyes* by
his eſpials right well knew, and for the remedy thereof reſolued to march with thirtie thou-
ſand men to meet with the Valachians, and to cut them off, before they could come far into
TRANSYLVANIA, or ioine their forces with *Baſta*. For the furthering of which his purpoſe
he had learned the place wherby they were to enter, their number, & the way they were to
hold, the better to conduct his armie againſt them; and beeing in number more than three to
one, alreadie aſſured himſelfe of the Victorie. All which fell out according to his deſire: for
the Valachians comming on, being in number but eight thouſand, fell as it were a prey into
his mouth. For needs fight they muſt, or die therefore, although the number were vne-
quall; for that to flie was more dangerous to the Valachians (hauing the Turkes & Tartarian L
horſmen at their backs) than manfully to fight it out. Neceſſitie gaue courage vnto the wea-
The Valachians by Moyſes put to flight. ker ſide, and feare cauſed them to performe more than they would haue done, had they had
libertie to haue fled: yet for al that the greater number at length preuailed againſt the leſſe;
ſo that after a great and mortall fight, wherin a great number of the Turkes and Tartars were
ſlaine, the Valachians in the end were enforced to leaue their dead companions, their honor,
and their tents, with all their baggage in the field, and to betake themſelues to flight; but
not all in rout as freſh-water ſouldiers, but with often making ſtands, as men diſdayning
by true valour, but onely with number oppreſſed, to bee ouercome. The rebels proud of
their victorie, and now fearing no more harme, forthwith gaue themſelues to the rifling of
the enemies campe, diuided the ſpoyle, and filling the heauens with the noyſe of their M
trumpets, publiſhing thereby the trophies of their victorie. Which diſorder the Valachi-
ans perceiuing, and thereof conceiuing hope of ſome good to bee done, turned head, and
ferred cloſe together, cuoragiouſly thruſt themſelues into the midſt of theſe proud and try-
umphant victors. Which vnexpected thunderclap ſo diſmaied them and troubled their wits,
that

A that ſurpriſed in diſorder, with their hands full of ſpoils in ſtead of weapons, they could nei-
ther recouer their courage, nor put themſelues againe in order. Such confuſion maketh men
oftentimes to feele the blowes of death, before they be aware of the armie that giueth the
fame: ſo, of theſe men ſo confounded, ſome ſtood as men amazed, other ſome ran away to
ſaue themſelues, and other ſome ſtood vpon their defence, but all were alike ſlaine: ſo that in
fine, this great armie was for the moſt part cut in pieces, and the reſt put to flight. *Moyſes* him-
ſelfe was there among the reſt ſlaine, worthy for his treaſon to haue been reſerued to a more
ſhamefull death.

Moyſes with his army by the Valachians ouerthrowne, and himſelfe ſlaine

Of this victorie the Vayuod by letters certified *Baſta*, to whom he ſent fiue and twenty of
the enemies enſignes for an honourable preſent, with this ioyfull newes of the death and o-
B uerthrow of the rebell; whoſe bodie as the Vayuod writ, was found dead among the mid-
deſt of the dead, ſlaine euen at the firſt charge, wherein his gaurd was ouerthrowne. And for
that it was commonly beleeued, that hee was not yet dead, neither preſent at that battell, as
ſome had giuen it out, to manifeſt the contrarie vnto the world, and by his example to terri-
fie others, his head was vpon a lance ſet vp at CAROLSTAD for all men to behold: a prefer-
ment well beſeeming ſuch an ambitious head, as had made ſo great troubles, and beene the
death of ſo many Chriſtians.

Moyſes his head vpon a lance ſet vp at Carolſtad

This rebell ſuppreſſed, another by and by ſtart vp, called *Albert Nage*, who gathering
together the rebels of TRANSILVANIA, mingled with certain Turkes, Tartars, Coſſackes,
and Moldauians, all together amounting to the number of ſix thouſand, made head towards
C LIPPA. Againſt whom, *Baſta* with all ſpeed ſent foorth three thouſand Haiduckes well ac-
quainted with the countrey, which ſometimes ſerued them to better purpoſe than their
armes, for that the rebels ſought not ſo much to come to a ſet battell, and to trie the mat-
ter by true valour, as by taking the aduantages of places, to delay the time and gaine pur-
chaſe, the chiefe end of their rebellion. Theſe rebels the Haiduckes ſurpriſed, neere vnto a
Caſtle called FERRE, where they meant to haue lodged, and charged them. Who ſo vpon
the ſuddaine ouertaken, and ignorant of their enemies power, ſuppoſing them to haue
beene more in number than indeed they were, made ſmall reſiſtance, but as a many of raſ-
calls, gathered by villanie, and without truſting of one another, by flight prouided euery
man for himſelfe as hee might. In which flight, the greateſt number of them were ſlaine,
D and their chiefetaine with much adoe ſaued, to be at another time for his euill deſerts iuſtly
executed.

New rebels in Tranſylvania diſcomfited.

Baſta by theſe good haps, and the aid of the Vayuod of VALACHIA, being again become
maſter of the field, in very ſhort time after had again reduced all TRANSYLVANIA vn-
der the Emperours obeyſance; vnto whom, he together with the Vayuod, for an honorable
preſent and a teſtimonie of their good ſeruice, ſent to VIENNA, and from thence to PRAGE,
an hundred enſignes gained from the rebels. All which with ſome other rich ſpoils, the ma-
ſter of the Ceremonies in great pompe and triumph led, together with *Moyſes* the late rebels
horſe, exceeding richly furniſhed with furniture of pure gold, and was for his paines by the
Emperor rewarded with a chaine of gold, ſent vnto him by the Countie *Fuſtenberg*.

An honourable preſent by the L. Baſta ſent vnto the Emperour.

The troubles of TRANSYLVANIA thus once again quieted, *Baſta* reſoluing again to be-
E ſiege TEMESVVAR, with his power marched towards LIPPA, there to meet with the for-
ces of the Vayuod of VALACHIA, the better to vndertake and perform the intended exploit.
His army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men ſtrong, carrying with them fiue and twenty pie-
ces of great ordnance, furniſhed with al things neceſſarie. And of the enterpriſe it ſelfe euery
man had good hope, aſwell for the ſufficiencie of him the generall that had vndertaken it,
as for the want of reliefe that was not any way like to be brought vnto the beſieged. But
while hee ſo lay at the ſiege thereof, his ſouldiers too greedily and exceſſiuely feeding vp-
on fruit whereof (there was that yeare great ſtore) fell ſo into the bloudie flyx, and thereof
in ſuch number died (although hee had giuen moſt ſtrait commaund, That none ſhould be
F eaten, or vpon great penalties be brought into the camp) that he was glad to riſe with his ar-
mie and be gone.

Countie Solmes ſurpriſing Wiſcenbourg, is himſelfe taken priſoner.

Whileſt this was in doing, the Countie *Solmes* lying in garriſon at CAROLSTAD,
tooke vpon him to ſurpriſe WISCENBOVRG, and ſetting forth but with foure hundred ſol-
diers of his garriſon, with wonderfull diligence ſurpriſed the place, and without any great
reſiſtance

resistance became masters therof. But the citizens ouer-grieued with the insolent outrages C
of these men of war, opened the gates of their town vnto the rebels of TRANSILVANIA,
euen then fled from the late ouerthrow: who full of reuenge, took the place, and beeing too
strong for the Countie & his soldiers, made such slaughter of them in the streets (they of the
town out of their windows, and from the tops of their houses helping them) that of al those
which the Countie brought with him, there were but 60 left aliue; who all taken, were to-
gether with the Countie thrust into a strong and loathsome prison.

Now the bruit of the comming of the Turks great army into HVNGARIE had awaked the
Christian forces to assemble themselues together, and to do their indeuour to withstand the
same; so that a number of companies were raised in GERMANIE, who came into HVNGARY
marching towards STRIGONVM, where the army was to be assembled. The good successe H
of things past, the opinion men had of the Turks troubles with his rebels, and the great pro-
mises of the emperor, drew many into these lists of honor; in such sort, that there were come
A great army of the christians. together an army of fiue and twenty thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse; all good and
braue companies, well appointed and well conducted. Of this braue and gallant armie the
Lord *Russworm* was for this yeare appointed Generall; who therewith marched within the
sight of STRIGONIVM, to assure the inhabitants of reliefe, if the enemie should chance to
besiege them, as the newes then went. About three weeks this armie lay there by encamped,
attending the comming of the rest of the forces, which were to strengthen and make vp the
same; during which time the Generall disposed of all things necessarie for the keeping of
STRIGONIVM, and put into the fort of S. *Andrew* neere vnto it three thousand Lansquenets I
for relief of the citie: which done, he remooued with his armie toward PESTH, & encam-
ped within a league therof toward the west, resolued so to crosse the designes of the enemie
if he should attempt to besiege this place (as it was doubted he would) & in hope that the pre-
seruation thereof might in time be a cause for the winning of BVDA, and a mean to impeach
the enemies forces.

The Turks army of 100000 men in field. The Turks army within a few daies after vpon a contrary designe conducted for the win-
ning of PESTH (& resolued to raise the Christians campe) in number an hundred thousand
men, came, & face to face incamped within the sight of the Christian army on the other side
of the riuer Danubius. In the meane time whilest they so lay, certaine cowardly soldiers, of
PESTH, more in loue with their bellies than with their honour, by stealth fled out of their K
garrison in PESTH to the Turks [illegible] against them in BVDA, shamefully crauing of them vi-
The shameful flight of certain of the garrison soldiers of Pesth vnto the Turks at Buda. ctuals; whom the Turks being themselues almost in as great want, yet bounteously relieued.
Besides that, the Bassa of BVDA to corrupt the rest of their fellows, caused these renegate fu-
gitiues to be entertained with double pay: who therefore gaue the Bassa a thousand thanks,
extolling his bountie vnto the heauens, & from the walls inuited their companions to do as
they had done, and so to become partakers of such bountie and pleasure as they were. How-
beit these fugitiues nothing profited the Bassa, either by their persuasion or example: for al-
beit that they from the mouth of the Bassa promised vnto their companions plentie of vi-
ctuals, good entertainment, & foure months pay more, yet was there not any of them which
hearkened or gaue eare vnto their allurements: but rather the more to assure their comman- L
ders of their fidelitie, of themselues offred to be sworn again vnto their allegeance vnto the
Emperour, and to dy in the place rather than to forsake it. Yet was the want of victuals then
in PESTH great, and the garrison therewith extreamely pinched, fed almost as much with
Pesth victualled hope, as with that little which was left them. Neither was it long after, but that according
to their desires the 15 of May a great ship arriued there, laded with wine and victuals suffici-
ent for the relief of their present necessities. Of the comming of which ship, the Turke ha-
uing heard, attended the passage therof in the Isle, to haue intercepted it. Of which their
purpose the garrison soldiers of PESTH hauing knowledge, & armed with necessitie, sallied
out vpon them, and killing a number of them, inforced the rest to quit the place. This ship
was but the forerunner of greater succors, for shortly after followd a number of other ships: M
which arriuing at PESTH, laden with victuals and other necessaries, filled the place with as
great plentie, as there had been before want. Which supply was conducted vnto PESTH by
500 harquebusiers of STRIGONIVM, the Turks from BVDA looking on, but not daring or
not able to stay the same.

It

The suburbs of Alba Regalis by the Christians sacked and burnt.

A It fortuned at the selfesame time, that a Captaine of the Turks fled from Alba-Regalis to
Rab, shewed vnto the Christians there the way and the meane how they might come to the
suburbs of Alba-Regalis, and take the spoile of the same; yea and happily, as things might fall
out, finde occasion to surprise the towne it selfe also; offering himselfe to be the guide in the
same action. And albeit that this Turke was an enemy to be feared and distrusted, yet the Chri-
stian souldiers as men desirous both of honor and of prey, and induced also with the probabi-
lity of the attempt, giue credit vnto him, and embraced the same. Neither failed he of his pro-
mise, neither the Christians of their deuoire in performance of the exploit. For the two garri-
sons of Rab and Strigonium assembled together, by the leading of this Turke surprised the
suburbs of Alba-Regalis, slew all them that made resistance, rifled them on all hands, set them
B on fire, and so laded with riches and spoile, returned home againe in safetie.

Another conuoy of victuals by land put into Pesth.

At the same time also the Christians on the other side Danubius gathered an head together
to conduct another conuoy of victuals into Pesth, with a resolution to march with the same
through the plaine field at noone time of the day, euen in the eye of the enemie, so to braue
him. And to this purpose the Lo. *Nadasti* was there present with a good number of Hungari-
ans, Colonell *Mesbourg* with a Regiment of Almaines, and the Countie *Thurn* with a number
of Hussars, all good souldiers and men of courage, desirous to haue made proofe thereof vpon
their enemies. This conuoy, with the trumpets gallantly sounding, brauely marched ouer the
plaine at mid day, the Turks from the wals of Buda beholding the same, but not daring to ad-
uenture vpon it. And so Pesth for want of victuals before distressed, was now both by water
C and by land plentifully relieued.

The castle of Adom vpon a vain feare forsaken by the Haiducks, who had the keeping thereof.

The Christians the last yeare hauing left the siege of Buda for the reasons before written,
in their returne tooke the Castle of Adom, seated vpon the banke of Danubius, about two
leagues from Buda, and for the keeping thereof, left therein a garrison of Haiducks. This Ca-
stle was commodious for the annoying of the Turks in Buda, and for the relief of the Christi-
ans in Pesth, for that it impeacheth the bringing of victuals vnto the one, and fauoured the vi-
ctualling of the other. The good and faithfull defence of which place, these Haiducks vnder-
tooke to the vttermost of their power, vpon their honor and credit, as they would be accoun-
ted valiant and couragious men: but yet refused to be bound by oath to render an account of
the place, what soeuer might befall, a thing (as they truly said) aboue their forces, & more than
D was in their power to performe. These men now vpon the bruit of the comming of the Turks
great army afraid of their shadowes, hauing before trussed vp their baggage, set fire on the Ca-
stle, and so departed, retiring themselues to Strigonium: where examined by the Gouernour
Althem of the cause of their flight, and what enemies had chased them thence, and being not
able to make therefore any excuse, neither to yeeld thereof any reason more than their imagi-
narie feare, were by his commandement imprisoned, there to remaine, vntill order were taken
by the Generall of the armie for their further punishment.

Sultan Mahomet among his greatest pleasures perplexed

Sultan *Mahomet* now wallowing amidst his sensuall delights in Constantinople, yet found
not therein so full contentment, but that his pleasures had also their griefes fully mixt with
them. In Constantinople, the strong seat of his mightie Empire, hee was in the midst of the
E insolencies and mutinies of his proud Bassaes and tumultuous Ianizaries, and abroad he was in
warres both against his rebellious subiects in Asia, and the Christians in Europe. Vnto all
which troubles hee saw not how to giue remedie at once, and therefore resolued (if it were
possible) first to appease the troubles abroad with his rebellious subiects in Asia, as more des-
irous to be at peace with his owne subiects than with strangers: howbeit, that the punishing of
rebellion is more necessarie in a Prince for the maintenance of his State, than is warre against a
stranger for the conquering of a new Countrie or Kingdome; the one preuenting the danger
hanging ouer his head, the other seruing but his vaine and ambitious desire: so hee prefer ing
peace with the rebels his subiects before peace with the Christians his enemies, resolued (as I
said) to pacifie the first, the more easily to ruinat the other. But whether he vpon good faith or
Mahomet in vain seeketh to make peace with the rebels in Asia.
F vpon policie entered into this resolution, and whether indeed hee meant plainely with these
Rebels, or but onely to deceiue them, is hard to say. Howbeit, as the sequell of the matter
shewed, falshood and treacherie was the ground of all this businesse both on the one side and
the other. For these men respecting only the safety and assurance of their estate, held all other
actions to them indifferent, whether they were good or bad, so that they serued to that effect:

and

and nouriſhed with the ſame milke of Infidelitie that their Prince was, trained vp in the ſame
ſchoole, and foſtered with the ſame aire, feared in him againſt them, that which they felt in
themſelues againſt him. An hard matter it is to aſſure minds fraught with like craft, ſubtiltie,
and deceit, [illegible]ſſed with like diſtruſt one of them of another. Howbeit *Mahomet* ſpared
no kind of [illegible]g to deceiue theſe craftie and ſubtill men; offering vnto them, together with
his gracious pardon, great preferments, dignities, & honours, ſo that they would but yeeld to
him their due obedience, lay downe their armes, and no more take vp the ſame but in his ſer-
uice. But theſe wily foxes knew right well, that the promiſes of faithleſſe Princes coſt them
nothing but words, the honor & credit whereof they regarded nor, ſo that thereby they might
attaine vnto the effect of their deſires, which they eſteemed aboue all other things: ſo that for
them to truſt vnto a thing of ſo ſmal value, with him that was ſo prodigall thereof, and for the
ſame ſo eaſily to yeeld vp their liues and fortunes, which they eſteemed as their only treaſure,
they thought right worthily to deſerue all ſhame and miſhap that might betide them. So that
they not only refuſed to lay down armes, and to yeeld their obedience vnto him, as he deſired,
but euen to haue peace with him vpon any conditions whatſoeuer, ſeeing them dangerous vnto
themſelues, and good onely for him their enemie.

Mahomet ſeeing his offers reiected by the rebels of Aſia, couertly ſeeketh for peace with the Chriſtians.

Mahomet finding the Rebels ſo reſolutely ſet downe, as not by any meanes but by force to be appeaſed, thought it now beſt to turne his purpoſe vnto the Chriſtians, and to offer them that which the other had refuſed, in hope that peace made with the one, ſhould be the ruine and deſtruction of the other. Vpon which point hee beeing in himſelfe reſolued, ſought now but ſome honeſt meanes, not vnbeſeeming his greatneſſe, to ioyne vnto this his proiect, I to giue him a way thereunto. For the eaſing him of which care, the French Embaſſadour, then Lieger at Conſtantinople, was verie fitly then entreating with the Viſier Baſſaes for the deliuerance of the Countie *Ypolan*, taken at Alba Regalis the laſt yeare, and againſt all Law of armes detained priſoner at Conſtantinople. This noble Gentleman *Mahomet* thought fit as well for the ſufficiencie of himſelfe as with inſtructions to deale with the Emperor concerning an entreatie of peace to bee had. Whereupon hee commanded him to be ſet at libertie, with charge, That he ſhould both diſcreetly and faithfully deale with the Emperour concerning this matter of peace: which if hee ſhould by his induſtrie effect, to the good liking and contentment of *Mahomet* the great Sultan, that then hee ſhould become and remaine free, otherwiſe to returne againe into [illegible] former captiuitie and bondage; for whome the French K Embaſſadour gaue his word, and [illegible]e pledge. Vpon which barbarous conditions the Earle was forthwith deliuered, who by the Law of armes ſhould not at all haue beene detained. Beſides this plot laied for the negotiation of this peace, *Achmet Baſſa* to this purpoſe writ to *Collonitz*, then Commander of the Emperours armie in Hungarie. But ſee the copie of the Letters themſelues.

The letters of Achmet Baſſa to Collonitz concerning a treaty of peace to be had.

To thee our friend Collonitz *health and greeting. I ſuppoſe that you yet remember the propoſitions concerning peace which our Soueraigne and moſt mightie Monarch not long agoe cauſed to be opened and propounded vnto you by certaine of his Baſſaes neere vnto Strigonium, which as then remained not reſolued. But if now it ſhall ſeeme vnto you good, that wee ſhould aſſemble our ſelues together into L ſome place of aſſurance both to the one ſide and to the other, wee may againe conferre about that buſineſſe, as having on my part full power and commandement from my Prince ſo to doe; yet with charge, that before all other things Strigonium ſhould be againe deliuered vnto vs. Which being done wee may eaſily afterward determine the other difficulties, and conclude a good and wholeſome peace. God which raigneth alone in the heauens aboue is witneſſe of our faithfull and iuſt deſire, to aſſure a quiet and firme peace betwixt vs, and that to auert theſe floods of warre from the poore people, and to giue them ſome repoſe and reſt after ſo great troubles. This is our intent and purpoſe, which God knoweth to be void of all fraud and guile; which we now declare vnto you, in hope to vnderſtand yours alſo. But if you bee not reſolued to render to vs Strigonium before we begin to intreat of any other matter, it is not needfull for you to trouble your ſelfe to giue any anſwere to theſe our letters. But if you ſhall reſolue to the contra- M rie, to deliuer the ſame, with as much ſpeed as you can let [illegible] few words vnderſtand your reſolution, the time and the place fit for our aſſemblie and meeting, to the intent fully to determine of theſe affairs. You know alſo, that you haue beene of long time accuſtomed to pay tribute vnto our Prince: which if you ſhall continue to pay for the time to come, and diſcharge the arrerages for the time paſt, it ſhall be*

A *bee commodious for vs, and honourable for you, ſeeing that it is an honour vnto you to bee tributaries vnto the Grand Seignior, it hauing alwayes in times paſt beene for your good and profit. Beſides that, peace ſhall likewiſe bee entreated of with the great Cham of Tartarie, who as commanded by our moſt mightie and gracious Emperour vpon iuſt and reaſonable conditions to entertaine the ſame, and neuer more but in peaceable manner to come into Hungarie. Now if that you ſhal neglect or reiect this treatie for peace, it is certaine that you ſhall bee the authour of the miſerie and ruine of the whole countrie, it beeing impoſſible that the townes and villages conſumed with fire ſhould euer recouer their former beautie or felicitie. God which raigneth in heauen is there witneſſe vnto mee, and my dread Emperour vpon earth, that I ſpeake franckely with you, and without diſſimulation concerning this matter. Now on your part, let vs vnderſtand if you haue a deſire to attend vnto this treaty of peace; according to*
B *the purport of our Letters: for if you ſhall reſolue to the contrarie, we proteſt vnto you to write no more concerning theſe affaires.*

Collonitz hauing receiued theſe letters, ſent them forthwith vnto the Emperor, requeſting his Maieſtie to conſider what anſwer he would haue giuen vnto them. Whom the Emperour, deſirous of a good peace, commanded to embrace the occaſion, and by proofe to learne whether the Turkes deſire were indeed conformable to their words or not. Whereupon *Collonitz* taking vnto him certaine of the beſt commanders in the armie, vndertooke the buſineſſe, and entered into the treatie of peace with the Turks: wherein he found the vnreaſonableneſſe of their demands to tend ſo much vnto the hurt and diſhonour of the Emperor, as that they euen

The Emperor aduertiſed of the Turkes motion for peace, giueth order to Collonitz for the entertaining thereof.

C at the firſt entrance ſhut vp the way to al further or reaſonable conference; it being altogether impoſſible to bring to any conformitie minds ſet downe vpon reſolutions ſo far different. For the Turks (as if the Emperor would haue beene glad of peace vpon any condition) after their proud manner, vnreaſonably demanded to haue Tranſyluania, Strigonium, and Peſth reſtored vnto them; for which they offered to deliuer vnto the Emperour Agria and Caniſia, peble for pearles. So that vpon propoſitions ſo farre different, being able to conclude nothing, they departed on both ſides as they came, to trie by armes that which by talke and conference they could not agree vpon. But as all the Turkes treaties of peace with the Chriſtians are indeed but falſe ſhewes to abuſe the facilitie of the Chriſtians by, euen ſo now alſo it was knowne, that they in the meane time, whileſt this treatie of peace was in hand, gathered to-

The Turks vnreaſonable demands breake off all the treatie of peace.

D gether great ſtore both of men and munition at Belgrade, wherewith to arme a great conuoy of victuals, which they had thought during this interparley for peace to haue put into Buda. But *Collonitz* vnderſtanding thereof, ceaſed further to entreat of peace, which with the falſe ſhew thereof did but hurt and deceiue the Chriſtians, and betooke himſelfe againe to his arms (his and their ſafeſt and ſureſt refuge) reſoluing with the other Captains and Commanders of the armie to doe what they might for the croſſing and hindering of the Turkes in their purpoſe for the putting of victuals into Buda: whereof there was now ſuch want, that the Turkes in garriſon there hauing alreadie eaten all their horſes, and for victuals rifled the Gouernors houſe, were reſolued to abandon the citie, if they ſhould not be within ſome few daies relieued.

E Now vpon this reſolution for the keeping of the Turks from the victualling of Buda, the Chriſtians for the more aſſurance of their purpoſe, prepared therefore both by water and by land, embarking their footmen vpon the riuer, vnder the conduct of Colonell *Altmeine* and *Sultze*, the one the Gouernour of Strigonium, and the other of Peſth; whileſt that *Collonitz* with the horſemen ſcouring alongſt the bankes of the riuer of Danubius, tooke the charge by land. And ſo it fortuned, that vpon the 22 day of Auguſt he with his horſemen neere vnto the village of Mohatſch (famous for the death of King *Lewis*) fell vpon the head of the Turks armie, led by the Baſſa *Murat*, conſiſting of ſix thouſand Turkes, two thouſand of them being Ianizaries: who altogether lay encamped vpon an euen plaine, verie commodious for our horſemen, who let ſlip neither the time nor the opportunitie of ſo great an aduantage of-

A notable enterpriſe of Collonitz vpon the auantguard of the Turkes army.

F fered them, but forthwith charged them: where after a number of notable charges both giuen and receiued, which ſtill abated both the number and courage of the Turkes, they at laſt retired toward the bodie of their armie, and that in ſuch haſt, as that their retreat little differed from a ſpeedie flight. After whome *Collonitz* followed, with like heate as hee had charged them; but euill followed by his friends, who euill performed their charge, ſeeking after the

the spoyle in stead of pursuing of their enemies; the Turkes perceiuing the small number G
that pursued them, turned vpon them, and so began againe not onely to make strong resistance,
but euen right hardly to charge them. Who so by them presled with no lesse courage than
power, were now glad themselues to retire in stead of pursuing of the victorie; but yet so,
as that the retreat was made without any great losse therein receiued. Howbeit, the Turkes
not a little encouraged with this change of Fortune, and perceiuing themselues too strong
for their enemies that charged them, came on so fast and so couragiously, as that in fine they
had defeated the Christians, had not the Haiduckes out of their boats from the Riuer in
good time come resolutely to their reliefe. Which cloud the Turkes perceiuing, readie to
poure forth a great tempest vpon their heads, and not daring to abide the same, againe reti-
red, leauing the Christians victors both in the first and last charge: who not content with the H
retreat of the Turkes, furiously charged them, and pursued them euen vnto their great campe,
and so returned, carrying backe with them both the glorie of the field, and the spoile of their
enemies.

Collonitz in good time relieued by the Haiduckes.

The Turkes affaires and designes made knowne vnto the Christians by Saxar Beg, by them taken prisoner.

In this conflict the red cornet of *Murat Bassa*, the cognisance of his great command, was
taken, with two field-pieces, seuen hundred Turkes were left dead vpon the place, and sixscore
moe taken prisoners; amongst whome was *Saxar Beg*: who being a man of vnderstanding, and
by the Christians examined, confessed, That *Hassan Bassa* the day before this conflict came in-
to the campe, and there honourably dined with the great Cham: with whom after their great
cheere he entring into discourse of many great matters, and among the rest, concerning his re-
turne into his countrey; was much against the same, vntill such time as they had new victual-
led Buda, whereunto he was (as hee said) both in honour and in duetie bound to giue his assi- I
stance, the losse of this good place being of so great importance vnto the great Sultan. That
otherwise his aid had beene to him rather hurtfull than profitable, his people hauing de-
uoured so much victuals and performed nothing, if he should now at this time faile to doe his
Prince seruice, who could neuer thinke either valour or fidelitie to be in him, if hee should
faile in such actions as wherein his valour and fidelitie should appeare; all things hauing no
other credit and reputation, but according vnto their effects. And that therefore he should re-
solue to see the end of this exploit, which required euery mans helping hand for the perfor-
mance thereof, considering the forces of the enemie in readinesse to hinder the same. Moreo-
uer, hee assured them, that the Bassaes purpose was to new fortifie Haswar, Pax, and Kaletsch K
frontier castles, and necessarie for this action, and so to goe to the siege of Pesth; and that done,
to besiege Strigonium; which for all that he doubted to win this yeare, as well by reason of
the approch of Winter, as for that a great part of his forces were far off, and not easily in a little
time to be assembled together. That the Tarters were yet a great way from the campe, where
the Bassaes of Asia and Caramania were within a few daies expected; the one of them leading
with him the reconciled Rebels of Asia, and the other six thousand Ianizaries. Which his con-
fession although it were not altogether true, yet carried it shew of some probability, as time
by proofe afterward declared.

The negligence of certain Christian souldiers forgetful of diuers duties.

Some of our men were in this charge slaine also, but few in comparison of the Turks, who
there lost some of their best men. It was noted, that in this conflict the souldiers of Colonell L
Saltze had euill behaued themselues, refusing to pursue the enemie being in flight, whether it
were for that they feared some ambush laid for them, or for that they disdained to follow the
Generall *Collonitz*: the reasons perhaps for which their Colonell stayed them from the pur-
suit of the enemie, but to euill purpose: for being out of order at such time as the Turkes
turning backe, renewed the fight, they had beene all slaine and cut in pieces, had not the Hai-

The great and braue endeuor of Collonitz to haue obtained the victory ouer the Turkes.

duckes in good time (as wee said) come on to their rescue. As for *Collonitz*, hee most braue-
ly bare himselfe in this conflict, so much as in him was vrging his good fortune, for the obtai-
ning of a full victorie; sometime performing the part of a good Captaine, and sometime of a
valiant souldier; sometime forcing the charge, and againe staying his men in their retreat: in-
somuch, that oftentimes lost amongst his enemies, and againe returning by the grace of God, M
hee escaped death as it were by myracle, and from being taken prisoner, by chance. Into
neither of which dangers hee could haue fallen, without the danger of the whole armie;
which, next vnto God, was for the safetie thereof beholding vnto the valour of him their
so braue a Leader. But God in his wisedome createth not such worthie men, but by his pro-
uidence

A uidence also to preserue them: wonder it were otherwise, that euer such worthie men should
returne from amongst the midst of so many desperat dangers, death as it were enuying at their
liues, and their enemies for their glory chusing them out to triumph of their spoiles and ouer-
throw. And without doubt, had the rest of the Christians after his example prosecuted their
good fortune, and done what good souldiers should of duty haue done, their enemies had bin
quite ouerthrowne, and they themselues had beene both victorious and rich; where now for
lacke of good resolution, the victory was almost equall. For beside the spoiles by them gotten,
they might haue carried away with them a whole yeres pay, due to the garison of Buda, which
the Turks (put into a feare, and carefull onely of their liues) had left in their camp; which they
afterward againe recouered, vpon the recouerie of their force and courage. This money, with
B much more, was all appointed as a prey vnto the good fortune of our men, had their valor had
the courage to haue gone to fetch it; but failing of their endeauour in so glorious an action,
Fortune failed them also of her bountie.

A great & rich bootie lost through the negligence of the Christians.

Now at length the armie of the Christians was met together, about the fourth of Septem-
ber, wherein the Lord *Russworm* commanded as Generall: who desirous to vnderstand of the
Turks affaires and designes, sent forth two of his most trusty and expert souldiers to performe
that piece of seruice: who in Turkes apparell beeing got into the Turkes armie, were there
eight daies vndiscouered or suspected of any. Where, after that they roaming vp and downe,
had taken a full view of the Turkes armie, and in what they might discouered their designes,
they returning backe, declared vnto the Generall what they had both there heard and seene:
C as, That the Turks armie was verie great, but yet not such, as that which the last yeare had
besieged Pesth: That the Turkes lay encamped at large, and not close together, which cau-
sed their armie to seeme the greater, taking vp for the lodgement thereof halfe a league, bee-
ing well prouided of cannon and other field pieces: That *Hassan Bassa* commanded therein
as Generall, hauing brought with him twelue thousand Ianizaries, beside his horsemen, and
the reconciled Rebels of Asia, which were dayly looked for, the leader of whome was not
knowne: some thinking it to be him who had alwayes commanded them, being a most va-
liant man, and expert Commander; but some other deeming him to bee but one of his Cap-
taines that had forsaken him (as indeed hee was) a right valiant man also, but not of so great
experience as hee: That the great Tartar Han, come to aid the Turkes in their warres in Hun-
D garie, was (to the great discontentment of *Hassan Bassa* the Turkes Generall) now alreadie re-
turned towards his own countrie (with such bootie and prisoners as he had got from the poore
Christians) to appease a rebellion there raised by a young Tartar Prince his Nephew, who by
his Vncle the great Han, giuen in hostage vnto Sultan *Mahomet*, and kept at Constantinople
as in prison, hauing found meanes to make an escape, and to returne into Tartarie, was about
to trouble his Vncles affaires, in hope now in his absence to mount vnto the Throne of his
estate: and that the Tartar beeing come to the banke of Danubius, and by the Turkes deni-
ed boats to passe ouer the Riuer in, and with many railing and opprobrious speeches by them
charged for his departure as a coward, had found meanes to make a flaoting bridge of great
faggots, whereby hee passed his footmen ouer the Riuer, his horsemen swimming ouer the
E same; and so was by great iournies returning home, boasting by the way as he went, that hee
had reiected and troden vnder foot all the prayers and requests of *Hassan Bassa*, entreating him
yet to stay a while in Hungarie for the seruice of the great Sultan his Master. Besides that, That
they had seene six great vessels vpon the riuer of Danubius, with ten lesser vessels following
of them, manned with three thousand souldiers well armed, and men of good sort, three hun-
dred of them being Ianizaries, appointed to safe conduct the munition to be brought vp the
riuer, and to serue for a conuoy vnto the other vessels that were to follow them with victuals,
if happily the Christians should attempt to doe any thing against them. And in fine, That the
Turkes army could not this yeare possibly be great, by reason of many great lets wherewith
the great Sultan was this yeare troubled: which much abated both the courage and hope of
F his Captains, who hanging their heads came, vnwillingly to these wars, accounting themselues
happy, if they might in this expedition but take Pesth, that they might not returne so much di-
shonoured, as they came danted and discouraged. With which newes the Christians were so
much encouraged to encounter with the Turks, as if they had been assured to fight with men
already discouraged and out of heart.

The Lord Russworm Generall of the Christian army, by his espials certainly informed of the estate of the Turkes armie.

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the garrison of Strigonium.

In the meane time the Huſſars of Strigonium, alwaies readie for fight, by good fortune going foorth, met with foure hundred Turkes ſeeking for forrage: who encountering together, at the firſt made a moſt braue and gallant fight, euerie one of them wiſhing, That their priuate ſ[illegible] might bee the beginning of their generall victorie. But the Huſſars being both more [illegible]full in that manner of skirmiſhing and ſudden encounter, and alſo of greater courage, at length brake the Turks rankes: of whome, ſix ſcore lay dead vpon the ground moſt of the reſt were taken priſoners, with an hundred and thirtie good and ſeruiceable horſes, wherewith both the glorie and the profit of their victorie was encreaſed. Colonell *Sultze* alſo with three hundred men marching out from the campe, chanced to diſcouer an hundred of thoſe braue horſemen which but newly came out of Aſia with *Zellaly* the Rebell, who hauing neuer ſeene the armie of the Chriſtians, nor yet felt of their forces, were with three hundred Ianizaries vpon a brauerie come ouer the riuer of Danubius, to take a view of the Chriſtian campe: for the drawing on of whome, the politique Colonell had ſent forth fiftie of his horſemen a great way from the reſt of his troupe, as it were to diſcouer the countrey thereabout. Theſe forerunners fayled not to meet with the Turkes, as if it had been by chance, and were by them forthwith charged, as thinking to haue had a great hand ouer that ſo ſmall a number; when vpon the ſudden *Sultze* with the reſt of his companie comming on, and hotly charging them, encouraged his owne men, and diſcouraged the Turkes: who ſurpriſed with feare, thinking the Chriſtians to bee more in number than indeed they were, hauing left ſome fiftie of their men dead vpon the place, as men diſmayed and void of vnderſtanding, fled. In which flight, ſuch as were not by the Chriſtians ſlaine, were in the riuer of Danubius drowned, whereinto they for feare all headlong plunged themſelues.

The Turkes defeated by Colonel Sultze.

The General of the Chriſtian army prouidetly fortifieth vpon the riuer of Danubius.

All theſe little conflicts ſerued but as ſparkes to kindle the great fire by the Baſſa entended; his firſt purpoſe beeing to put a conuoy of v[illegible]als into Buda, which the Chriſtians thought by all meanes to hinder; which ſo co[illegible]ntentions were not but by force and policie to be decided. The Chriſtian Generall wiſely doubting leſt the Baſſa ſhould come and lodge his armie betwixt Vicegrade and Buda, and ſo victuall the citie at his pleaſure, raiſed a ſtrong fort of an old Church betwixt the ſaid two places, and therein lodged a Regiment of Lanſquenets. Beſide which fort, called the fort of Saint *Andrew*, he built another at the head thereof in the Iſle of Vicegrade, in ſuch order and proportion, that theſe two forts might one of them defend the other, and anno[illegible]hat ſhould attempt to force either of them. Together with this commodiouſneſſe, the f[illegible]he Iſle kept the paſſage vpon Danubius free and open for the bringing of victuals and other neceſſaries to the campe of the Chriſtians; and was but a league and an halfe from Buda: into which fort was put a Regiment of foure thouſand Italians, beeing all verie well armed. Which done, he made a bridge of boats vpon the Riuer, which began in the campe, and ended at the Iſle, for the relieuing of the fort; and ſo from thence paſſed quite ouer the riuer to Vacia, a little towne, which it was needfull for the Chriſtians to keepe.

The Turkes aſſailing one of the forts of the Chriſtians, with [illegible] repulſed.

The Turkes made a bridge ouer the riuer of Danubius.

A great ambuſh laid for the intercepting of the Turkes.

Theſe forts finiſhed according to the neceſſitie of the time, it was not long after, but that the Baſſa ſent ten thouſand Turkes both horſe and foot to take the firſt of them, which they ſuppoſed to haue beene but weakely fortified. Who comming thither, were with ſuch courage receiued by the Lanſquenets with their harquebuſes, as that the whole fort ſeemed to haue beene on fire. Wherewith the Turkes diſmayed, as men in their expectation deceiued, and in approching of the ſame hauing ſome of their men ſlaine, and moe hurt, they ſounded a retreat, and hauing done nothing, but loſt a number of their men, returned to their campe from whence they came. In which enterpriſe they failing, they reſolued vpon another, and began to make a bridge ouer Danubius, in hope thereby to paſſe ouer, and to annoy the Chriſtians on the other ſide of the riuer. Whereof the Generall of the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, ſuffered them without any interruption to ſpend the time in performing of the ſame. But certainely enformed by his eſpials, both of the day and houre wherein they were about to paſſe ouer, he layed an ambuſh of foure thouſand L[illegible]anſquenets and two thouſand Reiſters for them, in ſuch place as from whence they might without danger doe great harme vnto the enemie, and aſſure the bodie of the Chriſtian armie. The riuer of Danubius had growing vpon the bankes thereof, and eſpecially in the deſolate and vnfrequented places, great ſtore of flags and

and reeds; which were now thicke, and high enough to couer theſe footmen in, hauing with them foure culuerins readie charged. Behinde this ambuſh lay Colonel *Collonitz* with his regiment, and in the head of it the Prince *Iolnuille* with a certaine number of French gentlemen, who vpon a braue courage, and a deſire they had to ſee ſeruice, had followed him into thoſe wars. There was alſo the Lord of Baſſomperre another French Lord, with his own priuat followers, in number few, but in valor great. Vpon the flanks lay foure troups of Carabins French men, Loranoiſes, and Wallons, moſt expert and reſolute ſouldiers.

The Turks hauing made their bridge, began now to paſſe ouer the ſame, being charged by ſome few ſtragling and looſe forerunners of the Chriſtians, ſent before for that purpoſe: whom the Turks not much regarding, ſtill preſſed on, in hope to ouertake them, and to cut them in pieces, not aware of the ambuſh laid for them, nor of their enemies counter-deſignes. The footmen in the meane time lying ſtil cloſe in the reeds in ambuſh, beholding how and in what order they paſſed, and expecting but the time when they were to begin their charge. But hauing perceiued ten thouſand of the Turks to be now come ouer, and making head toward them; the Wallons vpon the banke of the riuer (as was before appointed) firſt diſcharged their pieces vpon them and ſlew ſome few of them. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ſtill paſſing on by them, ſlew of them alſo about foure and twentie, and ſo keeping their way, marched directly toward the Chriſtians. But this their forwardneſſe was quickely ſtayed, and their courage abated: for in paſſing by they were vpon the ſudden aſſailed by the Lanſquenets & Reiſters, now riſen out of ambuſh, and by them hardly laid vnto on euery ſide; as alſo by the horſemen, who now come in, had put them into ſome diſorder before they were well aware of them. The Wallons alſo at the firſt by the Turks ſcattered, but now againe rallied, and deſirous to reuenge the death of their friends and fellowes, now played their parts, and on another ſide right furiouſly charged their enemies. During all which fight the culuerins ceaſed not to open the flanks of the Turks battell, with the loſſe of a number of their men by the furie of them rent in pieces. Neither did *Collonitz* foreſlow ſo faire an opportunitie, but afront charging this diſmaled companie, by plaine force cauſed them to giue ground; the Carabins in the meane time charging them vpon their flanks, and the Wallons behinde. Who thus on euerie ſide beſet and hardly layd vnto; as men diſcouraged, and out of hope to be relieued, turned their backs and fled amaine, to haue recouered the bridge whereby they came ouer. In which fight and flight two thouſand of them being ſlaine, and the reſt not able to recouer the bridge, driuen headlong into the riuer, were therein drowned and ſlaine to the number of fiue thouſand of them, thoſe which remained aliue being all taken priſoners. Amongſt the reſt, one of the Baſſa's, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, was ſlaine, with many other Captaines and Commanders of great note, and fifteene hundred Ianizaries. There were alſo foure field pieces taken, with thirtie enſignes and two cornets, beſide a very rich prey of braue and couragious horſes, with much faire armour, rich apparel, and good ſcimiters, weapons of no ſmall account and price among the Turks. This ouerthrow much abated the courage and hope of the reſt of the Turks for comming to the effect of their deſignes; and increaſed the courage and hope of the Chriſtians, reaſonably wel hereby aſſured of the good ſucceſſe of their affaires for this yeare in Hungarie.

The Turkes falling into the ambuſh laid for them by the Chriſtians, receiue a notable ouerthrow.

Sultan Mahomet much troubled in his affaires.

About this time Sultan *Mahomet* hauing put a Fleet of Gallies to ſea, to haue gone againſt the King of Fez, was certainly informed, how that the ſame with tempeſt ſore beaten, to auoid ſhipwrecke, was againe returned vnto the ſame port from whence it looſed, bringing backe with it nothing for all his great charges, but ſickeneſſe and great loſſes at ſea receiued. The like euill hap or worſe hauing at the ſame time alſo betided another Fleet by him ſet out into the Euxine or blacke ſea, to defend theſe ſea coaſts from being rifled and ſpoyled by the Rebels in Aſia, who with their dayly incurſions did there ſtill great harme. For albeit that *Zellaly* one of the Captaines of the Rebels, allured with *Mahomet* his faire promiſes, was by the ſtrait of the Dardanelli (called in antient time the ſtrait of Helleſpont) come with twelue thouſand good ſouldiours out of Aſia into Europe, and ſo marching through Macedonia, was come into Hungarie, there to doe his Lord and Maſter ſeruice; yet the chiefe Rebell held ſtill out, and both now and for diuers yeares after maintained a moſt cruell and dangerous warre, to the great trouble of the Graund Seigniour, and the hindering of his affaires. And euen now the craftie Rebell hauing made ſhew as if he would haue ſubmitted himſelfe, and

The doings of the Rebels in Aſia.

and come ouer into Europe as *Zellaly* did; and had therefore certaine gallies sent vnto him from *Mahomet*, to haue transported him and his souldiors in: he now of them possessed, slew all them that were sent therein, and kept the gallies to himselfe. So that so far from was it, that the rebellion was extinguished in Asia, and the Rebels suppressed, as that they were now vp in greater number than euer, and so did also more harme. Whereunto they were also the more encouraged by the example of *Hassan Bassa* (not him the General in Hungarie, but another Bassa of the same name) who by the Great Sultan sent against these Rebels, had for a time kept them vnder, and somewhat represſed their insolencie: but now by *Mahomets* displaced, and another being sent to succeed him; he therewith discontented, so animated and incensed his souldiers against him, as that comming to haue taken vpon him his charge, he found most part of the souldiers readie to turne their weapons vpon him: so that at length they fell together by the eares about the matter, some taking part with the old General, and some with the new. In which tumultuous quarrell a number of souldiers were slaine, all they of the richer sort spoiled, and the Great Sultans seruice and authoritie neglected. But the new General armed with his Princes authoritie, and some of the old souldiers also taking his part, at last preuailing, *Hassan* the old Generall with his partakers were glad to flie and shift for themselues: who for all that, hauing afterward gathered together the dispersed souldiers, and joining with the rest of the Rebels, held still the bodie of a good armie on foot; by his example stirring vp the people to rebellion, crossing the seruice of his Soueraign, and doing what harme he could, so to seeme vnto his followers the more valiant. The Persian King on the other side taking the aduantage of these the Turks troubles at home, as also of his wars with the Christians, at the same time with a great armie besieged the great citie of Tauris, as then kept by the Turks with a most strong garrison. In which siege he for batterie vsed the helpe of the cannon, an engine of long time by the Persians scorned, as not beseeming valiant men; vntil that by their owne harmes taught, he was now content to vse it; being with the same, as also with skilfull cannoniers furnished by the Portugals: by which means he in short time after againe recouered this great citie from the Turks, being before by Sultan *Amurath* taken from *Mahomet* the Persian King, but now againe restored vnto the Persian Kingdome.

The great citie of Tauris besieged and taken by the Persian King.

Sultan *Mahomet* thus on euery side beset with troubles, and not well knowing which way to turne himselfe for to remedie the same, being in minde much troubled and perplexed, began to enter into consideration of the vanitie of these earthly things, & of the frailtie of his estate; and so strucke as it were with a remorse of conscience, and a fi[r]me beleefe that God did thus chastise and punish him for his offences, considering that his auncestors had neuer bin troubled with any such attaints or disgraces, he conuerted all his thoughts vnto prayers towards God: and therefore gaue commandement for publike prayers to be continually said in all the Mosquies or churches throughout all his dominions, giuing himself wholly also vnto such deuout exercises and works of charitie: and withall sent two of his most reuerend Priests bare headed and bare footed on pilgrimage to Mecha (where the chiefe Temple of their great Prophet is, and wherein they vainly beleeue their superstitious praiers to be of him most speedily heard) there to pray vnto him for the health and prosperitie of him their Prince and Soueraigne.

Sultan Mahomet perplexed with the euill successe of his affaires, falleth to his superstitious deuotions

At the same time, *Amurat Rais* an old pyrat the Turks Admiral for the West part of the Mediterranian, roaming there vp and down, and doing what harme he could, chanced to light vpon a great Flemish ship, which he with his gallies forthwith enclosed, the calmenesse of the weather then fauouring him, and hindring the Flemings, their ship being able to make no way. Who so beset, and hauing made a great fight against the whole fleet, and slain a number of the Turks, and sore rent diuers of their gallies, though not without losse of many of their own men also; being not able longer to fight, and now seeing themselues boorded by as many Turks as could well stand vpon the hatches of the ship, & their gallies hanging round about her; as men of inuincible courage, and resolued to die, and yet to sell their liues at as deere a rate as they could, laid all the pouder they had left in the ship on an heape together, & thereunto vpon the sudden put fire, by force whereof the Turks with the hatches were al blown vp, the Flemings with their ship rent in pieces, together with diuers of the gallies that were fast grapled vnto her, and an incredible harme done vnto such other of the gallies as were neere vnto her. Men worthie alwayes to vanquish, seeing that they feare nothing more than to be themselues vanquished: and more worthie to haue liued for the glorie of men, than by their crueltie to haue

A great fight of a Flemish ship with the gallies of Amurat Rais

A haue perished to the dishonor of men. The old pyrat astonied at so great and desperat a resolution, hauing in this exploit lost much, and gained nothing, hasted to the shore to repaire his rent gallies, and so to put to sea againe: Where he had not long beene, but that he by chance (and that full fore against his will) met with the great Duke of Florence his gallies, accounted the best gallies in the world, and such as now at this present most troubled the Turkes designes. At which meeting, after many a thundering cannon shot on both sides discharged, not without the apparant losse on the Turks behalfe, when they should haue come to haue grapled together, and to haue fought hand to hand, a thing which the Florentines most desired, as in hope to haue made that famous pyrat the prize of their victorie; he not willing so to do, suddenly turned about and fled; after whom the Florentines followed amaine, and in the chase
B sunke some of his gallies, and tooke other some full of great riches: and so brake the credit of this old and renowned Pyrat, as that for a great while after he was little by the Christians feared vpon that coast. But leauing *Mahomet* to his deuotions, & the old pyrat to bewaile his losses, let vs againe returne to see what the great armies of the Turks and of the Christians did more in Hungarie.

While these armies lay encamped the one attending vpon the other, many an hot skirmish passed betwixt them, most whereof forted vnto the hurt and losse of the Turks. Among others it fortuned, that a troupe of aduenturers going out of the Christian army to seeke after booty, fell vpon a like troup of the Turks, come out for the like purpose: where after a sharp encounter on both sides giuen and receiued, the Turks at length put to the worse & defeated, betook
C themselues to flight, hauing left a number of their fellowes dead vpon the place, and lost two of their ensignes, with an hundred and thirty horses of seruice. In which chase the Christians hardly pursuing them, draue a number moe of them into the Danubius, wherein they most miserably perished; and tooke a great many moe prisoners, amongst whom were found aboue fourescore Italian renegates, who brought into the camp, were as enemies vnto God, in a martiall court all condemned to be hanged, and so accordingly executed, sauing the Captain himselfe, who for the regard of his place was beheaded.

The Turkes in a skirmish by the Christians ouerthrowne.

Eighty Italian renegates hanged.

Shortly after, the great Bassa ariuing with his armie, came in the beginning of October and encamped neere Buda, both for the preseruation of the place, and the safetie of his armie, now greatly diminished both in number and courage. For it was certainely knowne by diuers fugi-
D tiues from the Turkes, that in these many conflicts they had lost a number of their best souldiers, but especially of their Ianizaries. So that the Bassa for the supplying of that defect, was glad to make choice of 6000 of his best soldiers, whom armed with muskets and scimitars, the proper armes of the Ianizaries, he entertained into the roomes and pay of the Ianizaries that were dead and slaine: the rest of his armie for the most part consisting of bare and feeble base raw souldiers. Besides this, that all the army was full of mourning and lamentation, the souldiers in all places bewailing the losse of their brethren, their friends, and companions: so that in stead of their wonted threats and brauerie, nothing was to be heard but sighing and complaining. And moreouer, that the generall opinion conceiued of the greatnesse of the Christian army (imagined to bee much greater and stronger than indeed it was) had strucke such a feare into the
E mindes of the Turks, as that they were resolued, Buda being once victualled, to return home, all their other proud designes for this yeare set apart: which was the cause that they had dislodged with their army, and drawne neere vnto the city, the better to attend to the new victualling thereof, and so to be gone; accounting themselues right happie, if they might but performe that good piece of seruice and saue themselues.

The Turkes army greatly diminished and discouraged.

The Christians before in doubt lest the Turkes should haue besieged Pesth, as they had before giuen it forth they would, and seeing them now to be risen with their armie and encamped neere vnto Buda, resolued to follow them, and in what they might to crosse their designes: and thereupon leauing Pesth, as now out of danger, they rose also, and came and encamped before the fort in the Isle of Vicegrade, betwixt the said fort and Vacia; where
F they stayed foure dayes, and then by a bridge which they made vpon the Danubie, whereby to passe from the Isle where the Italians lay in garrison, vnto the fort of S. *Andrew*, kept by the Lansquenets, they with the whole armie passed the riuer, and so came and encamped before the fort of Saint *Andrew*, in the face of the enemie. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two armies was plaine and open, without woods, bushes, or riuers, to hinder the ioining of

The christians with their army follow the Turks.

of a set battell. In which so fit a place, the Christians incouraged with the feare of their ene- C
mies, and the diminishing of their number and courage (whereof they had got knowledge as
well by their tumultuous rising, as by other aduertisements) were desirous in so fauourable
occasions, to haue giuen them battell; and for the desire they had thereof, were come thither
to seeke it: w[illegible]e Turkes on the other side sought as much to shun, not daring to aduen-
ture themselues vnto the fortune of a generall battell, for all the bragges they had made. Ne-
uertheless, very shame arming them with some resolution, they put forth into the field a bat-
talion of fiue thousand men, fiue daies after that the Christians were encamped on that side
of the Riuer. This battell of the Turkes came marching on, within halfe a quarter of a
league of the Christians; which they would not haue done but vpon the confidence of a grea-
ter number following of them, hauing behinde them ten thousand men both horse and foot H
layed as close as they possibly could a little out of the way. Now the Christians thinking of
no other forces ready to fight, but those which appeared in their sight, sent forth twelue hun-
dred men against these fiue thousand Turkes, to skirmish with them, vntill the whole armie
were put into order, euen for a generall battell that day to haue beene fought, if the Turkes
The christians resolue to giue the Turks battell. should accept thereof; whereunto the Generall, the Colonels, Captaines, and souldiers in ge-
nerall, were fully enclined, the whole armie with great cheerefulnesse marching on foot, at
this loud alarme of their common desire. Which had not failed to bring forth great change
of effects, had the Turkes beene likewise disposed for the producing of the same. But they bee
the extraordinarie fauours of Fortune, when fit occasions ioyne themselues with braue reso-
lutions, and such resolutions with meanes to effect the same. This is the let of many most no- I
ble trophies, which most commonly faile, either for lacke of fit occasion, or for lacke of good
resolution for the performance of them. But as most men iudge of other mens conceits by
their owne inclination, so the Christians themselues, resolued to giue battell, thought the
Turkes their enemies to haue beene of the same [illegible]ion: and those fiue thousand men to
haue beene the head of the auantguard, follow[illegible] the whole armie, comming to draw
The Turkes seek to draw the Christians into the danger of their ambush. them out to skirmish vntill the comming on of the rest of their forces. Howbeit their designe
was quite contrarie to this the Christians hope, for their purpose was onely to traine them
out into their ambushes, so without danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpose
they gaue sufficient testimonie, and cause of suspect; for that the skirmish hauing continued
three houres, with some losse on both sides, the Turkes armie appeared not: and these fiue K
thousand Turkes now in skirmish, by [illegible] and little retiring, sought so to haue drawne the
Christians into the danger of their ambu[illegible] Which their manner of fight caused the Chri-
stians to suspect the matter: for it was not like, that fiue thousand men should giue ground
to twelue hundred, if they had not had some secret meaning therein, which they sought to
effect to their more aduantage. Which caused the Christian Carabins which followed them,
not to bee too earnest in pursuing of them, and more closely to serre themselues together, the
better to endure the shocke of their enemies, if they should charge them. Neither were they
in that their prouident feare deceiued: for the Turkes seeing their purpose discouered, and
themselues now out of hope to effect the same, vpon the sudden made a stand, and so pre-
sently comming on, hardly charged the formost of our Carabins: who as men halfe surpri- L
sed, to see themselues so readily and resolutely charged, by men who but now made shew as
if they would haue fled, were not able so valiantly to receiue the charge (considering the
A conflict betwixt the Turkes and the Christians. great number of them by whome they were charged) but that some few of them were ouer-
throwne and slaine, with some of the Hungarians amongst them. Howbeit they made good
resistance, and right valiantly repulsed their enemies, of whom they slew a good number also.
The preasse in this conflict was great, euerie one desiring to shew himselfe braue and coura-
gious in the head of his owne armie. But new supplies still comming in, the Turkes in fine
shrunke backe and retired, hauing left three hundred of their fellowes dead vpon the place,
accompanied with an hundred of the Christians there slaine likewise. Now vpon the retreat
on both sides, euery man in his conceit appointed the next day for the generall day of battell: M
the bragging speeches of the Turkes giuing the Chri[illegible]casion so to thinke; for why,
they seldome or neuer refuse battell being offered them by the Christians, as wel for the con-
fidence they commonly haue in their multitude, as for the foolish opinion they haue of the
inculitable predes[illegible]ion of men to life or death: accounting it amongst them an eternall in-
famie,

A famie, to refuse any combat against the Christians; which howsoeuer it fall out, should fort
to their aduantage, by vanquishing gaining the fruits of their victory; and by losing their liues
in battell, to gaine the ioyes of heauen: being vainly perswaded, no mens soules to go more
readily vnto heauen, than the soules of such as die in battell against the Christians. Such effects
old superstitious opinions are able to worke in the mindes of men, euen to the desperat aduen-
turing and spending of their liues. Howbeit that this effect for this time witnesseth, that these
men with all these aduantages as much feared the danger as any other poore faint hearted
men; and that a strong apprehension of feare is able to preuaile against all customs and persua-
sions, be they neuer so old, as also against all other accidents whatsoeuer. For why, the Turks
B contenting themselues with their great bragges and vaine threats, came not forth according to
their promise, neither could by any meanes be drawne to aduenture themselues vnto the ha-
zard of a generall battell. The losse of their great and choicest men discouraged and deterred
them from aduenturing all to the hazard of so great a perill. For (as I haue said) almost all *The Turkes refuse to come to a general battell with the Christians.*
their Ianizaries and most valiant souldiours were dead or slaine, and the rest, men of small
spirit or courage, reserued that little which was in them, for the safegard of themselues, and
not for the gaining of any notable victorie. They had also in these often conflicts lost all
their Erasbles, which are a desperate kinde of souldiours fighting on horseback without sad- *Erasbles what manner of soldiers they bee among the Turks.*
dles, hauing onely a little piece of tapestrie vpon their horses backes, and by the readinesse of
their horses do for a long time in one sort maintaine their fight. They carry light darts made
of strait and faire canes, excellently wel made, and strongly armed; and their handie weapons
C are good sables, or broad and sharpe curtleasses. These men a great while fought most vali-
antly in the last combats, but in fine were all slaine, except some few which cast themselues in-
to Danubius, and were there drowned. The losse of which men much discouraged the Turks;
for why, their seruice stood them in great stead in receiuing the enemies charges, and with
their bodies couering of the Turks squadrons in their greatest perils and combats. Howbeit
the Turks receiued not these losses without returning of some part thereof to vs againe: For
Collonitz had a little before fallen into great danger of his person, and lost some of his follo- *Collonitz going about to surprise the Turkes, with losse repulsed, and himself indangered.*
wers in an enterprise of great moment, had the effect answered vnto the proiect thereof.
While the Turkes yet lodged in the Isle of Vicegrade, he caused eight great field pieces to
be so placed, as that therewith he so much annoyed the Turks, that they were about to haue
D forsaken the place. And the more to force them so to do, the second of October he embar-
qued himselfe with six hundred Haiducks vpon the Danubius, and so by night with great si-
lence landed neere vnto the enemies, thinking so vpon the sudden to haue surprised them.
Which for all that could not so secretly be done, by reason of the comming on of the day, but
that the Turks were thereof aware; who thereupon with great preise issued out of their tren-
ches, and with all their force and power charged him. Against whom he made head, rather vp-
on a braue and constant resolution, than vpon any confidence he had in his owne forces, not
hauing men ynow to withstand the least part of his enemies. Which his so great resolution so
abated the Turks fury, as that they stood a good while in doubt to charge men so resolued. The
field pieces which he had brought ouer with him into the Isle, then serued him to good pur-
E pose, beating them backe with their murthering bullets, who with their number thought to
haue ouerwhelmed him. Which good helpe opposed against the number of the enemies, for
a time ballanced the victorie, and wrought the death of many on both sides. This manner of
fight endured the space of two houres, maintained more by resolution than by strength and
power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number preuailing, the Christians therewith
rather oppressed than vanquished, forsaking their field pieces, disorderly retired toward their
boats. After whom the Turks eagerly following, in that pursuit slew 400 of the Haiducks, the
rest with much ado recouering their boats, carrying with them their General, by them hardly
defended from the furie of the enemie. Which losse happened not so vnto the Christians, but
that it was mingled with some losse of the Turks also, of whom the most forward and coura-
F gious were in that fight slaine, as was afterwards knowne by certaine prisoners of theirs after-
ward taken, who made report of the losses by them there receiued. The Turks by this so desper-
rat & dangerous an attempt warned to preuent the like for the time to come, cast vp great tren-
ches in the Isle alongst the banke of Danubius, therein placing certaine Ianizaries and other
their best soldiers, who there lay vntil the dislodgement of the camp to go to lie before Buda.

The

The Turkes had before built a bridge of boats at Lamaſcin, which gaue them paſſage into G Stiria, where they did great harme; for the ſtrengthening whereof they had built at both ends thereof a ſtrong fort, well furniſhed both with men and munition. This bridge ſo commodious for the Turks, and hurtfull to the Chriſtians, *Trautmeſtorf* Gouernor of Stiria, and a great Commander in thoſe parts, with his Stirian troupes and ſome good aid brought vnto him by the Countie *Serin*, vndertooke to breake. Vpon which reſolution he vpon the ſudden approched one of the aforeſaid forts, and ſo right furiouſly aſſailed the ſame before they in the fort were well aware of his comming. In which doing he cauſed the greateſt noiſe and ſtirre that was poſſible to be made with trumpets, drummes, and clattering of armour, as if it had been ſome great armie employed in that action, the more to terrifie the beſieged. Which ſo great and dreadfull a noiſe, joyned vnto ſo braue an attempt, with ſo great courage begun, H ſtrucke ſuch a terror into the mindes of the Turks, that they without any great reſiſtance quitted the place, and fled ouer the bridge to the other fort. Of which forſaken fort the Chriſtians became maſters, and with all ſpeed proſecuting their good fortune, preſently drew out thereof three cannons, and therewith battered the other Fort. In which the Turks, hauing no other place of refuge to flee vnto, nor hope of ſafetie but in their laſt valour, ſo well behaued themſelues, as that the Chriſtians had much ado to force them. Howbeit a breach being made by the furie of the canon, and ſcaling ladders ſet vp, the fort was on euery ſide aſſaulted; which the Turks for the ſpace of fiue houres ſo valiantly endured, as that it was hard to ſay who ſhould preuaile or haue the better. In this aſſault were many on both ſides ſlaine; the Turkes not being to be ouercome but with the loſſe both of their liues and honour; nor the Chriſti- I ans able to retyre without loſing the fruit of that their ſo great and rich an enterpriſe: So that the aſſault was with great reſolution on both ſides maintained, the Turkes fighting for their liues, and the Chriſtians for their honour; vntill that at laſt the Turkes with much ſlaughter ouercome, the fort was by the Chriſtians taken, and moſt of the Turks therein being ſlain, and the reſt taken priſoners, both the forts were forthwith raſed, and the bridge broken, which before had ſerued for an ordinarie paſſage for the Turks to forrage and ſpoile the Chriſtian territories by. The boats whereof the bridge was made were all burnt, and ſome great ordnance therein found broken in pieces and caſt into the riuer.

The bridge of Lamaſcin taken & broken by the Gouernor of Stiria.

Lugaze a ſtrog place deliuered to Baſta.

At the ſame time Lugaze a place of great importance for the ſeruice of the Emperour, and ſo neere vnto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing thereabouts, but that it K might from thence be diſcouered and knowne, was by the Tranſyluanians deliuered to *Baſta* Generall for the Emperor in that country. From which place he ſending out certain ſcouts toward Belgrade, they brought in with them certaine priſoners; who being examined, ſaid, that *Haſſan Baſſa* the Turks General in Hungarie, had writ to *Giaffer Baſſa* the Gouernor of Temeſwar, That he ſhould only attend to the preſeruation of his owne, without attempting any thing further againſt the Chriſtians, the preſent eſtate of their affaires ſo requiring: And that hauing reuictualled Buda, his purpoſe was for this yeare to returne, in hope of ſome good peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperor.

The two armies of the Turkes and the Chriſtians lay ſtill neere the one of them vnto the other, the Turkes carefull for the reuictualling of Buda, and the Chriſtians ſtill intentiue to L their doings, and deſirous in what they might to hinder and fruſtrate the ſame. Which becauſe they could no way better do than by offering of them battell; they thereupon generally reſolued, vpon a Friday being the ſeuenteenth of October, the day by them aſſigned for the battell; hauing by the ſhooting off of three great cannons giuen warning vnto the ſouldiours throughout the campe, for the preparing of themſelues firſt toward God, and then to the ſeruice of their Prince; after they had well refreſhed themſelues, in good order tooke the field, and ſo ſtood readie ranged there, either to giue or to accept of battel. Before whom the Countie *Ringraue* was ſent forth with his regiment, about halfe the way betwixt the two armies, to diſcouer the mouing of the enemie, and to receiue his firſt charge if occaſion ſhould ſo require. Whoſe Scouts before ſent forth, about noone diſcouered a troupe of horſemen come out of M the Turks campe, about ſome buſineſſe they had to do, but to them vnknowne: whome the Scouts ſuppoſing to haue beene the forerunners of the Turks armie, and by them almoſt ſurpriſed, haſtily retyred back again, and by their haſtie retreat put the whole armie in an alarme, which came brauely marching on, in hope now to haue come to trie the matter by true ualour

The Chriſtians offer the Turks battell.

A lour, and by the fortune of a generall battell to haue made that day for euer famous by their victory and the ouerthrow of their proud enemies. And in the heat of their ſo great courage like enough as it was for them to haue performed the ſame, had the Turkes had but ſo much courage in them as to haue met them in the field, as was wel hoped they now would. But they with their former loſſes diſcouraged, and reſolued only vpon the ſafegard of themſelues, and the victualling of Buda, had no minde to enter into theſe honorable liſts, but kept themſelues cloſe within the couert of their tents and the ſtrength of their trenches. And ſo the Chriſtians with a falſe alarme moued, and hauing for the moſt part of the day in vaine expected the coming forth of their enemies, returned into their campe deceiued of their expectation.

The Turkes refuſe to accept of battell offered them by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day there was an eſpie taken, whom they which tooke him thought to haue been B a Turke, howbeit he was found to be one of their owne men; by whom they were better enformed of the cowardiſe of the Turks, of their purpoſe for the ſhunning of battel, and of their reſolution for the keeping of themſelues within the ſafegard of their trenches, and that they ſo did, as wel for the loſſes they had before receiued, as for diuers other vnlucky accidents, which cauſed them to miſdoubt ſome euill ſucceſſe in the end & winding vp of this their expedition. Neuertheleſſe, the Chriſtians not greatly truſting to theſe reports, ſtill kept their armie in readines, to giue their enemies battell vpon the leaſt occaſion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cauſe of feare, the Turkes hauing no deſire at all to come to a generall battell: ſo that in ſtead of great effects that were expected, the time paſſed but in light skirmiſhes and vaine alarmes betwixt the two armies, vntill that at length the Turks hauing by the C riuer ſufficiently ſtored the citie of Buda with victuals, the great Baſſa ſecretly by night roſe with his army, and ſo retired toward Belgrade. Which ſo baſe a retreat differed not much from a cowardly flight, being with ſuch ſilence made vnder the darke couert of the night, as that the Chriſtians had thereof no perceiuing vntill that they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of Buda and of ſome other few places of the Turks in Hungarie, was all that the great Baſſa did this yere with his great armie; whereas at his firſt comming it was giuen out, that he would therewith take both Strigonium and Peſth from the Chriſtians.

The great Baſſa hauing victualled Buda, ſecretly by night riſeth with his armie, & ſo retireth out of Hungarie.

The next day the haſtie and ſudden departure of the enemie being perceiued, the Generall of the Chriſtians called together the Colonels and other great Commanders of the armie, to conſult with them, what were beſt to be done in ſo vnexpected an occurrent? Of whom, ſome D were of opinion, That it was beſt forthwith in all haſte to purſue their fearfull enemies: other-ſome for many reaſons diſſuading the ſame, and other-ſome withall propounding ſome other notable exploits to bee taken in hand. But in concluſion, the ſafeſt point was reſolued vpon, which was, not to hazard any their troupes in purſuing of their flying enemies, who were hardly to be ouertaken; but now immediatly after their departure to attempt the taking in of ſome one of their ſtrong holds: where, amongſt others that were propounded, Hatwan was thought to be the moſt neceſſarie place, being ſo ſeated, as that beſide the great harme it did to the Chriſtians thereabout, it much hindered both aduertiſements and victuals to be brought vnto Peſth. Which exploit reſolued vpon, they forthwith raſed the fort of S. *Andrew*, and the fort by them built in the Iſle of Vicegade, becauſe they ſhould not ſtand the Turks in any E ſtead after their departure, and ſo with all their power ſet forward toward Hatwan. This towne is ſeated beyond the riuer of Danubius toward the North, about eight leagues from Buda, croſſing the way to Tranſyluania and Caſſoua, vpon a faire and euen plaine, neere vnto a great and deepe mariſh, and was ſometime defended with good and ſtrong wals, with a caſtle, and three large and deepe ditches, for a long time in the power of the Turks, and which without loſſe a great while held out againſt the valiant Baron *Teuffenbach*, by whom it was moſt ſtraitly in vaine beſieged: vntill that afterward it was againe beſieged by *Maximilian* the Archduke, the Emperours brother, then Generall of his armie in Hungarie in the yeare 1594, vnto whom it was by compoſition ſurrendered, after it had for a certaine ſpace beene by the Turkes notably defended: who conſidering the harme this place did vnto the Emperors territories, by reaſon of the ſcituation thereof, wherein a great and ſtrong garriſon of the Turkes F alwaies lying, forraged all the Chriſtian territories as farre as the riuer Vague, yea and oftentimes tooke booties as far as Strigonium, and by ſpoiling of all that ſide of Hungarie, cauſed the countrey to pay contribution as farre as Ternauie, ſtanding within foure leagues of the mountaines which ſeperat Hungarie and Morauia: all irreparable loſſes to the Chriſtians, and hardly

The Chriſtians after the departure of the Turkes reſolue to beſiege Hatwan.

Hatwan taken & diſmantled by Maximilian the Archduke in the yere 1594.

hardly to be auoided: for which reasons he caused it then to be dismantled, and to be made [illegible] for the wars. After which time for all that, the Turks from the common [illegible] had with great labour againe new fortified the same, with walls made with great [illegible] wood and faggots, with earth rammed in betwixt them; a [illegible] on, and better able to withstand the fury of the cannon, then are walls [illegible] the Turks vse most commonly to fortifie such places as they meane to hold, and [illegible] times cost much for the Christians to gaine the same from them.

Hatwan fortified by the Turkes.

This place thus fortified, and both with men and munition well furnished, and with all things needfull stored, was able to endure a great and long siege; whereunto the garison in was as resolutely set downe, as were the Christians to attempt it: where now, at their comming vnto it, a part of the Italian Regiment, assisted with 300 Lanspeneks, vnder the leading of Countie *Sultze*, and *Grasold* Generall of the Italians, were appointed to [illegible] rest of the armie, and to begin to make the approches: which they did by [illegible] mill, driuen by the water of the marish, not past a musket shot from the town. Where [illegible] they were busied, the Turkes sallying out of the towne, came to fight hand to hand with the Christians, and had with them a sharpe combat, the Turkes fighting for the defence of the place and of their liues, and the Christians for the gaining of the same, and for their honour. Which so contrarie a resolution in that conflict cost the liues of many; and amongst others the life of *Grasold*, Generall of the Italians, there slaine with a harquebuse shot, vnto the great hurt of the whole armie, but especially of the Italians, now depriued of so great and expert a Commander. At last for all that, the Turks were enforced confusedly to retire again into the towne: hauing in this sallie lost a number of their men also. The Christians neuertheless hauing driuen the Turkes backe into the towne, went forward with their businesse in making their approches, and placing their gabions to couer their cannon: wherein the Turks with their great & small shot did them great harme, but especially with their murthering-pieces, charged with nailes and other small pieces of yron. Howbeit, by the comming of the Lord *Russworm* with the rest of the armie, the approches were the next day brought on, and the batterie planted so neere vnto the towne, as that the Turkes could not without most manifest danger and losse, any more sally out to trouble the Christians in their workes. The first inconuenience the besieged felt, was the want of water, which through the diligence of our men was soone taken from them, the cannon right furiously battering the wals in the mean space. Wherewith the Turks discouraged, and now out of hope to be relieued, thought it not best for them to expect either whilest a breach were made, or an assault giuen, but by parly to preuent these dangers, in hope so to come to some easier composition while yet they stood in their whole strength. And so parley by the Turkes demanded, and by the Christians granted, and hostages for the suretie thereof on both sides giuen, they sent two of the chiefe men amongst them to entreat of the same: who at the first demanded, That their liues and libertie saued, they might with bag and baggage depart. Whereunto answer was giuen them, That they should onely with their liues and libertie be gone, with some few hundreds of their worst horses of courtesie giuen them, to carry them to such place as they meant to retire themselues vnto, and to deliuer into the hands of the Christians all such renegats as were in the towne.

Grasold Generall of the Italians slaine.

The Turkes in Hatwan craue parley.

Now the besieged Turkes carrying yet the markes of the crueltie by the Wallons exercised vpon them in the former siege, when as the same town was by force taken, and filled with dead bodies of all ages & sex, and doubting now this second shipwreck, with like misery threatned vnto them by the Christian Generall, if they should expect the dreadfull euent of a generall assault, accepted of these hard conditions, seeing no better could be obtained; and so couenanting, that they with their families, their liues and liberties saued, might with a safe conuoy be conducted vnto some place of surety within their own territory, they promised to giue vp the town. Which agreement on both parties resolued vpon, they ful of sorrow and heauines, with their families departing out of the town the 29 of Nouember, were by Colonel *Andast* with certain Hussars safely conducted to Solnoc. The Christians entring the towne, found therein great store of victuals & munition, the houses ful of corne and other necessaries, and the shops stored with weapons, shot & pouder, with 24 pieces of great ordnance ready mounted, which might haue well sufficed for the defence of the place. But all these things are but accessories vnto one principall, that is to say, to resolution, without which they are but of small force, and with-

Hatwan yelded: vnto the Christians.

A with which they are able to do much. Beside that, the place it selfe thus furnished well considered, seemed almost impossible to haue bin forced; but especially now that Winter was come on, which might haue brought a thousand stormes and difficulties, by the Christians not to haue been endured: so that euery man beholding the same, with his eies cast vp towards heauen, gaue God the praise, for taking away the Turks courages in their so great aduantages, and encreating of the Christians in their no lesse difficulties: vnto whom the glory, of this victory was wholly attributed, seeing that contrary to all apparance and mans forces, he had giuen to the Christians the victorie, no way able by their owne forces to haue been gained. But God, which in his prouidence from heauen beholdeth all things vpon earth, disposeth of the same as he seeth best for his glorie, and the welfare of his: so that in this action he was the only pilot B which brought this our ship into the hauen of health; for the haires of our head are of him numbred, and euen the least creatures vpon earth are by him regarded.

Into this new gained town the Christian Generall put a good and strong garrison of a thousand Lansquenets and fiue hundred Hungarians, part horsemen, and part footmen, for the keeping of the place and of the countrey thereabout: which done, he retired with his armie toward Pesth, which he relieued with victuals, and strengthened with the troupes of the Colonels *Collonitz*, *Geisberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there billited to passe the Winter, and to preserue the place against the deuises and enterprises of the Turks of Buda, who were still deuising and practising for the regaining thereof.

The Lord Russworm breaketh vp his army, & sendeth the ensignes gained from the Turke for a present to the Archduke Matthias.

C The time of the yeare for souldiers any longer to keep the field now past, and the great armie of the Turks risen and gone, the Lord *Russworm* breaking vp his armie neere vnto Strigonium, caused all the Ensignes by him this yere gained from the Turks, euen 64 in number, to be gathered together, all very braue and gallant; all which he sent with great pomp & triumph to Vienna, for a Present to the Archduke *Matthias*; who receiued them with great thanks giuen both vnto the Generall that sent them, and the souldiers that had gained them; and bountifully rewarding them that had brought them. They of Vienna at the same time highly commending the Generall, and not a little reioycing to see those same Ensignes now in their power within the citie, which not long before had proudly braued them in the field.

Insolent souldiers iustly punished.

Now after the breaking vp of the Christian armie, a great number of insolent and seditious souldiers, especially of the Regiment of Colonel *Altwein*, roming vp and downe the country, ■ to seeke for bootie, most cruelly rifled and spoiled the countrey villages, with the inhabitants therein, as well the Christians as the Turks, sparing no more the one than the other: whose outrage not otherwise to be stayed, they were by commandement from the Emperor, by force charged ■ Widhof, and two hundred and thirty of them being brought in prisoners to Vienna, foure and thirtie of them were there for example hanged, and the rest as men not worthy of entertainment cashiered.

The souldiers of the regiment of the Reingraue euill bilsred, by extremities driuen to prouide for themselues.

The time of the yeare hauing (as we said) broken vp the armie of the Christians, the Regiment of the Countie *Reingraue* was put in garrison into the villages of Chiante and Temauie, alwaies at hand with the enemies, as fittest to repulse them. These souldiers were alwaies kept in doings, stil fighting whilest others were at peace, and mannaging their armes, whilest others E hanged theirs by the wals. For besides the troubles they had with the Turks, their nigh but bad neighbours, the very inhabitants of the countrey (who held all that might hurt them, for enemies, were they neuer so much their friends) oftentimes, and that for little or no occasion at all, tooke vp armes, and right furiously charged them as their mortal enemies. Of which combats there was no end, the countrey peasants still striuing to rid themselues of such ghests. So that these valiant men still enforced to buy their bread with the price of their bloud, as men become desperat, vsed the Christians as they did the Turks, diuiding all things with them by the sword. But in these small and often fights moe men were slaine & lost than would haue bin in a generall battel, some good number either on the one side or the other being euery day slain: which daily inconueniences caused these souldiers to resolue to goe to seeke their liuing elsewhere, rather than in the midst of the graues of their fellows. Whereunto they were the rather F enduced, for that but a little before, the troupe of Captaine *Clinchampe*, the best and brauest of the whole Regiment, was one night right furiously assailed, and almost surprised by the countrey peasants. Wherfore they departed out of Hungarie into Austria without victuals, apparel, or money, their pay due vnto them for 17 months being kept from them. A crueltie full of

hardly to be auoided: for which reasons he caused his army to hasten thither, and vnfurnished of all things necessarie for the wars. After which arriuall he presently began to assault the castle of the place, and with great labour at length wan the same, with the slaughter of all the Turkes that were within it. Which victorie he obtained by meanes of certaine piles of wood and faggots, with the which he filled the ditches, and so ouerpassed the same vpon, and better to withstand the fury of the enemie, he raised vp a publique bulwarke for the Turkes behalfe. Which bulwarke afterward did them great seruice, and cost much to the Christians before they could get it from them.

Hatwan again fortified by the Turkes.

This place thus recouered, he resolued to haue the towne of Fuelbour to passe by things needful for him, without doing therein any harme: which their request he courteously granted vnto them, and accordingly their words they indeed passed, not so much as once without commandement attempting once to touch. Which their so quiet passage caused the bishop to further his purpose, whereby to passe ouer the riuer which diuideth Hungarie from Austria. Which purpose when he came vnto the peasants of Austria, they assembled themselues together in great number, and cast vp a fort vpon the banke of the riuer, with three faulcons of yron, and placed soldiers therein to keep them from comming ouer into their countrey. Which their so forwarde resolution for a while staid these men of warre: who to auoid further trouble, courteously requested passage of these men, promising all their good behauiour in passing quietly through their country: which the carles in most churlish manner refused to grant, with proud threats of the danger of their liues, if they should by force attempt the passage, and not with quietnesse returne. With which brauadoes of the countrey churles these troupes of martiall men prouoked, resolued by force to remoue these lets, and by the sword to open themselues a way: so turning the head of their bagages toward the fort, as if they would haue there passed; while the peasants stood gazing vpon them, *Camgaillard* with his troupe of horsemen vnperceiued of them tooke the riuer a little higher vp, and by swimming gained the farther banke: after whom captaine *Clinchamp* with his troupes immediatly followed also. In which passage they were much troubled with great flakes of yce, with the great deepnesse of the riuer, with the steepnesse of the bankes where they were to land, and many other difficulties: all which they regarded not, to be reuenged of their enemies. These valiant men being got ouer, vpon the sudden surprising these rude country churles, & furiously charging of them, quickly ouerthrew them, and cut them in pieces: of whom 300 were left dead vpon the place, as many moe hurt, and the rest put to flight. Which was no sooner done, but that the rest of the troups of the regiment without let passed the riuer, and so ioyned themselues vnto their victorious companions. Seuen weekes this Regiment staied in Austria; and so longer had, but that vpon the complaint and request of the nobilitie and of the people of the countrie, they hauing for 17 months pay due vnto them receiued nine months pay, were licensed to depart. Which was a great ouersight in them that had to do therewith, at once to disband so many good men, as had not their like amongst all the rest of the Emperours garrisons; and who being staid with a little money, might with their good seruice haue stood the Emperour in great stead: as by proofe afterward appeared; when as the Emperour by necessitie forced to call them together againe, could not of all that strong regiment raise but three companies; the rest being some of them returned into their owne countries, other some of them gone to serue in other places, or else otherwise dispersed. Of which three companies, the first was giuen to *Camgaillard*, the second to *Baltazar Marades*, a Spaniard, and the last to *Iohn Paul* an Italian: Which three Captaines had before commanded in the Reingraues regiment, and don the Emperor good seruice as they did afterward also.

Diuers happie conflicts of the Christians with the Turkes and Tartars.

The rest of this yeare ended in Hungarie, with diuers other encounters and combats, Fortune therein still fauouring the Christians. As, 300 Haiducks, going forth to seeke for bootie, by good hap chanced to meet with a companie of the Turkes being very rich, and diuers of them men of good account; amongst whom, the Gouernour of Mohatz was one: all whome these Haiducks cut in pieces, to be borne withall, for shewing no fauor vnto them, who most cruelly had before spoiled them of their parents, lands, and goods. Besides that, they tooke the Gouernour of Cinan, with his sonne, and 24 other very rich Turks, with 170 horses of seruice, and eight fat Oxen prouided for their prouision. Which fat booties drew forth other souldiers also to seeke out for the like: of whom, certain troups of the Christians going forth toward

A ward Batfrayato one of the enemies, met the Gouernor of the towne and of the territorie thereabout come out with his garrison against them; where betwixt them was made a right hot and sharpe fight: wherein at the first encounter the Turks seemed to haue the better, but in the end the Christians taking courage, ouerthrew them and cut them in pieces. In this conflict diuers prisoners were taken, with three Enfignes, and many other rich spoiles. This happy exploit was seconded with newes agreeable thereunto out of Moldauia, whereof the Vayuod by a Curror sent of purpose, gaue our men to vnderstand; which was, of the generall ouerthrow B of the Tartars: who hauing with all manner of crueltie wasted the countrey, had in the end made the inhabitants so desperat, that reposing more comfort in a speedie death (the end of all miseries) than in a lingring life, turmoiled with so many intollerable calamities, they generally arming themselues, ioyned themselues with their Vayuod, so to trie their last fortune. With which resolution they in battell encountering with the Tartars, gaue them a great ouerthrow, a number of them beeing left dead vpon the field, and the rest put to flight, and chased out of the countrey, the Moldauians notably reuenging their former losses, and in their owne territories burying their enemies.

Beged Bassa thinking to haue surprised the lord Bassa, is himselfe by him surprised & ouerthrowne.

Neither were the Turks in this cold and hard time of the yeare on their parts idle, but still plotting of their great and notable designes, euen through the middest of the frost and snow to haue beene performed. The Bassa *Beged* hearing that the Lord *Bassa* lay with his troupes dispersed in the country about Lippa, in great security by reason of the extremity of the time, altogether vnfit for men to keep the field: and therefore imagining it to be no great matter, C now amidst the frost and the snow to surprize him; acquainted three other of the Turks Captaines and Commanders threabout with the matter: who liking well thereof, with 5000 men all together set forward, in hope to haue vpon the sudden surprised him. But he an old expert Captaine, and not so careless as they supposed, had his secret spies still abroad among them: by whom, he aduertised both of their purpose and of their comming, resolued in both to preuent them; and to that end hauing called together his forces, set forward to meet them in the mid way, and so before they were aware to intercept them; neither failed he of his purpose: for meeting with the Turkes fearing no such matter in place of disaduantage, and vpon the sudden charging them round, they, deceiued of their expectation for the easinesse of the victorie promised them, as men dismaied, after some smal resistance fled; aboue eleuen hundred D of them beeing in this conflict slaine, and the rest put in rout, and driuen into the riuer Maruze, there perishing; some few onely by speedie flight with the Bassa escaping. Twentie of the Turkes Captaines were heere taken, with some few other prisoners, and a great and rich bootie.

Much about the same time *George Barbell*, one of the chiefe of the Rebels in Transyluania, acknowledging his fault, came to Claudionople, to take the oath for his allegeance vnto the Emperour: by whose example a great number of others moued, came in and submitted themselues also: and happily he being a good and valiant Captaine, had done much more for the seruice of the Emperor, had he not bin by death preuented, for shortly after he suddenly died. The other Rebels mooued neither by his example, nor by the comming in of some others of their companions, made choice of one *Bethlin Habor* (a most renowned Captaine, and of great reputation amongst the souldiers) for their Chiefetaine: who proud of such a choice, immediatly after sent an Herauld vnto *Bassa*, to will him forthwith to deliuer vnto him all the countrie of Transyluania, as to him that was of late chosen Prince thereof, or else to denounce vnto him most cruell war: and to tell him further, That if he refused so to do, he was in good hope by his owne forces, without any aid from the Turke, to driue him out, beeing well assured of the faithful deuoire of the Transyluanians. At whose proud threats *Bassa* smiling, only shewed him his open hand in signe that hee accepted of his proud threates, not vouchsafing him any other answer at all. This glorious boaster bare himselfe the higher, for that he had maried the widow of *Moyses* the chiefe Rebell, wherby he had gained both great riches, and much credit and reputation among the common people: both which he enioyed but a while; for the fourth day after that he was married, he died, and so was buried. *Bassa* neuertheless, for the better assuring of the strong places of Transyluania, put into them garrisons of his most faithfull Germanes, and dispatched *Crausenich* away toward the Emperour, to request of him a supplie of a thousand horsemen and foure thousand foot, without which hee thought it impossible to

Bethlin Habor chosen chiefe of the rebels in Transyluania.

Bassa his scornfull answer to the messengers of Bethlim.

He renderth for new supplie vnto the Emperor for the keeping of Transyluania.

preserue and keepe the Prouince troubled with so great factions, and so earnestly sought after by the Turkes: and further to certifie him, That the little forces he had left was not sufficient for the keeping of the places beset with so many enemies, and all lying as it were in their mouthes: That the Prouince swarmed with seditious people, one thrusting another forward in mischiefe and rebellion, as the eares of wheat driuen with the winde doe one another in the field: that the enemies were alwayes making of new incursions, which hee was not able to represse without greater forces, which he expected from his Maiesty with al speed possible: protesting, for want of such supply to bee in time sent vnto him, to lay the losse of the Prouince vpon the negligence of them which might and ought to haue sent the same; acquitting himselfe for the losse thereof, seeing that he durst not to repose any trust or confidence in the faith of the citizens and inhabitants of the townes, although they were disarmed, for hauing so often falsified their faith, and put their Prouince in danger of vtter ruine and destruction. But leauing these troubles of Transyluania and Hungarie, let vs a little step backe to see what happened among the Turkes themselues, after the departure of the great Bassa with his army out of Hungarie.

Mahomet the great Sultan had (as is before declared) by great promises made vnto his Rebels, sought to appease the rebellion in Asia, and by that meanes drawne *Zellaly*, one of the chiefe Rebels, with twelue thousand good souldiers out of Asia into Europe, and so into his warres in Hungarie, vpon an assured promise made vnto him of the gouernment of Bosna: the hope whereof, as it had drawne him into these late warres, so had it also encouraged him with his gallant troupes of most braue horsemen to doe the best seruice he could, so to shew himselfe worthie of so honourable a preferment: which hee right notably performed during all the time of the Bassaes abode in Hungarie, to his owne great commendation, and the furthering of his Lord and Masters seruice. But the Bassa with his weake armie retired out of Hungarie, and the Bassa himselfe returned toward Constantinople; *Zellaly* with three thousand horse withdrew himselfe into his promised gouernment of Bosna, to possesse himselfe thereof: and beeing come neere to Bagualue, the chiefe towne of that Prouince, hee there encamped in a faire large medow, within sight of the citie. Now *Zeffer Bassa*, then Gouernour of the Prouince, and not as yet thereof discharged, seeing this Rebell thus to encroach vpon his charge, as if he would euen by force intrude himselfe thereinto; with all speed called together his garrisons and men of warre (euer readie at his becke) and so went forth against *Zellaly*, with a purpose to haue quickely, and without any great trouble, cut him with his so small a company all in pieces. But the old Rebell not ignorant either of his owne weaknesse, or of the Bassaes strength, hauing himselfe lost the best part of his forces before in Hungarie; as he was a man of no lesse wisedome than courage, resolued now to attempt by policie that which hee well knew hee could not by force effect. Wherefore he as a great Prince, vpon some braue resolution, began to encampe himselfe as if hee had meant there to haue lyen, when as immediatly after vpon a faire night hauing caused diuers great fires to be made in his tents, as if it had been to beguile the enemie with, he suddenly rose and departed. Of whose flight (for so it was like) the Bassa vnderstanding, and that hee had forsaken his campe, hasted thither with all speed with his souldiers to take and pillage the same; not making any other account of him that was so fled and gone, but as of a base and faint-hearted coward, who for feare and want of courage had left both his campe and honour as a prey vnto his enemies; the spoyle whereof the Bassa (being possessed of the campe) gaue vnto his souldiers; who glad of such a morsell, greedily swallowed it vp, which by and by after became their bane and vtter destruction: for whilest that they were charging themselues with booties, and euery man was thinking of his prey, nothing carefull of their common safetie, *Zellaly* with his three thousand horse, all valiant and resolute men, suddenly the same night returning, surprised the Turks being fast on sleepe, as buried in securitie, and cut them in pieces. Some of greater courage than the rest, began to make head, and to giue some shew of their valor, but ouercome with the generall feare, out of order, and not resolued what to do, they were quickly with the rest forced, ouerthrown, and slaine. In this surprise there were of the Bassaes men six thousand found dead vpon the place: a verie great slaughter to be made by so few men. But what cannot valiant resolution do against carelesnesse, lulled asleep in the lap of securitie? The Bassa himselfe escaped by flight, with such as could get out of the campe to follow him.

Zellaly ouermacheth and slayeth.

By policy ouerthroweth Zeffer Bassa the Gouernour, and setteth it himselfe.

Now

Now *Zellaly* well knowing how to vse his victorie, marched in haste to all the chiefe places of the Prouince, and with his forces, more feared for their victorie than for their number, caused all the inhabitants of those places, with most part of the rest of the people of the countrey, to sweare vnto him their obedience and fidelitie. In which doing he gathered together great store of wealth, with a great number of braue horses for seruice: all which hee put into Balnaluc, a strong towne, whereinto he in triumphant manner entred, with a crowne of laurell vpon his head, and his souldiers singing his praises amiddest the smoke of a thousand pieces of great ordnance, which he caused incessantly to be shot off for the space of two daies together: giuing it out withall (amongst all the ioyfull feasts and triumphs, made for the magnifying and setting forth of his praise and glorie) That his resolution was, to take part with the Christian Emperor, if the great Bassa's, or other his enemies in great place in court, should seeke to crosse his desires, or to formalize his actions or proceedings in this manner of the obtaining of his gouernment.

Sultan Mahomet sendeth for Zellaly to come vnto him to Constantinople.

Now *Mahomet* doubting what this man, so well acquainted with rebellion, would do, had by diuers messengers sent for him to Constantinople, after the breaking vp of the armie in Hungarie, there of his Imperiall and infinit bountie, to receiue the honorable rewards of his good seruice and valor, the greatnesse whereof he had (as he said) alreadie vnderstood by *Hassan Bassa* the Generall: which so bound him to the reward thereof, as that his desire and pleasure was, to grace him in court with his owne hands, for the greater testimonie of the loue he bare him, and of the esteeme he had of him. But the craftie and mistrustfull Rebell, doubting that these faire words were all but baits to draw him into his power, to the endangering or assured losse both of his life and libertie, shut his eares against these so sweet charmes, and as a man well aduised, and one which knew that the hand of a Prince iustly offended, is alwayes open for to punish his rebellious subiects, being once in his power, with as great justice in punishing him, as he with wrong and disloyaltie offended him; would in no wise accept of the offer: but ciuilly answered, That hee most humbly thanked the great Sultan, for his so great and honorable offers, and that he was so mindfull of him: but that he for his part desired not any greater reward for the seruices by him done, more than the gouernment which his Maiestie had before promised him, whereof (according to which promise, which hee could not thinke, but to be agreeable to his good liking) he was now possessed, with a resolution to hold and keepe the same for his Maiesties seruice. Which was as much in effect, as for a disloyall subiect to talke with his angrie Soueraigne, with his hand vpon his sword: but with this flie answer, such as it was, Sultan *Mahomet* for all his greatnesse, must as yet content himselfe, for feare lest if he should haue fought to haue by force remoued him, hee might so haue raised a more dangerous rebellion in Europe, than was already in Asia. *Zellaly* so politique and resolute a man, and not to seeke what to doe in such matters, being possessed of so great a gouernement, and the Christian Emperour at hand readie to haue backed him, if hee should vpon any discontentment haue reuolted.

Zellaly refuseth to come to Constantinople at the great Sultans sending for.

The troubles of this yeare 1603 thus ouerpast, the beginning of the next was like vnto a faire blooming tree, which promising great store of fruit, but afterward blasted with the extremitie of the weather, proueth in effect as barren, as it before seemed in hope fruitfull. For beginning with the sweet Westerne windes of peace, it ended with the sterne Northren blasts of warre. The Turkes had oftentimes the last yeare made motion of peace, but especially toward the end thereof; outwardly making shew of a great desire and forwardnesse in themselues thereunto. Which businesse the last yeare begun, was euen with the beginning of this yeare also effectually continued, that Commissioners were on both sides appointed to conferre and conclude vpon the same. Among these Commissioners Colonell *Althem* was one; who to performe his charge, hauing taken with him the other Commissioners deputed with him for this purpose, with certaine other Captaines, embarqued himselfe with them in thirteene ships from Strigonium, and from thence sayling downe the Riuer, landed with his traine in the Island betwixt Buda and Pesth. Of whose arriuall there, the Turkes of Buda aduertised, and on their part readie, came forthwith thither also, with all the outward shewes that might be, of their most earnest desire for the concluding of peace: whereas our men, who by a thousand effects were assured of the vnfaithfulnesse of the Turkes, and that necessitie, and not the desire of any quietnesse, had drawne them to seeke for peace, to the contrarie shewed

1604

Commissioners appointed to confer vpon a peace to bee made betwixt the Christians & the Turkes.

them,

The Turkes encouraged the Turke to proceed to peace

themselues verie backward in this businesse. For why, they knew right well, that the Turkes had not taken this matter in hand, but to ouertake them, and by this time of peace to gaine a time of war more commodious and fit for their ambitious and cruell designes. They had the yere before made sufficient proofe of our forces, accompanied with good fortune, which caused them to despaire by strong hand to vanquish and ouercome vs: besides that, they still euerie houre in one place or other received a thousand losses and crosses from our garrisons, who distressed and annoyed them both with their forces, and with driuing of them vnto the extremitie of wants. Our men knew moreouer also, that the troubles of Asia as well from the Rebels as from the Persian which lay to heauie vpon the great Sultan, drew them to this necessitie, to seeke for a breathing time of peace, wherein to repaire that which was in their forces and strength by wars impaired. And euen yet also the manner of the Turkes demeaning of themselues in this action, their delaies, their excuses, & deferring from day to day to conclude vpon some point of this treatie, gaue our men good cause to suspect them of euill meanes, as men respecting their profit, more than their faith: and more subtill and cruell in all their actions, than honorable and valorous. The fifth of Ianuarie was the day by our men expected for the treaty, for as then the Bassa of Buda had appointed with the rest of the commissioners to come into the Isle, to heare what our commissioners should demand, & to entreat of the peace. But he was too true an Infidell to faile of his Infidelitie, and so came not at all, but deceiued our men both of their hope & expectation. At length in stead of himself, letters were brought from him to Colonell *Althem*, whereby he excused himselfe for not comming, requesting him with the rest of the commissioners, to come ouer the riuer to Buda, the more commodiously for them to confer together, & so the better to conclude their negotiation. Now though *Althem* for the maiestie of his Prince, and the honor of the State, ought not at the request of these his enemies to haue put himselfe into their power, but to haue stood fast vpon the tearmes of honor, yet to the end that the countrey of Hungarie, so miserably spoiled with warres, should not take occasion to complaine of his negligence in his negotiation of peace, hee resolued to go to Buda, as the Bassa had requested: deeming euery action tending to the hinderance of the common good, to be but in shew honorable, and in deed hurtfull. Vpon which resolution hee sent before the Gentleman of his stable, and his Cooke, with a Gentleman of the Turkes, sent but the day before from the Bassa: which men going aboord together, were assailed with such a cruell tempest vpon the riuer, that neither the skill of the watermen, nor goodnesse of the vessell was able to resist the force thereof, so that the boat was sunke, and the men drowned. An euill presage of the peace to be made, the raging waters as it were foreshewing the troubles to come. But this tempest by the sacrifice of those poore drowned men appeased, *Althem* and *Geiberg*, two of the chiefe commissioners, embarked themselues, and so passed ouer the riuer to Buda. At whose arriuall the Turks gaue in shew a thousand testimonies of their ioy for their comming. Neither did the Germans refuse their kind offered courtesies, but largely fed of the good cheere, and filled themselues with the good wines, whereof the Turks had giuen them plentie: and they againe vsing them as kindly, as if they had been their brethren, & conuersing with them as with their owne countrymen. Amidst this carowsing and platters full of good cheere, the proposition of peace, which the Turks meant to demand, were serued in also, and a truce for twelue daies demanded to consider of the matter: during which time it should be lawfull for euerie man without let freely to come and goe whither they would: which was forthwith on both sides agreed vpon. And for better testimony of the Turkes true meaning in this their negotiation of peace, the Bassa in the presence of our commissioners dispatched a Curror toward the great Sultan, to aduertise him of this businesse, and of the proceeding therin, according to the commandement by him before giuen. Which he did, to cause our men to beleeue, that the great Sultan himselfe was desirous of peace, and that his Captaines well affected thereunto, were willing to further the same. Which done, the Bassa presented vnto Colonell *Althem* two cases full of Turkes armes, of all manner of fashions, verie rich, and cunningly wrought; both carried by a mule, with furniture for an horse, embroydered with gold and pearle, verie sumptuous and rich, as a present from the great Sultan his Lord and Master, to the Emperour. And for the Archduke *Matthias*, hee presented vnto the Colonell, a robe of purple veluet, with sleeues cunningly embroydered with gold and pearle, embossed with fine and curious figures cunningly wrought with the needle: for

The Bassa of Buda faileth to meet the Christian commissioners according to his promise.

An euill presage of the future peace.

The Christian commissioners courteously entertained at Buda.

A truce for twelue daies agreed vpon betwixt the Turke and the christians.

Presents by the Turke giuen to the Christian commissioners.

for the rarenesse thereof as admirable to behold, as for the richnesse thereof to haue been desired: which was by euery man wondered at, when as shortly after it was by *Althem* presented vnto the Archduke, together with other presents from the Turks. Besides that, the same Bassa in token of friendship, presented vnto *Althem* himselfe another verie faire and rich robe: all the rest of the Commissioners receiuing also from the Bassa other robes of lesse value, but yet all very rich and sumptuous.

This businesse for this time thus ended, and the truce for twelue days concluded, the Christian Commissioners loded with Presents tooke their leaue of the Turks, with the shewes of their good wils, and so returned backe againe to Pesth. Howbeit these the enemies faire presents still sauoured but of enmitie, being indeed but like to the Presents of *Hector* and *Ajax*, tending rather to war than to peace.

Now the death of the most valiant and renowned Lord *Nadasta*, which at this time happened, was another euil presage of the bad successe of this treatie of peace now at hand: who hauing of long beene a barre vnto the Turks rage in that part of Hungarie where he dwelt, they now after his death, with the violence of their forces, as with an headie streame, bare downe before them all our good fortune in that prouince. This worthie man of great fame and desert, had spent both his yeares and fortune in the most honourable warres against the Turkes: wherein he was so skilfull and expert, that he was of them feared as another *Huniades*, and of the Christians honoured as another *Matthias*. He had a thousand times most valiantly fought against these miscreants, and as many times foiled them, to the great benefit of the Christian Commonweale, the aduancement of the Emperours seruice, and the reliefe of his distressed Countrey. These his heroical deeds of armes were engrauen vpon the gates of the Townes and Cities of Hungarie, and within the rockes of Transyluania, hauing both in the one countrey and the other right happily defeated these Infidels. He had the honour to haue receiued the first incursions and attempts of the Turkes, at such time as *Amurath* the third hauing perfidiously broken the League made with *Maximilian* the Emperour, with his Forces inuaded Hungarie; and was the first of all the Christian Chiefetaines that made head against them; and being by their sudden comming in by them almost surprised, performed yet great and worthie exploits and seruice against these faithlesse men. It should seeme that good fortune fauoured the Countrey of Hungarie, but onely in respect of him: for he being dead, it died also, burying it selfe as it were in his graue, and him in glorie; not suffering him to grow old, and so to languish in the ruines of his native Countrey. He died of a natural death, about fiftie and foure yeares old, most part whereof he liued in armes, still charged with the burthen of his armour, and euen at the yeelding vp of the ghost yet breathing wars against these the enemies of the Christian Faith. His death was much lamented for of many faithfull Christians, but especially of his owne tenants and subiects, whom he had alwayes kept and preserued in safetie, and still maintained them in all peace and tranquilitie during all these former warres; the Turkes not daring once to assaile them, nor to enter into their territorie, being stayd from so doing by the bulwarke of his valour, right dreadfull to their attempts. Neuer Turke was buried in his Territorie, no more than were the Barbarians vpon the bankes of the riuer Eurotas, his wisedome had so wisely prouided for the preseruation of his people; and his valour so worthily assured them of their health and safetie. He was for his Countrey another *Epiminondas*, who made his town not only free from the armes and inuasions of their enemies, but also dreadfull to their forces so long as he liued. The Turks on the contrarie part no lesse reioyced for his death; but accounting his country now rich & plentiful (for that it had neuer been by them spoiled) for their most assured prey came now thither on all sides, to haue taken the spoile thereof, and therewith to haue enriched themselues. But as they were about so to haue done, the valiant *Collonitz* honoring the remembrance of the Lord *Nadasti* his late fellow and companion in armes, and holding that for his owne which he had left, opposed himselfe with his forces against these rauening wolues. So that they were no sooner entered into this his territorie, but that contrarie to their expectation, they were encountered by this new *Nadasti*, and by him so ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, that for a good while after they durst no more attempt the like.

The true and iust commendation of the Lord Nadasti.

The death of the Lord Nadasti.

This so great a losse of so worthie a man was a little eased by the victorie about the same time gained by the Vayuod of Valachia against the Turkes spoyling of his countrey. This

valiant

The Turks ouer thrawne by the Vayuod of Veletzke.

valiant champion notable longer to endure the proud insolencie and tyrannie of those barba- G
rous people, gathered together his troupes of horsemen, with such other small forces as hee
had whereof the Turks hauing made small reckoning, and therefore without order pillaging
and ransacking his countrie, were when they least feared, by him vpon the sudden surprised
and ouerthrowne, many of them being cut in pieces, a number moe taken prisoners, with all
the spoiles they had got, and the rest with such feare chased out of his countrey, as that being
glad to haue escaped, they tooke no pleasure for a great while after, to looke into that his pro-
uince againe.

But to returne againe to the Commissioners for the peace to be made betwixt the Great
Sultan and the Emperour, the Bassa of Buda, to the end that the Captaines and Gouernours of
the Turks and Castles belonging to the Turks, being ignorant of the truce, should not continue H
their warlike actions, to the preiudice of his faith giuen; immediately after the departure of
the Christian Commissioners from Buda, dispatched diuers courrours towards them, to giue
them knowledge thereof, and especially to the Gouernor of Agria, commanding them from
thenceforth to abstain from their ordinarie incursions into their enemies territories, and from
all other actions of hostilitie, and so to keep themselues quiet vntil they were from him other-
wise commanded. This little time of respite and breathing from warre, gaue great content-
ment vnto the poore Countrey-people, now with warres almost exhausted and spent. And
now our souldiours during this time of truce laying their armes aside, ranne by heapes with
spades and shouels vnto the places where our armies had sometime lyen encamped, there to
delue and search to finde such things as the Armies rising in haste had haply left there buried. I
In which action they so busied themselues as if they had beene Labourers in haruest, so that
nothing was in the fields to be seene, but men digging and remouing of stones and earth.
A right fooliish businesse, and yet so exceedingly pleasing the greedie mindes of these coue-
tous men, as that amiddest their such moiling labour they accounted themselues at great ease.
The Turks also did the like, mingled together with our men, and our men with them, without
any iniurie doing one to another either by word or deed. And no doubt it is, but that there
they found more trauell than wealth, the greedie desire which drew them into this worke,
deceiuing them in effect. And in this mad labour both the parties spent many dayes without
any let or iniurie doing either on the one side or the other. The Christians of Pesth also
passing ouer the Danubie, went into the victualling houses of the Turks at Buda, whereinto K
they were suffered to enter, and at libertie to walke vp and downe the Towne at their plea-
sure. And so the Turks of Buda likewise came ouer the riuer vnto Pesth, and there walked
at their pleasure, no man letting of them. Which manner of liuing was verie commodious
and pleasing both for the one side and the other, the Christians buying of the Turks such
things as they needed, and the Turks of them likewise. Through which quiet and peaceable
intercourse and traffique, the people in general seemed euen in that short time to haue forgot-
ten a great part of their forepassed miseries, this little time of peace, ioyned with security, ha-
uing well assuaged the same. But while these mutual and vnwonted courtesies thus passed be-
twixt the Christians and the Turks, and the mindes of most men were filled with the expecta-
tion of an assured peace to haue beene euen forthwith concluded, the Great Sultan *Mahomet* L
in the middest of all his pleasures and delights died in his Imperial Palace at Constantinople:
the newes whereof being in the euening brought to Buda by a courrour of purpose sent from
Constantinople, the Bassa forthwith sent the Captaine of the Sentinels of Buda, to Colonell
Geüberg at Pesth, to assure him of the death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the succession
of his yong son *Achmet* into his Empire, now alreadie both at Constantinople and other places
thereabout proclaimed Emperour. By which messenger he also wrote vnto Colonel *Althem*,
to certifie him both of the death of the Great Sultan, and of the succession of his sonne, as al-
so that he was by him commanded to continue the negotiation of the peace, and so if he could
to conclude the same. For the more euidence whereof, behold the copie of the letters them-
selues: M

The death of the great Sultan Mahomet.

The Letters of the Bassa of Buda to Colonell *Althem*.

Our due commendations remembered, noble Lord Gouernour, our deere friend and right honourable neighbour,

A *neighbour. Wee haue thought good to aduertise you, that the fourth day after your departure from this citie wee receiued Letters from Constantinople, giuing vs certainely to vnderstand of the death of our most mightie Emperour* Mahomet, *and of the succession of his sonne Sultan Achmat, into all his dominions and Empires: whereby we were, as his most humble subiects, summoned to yeeld vnto him our oath of faithfull obedience, as vnto our rightfull Lord, and lawfull successor of his father into all his estates and dominions. Moreouer, he particularly commandeth vs; to giue him certaine aduice and knowledge concerning the negotiation of the peace begun betwixt vs and you, by the commandement of his deceased father: promising to confirme and ratifie all that whatsoeuer he shall finde done and agreed vpon*
concerning that businesse, without any qualification at all. And that if the treatie be not yet concluded
and ended, that his will and desire was, that it should be so, according to the iust meanes and assurances
B *that we should faithfully and carefully together deuise. Whereof I should readily giue him aduice and answer; which I haue deferred to do, vntill I haue receiued your answer, which may instruct me what to resolue vpon. Which your answer I attending, haue staied the Curror of Constantinople, to the intent he may*
carry backe word vnto our Emperor, what he is to hope for concerning this businesse, by the answer that
you shall giue vs. These are now therefore to aduise you, as our deere friend, and a most valiant Gouernor,
to set downe that which you shall thinke to be most fit and necessarie in this businesse: giuing you withall
to vnderstand, that our new Emperour is a man of resolution euen in these his young yeares, wherein hee
now flourisheth, hating idlenesse, deeming no losse greater, and altogether irrepairable, than the losse of
time. If then you be still desirous, that the peace betwixt our Emperors should be made and confirmed, I
hope you will employ your whole endeuor with speed to determine this most happie negotiation, and so ne-
C *cessarie for euery mans good. As also auert farre from our owne heads the curses of the common peo-*
ple, for whom it is most needfull that the peace should for their good and quietnesse bee concluded, seeing
that the fruit thereof is expected to be vnto them happie, and the glorie thereof for euer ours, for hauing
by our diligence and true endeauour concluded the same. Which maketh me to hope, that when you shall
finde your selfe readie to conclude this treatie, you will not bring with you men enemies vnto peace, or
such as shal dissuade the same; but rather wise and graue men, which to the vttermost of their power may
aduance the same; and finde out good and reasonable meanes to assure an eternall and faithfull peace
betwixt our Emperors, vnto which so generall a good euery one of vs is to duetie bound to employ the vt-
termost of his sufficiencie and power. And thus is that I haue of truth to write vnto you at this time, and
And so I bid you farewell.

D

Now these Letters although they most concerned the continuation of the treatie of peace, alreadie begun, and were too friendly from an enemie, to haue in them any good meaning, yet did they well assure the Colonell to whom they were written, of the death of the great and late Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the succession of his sonne *Achmat* into his Empire, to which end they are here set downe.

This late mightie Monarch, and now nothing but a loathsome lump of dead flesh, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, departed this life about the latter end of Ianuarie, in the yere of Grace 1604, (according to their computation which begin the yeare at Christmas) when hee had liued about 44 yeares, and thereof raigned eight. He was a man of no great spirit, and yet exceeding
E proud, which was the cause that he was both the lesse beloued and feared of his subiects in generall, but especially of the Ianizaries and other his souldiers and men of warre, who scorning his loose gouernment, and grieued to see euen the greatest affaires of his State not onely imparted to women, but by them mannaged and ouerruled also (as by his mother, the Sultanesse his wife, and others) not onely rebelled against him, but were oftentimes in their rages about to haue deposed him. Hee was altogether giuen to sensualitie and voluptuous pleasure, the marks whereof he still carried about with him, a foule swolne, vnwealdy, & ouergrown body, vnfit for any princely office or function: and a minde thereto answerable, wholly giuen ouer vnto idlenesse, pleasure, and excesse, no small meanes for the shortening of his daies, which he ended with obloquie, vnregarded of his subiects, and but of few or none of them lamented.

Mahomet, why he was not regarded of his men of warre.

F He had issue foure sonnes, and three daughters married vnto three of the great Bassaes.

Mahomet his issue.

His first and eldest sonne was called *Mahomet* (after his owne name) whom he caused to be strangled in his owne sight, vpon suspition of aspiring to the Empire, and conspiring with the Rebels in Asia: but afterward finding him guiltlesse, caused his bodie to be buried in his own Sepulchre, and hanged the Bassa that had misinformed him.

His

His second sonne died a naturall death, being yet verie young:

His third sonne was Sultan *Achmat*, who succeeded his father, and came to the Empire by the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his eldest brother. C

His fourth sonne being then a youth of about sixteene yeares old, was carefully kept within the Seraglio, with such a strait guard set ouer him, as that his name was not to be learned, euen by a good vnderstanding friend of mine, of late lying aboue three moneths together at Constantinople, who most curiously enquired after the same, hauing verie good meanes to haue learned it. He was reported to haue been long since murthered, howbeit that he of late liued, but looking euery day to be by his brothers cruel commandement strangled, which is accounted but a matter of course, and a death hereditarie to all the yonger male children of the *Othoman* Emperours: the policie for the maintenance of their great Empire entire and whole, so requiring. H

Mahomet, how he lieth buried at Constantinople.

His dead body lyeth buried at Constantinople, in a faire Chappell of white Marble neere vnto the most famous and beautifull Church of S. *Sophia*) for that onely purpose by himselfe most sumptuously built about fifty foot square, with foure high small round towers, about the which are certain small round galleries of stone: from which the Turkish priests and churchmen, at certain houres, vse to call the people euery day to Church: for they vse no bels themselues, neither will they suffer the Christians to vse any. But the top of this Chappell is built round, like vnto the antient Temples of the heathen gods in Rome. In the midst of this Chappell (being indeed nothing else but this great Sultans Sepulchre) standeth his tombe, which is nothing else but a great vrne or coffin of faire white Marble, wherein lieth his bodie, couered with a great couering of the same stone ouer it, made rising in the midst, and stooping on each side: not much vnlike to the coffins of the antient tombes of the Saxon kings, which are to be seen on the North side of the Quire of S. *Pauls* Church, and in other places of this land: but that this coffin of the great Sultan is much greater and more stately than are those of the Saxon kings; it being aboue fiue foot high at the end [illegible] of, and by little and little falling toward the feet, couered with a rich hearse of cloth of gold downe to the ground: his turbant standing at his head, and two exceeding great candles of white waxe, about three or foure yards long, standing in great brasse or siluer candlesticks gilded, the one at his head, the other at his feet, which neuer burne, but there stand for shew onely. All the flore of the Chappell beeing couered with mats, and faire Turkie carpets vpon them. And round about this his tomb, euen in the same Chappell, are the like tombes for his wiues and children, but nothing so great and faire. Into this Chappell, or any other the Turks Churches or Chappels, it is not lawfull for either Turke or Christian to enter, but first he must put off his shooes, leauing them at the church or chappell gate, or carrying them in his hand. Neere vnto this chappell, and the great Temple of *Sophia*, are diuers other chappels of the other great Turks; as of Sultan *Selim*, this mans grandfather, with his seuen and thirty children about him: of Sultan *Amurath*, this mans father, with his fiue and fortie children entombed about him. And in other places not far from them, are the chappels and sepulchres of the rest of the great Sultans; as of Sultan *Mahomet* the Great, of Sultan *Baiazet*, Sultan *Selym* the first, Sultan *Solyman*: all by these great Mahometane Emperors built, whose names they beare. And being all of almost one forme and fashion, haue euery one of them a faire hospitall adioyning vnto them, wherein a great multitude of poore people are daily still relieued. I K L

Some others of the great Bassaes haue their Chappels and Sepulchres, with their great and stately almes-houses also, not much inferiour vnto those of the great Sultans; as namely *Ibrahim Bassa*, of all the Bassaes that euer were amongst the Turkes the most magnificent, hath his stately chappell, sepulchre, and almes-houses, neere both in place and beautie, vnto that of *Solymans*. The Turkes burie not at all within their churches, neither are any at all buried within the walls of the citie, but the great Turkish Emperours themselues, with their wiues and children about them, and some few other of their great Bassaes, and those onely in Chappels by themselues built for that purpose. Al the rest of the Turks are buried in the fields; some of the better sort in tombes of marble; but the rest with tombe stones laied vpon them, or with two great stones, the one set vp at the head, and the other at the feet of euerie graue, the greatest part of them being of white Marble, brought from the Isle of Marmora. They will not bury any man where another hath beene buried, accounting it impietie to digge vp another mans bones, M

The Turks bury not in their Churches, neither within the walls of their cities, but in the fields.

A bones. By reason whereof they couer all the best ground about the city with such great white stones: which for the infinit number of them, are thought sufficient to make another wal about the citie. But not to stand longer vpon the manner of the Turks burials, leauing this great Sultan to rest with his ancestors, let vs now prosecute the course of our Historie.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet the third.

Emperours of Germany	*Rodolph the second*		1577.
Of England,	*Queene Elizabeth.*		1558. 45.
Kings,	*Of France,*	*Henrie the fourth.*	1589
	Of Scotland,	*Iames the sixth, now King of great Britaine*	1567.
Bishops of Rome,	*Clement the VIII.*		1592. 13.
	Leo the XI.		1605. 26. dayes.
	Paul the V.		1605.

Non tua te virtus, non ingens copia rerum
Te faciunt magnum, non tua dextra potens:
Maximus est superûm, nutu qui territat orbem,
Hinc Achmate *tibi gloria tota manat.*
Hic tibi tunc tenero regalia sceptra parauit,
Hic tibi nunc iuueni maxima quæque dedit.
Non quod sis alijs melior, multumue beatus,
Sed quò sis alijs terror & ira Dei.
Quid turges igitur, fastuue superbis inani?
Sic tecum miseris numinis ira premat.
Pone modum magnis, ni vis succumbere magnus:
Maxima quæque suo pondere pressa ruunt.
Nec tibi promittes regnandi tempora longa
Te tua fata vocant, te tua fata premunt.

RICH. KNOLLES,

The ſame in Engliſh.

Thy vertue doth not make the great,
nor yet thy ſtore of pelfe:
Nor is ■ thine owne mightie arme,
that doth exalt thy ſelfe.
But God aboue, who with a becke
doth ſhake the World from hie;
From him all glorie doth proceed,
that doth belong to thee.
He gaue to thee, then but a childe,
thine Empire large and wide;
And giues to thee now growne a man,
all worldly bliſſe beſide:
Nor that thou better art, or bleſt,
more than ſome others be;
But that to plague the World for ſinne,
he hath appointed thee.
Why doeſt thou therefore ſwell with pride,
ſtill ſeeking after more,
Sith that there is for thee by God,
vengeance laid vp in ſtore?
Vnto thy greatneſſe bounds prefix,
leſt thou be cruſht withall:
The greateſt things with their owne weight
haue oft the greateſt fall.
Nor promiſe to thy ſelfe, that thou
ſhalt long time liue and raigne:
Thy Deſtinies doe call thee hence,
and thruſt thee on amaine.

ACHMAT

THE LIFE OF ACHMAT, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, EIGHTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

C MAbomet the late Sultan in the middeſt of his exceſſiue pleaſures by vntimely death taken away, *Achmat* the elder of his two ſonnes yet liuing, who was to ſucceed him in the Empire, to preuent the vſuall and inſolent tumults of the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the court at the change of the Emperours, and to take from them all occaſions of diſcontentment; by the counſell of the great Baſſaes (before he tooke vpon him the gouernment) cauſed an exceeding great ſumme of money (*viz.* two millions and an halfe) as a token of his bountie, to bee diſtributed amongſt them: the Spahi and Silictars his chiefe horſemen receiuing thereof 10 crowns a man, with 5 aſpers a day more to encreaſe their pay; and the Ianizaries 30 crownes a man, and one aſper a day more of ordinarie pay: they of his court, but eſpecially the chiefe officers, taſting of this his bounteous liberality alſo. With which ſo great a larges all men well contented, he in a moſt rich and ſtately chariot, ſo placed as that all men might well ſee him, was in great maieſtie carried through all the D chiefe ſtreets of Conſtantinople, the people on euery ſide gazing vpon him, and ſtill as he paſſed by them, proſecuting him with their moſt ioyfull and happy acclamations. Some wiſhing that he being but yong, might ■ another *Solyman* begin his raign with the conqueſt of Malta, as had the other with the conqueſt of the Rhodes: and other ſome as heartily praying, that with glorious & victorious conqueſts he might be like *Mahomet* vnto the Great, whom he was then reported much to reſemble. In which ſo great and publique magnificence, he being about 15 yeares old, was with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities openly crowned, euery man wiſhing vnto him a moſt long and happie raigne. And albeit that no great fruit was for the preſent from ſo young and tender a plant to be expected, yet neuertheleſſe by his authoritie and in his name, many good orders were taken for the reliefe of his ſubiects, with moſt heauy grieuances E generally oppreſſed, during the looſe and careleſſe raigne of his father. His grandmother alſo a moſt proud, ambitious, and imperious woman, and withall exceeding rich, who with great authoritie at her pleaſure ouerruled all in the time of the raigne of her ſonne *Mahomet*, hee now remooued from the State, as not fit for her to haue to doe therein, and ſo depriued her of all her former power and command. The Perſian Embaſſadour, whome his father in his diſpleaſure had cloſe ſhut vp, hee ſet at libertie, and with him ſent the Baſſa of Alepo to intreat of peace with the great Shaugh of Perſia, who not long before (as was reported) had recouered the great citie of Tauris, and was then preparing himſelfe for new conqueſts. Which report for the motion of peace with the Perſian, diſcouered in his ſubiects their diuers opinions concerning himſelfe; ſome condemning his patience, as not beſeeming the F *Othoman* Emperours, vnto whome furie and rage had alwayes made them a way vnto their great and dreadfull conqueſts, euen againſt the moſt puiſſant armies and ſtrongeſt townes and fortreſſes of their enemies: and ſome other to the contrarie prayſing therein his wiſedome, in ſeeking by faire meanes (now in the beginning of his raigne) to diſarme his enemies when they might moſt hurt him, at his better opportunitie; in his ſetled eſtate, to oppreſſe them for

Achmat by exceſſiue bountie procureth the fauour of his great courtiers & men of war.

Achmat crowned emperor of the Turks at Conſtantinople.

Achmat remoueth his grandmother from dealing with matters of ſtate

The Turkes diuerſly conceited of their new emperour.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Thy vertue doth not make the great,
nor yet thy ſtore of pelfe:
Nor is it thine owne mightie arme,
that doth exalt thy ſelfe.
But God aboue, who with a becke
doth ſhake the World from hie;
From him all glorie doth proceed,
that doth belong to thee.
He gaue to thee, then but a childe,
thine Empire large and wide;
And giues to thee now growne a man,
all worldly bliſſe beſide:
Not that thou better art, or bleſt,
more than ſome others be;
But that to plague the World for ſinne,
he hath appointed thee.
Why doeſt thou therefore ſwell with pride,
ſtill ſeeking after more,
Sith that there is for thee by God,
vengeance laid vp in ſtore?
Vnto thy greatneſſe bounds prefix,
leſt thou be cruſht withall:
The greateſt things with their owne weight
haue oft the greateſt fall.
Nor promiſe to thy ſelfe, that thou
ſhalt long time liue and raigne:
Thy Deſtinies doe call thee hence,
and thruſt thee on amaine.

ACHMAT

THE LIFE OF ACHMAT, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, EIGHTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

C MAbomet the late Sultan in the middeſt of his exceſſiue pleaſures by vntimely death taken away, *Achmat* the elder of his two ſonnes yet liuing, who was to ſucceed him in the Empire, to preuent the vſuall and inſolent tumults of the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the court at the change of the Emperours, and to take from them all occaſions of diſcontentment; by the counſell of the great Baſſaes (before he tooke vpon him the gouernment) cauſed an exceeding great ſumme of money (*viz.* two millions and an halfe) as a token of his bountie, to bee diſtributed amongſt them: the Spahi and Silictars his chiefe horſemen receiuing thereof 10 crowns a man, with 5 aſpers a day more to encreaſe their pay; and the Ianizaries 30 crownes a man, and one aſper a day more of ordinacie pay: they of his court, but eſpecially the chiefe officers, taſting of this his bounteous liberality alſo. With which ſo great a larges all men well contented, he in a moſt rich and ſtately chariot, ſo placed as that all men might well ſee him, was in great maieſtie carried through all the D chiefe ſtreets of Conſtantinople, the people on euery ſide gazing vpon him, and ſtill as he paſſed by them, proſecuting him with their moſt ioyfull and happy acclamations. Some wiſhing that he being but yong, might as another *Solyman* begin his raign with the conqueſt of Malta, as had the other with the conqueſt of the Rhodes: and other ſome as heartily praying, that with glorious & victorious conqueſts he might be like *Mahomet* vnto the Great, whom he was then reported much to reſemble. In which ſo great and publique magnificence, he being about 15 yeares old, was with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities openly crowned, euery man wiſhing vnto him a moſt long and happie raigne. And albeit that no great fruit was for the preſent from ſo young and tender a plant to be expected, yet neuertheleſſe by his authoritie and in his name, many good orders were taken for the reliefe of his ſubiects, with moſt heauy grieuances E generally oppreſſed, during the looſe and careleſſe raigne of his father. His grandmother alſo a moſt proud, ambitious, and imperious woman, and withall exceeding rich, who with great authoritie at her pleaſure ouerruled all in the time of the raigne of her ſonne *Mahomet*, hee now remooued from the State, as not fit for her to haue to doe therein, and ſo depriued her of all her former power and command. The Perſian Embaſſadour, whome his father in his diſpleaſure had cloſe ſhut vp, hee ſet at libertie, and with him ſent the Baſſa of Alepo to intreat of peace with the great Shaugh of Perſia, who not long before (as was reported) had recouered the great citie of Tauris, and was then preparing himſelfe for new conqueſts. Which report for the motion of peace with the Perſian, diſcouered in his ſubiects their diuers opinions concerning himſelfe; ſome condemning his patience, as not beſeeming the F *Othoman* Emperours, vnto whome furie and rage had alwayes made them a way vnto their great and dreadfull conqueſts, euen againſt the moſt puiſſant armies and ſtrongeſt townes and fortreſſes of their enemies: and ſome other to the contrarie prayſing therein his wiſedome, in ſeeking by faire meanes (now in the beginning of his raigne) to diſarme his enemies when they might moſt hurt him; at his better opportunitie, in his ſetled eſtate, to oppreſſe them for

Achmat by exceſſiue bountie procureth the fauour of his great courtiers & men of war.

Achmat crowned emperor of the Turkes at Conſtantinople.

Achmat remoueth his grandmother from dealing with matters of ſtate

The Turkes diuerſly conceited of their new emperour.

for euer. So the actions of Princes are like vnto strange lights appearing by night in the ayre, which hold mens eyes busied with the intentiue beholding of them, some thereof diuining well, and some others euill, according to the diuersitie of the beholders conceits and humours.

The treatie for peace in Hungarie continued.

The treatie for peace also in Hungarie was notwithstanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Bassa of Buda still continued, who (as hee sayd) by the new Sultan authorised, by letters incited the Gouernour of Strigonium to repaire vnto some such conuenient place as wherein the matter might be safely concluded. Vpon which motion the Gouernour with the rest of the Commissioners departing from Strigonium, the fourth of Februarie came to *Colloniz* his Campe, from whence they were by the souldiers most brauely conducted along the bankes of Danubius, vnto the ships which lay readie for them, to carrie them downe the Riuer to Pesth: during which time of their passage nothing was to bee seene or heard but fire and smoake, and the thundering of the great artillerie both from Pesth and Buda, the Christians and the Turks both striuing to excell each other in these their shewes of joy and triumph. The Gouernour with the rest of his companie beeing happily arriued at Pesth, met there with a number of the better sort of the Turkes sent thither by the Bassa to meet him, and in his name to greet him: who with a thousand honours, againe receiued and saluted them. All shewes of kindnesse, and signes of the happie successe of the negotiation begun. And now the Christians desirous to excell the Turks, as well in courtesie as in valor, appointed a number of them the next day to goe to Buda, to inuite certaine of the chiefest and most honourable men amongst the Turkes, vnto a banquet at Pesth: Who willingly accepted of the offer, and so came six hundred of the better sort of them ouer the Danubie to Pesth, where the feast was most sumptuously and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten faire and rich pauillions, set vp for the entertainement of them a little distant from Pesth, in a faire place, and fit for this purpose. In the first whereof were placed three verie proud and stately tables. At the first of which tables, on the right hand, were set the Commissioners for the Emperour, with the two Bassaes, and one Mufti or Arch-Priest, with a Mytre vpon his head, a long furred gowne vpon his backe, and vnder that, a robe of most fine and exceeding rich silke. Vpon the left hand, at the same table were placed certaine of the Turkes Lords, and other great men. At the other two tables were set other of the best sort of the Turkes mingled with the Christians: and so at all the other tables in like order were set a Christian and a Turke, vntill that the six hundred Turkes were placed, with as many Christians among them: who by their good countenance and behauiour one of them to another, might haue seemed to haue beene all of one and the same Beliefe, Nation, and Countrey. The Turkes after the manner of their superstition, would not sit downe before the setting of the Sunne, which beeing set, they with a thousand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Archpriest, set themselues downe at the tables in order as is aforesaid, and there merrily reposed themselues vntill nine of the clocke at night. At which time the tables with great reuerence taken away, the Turkes as men well contented, and full of joy, returned to Buda, with much glee, and as it were witnessing vnto heauen and earth the great contentment they had receiued. And yet was all this faire shew nothing else but deepe dissimulation mixt with most foule treacherie. For a little before their departure, they of Pesth were aduertised, That the Turkes in great number well appointed, were come out from Buda to surprise Pesth, during the time of the feast; beeing in hope that the Christians all busied in this action, had left the walls of the towne vnfurnished of defence. But they too well acquainted with their treacheries, to put any trust or confidence in their faire shewes, had as well prouided for the defence and safetie of the towne, as for the magnificence of the feast abroad. By which meanes the Turkes disappointed of their intended purpose, were in the attempting thereof repulsed, and so glad to returne as they came, backe againe to Buda.

The Turkes honorably feasted by the Christians neere Pesth.

The Turkes by treachery seek to surprise Pesth.

The Turkes commissioners disauow the practise for the surprising of Pesth.

The next day after, the Commissioners for the Emperour complained vnto the Bassa and the rest of the Turkes Commissioners, of this so treacherous dealing: who excused themselues as altogether ignorant thereof, disauowing the action for want of successe, which had it beene effected, they would to the vttermost haue shamefully maintained. An ordinarie course

A course among the Great, with speech and countenance in shew to condemne that for want of effect, which they in heart and minde could for their owne profit haue wished to haue beene performed.

The commissioners for the emperor refuse any more to go to Buda.

Neuertheless the Turkes the next day (as if no such thing had beene meant) requested the Christian Commissioners to come to Buda, as they had done to Pesth: but they, as well by proofe, as by report, perceiuing the euill meaning of the Turkes; excusing themselues, returned to Strigonium, as loth any more to aduenture themselues into the power of their faithlesse enemies; yet left they *Geuberg* at Pesth, with commission to continue the negotiation for peace with the Bassa of Buda, if he should finde him thereunto disposed, or any hope of bringing the treatie to good effect or issue.

The message of Countie Tsolan from the great Sultan to the Emperour.

B *Mahomet* the late Sultan had a little before his death (as is before declared) set at libertie the Countie *Tsolan* (carried away prisoner to Constantinople after the taking of Alba Regalis, and sent him with letters of credence to intreat of a peace to bee made with the Emperor; with promise to yeeld himselfe againe prisoner, if he failed to obtaine the same: for whome the French Embassadour became pledge. Hee hauing now deliuered his letters of credence vnto the Emperour, and commaunded to say what hee had further in charge, declared, That the great Sultan offered to deliuer vnto his Maiestie the strong Townes of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Canisia, in exchange of Transyluania and Valachia, whereunto he layed claime, promising on his part to make a most firme and sure peace with the Emperour for the time to come, and to giue thereof such assurance as should of him reasonably be demaunded.

C The Bassa of Buda also amongst other the faire remonstrances of peace, had offered vnto the Emperours Commissioners to restore Canisia and Agria for Pesth, Hatwan, and Vacia, together with the remission of all such payments and tributes as were by the Emperour due vnto the Great Sultan for the Kingdome of Hungarie. All which faire shewes and offers, though much vnreasonable, were nothing but windie wordes to delay the time, and subtill baits to deceiue the Christians: for the euent and issue, which giueth life to all actions, with a forme vnto them agreeable, hath by experience taught the Christians, That all the glorious and glozing proceedings of the Turkes in this businesse of the peace, so much wished and expected of the Christians, were but nets and snares wherewith to entangle them with the vaine hope thereof, vntill that they in the meane time might fortifie their townes with new supplies of men, munition, victuals, and whatsoeuer else was

The Turkes in all the negotiation for peace did nothing but dissemble with the Emperours Commissioners.

D needfull, the more easily afterward to annoy them at their pleasure, and so to laugh at their simplicitie and light beleefe: For *Mahomet* being dead, and *Achmat* his sonne (yet by reason of his minoritie vnder the tuition of his mother and other the great Bassaes) succeeding in his place, the Turkes aggrauated the conditions of the peace, and propounded them so farre from reason, as that any man might see them now to haue no more desire or regard of peace, after that they had dispatched that for which they seemed before desirous thereof; insomuch, that they sent a messenger in post from Constantinople vnto the Bassa of Buda, to forbid him vpon the paine of his head any further to continue the treatie of peace, but forthwith to renew the warre. So this peace so much expected, and now of the people generally holden

The treatie for peace with the Turkes commeth to nothing.

E for as good as concluded, suddenly vanished into smoake, nothing remaining of that bodie, composed of so many wishes, more than a vaine expectation, now dispersed with the winde of the Turkish treacherie. And yet during the time of this negotiation for peace sought for by the Turkes both by often letters and messengers, many a solemne oath had passed both from the Sultan *Mahomet* and from the Visier Bassa, for their faithfull and sincere dealing in the treatie thereof, as, *By the God of heauen and earth*; *By the bookes of* Moyses; *By the Psalmes of* Dauid; and *By the holy Euangelists*; oathes much vsed of Turks, and reserued for their greatest solemnities, and strongest assurances of their leagues and promises: all which for all that hauing serued but as baits and traines to beguile the simple and well meaning men, lay now neglected and vnregarded: such is the faith and assurance which men haue from faithlesse and

F vntrustie men.

Diuers reports concerning the Turkes great preparations and designes.

The treatie of peace thus broken off, it was foorthwith by some bruited, That *Achmat* the great Sultan, vnder the conduct of the Visier Bassa his Gouernour, was himselfe in person with a most huge armie about to come into Hungarie: Some others in the meane time reporting, that he was letted so to do by reason of the Persian warres, whereunto he was of necessitie to

for euer. So the actions of Princes are like vnto ſtrange lights appearing by night in the ayre, which hold mens eyes buſied with the intentiue beholding of them, ſome thereof diuining well, and ſome others euill, according to the diuerſitie of the beholders conceits and humours.

The treatie for peace in Hungarie continued.

The treatie for peace alſo in Hungarie was notwithſtanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Baſſa of Buda ſtill continued, who (as hee ſayd) by the new Sultan authoriſed, by letters incited the Gouernour of Strigonium to repaire vnto ſome ſuch conuenient place as wherein the matter might be ſafely concluded. Vpon which motion the Gouernour with the reſt of the Commiſſioners departing from Strigonium, the fourth of Februarie came to *Cellonitz* his Campe, from whence they were by the ſouldiers moſt brauely conducted along the bankes of Danubius, vnto the ſhips which lay readie for them, to carrie them downe the Riuer to Peſth: during which time of their paſſage nothing was to bee ſeene or heard but fire and ſmoake, and the thundering of the great artillerie both from Peſth and Buda, the Chriſtians and the Turks both ſtriuing to excell each other in theſe their ſhewes of joy and triumph. The Gouernour with the reſt of his companie beeing happily arriued at Peſth, met there with a number of the better ſort of the Turkes ſent thither by the Baſſa to meet him, and in his name to greet him: who with a thouſand honours, againe receiued and ſaluted them. All ſhewes of kindneſſe, and ſignes of the happie ſucceſſe of the negotiation begun. And now the Chriſtians deſirous to excell the Turks, as well in courteſie as in valor, appointed a number of them the next day to goe to Buda, to inuite certaine of the chiefeſt and moſt honourable men amongſt the Turkes, vnto a banquet at Peſth: Who willingly accepted of the offer, and ſo came ſix hundred of the better ſort of them ouer the Danubie to Peſth, where the feaſt was moſt ſumptuouſly and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten faire and rich pauillions, ſet vp for the entertainement of them a little diſtant from Peſth, in a faire place, and fit for this purpoſe. In the firſt whereof were placed three verie proud and ſtately tables. At the firſt of which tables, on the right hand, were ſet the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, with the two Baſſaes, and one Mufti or Arch-Prieſt, with a Mytre vpon his head, a long furred gowne vpon his backe, and vnder that, a robe of moſt fine and exceeding rich ſilke. Vpon the left hand, at the ſame table were placed certaine of the Turkes Lords, and other great men. At the other two tables were ſet other of the beſt ſort of the Turkes mingled with the Chriſtians: and ſo at all the other tables in like order were ſet a Chriſtian and a Turke, vntill that the ſix hundred Turkes were placed, with as many Chriſtians among them: who by their geſture, countenance and behauiour one of them to another, might haue ſeemed to haue beene all of one and the ſame Beliefe, Nation, and Countrey. The Turkes after the manner of their ſuperſtition, would not ſit downe before the ſetting of the Sunne, which beeing ſet, they with a thouſand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Archprieſt, ſet themſelues downe at the tables in order as is aforeſaid, and there merrily repoſed themſelues vntill nine of the clocke at night. At which time the tables with great reuerence taken away, the Turkes as men well contented, and full of joy, returned to Buda, the inſtruments of muſicke, trumpets, and Drummes, on euerie ſide ſounding about them with much glee, and as it were witneſſing vnto heauen and earth the great contentment they had receiued. And yet was all this faire ſhew nothing elſe but deepe diſſimulation mixt with moſt foule treacherie. For a little before their departure, they of Peſth were aduertiſed, That the Turkes in great number well appointed, were come out from Buda to ſurpriſe Peſth, during the time of the feaſt; beeing in hope that the Chriſtians all buſied in this action, had left the walls of the towne vnfurniſhed of defence. But they too well acquainted with their treacheries, to put any truſt or confidence in their faire ſhewes, had as well prouided for the defence and ſafetie of the towne, as for the magnificence of the feaſt abroad. By which meanes the Turkes diſappointed of their intended purpoſe, were in the attempting thereof repulſed, and ſo glad to returne as they came, backe againe to Buda.

The Turkes honorably feaſted by the Chriſtians neere Peſth.

The Turkes by treachery ſeek to ſurpriſe Peſth.

The Turkes commiſſioners diſauow the practiſe for the ſurpriſing of Peſth.

The next day after, the Commiſſioners for the Emperour complained vnto the Baſſa and the reſt of the Turkes Commiſſioners, of this ſo treacherous dealing: who excuſed themſelues as altogether ignorant thereof, diſauowing the action for want of ſucceſſe, which had it beene effected, they would to the vttermoſt haue ſhamefully maintained. An ordinarie courſe

A courſe among the Great, with ſpeech and countenance in ſhew to condemne that for want of effect, which they in heart and minde could for their owne profit haue wiſhed to haue beene performed.

The commiſſioners for the emperor refuſe any more to go to Buda.

Neuertheleſſe the Turkes the next day (as if no ſuch thing had beene meant) requeſted the Chriſtian Commiſſioners to come to Buda, as they had done to Peſth: but they, as well by proofe, as by report, perceiuing the euill meaning of the Turkes; excuſing themſelues, returned to Strigonium, as loth any more to aduenture themſelues into the power of their faithleſſe enemies; yet left they *Geiberg* at Peſth, with commiſſion to continue the negotiation for peace with the Baſſa of Buda, if he ſhould finde him thereunto diſpoſed, or any hope of bringing the treatie to good effect or iſſue.

The meſſage of Countie Tſolan from the great Sultan to the Emperour.

B *Mahomet* the late Sultan had a little before his death (as is before declared) ſet at libertie the Countie *Tſolan* (carried away priſoner to Conſtantinople after the taking of Alba Regalis, and ſent him with letters of credence to intreat of a peace to bee made with the Emperor; with promiſe to yeeld himſelfe againe priſoner, if he failed to obtaine the ſame: for whome the French Embaſſadour became pledge. Hee hauing now deliuered his letters of credence vnto the Emperour, and commaunded to ſay what hee had further in charge, declared, That the great Sultan offered to deliuer vnto his Maieſtie the ſtrong Townes of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Caniſia, in exchange of Tranſyluania and Valachia, whereunto he layed claime, promiſing on his part to make a moſt firme and ſure peace with the Emperour for the time to come, and to giue thereof ſuch aſſurance as ſhould of him reaſonably be demaunded.

The Turkes in all the negotiation for peace did nothing but diſſemble with the Emperours Commiſſioners.

C The Baſſa of Buda alſo amongſt other the faire demonſtrances of peace, had offered vnto the Emperours Commiſſioners to reſtore Caniſia and Agria for Peſth, Hatwan, and Vacia, together with the remiſſion of all ſuch payments and tributes as were by the Emperour due vnto the Great Sultan for the Kingdome of Hungarie. All which faire ſhewes and offers, though much vnreaſonable, were nothing but windie wordes to delay the time, and ſubtill baits to deceiue the Chriſtians: for the euent and iſſue, which giueth life to all actions, with a forme vnto them agreeable, hath by experience taught the Chriſtians, That all the glorious and glozing proceedings of the Turkes in this buſineſſe of the peace, ſo much wiſhed and expected of the Chriſtians, were but nets and ſnares wherewith to entangle them with the vaine hope thereof, vntill that they in the meane time might for-

D tifie their townes with new ſupplies of men, munition, victuals, and whatſoeuer elſe was needfull, the more eaſily afterward to annoy them at their pleaſure, and ſo to laugh at their ſimplicitie and light beleefe: For *Mahomet* being dead, and *Achmat* his ſonne (yet by reaſon of his minoritie vnder the tuition of his mother and other the great Baſſaes) ſucceeding in his place, the Turkes aggrauated the conditions of the peace, and propounded them ſo farre from reaſon, as that any man might ſee them now to haue no more deſire or regard of peace, after that they had diſpatched that for which they ſeemed before deſirous thereof; inſomuch, that they ſent a meſſenger in poſt from Conſtantinople vnto the Baſſa of Buda, to forbid him vpon the paine of his head any further to continue the treatie of peace, but forthwith to renew the warre. So this peace ſo much expected, and now of the people generally holden

The treatie for peace with the Turkes commeth to nothing.

E for as good as concluded, ſuddenly vaniſhed into ſmoake, nothing remaining of that bodie, compoſed of ſo many wiſhes, more than a vaine expectation, now diſperſed with the winde of the Turkiſh treacherie. And yet during the time of this negotiation for peace ſought for by the Turkes both by often letters and meſſengers, many a ſolemne oath had paſſed both from the Sultan *Mahomet* and from the Viſier Baſſa, for their faithfull and ſincere dealing in the treatie thereof, as, *By the God of heauen and earth*; *By the bookes of* Moyſes; *By the Pſalmes of* Dauid; and *By the holy Euangeliſts*; oathes much vſed of Turks, and reſerued for their greateſt ſolemnities, and ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their leagues and promiſes: all which for all that hauing ſerued but as baits and traines to beguile the ſimple and well meaning men, lay now neglected and vnregarded: ſuch is the faith and aſſurance which men haue from faithleſſe and

Diuers reports concerning the Turkes great preparations and deſignes.

F vntruſtie men.

The treatie of peace thus broken off, it was foorthwith by ſome bruited, That *Achmat* the great Sultan, vnder the conduct of the Viſier Baſſa his Gouernour, was himſelfe in perſon with a moſt huge armie about to come into Hungarie: Some others in the meane time reporting, that he was letted ſo to do by reaſon of the Perſian warres, whereunto he was of neceſſitie to

to send the greatest part of his forces: so that hee would but onely send one of his great Bas- C
saes with the remainder of his so great an armie against the Christians in Hungarie, being be-
fore sworne neuer to returne againe vnto Constantinople, vntill he had brought the countries
of Transyluania and Valachia, with the remainder of Hungarie, vnder the obeysance of the
great Sultan, together with the countrey of Austria, and especially the strong citie of Vienna,
the end of the Turkish Emperors conquests: and that to this purpose the Grand Seignior had
with great rigour in all places leuied great summes of money vpon his subiects for the main-
tenance of his so great an armie. It was by others reported also, That onely the prepara-
tions for so great an armie should bee made this yeare, the Turkes beeing resolued to
doe much therewith the next yeare, and therefore willing to bestow much, in hope with so
great and puissant an armie as they were about to raise, to make an end of the warres in Hun- H
garie, and not to returne vntill they had conquered all the rest of that Kingdom, [illegible]
reliques whereof the fortune of the *Othoman* Emperours had stayed: so that all handy crafts
men were set to worke by day and night, not onely to forge weapons, to cast great ord-
nance, and to make pouder, but to prepare all other things necessarie also for so great an
exploit.

All these great preparations were made for the seruice of the Visier Bassa for the warre in
Hungarie, and of *Cicala Bassa* in Persia, whereof hee was appointed Generall, hauing before
presumptuously promised, vtterly to ruinate the Persians estate, and with so great a power
euen to swallow him vp. And indeed these Easterne warres greatly troubled the Turkes;
newes comming still concerning the conquests of the Persian vpon his territories; and that I
Babylon reported to haue bin taken by the Persian king. euen of late the Persian King prosecuting his victories, had taken Babylon, with all the coun-
trey thereabout: and that diuers other townes and cities, more mooued with feare than with
the faith wherewith they had bound themselues vnto the Turks, now yeelded themselues vn-
to the Persian, as weary of the Turkes seruitude, and desirous of their antient libertie. And
yet for all that, the Turkes (as they are wise to dissemble their losses, and to strike a feare into
The Turkes wisely dissemble their losses. their enemies) had giuen it out in Constantinople, that the Persian King was neere vnto
Babylon discomfited, all his armie ouerthrowne, and hee himselfe taken prisoner; so that
the Turks forces before distracted, should now wholly ioyne together, to the vtter ruine and
destruction of the Christians in Hungarie. And the more to confirme this euill newes, it
was reported, That the Beglerbeg of Græcia had raysed a great power to joyne with the
Visier Bassa his forces, to the intent to leaue nothing vnconquered in Hungarie. For the bet-
ter effecting whereof, it was said also, That the Visier Bassa had caused a great number of
vessels loded with pouder and other warlike prouision to bee brought by water out of Ægypt
to Belgrade, to ruinate the estate of the Christians. All which reports were by the Turks
giuen out, to couer their owne mishaps, and to terrifie their enemies: as knowing right well,
warres to depend much vpon reports, and that a false bruit beleeued, worketh oftentimes the
effect of a thing in deed done. Howsoeuer it was, those so dreadfull reports might well haue
serued to haue stirred vp the spirits of the Christians to haue prouided for their owne de-
fence, and to haue stood vpon their guard: for hee that fayleth to prouide against the pre-
parations of his enemie, well deserueth either bondage or death, which soeuer shall befall L
him, for hauing by his negligence betrayed his owne abilitie and power to haue withstood
him.

The great report of the Turks preparations and forces had now dasht all the talke of peace
at Constantinople, and the hot fire of ambition had quite scorched the sweet flowers appea-
ring vpon the ouerture of the late hope of the common repose; some persuading the Great
The great opinion the Turkes haue of the power of their great Sultan. Sultan, that hee was able with his power at the same time both to subdue the Persian King,
and to confound the forces of the Christian Emperour, hauing so many Kingdomes within
his Empire, so many armouries stored for his seruice, and such store of treasure readie
for his designes, promising vnto him most happie and easie successe both in the one and other
expedition, euen at one and the selfe same time: so that hee might vanquish the Persian by *Ci-* M
cala, Chiefetaine of his armie in Persia, and conquer the remainder of Hungarie, with the
Countries of Transyluania and Valachia, by the Visier Bassa, Generall of his forces against
the Christians; it beeing (as they sayd) a thing both honourable and profitable for a
Prince to bestow bor[illegible] men and money, thereby to gaine men, honour, and Empire: So that
things

things which with great charge might be done all at once, were more profitable than were
A those which with lesse charge were done at diuers times: for that things so done at once, yeel-
ded present profit, as being in our power, and recompensing our charge; the other in long time
putting vs to great charge, and yeelding little or no profit at all. And indeed men stand in great
feare of this the Turks young Emperour, being by nature fierce, hastie, vigilant, cruell, am- *The disposition of the yong Turkish Emperour*
bitious, and proud; and who in his behauior and actions much resembleth *Mahomet* the se-
cond, he which tooke from the Christians so many kingdoms, townes, and cities, and amongst
the rest, the Imperiall citie of Constantinople. He like vnto a young *Alexander*, occupieth
himselfe in all the exercises of war, hateth idlenesse, his fathers greatest pleasure: he causeth
armes to be made, cannons to be cast, ships and gallies to be built, and taketh a pleasure to dis-
B course, how the same are to be employed against his enemies: so that it is greatly to be fea-
red, that he being but a child in Constantinople, will prooue a man growne in Christendome,
in bringing the same vnder his power and obeisance. He spareth no person nor meanes which
may serue to satisfie his desire. So that strangers are to expect small courtesies at his hands,
when as they see him to vse such bloudie crueltie against his Noblemen and domesticall ser-
uants, of the chiefest of whome since he was Emperour hee hath alreadie put diuers to death, *Fury and tirannie the chiefe meanes whereby the Turkish emperors comand their subiects.*
with one of his Bassaes also, who was the Gouernour of Pesth when as our men woon it. But
as justice and clemencie vnto good Princes are the surest bonds to keepe their subiects fast
bound vnto them in their obedience and duties, so are crueltie and rage bridles wherewith
the Turkish Emperours keepe their subiects in awe and subiection vnto them, and themselues
C in their estate.

But leauing the Turkes busie about their preparations for the accomplishing of their young
Emperours high designes, let vs returne into Hungarie, taking Transyluania in our way, the
wofull miseries of which countrey my minde abhorreth to thinke vpon, and my pen thereof
to write. This Prouince, sometime much renowned for the great victories obtained against
the Turkes by the inhabitants thereof, vnder the leading of their Prince *Sigismund Bator*, and
others, and abounding with plenty of all things, was now not by any inuasion of the Turkes,
but by ciuill discord amongst themselues, and rebellion against the Emperor, now their Souc-
raigne, so wasted and spoyled by the souldiers on all sides, that many of the poore inhabitants
for want of food fell downe dead as they went in the streets and fields: miserable wretches, al-
D waies sowing, but neuer reaping; alwaies labouring, but nothing profiting, the mercilesse and *The miserable estate of the countrey of Transyluania.*
greedie souldier still spoiling or deuouring all. By long continuance of which daily outrages
the fields at length lay now vntilled, the pastures vnstored and neglected, and all things else
vnmanured and quite out of course: by means whereof, the famine so encreased, that the poore
peasants of the countrie hauing eaten vp for great dainties all the dogs and cats, mice and rats,
that they could get, fell to eating of dead horses, and the lothsome carrion of other hunger-
starued beasts. It is reported also, That one man should eat another: and that at Hermanstat a
woman hauing six children, did among them eat one another, vntill they were at length all six
deuoured: and to the contrarie, that two men did eat their owne mother: yea theeues, and
other malefactors hanged for their villanies, were by the poore and miserable hungrie peo- *An horrible famine.*
E ple cut downe from the gallowes, and deuoured, the people generally liuing vpon nothing
but vpon the roots of weeds, greene hearbs, and the leaues of trees. For remedie of which so
extreme miseries, it was on all parts agreed, that a generall assembly of the States of the whole
Prouince should be holden at Dewa: wherein it was accorded, That all hostilitie set apart, *An assembly of the States of Transyluania, for the appeasing of the troubles there.*
the Gentlemen of Transyluania hauing by their rebellion forfeited both their liues and lands,
should be pardoned their liues, with three fourth parts of their lands reserued vnto them, and
that for ready mony they might of the Emperor redeeme the fourth part also. But concerning
the moueables of such as were dead in the time of these troubles, and alreadie confiscat vnto
the Emperour, they should so remaine; and that they should pay their dismes, or tenth part
of their wine and fruits, vnto the Emperour. And further, That there should be no further ex-
F ercise of Religion permitted vnto them, but onely the Romish Religion: and that the townes
of Cronstadt and Clausenburg should within the space of three weekes, pay the one
twentie thousand dollars, and the other eight thousand; and the magistrates of those townes
should deliuer the keyes of their townes, with all their power, into the hands of the Empe-
rours

rours Lieutenant: and that the Gentlemen of these townes which would not be accounted in the number of the Rebels, should for the safetie of their persons take letters of pardon for their rebellion, of the Generall of the armie. This pacification gaue some little time of breathing vnto this poore distressed country, which bared of all strength, and as it were vpon the graues brinke, ha[illegible] but euen the last gaspe to giue; and the country people began againe to giue themselues vnto their wonted labors, in hope at length to reape the profit thereof themselues; but alas all in vaine: for why, the rauening souldiers inured to prey, after their woonted manner made hauocke and spoile of all things, leauing nothing vnto the poore countreyman, but his labour for his paine, and time enough to bewaile his manifold and remedilesse miseries: the causes whereof were the Nobilitie and Gentlemen themselues; who not liking to be gouerned, or rather (as they tooke it) oppressed by the Germanes, and hau[illegible] not vpon any desire they had of peace, but rather by necessitie inforced, yeelded vnto the [illegible]n aforesaid, ceased not still vnderhand to incite the souldiers (ready enough of themselues to do mischiefe) and in what they might to trouble the gouernment of the State by the Germans, being vnto them (as they accounted of them) but strangers. All which their doings *Basta* the Emperours Lieutenant well perceiuing, caused three of the greatest of the Gentlemen of the countrey, and whome hee most suspected to bee the authours of these troubles, to bee apprehended and fast mured vp betwixt two strong wals in an old ruinous monasterie; whither their friends afterwards comming to haue visited them, and finding them starued to death, were therewith much abashed, as were also other their complices, as soone as they heard thereof. But leauing them to worke themselues further troubles, let vs againe returne vnto the Turkes affaires.

The troubles of Transyluania sterelly maintained by the Nobilitie of the Countrey.

A seuere and miserable kind of punishment.

The treatie of peace betwixt the Christians and the Turks quite broken off, & the war againe begun.

Now was all the hope of peace betwixt the Christians and the Turks become desperate, the Turks making thereof no more account, seeing that according to their desire they had prouided Alba-Regalis, Agria, and Buda, of their necessarie prouisions. They had in foure wagons put into Agria the pay due vnto their garrisons; so that their affaires being now in good estate, and their courages reuiued, they began to scoffe and [illegible]t at our credulitie, to beleeue that they had had any purpose to conclude vpon any thing that was not agreeing with their profit, how far soeuer it were differing from their honor or from their faith: So that now these faithlesse men began againe to renew their wonted incursions and pillages vpon the Christians, with all other manner of hostilitie, and that in more cruell manner than euer before: and our Hussars on the other side well requited them with the like, being as well contented as they with these manner of doings, their whole fortune depending vpon the points of their weapons, and euer ready to the seruice of their prince for their pay. Now it fortuned that fourscore of the Turks going forth to seeke for bootie, chanced to meet with certaine of these Hussars, who finding themselues too weake to encounter with our men, and betaking themselues to flight, were certaine of them taken prisoners, and so brought vnto the Generall, vnto whom they vpon examination confessed, That the Turkes much maruelled at the simplicitie and foolishnesse of the Christians, to beleeue that they were desirous of peace, and not to haue discouered their so manifest intentions to the contrary, tending onely to the pleasuring of themselues, and the annoying of them their enemies, to the strengthning of themselues, and destruction of the Christians, as by proofe it appeared, so soon as their desires were accomplished, vnto the preiudice of their enemies: and that their yong Emperor was alwaies against this treatie of peace, whatsoeuer shew hee had made to the contrarie, constrained thereunto by the victories and conquests of the Persian King; all his wishes and desires aiming at no other marke, than at the generall ruine of Christendome. Our garrisons also seeing themselues charged by the Turks, tooke vp arms likewise, and requited them with like outrages, as they did. They of Pappa, and Vesprinium, were the first which began these broiles after the treatie of the peace, who hauing joyned their forces together, and making head toward Alba-Regalis, met with a number of Turkes, driuing of sheepe and cattell thither, whome they surprised, and together with their cattell carried them away with them prisoners. Which good hap was seconded with the libertie of twentie Christian prisoners from Buda, who one night seeing their keepers oppressed with sleep and with wine, cut their throats, and so happily escaped ouer the riuer to Pesth.

Booties taken from the Turkes by the Christians.

The Christians by the Turkes prisoners informed of their euill meaning in the treatie of the peace.

Now

Now while these troubles betwixt the Christians and the Turks (after the treatie of peace broken off) thus began againe in Hungarie, the Turkes, beside the rebellion in Asia, were together by the eares in the prouince of Bosna. *Zellaly* hauing by force joyned with policie, driuen *Zeffer Bassa* (as is aforesaid) out of Bosna, and possessed himselfe of that Prouince, thought himselfe now sure enough within the strength of his gouernment, although he being by the Great Sultan sent for to Constantinople, had refused to come, as knowing right well himselfe to hold that so great a gouernment much against his will and pleasure. But *Zeffer Bassa* now supported with the authoritie of the Great Sultan, and desirous to be reuenged of the great dishonour and losse he had before receiued from *Zellaly* his enemie, with a great armie suddenly entered into Bosna, and so comming vnto *Zellaly*, fearing as then no such matter, ouerthrew him with all his power, and neuer left pursuing of him, vntill he had chased him quite out of the Prouince, and so againe recouered the gouernment thereof. But short was the joy the Bassa receiued of this so pleasing a victorie; for within few dayes after he died, comforting himselfe onely in this, that he died not vnreuenged. Of all which things the great Bassa's of the Court vnderstanding, and loth to lose so great a souldier as was *Zellaly* (who as a man distressed, was now making shift for himselfe) or by vsing of him hardly, to deterre the other Asian rebels from comming in, and yet not willing to trust him with so great a gouernment as was the prouince of Bosna; they to prouide for all euents, appointed him to be gouernor of Temeswar; and *Begedes Bassa* (before gouernor there) to succeed *Zeffer Bassa* in the gouernment of Bosna: so contenting all parties, to keepe their forces whole and entire against the Christians.

Zeffer Bassa recouereth the gouernment of Bosna from Zellaly, and shortly after dieth.

Zellaly made gouernour of Temeswar.

The miseries of the Hungarians.

But as the Turks were troubled with their affaires in Bosna, so the Christians were no lesse, but rather more busied with theirs both in Transyluania and Hungarie. The Estates of Hungarie had appointed a general meeting at Possonium, wherein the Archduke *Matthias* was to sit as President, there to consult of the means for the maintenance of this yeres wars against the Turks. But as the Archduke was about to haue entred into the citie in the midst of his souldiers such a fire vpon the sudden arose in the citie, as consumed the greatest part thereof: an euill presage of the action then in hand, and a wofull spectacle to behold, with the terror whereof all mens mindes possessed, turned them from the magnificent entertaining of the Archduke, (as was before determined) to the quenching of the raging fire, as more necessarie and concerning them than the other. Besides that, the miseries then to be seene in the other parts of Hungarie yet holden by the Christians, were both great and lamentable: for beside the harmes therein done by the Turks, the regiment of Colonel *Althem* had made such spoile and hauock all ouer the countrey where it lay, that the townes and people in generall so grieuously complained thereof vnto the Emperour, that he mooued with their just complaints, caused the authors of these so great outrages to be apprehended and brought prisoners to Vienna, where some of them were beheaded, and some others of them hanged: Beside whom so condemned and executed, there were some other Captaines and lieutenants, of whom some denying the fact, and other some standing vpon the justifying of that they had done, as thereunto by extreme necessitie enforced, were for their further triall sent prisoners vnto Prague, where they were committed vnto prison into the castle, vntill their causes might be heard. Among which captains and lieutenants, and other such great officers, was one *Genderot* Colonel *Althem* his Antient, who most wickedly but a little before had slaine *Nudercy* a gentleman of good sort and his fellow-companion in armes: for which murther he was committed prisoner into a very high and strong tower within the castle (wherein Countie *Paradiser*, who fould Canisia vnto the Turks, lay sometime prisoner) vntill his trial might within a few dayes after be made. The horror of which criminal place, together with the guilt of conscience, so troubled and wounded the minde of *Genderot*, as that all the hope now to saue his life, was by making an escape, & so to auoid the stroke of justice. Which he happily brought to passe by the helpe of one of his lacquies, who had found means to bring vnto him a long cord, where by straining himselfe out at a little window (whereby it was thought almost impossible for any man to haue got out) he in safetie got down to the ground, and there hauing two good horses readie for him, he with his man fled amain, and so escaped, his keepers drunken ouer night, being in the morning found yet sleeping, without perceiuing of any thing, whose drunkennes & fauor toward the prisoner had

The regiment of Colonel Althem is mutinie.

had giuen him means to escape. The rest of the Captaines and Lieutenants in prison at Prague were some of them beheaded, and some of them hanged, and the rest at the intercession of the Nobilitie of Austria, and of other great men, pardoned, yet with condition, That they should pay the fines set vpon them, and serue the Emperor in his warres three moneths of their owne charge without pay. Some few of the common souldiers, to the terrour of others, had two of the fore-fingers of their right hands cut off, and afterward fast nailed vnto gibbets set vp by the high wales side.

The regiment of Colonell Meysberg in mutinie.

In like manner also the regiment of Colonell *Meysberg* rose in mutinie for their pay & came and encamped at Sneche, about a league from Vienna; threatning to destroy the countrey, and to kill the chiefe men therein, if they were not paied their pay. Which rebellious mutinie the Captaines did what they might to appease; they besought them, but in vain; they entreated them, but to no purpose; they promised them pay, but preuailed not; yea, the Colonell himselfe thrust himselfe into the midst of them, with most earnest prayers, and his hands cast vp, putting them in mind of their duty, and laying before them the danger of most assured death and dishonour, if they continued further to proceed in that their disloyaltie, whereunto their headstrong furie so disorderedly led them. But they as men enraged, carried headlong with their furie, breathing nothing but threats and destruction, and by no prayers or persuasion to be moued, presently made choice of another Chiefetaine, vnder whose conduct and leading they resolued to rifle the suburbs of Vienna, and with the spoile of them to pay themselues. Vpon which resolution they marched on, and so drew neere vnto the city: with which their so great and dangerous an insolencie the Gouernors of the citie moued (the sufferance wherof they accounted to be vnto themselues both dishonorable & harmfull) they on the other side resolued by plaine force to represse them, and by iust armes to chastise them, who were not otherwise to be reclaimed. But such be the miserable calamities of warre, where violent remedies must purge out of the body of the commonweale the good humors together with the bad, so to recouer the health thereof: which remedies, not but vpon necessitie to be vsed, are so quicke and violent in their working, as that they affoord not leysure to discern the whole and sound from the sicke and infected, to saue the one, and to spill the other; but that they must altogether run the selfesame way. For albeit that the whole Regiment was in this mutinous action, and so all in like danger, yet were they not therof all alike guilty, many of them being euen against their wils and good liking carried away headlong, as with the violent course of an headie riuer.

Now the Captaines of the townes with their troupes and companies, strengthened with some other supplie sent from other places, were to set forward against these rebellious mutiners, and to frustrate their designes: for the greater strengthening of whom, diuers of the burgesses of the towne were enforced to enter into this action also: amongst whome, there were two accounted very honest religious men, who by all meanes sought to excuse themselues from going, labouring both by liuely reasons, and by the word of God, to proue, that they neither might nor ought of right to enter into armes against their Christian brethren, enforced with extreamities, for want of their due pay, to forget their duetie, and to doe that beseemed them not. But what auaileth it to alleadge either reason or law amongst the clattering of armes; the noise whereof is so great, as that Reason and Law cannot there bee heard. These two men seeing themselues enforced to goe, and much grieued in conscience to doe that they were enioyned to doe, and to helpe to shed the guiltlesse bloud of their innocent brethren (as they accounted them) entered both of them into a most strange and wofull resolution, which was to die themselues; rather than to embrue their hands with the bloud of the guiltlesse: whereupon one of them hauing oftentimes called vpon the name of *Iesus*, with his owne sword thrust himselfe through the body, and so died. The other vpon the like resolution threw himselfe into the riuer, and so perished also: men worthie to be pitied for their conscience sake, but iustly to be condemned for their so weake and desperat a resolution. In fine, the rebellious mutiners seeing in what perill they were, being euen now readie to be charged, and withall considering the weakenesse of their power in comparison of them that came against them, thought it best vpon the sight of so great a tempest to take like sayle; and so changing their former determination, and laying downe their armes, craued pardon of the Archduke; who graciously granted it them, and so tooke them to his mercie; yet with condition, that they should

A strange action of two of the citizens of Vienna.

should againe returne vnto their garrisons, and deliuer into his hands the ringleaders & chiefe authors of that mutinie to be punished according to their deserts, as afterwards they were; the ordinarie end of such insolent and disordered actions, which haue nothing assured vnto them but death, which (all things else failing) attendeth onely vpon them.

The Turkes in vaine seeke to surprize Lippa.

But while the Christians thus diuided were at variance among themselues, the Turks were readie enough to take aduantage of such their dangerous discord. And first of all, *Zellaly* the old Rebell, but now Gouernour of Temeswar, hauing in his craftie head plotted the taking of the citie of Lippa by surprize, and to that purpose gathering the greatest power that hee was able to make, in the euening set forward from Temeswar, and so trauelling by night, came to Lippa, vnto the wals whereof he planted scaling ladders, and at the same time labored to haue forced the gates, in hope so to haue gained the towne: which was done with such a terrible noyse and outcrie as was possible by the Turkes to bee made, after that they were once discouered, thereby to haue dismayed the Christians within the towne; who well acquainted with such stratagemes of their enemies, and now therewith awaked, came readily to the walls, and there so well defended themselues and their Towne, that the Turkes repulsed, were glad to giue ouer the assault, and hauing lost a number of their men, with all speed to retire; vpon whome the Christians sallying out, slew many of them in that their disordered retreat, little differing from plaine flight, and tooke many moe of them prisoners: yea *Zellaly*, who not many houres before had thought to haue surprised Lippa, was now glad himselfe to haue recouered the walls of Temeswar. Some of the Turkes that were there taken prisoners beeing examined, reported, That the armie that was this yeare to come into Hungarie, was like to bee verie great, and that a part thereof was now come to Belgrade, expecting there the comming of the Tartars, who were together with them to enter into Hungarie: and that by reason of the warres with the Persian, which deuoured almost all the souldiers in Constantinople, and yet could not bee therewith satisfied, the great Sultan had commanded, That all such as were able to beare armes, as well in Bosna, as in that part of Hungarie which was subiect vnto him, and in the other Prouinces thereunto adioyning, should be ready to ioyne with his armie in Hungarie, for the furthering of his conquests there: And that the Persian King prosecuting the course of his victories, had ouerthrowne *Cicala Bassa* with his armie, and taken his sonne prisoner, almost slaine all his troupes, and entered into confederacie with *Caracase*, chiefe of the Rebels in Asia, a man of great power, who had following of him a great number of valiant men, all resolutely set downe for the troubling of the great Sultans estate.

Cassouia in danger to haue beene burnt by the Turkes.

About the same time the Gouernour of Cassouia (a great and strong citie in the vpper part of Hungarie) going forth with some good part of his garrison to appease the souldiers lying about in the countrey (but now vp in mutinie for their pay) and there spending some few dayes about this businesse, in shewing of them the danger of their insolencie, and persuading them by the euill successe and end of such like actions to returne againe vnto their duties; and they againe to the contrarie obstinatly vrging the payment of their pay, or else to haue leaue to depart, as being not able longer to continue without the one or the other: and so the time passing, it fortuned that certaine Turks, then prisoners in Cassouia, encouraged by the absence of the Gouernour and of the garrison souldiers, to attempt the gaining of their libertie, brake their yrons, and slew their keepers, in hope so to haue escaped: but being in the doing thereof discouered, and so againe surprised before they could doe any further harme, and vpon torture examined, by what meanes they thought to haue escaped out of the citie, the wals thereof beeing kept with continuall sentinels: they confessed, That their purpose was, the same night to haue set fire vpon diuers places of the citie (so to haue drawne the people to the quenching thereof) and at the same time to haue slaine the sentinels vpon the walls, and so to haue made their escape: for which their so mischieuous a fact and purpose, they were some of them executed, and the rest againe committed to prison, and more straitly kept and looked vnto than before.

The citadell of Canisia by chance burnt.

Now as Cassouia had by the prouidence of God escaped so great an intended mischiefe, Canisia at the same time alone felt the euill hap by the Turkes entended both to Cassouia and Lippa: for a souldier of the garrison in the citadell there hauing through negligence or mishap cast fire into the pouder prouided for the store of the Castle, the pouder taking

taking fire, blew vp the citadell, the towers, the houses, and walls; and to be briefe, made this poore place like vnto another Rome burnt by *Nero*. So that had any of the Christian forces been then neere vnto the place, it had been an eatie matter to haue woon the same, as well for the small resistance that was therein to haue been found in so great an astonishment of the men, and destruction of the place. But such accidents haue no certaine houres limited to their beginnings, nor assurance of their comming, so that they oftentimes chance, without any man to make vse of them, and againe flie away, when men make their greatest preparations to obtaine them.

The Turkes of Buda ouerthrowne by the Christians of Pesth.

At the same time the Turks of Buda sent two hundred of the souldiers of their garrison to fetch in forrage a little from Pesth, who as they were in the doing thereof too presumptuous, so were they well punished for their pride: For the Christians in Pesth having discouered them in this action, sallied out vpon them and charged them; against whom they for a while right valiantly defended themselues, but at length oppressed with number, and ouerthrowne, they were most of them slaine, and the rest taken prisoners: Wherewith the Bassa of Buda was so much offended, that in reuenge thereof, he in his rage threatened with fire and sword to do what harme he might vnto the Christians. But as the common prouerbe saith, Men warned are halfe armed; and enemies threats bring this comfort with them, That in receiuing of the threatned harmes, we are in hope to be thereof reuenged, as therefore before prouided.

Vnto these wofull troubles of Hungarie, proceeding as well from the insolencies of the Christian souldiers themselues, as from the furie of the Turkes, who were their antient and mortall enemies, were ioyned the like or rather worse calamities in Transyluania, extreame famine and want of all things sore raging in both countries; so that hardly hath any miserie or extreamitie beene seene or read of, euen in Countries by the iust and heauie iudgements of the Almightie God appointed to destruction, which were not in those two Countries to bee found, and of many felt. For remedie whereof, *George Bassa* the Emperours Lieutenant in Transyluania, had there done what hee might for the appeasing of the tumults and troubles of that Prouince, and now of late brought the same into some good

New tumults in Transyluania.

tearmes, as was thought, and as is before declared. Howbeit, that in proofe it fell out farre otherwise, and that the more he therein laboured, the farther hee was off from his intent and purpose: for the Nobilitie of that Prouince, who were generally enclined vnto rebellion, and detesting the Germanes, together with their gouernement, reiected the decrees and orders which were agreed vpon in their late meeting together for the concluding of peace; insomuch, that assisted by the Turkes, they had taken certaine Castles and strong places in that Prouince: and the better to support their rebellion and insolencie, they had appointed a certaine place to meet at, where the Turkes and they might conferre together of the meanes which they intended for the effecting of their designes. Whereof *Bassa* hauing by secret meanes got vnderstanding, to remedie this pretended mischiefe, hee sent away a great number of Haiduckes, to lye in wait to surprise them vpon the way. Which men, who were skilfull in the passages of the Countrey, fayled not in this action, but lay close in ambush, verie conueniently for the surprising of their enemies: who proceeding in their intended purpose, and thinking of nothing lesse than of that which was entended against them, were suddenly, before they were aware, Turks and Transyluanians, altogether surprised and slaine. Which exploit beeing performed, these Haiduckes and other souldiers destitute of their pay, and enraged with furie, fell vpon the Prouince, vsing therein all hostilitie, as if they had beene mortall enemies vnto it; punishing the guiltlesse for the guiltie, and seising vpon all mens goods in common, to pay themselues that which was by some few in priuat kept from them. All the whole Prouince was subiect vnto the rage and furie of those and other such merciless men of warre, who without any remorse at all indifferently slew and massacred all of them that came in their way; but especially the poore and weake innocent people, who called vpon the Almighty God for remedy and redresse of these euils which they sustained, and cried out vnto him for reuenge of their so great and cruell wrongs. The high waies were euerie where so full of theeues, that no man could trauell from place to place, but that hee was in great danger to be set vpon, and spoiled. For the Haiducks (being men that liue altogether by prey, and roaming vp and downe the Countrey) made good prise and bootie of whatsoeuer came

The rebels in Transyluania surprised and slaine.

The miserable estate of Transyluania.

A came in their way, sparing neither Turkes nor Christians: insomuch, that they hearing, how that the Zeeclers with a good conuoy were bringing a number of waggons laden with victuals, and a great many of Oxen and other cattell to Claudionople, although they were of the same partie, beleefe, and Nation, yet they lay in wait for them to surprise them: against whome the Zeeclers seeking to defend themselues, were by them cruelly massacred, and their waggons, with their Beeues and other cattell, all carried quite away. But what should wee say? Hunger breaketh euen the stone walls, and forceth men vnto all extremities: and now the famine in that Prouince was such, as that the people were for the most part glad to liue by feeding vpon the roots of hearbs and weeds, and such other vnwholsome things, whereof great mortalitie afterward ensued amongst them: Which was the

Captaine Haik makes this answer in excuse of the Haiduckes.

B cause that *Herwat*, Captaine of these Haiduckes, beeing reproued for the outrages by them committed, and charged to take order, that no more such like should afterward bee done, answered, That it was not possible to keepe souldiers in any order amiddest the extreamitie of famine; for that the bellie was an inexorable vsurer, which tooke pittie vpon nothing, but with great rage exacting that which it thought due for the nourishment of it selfe.

Two of the Turkes spyes of Buda taken.

Amidest these troubles of Transyluania and Hungarie, there were two of the Turkes spyes of Buda discouered and taken; who at Vienna, had obserued all the actions and proceedings of the Christians, and to the vttermost of their power had informed themselues of their designes, as also of their preparations and forces to bee raised and

C leuied for this yeares warres: of which two spyes, the one was empayled, and the other kept in close and straight prison, vntill that further matter might be drawne out from him.

The forces of the Christians were now beginning to gather themselues together and to make an head in Hungarie; a rife report at that time going, That they would forthwith take the field: whereof the Bassa of Buda vnderstanding, and desirous in what he might to hinder that their forwardnesse (whereof hee doubted the effects) thought it best to betake himselfe to his old and cunning practise, for the treatie and concluding of a peace with the Christians, whereof hee now made shew himselfe, together with the rest of the Turkes, to bee verie desirous: so by putting the Christians in hope thereof,

D to make them the more remisse and negligent in their doings, and to gaine time of them, vntill that the Turkes great armie (then in preparing) might bee brought downe into Hungarie. To which purpose hee in most friendly manner thus writ vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium.

The Letters of the Bassa of Buda to the Gouernour of Strigonium.

Wee know right well (Noble Gouernour) that you are not ignorant, how that your brother the Gouernour of Strigonium before you, hath most earnestly embraced the negotiation of peace, in such sort, as that wee cannot so much yeeld vnto our ordinarie quarrels and dissentions, but that wee must giue you to vnderstand the causes which haue crossed and hindered the concluding of so great a good the last yeare now passed. The first let came by reason of the time, chosen

E *too late to bee employed in that treatie for peace, when as now both the armies were alreadie on foot, and euen in readinesse to ioyne battell, and could not bee then stayed by that entreatie, nor bee sent backe againe without some exploit doing: Each part had resolued vpon their proper designes, and euen chosen their ground for battell, and were then hardly to bee turned from that wherevpon they were before resolued. And albeit, that during this last Winter, the treatie for the peace was againe begun, and that the men of warre on both sides in hope thereof, rested vnarmed, and free from all hostilitie; a most fit time to haue begun and ended this treatie of peace, which hath beene so much wished for of our Soueraigne Emperour, desired of his subiects, and requested by those of your Emperours, with whome yee dread Soueraigne would confirme and contract a firme and continuall peace: yet for all that, since the departure of the Gouernour from*

F *Strigonium, wee see three moneths to haue beene passed, without any Letters at all, or message by word of mouth brought vnto vs concerning this matter; so that wee haue not any thing whereof to certifie our Soueraigne Emperour. And forasmuch as the course of time hath brought these two contrarie armies euen vnto the point of battell, and that they are marching one of them to*

to encounter with the other, and so to enter into the lists of honour, wee haue thought good before to de- G
sire to know of you what we are to expect concerning the peace. Wee therefore requeſt you as our verie
good brother and friend, in what wee may to stay the comming of our armies into this Kingdome,
and to attend to that which may produce the concluſion of this treatie, beeing on our part most readie
to lend both our ... and desire to whatsoeuer shall be iuſt and meet in this treatie, and neceſſarie for the
common good beſeeching you to beleeue vs in this buſineſſe, and not to doubt of our good will,
more affected s. your good, than is yours to our welfare: whereof wee in good time aduertiſe you,
for that our armie which is now before Belgrade, beeing once arriued heere, and marching in field
wee cannot poſſibly cauſe it to returne without ſomething doing, conſidering the great harmes, which
vnder the aſſurance of your faith giuen, wee haue receiued from your people during the time of the
truce, which they haue many wayes violated. Which their euill dealing hath greatly incenced vs againſt
your men in captiuitie with vs, and cauſed our ſouldiers to ſhew great rigour againſt their ſlaues: wee H
therefore attend your anſwere, and the returne of your brother, to the end wee may together reſolue ac-
cording vnto reaſon and equitie, of that which ſhall bee needfull to bee done for the common good and
welfare.

Now for all this faire gloſing, it was no hard matter to gheſſe at the Baſſaes ſecret meaning: for how deſireus ſoeuer hee ſeemed to bee of peace, and willing to the furtherance thereof, yet neuertheleſſe true it is, that during the time of all theſe faire ſhewes, the Turkes hauing aſſembled their garriſons on all ſides, had by night ſurpriſed the caſtle of Simnin vpon the Chriſtians, ſlaine part of the ſouldiers therein, carried away the reſt priſoners, and I moſt cruelly afterwards burnt the place: So manifeſting by their foule deeds the euill meaning of their faire and deceitfull words. But now leauing the Baſſa for a while vnto his craftie deuices, and paſſing ouer many ſmall skirmiſhes which happened in Hungarie and Tranſyluania, as not beſeeming the grauitie of an Hiſtorie, let vs now out of Europe looke ouer into Aſia, to ſee how the Great Turkes affaires there in the meane time went.

The rebellion in Aſia was by the comming ouer of *Zellaly* and his followers for a time ſomewhat weakened, but not ſuppreſſed, that peſtilent humour of diſloyaltie hauing before infected the mindes of ſo many, as that in ſhort time after the Rebels were much ſtronger and the rebellion much more dangerous than before: for the appeaſing and repreſſing I whereof, *Cicala Baſſa* the old renegate, and a man of great experience and ſeruice, was as Generall ſent ouer with a great armie into Aſia, where hee needed not long to ſeeke for his enemies, they being as ready as he either to giue or to accept of battell: So that for men ſo on both ſides reſolued, it was no hard matter to bring them to the triall of battell: which they with like deſire and equall hope ioyning, there made a great and terrible fight, the Baſſa fighting for his honour, and the Rebell for his life. Howbeit, that at length the Baſſa after much bloudſhed and a great number on both ſides ſlain, being put to to the worſe, fled with his armie altogether diſordered, and in rout, hauing in that ſo dangerous a confuſion of his people much adoe to ſaue himſelfe. With which ſo ſhamefull an ouerthrow giuen him by the Rebell, the Baſſa who was more aſhamed than diſcouraged, againe repaired his ar- L
mie, ioyning thereunto great and mightie ſupplies, and ſo ſtrengthened, came now againe the ſecond time to reuenge himſelfe of the great diſhonour which he had before receiued, and vtterly to ſuppreſſe the Rebels: who now finding themſelues too weake to encounter with ſo great and mightie a power, wiſely betime retired, praying aide of the Perſian King, who ſent vnto them his owne ſonne with a great armie of good and valiant ſouldiers; which might haue giuen the Baſſa cauſe enough to haue ſtayed his haſte, and to haue beene well aduiſed how hee ioyned battell with ſuch deſperate and reſolute enemies, and now backt with ſuch ſtrong ſupplyes: But hee being blinded with the furie of his former loſſe, and too much deſirous to be thereof reuenged, with more haſt than good ſpeed came on, and ioyned battell with theſe his enemies, now in readineſſe and well prouided to receiue him. The two armies M
were in number equall, but the Rebels of the two more reſolute and carefull of themſelues and of their welfare, as they which had repoſed all their hope and confidence in their owne armes and valour, ſo that the battell was with great ſtoutneſs and furie begun both on the one

Cicala Baſſa with his army ouerthrown by the Rebels in Aſia.

A one ſide and on the other: in the beginning whereof the Turks right furiouſly charged the rebels, and ſeemed ſomewhat to preuaile vpon them, vntill that the Perſian Kings ſonne with certaine troupes of his moſt braue horſemen charging them in the rereward, and ſome other of the Rebels with like furie aſſailing them vpon their flankes, their whole armie was ſo diſordered, that *Cicala* doing what he could to haue put his men againe in order, and ſo to haue reſtored the battell, nothing therein preuailed, but was glad together with the reſt of his armie, now all in rout, to betake himſelfe to flight. In this battell were fortie thouſand men on the one ſide and the other ſlaine, whereof thirtie thouſand were of the Baſſaes armie, and the reſt of the Rebels; who by this their ſo great a victorie, gained no leſſe honour and reputation, than had the old Baſſa got of contempt and diſgrace. The Perſian King alſo after this B diſcomfiture of the Turkes, continuing his conqueſts, tooke in the Countrey of Situan (a matter of great importance) beeing now deſtitute of all reliefe by the ouerthrow of *Cicala Baſſa*, who, had he preuailed againſt the Rebels, ſhould haue marched thither againſt the Perſian King, to haue ſtayed the courſe of his victories: who now victorious and out of feare, made head toward Aruſta, a very great and ſtrong towne, neere whereunto the riuer Tygris diſchargeth it ſelfe into the great riuer Euphrates, which citie hee at laſt woon, with all the places and Countries thereunto adioyning; and hath ſince as a moſt happy and victorious Prince againe recouered from the Turkes whatſoeuer they had ſince the time of Sultan *Solyman* by force of armes taken from the Perſian Kings his predeceſſours, two or three ſtrong places onely excepted. Of which moſt notable warres betwixt theſe two of the moſt C mightie Eaſterne Princes, *viz.* the great Turke and the Perſian King, I can rather wiſh than hope to bee better enformed, and that, not ſo much for curioſitie (although that the knowledge of ſuch matters yeeld vnto ſuch as bee deſirous thereof much pleaſure, with no leſſe contentment) as for that they (though farre off) in ſome ſort much concerne the good and quiet of the Chriſtian Commonweale, the Perſian warres being the onely meanes whereby the furie of the Great Turkiſh Sultan hath beene, and yet is, for a time auerted from the Chriſtians in Europe vpon the Perſians in Aſia: as it is greatly to be feared, that ſome one or other (if not moe) of the Chriſtian Princes neereſt vnto him, ſhall to their great coſt and harme feele, ſo ſoone as theſe two great Mahometane Princes ſhall bee at peace betweene themſelues. But leaue wee the Baſſa a while to grieue at his ouerthrowes, and the Perſian D King to triumph of theſe victories, and ſee what the Great Sultan himſelfe in the meane time doth.

Cicala Baſſa ouerthrowne.

The ſucceſſe of the Perſian King.

This young Prince *Achmat*, now one of the greateſt Monarches of the World, had not many moneths raigned, but that hee fell ſicke of the ſmall pox, wherewith hee hauing a groſſe and full bodie, was ſo foulely tormented for the ſpace of foureteene daies, that often-times fainting, it was generally thought hee would thereof haue died: yea, diuers of the great Baſſaes were in ſpeech concerning his younger brother to bee taken out of the Seraglio to ſucceed him: which was thought would haue coſt the younger brother his life, after that the Sultan his elder brother was againe recouered, as no doubt it had, but that hee was the onely heire that was then left of the *Othoman* Familie, if that his brother the Sultan E ſhould haue fayled. But hee againe recouered of his foule and childiſh diſeaſe, to ſhew vnto the Ianizaries and others (who doubted thereof) that hee was ſo recouered, proudly mounted vpon a goodly horſe, moſt ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and in great ſtate and magnificence rid vp and downe through moſt of the chiefe ſtreets of the Imperiall Citie, the people (as their accuſtomed manner is) in euery place as hee went reioycing to ſee him, and proſecuting him with their moſt ioyfull acclamations, wiſhing vnto him a moſt long and happie raigne: Neither is it to be maruelled, ſeeing that the Almightie God hath euen in the faces and countenances of Princes engrauen ſome reſemblance of his owne, if they become reſpectuous and admirable in the eyes and ſight of the common people, who cannot but honour them with their voices, whome God hath bleſſed with his power, and other his extraordinarie worldF ly bleſſings.

Sultan Achmat ſick of the ſmall pox.

This young Prince ſo recouered of his ſickneſſe, and hauing ſhewed himſelfe vnto his ſubiects, began foorthwith to giue himſelfe according vnto the heat of his youthfull ſpirit) immoderately vnto the pleaſures of the field, and violent exerciſes; beeing in their moderate vſe wholeſome, but in them hurtfull, but eſpecially

vpon the new recouerie of his late ſickneſſe, the griefes whereof came in haſte, but were to leaue him at leiſure. Whereupon two of his Baſſaes carefull of his health, were ſo bold, as out of their loue to reproue him for ſuch his violent and immoderat exerciſes (the day not beeing long enough for them) and by effectuall reaſons to diſſuade him from the ſame. But ſo farre off was hee from hearkening vnto their wholeſome perſuaſions, as that to the contrarie hee therwith inraged, thruſt them both out of their places. So dangerous a thing it is, euen in zeale and loue to preſume to controll great Princes in their moſt vaine pleaſures; others in the meane time not louing them at all, but onely for their owne profit attending vpon their idle appetites, enjoying the preferments due vnto their more faithfull and loyall ſubiects, and yet ſecretly in themſelues ſmiling at the vanitie of ſuch as by whom they be ſo vnworthily honoured and promoted.

Good counſell taken in euill part by Sultan Achmat.

But as in the immoderat vſe of all things there is a facietie which breedeth [illegible]ing and diſtaſte of them (pleaſures being not by any meanes more commended, than by [illegible]nouel. ties and ſeldome vſe:) ſo this young Sultan *Achmat* hauing glutted himſelfe with his pleaſures, began now to caſt his eyes vpon his other more neceſſarie affaires of State, but eſpecially vpon his warres both with the Chriſtian Emperour and the Mahometane Perſian King. Now hee was not ignorant of the great valour and ſufficiencie of *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, for the mannaging of his warres in Hungarie, wherein he had of long time beene exerciſed, and ſo therein beſt experienced. This old Captaine pleaſed him beſt, whome as an old, expert, and politicke Generall, hee reſolued to continue in his charge as Lieutenant Generall of his warres in Hungarie, and by the continuation of him in ſo great and honourable a place, to binde him to all loyall ſeruices in thoſe warres, euen to the vttermoſt of his power. This Great Baſſa was then at Belgrade, vpon the frontier of his gouernment in doubtfull ſuſpence expecting the reſolution of his Prince concerning this buſineſſe, and yet in hope longing after a ſecond charge: Whoſe longing deſire *Achmat* quickely ſatisfied, by ſending vnto him both a commiſſion for the continuation of his charge and dignitie, and certaine honourable Preſents in token of his extraordinarie fauour toward him; which were a Generals Enſigne, with an Hungarian Mace of pure gold. Now whether theſe Preſents, joyned vnto the continuation of his charge, were welcome vnto him, or not, ambitious mindes (ſuch as was his) can eaſily tell: and hee to ſhew his contentment therewith, gaue thereof good teſtimonie by the publique actions of joy, cauſing all the great Ordnance of the place in thundering wiſe to be oftentimes diſcharged, and the Trumpets and Drummes to be moſt joyfully ſounded.

Haſſan Baſſa appointed lieutenant General of the Turkes warres in Hungarie.

In the meane time newes was brought vnto Conſtantinople, how that the Perſian king hauing muſtered his men, was in the field with aboue an hundred thouſand good ſouldiers, and that *Bagages Baſſa*, one of the great Rebels in Aſia, had confederated himſelfe with him, to the further troubling of the Turkes eſtate. Whereupon *Achmat*, although hee had before giuen order vnto *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa his Lieutenant in Hungarie, for the beſieging and taking of Veradinum, a ſtrong Citie in the vpper Hungarie; now by a meſſenger ſent in haſte, commaunded the ſame Baſſa, all other buſineſſes ſet apart, with all the power that hee could make, forthwith to returne to Conſtantinople, there with him and the reſt of the Baſſaes to conſult and reſolue vpon the moſt neceſſarie warre, and of the readieſt meanes for the continuing of the ſame. For albeit that the Turkes were moſt deſirous to haue warres with the Chriſtians, and ſo (if it were poſſible) to haue conquered the remainders of Hungarie; yet the danger of the Perſian warres and of the rebellion in Aſia dayly more and more encreaſing, ſuffered them not wholly to attend vnto the warres againſt the Chriſtians in Hungarie, but drew them now into a doubtfull conſultation, which way firſt to turne their forces. But the Baſſa being come to Conſtantinople, the Grand Seignior tooke the paines and did him the honour to come vnto his houſe; whither the Counſell for the State beeing aſſembled, it was there moſt proudly reſolued vpon, euen foorthwith at one and the ſelfe ſame time with equall forces to make warre both vpon the Chriſtian Emperour in Hungarie, and the Perſian King in Aſia, accounting themſelues ſtrong enough to ſubdue and bring vnder foot both the one and the other, no power vpon earth beeing in their proud conceit of themſelues able to encounter or withſtand theirs. So for the mannaging of theſe warres, and of their ſo proud a reſolution to be performed in ſo remote

Haſſan Baſſa ſent for to come to Conſtantinople.

A remote parts of the world, *Haſſan Baſſa* was continued in his charge, as General of the armie in Hungarie; and *Cicala Baſſa* was appointed to haue the command of the armie to be ſent againſt the Perſian: Two moſt expert Captaines, being to fight againſt their hereditarie enemies; *Haſſan* againſt the Chriſtians, and *Cicala* againſt the Perſians, by whom he had not long before bin euil vſed. An ordinarie policie of the *Othoman* Emperors, not to commit the charge of their armies againſt the Chriſtians, vnto Renegats; for feare leſt they, touched with ſome remorſe of conſcience, might betray the ſame, or otherwiſe deale vnfaithfully in their charge: but ſtill to employ them againſt the Perſians, of whom they haue no further knowledge, but as of their enemies in the field. But *Cicala Baſſa* well acquainted both with the difficultie and the danger of the Perſian war, (the ſcarres whereof he yet bare about with him) made ſhew

Haſſan Baſſa continued Generall of the Turks Armie againſt the Chriſtians, and Cicala appointed General of their armie againſt the Perſians.

B as if he had been vnwilling to take vpon him the charge thereof; and ſo begun to excuſe himſelfe, vntill that at length vpon promiſe made vnto him, for the furniſhing of him with a ſufficient armie, and all things els neceſſarie for ſo great a war, with a large and moſt honourable entertainment for himſelfe, and all the Perſian priſoners being alſo giuen vnto him in reward: he therewith contented, accepted of the honorable charge, whereof in his ambitious minde he was indeed moſt deſirous. And ſo receiuing the Generals Enſigne, with the other markes and cogniſances of his honour, cauſing the drums to be ſtrucken vp, and the trumpets to be joyfully ſounded, he cheerefully prepared himſelfe for that his ſo great an expedition; expecting but the comming of his ſonne, who at the requeſt of the Venetians was gon forth with a

Cicala Baſſa maketh ſhew as if he were vnwilling to be Generall in the warres againſt the Perſians.

C fleet of gallies, to ſcoure the Leuant ſeas of the pyrats, who then exceedingly troubled the traffique of the Venetian merchants.

Amiddeſt which the Turks ſo great deſignes, the Tartar Cham, bound for his pay to ſerue the Great Turke in his warres againſt the Chriſtians; by his Embaſſadour excuſed himſelfe vnto the Great Sultan, for that he could not himſelfe in perſon come this yeare with his forces into Hungarie, by reaſon that he was otherwiſe neceſſarily buſied with the moſt vrgent affaires of his owne Eſtate: yet promiſing withall, in ſtead of himſelfe, to ſend his ſonne with a good power of men. Now whereas many men maruell, why the Tartar Cham, being ſo great a Prince, and not much in danger vnto the Turke (being ſeparated from him by the Blacke or Euxine ſea) ſhould be ſtill ſo readie at the Turkes call, to doe him ſeruice in his warres: The cauſes thereof are diuers, and thoſe not far to ſeeke. Firſt, Their neere affini-

The reaſons why the Tartar Cham is ſo readie to ſerue the great Turke in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

D tie (as both diſcended from the ſame beginning) by often marriages ſtill confirmed: Then, Their likeneſſe of manners and condition, no ſmall bonds of loue and friendſhip: And thirdly, For that the Turkiſh Empire for want of heires males of the *Othoman* Familie, is aſſured, and as it were entailed vnto the Tartar Cham: But moſt of all, For the yearely penſion and great pay which he, being a bare Prince, receiueth from the Turkes; his rude and needie people being alſo euer readie, in hope of the ſpoyle, to follow him into theſe warres. But this his excuſe for not comming himſelfe this yeare into Hungarie, being by the Great Sultan accepted of, *Haſſan Baſſa* reſolued vpon his expedition for Hungarie, made great preparation for the good ſucceſſe of the warre there, gaue great hope thereof vnto the Great Sultan, and cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed Lieutenant Generall of all the Great Sultans

E Forces againſt the Chriſtians: euerie man affoording vnto theſe good hopes a thouſand wiſhes for his health and welfare: but eſpecially the Mahometane Prieſts aſſured him of their helpe, ſo that hee would not faile to doe the vttermoſt of his endeauour againſt the Chriſtians their enemies. For why, the Turkes doe account him the beſt and moſt zealous man, which can do the Chriſtians moſt harme. And ſo with theſe ſo great acclamations of joy and honour, *Haſſan* the great Baſſa ſet forward with his armie from Conſtantinople toward Hungarie.

Haſſan Baſſa ſetteth forward with his armie toward Hungarie.

The Chriſtian Emperor not ignorant of all theſe the Turks great preparations and haughty deſignes, ſought by all meanes how to reſiſt them, ſparing nothing that might any way ſerue or ſtand him in ſtead to that purpoſe. Experience had aſſured him of the Popes readineſſe in

F contributing to this action, what in his power was; hauing before receiued ſo many teſtimonies of his good will. Which cauſed him now to diſpatch alſo his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke, a good and a deuout Prince, vnto him, with expreſſe charge in the Emperors name to yeeld all ſubmiſſion vnto his Holineſſe, to mooue him to relieue the wofull eſtate of his diſtreſſed affaires. *Maximilian* ſetting forward about this buſineſſe, arriued at Venice, where he

Maximilian

he was by that State right honorably entertained. From Venice he trauelling towards Rome, G
and with a great retinue approching the citie, was there met by a great number of Noblemen
with their followers, sent from the Pope, and so by them with great honour was brought into
the Vaticane Palace, to the intent that so he might the oftener and with more ease haue ac-
cesse vnto the Pope, who then lay there sicke of the gout. The next day he being brought vn-
to the Popes presence, and after vsual reuerence done, hauing audience giuen him, in the pre-
sence of all the Cardinals he began to deliuer vnto him the causes of his comming; which (as
he said) were two: First, to put his Holinesse in remembrance of the manifest perill and dan-
ger which hung ouer the heads of the Christians in generall, from the Turke, but especially
ouer them of Italie, being so neere vnto the Turkish Empire, and a great gap laid open for the
Turks thereinto to enter, by the way of Canisia, the key of Stiria. And then in the Emperors H
behalfe to requeste him to stretch forth his helping hand against this his mortal e[illegible] who
was now drawing all his power together into one head, to destroy him: hauing cer[illegible]n-
derstanding of the great preparation by him made throughout all his dominions, to thrust
him out of his, if in these extremeties he were not relieued by such Princes as could not in
the end themselues auoid the last violences of these harmes, whereof he felt the first assaults.
Which his Holinesse considering in the zeale of his deuotion, and by the encreasing of the
danger, he was in hope to finde of it the like assistance in this his second need, that he had be-
fore receiued in his former affaires: the pretious balme of his deuout charitie being of greatet
vertue than to serue but for one time, but being of sufficient power to serue for all ages, and all
times of necessitie. And that therefore he besought his Holinesse to applie the same vpon the I
present wound, seeing that without his helpe, he was more like to perish than to liue. Where-
The Popes answer vnto the Emperours demands. unto the Pope answered, That his former actions alreadie passed spake enough for him in this
action, to manifest his deuout meaning, so that it was needlesse for him to vse further words
to expresse the same. That the great supplies both of men and money which he had sent forth
for the good of the Christian commonweale, were the sure testimonies of his carefulnesse for
the same. And albeit that these euill haps had so far preuailed in Hungarie, yet that he for his
part nouertheless had still done what he might for the remedying of those so great euils.
And that now by the aduice of his honourable Counsellors there present, he had appointed
an hundred and fiftie thousand crownes to be payd toward the maintenance of the Christian
Armie in Hungarie this yeare; in hope to do more than that afterward for the Emperor in his K
wars against the Turks: whom God had (as he said) suffered to preuaile vpon the Christians,
not for any goodnesse that was in them, but for the chastising of the wickednesse of the Chri-
stians themselues.

Which summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand crownes was afterward according to a de-
cree made by the Pope and Cardinals, leuied and payd of the tenths of the Clergie through-
out all Italie. And so *Maximilian* the Archduke most magnificently entertained and feasted
by the Pope, and by him rewarded with foure thousand crownes, hauing wel dispatched the
businesse he came for, returned againe vnto the Emperor his brother.

But as the Christian Emperour was thus carefull about his prouisions for the withstanding
of the Turks, they were not any whit behinde him in augmenting of their forces for the inua- L
ding of him. And now the Tartars in great number being about to come vnto their aid into
Valachia spoy-led by the Tartars. Hungarie, being denied passage by the Polonians, had turned head towards Valachia, with a
purpose by force and strong hand to get that of these weake people, which the power of the
stronger had embarred them of. And so presuming vpon their number, they entered into
the same Prouince, which they all ouer rifled and spoiled at their pleasure. Where such of the
countrey people as could escape their furie, fled into the townes, leauing their goods behinde
them vnto their mercilesse rage, not with any thing to be satisfied. *Rodolph* the Vayuod him-
selfe as a man with furie dismaied, fled to Cronstat to *George Bassa*: where he considering the
danger he was now in, and that he was still to expect the like so often as the Tartars were for
Rodolph the Vayod submitteth himself & his countrey to the Emperours protection. the seruice of the Turke to come into Hungarie, before *Bassa* tooke a new oath of allegeance M
vnto the Emperor, solemnly protesting to die and liue in his seruice; necessitie now enforcing
him to acknowledge his dutie, and to seeke for the remedie of his harmes, which he had be-
fore oftentimes most vnkindly reiected. Vpon which his so humble submission, *Bassa* receiued
him and his countrey into his protection.

In

A In the meane time two traitours were brought to Claudinople, who hauing by wonderfull
craft surprised a strong castle belonging vnto a certain great Ladie a widow, neere vnto a bur-
rough called Carasebe, and rifled and sacked the same, traiterously afterward sold it vnto the
Turks, to the great hurt of the Emperors subiects neere vnto the place, and the no lesse aduan-
tage of the Turks. Whereof the Haiducks hauing gotten vnderstanding, and cunning in such
matters, vpon the sudden surprised the Turks by the way as they were comming to haue taken
possession of the place: who seeing themselues too weake to withstand their enemies, and out
of hope to saue themselues by flight, were there as men dismaied and appointed to the slaugh-
ter, most of them by the Haiducks cut in pieces, and the rest taken prisoners. The two Trai-
tors being according to their deserts, for their shametull trecherie, most cruelly put to death,
B to the terror of others.

The Turks surprised by the Haiducks.

The Haiducks hauing no houses but the fields, nor other trade but their armes, spoiled of
the one by the Turks, and armed with the other by necessitie, are alwaies in readinesse for ser-
uice. In hope of profit, it is to them a pleasure to passe ouer the mountaines of yce, to trauell
through the stormes of thunder and lightening, to swimme ouer the deepe riuers, and to
thrust themselues into a thousand dangers, which as it is no commendable kinde of life, so is
the practise of it vniust. For as in this, so in other their actions, they spare neither friend nor
foe, all that comes in their way being subiect, and as it were appointed to their furie: but espe-
cially when they want their pay, which affoordeth vnto them a thousand excuses, for the rob-
C bing and spoiling of all men without respect. With which manner of furie they were euen at
this time enraged for want of their pay, in such sort, as that if their right hands spoyled the
Turks, their left hands robbed the Christians: as vpon one and the selfe same day they tooke
from the Turks of Agria a number of beasts and cattel, and rifled diuers villages of the Chri-
stians. And not content with these outrages, meeting with an hundred, or six score waggons,
laded with great store of victuals, going toward Alba-Iulia, conducted by the Zeclers, set vp-
on them, slew them that driue them, and carried away the waggons with them. But these
wrongs by Christians done vnto Christians, euen the mortall enemies of the Christians, the
Turks themselues reuenged. For the Turks of Temeswar hauing been abroad toward Lippa,
and found good store of bootie, meeting with these sharkers, were by them charged, not so
D much for that they were their enemies, or for the zeale of Christianitie, or for the desire of
honour, as for to haue had from them their prey and bootie. But the Turks being in number
twice as many as they, and withall wel acquainted with such businesse, were not so easily spoi-
led; but knowing their owne strength, with their number, oppressed their enemies, most of
whom they slew, and tooke the rest prisoners. God being as just in his punishments, as he is in
works powerfull, punishing the wicked by the weapons of others as wicked, or rather worse
than they.

The Turkes in their hearts meaning warre make shew as if they were desirous of peace.

The Turks in the meane time whilest things thus passed, began againe to fall to their old
practise, for the soliciting of a peace: but such fantasies were too stale and common for them
any more to deceiue the Christians with: howbeit that they yet gaue some eare thereunto, to
discouer in their policie the commodities and inconueniences of the peace by them in shew
E offered, with a thousand protestations in their words, but farre differing from their thoughts
and deeds: who during the time of the parley, laboured in what they might to benefit them-
selues, and to hurt vs. For euen in that same verie time they fortified their townes and castles
with men and victuals, but especially the citie of Buda, whereinto by a conuoy of three thou-
sand Turks come from Belgrade, they put an exceeding quantitie of all sort of necessarie pro-
uision, sufficient to serue the same for an whole yeare. Besides that, it was certainly knowne
by certaine Turks taken prisoners and brought to Posconium, that all this parley and treatie of
peace was but of purpose feigned to put the Christians in security; for that the Bassa of Buda,
who was the chiefe publisher of the same, had no such commission from the Great Sultan for
the concluding of any peace in the absence of the Visier Bassa, vnto whom the Graund Seignio
F our had giuen charge, not to make any peace with the Emperour, but vpon condition; That
hee should first deliuer vnto him thu Citie of Strigonium: which if hee would not yeeld, that
then he should besiege it, and by force take it from him; and after the winning thereof to re-
fuse all other treatie of peace, it being the onely cause for which the Turke desired peace. Of
all which their double dealing and craftie designes the Emperour vnderstanding, and whole-

ly

ly resolued for war, presently sent Countie *Sulizo* with commission to Vienna, and appointed *George Batta* Lieutenant Generall of his Armie in Hungarie; aduising them carefully to looke to their charge, and not too much to trust vnto the glosing and flattering speeches of the Turks.

The castle of Reoum surprised by the Haiduckes.

The Haiduckes in the meane time alwaies in armes, as hauing no other inheritance whereon to liue, ceased not still to looke abroad, to finde that was neuer lost. Now it fortuned them in roaming aboute toward Belgrade, to light vpon Reouin a strong and faire castle of the Turks, wherein eight hundred of the Turks souldiers and other of their countrey people had their abode, together with the greatest part of their substance. In the strength of which castle the Turks trusting, and there lying in securitie, without further care of their safetie, were vpon the sudden before they were aware, by these aduenturous men surprised, who hasting thrusting one another forward, at length carried the place, slew the greatest part of them, and taking the rest prisoners, with a great and rich bootie returned to Lippa. The exploit they of the garison of Canisia attempted vpon the castle and burrough of Sambac, which they tooke and spoiled, and afterwards set it on fire: The flame whereof serued for a signal vnto the troupes of Countie *Serin*, which passing that way, and lighting vpon the Turks ouerloded with the spoiles they had there taken, cut them in pieces, and so recouered from them the bootie.

Petrinia in danger to haue been betrayed vnto the Turkes.

About this time, certaine of the garison souldiers of Petrinia, hauing secretly conspired with the Turkes (by whom they were before corrupted) to deliuer vnto them that strong castle: and being about to haue betrayed the same by a Mine which they were in making vnder a stable neere vnto a store-house wherein the pouder for the store of the castle lay, with a purpose by firing of the same, to haue giuen the Turkes enterance by the ruines thereof, who lay close hidden in a wood neere vnto the place; it fortuned this their wicked purpose to be perceiued by certaine offendors then kept prisoners in the same stable neere vnto the Mine: who hauing discouered the Traitours whole purpose, and in feare to be burned or blowne vp by the furie of the Mine so neere vnto them, discouered the same vnto the Gaoler, who made the Gouernour therewith acquainted; by whose commandement they were forthwith apprehended, and being conuicted of their so foule a treason, were with exemplarie punishment executed.

Now as the Turkes had oftentimes made shew as if they had beene desirous of peace, so ceased they not yet with great earnestnesse to solicit the same: so that the Emperour, although he knew it to be a thing rather to be wished than hoped for, yet lest he should seeme careless of the common quiet of his subiects and people, and to refuse so great a good so oftentimes offered him; now once againe appointed certaine personages of great place and authoritie to attend the propositions of peace to be on the Turks behalfe propounded. Of which Commissioners, *Cæsar Gallen* Sheriffe of Strigonium, an Italian, and a man of great experience in matters of State, was one. Whom the Gouernour of Strigonium had of purpose sent to Pesth, to consider of some good meanes for the concluding of the peace, whereof he himselfe in person had layd the first foundation; and vnderstood the Turks demands and pretensions, not much differing from those which they had many times before demanded. Whereof the first was, That the Emperour should for the time to come well and truly pay vnto the Great Sultan and his successors, all such tribute as he was wont to pay vnto the Turkish Emperors his predecessors, during the time of his leagues with them, and that without any demand to be thereof made. The second, That the Emperour should alwaies haue his Embassadour Lieger at the Great Sultans Court, with honourable Presents, there to solicit the continuation of his loue and friendship toward the Emperour his Master. The third, That the Emperour should deliuer vnto the Turkes all the townes and castles which he had taken from them either by force or by surprise, during the time of this warre, together with the countries of Transyluania and Valachia. Vpon which demands granted, they promised to send a messenger vnto the Great Sultan, in their names to entreat him to surrender Canisia vnto the Emperor, but not Agria, which (as they said) they might in no wise deliuer, except they were thereunto by force of armes constrained.

The insolent & vnreasonable demands of the Turkes for the concluding of a peace with the Christians.

The answer of the Emperours Commissioners vnto the Turkes proud demands.

Vnto which their so proud and vnreasonable demaunds the Commissioners for the Emperour answered, That the Emperour long before this time had made peace with Sultan *Selym* the

the second of that name, and with Sultan *Amurath* the third, this Sultan *Achmat* his predecessours. An assured peace, sworne vnto and confirmed by all the iust and solemne Oathes that could haue beene by any man desired: and for the more assurance thereof, into writing conceiued, and with the most authentique seales of their Maiesties confirmed: whereby both parties were most seuerely and straitly forbidden, one of them to attempt any thing against the other, or to encroach the one of them vpon the other, during the time of such their League: And if so bee that contrarie to the tenour thereof, either part should vndertake to surprise any place belonging to the other, and so become masters thereof, that vpon the least request of the partie so wronged, the places surprised should bee againe forthwith restored, as vsurped vpon, contrarie to the publique faith, and the vsurpers to bee seuerely for the same punished. And that yet the Turkes notwithstanding thrusting by heapes beyond the Barres of this so strong and holy a League, had violated and broken the same, by surprising a number of places both in the high and lower Countries of Hungarie, neuer giuing care vnto any speech or request that could bee made vnto them for the restitution thereof. And yet not so contented, had also taken a number of places from the Emperour in Sclauonia, betweene the riuers of Culpe and Vnna: Which places hee had oftentimes by as just right redemaunded, as they were by vniust forces vsurped, before the beginning of these warres. Demaunds esteemed just and reasonable euen by the Turkes themselues, and yet for all that altogether reiected by the great Sultans themselues: of which their so great iniustice the Emperour had oftentimes most justly complained, and so did euen at this day, at the feeling of such his hurts and harmes. And that the Emperour hauing by so many perfidious dealings made proofe of the vntrustinesse of the Grand Seigniour his predecessours, what assurance then can hee conceiue of his fidelitie? or vpon what foundation of faith can hee build the sure building of peace, so much desired of him? And yet if he might hope so much of the faith of another man, as he is assured of his owne just meaning, differing much from that of the Grand Seigniours, which hee knew to be neuer answerable vnto his; that he for his part could be well content to embrace the peace; prouided alwaies, That hee might haue Canisia and Agria deliuered vnto him. Or that if they would needs stil hold those places, that he might likewise in peace hold the places that he had before woon in that war, the reasons being on both sides alike. And that as concerning Transyluania, hee could not deliuer that without betraying of his owne right, and the welfare of that Prouince; hauing obtained the same as well by agreements and couenants betweene him and the sonne of the last Duke, *Iohn*, as by the free and voluntarie releasement which *Sigismund Bathor*, the last and immediat Prince thereof, had not long before made vnto him: for the defence of which his rights, hee had spent many men, and great summes of money, and all for the keeping of that Prouince by force of armes, which by so good right belonged vnto him. And that for Valachia he could be content to yeeld some part of his right vnto that Prouince, so that the Turke should cease from thenceforth to demand of him any yearly tribute, or that he should as of ordinary duty send his embassadors with yerely Presents to the Grand Seignior, not being able without need, to consent vnto such a needlesse seruitude: seeing that euery Prince ought to be at libertie, at his owne choice to send his Embassadors, and not at the appointement of another man.

Which answere of the Emperours Commissioners serued to no other purpose, but for the Turkes to laugh and sport at, how just and reasonable soeuer they were: and finding them so yeeld vnto their vnreasonable demaunds; or else threatening to [illegible] the Great Sultan thereof, who by force would take that from them, to [illegible] losse, which they refused to grant him by faire meanes, to their owne [illegible] treatie was for that time broken off, without any thing concluded [illegible] Gouernour of Strigonium to retire himselfe backe againe vnto [illegible] that, leauing *Cæsar Gallen* behind him, to entertaine it in such [illegible] of yet left: who afterwards seeing it almost desperate, made [illegible] taine of the chiefe of the Turkes of Buda, and hauing [illegible] them a promise to liue as friends with them of the [illegible] places which lay neere vnto that towne, hee retired [illegible] um also.

The shamefull cowardise of Iagenreuter gouernor of Pesth

Shortly after whose departure, *Iagenreuter* Gouernour of Pesth, notwithstanding the late promises of the Turkes of Buda, for their liuing by him in peace and amitie; and the assured promise of *Cæsar Gallen*, at his last departure, for the speedy furnishing of the towne both with men and all things else necessarie for the defence thereof, which he ought with great assurance to haue expected: yet dismaied with the brute of the comming of *Hassan Bassa* the Turkes Generall with his great armie, and that by the strait commandement of the great Sultan, hee was to begin his conquests in Hungarie with the winning of Pesth; as a man afraid of his owne shadow, though good betime to prouide for himselfe: and vpon that resolution, hauing yet seene no enemie at all to force him, trussing vp his baggage, the fifth of September forsooke the towne, with fiue companies of footmen, and six troupes of horsemen to[o] ... wing him: a sufficient number to haue for a time defended the towne, and endured a si[ege] ... ecially in so strong a place, and so well prouided both of victuals and munition. All w[ith] ... his most cowardly Gouernor (but vnworthie that name) left together with his honor, for[sook] ... to his enemies: hauing yet before his departure out of the towne, caused the principal buildings thereof to be vndermined, and barrels of gunpouder to be laid vnder them, wherewith they were shortly after all ouerthrowne, and most part of the towne burnt. But being gone not past halfe a league from the place, hee met with foure hundred Haiduckes all well armed, whome the Gouernour of Strigonium had sent for the reliefe of Pesth, with a number of boats loaded with corne, munition, and other necessaries of all sorts, for the better assurance of the place, and the performing of the promise before to that end made by the Gouernour of Strigonium: which Hungarian Haiduckes meeting with these dismayed cowards vpon the way, thought it not best to goe any farther, as thinking themselues not able to doe that with their so small a number, which the other durst not to vndertake with their far greater: and so ioyning themselues with the other fearefull fugitiues, they with them returned to Strigonium, leauing their vessels and munitions vnto their enemies, who immediatly after seised vpon them.

Pesth most shamefully abandoned by the Christians.

Pesth taken by the Turkes.

The next day after, the mines hauing taken their effect, the Turks wondering to see so great and terrible a fire in Pesth, which still more and more encreased, there beeing none that went about to quench it, aduentured to come ouer the riuer from Buda, and to draw neere vnto the towne now all on a light fire. Which they finding abandoned and forsaken by the Christians, they with great diligence quenched, repaired the ruines of the towne, and so without any losse became masters of the same.

Iagenreuter for his cowardise worthily committed to prison.

Iagenreuter the cowardly late Gou[ernour] with his fearefull troupes in the meane time comming to Strigonium, and by the Gou[ernour] there examined of the causes of his flight, and of the so shamefull leauing of his charge; [not] being able to alledge no other cause or reason, but the great brute and report of the Visier Bassaes comming with his armie to besiege the towne, was therefore committed to prison, and there reserued to be afterward iustly punished for his disloyaltie and cowardise.

The Bassa of Buda excuseth himself for the taking of Pesth

The Bassa of Buda by the cowardise of the Gouernour thus possessed of Pesth, by letters excused himselfe vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium, for the taking thereof, the treatie of peace being not as yet quite broken off: alleadging for himselfe (as the truth was) That he had taken it as a place by the Christians vpon a vain feare forsaken, and desperatly set on fire, without any such cause giuen them so to doe by the Turkes, or on his behalfe. And further, offered vnto the Gouernour, if hee so pleased, to deale with him for the exchange of prisoners on both sides taken, offering to exchange one of them for another. And as for the concluding of the peace so oftentimes treated of, and euen yet in hand, that hee for his part was wonderfull desirous that it might bee fully concluded and ended, before the arriuall of *Hassan* the Visier Bassa with his armie in Hungarie: for that hee beeing once come, there would then be no time amidst the noise of so many weapons, and so many men of warre, to talke of peace.

Hassan Bassa commeth into Hungarie.

Hassan the Visier Bassa was now for all that alreadie entered into Hungarie, drawing after him a world of men, and was come towards Sexart, for the viewing of which armie the Gouernour of Pallantwar going foorth with an hundred horsemen, by euill hap chanced, before hee was aware, vpon the sudden to meet with fiue hundred Turkes, by the Bassa himselfe likewise sent forth to discouer the countrey, and the passages thereof: by whom he charged, and

A and with the multitude of his enemies oppressed, was himselfe taken prisoner, most of his men being in that conflict slaine, some few of them that were left aliue by speedie flight hardly escaping. Which euill hap on the Christians side, was forthwith recompenced with the better successe of the Countie *Serin*, who falling vpon three hundred Turkes neere vnto Sigeth, beeing in number scarce halfe so many as they, yet let vpon them with such courage, that giuing them no leisure to consider of the weaknesse of his forces, they were by them ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, before they were well aware of him.

But together with the time of the yeare, to come vnto the maine point of these present warres in Hungarie, the Turkes finding themselues out of hope by any capitulations or treaties of peace, to regaine the strong towne of Strigonium out of the hands of the Chri-

B stians, were now re[so]lued to employ the vttermost of their forces for the obtaining of the same; with a thou[sand] protestations, That if by force of armes and strong hand they should gaine the place, they would neuer more haue peace with the Christians. At which their vaine threats and speeches, the Christians before resolutely set downe for the defending of the place by them so much desired, and well acquainted with their great brags, could not but with scorne smile, as men nothing therewith dismaied, nor so to bee remoued. Neuertheless the Bassa constant in his resolution for the regaining Strigonium, with all his forces came the eighteenth day of September and layed siege vnto it. Now vnto this siege the Turkes, in hope of spoyle and booty, came flocking from all places, as it had beene to some great mart; and the fields in all the Countrey thereabout were couered and swarmed

Strigonium besieged by the Turkes.

C with armes, men, horses, and tents. They encamped neere vnto *Charles* his hill, taking vp with their tents halfe a league of the Countrey round about: and at their first comming most brauely aduanced their Ensignes with their halfe Moones, the armes of their still encreasing Empire. Whom the besieged in this action imitated, brauely aduancing their Ensignes vpon their walls, as did the Turkes in the fields; and further brauing and prouoking them with a thousand thundering shot, discharged out of the Towne amongst them. All the walls round about the Towne, glistered with armes and flames of fire, out of which the deadly bullets flew carrying with them death and terrour into the middest of these new comers enemies, for their welcome. The Turkes neuertheless came still resolutely on, and as men prodigal of their liues euen in the middest of so many dangers, began to make their approches.

The Christians fall forth vpon the Turkes.

D Vpon whom the Christians with great courage sallied forth, to disturbe them in their works, and so for the space of certaine houres hauing had with them an hot and sharpe skirmish, without any great hurt receiued, retired againe into the towne, leauing vnto their enemies by that they had done, a good testimonie of their valour and resolution. The Turkes for all that lodged themselues, made their trenches, and so encamped before the mount of Saint *Thomas*, where by the placing of their cannon, they well declared their meaning for the battering of that fort.

Against which their designes, *George Bassa*, Lieutenant Generall of the Imperial army right

E resolutely opposed himselfe, hauing neere vnto Strigonium cast vp a strong fort, well furnished with men and great artillerie, from which he greatly annoied the Turks with his great ordinance, and with the furie thereof enforced them to remoue farther off with their approaches his armie vpon the riuer of Danubius in the meane time lying betwixt the Isle of [Strigonium] and the old towne of the Rascians, to keep the enemy from entering either into the [new towne] or the other.

Countie *Sultze* Gouernour of the place also hauing taken a generall muster [of his men], and with comfortable and cheerefull speeches encouraged his souldiers [to fight] minde of their duetie, and of the honourableneesse of the action now in hand, for the maintenance of the Christian religion, for the seruice of the Emperour, of their owne liues: perswading them withall, not to put any trust [in] faith, or faire promises, considering that their weapons were euen [now] their Christian brethren, most perfidiously by them of late massacred [at the towne] of Alba Regalis: encouraging them also with the goodnesse of [their cause], nesse of their friends abroad for their reliefe, with the regard [of their wiues and children], ardise of their barbarous enemies, whose onely hope and [confidence is in them].

withall comforting them, that holding out but some few moneths, the very elements themselues and the time of the yeare, would as it were fight for them, and affoord them aid, their enemies being not able with their great armie, in the extremitie of Winter weather, without their irreparable losses to hold the field. And that as for himselfe, his honor together with his life, were so b[illegible]d vnto his graue and sepulchre, at the foot of the wals of that place, as that they could n[illegible]e from the same separated; hauing proposed the glory of the preseruation of that place, or e[illegible] of an honourable death, as the end of all his actions, and consummation of all his hopes. And that therefore he most earnestly besought them to follow his so honourable a purpose, in assisting him in that action, so much concerning their liues and honour, and wholly depending of their courage and resolution. And that for testimonie of his earnest desire to the furthering of this seruice, he was willing to depart with a good part of his substance and treasure, to be bestowed vpon them, amiddest these the trophies of his honour, [illegible]ing commanded them to haue certaine moneths pay payed before hand vnto them, whic[illegible] as accordingly done.

A notable sally of the Christians out of the fort of S. Thomas. The Christians falling into an ambush of the Turkes, lose one of their chiefe Commanders.

Now the Turkes hauing a purpose easily to begin the conquest of Strigonium by the taking of the strong fort of Saint *Thomas*, came the foure and twentieth day of September to assault and batter the same: vpon whome fiue hundred horsemen, and two thousand footmen sallying out of the fort, caused them, after a sharpe and bloudie conflict, and not without some losse on both sides, to retire backe againe, and to forsake the mount whereupon they were encamped. But in pursuing of them too farre, they fell into a great ambush, before by the Turkes for that purpose layed to entrap them; where betwixt them was fought a most sharpe and bloudie fight; the Turkes presuming vpon t[illegible] multitude, and the Christians standing vpon their valour and honour. Vntill that in fine, valour by number being oppressed, seuen hundred of the Turkes being slaine, the Christians were enforced to retire, hauing lost about an hundred of their men, and amongst them the valiant Countie *Casimir* of Holenloth, for whose bodie there was a notable fight betwixt the Christians and the Turkes; not much vnlike vnto that which the Poet *Homer* describeth, to haue beene fought betwixt the Trojanes and the Greekes, for the bodie of *Patroclus*. Howbeit that at length the Christians beeing ouercharged with the comming on of the whole armie of the Turks, were glad (as I said) to retire, and so to leaue the dead bodie of the Countie *Casimir* in the power of their mercilesse enemies; who as dogges which reuenge themselues vpon the stones which are cast at them, being not able to bite the hands of them that threw them; so did they vpon the bodie of this gentle Knight, by cu[illegible] off his nose and eares, and afterwards his head. But within some few dayes after, this b[illegible] so disfigured was againe deliuered vnto the Christians for a Turke of good account, who was about that time by them taken prisoner. At which time the Turkes seemed to bee verie desirous of peace, most earnestly requesting Countie *Fredericke* of Holenloth (the slaine Counties brother) not to be an hinderer thereof. Howbeit that this was but one of their old practises, depending still vpon vnreasonable conditions, whereof the yeelding vp of Strigonium was one of the chiefest, as the place by them most desired.

More than beastly cruelty exercised by the Turkes vpon the dead bodie of Countie Holenloth.

Hatwan most shamefully forsaken by the Christians.

But if this siege of the Turkes auailed them not against the place besieged, yet was it profitable for them against another place by them not attempted, which was the strong towne of Hatwan, more subiect vnto feare, without any danger, than was Strigonium vnto the bullets and batterie of the Turkes, with just cause of distrust. For the souldiers which lay there in garrison, terrified with the siege of Strigonium, and doubting lest the Turks leauing that siege, should come and besiege them, trussing vp their bag and baggage, the nineteenth of September abandoned the place, and carrying away with them the best of the great ordnance, lest the rest altogether with the place, and great store of prouision, vnto the enemie, not in hope of any such matter.

The bruit of the siege of Strigonium had called thither all the forces of both parties in Hungarie, and the Countries thereabouts, on the one side for the winning thereof, and on the other for the defence of the same. Amongst others, the Countie of Tambier, Gouernour of Lippa, was about to haue gone thither with certaine of his troupes to haue aided his General, for the preseruation of the place. But in the mean time *Bethlin Habor*, chiefe of the rebels in Transyluania

Bethlin Habor the Rebell surprised & ouerthrown by the Countie Tambier.

A Transyluania, assisted by *Beckheres Bassa* with foure thousand Turkes entered into the Prouince to haue made himselfe master thereof vnder the protection of the Turke. Whereof the Countie hauing got knowledge, resolued to goe and meet him, and to encounter him at the verie first enterance of him into the Prouince. This old Rebell knowing that *George Bassa* was by the Emperours appointment gone out of the Countrey with the best troupes of his horsemen, the greatest strength of the Prouince, came on in great securitie, thinking of nothing but of victorie, and of performing his entended exploit, without feare of any to let him: so that casting no further perill, hee was surprised by the Countie, before he was aware, and put to flight. Neither was the fight long betwixt men accustomed to vanquish, resolutely set downe, and well armed, against men dismayed, halfe naked, and surprised. In which conflict aboue a thousand of them beeing slaine, and a thousand of horses B of seruice taken, the rest fled; amongst whome *Bethlin* himselfe with his Bassa flying, were glad by swimming to saue themselues amiddest a thousand chances and dangers of their liues.

Succors sent to the rebell by the Bassa of Temeswar, defeated by the Countie Tambier, & the Bassa his Lieutenant slaine.

The Bassa of Temeswar aduertised of this ouerthrow by one of them that was fled from the same, presently hee sent forth his Lieutenant with a good number of men, to relieue the vanquished Turkes: Who by the way vnderstanding of the generall ouerthrow of them whome he was sent forth to relieue, as also of the strength of his enemies, and that he was come too late to the reliefe of his friends, retired as fast as he could with his men backe againe homeward toward Temeswar. But beeing in their retreat discouered, and hotly pur- C sued by these men imbrued with the bloud of their enemies, and yet breathing with victorie, they were by them ouertaken euen almost at the gates of their Citie, and there (as men before ouercome with feare, and ouerwhelmed with despaire) cut in pieces, without any fight or resistance by them made, beseeming men of their sort; the Lieutenant himselfe beeing there slaine also.

After which exploits done, the Countie turning towards Iula, chanced to light vpon certaine companies of Turkes loaded with bootie, which they had got in roaming abroad into the Countrey thereabout, whome he pursued euen vnto the gates of the towne, which they found shut against them; for that they within the towne seeing the Christians euen at the heeles of their companions, had shut their gates, neither durst now open the same, D for feare lest the Christians should together with them enter the towne, and so become masters thereof. Who so shut out by their owne friends, were there all by the Christians slaine, euen in the sight of their companions, not daring to let them in, nor able to relieue them. After which massacre done, the Christians not yet so contented, burnt the suburbes of the towne, and so loaded with the spoyles of their enemies, departed. The Countie after so many honourable exploits in a small time by him performed, returned to Lippa, where hee arriued the fiue and twentieth of September, and from thence afterward aduertising *Bassa* the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, of these his exploits done, caused ten of the Turkes Ensignes, all stayned with their owne bloud, to be presented vnto him, as the sure tokens of his good seruice done.

The Visier Bassa seeketh to gaine Strigonium by offering of the Christians peace.

E But to returne againe vnto the siege of Strigonium, the greatest exploit by the Turkes entended for this yeare, from which wee haue from the occurrent of the same time a little strayed. The Visier Bassa perceiuing by the valiant and resolute defence of our men, how little hee preuayled in this siege, and that it was like enough to tend at length to his dishonour, thought it good once againe to proue, if hee might by composition gaine that which hee was now almost out of hope by force to obtaine. And to that purpose caused a motion to be made vnto the besieged, for a treatie to be had concerning a peace, and a day appointed for the same. Vnto which motion for peace the Imperials (although they had no hope at all, of any peace to be concluded) easily yeelded, lest they might be thought obstinately to haue reiected the same. Whereupon Commissioners were on both sides ap-

Deputies appointed to entreat with the Turkes of peace.

F poynted to meet together, to conferre of the matter. And so for the Emperour *Albert* himselfe, with *Ferdinand Collenitz*, and *Fredericke* of Hohenlo, Countie of Rhene, were appointed neere vnto the Rascian towne to meet with the Turkes Commissioners, to heare what they would say. Howbeit the Commissioners on both sides beeing met at the place aforesaid, all their conference was but vaine and to no purpose; the Turkes still vrging the yeelding

The treaty for peace broken off.

yeelding vp of Strigonium, and the Imperials as earnestly refusing the same. So that the treatie for peace being broken off, and the Commissioners departing, the siege was more cruelly G by the Turks continued than before.

The Cossackes depart out of the Turks camp vnto the Christians.

Now there were in the Turkes armie lying at the siege, certaine companies of Cossackes, men for their pay indifferent to serue any Prince of what religion soeuer. Which seruiceable men, in number 700, had agreed together the 28 of September, by night to forsake the Turks campe, and to come vnto the Christians. Of which their purpose and designe the Visier Bassa hauing by some vntrustie amongst them got knowledge, caused the footmen of these companies to be apprehended and slaine; the horsemen in the meane time making themselues way ouer the bellies of such as would haue stayed them, fled, and escaped, some them to Komara, and some to Dotis. Threescore of these Cossacks being by the Turks hard pursued, ad- H uentured to swim ouer Danubius, and so all naked came to *Collonitz*, by whome were courteously entertained and apparelled. And within three daies after, two hundred horsemen moe of the same Cossacks came vnto *Collonitz* also: who marching in good order vnto the head of the Christian campe, were there sworne vnto the Emperors seruice; and in token of their loyaltie, there discharged their pistols thrice. Which horsemen *Collonitz* diuided among the rest of his troupes, as hauing before time had good experience of the courage and good seruice of diuers such others of their fellowes.

The Ianizaries mutinie against the Visier Bassa.

The reason of the mutinie of the Ianizaries against the Bassa their Generall.

By these fugitiue souldiers it was vnderstood, that the Ianizaries in great number vp in mutinie against the Visier Bassa, would haue enforced him to haue raised the siege, and so to I haue departed. The cause of their so great discontentment (as they pretended) was the manifest and assured danger of their liues, with little or no hope at all for the gayning of the place: They themselues beeing still exposed to the dangers both of the siege and of the field, hauing the besieged on head of them armed with an assured resolution, and the Christian armie at their backs, of knowne valour and experience. Besides that, the place it selfe was (as they said) impregnable, being at all times to be relieued, by reason that it commanded ouer the Danubie, which might alwaies relieue it both with men and victuals. And that therefore, after that they had satisfied their honour, by giuing of an assault or two vnto the fort of Saint *Thomas*, they had resolued to arise, and to be gone. And much about this time, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of September, in the night time, was a most dreadful fierie impression seen in fashion much like a Rainbow, of a fierie red colour, which beginning ouer Cockera, and ri- K sing higher ouer Strigonium, at length vanished away ouer the fort of S. *Thomas*. The sight whereof much troubled the beholders thereof, as well the Christians as the Turkes: such strange meteors and apparitions being oftimes the presages of the ruine of them to whom they appeare.

In the meane time whilest the Turkes thus lay before Strigonium, at the siege of Saint *Thomas* fort, the Lord *Bassa*, Lieutenant Generall of the Emperours forces, to giue the Turkes to vnderstand, how that he was alwaies in readinesse to attend vpon their doings, and to take hold of all such opportunities as should by them bee offered, and so to keepe them in suspence, came with seuen thousand braue horsemen, and shewed himselfe in the plaine field in order of battell; so, as it were, brauing the Turkes euen vnto their owne trenches: where hauing L discharged their pistols thrice, they returned as victorious, alwaies keeping themselues in order, as men readie either to giue or to accept of battell. Howbeit the Turkes for the present keeping themselues close within their trenches, mooued not; but afterwards being desirous to counter-braue this the Christians presumption, the third day of October they came forth

The fort of S. Thomas the second time assaulted by the Turkes.

of their trenches, and gaue a second assault vnto Saint *Thomas* fort, imploying the vttermost of their power in this action, whereupon they well knew a great part both of their honour and of their safetie to depend. But in assaying the fort they met with them as resolutely set downe for the defence thereof, and for the maintenance of their honour, as were they for the winning of the same. So the assault was begun with great furie and aduenture, as was the other before: howbeit that it endured not long, for that the Turkes fought rather for the M discharge of their durie, and to haue some just cause to raise their siege, than for any hope they had to preuaile, or to carrie the place. For it befell, that according as they had expected, so that after that the fight had endured little more than halfe an houre, amiddest the tempests of armes and furie, in fine the Turkes out of hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the siege, and retired, hauing

A hauing in that conflict lost fiue hundred of their best souldiers.

The shamefull treason of the Haiduckes of Strigonium.

The Gouernour of Strigonium had in the citie vnder his charge six thousand Haiduckes, who attainted with treason and feare, all forsooke the place excepting fiue hundred, preferring their liues, vnworthie the sauing, before their dutie, and the life and honour of their Generall. With which shameful treason, and the resolution of the great Bassa for forcing of the place, the Germanes there left, seeing their Captaines dismaied, gathered themselues together, promising by their owne valour, to supplie what wanted by reason of the trecherie of the others, offering themselues to be sworne againe vnto the seruice of the Emperour, and rather to die all in the place, than to yeeld it vp vnto the Turkes, or to leaue it vnto their enemies: where by their generall consent a solemne decree was made, That whosoeuer he were which B should speake or once make mention of yeelding the towne, should forthwith therefore bee hanged vpon a gibbet. The Turkes although they had now in two assaults beene twice repulsed, came yet forth once againe the fifth day of October, and assaulted Saint *Thomas* fort the third time: wherein they fayled not to doe what they might, but were by the Christians therein so receiued, that despairing of the winning thereof, they with great losse and shame retired. Which disgrace caused them to returne to their old practises, for the taking of places by policie. For hauing in many places vndermined the wals, and filled them with gunpouder, they were in hope by that means to haue opened themselues a way vnto their conquest. Of which their hope for all that, they were deceiued: for the Christians hauing per- *The Turkes seeking to undermine the fort of S. Thomas, disappointed of their purpose. A treatie for peace.*

ceiued their meaning, did by countermining not onely frustrate their endeauour, but carried C away the pouder also, which they had before layed in the mines, reseruing it to their owne further necessitie and vse. Wherefore the Turkes seeing themselues of their hope deceiued, returned againe vnto their old practises, to come to a parley for peace. Of which their motion the Christians nothing disliked. But the Commissioners on both sides being met together for that purpose, in a little Island beneath Strigonium, when as the Turkes had offered vnto the Christians the Citie of Agria for Strigonium; or if so be that that exchange pleased them not, but that they would needs keepe the Citie of Strigonium still, that then in consideration of the peace, they should deliuer vnto them the strong townes of Filleck, Saint Setschin, Pallanke, and Nouigrade; both of which demaunds were verie vnreasonable: The Commissioners thereupon againe departed without concluding of any *The treatie broken off, and nothing concluded.*

D thing.

Now the armie of the Turkes was in it selfe diuersly diuided with quite contrarie desires; the Visier Bassa with some other of the Commanders, stood stifly for the taking of the place, as men willing either to returne from thence with victorie, or else there to end their daies: but the Ianizaries to the contrarie, were as earnest to bee gone, and to raise the siege, deeming it *The Ianizaries vnwilling to continue the siege of Strigonium.*

impossible as then to preuaile against a place so strong, so well manned, and so easily to be still relieued. With which their resolution so contrarie vnto his, the Bassa enraged, and yet proposing before his departure to proue the vttermost of his forces against the fort now alreadie by him thrice before assaulted, the tenth of October gaue thereunto six great assaults, but with *The fort of S. Thomas six times in one day assaulted by the Turkes.*

like successe as before, finding there still the same defendants, no whit discouraged, but armed E with their accustomed resolution. For the defendants encouraged by their most valiant commanders, with such furie repulsed the Turks, that they were glad to giue ouer assault vpon assault, and with great losse of their men to retire. Their often retreats also being vnto them no lesse hurtfull than were their assaults, the deadly bullets being out of the fort discharged vpon them like showers of haile. So that the Bassa now after so many assaults, out of all hope to gaine the fort, and still pressed by the Ianizaries for the raysing of the siege, immediatly after *The siege of Strigonium giuen ouer by the Turkes.*

rose with his armie, quitted his trenches, and retired with his campe neere vnto a castle, about a league distant from Strigonium. From whence the Turks, the better to couer their dishonour, and to hinder the Christians from pursuing of them in their retreat, the next day after came into the field with a good part of their armie, and shewed themselues before the Rascian towne, and there skirmished with the Christian Haiduckes. Which manner of skirmi- F shing for all that was more in shew, than in effect, neither partie therein receiuing any great losse or hurt. In the meane time, the besieged which were in Strigonium, hauing gotten certaine knowledge, that the enemie had alreadie remooued his cannon and other prouision for the siege backe againe into Buda, in token of joy discharged all their great Ordnance out

out of the citie and the fort, by the report thereof giuing knowledge vnto the other townes and castles of the Christians, of their deliuerance. Of which so common a ioy euery one of them were partakers, as deliuered from some part of the feare which the siege of so great a Citie as was Strigonium, had brought vpon them. And so the siege of Strigonium, begun the eighteenth day of September, was by the Turkes giuen ouer the thirteenth of October: the Ianizaries insolently threatening to haue slaine the great Bassa their Generall, if he had there any longer staied.

Bassa pursueth the Turkes armie departing from the siege of Strigonium.

Bassa the Emperours Lieutenant in the meane time awaiting all opportunities, failed not to take hold of so fit an occasion, but with his horsemen following after the Turks armie, slew of them a great number, and tooke some other of them prisoners. And afterward returning vnto their campe, found it void of men, but full of bullets, with certain pieces of great ordnance, which the Turks had left there, hauing not time to remoue the same to Buda. Vpon his rising of the Turks armie the Commanders thereof were diuersly affected vnto the sending that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the siege. Such of them as lay in Hungarie, or neere thereunto, desiring still to hold the field, in hope of the spoile of the countrey: but they which dwelt farther off, especially such as were come out of Asia, desiring as much to be discharged, their horses being almost all dead with faintnesse and trauell, and themselues wearie of the seruice.

Shortly after the rising of the Turkes armie from Strigonium, two fugitiues of the Turkes most brauely mounted, came vnto *Bassa* the Emperors Lieutenant, and presenting him with a ring of great value, and a most faire Turkish Ensigne, told him most part of the Turks armie to lie then incamped in the country neere vnto Pesth; & the great Cham, a yong Prince of about twentie yeares old to be come thither with a great power of Tartars, to aid the Bassa: And that the Turks by their comming incouraged, were determined yet to make a great excursion for the spoiling of the countrey. All which shortly after was certainly knowne to be true, the plaine countrey of the vpper Hungarie about Palanka, Setschin, and Villecampe, beeing by them, but especially by these new come Tartars, all spoyled and burnt. For remedie whereof *Sigefride Collonitz* opposing himselfe with his Hungarian horsemen, against these insolent forragers, so danted them, that ceasing further to spoile the country, they departed, carrying away with them such prisoners and spoile as they had there taken, and leauing behind them a strong garrison of three thousand good souldiers, for the repairing and keeping of Pesth, but a little before cowardly (as we said) by the Christians forsaken. But within some few daies after, *viz.* the foure and twentieth of October, the Visier Bassa by his letters written vnto Countie *Althem* Gouernour of Strigonium, made a mention for a treatie of peace to bee had for the comfort of the distressed people of that spoyled Countrey, solemnly protesting, most religiously on his part to keepe the same, if it should bee once concluded: and yet in the meane time with fire and sword spoiling all the Countrey by the way as hee departed out of Hungarie.

The vpper Hungarie by the Turkes and Tartars spoiled and burnt.

The Visier Bassa by his letters maketh a motion for the treatie of peace.

New rebellion in Transiluania raised by Istuan, syrnamed Botscay.

But now as this poore Countrey began to feele reliefe by the departure of the great Bassa with his army out thereof, so the Countrey of Transyluania joyning thereunto, was at the same time as much with rebellion and discord distressed. *Bethlin Habor* the Rebell, with his Bassa ouerthrowne and driuen out of Transyluania (as is aforesaid) the Lord *Belgiosa*, *Bassa* his Lieutenant in this Prouince, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himselfe ready with his troups, to haue gon to aid the Lord *Bassa* his Generall, then incamped in the plains of Strigonium, to hinder the Turks designes for the taking of this towne. But as hee was about so to haue done, behold, euen at the same time when hee least feared, a second Rebell there started vp, far worse than the first, namely the lord *Istuan* (otherwise syrnamed *Botscay*, or more truly * *Potscay*) who accompanied with great troupes of men of warre vnder the protection of the Turke, and stiling himselfe by the name of the Prince of Transyluania, entering that Prouince, miserably burnt and spoyled the same. For the repressing of which so sudden a rebellion, *Belgiosa* with a thousand horse, vnder the leading of *Retkouitz* and *Peter Lasla*, marched toward Veradin: and with his troupe comming to Adorn a countrey village about a league distant from Veradin, and meaning thither to assemble together his armie, hee sent to *Petsie* Gouernour of Veradin, to put him in minde of his dutie, and to craue his aid. Which valiant Captaine, alwaies prest and readie to do his prince seruice, failed not now of his dutie, but calling

He wasin storn called Potscay (which in the Bohemian language signifieth tarry, or stay) of the long delaies he by way of disgrace had before endured in the emperors Court.

A ling together six companies of footmen out of Romosa, and joyning vnto them foure companies out of Veradin, together with the Silesian horsmen of *Schuet-Kenhut* his regiment (whom by reason of his sickenesse he was not able to lead) and with them the Haiduckes of Countie *Tambier*, came vnto the place of the rendezuous, bringing with him all warlike prouision in token of his fidelitie. With this armie *Belgiosa* marched against the Rebels, who as resolute men attented his comming: for why, *Botscay* knowing the Haiducks of Countie *Tambier* secretly to fauour him and his rebellion more than they did *Belgiosa* and his just quarrels, stood in no feare of them, but assured himselfe of them as of his friends; who failed not of his hope and expectation, but euen at the first joyning of the battell, turned themselues to his part: with the going ouer of whom, the number of the Rebels was much encreased, and *Belgiosa* his po-
B wer both in force and courage much weakened, seeing themselues now once exposed both vnto the force of their enemies, and to the trecherie of their fellowes, who now with conjoyned forces most fiercely assailed them: who finding themselues now on all sides enuironed with so great a multitude, and not able with so small a number as was left, to withstand the violence of their enemies, and the treason of their companions; after they had to the vtmost of their po-
wer performed all the parts of valiant and couragious men, were there almost all cut in pie-
ces, and there buried in the field of their loyaltie, honoured with their owne bloud, and al-
together embrued with the bloud of their enemies. In this vnluckie and disloyal fight were
C diuers good and faithfull Captaines slaine: *Petsie* Gouernour of Veradin, and *Pallas Lippa*, both great Captaines, and grieuously wounded, were there taken prisoners. The Lieute-
nant of *Petsie* also, hauing retyred himselfe with some of his troupes into a place of good strength, there so valiantly defended themselues, that *Botscay* out of hope to ouercome them by force, to get them into his power, promised them vpon his Oath, if they would yeeld themselues, to suffer them in safetie to depart. But what trust or credit is to be giuen to him who hath before broken his faith and loyaltie to his Prince, this Rebell well shewed by the death of these valiant and warlike men, who after that they had vpon his faith and promise yeelded themselues, were by his appointment cruelly slaine and cut in pieces. The Silesian horsemen were there also all ouerthrowne and buried in the middest of their enemies: and as for *Belgiosa* himselfe, he strangely escaped out of the battaile, and saued himselfe by flying to Veradin. The victorious Rebell after the battaile, in stead of praising God, sacrificed to
D the Diuell, by sending a great part of the Ensignes by him gained, vnto the Visier Bassa, with a thousand praises of his glorie, for supporting of him in his rebellion; and vaunting much of this his victorie, gaue him withall to vnderstand, That he had slaine aboue six thousand of his enemies.

Belgiosa goeth against the rebels of Transyluania.

Botscay dealeth vnfaithfully with such as vpon his faith giuen vnto them, yeelded vnto him.

Botscay in his rebellion countenanced by the Great Sultan, and called prince of Transyluania.

This victorie gotten, together with the humble submission of *Botscay*, obtained of the Great Sultan, That from thenceforth hee should be stiled by the name of the Prince of Transyluania, with a further charge from him, to do the vttermost of his endeauour for the subduing vnto his obeysance the rest of Transyluania; promising plentifully to supplie his wants both with men and money, and out of hand to send him three thousand Tartars to his ayd. And indeed this was a verie great and bloudie battell, fought from the first breake of the
E day, vntill eleuen a clocke at noone: but whether so many were slaine there or no, it cannot certainely be told, for that diuers of them who were said to be slaine, and so accounted among the dead, had hid themselues in the wood thereby, and some others of them by some other meanes escaped death also. *Petsie* himselfe had with him when hee was taken, two Monkes, whom the souldiours in despight cut into many pieces, and carried him fast bound in chaines to Derritza, to be there cured of the dangerous wounds by him in the battaile receiued.

Pallas Lippa Botscay his lieutenant, pretendeth the defence of Religion for the strengthening of Botscay in his rebellion.

But as for *Pallas Lippa*, who being wounded, was taken prisoner with *Petsie*, hee was afterwards by *Botscay* appointed his Lieutenant Generall, and so by his commaundement was publiquely proclaimed; as he which was desirous to take vpon him the defence of the refor-
F med Religion, and of such as were willing to professe the same: who forthwith made a gene-
rall proclamation, That all they which were desirous of the libertie of conscience, and to liue free from the superstitions of the Roman Church, should repaire vnto him as vnto their head and chiefetaine, readie to entertaine them, and to allow to euerie one of them fiue Dollars a moneth for their pay. Vpon which Proclamation made, a great multitude of men vpon the

fudden

ſudden reſorted vnto him; ſo that in a ſhort time he had following of him ten thouſand Haiducks, beſide a number of other of the common raſcall people; yea, almoſt all the gentlemen of the countrey repairing vnto him, bound themſelues by oath to him, and one of them to another, That as they would not take vp armes to fight againſt the Chriſtian Emperor, ſo they would not ſubm[it] themſelues vnto the Turke, but onely ſtand vpon the defence of their religion, and the liberty of conſcience.

The rebell *Botſcay* thus wonderfully encreaſed in ſtrength and number, beſet almoſt all the paſſages of the countrey, and with the ſword of rebellion in his hand, and his ſouldiers following him, commanded the cities ſtil as he went, to yeeld vnto him: but, hearing that *Belgioſa* was after the late ouerthrow gone from Veradin to Caſſouia, where his wife lay, and being come thither, to haue been by the citiſens reiected, who would not only not re[ceiue] him into their citie, but turned his wife alſo out of the citie vnto him, he with a great armie [coming] thither, tooke the Citie without reſiſtance, the Citiſens for the moſt part enclining [vnto] him: Of which Citie being poſſeſſed, hee forthwith changed both the Religion and ciuile gouernement thereof, ſlew part of ſuch as were of the Romiſh Religion, and thruſt the reſt out of the Citie, with all the Church-men, tooke the Biſhop and the Emperours Treaſuror priſoners, and ſo changed the whole gouernment of the towne vp-ſide downe. The onely man he ſtood in feare of, was *Belgioſa*, for whom he laid wait by all meanes hee could to haue taken him, with a purpoſe to haue vſed him moſt hardly, if he had fallen into his hands.

The great citie of Caſſouia yeelded to the rebel Botſcay.

An impudent ſhift of the Viſier Baſſa for the ſauing of his credit with the great Sultan.

These things thus done in Tranſyluania and in Hungarie, the Viſier Baſſa being about to returne to Conſtantinople, to grace that little which he had done this yeare in Hungarie, and to auoid the ſuſpition of his euill ſucceſſe in that Prouince, borrowed of *Botſcay* the reſt of the Enſignes, together with *Petſie* and other the noble Chriſtian captiues which he had taken in the late battell with *Belgioſa*: which Enſignes and priſoners he confidently afterwards cauſed to be preſented vnto the Great Sultan *Achmat*, as taken by himſelfe; and in recompence thereof, left three thouſand Turks and Tartars with the Rebell, to aid him in his wars both in Tranſyluania and Hungarie.

Baſta goeth with his armie againſt the Rebels in the vpper Hungarie.

Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in Hungarie, and Gouernour of Tranſyluania, hearing of the ſtirres and troubles of late raiſed in both thoſe Countreys, by *Botſcay* and his rebellious Followers, and hauing as he thought beſt, ſet all things in order againe at Strigonium, marched thence with his Armie, being fourteene thouſand ſtrong, towards Caſſouia, with a purpoſe to haue ſuppreſſed the rebellion in the vpper Hungarie, before it ſhould haue ſpred farther, to the endangering of the whole ſtate of both thoſe Countreys, as afterward it did. Howbeit before hee could come thither, the Rebels after the taking of Caſſouia, being wonderfully encreaſed both in ſtrength and number, had taken in moſt of the ſtrong Townes and places in the vpper Hungarie, the people almoſt generally now fauouring their quarrell, carrying with it the face of Religion, with the ſuppreſſing of the German gouernment, both things vnto them much pleaſing. And now hearing that *Belgioſa* (a man of them moſt hated, being as we ſaid, ſhut out of Caſſouia) was fled into the Caſtle of Zipze, they by Letters required of *Turſon* Captaine of the Caſtle, to haue him deliuered vnto them, to be according to his deſerts puniſhed; promiſing withall, to doe *Turſon* himſelfe no harme, ſo that hee would take part with them in the defence of their Religion, and of the libertie of conſcience: which if hee ſhould refuſe to doe, yet that they would giue him free libertie to depart whither he would, out of his Caſtle, and in ſafety to conduct him thither, ſo that hee would forthwith reſolue, what courſe hee would take: But if hee ſhould of this his offer miſlike alſo, then they threatened to ſpoyle his Countrey, to kill his people, to raſe his Caſtle, and to make himſelfe an example vnto others. Wherewith for all that, he nothing mooued, refuſed to deliuer vnto them *Belgioſa*, the man whom they ſo much deſired, or yet to accept of any of their other offers. Whereupon the Rebels with great labour repairing the broken way betwixt Caſſouia and the Caſtle, and bringing certaine pieces of great Ordnance from Caſſouia, in great number came and ſtraightly beſieged the Caſtle. With whoſe attempts the valiant Captaine nothing mooued, with his thundering ſhot out of the Caſtle ſo welcommed them, that hauing thereby receiued great harme, they thought it not their beſt courſe to ſtay any longer there with

Belgioſa in the caſtle of Zipze beſieged by the Rebels.

with ſo great a power, but with the greateſt part thereof to go to Presburg, to reforme that citie and ſome other places by the way; perſuading themſelues, That the Captaine of this caſtle ſo ſhut vp, and on euerie ſide beſet with his enemies, would at length of himſelf yeeld vp the caſtle.

But while the Rebels thus lay at the ſiege of this caſtle, certaine companies of them went to haue taken the ſpoile of a Religious houſe there by: but comming thither, and breaking open the doores, and ſearching euery ſecret corner of the houſe, they found therein nothing worth the reckoning of, but ſo returned almoſt emptie handed: for the Prieſts had for feare of them before carried away with them all the beſt of their goods and ſubſtance into the beſieged caſtle. And ſo likewiſe the rife report of their comming to Presburg flying abroad, almoſt all the Prieſts and Ieſuits in Presburg and the countrey thereabout, leauing their Churches and Colledges, fled with their ſubſtance to Vienna, ſcarcely accounting themſelues ſafe there, vntill that the garriſon of that ſtrong citie was increaſed with a new ſupplie of ſixe hundred good ſouldiers.

The Prieſts and Ieſuits for feare of the Haiduckes flie from Presburg to Vienna.

And now the Rebels, their number ſtill more and more encreaſing, and hauing ſet all the vpper part of Hungarie on a broile, were beſieging diuers other caſtles and ſtrong places, yet holden for the Emperor; when as *Baſta* in the meane time, comming from the ſiege of Strigonium, came and with his armie incamped about three miles from Filek. Of whoſe comming the Rebels hearing, and thereupon retyring, he forthwith followed after them toward Budnoc, which caſtle they alſo left, and ſo neere vnto Ramoſambat, the place of their rendezuous, gathered together in great number, with an intent to haue giuen *Baſta* battell. Whereof *Baſta* hauing knowledge, to ſpare the effuſion of more Chriſtian bloud, by an herauld ſent vnto them in friendly and courteous manner, aduiſed them to change their mindes, and to returne againe vnto their former allegeance. But finding them obſtinately ſet downe in their former purpoſe, for the maintaining of their rebellion, and the giuing of him battell, he marching forward with his armie, with great force charged certaine companies of the Rebels, appointed to keepe the paſſage of Filek; who at the firſt right valiantly receiued the charge, and defended the paſſage, vntill that at length with number oppreſſed, and aboue foure hundred of them ſkaine, they were put to the worſe, and enforced to flee; in which flight, amongſt others there taken priſoners, *Blaſe Nemet* their captaine was taken alſo, whom *Baſta* cauſed to be hanged vp by the heeles, with the enſignes ſet vp about him which he had taken from the Rebels in the late fight; and after he had for a time ſo hung, made him to be taken downe, and his head to be ſtrucke off from his ſhoulders. In this conflict fiftie of *Baſta* his men were ſlain alſo, and many moe hurt, and amongſt them *Coſonitz*, hurt in his ſhoulder and his foot with a ſmall ſhot.

Certaine companies of the rebels diſcomfited and ouerthrowne by the Lord Baſta.

Baſta after this victorie marching on with his armie, by the way met with certaine other companies of the rebellious Haiducks as he was going to S. *Peters*, with whom he had [fought] an hot skirmiſh for the ſpace of three dayes together, being by them ſtill put to the worſe, [in] ſomuch that hauing burnt many of his carriages, tents, and other luggage, he was of [nothing] more carefull, than how well to get out of their hands. Neuertheleſſe ſeeing no other remedie, he with great courage not onely endured the often and fierce aſſaults of [his enemies] more and more encreaſing vpon him, but the fourth day after ſo many vnfortunate [daies] (being the eight and twentieth of Nouember) putting his men in order of battell, valiantly againe charged the Rebels: who by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the [day] then a verie thicke miſt, being not able to perceiue where the enemies [were], be feared, or what way to turne their owne forces; as men diſmaied, [were] ouerthrowne and put to flight: whom ſo flying, *Baſta* with his ſouldiers [purſued] made of them a great ſlaughter: ſo that in the ſpace of leſſe than [two houres] of them were in this thicke and darke miſt ſlaine, with ſome few [taken priſoners], and amongſt them *Fredericke* Earle of Solmes, and the Countie [Rogendorffe] the report of which ouerthrow, the Rebels which yet lay at the [ſiege of Caſſouia] hope there at length to haue taken *Belgioſa*, forthwith roſe [from the ſiege]. But *Baſta* after this victorie remouing to S. *Andrewes*, [and] the Rebels, and thereinto put a new garriſon, and [ſo] repreſſed the inſolencie of the Haiduckes in th

to keepe the field with his armie in so vnseasonable a time of the yeare, and so to maintain war as it were both against his enemies, and the extremities of nature, sought by letters to haue reclaimed them of Cassouia againe vnto their obedience; offering vnto them pardon for all their offences past, so that they would now at last acknowledge their fault, and receiue into their towne a garrison of the Emperors. To which purpose he writ also to them of Eperia; in hope that if he might so haue gained those two strong townes, to haue in them wintered in safetie with his armie. But they of Cassoula hauing in the citie a strong garrison of six thousand good souldiers, and out of feare to be by *Basta* besieged at that time of the yeare, and withall in hope (if need were) to be by *Botscay* relieued, (who was then reported to be fortie thousand strong) vtterly refused to hearken vnto *Basta* his motion, for their reconciliation, or at all to submit themselues againe vnto the Emperor. Which caused him with his armie to come neerer vnto the citie, yet still seeking rather by faire meanes to haue perswaded the citizens to haue returned vnto their loyaltie, than by force to haue constrained them. Finding them obstinately set downe, and by no persuasions to be remoued, but with their ordnance in what they might to trouble his campe, he sent before, the Countie *Hohenloh* and *Rotwitz*, with part of his armie to Eperia, to command them vpon their allegeance to receiue the Emperors souldiers into the citie and to relieue them with such things as they were able: and within a few dayes after, *viz.* the fifth of December, followed himselfe with the rest of his armie. But being come thither, after much talke had with the chiefe men of the Citie, it was at length, contrarie to all mens expectation, agreed, That *Basta* assuring them of the free exercise of their religion, of the good behauiour of the souldiers towards them, and to defend them from the iniurie and incursions of their enemies, they should open their gates vnto the Imperials, and relieue them with what they were able, and so as before to continue in their allegeance and obedience vnto the Emperor. Of all which things when *Basta* had vpon his faith giuen, assured them, they opened their gates and receiued in the souldiers: vnto whom (now almost dead and starued with hunger) nothing could haue happened more comfortable or welcome. Leusta, Barbeld, and Zebena, famous townes in those places, following the example of Eperia, submitted themselues in like manner, and helped *Basta* his souldiers with reliefe. Thither with great danger came vnto *Basta*, *Sigefrid Collonitz*, a man of great power and authoritie in that part of Hungarie, to confer with him about the appeasing of these troubles: who afterward by his letters vnto the States and the rest of the Nobilitie of Hungarie, yea and to *Botscay* himselfe, in vaine persuaded them to lay downe armes, and to returne againe vnto their wonted obedience vnto the Emperour.

The citizens of Cassouia refuse to submit themselues, and to receiue the emperors soldiers into their city.

Eperia yeelded vnto Basta.

There had been hitherto in the Imperiall campe great scarcitie of victuals and of other necessaries, so that for want thereof, and for the extremitie of the cold, and other miseries, it was greatly feared, lest the campe should haue been broken vp; to the irrepairable losse of his Imperial Majestie, as the state of things then stood in Hungary. For the remedie whereof, thirtie waggons loded with money and cloath were sent from Vienna, vnder the conduct of Countie *Solmes*, Colonell *Starenberg*, the Treasurer, and others: vnto whom *Tanhusar* joyned fifteene hundred Hussars (Hungarian horsemen so called) to strengthen the conuoy against the danger which was feared from the Haiducks which lay vpon the way, and who indeed were now roaming about and seeking after bootie in euerie corner of the countrey. Which Hussars being come with the rest of the conuoy into a thick wood, about two miles from Filek, like enemies set vpon the waggoners, whom they should haue conducted, and there made a great slaughter of such as were about to resist them; insomuch that the Countie *Solmes* had much ado to saue himselfe, and to get out of their hands, leauing the waggons as a prey vnto the trecherous Hussars; who now become masters of them, draue them away to *Botscay* the Rebels campe: *Tanhusar* their Captaine in vaine pursuing after them (with such of his Hussars as more faithfull than the rest, had no hand in that so foule a treacherie) and recouering nothing but tenne waggons loaded with cloath, which the traitors had left behinde them, hauing taken the horses out of them, and put them into the other waggons wherein the mony was, (which was reported to be 130000 florens) with the more speed to bring them vnto *Botscay*. Who hauing vpon the sudden receiued so great a summe of money, by him not looked for, forthwith diuided the same among his souldiers, the more to encourage them in their rebellion against the Emperour.

The Hussars traiterously spoile them whome they should haue conducted.

The

The newes of this so great a losse being quickly spred thorow all the Emperours campe, at the first filled the souldiers with griefe and disdaine against the trecherous Hussars, but afterwards with wrath and indignation against their owne Commanders, as deeming it to haue bin nothing but a false report by them deuised and giuen out to deceiue them, and to feed them with a vaine hope. Which perswasion, though not true, had now so strongly possessed their mindes, as that they were about al to haue risen vp in mutiny, and to haue forsaken the seruice, to the vtter perill of their Captains, and endangering of the whole Prouince, now vpon point to haue been for euer lost. All which mischiefes *Basta* foreseeing, did first what he might with words and faire promises to haue appeased them; which not seruing, he with certaine thousands of duckats and waggons of cloth taken vp at Leusta and other townes there by, wisely contented them, in some good measure furnishing the old souldiers, before halte naked, both with money and apparell, the souldiers greatest contentments.

Basta wisely appeaseth his soldiers, ready to forsake his seruice.

Which mutinie so againe appeased, the Imperials shortly after surprising a castle not farre from Eperia, found therein a great many of Hungarian Gentlemen, whom they carried away with them prisoners, to learne of them what they might concerning the Rebels proceedings, and further designes. In the meane time the Haiduckes on the other side besieged the castle of Sendra, which they after many assaults tooke, and put to the sword all the garrison souldiers therin; and departing thence, first rifled and after burnt the towne of Filek. They also took the castles of Boluar, Setschin, Dregell, Burac, Holloc, Blauenstein, and the strong castle of Cabragetia, whither they of Hatwan not long before had carried their great ordnance at such time as they for feare of the Turks, then lying at the siege of Strigonium, had abandoned the place: all strong holds in the vpper Hungaric. After the taking of which places, *Ferentius Radiua*, and *Charles Iffuan* (*Botscay* his neere kinsman) and the chiefe Captains and ringleaders of the rebels, exacted contribution money of the minerall townes (as they call them) belonging vnto the Emperor in the vpper Hungarie; but especially of the city of Newsoll, enforcing them also to sweare to be in all things obedient to *Botscay*, and to take his part against the Imperials, threatning with fire and sword to infest such places as should refuse to do the like. And to the intent that they should not by *Collonitz* be encouraged or defended, who to that end was comming thither, the Rebels in great number went to meet him, and hauing belayed all the passages, enforced him to retire himselfe vnto his castle of Libentsia, where he lying in great danger with his wife then in child-bed, accompanied but with 50 German souldiers only, for that he durst not to trust his Hungarian Cossackes, now in heart altogether enclining vnto the Rebels, was glad in post to send to Vienna, most humbly requesting to haue a new supply of German souldiers sent vnto him for his reliefe, and the furtherance of the Emperors seruice, in that so dangerous a time and wauering estate of that countrey, being the best part of that the Emperour then held in Hungarie.

Diuers places taken by the Haiduckes.

Collonitz prayeth aid from Vienna.

Now while *Basta* thus lay with his armie at Eperia and in the countrey thereabout, he dayly receiued great harme from the Haiduckes, who were still houering about him, as Hawkes ouer their prey; his souldiers, by necessitie enforced to fetch in wood, and other things necessarie into the campe, being still most miserably slaine and cut in pieces; yea, they were so bold, as oftentimes to trouble him in his campe, and to assayle his souldiers where they lay quartered in their trenches; as amongst other times, they did in the latter end of December to end the yere withall: at which time they by night breaking into the quarter where *Charles Collonitz*, with *Copell* and *Pettenger*, two Captaines of Austria, with their companies lay, they slew the said *Copell*, with almost all his souldiers, and burnt *Pettinger* in his tent, *Collonitz* himselfe beeing at the same time in great danger, and hardly by them beset also; vntill that encouraging his men, by performing all the parts both of a good Captaine and valiant souldier, hee by true valour enforced them at length to retyre backe againe into the woods, from whence they came, hauing in this conflict slaine foureteene of them with his owne hand.

Copell and Pettinger put to the sword.

About this time was a spie taken in the Imperiall campe, one of *Botscay* his chiefe men, [illegible] discouered by one comming from Cassouia to Eperia which knew him [illegible] *Basta* his commandement apprehended, and vpon torture examined, and confessing [illegible] he had done, was for his good seruice hanged and afterward quartered, to the [illegible] like.

The Turks this yeare were not much fortunat in their warres: *Hassan* the Viſier Baſſa and their Generall againſt the Chriſtians in Hungarie hauing in vaine (as is before declared) beſieged Strigonium, and with all his forces done nothing worth the remembrance; and *Cicala Baſſa* their other Generall againſt the Perſians in the Eaſt beeing with all his great power by the Perſian King ouerthrowne and put to flight, and the citie of Babylon now called Bagdat taken: [illegible] as firſt at Prague the two and twentieth of October reported by the Secretarie of the Vayuod of Valachia, ſent thither in embaſſage from his Maſter vnto the Emperour, and afterward confirmed by an Embaſſadour ſent from the Perſian King himſelfe vnto the Emperour, who hauing audience, told his Maieſtie, how that the King his Maſter was not ignorant of the great and difficult warre by him now for many yeares maintained againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, with whome although hee for his part might haue liued in [illegible] amitie, yet that mooued with the zeale which one Prince ought to haue to the reliefe [illegible], he had taken vp armes againſt him, ſo to auert ſome part of that heauie warre from his Maieſtie euen vpon himſelfe: and that he had alreadie obtained many great and notable victories and conqueſts againſt him: and recouered a great territorie, wrongfully before taken from the Perſian Kings his predeceſſours by the Turkiſh Sultans: and that now hee was of nothing more deſirous, than to joyne in a perpetuall league and amitie with his Maieſtie, that ſo in a moſt ſtrong confederation combined together, they might neuer afterward be diſſeuered, or euer make peace with the Sultan, without one anothers knowledge and conſent. And further, That for his part hee was minded neuer to giue ouer the warre ſo happily by him begun, vntill hee had driuen him euen into his Imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople, ſo that his Maieſtie would on his part doe the like, by continuing of [illegible] warres; it beeing not poſſible for the Turke to hold out againſt them both, and the onely meanes to abate his greatneſſe, and to aſſure them in their eſtates: requeſting him withall, to ſend backe with him ſome graue man his Embaſſadour, with ſufficient authoritie and inſtructions to conferre about theſe matters with him; that ſo knowing and vnderſtanding one anothers minde, the league and confederation betwixt them might the more eaſily and commodiouſly bee made and concluded.

The ruin of the armie of Cicala Baſſa againſt the Perſians.

The effect of the embaſſage of the Perſian King vnto the Emperour.

The Turkes troubled with many warres.

Neither were the Turks buſied with theſe forraine warres onely, againſt theſe ſo great and mightie Princes, in places ſo remote and farre off, but vnto theſe were joyned their owne inteſtine and ciuill warres and troubles alſo; the Rebels beeing yet vp in the leſſer Aſia, and the Baſſa's of Aleppo and Damaſco, two of the moſt famous cities in Siria, and both of them men of great place and command, of late [illegible]mes one of them againſt the other: inſomuch, that they had brought the matter to be t[illegible] the ſword in the plaine field, where the Baſſa of Aleppo in a great and bloudy battell ouercome, and flying vnto his own citie, was by the Baſſa of Damaſco purſued thither, and ſo ſtraitly by him beſieged with an armie of thirty thouſand men, that in fine hee was glad to reconcile himſelfe vnto him, and to make his peace, by yeelding vnto whatſoeuer the other Baſſa his enemie pleaſed to demand of him; as being thereunto driuen by the extremitie of famine, which then reigned in the citie; as alſo for that he had loſt a great number of his men, whom he had ſent ſecretly out of the citie to ſeeke for victuals, being all ſlaine by the Baſſa of Damaſco his ſouldiers. With which ſo great matters the Baſſaes of the Court (who had the mannaging of the State vnder the young Sultan) were much troubled, he himſelfe (as was fitteſt for his yeres) in the meane time delighting himſelfe with the pleaſures of the Court, and much reioycing at the birth of his firſt begotten ſonne, who was about that time borne.

Sultan Achmat his firſt ſonne borne.

1605 The reuolution of time had now thus brought this yeare to an end, the troubles of Hungarie and Tranſyluania yet ſtill more and more ſo encreaſing, as if that thoſe moſt miſerable countries had by the juſt and heauie judgements of God beene now appointed vnto their laſt and vtter ruine and deſtruction: the cauſes of their ſo great miſeries proceeding not ſo much from the Turks their enemies, as from the naturall inhabitants themſelues; who in minds diuided both in religion and affection, ſome of them continuing in their allegeance vnto the Emperor, and other ſome following the Enſignes of the Rebell *Botſcay*, did both vnto themſelues and to their country more harme in a little time, than had the Turks in many yeres before. Of which ſo dangerous a diſſention, and of the harmes thereof inſuing, *Belioioſa* left by *Baſta* as his Lieutenant, was reported to haue beene the firſt and chiefe authour: For whereas the yeare before

Ciuill diſcord the ruine of Hungarie.

Belioioſa author of the great rebellion in Hungarie.

before the Biſhops and other Clergie men, in an aſſembly of them at Poſſonium, had without the knowledge of the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, publiſhed a decree by them there made, for the burning or perpetuall baniſhing of all ſuch as were of the reformed Religion in Hungarie: and that the States of that Kingdome vnderſtanding thereof, and ſolemnly proteſting againſt the ſame, vnder the Seale of the Lord *Palatine*, had publiquely affirmed, with juſt armes to defend themſelues, if they ſhould for their religion bee called into queſtion or troubled: and had againe repeated the ſame their proteſtation at Galſet. Yet *Belioioſa* neuertheleſſe in the meane time by cunning ſeizing vpon the reformed Churches at Caſſouia, would not ſuffer the citiſens of the reformed religion there, to haue any ſermons in their owne priuat houſes, or ſo much as to read on the holy Bible. Neither any whit mooued with the former proteſtations of the Nobilitie and States, had taken vnto himſelfe all the lands and goods of them of their religion in Caſſouia, not ſuffering them to burie the bodies of their dead within the Citie, neere vnto the Monaſteries. And requeſting to haue borrowed of *Botſcay* certaine thouſands of crownes, and thereof by him denied, cauſed his ſouldiers to ranſacke two of his caſtles, and to ſpoile him of all the wealth and treaſure he therein had. For which indignities and iniuries *Botſcay* enraged, cauſed open proclamation to be made, That he would giue vnto euerie Haiducke that would ſerue him, foure crownes a moneth pay, with all the bootie that they could get. Whereupon ſix thouſand Haiduckes, which then ſerued vnder *Belioioſa*, forthwith reuolted vnto *Botſcay*, their number encreaſing daily. But after that vnto this extraordinarie pay, *Pallas Lippa*, his Lieutenant, had alſo ioyned the protection of the reformed religion, it is wonderfull to ſay, how the Haiduckes by heaps reſorted vnto him, and how the people in all parts of Hungarie generally fauoured him and his quarrell, being in all places whereas he came, ready to ioyne hands with him againſt the Imperials. The Turks and Tartars alſo, both with men and money furthering him in all his doings, whoſe helpe he refuſed not. Whereof proceeded all the aforeſaid miſeries both in Hungarie and Tranſyluania, with many other worſe than they, which together with the beginning of this yeare tooke their beginning and encreaſe alſo. Vnto which ſo great troubles ſtill more and more encreaſing, *Baſta* not able by force to giue remedie, ſought by lenitie and faire perſuaſions to haue eaſed the ſame: by letters oftentimes aduiſing euen *Botſcay* the chiefe Rebell himſelf, to change his minde, to lay downe armes, to disband his forces, and to perſuade with the reſt of his ſeditious followers, to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Emperour, and to returne againe vnto their wonted obedience. Whereunto he at length anſwered, That if the gouernment of all Tranſyluania might be left vnto himſelfe alone: if a naturall Hungarian borne might be ſtill choſen Lieutenant Generall in Hungarie: if none but ſuch as were Hungarians borne ſhould haue the gouernement and command of all the Garriſons in Hungarie: if the Wallon and French ſoldiers might be ſhut out of Hungarie: if the naturall Hungarians borne, might from thenceforth be regarded and prouided of their pay: if it might be lawfull for euery man to haue the free exerciſe of his religion: if the authours of theſe troubles might be deliuered vnto the Hungarians to be puniſhed: if the Emperour himſelfe in perſon ſhould come and be preſent at the parliament at Presburg: if the Germane garriſon ſouldiers ſhould ſtil keepe themſelues within the places whereunto they were appointed, without making of any excurſions into the townes or villages neere vnto them, or hurting of the poore countrie men: he could then be content to come to ſuch a good agreement for peace. With which offer he ſent two of the Rebels, his followers, vnto *Baſta*, who not liking thereof, returned them backe againe, without concluding of any thing.

The chiefe cauſes of Botſcay his diſcontentment.

Botſcay his vnreaſonable demands for to come to a peace.

But while things were thus in talke, ſome of the Haiducks in the meane time with a number of Tartars ioyned vnto them, in ſeeking after bootie, ſurpriſed Gokara, a town ouer againſt Strigonium: where hauing ſlaine certaine Germanes which had the keeping of the place, and rifled the towne, as they were about to haue ſet it on fire, by the comming ouer of the Gouernour of Strigonium, with his garriſon, they were enforced to forſake the place, and againe to retire. This loſſe receiued at Gokara, was againe by our men requited by the taking of Palantwar, a good fortreſſe of the Turkes, after a long and cruell fight taken by Captaine *Barbian* (Commander of the Imperiall troupes on this ſide of the riuer of Danubius) whereinto a number of the Turkes being retired, were there together with the garriſon ſouldiers all ſlaine, and amongſt them diuers men of great account, who but ſome few dayes

Gokara ſurpriſed by the Haiduckes.

Palantwar taken by the Imperialls.

before

before we come thither. Which fortreſſe the Captaine cauſed to be forthwith raſed, becauſe it ſhould no more ſtand the Turks in ſtead for the annoying of the Chriſtians.

Vacia moſt ſhamefully by the Haiducks betrayed, and deliuered vnto the Turkes.

The Turks about this time had a purpoſe to beſiege Vacia, a city not far from Vicegrade on the other ſide of Danubius, a place which ſtill did them great harme, and ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead. The garriſon of which place was part Germans, and part Hungarians, as the reſt of all the garriſons in the Imperial townes of Hungarie were. Of which the Turks purpoſe for the ſiege, the trecherous Haiducks there in garriſon hauing got vnderſtanding, conſpired to deliuer vnto them the place; and yet not ſo contented, to joyne thereunto a treaſon more bloudie and trecherous than was the betraying of the towne: for finding themſelues by farre too ſtrong for the Germans in garriſon in the towne with them, they fell vpon them, fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew moſt part of them, the reſt ſauing themſelues by ſpeedie flight to Strigonium: and ſo afterward, according to their former pretended treaſon, deliuered the towne vnto the Turks, joyning with them and the Tartars, and directing them for the more eaſie ſpoiling of the Chriſtians and the countrey thereabout.

The taking of this citie of Vacia had in ſhort time called together great numbers of the Turks and Tartars out of all places of the realme; who together with the Haiduckes made a great and puiſſant armie, to the terror of the Chriſtians, not then able to hold the field againſt them, and the encouraging of the Turks, thus holpen euen by the Chriſtians themſelues, to the deſtroying of one another. With this army they turned from Vacia to Gokara, with a purpoſe from thence to haue paſſed ouer the Danubius vpon the yce, and to haue ſurpriſed Strigonium. Which exploit they had once before attempted againſt the baſe towne, being then by the Chriſtians repulſed and beaten backe with their great and ſmall ſhot out of the towne, as now they were againe. Howbeit that ſeeing the number of their enemies dayly more and more to encreaſe, they in Strigonium ſtood more in doubt of a ſecond ſiege, than they had done of the firſt, whereof we haue before ſpoken.

Strigonium in vain attempted to haue bin ſurpriſed by the Turkes and the Haiducks.

The report of theſe ſo great troubles, and of the general reuolt of the diſcontented Haiducks in Hungarie, much troubled and grieued the Chriſtian Emperor: Who both in reſpect of his honour, and of the ſafetie of his eſtate, raiſed what power he might out of his prouinces thereabout, and leuied great ſummes of money from his ſubiects, taking a ducket vpon euery houſe in Auſtria, being then in great feare of theſe miſeries and miſchiefes ſo faſt ſpreading, and ſtill more and more encreaſing and approching that way. Vnto whoſe forces alreadie on foot, had the aid promiſed from the King of Spaine, the Pope, the Princes of Italy and Germanie, with ſix thouſand footmen and ſo many thouſand horſe out of Bohemia, been in time joyned, they might haue made a ſufficient armie vnder the conduct of *Baſta* the Emperors Lieutent, to haue repreſſed both the attempts of the enemie, and the inſolencie of the rebellious Haiducks. All or moſt part of which aid this yeare failing, and *Baſta* with his ſmall forces much weakened with wants and the extremitie of Winter, and not able to keepe the field, the enemies ſtill encreaſing both in number and in ſtrength, and without feare of any to encounter them, at their pleaſure roaming vp and downe, began now to draw neere vnto Vicegrade (a good and ſtrong towne of Hungarie ſtanding vpon the ſide of Danubius, about the mid way betwixt Buda and Strigonium) with a purpoſe to haue beſieged the ſame. Of whoſe comming the Germans there in garriſon hearing, and warned by the trecherie of the Haiducks of Vacia, what to feare from the Haiducks in garriſon with them in Vicegrade, betime retyred themſelues out of the towne into the caſtle. In which doing they were well aduiſed, being otherwiſe like enough to haue run the ſame fortune that the Germanes their fellowes before had done at Vacia. For the Turks with the rebellious Haiducks were no ſooner come thither, but that the Haiducks in the towne, without more ado, opened the gates of the towne vnto them, as vnto their friends, directing them in beſt ſort they could both for the beſieging and winning of the caſtle. Which while the Turks hardly beſieged, and the Germans therein notably defended, *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, together with *Begedes Baſſa*, to perſuade them to yeeld vp the caſtle, writ vnto them in this ſort.

The towne of Vicegrade by the Haiducks yeelded vnto the Turkes.

The Letters of Haſſan the Viſier, and of Begedes Baſſa, vnto the German ſouldiors beſieged in the caſtle

Right worthie and valiant friends, it is not to you vnknowne, the Caſtle of Vicegrade of right to belong vnto our moſt mightie and dread Soueraigne, the Great Sultan. And therefore ſeeing that it is reaſon that euerie man ſhould haue that which of right belongeth vnto him; We aduertiſe and requeſt

queſt you to yeeld vp the ſame Caſtle vnto our moſt mightie Emperour, and the honourable Lord Srephen Botſcay, *Prince of Hungarie; and with all your ſubſtance to depart thence. Promiſing you vpon our faith and honour, to ſuffer you quietly and in ſafetie with your wiues and children, bag and baggage, to depart thence; and to prouide you ſufficient ſhipping for the carrying away of your things to Strigonium. And if it ſhall pleaſe you to take part with vs, wee promiſe you the ſame pay from our Emperour, that you had from your owne; and the ſame kinde entertainement which the Wallons haue before had with vs. But if that you vpon an obſtinate reſolution ſhall refuſe this our friendly motion and grace offered you, blame vs not, if we ſhall by ſtrong hand and force of armes ſeeke to obtaine our right. In kindeneſſe we offer you our friendſhip, and ſo with ſpeed expect your anſwer.*

But the Germanes hearkening not vnto theſe letters, as men reſolued, valiantly ſtood vpon the defence of themſelues, and of the place, vntill that by extreame neceſſity forced thereunto, they yeelded the ſame by compoſition.

Baſta perplexed publiſheth a generall pardon vnto the rebels.

Baſta in the meane time with his forces much diminiſhed, lying at Eperia, and in the countrey thereabout, ſeeing the generall reuolt of the Haiducks, of late the Emperours greateſt ſtrength in Hungarie, and *Botſcay* the Rebels ſtrength dayly to encreaſe more and more, with no poſſibility for himſelf with ſuch ſmal forces as he then had, to repreſſe the Rebels inſolency, or to remedie theſe ſo far ſpreading euils, but for want of greater ſtrength he muſt lie ſtil as it were a man beſieged, was therewith exceedingly grieued, and as it were almoſt ouerwhelmed with the heauie burthen of ſo many great miſeries at once beſetting him. To threaten without power hee knew to be but folly; and to ſpeake faire, to be but vaine. Neuertheleſſe hauing procured from the Emperour a generall pardon for all ſuch as hauing taken part with the Rebels, were willing to returne againe to their alleageance: hee to aſſure all them whom it might concerne, of the Emperours gracious fauour, and to put them all out of feare, cauſed letters of generall pardon to bee publiſhed, for all men to take knowledge of: the purport whereof was this.

The proclamation ſignified out by Baſta for the appeaſing of the rebellion in Hungarie.

Wee George Baſta *Countie of Huſt and Marmar, Lord of Sult, Knight, Counſellour to his Imperiall Maieſtie, Gouernour of the Realme of Tranſſiuania, and Lieutenant of the Chriſtian armies of the Emperour, to all Faithfull, lone and greeting. Whereas in this ſo troubleſome a ſtate of things, ſome as well of the Nobilitie as others, in theſe vpper parts of Hungarie, partly of their owne accord, and partly for feare, haue reuolted from his Imperiall Maieſtie, and taken part with the traiterous Haiduckes in their rebellion, to the great preiudice of the Emperour his ſeruice, and the ſtaining of their faith: Wee in the name of his Imperiall and Royall Maieſtie, whome we know to be greatly enclined, and readie to pardon his ſubiects euen of his owne naturall goodneſſe and clemencie, haue by vertue of the full power and authoritie, by his ſaid Imperiall Maieſtie granted vnto vs, giuen free grace and pardon to all them which haue withdrawne themſelues from his obeiſance, or forſaken the ſame, of what order, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer they be, whome wee will receiue into our protection, as void of all crime: and requeſt them, as much as in vs is poſſible, to make their profit of this grace, and to returne vnto their former duty and obeyſance, vnder all aſſurance of impunitie for their forepaſſed faults; and without any ſearch or inquirie to be of the ſame hereafter made, as well for matters of religion, as of State: aſſuring them of their liues, goods, fortunes, dignities, franchiſes, priuiledges, and immunities whatſoeuer, as is more at large declared by his Maieſties letters patents which remaine with vs. And if any letted either with their vrgent affaires, or with ſickneſſe, cannot repaire vnto vs within the day in the ſame letters patents nominated, we will accept of their iuſt excuſes. But if any contrarie to our hope, ſhall vpon any indurat minde, or obſtinat contumacie, faile to repent, and to make their appearance before vs within the day limited, wee denounce them to bee Rebels, ſubiect vnto the paine of rebellion, and ſtained with the note of infamie: pronouncing their liues, their goods, and dignities to be confiſcat and deuolued vnto the Emperour his cofers: for which they ſhall by vs the Chiefetaines, and Captaines of his armies, with all rigour and extreamitie be proſecuted. Proteſting before the Maieſtie of God, before the Maieſtie of the Emperour, and before all Chriſtendome, vs not to be in any ſort culpable of the euills, calamities, and miſeries, which ſhall enſue of the warres and diſaſters which ſuch their rebellion ſhall cauſe: but to be therefrom exempt and acquited, the onely authors of theſe diſorders hauing deſerued theſe imprecations and calamities: vpon the heads of whom wee iuſtly*

ly from henceforth lay them, as vpon the miserable authors thereof, by their wickednesse: hauing refused so great grace from the Emperour and vs; vnto all men made knowne by these Presents. e

This Proclamation solemnely by *Basta* published with the sound of many Drummes and Trumpets, the sixteenth of Ianuarie, and ten dayes libertie giuen for such as would to come in, and againe [illegible] themselues; diuers Gentlemen of the Countrey neere vnto Eperia, where *Basta* with his armie lay, for feare of being spoiled came in, and accepted of the grace offered: other of the seditious, dwelling farther off, little or nothing at all regarding the same. Insomuch, that the Rebels in number daily increasing, and the rebellion still farther and farther spreading, *Botscay* was now growne so strong, that hee dismissed from him most part of the Turkes, whose seruice hee had in all these troubles hitherto vsed; reseruing yet certaine Ianizaries, whome he mingled with the garrison of Haiduckes, which he had put into Cassouia. H

Basta his proclamation little regarded.

Pallas Lippa Botscay beheaded by his commandement beheaded.

Pallas Lippa before by *Botscay* taken prisoner, and vpon his reuolt from the Emperour, by *Botscay* made his Lieutenant Generall, and a great man amongst the Rebels (as is before declared) was now of many thought to be a most fortunat and happie man. But in the middest of such his happinesse, and the greatnesse of his command, he was by the malice of some, enuying at his estate, accused to *Botscay*, as if he had had a purpose to haue made him away; and deliuering the strong citie of Cassouia vnto *Basta*, to haue gone ouer againe vnto the Emperor, and to haue followed his Ensignes. Vpon which suspition he was by the commandement of *Botscay* beheaded, with fiue other men moe, of good place, suspected to haue beene partakers of the conspiracie with *Lippa*. In whose treasure, after that he was executed, were found an hundred thousand Hungarian duckats, with seuen hundred chains of gold; all which he had scraped together in that small time wherein he had been *Botscay* his Lieutenant amongst the Rebels. With which mony *Botscay* in his rebellion confirmed, became therein more obstinat and furious than before; not admitting any talke with *Basta*, concerning peace, but vpon such vnreasonable conditions, as best stood with his owne good liking. I

Now long and tedious it were to prosecute euery particular exploit, with the diuers woefull euents thereof, during this so great and dangerous a rebellion in Hungarie; which how heauie so euer they were for the poore Christians there dwelling, to endure, as tending all to the ruine and destruction both of themselues and of their Countrey (sometime one of the most flourishing Kingdomes of Christendome, but now become as it were a large Theatre, for all the World to behold most rufull tragedies, and bloudie massacres acted in) yet for all that vnto some nothing is pleasant but what is written of the greatest actions; as of great and bloudie battels, of the conquest of whole Kingdomes, and the ruine of most mightie and famous Princes; all other things else being vnto them tedious. In some part to ease them of such wearinesse, and to please their appetites, I will briefly passe ouer, and euen lightly touch such things as for the most part of this yere passed in this troublesome country, not staying but vpon matters of greatest weight and importance. The Haiduckes still proceeding in their rebellion, in the beginning of Februarie besieged the Castle of Sacmar, a place very fit for their purpose: which Castle the souldiers there in garrison doubting to be able to hold against them (being not past threescore sound men left in it) and destitute also of their necessarie prouision, couenanting to haue their liues spared, at length yeelded vnto them. But in going thence, meeting with certaine other companies of Haiduckes neere vnto Tokay, they were by them most part of them slaine, some few of them by speedie flight escaping. The same Haiduckes which had taken Sacmar, immediatly after attempted to haue surprised the towne and castle of Tokay also: But the Gouernour of the place in good time aduertised of their intent and purpose, caused the yce wherewith the riuer was hard frosen, to be broken fortie paces ouer, neere vnto the castle, and the same to be lightly couered ouer with straw. Whither the Haiduckes comming by night, and finding the yce on the other side, the riuer, whereunto they first came, strong enough to beare them, by heapes thrusting one another forward, to haue scaled the castle, the yce breaking vnder them, they there together by heapes most miserably perished, many of the rest which escaped that danger, being with shot out of the castle slaine also. In this castle was no great store of victuals: whereof *Basta* vnderstanding, with his armie marched from Eperia toward Bodac, a towne holden by the Rebels, K L M

The castle of Sacmar yeelded to the Haiduckes

Tokay in vaine attempted to haue beene surprised by the Haiduckes.

A Rebels, in hope with the spoile thereof to haue relieued Tokay. But the Rebels hearing of his comming, hauing themselues burnt the town, had got themselues with that they had, into the castle, and from thence with their great ordnance so welcomed *Basta* at his comming, that disappointed of his purpose, and hauing lost some of his men, he was glad with all speed (not hauing stayed aboue foure houres) to returne againe to Eperia: certaine of the nobilitie of that country, which tooke part with the Rebels, being reported, in his absence, to haue made a road towards Eperia, to the endangering of that citie. In which his return towards Eperia, the troups of Countie *Turon*, and of *Charles Collonitz*, by chance lighting vpon 500 Haiducks in a country village, set the same on fire, and therein burnt most of the said Rebels, and slew the rest of them that remained, in seeking by flight to haue saued themselues.

B In the meane time one of the great men amongst the Turkes came to Cassouia, bringing with him a great sum of money, which being diuided amongst the Rebels there, much confirmed them both in their rebellion, and deuotion toward the Turks; which rebellion they spared not for any cost by all meanes to maintaine, as more preuailing thereby, than by the greatest forces they could vse for the conquering of Hungarie.

The Turkes with money maintaine the rebellion in Hungarie.

But *Basta* was no sooner with his army returned againe to Eperia, but that the souldiers generally exclaiming, and calling vpon him for their pay, were about in a mutinie to haue forsaken him. For the appeasing of which tumult, he was glad presently to make what shift he could for money, wherewith hee in some measure gaue them contentment, and so with much adoe, agreed with them for six weekes seruice longer: thereby deliuering the citisens of Eperia C from a great feare, wherein they were, for being spoiled by those mutinous soldiers, of whom they stood in no lesse doubt than they did of their enemies.

Basta his soldiers in mutinie for their pay.

And now the seditious Haiducks after their wonted manner still roaming vp and down the vpper part of Hungarie, the second day of march, about seuen of the clocke in the morning came to Newsoll, a faire in that countrey, and there by many reasons perswading the citisens to reuolt, and to take part with them, had parley with them vntill it was full twelue of the clocke; but drawing still neerer and neerer vnto the towne. Insomuch that *Turbelius* Gouernor of the place, perceiuing a yeelding inclination in the citisens, and doubting without their helpe to be able to defend so great a citie against the Haiducks, with so weake a garrison as he then had therein, he with his Cossackes, for his more safetie retired himselfe into the Castle. D Which done, the Haiduckes forthwith breaking into the citie with six companies, summoned the castle, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto them. Of whom *Turbelius* slew diuers with shot out of the Castle: and the same day in the euening couragiously sallying out of the Castle, with certaine companies of harquebusiers, draue the Haiducks againe out of the Citie; which he afterward better fortified against their like attempts. And the next day vnderstanding by a countreyman, That certaine companies of Haiduckes and Turkes together, were comming to Turtzo, a town not far off, carrying with with them a great number of cattel, women and children, which they had got out of the countrey townes and villages thereabout: hee presently sent forth his Lieutenant against them, with his Cossackes (a desperat kinde of horsemen) who meeting with these Haiducks and Turks, slew of them about 150, and recouered from them all the captiues, the cattell, with 200 horses, and a mule loaded with 4000 E Hungarian duckats.

Newsoll surprised by the Haiducks, and againe recouered from them.

Now had Filek (a most beautifull castle, and as it were the key of that part of the vpper Hungarie, which the Christian Emperour yet held against the Turkes) for certaine moneths been hardly besieged by the Haiducks: which although it was so well stored with victuals, and other necessarie prouision, as that it might haue holden out three months longer siege, yet the souldiers there in garrison, for want of water were enforced now at length to yeeld the same. For the keeping of which castle *Redeius Ferentsius*, captaine of the Haiducks which had woon it, placed therein a garrison, part Haiducks, part Turks: as not daring to trust either of them alone; the Haiducks for feare of their trecherie; nor the Turks, for that he knew them F to be desirous of the place, for the commodious scituation thereof, as giuing them a way to enter farther into the territories of the Christians: which *Redeius*, though a Rebell, would not yet in any sort grant them.

Filek yeelded vnto the Haiducks

This castle of Filek so (as is before said) besieged, the valiant *Collonitz* had oftentimes in vaine sought to haue relieued; all the waies being so beset, and as it were, fortified with the infinit

Turkes, Tartars, and Rebels, as that there was no comming vnto it: and
that part of his owne fouldiers being Haiducks also, to whom he durst not well trust, for feare
of being betrayed by them. Concerning which matters, he shortly after writing to a certaine
nobleman, after that he had likewee vnto him, That he desired nothing more of the Emperor,
then to be discharged of his seruice, he thus breaketh forth.

The letter of Collonitz vnto a certaine nobleman, concerning the vnfaithfulnesse of the Rebels in Hungarie.

... hee) can more performe faithfull seruice vnto the Emperour: for being attended ... with ... seruice trustlesse, I am enforced to hazard euen mine honest reputation. I would willingly ... serue with ... enuious horsemen: and I could also wish, three thousand Cossackes, and two thousand Fo-... Hussers to bee againe raised; who would doe notable seruice in pursuing of the enemie: but ... enemie vanish, they must needes haue their wages payed them. The number of the enemie encreaseth ... daylie; and their strength still more and more: so that things cannot be in worse state then now they ... are. All diuices are directed to the hurt of the Emperour: neither is there any ... What ... courage am I of, which haue left all my wealth and substance, is easie for any man to iudge. ... which, for all that, I could conceale and dissemble, so that I might faithfully, and according to my desire serue the Emperour: which for al that is not possible for mee to doe without a sufficient strength of Germane ... soldiers. But this of all doth most comfort mee, for that I know mee to haue done my dueties: for ... otherwise this mischeefe had spread further. Many were in hope that I would rather haue reuolted ... from the Emperor, than haue lost my goods: and some there were which doubted not to say so of mee. ... The enemies are now in my Dukedome of Clene, and there made spoile of all Setchin, Iarmeta, ... Tregla, Palanka, Samoschin, Blauenstein, Rabenstein, Facia, Regiomont, Dillena, Pugantsa, Ta-... bra, Libetna, Sitna, Dibina, Sacmaria, Sendra, Onod... Disciora, Zatnar, Calo, Sche-... ssetac, Budnos, Nagibana, Fliek, and almost all Tra... nia, are now subiect to the Re-... bels: So that what will ensue thereof, except they speedily ... confronted, euerie man may right ... easily guesse.

Strong townes and places in the Turkes and rebels hands on the vpper Hungarie.

Now if *Collenitz* one of the greatest and best Commaunders of the Emperours forces against the Turkes in Hungarie, was thus beset, and spoyled of his substance, by the rebels, as he in these his letters complayneth, and as indeed he was, hauing at one time receiued from them so great harme, as was deemed to haue amounted to an hundred thousand Dackats; and not daring to trust his owne Hungarian souldiers, whose hearts hee knew to be with the Rebels: In what state may the rest of the people of that distressed Prouince, be thought to haue beene, beeing at the same time exposed vnto the same Rebels as a prey and spoyle, and their countrey layed open for the Turkes and Tartars to forrage and ouerrunne at their pleasure.

Wigiase in vain attempted to haue been surprised by the Haiduckes.

But in briefe, to run along with the Haiduckes, foure thousand of them attempting to haue surprised Wigiase, were so from thence repulsed, as that many of them being there slaine, fiue and thirtie wagons were scarce sufficient to carry the rest of the wounded ouer the mountains, of whom an hundred died by the way. But going from thence, they brake into *Turson* his country: where they hauing rifled all the townes and villages, commanded all the States of the countrey, within three daies next after, to submit themselues to *Botscay*, and to sweare vnto him fealty; or otherwise to expect all extremities: who with feare dismaied, all promised to submit themselues vnto *Redeius*, *Botscay* his Lieutenant.

Now for remedie of these euils, *Napragius* and *Forgatius*, two graue counsellors, were sent in the Emperours name, to entreat of peace with *Botscay*: who the seuen and twentieth of March departing from Eperia, with foure score harquebusiers towards Cassouia, before they came thither, sent before them an herauld, to aduertise *Botscay* of their comming. Which messenger, so soone as hee was come into Cassouia, the Turkes so straitly kept, as that no man might speake with him but *Botscay* himselfe; and not he also, but in open place, and that in the hearing of the Turkes. Who at his first meeting with him, told him, That if the Embassadours from whome he came, were sent from the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, they should bee right welcome vnto him, and haue audience: but if they came from the Emperour, as had *Rogatius* and *Ciaccius* before sent from *Basta*, they should then spare their labour, and come no farther: for that all matters had with him beene often enough talked vpon; it beeing now more than time, that things so often consulted vpon, should bee no more talked

Botscay refuseth to receiue the Emperours Embassadours.

talked of, but indeed performed. Which messenger returning vnto the Embassadours, told them what *Botscay* had said, and that the Haiducks had in Cassouia built a bulwarke of a wonderfull height, beset the gates with strong guards, and so filled the trenches with souldiours, that a man could hardly enter into the citie; howbeit that euery man might safely come and go thither about his trade and businesse. He told them also, how that *Botscay* his Lieutenant had called together all the gouernors of the places thereabout, and aduised them for the space of fourteene dayes to beware of the excursions of the Haiducks, and in the mean time, for their more safetie, to bring their wiues and children, with such other things as they made most reckoning of, into the citie, for that he could not as yet (as he said) represse the vnruly and headstrong Haiducks, being yet in their rage and furie, as the manner of the discontented multitude is. Of which Haiducks, some going forth toward Newhuse, and bringing home a great booty of cattell, were by *Collonitz* and *Trautmanstorf*, pursuing them with their horsemen, ouerthrowne, and all the bootie againe recouered.

Botscay about this time, *viz.* the nine and twentieth day of March, summoned all the Nobilitie and States of Hungary vnto an assemblie to be holden at Serentium the seuenteenth day of Aprill, writing vnto them in this sort:

Botscay his letters to the Nobilitie & states of Hungarie, to call them together to Serentz

You know (said he) *right worthie and valiant men, into what extreame miseries our afflicted countrey (all the antient priuiledges and immunities thereof being contemned and troden vnder foot) is by the comming in of strangers brought: whose insolencie is gone so farre, that we cannot only not quietly possesse our owne goods, but so much as enioy the libertie of our owne consciences. For which cause the Nobilitie of the whole kingdome being the last yeare sent in embassie, and as it were foreseeing what was to come; the assemblie of the Empire being ended, openly protested before the whole Imperial Diet, and by their letters oftentimes declared, that they should of necessitie be at length enforced to take vpon themselues the defence of their priuiledges and of their Religion: by which their protestation for all that, they so little preuailed, that forthwith after, such an intollerable Edict was by the Emperours commandement published, as had exposed vs all and euery one of vs to most certaine death, had we not betime prouided for our selues. All which things are vnto you all most certainly knowne, both by the vnlawfull Acts themselues, and the whole proceeding of the Pronost General. All which things considered, you met together at Galest, and from thence againe openly signified vnto the aforesaid Pronost General (vnto whom his Imperial Maiestie had committed the shedding of our bloud, the abolishing of our priuiledges and Religion, viz. the execution of this cruel Edict) that if he proceeded to go forward in that businesse, you would put into execution what you had before publiquely protested, in the general assemblie of the whole Empire at Presburg. But what answer you receiued from him, forasmuch as it is not vnto any of you vnknowne, it is not needfull here to rehearse. Wherefore when as he going about the execution of the aforesaid Edict, did in forcible manner with certaine pieces of great ordnance impugne the Armie of his Imperial Maiestie, both in his and our dread Lord and Soueraigne, and by force tooke from vs some of our castles, and besieged some others; we found no other remedie against these so great euils, but that which God himselfe euen then shewed vnto vs, which was, by force of armes to defend our selues so far as we might. In which our purpose seeing that the grace of God, and the good successe which we haue hitherto had, will vs to continue, although we haue suffered no little harme from the Germanes and Haiducks (which for all that, is for the recouerie of the libertie of our countrey, patiently to be borne) to the intent that we vnited with other our brethren through Hungarie, may the better withstand our enemies, and fight against them; it is most necessarie that we should meet together, and all matters set apart, enter into consultation, how hereafter to resist our enemies, and set our countrey in peace and quietnesse. Wherefore seeing that we haue determined to hold an assemblie at Serents the 17 day of Aprill, wee by these Presents warn and request you al, there at the aforesaid 17 day of April to make your personal appearance, to ioyn in amity with vs, and after Gods name called vpo, to consult and conclude vpon such things as may be both acceptable and pleasing vnto God, and most profitable and necessarie for the good of our afflicted countrey in general. But if there shall be any which vpon a presumptuous or carelesse contempt shall not at the time appointed come, nor seeme to regard such things as so much concerne the common good and welfare of their native Countrey; let them assuredly know, both themselues to be therefore to be accounted for enemies vnto their Countrey, and their goods also so to be disposed of, as shall vnto the Nobilitie and States then and there assembled, be thought meet and conuenient.*

Much

[illegible] number of the Turks, Tartars, and Rebels, as they were vnto [illegible] most part of his owne souldiers being Haiducks also, to whom [illegible] of being betraied by them. Concerning which matters, [illegible] noble man, after that he had shewed vnto him, That he desired [illegible] than to be discharged of his charge, he thus breake in forth: [illegible]

I cannot [illegible] open mine

[illegible] they quieted

[illegible] Basta

[illegible] Basta the Generall [illegible] many inuectiues and despightfull reproches, with [illegible] the spoyle of certain carriages loded [illegible] and so marching thorow the countrey toward Presburg. [illegible] cruelties by killing and spoiling whatsoeuer came in their way, [illegible] people as they went, worse and more inhumane than the very [illegible] where amongst other the prey [illegible] them take [illegible] were verie great, they carried away with them toward Presburg aboue ten thousand oxen and two thousand [illegible] threatening by the way as they went, to burne the suburbs of the citie so soone as they came thither, if they were not forthwith payed their pay: whereupon many of the Citizens for feare forsooke their dwellings, and remooued to Vienna.

Newsol taken by the Haiducks

But the Rebels on the other side hauing (as is before declared) in vaine attempted to haue taken Newsol, being forthwith dr[illegible] of it againe, assembling themselues in great number, came now againe and besieged it, [illegible] the sixteenth day of Aprill tooke it, to the great and incomparable losse of the citizens: other of their fellowes in other places hauing but the day before taken Cibinium, Portfeld, Schemnitz, with some other places also.

The miserable estate of Hungarie through mutinie discord.

Thus while the Haiduckes at their pleasure on the one side spoile the vpper part of Hungarie, and the Emperours souldiers on the other side for want of pay do therein no lesse harme than they, as enemies rifling and ransacking euery corner of the counirey [illegible] they went, the poore husbandmen dwelling here and there, dispersed abroad in the countrey, for feare leauing their homely dwellings with such things as they had, fled some of them into Polonia, other some into the mountaines, where many of them perished with hunger; the poore husbandman not daring now to go forth to till his land, neither the sheepheard to feed his flocke, all places being filled with miserie, mourning, and heauinesse; the Turkes and Tartars, the common enemies of the Christians, being not the causers thereof, but euen the Christians themselues, one of them euen with greedinesse seeking the ruine and destruction of another; as commonly it falleth out in kingdomes and States diuided.

Morauia spoyled by the rebel Dom Haiducke.

Neither did these so great troubles, the ground of so many miseries, containe themselues within the bounds of Hungarie onely, but brake out into other countries and prouinces thereunto adioyning also; but especially into Morauia, into which Countrey the Haiduckes breaking, miserably spoyled the same, by force tooke certaine townes, which they robbed and rifled, carrying away with them euen the verie little children, take nfrom their heauie parents, to be sould afterwards vnto the Turks: a miserable kind of merchandise, and of all Christians to be

A be detested. For remedie of which mischiefes, by sufferance still more and more encreasing, *Lichtenstein* Gouernor of the country hauing raised all the power that he was able for to make, went against them, and with much ado at length draue them out of the countrey, with fire and sword now by them most grieuously spoiled: they for all that carrying away with them a great part of the wealth of that countrey, with foure thousand captiues, all by them appointed vnto the Turks slauerie.

About this time also *Basta* lying at Presburg, and vnderstanding that fourteene thousand Turks and Tartars being come to S. *Georges*, six thousand of them were gon ouer the Danubius, about a mile beneath Presburg, to the end that whilest they were making a road into Austria, the rest in the meane time might proue their forces vpon Presburg; with his horsemen
B followed after them himselfe, to cut off such straggling companies of them, as otherwise might haue done great harme abroad in the countrey, leauing behinde him in Presburg but three hundred Wallon horsemen, with certaine companies of footmen for the keeping of the citie. Which three hundred horsemen being verie good and expert souldiers, and desirous to be doing something, by night made a road out of the citie, toward S. *Georges*, where the rest of the Haiducks and Turks in great securitie lay; vpon whom these resolute men vpon the sudden falling, brought a great feare vpon the whole campe, and hauing slaine of them aboue fiue hundred before the rest could arme themselues, returned with a great victorie, though but with small prey, carrying with them some few horses of seruice to Presburg: where by that they had done it was reasonably thought, that had they been but a thousand strong, they
C had discomfited the enemies whole campe.

A notable exploit by a few performed.

In the meane time they of the garrison of Comora vnderstanding that *Begedes Bassa* was determined with a notable conuoy to go from Buda with seuenteene waggons loaded with money and other things of great value, to *Boiscay* the Rebell and the Tartar Cham his sonne, who with certaine thousands of Tartars was come to Solnok, to the aid of *Boiscay* and the Rebels: they in hope of so great a bootie lay in wait for him vpon the way whereby hee must needs passe, and at his comming set vpon him, and slew a number of his men; amongst whom it fortuned the Bassa himselfe to be slaine, shot in the breast with a small shot whilest hee was mounting vp his horse: whose dead bodie the Turks about him hauing taken vp, and there-
D by speedie flight escaping. Here were also all the aforesaid waggons taken, with an exceeding rich bootie; all which the garrison souldiers, well worthie thereof, carried away with them to Comora, together with the Bassa's head, strucke from his bodie with his owne scimitar: which scimitar, with the Bassa's rich coat, *Pogranius* the gouernor of Comora afterward sent as a Present to the Emperor at Prague. This Bassa while he liued was a most craftie and subtil man, the chiefe plotter and author of all the late troubles in Hungary, hauing before put all Transyluania into most dangerous stirs and tumults, & greatly confirmed *Boiscay* in his rebellion: he spake the Hungarian language naturally, and was therein verie eloquent, which serued him to great purpose both for the raising and maintaining of the rebellion both in Transyluania and in Hungarie. Which so dangerous a man taken out of the way, many were in
E good hope of some good end to be made of these ciuile warres, more dangerous vnto the state of both these afflicted Countreys, than were the great and puissant armies of the Turks, which were almost euerie yeare in the heart of the one or of the other of them to bee seene.

Begedes Bassa slaine.

The name of the Germanes odious vnto the Hungarians.

Now was the rebellion growne so great in Hungarie, and the Rebels so strong, that euen the verie name of the Germans was become vnto the Hungarians both odious and contemptible: insomuch that *Basta* offering to haue put new supplies of German souldiors into the Citie of Tyrna, then in danger of the Haiducks; the Gouernours of the place not onely refused to receiue them, but also to let them haue any thing of them for their readie money, saying, That they had Citizens ynow in the Citie to defend the same against their enemies, and that
F therefore as they needed not of the helpe of the Germanes, so they would haue nothing to do with them. And yet as soone as *Redeius*, *Boiscay* his Lieutenant, was with his Armie come thither, they without more ado opened vnto him the gates of the citie, and receiuing him in, were about to haue slaine all the Germanes there dwelling amongst them, being well neere a third part of the Inhabitants; and had so done, but that some wiser than the rest, considering that

that the Germans hauing there long dwelt, were by often marriages joyned in affinitie with the *Hungarians*, and the Hungarians with them, otherwise perswaded them, left in so doing they might seeme to be cruell against their owne blood. And so the matter being referred to *Zacdin* himselfe, it was by him by the counsel of one of the greatest men of the Turks, ordered, That the Germans should be spared their liues, so that from thenceforth they should no more vse the German but the Hungarian apparell and attire; onely the German armyre being taken away for the Germans themselues.

The Germans by the Turkes perswaded to put on Hungarian garments.

Great townes burnt and razed by the rebels in Hungarie.

But to proceed with these troubles according to the course of the time and of the yeare, about the twentie fourth of May the Turkes and Tartars joyning their forces with the Rebels, burnt fourteene country villages about the lake of Neusidler, and as many moe in other places also towards Neustat, leauing behinde them most lamentable remembrances and testimonies of their barbarous and inhumane crueltie, hauing put most of the women and children to the sword, and impaled diuers vpon stakes, carrying the men away with them as captiues, and the beasts and cattell as a prey; and so leauing the country as they went almost desolate, scarce any being therein left to bewaile the miseries thereof. And about the end of this same moneth the rebels surprised Simega, Grotta, and Coppernacum, and a little while after, Gintzam: all which places they rifled and spoyled, as they did also Hogengoa, a great towne of the Lord *Lichtenstein*; and Niderspringa a Towne of *Collonitzes*, which they first rifled, and afterward burnt: and with the terrour of this their dealing enforced all the Country thereabout both farre neere to yeeld vnto them; onely Altsoll and Cheinnitz, who continued in their loyaltie, and standing fast for the Emperour, did the Rebels much harme.

The Haiduckes and Turkes encounter at Presburg by the rebels.

About the beginning of Iune certaine companies of Turkes and Haiduckes mingled together, came againe, as they had before done, to Presburg: Of whose comming the Gouernor of the citie hauing aduertisement, with three troupes of Wallon horsemen, and certaine companies of harquebusiers, breaking out of the Citie, caused them forthwith to retyre: which the Wallon horsemen seeing, to preuent them in their retreat, fetching a compasse about, met with them when they thought themselues past all danger, and falling vpon them, slew of them fiue hundred, and draue the rest into Danubius; so that of all those Turks and Haiduckes none escaped but onely foureteene, amongst whom three Turkes and one fugitiue Citisen of Presburg were found, whom together with a great spoyle, the garrison soldiers carried backe with them into the citie.

Vesprinium yeelded vnto the Rebels.

At the selfe same time the Citisens of Vesprinium fauouring the proceedings of the Haiduckes, rose themselues in rebellion against the Emperour, and taking the Captaine of the castle, together with his Lieutenant and the keyes of the Castle, caused them to be carried to *Redeium*, *Botscay* his Lieutenant; yeelding themselues into his protection. Of which reuolt of the citie the Turks tooke exceeding pleasure, and forthwith sent newes thereof vnto the Sultan, wishing him to hast the comming of his Armie, for that the passages were now layed open vnto his further conquest; and further aduising him still more and more to encourage *Botscay* in his rebellion.

Stiria and Austria spoyled by the Rebels.

And now was Hungarie too little, or els too bare to containe and satisfie the still encreasing Rebels, who in great number breaking into Stiria (as they had before done on the other side of Hungarie into Morauia) did therein great harme, wasting and spoyling all before them as they went; insomuch that Countie *Serin*, the Lord *Nadasti*, and *Budian*, all right worthie men, and such as heretofore had done great things against the Turkes, for the Christian Commonweale, seeing themselues and all that they had in danger to be spoyled, being themselues not able to withstand the Rebels, nor any other stay whereon to rest, submitted themselues vnto *Botscay*, as did many other Noblemen of that Country also. Out of Stiria the Rebels made head into Austria, and there roaming vp and downe the Country, did like harme.

Thus was the state of Austria and Hungarie at this time most miserable, which for that it is so well set downe in certaine letters by a graue and vnderstanding Citisen of Vienna, who was himselfe an eye-witnesse of most part thereof, as that it cannot well better be expressed; I haue thought it good to refer the report thereof vnto the letters themselues.

The miserable troubles of Hungarie and Austria notably described by the letters of a citisen of Vienna.

All Austria (saith he) *is full of miserie and calamitie. From out of the Castle and Bulwarkes here at Vienna, a man may sometime at once behold fifteene townes and villages all on fire in the Countrey hereabout, kindled partly by the Rebels and Turkes, and partly by our owne mutinous souldiours. Odenburg is yet besieged, and the Haiducks haue forraged the Countrey as farre Hinberg: whom had not the Regiment of* Collonitz *repressed, these our suburbs of Vienna had now beene taken, ransacked, and burnt. Neustat is on euery side besieged by the Enemie; all the Villages about Vienna, as farre as Dresskirc are with fire destroyed: they of Newstat went about to haue cut off some part of the Enemies Forces, but with euill successe, hauing lost aboue fiftie of their owne men. Brunna and Entzendorfe are also with fire consumed: The Wallons lye incamped at Miedling, most miserably spoiling the country People of all that they had: The Haiduckes hauing by night surprised the great Towne of Altenbourg, and from thence carrying a great prey, haue burnt it: The Castle had endured the like fortune, had not an hundred Harquebusiers, that were by chance come thither holpen to defend it. Sixe thousand of the enemies lie about Visselbourg, but whether the Wallons will attempt any thing against them or no, it is greatly doubted. Presburg is also in great danger; for the Garrison souldiours there doe threaten the cruell spoyle of the Citisens, and all extremities, if by a certaine day they receiue not their Pay: who if they shall depart thence, there is no doubt but that the Haiduckes will forthwith succeed them in their places. These men indeed doe presend Religion, but what louers they be thereof, the late example of a Minister by them most cruelly tormented, not farre from Cobbelsdorfe, doth manifestly shew. The report is, That the Vayuod of Valachia doth fauour neither part: into which Prouince a great number of Tartars are come in the aid of* Botscay. *All the Market places and streets heere in this Citie, lie full of poore fugitiue creatures of all sex and ages; a most miserable sight to behold. Our owne mutinous souldiours beset all the wayes to the Citie, and exclude vs from all manner of victuall; and not to vse many words, in crueltie and hostilitie almost exceed the verie Enemies. The Hungarian Rebels, who of late forraged Austria, haue carried away with them aboue eight thousand head of cattell, which, together with the Prisoners by them taken, they haue sent into Turkey. The little boyes and children, which cannot by reason of their tender yeares goe, they carrie along with them vpon horses, whose pittifull mourning and lamentation might moone euen the verie stones; and yet are they (inhumane men) no whit mooued: yea many of these poore soules are heere and there by the way found dashed against the ground, with their braines beaten out. And these Rebels in their behauiour shew such crueltie, as whereat the verie Turkes themselues were amazed. All things about Isenstad are by the Enemies taken and carried away. They of Neuhuse, besieged by thirtie thousand of their Enemies, haue hitherto played the men, and of late repulsed the second assault, with much slaughter of their Enemies. They say, That two thousand Tartars, as many Rebels, and thirteene thousand Turks, are to be yet expected to come vnto the Campe at Neuhuse, who if they shall chance to come, it can scarce be, that they of Neuhuse can long well hold out against them, especially being not well appointed of necessarie prouision. The report is, That hauing taken Neuhuse, they will remoone to Strigonium. It is said also, twelue thousand Turkes to haue now passed ouer the bridge at Essec; and great supplies both of men and money to come to* Botscay, *who lieth encamped about Eperia, and is said to haue made a couenant with the Great Sultan, That what place soeuer either of them should first take, he should hold the same wholly vnto himselfe.* Tanhuser, *who of late was Gouernour of Filek, is now (as the report goeth) of counsell with* Botscay. Germenchius *hath put in three moneths victuall into Hust in Transyluania. God in his mercie behold our poore afflicted and distressed Country.*

Thus far he: Whereby the Reader (as I suppose) may easily gather, the miserable estate of both the countries of Hungarie and Austria, the Christians themselues being the chiefe Authors thereof.

Odenburg besieged by the rebels, and by Basta relieued.

The rebellious Haiduckes had hitherto most straightly besieged the Citie of Odenburg, hauing assaulted it in fiue sundrie places at once: vpon whom *Trautmanstorfe*, Generall of the Garrison there, causing part of his horsemen to sallie forth, skirmished with them from eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, vntill two of the clock in the afternoone, at which time

while the Haiducks beginning to preuaile, the Gouernour with the rest of his horsemen, cer-
taine enfignes of footmen, with some of the citizens, with three field peeces vpon the walles
beholding fast of the fight, discomfited the Haiduckes, put them to flight, and slew many of
them, hauing taken from them twelue enfignes, with many prisoners, whom he
him into the citie. Of which ouerthrow the Haiducks desirous to be reuenged, w
mewed forces shortly after returned again vnto the city, burnt the suburbs of the same, and
led the villages thereabout. But whilest they thus lay about Odenbourg, *Bassa*
small power drawing neere vnto them, they presently rose, and passing ouer the
carried away with them two thousand head of cattell, with a great number of Ch
captiues.

The Turkes being not to learne to make vse of the discord of the Christia
selues, had oftentimes been in hand with *Botscay*, to deliuer Cassouia wholly
Of which strong citie, being the best that the Christians now held in the vpper
Turkes were most desirous, both for the commodious scituation thereof, and
they deemed themselues partly thereof alreadie possessed, some good part of the garri
therein being Turkes, as well Ianizaries as others. The full possession of which
the better to obtaine from *Botscay*, and to get it into their owne hands, they sent vnto
three waggons loaded with money and other rich commodities for a Present, and to
his wants, by a good conuoy of foure hundred Haiducks and some Turks joyned vnto them.
Which Haiducks as they were by the way to Cassouia, to passe by Tockay, a strong towne
holden by the Christians, gaue secret knowledge vnto
comming that way, and that if he would receiue them into the towne, and so into his prote-
ction, they would with some small helpe from him, deliuer into his hands that so rich a boo-
tie, and so continue with him as his faithfull and trustie souldiours. Of whose offer the Go-
uernor well assured, forthwith sent forth foure hundred of the souldiours of his owne garri-
son to meet them, who joyning with the aforesaid Haiduckes which came with the conuoy,
set vpon the Turks which came with them, and slew them euery mothers sonne: and so with
the rich booue were by the Gouernour receiued into the towne, and by him courteously en-
tertained: where they had not long lien, but that after their woonted manner looking
into the country, they chanced to meet with certaine companies of *Botscay* his men, with
whom they encountering, and hauing slaine of them neere about fiue hundred, tooke from
them seuen waggons loded with good prouision, and thirtie horses, beside much other rich
spoile.

But the Rebels, notwithstanding th and such other losses, encreasing both in number
and power, still more and more in all places preuailed, but especially in the vpper part of
Hungarie, the townes there one after another dayly reuolting vnto them, as amongst the rest
the strong towne of Totisa did; whereinto the Rebels entering, sent from thence part of the
great ordnance, together with *Relinger* a Germane Captaine Gouernour of the Towne, and
certaine other Germane souldiours there taken, vnto *Redeim*, *Botscay* his Lieutenant, then ly-
ing with a great armie of thirtie thousand Hungarian Rebels and Turkes, at the siege of the
strong towne and castle of Newhuse. Which as it had oftentimes by him beene sharpely as-
saulted, so was it by the souldiours therein most notably defended; protesting neuer to yeeld
the same, but to hold it out euen to the last man therein to be left aliue. Which caused *Redeim*
for the encouraging of his souldiours, (who had now lien there certaine moneths at the siege
thereof) to promise vnto them the whole spoile of the towne, and of all that therein was. And
yet for all that, oft times kept backe the Turks from assaulting the same, for feare lest if they
should by force haue taken it, they would by force also haue holden it vnto themselues, as a
place for them most commodious for the conquering of that which remained of the vpper
part of Hungarie: which hee, though one of the greatest Rebels, was yet loth to haue it to
fall into their hands; and yet himselfe with the Haiduckes the Hungarian Rebels, afterward,
viz. the 25 of Iuly, gaue thereunto a most furious assault, insomuch that hauing aduaunced
ten of their Enfignes to the top of the Rampiers, they were in great hope euen presently to
haue taken it, but yet were by the resolute valour of the defendants notably repulsed, and en-
forced againe to reti , leauing behinde them aboue seuen hundred of their most forward men
dead

dead in the trenches. Vnto which siege the Bassa of Agria came also afterward with three thousand horsemen and a number of Ianizaries; so that the besieged, partly with mynes, partly with shot and often assaults distressed, were so wasted and wounded, that there were scarcely two hundred whole and sound men left in the whole garrison: beside that, both victuals and pouder begun now to grow scarce also, so that they were brought vnto such extremity, as that well they could not be in worse case: and yet armed with a constant resolution, they seemed not to be any thing therewith danted or discouraged, but still valiantly held it out. *Newhuse distressed.*

The Hungarians dwelling in the Isle of Shut in the riuer of Danuoius, hauing before submitted themselues vnto the Rebels, did with their helpe much trouble the passages vnto the towne of Rab and Comara, and the Citie of Strigonium; vnto whome certaine messengers were sent on the Emperours behalfe to persuade with them to forsake the Rebels and to returne againe vnto their antient obedience. Who so well vsed the matter with them, that taking a truce for eight dayes, they in the meane time sent fiue of the chiefe men amongst them by ship to Presburg, offering vnto the Gouernour there, That if they might be secured of their goods and safetie, and that the Haiduckes that were with them might be entertained in pay, they would be readie againe to take the oath of allegeance and faithfully to serue him as became his loyall subiects and valiant soldiers: and for the assurance thereof, to leaue their wiues and children as pledges at Presburg. Which their offer was vnto the Gouernour very acceptable and welcome, who yeelding vnto their request, in friendly sort dismissed them. But they being returned home, and hauing declared to the rest of their fellowes what they had done; it was by generall consent agreed, that foure thousand of them should ioyne themselues vnto the Emperours power vnder the Regiment of *Collonitz*, who to bee knowne from others, wore in their crests certaine speciall feathers; their wiues and children being carried to Presburg as pledges of their faith: but this agreement by them made with the Gouernor of Presburg beeing once knowne, the rest of the Rebels in the Countrey thereabout together assembled with the Turkes, inuaded the Isle, in hope vpon the sudden to haue surprised them: but deceiued of their expectation, were by the inhabitants of the Isle, and by the helpe of certaine Germane troupes ouerthrowne and put to flight, and three thousand of them there slaine. *The Rebels in the Isle of Shut submit themselues againe vnto the Emperour.*

About the beginning of Iuly certaine Commissioners were sent on the Emperours behalfe to Cossouia, to intreat with *Botscay* concerning a pacification to be made, who being by him there honourably entertained, and hauing with him stayed almost a whole moneth, were at length the nine and twentieth of the same moneth againe dismissed. Now the articles, which *Botscay* propounded vnto these Commissioners to be considered of for the making of a peace, and which for the most part were agreed vpon in the peace afterward concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour, were these.

First, that it should be lawfull for all such as would, to haue the free exercise of the reformed religion. For although (as hee said) he was not ignorant that there was an antient decree amongst the Hungarians, whereby all that professed not the Catholicke Religion, or that reuolted from the same, were to bee burnt, and that hee desired not to haue that article repealed; yet that his request was, That the Emperour hauing regard vnto the troubles of the present time, would promise and assure, That from thenceforth no man should be troubled for his Religion, or called in question for his conscience and Belief. Besides that, he requested to haue the Principalitie of Transyluania during his life; yet with this condition, That after his death it should againe returne vnto the Emperour, so that the Emperor in his absence should appoint a naturall Hungarian to gouerne the same, as also to haue the chiefe gouernment in Hungarie. That there should no more Bishops sit in counsell but one, and that hee, if it should bee so thought meet, should beare the office of the Chancelour. That the liberties and priuiledges of that Kingdome should bee kept whole and inuiolate. That it should be lawfull for him onely to make choice of the chiefe Palatine of the Kingdome. That goods confiscated for any offence committed, should not be dispersed or sold, but giuen to men of desert. That all offenders against the State from thenceforth should bee iudged by the Counsell of Hungarie. That none should bee preferred to Bishoprickes in Hungarie, but such as were of the noble Hungarian bloud. That all iniuries heretofore done should be absolutely pardo- *Articles by Botscay propounded vnto the Emperors commissioners for the appeasing of the tumults in the vpper Hungarie.*

as they had before vſed, into Hungarie: neither could the Chriſtian Emperour on the other ſide now raiſe ſuch a power as he had in former times done to oppoſe againſt them, and to hinder their proceedings. The Hungarians themſelues (his greateſt ſtrength in thoſe wars) were now generally reuolted from him, and for moſt part followed the Enſignes of the Rebell *Botſcay*. The Princes wont to ſend him aid both out of Italie and out of Germanie, now affoorded him little or none at all: and his mercinarie ſouldiers for want of pay were now almoſt euery where vp in mutinie ready to forſake his ſeruice, and to pay themſelues with the ſpoile of his countries euen vnto the gates of Vienna. So that had not the Turkes beene ſo buſied in the Eaſt, but at leiſure to haue turned their whole power into Hungarie, as often times they had before done, it is hardly to be imagined, what ſhould haue letted them to haue ouerrun not onely that which remained of Hungarie, but euen all Auſtria, with ſome good part of Germanie alſo; the Emperours preparations being then ſo ſmall, and his forces ſo weake, as that they were not able to hold the field againſt his own rebellious ſubiects, much leſſe againſt ſo puiſſant and dreadfull an enemie. But God which with his word hath ſet bounds vnto the raging ſea, beyond which it cannot paſſe, and by whoſe power Kings doe raigne and Princes bare rule, had by other meanes auerted the greateſt part of the Turkes forces Eaſtwards: ſo that *Serdar Baſſa*, Sultan *Achmat* his Lieutenant Generall for his wars againſt the Chriſtians, came this yeare but with a right ſmall armie (in compariſon of thoſe which the Turkiſh Sultans were woont to ſend) into Hungarie. Howbeit, with ſuch forces as he brought, and with ſuch ſupplies of the Rebels in Hungarie as came vnto him, he being growne fiftie thouſand ſtrong, and out of feare of the Emperours forces, came the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt to Strigonium, and with his armie (part Turks, part Tartars, and part diſloyall Chriſtians) encamped in the ſelfeſame place where the Turks army had but the yeare before lodged, hauing brought with him fortie great pieces of batterie, with all things elſe neceſſarie for the ſiege. Neither were the Turks ſooner encamped, but that the Tartars which came with them to the ſiege (after their wonted manner) more deſirous of prey and booty, than of honor and victory, paſſing ouer the riuer of Gran into the territorie of the Chriſtians, there ſpoiled and burnt all before them as they went.

Strigonium beſieged by the Turkes.

The Turkes make a bridge ouer the riuer of Danubius, to keep Strigonium from being reſcued.

The Turkes in the meane time to depriue the beſieged of all reliefe to be ſent vnto them down the riuer of Danubius, made a great bridge of boats ouer the riuer, well fortified at both ends thereof on each ſide the riuer with a ſtrong *Corps de guard* for the defence thereof, ſo that nothing could that way paſſe to or from the beſieged citie. Which things much diſmaied them in the citie, ſeeing no preparations to be made on the other ſide for their defence or reliefe: yea *Baſſa* himſelf, Generall of ſuch ſmal forces as the Emperor had then, ſeeing the enemy ſo ſtrong, and himſelfe ſo weake, began greatly to doubt of the euent of this ſiege: and yet neuertheleſſe reſolutely ſet downe to employ both his valour and his wiſedome for the ſafegard of the place, he during the time of the ſiege failed not to the vttermoſt of his power to ſhew the effects both of the one and of the other.

The Iſle of Strigonium ſpoiled by the Haiducks.

And now the Turks aſſiſted with the Hungarian Rebels, had performed an exploit vpon the Iſle of Strigonium, aſwell to take the ſame from the Imperials, as for the ſpoile and pillage thereof. The inhabitants there had ſtill remained faithfull vnto the ſeruice of the Emperour, whom the Rebels for all that had oftentimes ſought both by force and by perſuaſion to haue remoued from this their loyaltie and iuſt deuoire. Within this Iſle were 200 Haiduckes, returned againe to the Emperors ſeruice, who were ioined vnto the Iſlanders, for the better defence both of them and of the Iſland. But the Rebels knowing well the paſſages and entrances into the Iſle, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the ſame, and in it theſe poore Haiducks, whom they cut all in pieces: which loſſe cauſed *Baſſa* to reſolue to ſend the Wallons he had in his army into the Iſle for the defence thereof. Which they of the Iſland vnderſtanding, made requeſt vnto the Generall, That he would not in any wiſe ſo doe, for that they greatly feared leſt the Wallons, beeing men altogether giuen to the ſpoyle, not finding the Rebels to prey vpon, ſhould after their woonted manner prey vpon them, the Emperours faithfull ſubiects. At whoſe inſtance the former purpoſe for the ſending of the Wallons beeing changed, *Collonitz* himſelfe was appointed vnto that ſeruice; with whome *Monſieur de Laual*, a noble young Gentleman of France (who but a few dayes before was newly come vnto the campe, for the

the honourable desire he had to see seruice, and to serue himselfe, with his troope of horse-
men whome hee had brought with him out of Fraunce) went ouer into the Island also:
Whereinto when as the Rebels shortly after againe entered, they were by *Collonitz* ouer-
throwne and driuen out of the Isle, two hundred and fiftie of them beeing slaine, and aboue
fiftie moe of them taken prisoners. In which conflict the noble young Gentleman *Laual* so
brauely behaued himselfe, as that he gained vnto himselfe much honour and renowme, euene
mans mouth being full of his prayses, and wondering to see so great courage in so young
yeares, hee being then scarce nineteene yeares old. With which losse the Rebels rather
enraged than discouraged, shortly after returned againe, in greater number and better re-
solued, where betwixt them, and them that were left for the defence of the Island, was fought
a more sharpe and bloudie fight than was the former; yet so, as that the Rebels were enfor-
ced againe with losse to retire. In which so hot and bloudie a skirmish, *Mons. Laual* ha-
uing most valiantly borne himselfe against the enemie, and done enough for his [illegible] but
not so contented, but carried away with the heat of youth, and the desire of glorie, [illegible] not
otherwise to be persuaded, but still aduenturously pressing on the retiring enemie, was there
with a small shot slaine, all they which knew him much lamenting his vntimely death. But
the Rebels not so discouraged, but still in one place or other inuading the Island, and threate-
ning the Islanders with all extreamities, except they would take part with them; what by
force, what by perswasion, so much preuailed with them, that the most part of them re-
uolting from the Emperour, vpon the sudden set vpon the Count of Rhene, beeing then
in the Island, and hauing slaine three hundred of his men, grieuously wounded himselfe
also. For the speedie appeasing of which multitude, *Basa* sent ouer into the Island cer-
taine companies of the Rasians and Wallons, who not regarding that the Islanders were
daily damnified by the Rebels, most miserably spoiled them of whatsoeuer the Rebels had
yet left them.

The Heiduckes landing in Sirmia, by Collonitz ouerthrowne.

Monsieur Laual slaine.

S. Thomas fort battered and assaulted by the Turks.

The Turkes encamped before Strigonium, first planted their batterie against the strong
fort, standing aloft vpon S. *Thomas* hill: for that from thence they should haue receiued infi-
nit harme, if they should before the winning thereof haue attempted to haue woon the citie;
it standing on their backes, and all the plaine betwixt the hill and the citie wherein they were
to plant their batterie being subiect vnto it. Which fort, though very strong, they with conti-
nuall batterie by the space of almost three weekes, hauing with infinit charge, and the losse of
a number of their men, made faultable, the foure and twentith day of September mounted the
hill to assault the same. Vnto which assault they went vp the hill so thicke one thrusting an
other forward, that the hill seemed now to be nothing but a mount or heape of armed men,
scarce any part of it being to be seene, [illegible]as so couered with them. Vpon whom so swarming
vp, the Christians in the fort, hauing repo[illegible]all the hope of their welfare in their valour, and
resolued thereby to die or liue, couragiously discharged their murthering shot both great and
small, scarce any of their deadly bullets falling in vaine. Howbeit the Turkes, resolutely set
downe for the performing of that they had taken in hand, without respect of death or danger,
came still desperately on, vntill that they were come to the push of pike, and so to handie
blowes euen in the verie breaches, which the long furie of the Turks cannon had made verie
faultable. Fiue houres this furious assault was by the Turks maintained, and by the Christians
with inuincible courage and resolution endured, many braue and valiant men falling on both
sides: and thrice the Turkes repulsed, were enforced to retire, but were still by their Com-
manders brought on againe. The losse was to both sides common, many worthie men there
ending their daies, worthie of eternall fame. The Christians fell dead vpon the Turkes slaine
by their valor, and the Turks vpon the Christians slaine by their multitude. But what should
wee say? The Turkes by numbers died, but not their force, that being by their great numbers
still maintained euen in despight of death, and alwaies liuing in their great multitude, yet left
aliue. Which was not so with the defendants, but euen quite contrarie; who could not lose
one onely man, without diminishing of their forces, and means of resistance: so that they still
lost without hope of safegard, and yet could not be in safetie, without continuing of their so
great losses. But he that still fighteth onely for to saue his life, without hope of killing of his e-
nemie, being too mightie for him to ouercome, must needs at last die ouercome, if it were but
with

with verie wearinesse. So in the end of this long and furious assault, nine hundred of the Chri-
stians being slaine, together with the Count *Oetingen*, their Chiefetaine, and his Lieutenant
mortally wounded, and nothing now more left but a few sore hurt men, and the dead wals for
the Turkes to ouercome, they entered the place, slew those few whome they found yet brea-
thing, made bootie of their death, bloud, and armes; and by the infinite price of their owne
bloud, gained that place which had now no more bloud or life left in it. From whence they
carried certaine great pieces, to helpe to batter the citie withall, and to vanquish them, for
whose defence they were but a little before appointed.

S. Thomas fort woon by the Turkes.

The base town of Strigonium battered.

The Turks hauing thus gained S. *Thomas* fort, euen as they were yet embrued with bloud,
and prickt forward with furie, forthwith planted thirtie great pieces of batterie against the
base towne of Strigonium, standing low by the side of Danubius, and commonly called the
Water towne; which they with all their force and fury most terribly battered. This base
towne was enuironed with a pallisado of wood, to defend it against all sudden surprises, as
almost all the townes of Hungarie are: Whereunto the confused multitude of the Turkes
carried a number of brush faggots, stuffed with gunpouder and brimstone, which beeing set
on fire, presently set fire vpon the pallisado also, and burnt it down to the ground, making a way
for the Turks to come euen to the wals of the city; which they with their great ordnance both
night and day incessantly most terribly battered, vntill that by the fury of the cannon they had
therein made a faire and large faultable breach. A great shame for our men to suffer the same
so to be made, and not again repaired: whereas the Turks before in the same place, had made
it good against the great armie of the Archduke *Matthias*, being neuer to be driuen and forced
out of it by the Christians valour, vntill they were therein slaine; and to be now by our men
through their cowardise not to be able to be made good. For why, it was euen the same place
of battell, the same men, the same armes, and the same forme of fight, but not the same coura-
ges. The Turks can very well learne of vs that which is for them profitable, & make vse ther-
of to their owne aduantage; whereas we can borrow nothing of them to serue vs against them,
and so profit our selues by their example. Besides that, the confidence they haue in their mul-
titude carrieth them vnto such aduantages, as from which the despaire of being seconded &
relieued keepeth vs: whose boldnesse also firmely grounded vpon a resolution to die, passeth
our resolution far, in fighting onely to saue our liues.

The base town of Strigonium assaulted.

The breach so made, the Turks in good order, stayed vpon a firme resolution, came braue-
ly marching on, one of them thrusting another, and as it were striuing among themselues who
should haue the honour to giue the first charge, their haughtinesse of minde animating of
them to seeke for honour euen where perils were rifest; so to haue the honor to die amongst
the most forward and valiant men of war, rather than to liue among cowards of no reputation
or valor. During the heat of which their so great and firme a resolution, they regarded not the
showers of deadly bullets falling amongst them as thicke as haile, as too weake to dant their
haughtie courages; but thrusting one another amidst these so great dangers, came vnto the
breach, there to trie the matter hand to hand with our men. The Ianizaries were the men es-
pecially appointed to this seruice, and had taken the same vpon them; who with their great
muskets on their rests cruelly gauled our men, exposed to the danger of their deadly shot vp-
on the brinke as it were of their own graues. The great Bassa himselfe was there present at the
assault, encouraging his souldiers with speeches full of terror and of comfort, as he saw occa-
sion for either to be vsed; wherewith he stirred vp their valor as is a ship with a faire or rough
gale of wind. Death it selfe could not ouercome these miscreants, their number still repairing
in a moment what death had taken away in an houre: whereas our men slew others but to bee
slaine themselues; and sought not but to become sacrifices vnto death themselues, and not by
their resistance to carrie away the victory against inexorable destinie. The fight was great and
terrible, and the bullets still flew, few of them falling in vaine amongst such a multitude and
preasse of men. They of the high towne, who themselues expected the like danger where-
in their companions now floated betwixt life and death, stood aboue looking on, not daring
to giue them aide, or to remoue out of their strength, but reseruing themselues with all
their forces for the sole safegard of themselues and for their owne defence. Howbeit all this
while the enemies forces still encreased, and the Christians diminished; for death could not
weaken

A terrible assault.

The great Bassa incourageth his souldiers in the time of the assault.

weaken theirs, whereas it shall destroyed ours, who failed but in number, not in valour, and gaue place but vnto the force of death, and not vnto the force of men. All the deadly blowes appointed to be giuen for the defence of a breach, had been by our men giuen; all the armes necessarie for such a purpose had been employed, all resistance that could be deuised had been made, and all the duties of valiant and worthie men performed; so that nothing here wanted but number, and not valour. But in all such actions there are two things necessarie, the one for the helping of the other, for the correspondencie of their power; which both ioyned in one bodie, may doe all things, but being diuided, can neither of them doe any thing against him which is possessed of both.

Power & valour the gift of great actions.

In fine, after foure attempts in this assault, most of the Christian defendants beeing slaine, the Turks forced the rest, and gained the breach, treading vnder foot the dead bodies both of the Turkes and of the Christians, to get into the Citie. This place thus w[illegible] thole that were left, put to the sword, and the towne rifled; the Turkes yet in breath, [illegible] embrued in bloud, gaue an attempt vnto the high towne, in some hope euen at that time [illegible] so great a confusion of the defendants to haue carried the same also. Howbeit, the defendants beholding their weapons yet dropping with the bloud of their friends and companions, and readie to shed theirs also, for the present notably repulsed them: Who to disappointed of their purpose, and desiring to gaine the place with the least losse they might, resolued to take the same by vndermining of it, reposing more trust in the spade and the mattocke, than in their swords and harquebusies, beeing by experience of their former sieges taught, how hard and dangerous a thing it was by heauerie and assault to obtaine the same. This trauell in the mynes tooke successe according to their desire: for within a few dayes the mynes (with much labour) beeing brought to perfection, and fire put vnto them, they failed not to worke their effect, but with great their violence blew vp the wals, rampiers, men, and munition, altogether, casting foorth such smoakes and flames, as wherewith a number of the defendants were smothered and burnt. Which breaches so made, and the defences of the Citie blowne vp, in such sort, that the Christians lay open to the enemies deadly shot, beeing not able any more to shew themselues without danger of their liues, the Turkes in order forthwith came to assault and force the same. Which the Captaines of the Christians beholding, prepared themselues to withstand them, and to that purpose would haue giuen order vnto their souldiers for the defence both of the breach and of the walles, whome they found such as *Eumenes* at his greatest need found his, not willing in any wise to fight, and in the most assured perill of death, without courage either to vanquish their enemies, or defend themselues; in such sort, that not one of them would put themselues in order, shew themselues vpon the breach, or come neere the walls. Lazie cowards, chusing rather to attend an assured death in their cowardise and want of courage, than to aduenture their liues into the danger of armes; well deseruing to endure the same with dishonour, seeing that they refused by honourable resistance to preserue their liues. The Captaines for all that by faire speeches and by threats ceased not to stirre them vp; praying, exhorting, and sometime with death threatening them, if they thus refused to doe their duetie, and with their naked swords in their hands would haue enforced them to the breach. But all in vaine; their dead courages beeing not to bee reuiued or stirred vp in their so great a feare of death: Which much dismayed the Captaines, seeing their liues and honour, together with the place (through this tumult and cowardise of their souldiers) to bee in extreame perill. During which time the Turkes comming on, had without any great resistance gained the foot of the breach: whome the souldiers now seeing so neere vnto them, and out of hope to bee relieued, and destitute of courage also, in stead of trusting vnto their armes and valour, betooke themselues vnto the refuge of their shame and cowardise. For compassing in the Count *Dampierre*, Gouernour of the place, they would by reasons haue perswaded him to haue yeelded, and by threates haue teared him from further resisting of the enemie. Their furie emboldened them, proceeding not from their valour, but from their feare; storming against their Generall for not beeing a coward, as they themselues were; trembling for feare of their enemies, and insulting against him. They had but one man of him to fight against, which made them furious and hardie: hardie with cowardise against one,

The best towne of Stigonium taken by the Turkes.

The vpper towne of Strigonium is taken by the Turkes assaulted.

Strigonium vndermined.

Great cowardise in the garrison souldiers of Strigonium.

The garrison soldiers in mutiny against the gouernor, would enforce him to yeeld vp the citie.

one, not daring to hold vp their weapons against their enemies being many. Howbeit the Count in the middle of these feares enraged, continued firme in his resolution, his courage encreasing in this storme of mutinie, winning rather to die by the hands of his owne souldiours, in the performing of his dutie, than to be saued by the Turkes in the bottome of his dishonour. Which his so braue a resolution caused him euen in the middest of these furious and tumultuous companies, to put them in minde of their duties, and to perswade with them: That the perill they so much feared, was greater through their owne feare, than indeed it was: that onely their fearefull apprehension made the danger, and not the action that was by them to be performed; seeing that it was impossible for the enemie to ouercome them, if they would but resolutely stand vpon their valour to resist him. That all things resting but in opinion, were by themselues to be subdued, if they had but the desire to ouercome them, and yet of power to ouerthrow them, if they will yeeld to their dishonour. That therefore they should propound vnto themselues the honor and the shame that was to ensue vnto them, by the different deportment of themselues in this action, how much the deformitie of the one differed from the beautie of the other, and aspire vnto the honour which their enemies had sometimes got in the same place, and in the verie same action wherein they were now, for hauing with lesse appearance of their safetie ouercome the like danger, wherein their holding out had made them victorious with honour, without any great fight at all. That it should be an eternall infamie vnto them, that the Turkes should surmount them by their resolution, in an action wherein they ought to shew themselues most valorous; and by their cowardise become subiect vnto them, whome at other times they had accounted vnworthie to be compared with them in valour. That they should lay their hands vpon their hearts, and remember their estate and faith; bound vnto the first by their honour, and to the second by their dutie. That they were men of Warre, liuing by their pay, which bound them to the seruice of him from whom they receiued it, euen vnto death; hauing before obliged their liues vnto their pay: and that they were Christian Subiects, bound to keepe their promise giuen by oath before God. That forgetting either the one or the other of these things, they depriued themselues of the pay promised to them which performed their seruice, and losing their renowne in this world for their cowardise, and in the world to come for breaking their faith. That therefore they should continue constant in the performance of their dutie, resoluing themselues rather to endure an honorable death, vnto which belonged the recompence of an eternall fame for their valour and fidelitie; than to prolong a miserable life with perpetual infamie for their cowardise: whereof for all that, they could no more assure themselues by the yeelding vp of the place, than by the defending thereof, for as much as the Turkes were oft times euen as cruell vpon them that yeelded, as those that resisted; keeping no faith with the Christians, but as best stood with their profit and their pleasure. And that therefore for his part he was resolued, rather to die with honour in the place, than to be beholden to his enemies for an infamous and miserable life. And that therefore he besought them to follow him in this last action of their deuoire, which carried with it all the trophees of their precedent actions, wherein they had oftentimes assisted him in many actions of lesse worth, and of much greater perill.

The braue resolution of Count Dampierre Gouernor of Strigonium.

His notable remonstrances vnto his discouraged soldiers, to perswade them to hold out the siege.

Most shamefull cowardise.

This discourse grounded vpon so good reasons, and proceeding from so great valour, might haue preuailed with any other generous mindes, except with these degenerate souldiours, who by their cowardise had hardened themselues against all the points of honor which might any way moue them; in such sort, that they stood as fast in their base cowardise, as did their General in his valorous and constant resolution. They stood with their hands behinde them, without any weapons in them, as was their mindes without any courage at all: and as men appointed to be sacrificed vpon the altar of death, attending without mouing, but the hands of them that should sacrifice them. Great and shamelesse cowardise, not daring by resistance to withstand the violence of their enemies, for feare of hindering them in their desires, being indeed such as had vowed their death to satisfie their owne furie. Meane while some of these souldiors seeing their speeches to be but vaine, and not able to moue their Gouernour to satisfie their desire, conceiued the same their requests, with the reasons thereof, into writting, which they sent vnto him. Which the Gouernor hauing read, in their sight tore their letters

[illegible] their power, and made the same vnder his feet; reiecting as well their demands by letters, G as also their [illegible] by words. In briefe, hauing forgotten nothing of the dutie of a worthie Generall, and valiant Captaine, ioyned now thereunto the office of a simple Souldiour, going himselfe vnto the breach, with some few, to defend the same. But the more the Captaine shewed [illegible] so great resolution, the more these cowardly and mutinous Villaines proceeded in their base obstinacie, in so much that they fell from prayers, to furie and rage, intreating to deliuer him their Gouernour, together with the place, vnto the Enemie, to saue their liues, if he himselfe would not by treatie saue them from the imminent perils. If these base cowards were before deafe vnto the just remonstrances of their Gouernour, which might haue preserued them from death and infamie, he was also as deafe as they, to conceiue their requests, or to be mooued with their threats; knowing that he had more reason on his side, by constant valour to withstand the wicked and shamefull resolution of [illegible]s, than they had with dishonour to enforce him, or to offer him violence, to their eter[illegible] and infamie. H

Achmat horrible punishment of mutinous & disobedient souldiors against their gouernor.

In the meane time these obstinate and enraged cowards proceeeded from words to deeds, and from requests to violence, as did oft times the disloyal souldiors of Rome, in slaying their good Emperors. For they in cruel manner, without reuerence, by force layed hands vpon the Gouernor, put him in prison, and afterwards craning parley, fel to treatie with the Great Bassa about the deliuerie vp of the place. Where with the Bassa well contented, sent in vnto them *Hali Bassa*, to conclude the matter. Where after some little talke, it was agreed, That they should deliuer vp the place (which was not indeed theirs to dispose of) and that the Bassa should therefore promise and suffer them with bag and baggage in safetie to depart whither they would, with their ensignes frilled vp, and fire in their matches; leauing behinde them their great ordnance, with all their other munition and warlike prouision. Which only composition by the perfidious souldiors made in the absence and indurance of their General, was by the Turks faithfully kept, amongst a thousand others like before by them broken: whether it were in respect of the easie conquest of the citie, (being one of the chiefe and principal places of all Hungary) or for that they being ouer-ioyed with the gaining of that which they had so long desired, and now so little hoped for, they forgat their wonted crueltie and breach of faith, is doubted. I

The conditions vpon which the Turkes entred into the citie.

The extraordinary curtesy of the Turkes toward the garison souldiers of Strigonium at their departure thence.

This citie thus yeelded the third of October, and the Turks forgetting their wonted cru- K eltie, according to their faith and promise before giuen, in safetie conducted these cowardly souldiors within a league of Comora, helping them by the way to carrie their sicke and wounded men, together with their fardles, which the Turks oft times carried vpon their own shoulders. These cowards which thus went out, with their Gouernor sent out also with them, were in number a thousand whole and sound men, fitted whilst they were in the citie, with all things necessarie for their honour, and defence of the place: but themselues destitute and void of all honour and courage. A thousand, which all together were not worth their Gouernor alone, seeing that in him alone there remained more valour than in all that whole multitude. Many of the Inhabitants which had there long dwelt, would not forsake the place, but by the leaue of the Turks there remained still; the rest which would not, hauing leaue in safetie to depart L whither they would.

Thus this famous Citie of Strigonium, one of the strongest bulwarkes of Christendome against the Turks, which the Christians had now holden by the space of ten yeares and one month, after that it was by Count *Charles Mansfelt* woon from the Turks, when as it had long time before been in the Turks possession, woon from the Christians by Sultan *Solyman*, now againe (as is before said) fell into the power of the Turks, with threescore and ten pieces of great ordnance, and a wonderfull deale of other warlike prouision.

The captaines and chiefe authours of the mutinie, and yeelding vp of Strigonium, imprisoned, condemned, and most shamefully, but worthily executed.

These base and cowardly Souldiours, together with the Count their Gouernour, being come to Comora, were iustly despoyled both of their honour and of their armes, and sent backe againe to Presburg, where cursed and detested of all the world, and especially M of the Hungarians themselues (who although they were reuolted from their alleageance toward the Emperour, yet could they not but much detest their so shamefull and notable cowardise) were there the chiefe of them committed to prison; where after they had for a cer-

A a certaine time lien, and being brought to iudgement, and conuicted of treason, in deliuering vp the city of Strigonium vnto the Turks, and in so doing to haue greatly damnified the Christian commonweale, they were therefore condemned, and according to the qualitie of their offences, diuersly in this manner executed. Captain *Leonard Fredericke Schleker* had his iudgment, first to haue his right hand cut off, and his tongue drawne out behinde in his necke, and both of them nailed to the gallowes, and afterwards to be hanged; howbeit through the intercession of many of his friends he was not hanged but beheaded. *Iohn Michael Schorer*, *Iohn Hopff*, *Adam Lindawar*, *Philip Dur*, and *Caspar Lielharter*, all Captaines, were adiudged to haue their right hands first cut off and nailed to the gallowes, and afterward hanged, but through the intercession of Countie *Mansfeld*, they were hanged, and their hands not cut off. *Iohn Lau-*
B *tenberger* was condemned to be quartered aliue; but was at the intercession of Countie *Mansfeld*, first beheaded, and afterward quartered. *Iohn Dischoff* with eleuen other were only hanged. *Laurence Marshal* was enjoyned to serue two yeares against the Turks as a common souldior, without pay; but through the intercession of Countie *Mansfeld* had one yeare pardoned him. *Ieremie Strelin*, with diuers other, which were either fled, or els remained still in Strigonium, were judged, their names to be set vpon the gallowes, and being afterwards caught, some of them to be quartered, and other some their hands to be cut off, and nailed vpon the gallowes, and afterward hanged. And thus these disloyal Captaines, by shunning of an honourable death in defence of Strigonium, and performing of their dutie; by neglecting the same, procured vnto themselues a most shamefull death, attended vpon with perpetuall infamie and
C dishonour.

But as the losse of this strong place was vnto the Christians heauie and grieuous, so was it vnto the Turkes no lesse pleasing and joyfull; it being the place they had of long aboue all others desired, and whereat they had euer since the losse thereof, with their great armies in Hungarie, for the space of ten yeares still aimed. Howbeit this their joy endured not long, their prosperitie being too hot to hold out without some cooling blast of aduerse fortune. For the same report of Fame, which with the right hand presented vnto the Great Sultan at Constantinople, the pleasing newes of the winning of Strigonium in Hungarie; euen with the left hand deliuered likewise vnto him the melancholie report of the ouerthrow of his great armies in Asia, with the losse of Damasco the greatest citie of Syria. For, to begin with the
D greatest first: The King of Persia, inuaded by *Cicala Bassa*, Sultan *Achmat* his great Lieutenant in Asia; and hearing that the Bassa of Caramania had expresse charge, with all speed to come vnto him with a great supplie of souldiours to be taken vp in Caramania and the countries thereabout: he then hauing a puissant armie on foot, before prepared for all euents, presently set forward against *Cicala*: whome he comming vpon before hee was readie to fight, by his vnexpected comming, and sudden charge, ouerthrew his armie, and tooke from him all his great ordnance; *Cicala* himselfe with three hundred souldiours, with much adoe escaping and retyring himselfe to Adena; which Citie the Persian King, pursuing *Cicala*, shortly after straitly besieged. With which vnluckie newes Sultan *Achmat* much troubled, forthwith writ vnto the Bassa of Trebezond, with all speed to send aid vnto *Cicala*: who taking vn-
E to him some other of the Turks Commanders, with a great armie set forward on his journey. Of whose comming *Cicala* hearing, the better to direct the Bassa in his proceeding, caused himselfe with ten of his souldiours whom he best trusted, secretly by night to be let downe ouer the walls of the citie. And so comming to the Bassa, together with him kept on his way to ioyne battell with the King as neere vnto the citie as he could, for that he had taken order before he came out of the citie, that so soone as they should perceiue the battell to be joyned, they should forthwith sallie out vpon the backes of the Persians, and so by holding of them with a doubtfull battell, to further the victorie. All which the Persian King, hearing of the Bassa's comming, wisely doubting, and not willing to forsake the siege, diuided his armie, and leauing one part thereof to continue the siege, went himselfe with the other to meet the Bassa:
F Wherein hee vsed such expedition and speed, that with all his power falling vpon him before he could put his men in order, or range his battell, he made of the Turkes (now confusedly and without all order fighting more for the safegard of their liues, than for any hope they had of victorie) such an exceeding great slaughter, that few of them escaped, but were there almost all slaine. *Cicala* himselfe but with two or three moe, hauing much ado by getting

Cicala Bassa with his armie ouerthrowne by the Persian King.

The Bassa of Trebezond with his armie discomfited by the Persian king.

ting from little hope, the so by passing ouer the riuer, to escape the danger. After which victorie so easily gained, the King returning againe to the siege, after many assaults and braue faults thereunto giuen, and many men on both sides lost, [illegible] his enterprise.

Now with this newes of the losse of his armies, and of the victories of the Persian king, the Turkish Emperour *Achmat* enraged, caused *Cicala Bassa* his house at Constantinople, full of treasure & wealth, to be rifled, after the manner of the world, deeming of the doings of him so great a Captaine, according to the euent and euill successe thereof, though not in his power to haue been: he died: neuertheless shortly after, he caused great summes of money to be deliuered out of his treasures, and new forces raised for the renewing of the war against the Persian King. Who which seruice (now become vnto the Turks dreadfull) when as many of the Ianizaries were to be appointed, they after their proud and insolent manner, all arising vp in mutinie, [illegible] ly, That they would not stirre one foot out of Constantinople, except they were both before hand payed, and assured also to haue their wages encreased: complaining grieuously [illegible] of the Bassa of Damasco, the Great Sultan his high Treasurer, that he conuerting the [illegible] treasures to his owne vse, did not pay the souldiers their wages due. For the appeasing of which mutinie and tumult, the Sultan caused the same Bassa to be apprehended and his head stricken off, and so with the price of his bloud againe appeased them.

The Ianizaries mutinie.

But letting the Persian King triumphing in his victories, and the Great Sultan grieuing at his losses, let vs turne aside into Siria, to see the troubles the Turkes had euen among themselues, to the weakening of their State, and the increasing [illegible] the Great Sultans cares & griefe. The two Bassa's of Damasco and Aleppo had (as is before declared) been at great discord and variance betwixt themselues, and the Bassa of Aleppo in deed ouerthrowne, and in his city besieged, glad to make peace with the other Bassa, by yeelding vnto all such things as it pleased him to demand. Which two Bassa's for all that being diuersly affected vnto the State, long agreed not, he of Damasco continuing faithfull in his allegeance towards the Great Sultan, and the other of Aleppo secretly inclining vnto rebellion. Which the Bassa of Damasco perceiuing and ioyning vnto him the Bassa's of Tripolis and Gazare, with their vnited Forces went against the Bassa of Aleppo, leading with them 60000 good men, with purpose to haue besieged the Bassa of Aleppo his enemie, in his citie. But he betimes aduertised of this his designe, and not vnprouided for his comming, quickely called together his Forces, and had in verie short time raised an armie of thirtie thousand valiant men, whom he encouraging, and finding them willing to follow him whithersoeuer he would lead them, marched directly towards his enemies; with whom he meeting, [illegible] ioyned battell with them, which was fought with such furie and hideous noise, as if it had been two thunder-claps opposing each other in one cloud, striuing of themselues, which should burst out first, being like people, like armes, and like order of fight. The medley for a great time continued sharpe and furious, the number of the one side counteruailing the valour of the other, and the others valor ballancing the others great number: howbeit in the end the lone Bassa ouercame the other three, and the smaller number the greater, and putting them to flight, remained sole victors of the field. Now the victorious Bassa, as wise to vse the victorie, as he was valiant to obtaine the same, so eagerly pursued them, that without giuing them leaue to breathe, hee besieged Tripolis, the Bassa whereof at his comming abandoned the same, and carrying with him all his treasure, fled into Cyprus; which made the taking of the place vnto the victorious Bassa easie, who rifled and ransacked the same: and not content with this conquest; forthwith besieged the great and strong citie of Damasco, resolued to die in the plaines thereof, or to become victorious within the walls of the same. During which siege, the Bassa of Tripolis had out of the prouinces and countries of the Turks thereabouts, raised another great [illegible] e, and was comming to raise the siege, and to rescue the Citie. Whereof the Bassa of Aleppo hearing, rose with the greatest part of his armie, and meeting with him, gaue him ba[illegible], and therein the second time ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Which misfortune [illegible] maied the mindes of the besieged, that despairing of all succour and reliefe, they by co[illegible] of their gouernor fell to parley with the enemies, and so vpon certaine capitulations ye[illegible] vnto him the place. Whereinto the Bassa entering, found therein great treasure, raised of t[illegible] Turkes tributes, whereupon hee seised, and by the [illegible]ues thereof resolued to make himselfe master of all Syria, the chiefe citie

The Bassa of Damasco, reuolteth and Gazare, ouerthrowne by the Bassa of Aleppo

The Bassa of Tripolis the second time ouerthrown by the Bassa of Aleppo

Damasco taken & rifled by the Bassa of Aleppo

A citie whereof he had now in his owne power: whereunto he gaue free accesse and traffique vnto all the Merchants of Persia and of the Indies.

Now in the time of this his prosperitie, newes was brought him, That the Beglerbeg of Natolia had sent his Lieutenant with a great armie against him; who knowing that diligence was the spirit of conquest, and that to conquer was to little purpose, without a vigilant care for the preseruation thereof, rested not vpon his former good fortune, but marched directly towards his enemies. Wherein his successe was answerable vnto his designe, for within the space of two dayes he had taken all the passages which might giue way vnto his enemies to distresse him: and in the streights of the mountaines, whereby the enemie was to passe, layed a great ambush of two thousand harquebusiers and three thousand horse, who the enemies
B being passed, and hee charging them a head, set vpon them in the rereward, and brought such a feare vpon them, that hauing made a great fight, in fine they hauing lost a number of men, were glad to flie, and to leaue the victorie to the Bassa. And to the encreasing of his good happes, he intercepted a Ship, cast by weather vpon that coast, laded with great treasure, bound from Alexandria to Constantinople with the tributes of Ægypt, belonging to the Great Sultan. Of all which things the Persian King aduertised, sought to ioyne with him in amitie, highly commending his valiant acts, and sending vnto him honourable Presents; to wit, a Pistoll, an Helmet, and a Targuet, all set with pretious stones, esteemed to be worth fiftie thousand Crownes. This flame of rebellion spread abroad out of Syria, into Caramania, and so farther and farther into the lesser Asia. Which
C was the cause that the Great Sultan sent with all speed vnto the Visier Bassa, then in Hungarie; commaunding him, now that Strigonium was taken, which before had hindered the concluding of peace, hee should now vpon reasonable conditions conclude the same, to the end that his affaires on this side of his Empire being set in quiet and securitie, hee might foorthwith after turne his Forces against the Persians and the Rebels in Asia.

The Beglerbeg of Natolia his Lieutenant with his Armie discomfited by the Bassa of Aleppo.

But after all these great troubles, to returne againe into Hungarie. The Rebels there had
D of long besieged the strong towne of Newhusel, as is before declared: which being hitherto valiantly defended by the German garrison therein, was now brought to such extremitie, as that it was thought almost impossible to be longer defended, the garrison souldiours thereinbeing with often assaults for the most part slaine, and the rest of them that were left, grieuously wounded. Of which strong Towne (being as it were the Key of that side of the Countrey) the Turkes which together with the Rebels besieged the same, were for the commodious scituation thereof verie desirous: and the Rebels thereunto as vnwilling, for that it being once in their hand, would hardly euer be againe from them recouered. For which cause *Illishascius* one of the Captaines of the Hungarian Rebels then at the siege thereof, perceiuing it could not long be kept, to the intent that the Turks should not by force obtaine the same, by letters requested of *Bassa* the Emperours Lieutenant, though then his enemie, That the towne might be deliuered vnto *Humanoius*, another Captaine of the Hungarian Re-
E bels, lest the Turks should by force obtaine the same: assuring him vpon the peril of his owne life, and the confiscation of all his goods to the Emperour, that vpon a reconciliation and peace to be made betwixt the Emperour and the Hungarians his subiects, he should againe deliuer the same towne and Fortresse into his possession. Whereupon by commaundement of the Archduke and of *Bassa*, the Towne was yeelded vp the seuenteenth day of the moneth of October, vnto the aforesaid *Humanoius*, and the Hungarians onely receiued into the towne; yet with this condition, That the Germane souldiours which were yet left, and who had valiantly thus long endured the siege, might still stay in the towne in pay, and keepe watch and ward together with the rest of the Hungarians, *Humanoius* hauing commaund ouer them all.

Newhusel yeelded vnto the Hungarian Rebell.

Wherefore the Turkes seeing themselues disappointed of their purpose, for the obtaining
F of this strong Towne, rising by night, and not a little discontented with the Hungarians, marched towards Strigonium, at the siege whereof the Visier *Bassa* lay. Howbeit within a few dayes after, the Hungarians not liking to haue the Germanes in garrison with them, turned them with their Captaine *Strenius* out of the Towne, and yet safely conducted them to Comara.

M

ting into a little Boat, and so by passing ouer the riuer, to escape the danger. After ... Ouen is easily gained, the King returning ... for ... hereunto giuen, and many men of ... by ... tie.

Now with this newes of the ... of his armies ... can Mehmat ... led Cicala Bassa his ... Constantinople ... to be filled ... according to ... thereof ... the leste ... treasures, and ... which ... now bee ... to ... ... power to ... ...

the same courtesie wherewith we receiued them, making stay of him, vntill that they might all three together be dismissed. And for because that his Embassage was vndertaken for the furtherance of the common good, although it wanted the wished successe, yet wee haue thought it good to giue thanks vnto your Maiestie therefore, and in most friendly manner to greet you by this your said Embassadour, whom we haue commended vnto you for that the time hee heere stayed in our Court, he so behaued himself, as hee well deserued both our and your Maiesties fauour, whereof wee will him to bee partaker. God blesse your Maiestie with all felicitie, and long to bee good treasure preserue the same.

These Embassadors with these letters thus dismissed, one of them went into Polonia, and there declared vnto the king the great loue and affection of the Persian king [illegible] offering vnto him all loue and kindnesse: first requesting him, That he would [illegible] iustice in all friendship and brotherly loue: and then, that hee would take vp [illegible] against the Turke their common enemy: promising on his Masters behalfe, That he should not lay downe armes vntill that enemie were vtterly brought to nought and destroied, so that the Christian Princes would on the other side likewise impugne him. This was a strange message, and not before heard of in Polonia, where, for all that, the messenger was courteously and bountifully entertained, and afterward with good words put in hope of obtaining what he had requested, was so honourably dismissed.

The Turks and Hungarian Rebels ioyne in the Imperiall warres.

But leauing these Embassadours vnto their long journey: to returne againe into Hungarie. A great number of the Turkes and Hungarian Rebels meeting together at Hidweg, had a purpose secretly to haue surprised and oppressed the Imperiall souldiers in their campe. Of which their purpose they in good time aduertised, and thereupon keeping good watch and ward, so receiued the Turks and Rebels at their comming, contrarie to their expectation, as that after a small fight they caused them to betake themselues to flight: whome the Imperials so hotly pursued towards Canisia, that they slew of them about a thousand, tooke about two hundred more of them prisoners, with fifteene hundred horse which they carried away with them, and so hauing left sufficient garrisons on that side of the countrey towards Canisia, returned themselues towards Vienna. In the meane time the Commissioners from the Emperor being met together at Comora, about the treatie of peace with the Turks and the Hungarians, the sixth of December receiuing letters from the Bassa of Buda, certaine of them the next day after went by water downe the riuer of Danubius to Buda: where they being honorably receiued, and hauing much and long talke with the Bassa concerning a peace, found little difficultie therein, but that the Turkes said they could not hereof determine nothing, without the presence and consent of the Hungarians. With which answer they full of hope returned backe againe to Comora, as did also *Sigismund Forgat* with the like hope of peace from *Botscay*. At which time *Botscay* beeing about to depart from the assemby of Kirpay, backe againe to Cassouia, gaue power and authoritie to *Illiashascius* for the furthering of the treatie for peace: who hauing receiued letters of safe conduct from the Archduke *Matthias*, about the end of December, together with his wife went to Vienna: who beeing admitted vnto the Archdukes presence, and hauing had an houre and halfes talke with him, and euerie day after conferred with the counsellors from eight a clocke to twelue, at length composed all difficulties and differences touching the treatie of peace, excepting fiue articles onely concerning religion, the free exercise whereof the Hungarians in any wise required; so that now men began to conceiue some good hope of a peace to be in time concluded.

The treatie of peace with the Turke and Rebels begun.

1606 This yeare thus ending with the beginning of the treatie for peace, the next yeare begun with the wonted troubles of warre, the rebellious Haiducks in Hungarie doing great harm in the vpper Hungarie, tyrannizing after their woonted manner vpon men of all sort and condition. Where giuing diuers assaults vnto diuers cities, they being valiantly repulsed, were constrayned to retire (the Polonians and Cossacks defending the same) yet did they neuertheless no little harme vnto the countrey inhabitants. Whereof complaint being made vnto the King of Polonia, he by his Embassadour sent to *Botscay* at Cassouia, obtained, that those spoiling Haiducks should be called backe againe out of these parts.

The Haiduckes do great harme in the vpper Hungarie.

Now had *Illiashascius* the negotiator for the treatie of peace to be made with the Rebels, so well

A well dealt in that matter, as that the same, in the latter end of Ianuarie should haue beene published at Vienna, but that certaine of the chiefe of the Clergie could not bee brought to consent, that the free exercise of Religion should indifferently be granted to all the people in generall, but to the Nobilitie onely. Whereupon *Illiashascius* with the rest of the Commissioners for the Hungarians, with great discontentment beeing about to returne home againe without any thing at all concluded, the deputies for the Emperour seeing that it could not bee otherwise brought to passe, at length agreed (although neuer so much contrarie to the liking of the Clergie men) to satisfie the Hungarians in this their request, and that the free exercise as well of the reformed, as of the Romish Religion, should be permitted to all men throughout all Hungarie, in such sort, as it had before beene in the time of the Emperours

B *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*. Concerning which point for the libertie of the Religion, letters were deliuered vnto *Illiashascius*; all the other points concerning the peace beeing put off vnto the next assemblie of the States of Hungarie, shortly after to bee holden at Pressbourg.

The free exercise of Religion granted to the Hungarians.

About the beginning of March the Spahi at Constantinople had requested of the Visier Bassa, That it might be lawfull for themselues to take vp their woonted pension of the farmers and husbandmen here and there in the countrey: which although it were vnto them by the Visier Bassa denied, who had commaundement from the great Sultan within a few dayes after, to giue euerie one of them his present pay in money; yet they not so contented, but going out of the Citie, presumptuously presumed to trouble the countrey men, and to doe

C the farmers great harme. For which their insolencie, the great Sultan (the chiefe Captaines and leaders of them beeing againe returned into the Citie) caused them some to be beheaded, some to be hanged, and othersome to be bound in chaines and drowned: whereby no small feare was strucke into the rest of the common souldiers. But the rebellion in Asia still encreasing, and the Rebels there secretly both fauoring and furthering the proceedings of the Persian king, the Sultan forthwith sent for the Visier Bassa, who the last yere had serued in Hungarie, to go into Asia, to represse the Rebels there, and also to withstand the proceedings of the Persian king: committing in the meane time the mannaging of the war in Hungarie vnto his Lieutenant.

The Spahi insolently oppressing the countrey people, iustly punished.

The treatie of peace both with the Turks and the Rebels, was yet in hand, whereunto how much the Turks were for their part inclined, the garrison souldiers of Rab had good proofe: for the eighteenth day of March, being the day at their request appointed for the treatie, and whereon the Commissioners on both parts there meeting together, should haue furthered the negotiation of the peace, not past fiftie of the Turkes comming to the gate of the towne, required to bee let in, as if they had come for that purpose. Whome our men nothing suspecting, were about to receiue them into the towne; when as a sentinell without the towne, it being a thicke mist, perceiued three thousand more of the Turkes lurking there by, and forthwith giuing an alarme to those of the towne, bewrayed the enemies treacherie, who thereupon retired, they of the towne discharging their great ordnance after them. The next moneth, about the beginning of Aprill, certaine messengers came from Eperia (a citie of the vpper Hungarie, yet holden for the Emperour) to Vienna, declaring the most miserable state of

E that Citie: which although the way thereunto beeing three or foure weeks before opened, it had receiued some good store of victuall, yet now (as they said) was so on euerie side by the Rebels beset, as that no prouision at all could more thereunto come: hoping by that meanes to bring to passe, that the citisens pinched with hunger and want of things necessarie, should at length yeeld themselues together with the citie into their power. By which meanes they but a little before had obtained the strong towne of Tokay: wherein the famine was so great, that the souldiers had not onely eaten their shooes and leather jerkins, but had now also kild two boyes to eat, and some others of them had cast lots among themselues, which should be kild for the other to eat. By which extreamitie *Ruber* the Gouernor of the place, was enforF ced to yeeld: vnto whom *Botscay*, who then lay at Cassouia, is said to haue offered a great sum of money, with many other good things, to haue taken his part; all which he most constantly refused, protesting euen vnto death to continue faithfull in his obedience to the Emperour.

Eperia by the Rebels distressed.

Tokay by the Rebels taken.

A being vnto them ſtrangers: reſolued now in a generall aſſemblie of the Eſtates by them about this time holden, to take vpon themſelues the defence of their country, againſt ſuch ſudden incurſions and tumults of the mutinous ſouldiers, and no more to relie vpon forreine protection, ſtill to ſeeke when they had moſt need thereof. Wherefore to aſſure themſelues in their own ſtrength, they with a generall conſent agreed to haue alwaies in readineſſe two thouſand horſmen and eight thouſand footmen, to be maintained of the common charge; fiftie of the countrey peaſants ſtill finding of one of the ſaid ſouldiers. *The inhabitants of Auſtria prouide to ſtand vpon their owne ſtrength for the defence of their owne country.*

And much about this time, *viz.* the third of Iune, *Illiſhaſcius* a great man amongſt the Rebels, and yet the greateſt furtherer of the peace, (as appeared by his doings and by that wee haue before of him written) hauing before obtained letters of ſafe conduct from the Archduke, came now againe with his wife alſo to Vienna, there more at large to conferre vpon the Articles for a peace to be concluded, with ſuch as were on the Emperours behalfe for that purpoſe deputed. Where comming to conferre and talke vpon the matter, hee was ſo croſſed by *Nicholas* Biſhop of Vienna, who hitherto had beene preſent in Counſell together with the reſt of the Commiſſioners (a great enemie vnto the peace, in reſpect of the article concerning the libertie of Religion) hee was I ſay by him ſo croſſed, as that there was no hope of any thing to bee for the common quiet concluded, ſo long as hee was there preſent. For which cauſe he, on both ſides and of all men deſirous of the peace diſliked, was in the Archdukes name willed no more to come into the Counſell for the diſturbing of the peace. In which negotiation for the concluding of the peace, *Illiſhaſcius* had taken ſuch paines in trauelling too and fro betwixt the Archduke then lying at Vienna, and *Botſcay* with the States of Hungarie then lying at Caſſouia, and ſo debated the matter on both ſides, that all things beeing as good as agreed vpon; for a full concluſion of all matters, he himſelfe, together with *George Humanoius*, *Francis Magot*, *Sebaſtian Tockell*, *Staniſlaus Turſon*, and others, with two hundred horſe, and two and thirtie waggons, in all foure hundred perſons, the ſeuenth of September came to Vienna with fiftie Huſſars following of them: Shortly after whoſe comming, the treatie for peace was earneſtly begun with often meſſengers paſſing too and fro betwixt Vienna and Caſſouia to *Botſcay* lying then verie daungerouſly ſicke, vntill that all the articles of peace were neere about the fourteenth of September fully on both parts agreed vpon: moſt difference ariſing about the article for the free exerciſe of Religion. For although it was before declared, that men might haue the free exerciſe of religion: yet the Hungarians recalling that generall word of Religion vnto a particularitie, would needes haue it ſet downe, that men might haue the free exerciſe of thoſe Religions which are at this day called the Lutheran, Caluinian, and Romiſh religion: neither would they conclude any peace vntill they were of their requeſt in that point ſatisfied. Which peace ſo concluded, the next day after, the deputies for the Hungarians ſent an embaſſador to the Viſier Baſſa at Buda, to certifie him of all their proceedings, and to requeſt him not as yet to attempt any thing for the diſturbing of the peace: now the articles whereupon the peace was concluded, were theſe: *The Biſhop of Vienna a great enemie to the peace to haue been concluded betwixt the emperor & his diſcontented ſubiects.* *A peace concluded betwixt the emperor & his diſcontented ſubiects of the vpper Hungaries.*

First, That from thenceforth it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man throughout the Kingdome of Hungarie, to haue the free vſe of his Religion, and to beleeue what he would.

2 That if the Hungarians ſo thought good, they might chuſe a Palatine for their Gouernour, and that in the meane time the Archduke Matthias *ſhould no more vſe the title of a Gouernour, but of a Vicaroy.*

3 That the crowne of Hungarie ſhould ſtill be left in the Emperours keeping.

4 That the Biſhops that were nobly diſcended in Hungarie, and had lands of their owne, ſhould from thenceforth be admitted into the Counſell, but the other Biſhops not ſo to be receiued.

5 That Botſcay *for himſelfe and his heires male ſhould for euer hold Tranſyluania.*

6 That the ſame Countrey of Tranſyluania ſhould bee ſtill ſubiect vnto the Kingdome of Hungarie.

7 That for his Armes he ſhould beare three Royall Crownes and three open Helmets.

8 That he ſhould no more afterwards ſtile himſelfe Prince, but Lord of part of the Kingdome of Hungarie.

9 That

About the ſame time *Mathias*, who had [illegible] for a little [illegible] from the ſame. ring of the peace in Hungarie, [illegible] letters from [illegible] vnto [illegible] great man at Vienna, whereby hee declared, that *Botſcay* without the conſent of the Eſtates of Hungarie could of himſelfe determine nothing concerning the concluſion of the peace: who had oft times told him to his face, that rather than they would againe ſubmit themſelues to a forreine Gouernour, they would for euer put themſelues vnder the Turkes protection: and yet promiſed by the ſame letters, that although hee had got vnto himſelfe great diſpleaſure thereby with the Haiduckes, hee would not for all that ceaſe by all meanes to draw the States at their next aſſembly vnto his part, ſo that that which was before concluded at Vienna concerning Religion, ſhould not againe be reuerſed: for many of them (as hee ſaid) were afraid that it would not be performed, which was there promiſed vnto the States concerning the exerciſe of their Religion. And that therefore they could not yet bee perſuaded to withdraw themſelues from vnder the Turkes protection, vntill they ſaw themſelues ſufficiently aſſured, both for the libertie of their Religion, and the keeping of their antient priuiledges. And that they could not, nor would not endure a forreine Gouernour to rule ouer them, with whome they could not talke; nor yet ſuffer the Clergie men to haue any voyces in their ciuill affaires. And therefore (hee ſaid) hee thought it verie neceſſarie that the Emperor ſhould not doubt in this point to gratifie the Hungarians. And that Tranſyluania, whereupon hee had beene hitherto enforced to beſtow ſo great coſt for the keeping thereof, beeing now left vnto *Botſcay*, hee ſhould appoint ſuch a Gouernour ouer Hungarie as the States of that countrey ſhould require. For that there was no hope of any peace to be made with the Turkes, except *Botſcay* and the States of Hungarie ſhould vndertake the treatie thereof; ſeeing that they but onely ſeeking for a peace in ſhew, were oftentimes diſcouered but to ſeeke for their owne aduantages and profits.

Illiſhaſcius vngratefull vſed by the Hungarians.

But concerning *Illiſhaſcius* himſelfe, the Hungarian Rebels ſeeing him ſo much to labour about the concluding of a peace, in ſcorne called him by the by-name of *Cripeliſhacius*, as hee that too much enclined vnto the Germans: which by-name he tooke in ſo ill part, as that hee departed ſtraight to Eperia, with a purpoſe not to haue beene preſent at the next aſſemblie of the States: but beeing againe pacified, and by *Botſcay* called backe, hee made ſuch a notable ſpeech vnto the States in their next aſſemblie, that all men now began both to hope and wiſh more for peace than they had before done.

In the meane time the Turkes in great number beeing gathered together to Belgrade, expected the end of this treatie for peace: and letters from the great Sultan to *Botſcay* were intercepted alſo: whereby hee aduiſeth him to proceed in his purpoſe, and joyning with his powers, to ſeize vpon Auſtria, Bohemia, and Morauia; for that hee could be contented with Hungarie and Tranſyluania, and leaue the reſt of the Prouinces vnto *Botſcay* as his inheritance.

The Haiduckes incited againſt the Turkes and Turkes, truſt neither of them

The Tartars about this time were about to make a road into Polonia; but when as they with their oft incurſions had not a little troubled the Haiduckes alſo in the vpper Hungarie, they reſolued amongſt themſelues to ioyne their forces together, and to fight as well againſt the Turkes as the Tartars, and from thenceforth neither to truſt the one nor the other.

Hereupon, when as the Turkes in great number came to aſſault Lippa, a towne of the Haiduckes, they forſaking the towne, fortified the caſtle with certaine companies of armed men, and afterwards beſtowed many others heere and there in caues and cellars in the towne, and layed great ſtore of gunpouder in the ſtreets. Vnto which towne the Turkes comming, and finding the gates open, and none to reſiſt them, haſted to haue taken the Caſtle. But in the meane time, the powder which the Haiduckes had layed taking fire, blew vp a number of them, and they which lay hid in the caues and cellars forthwith breaking out, ſlew of them whomſoeuer they met, and ſo made of the Turkes a great ſlaughter, and againe cleered the towne.

The Eſtates of Auſtria conſidering the great harmes they had in theſe late troubles receiued, as well from the Hungarian Rebels, as from the Emperors mutinous ſouldiers; and by experience taught how dangerous a thing it was for them to reſt vpon other mens protection, being

A taine faire pieces of plate, an hundred thousand duckets, with diuers other things of great valuc.

But whilest they there stayed, expecting to heare from the Vifier Bassa then at Buda, a sudden insolent accident fell out, like enough to haue broken off againe the peace, alreadie made with the Hungarians, as also to haue vtterly cut off the treatie of peace to be had with the Turks, and to haue set them all together by the eares againe. For albeit that the first article of the peace made with the Hungarians, was, That euery man should haue the free exercise of his Religion; yet the eighth day of October, about three of the clocke in the afternoon, when as a certaine Hungarian Lutheran Preacher was in the pulpit preaching to the people in a Church, in the suburbs of Comora, *Buchem* and *Kneuie*, two Captaines, comming from dinner with certaine of their seruants more than halfe drunke, with their swords drawn rusht into the Church, and draue out thence the Preacher, vpon whom Captaine *Buchem* his Trumpetter also discharged a pistoll, and raised such a tumult in the Church, that diuers children were troden to death vnder foot, and the rest put in great feare of their liues.

The Peace alreadie concluded with the Hungarians, like enough to haue again bin broken off throw the insolencie of some few disordered persons.

B

Which insolent fact so mooued the Hungarians, that *Turson* and *Buaian*, there present with the rest of the Commissioners, readie to haue gone about the treatie of the peace, would needs the next day haue departed from Comora, and were hardly by *Mollart* and *Collonitz* entreated to stay; *Buchem* and *Kneuie* the two Captaines being bound to their appearance for the answering of the mater, and the trumpetter with yrons on his heeles clapt in prison. But the newes hereof being carried to Neuhusel, and (as the manner of report is) by fame made far

C greater than it was, as, That an hundred and fiftie persons was slaine in the Church, there arose such a tumult among the Hungarians there, as that *Illishaschius* with the rest of the Captaines had much ado to quiet and appease the same: who joyning with the Turks of Strigonium, and the Haiducks of the Island, had determined now by night to haue inuaded Comora, where the outrage was committed, had not *Pogranie* the elder (a man of great grauitie) comming from thence, declared vnto *Illishaschius* and the rest of the Captaines, all the matter as it was done; vpon whose relation the whole tumult was againe appeased. But for as much as the two aforesaid Captaines, bound to their appearance, were by night fled from Comora to Vienna, the Hungarians were verie earnest to haue them seuerely punished, as breakers of the first article of the Peace, concerning Religion. *Botscay* in the meane time beheaded *Catayus*

Botscay causeth his Chancellour to be beheaded.

D his Chancellor, who had gone about to haue poysoned him, in hope after his death to haue been Prince of Transyluania himselfe; placing *Iohn Ianosy* in his stead, and giuing him *Catay* his lands.

Peace now made with the Hungarians (as is afore said) and Commissioners appointed for a treatie of peace to be had with the Turks also, (whereunto the Vifier Bassa, then lying at Buda, was as forward as any, being so commanded from the Great Sultan his Master) there wanted but a place commodious for the said Commissioners, without suspition of danger, and indifferent for them all to meet in. Whereupon *Cæsar Gallen* a man of great experience in such matters, with some other Captaines, were appointed to finde out some such conuenient place for them to meet in: who hauing viewed many, at length made choice of one with-

E in halfe a league of Comora, so fit for that purpose, as if nature had prouided it for the same. The great riuer of Danubius being there diuided into three parts, made therein three Islands, all compassed round with the arms thereof, into which Islands the Commissioners for the Emperour, for the Turke, and for the Hungarians, might come without let one of another, to entreat of their affaires, and so in little boats prepared for that purpose, passe ouer one to another as their occasions required. Into this place, so commodious for all three parties, the Deputies for the Emperour the fiue and twentieth day of October, conducted by the horsemen of *Mansfeld*, *Hohenlo*, and *Bonchimin*. After whom followed *Illishaschius*, and the other Deputies for the Hungarians, assisted with the nobilitie of Hungarie, all attending the comming of the Great Sultans Commissioners; who likewise immediatly after came, being brought vp the riuer in

The Commissioners for the emperour, the Turke, and the Hungarians, meet together to entreat of a peace.

F foure and twentie braue ships well appointed.

These Commissioners being thus apart arriued in the Islands, began first to consult by themselues euerie one, of their seueral affaires and businesses, and afterwards many times meeting together, with much grauitie consulted and conferred of the best wayes and meanes for the

A great fire at Constantinople.

The Turkes seeking to surprise others, themselues surprised

The Commissioners for the emperor, to intreat of peace with the Turke come to Presburg.

hitherto time [illegible] renna to keepe the same [illegible]

[illegible] renna, who in short time [illegible] these articles.

[illegible] Hungarie, should be referred vntil [illegible]

[illegible] should be publiquely confir[illegible]

[illegible] their Embassadors [illegible]

[illegible] these articles.

[illegible] articles were on the Emperours part subscribed by *Trauſam*, *Mollart*, &c. [illegible] *Prawer*, *Lechtenstren* and *Krenberge*: and on the part of the Hungarians, by *Illiſhaſium*, *Peter Erdna Gregor* [illegible] *urja*, and *Sigiſmunda Forgat*, and others.

The twentieth of September following, the Embassador for the Hungarians and of *Bat*[illegible] being admitted vnto the presence of the Archduke *Matthias*, obtained of him [illegible] for the forenamed rebellion, and all that was there [illegible]ne: vnto whome fecurtie for the same was afterward giuen by the Prouinces; then [illegible], also to assure them, that they should not be therefore afterwards troubled. But yet for all that was before done, the title of the Prince of Transyluania was left vnto *Botscay* for terme of his life: who feeling his neancie sayly to encrease, would oftentimes say, That hee could willingly die, so that it might please God before his death, to giue him leaue to excuse himselfe of his rebellion before the whole Romane Empire. And so about the end of September all the aforesaid Embassadours for the Hungarians and *Botscay*, beeing assembled into the Castle of Vienna, together with the Emperours Councell, and certaine other Noblemen of the Prouinces belonging vnto the Emperour, receiued euerie one of them the Articles of the peace copied out, and faire written in parchment: which done, they returned euerie one to his owne dwelling. But *Illishaschius* went from thence to Neuhusel, to be present at the peace to bee afterwards made with the Turke also: from whence hee afterwards writ Letters vnto the Vifier Bassa, to request him, not yet to attempt any thing against the Emperours Prouinces, but peaceably and quietly to expect his Commissioners, which were shortly to come vnto him.

But in the meane time whilest this peace was thus in concluding, certaine Tartars at Constantinople, in their insolencie set fire vpon a certaine Iewes house, whereof arose such a terrible fire, as burnt not only many houses, but a great number of the Iewes themselues also: the harme there done beeing esteemed at fortie hundred thousand duckats. In which tumult and noise of the people running too and fro, and quenching of the fire, the great Sultan hauing a fall from his horse, was thereof for a while sicke.

The Turks of Canisia also hauing conspired with the Captaine of the lesser Comora, came to haue surprised the same. But the garrison souldiers there, hauing before had a suspition thereof, suffered so many of the Turkes as they knew they were able to ouercome, to enter; and so shutting the gates of the Citie, kild them euerie mothers sonne, the rest which were without, returning againe to Canisia.

Peace thus (as is aforesaid) concluded with the Hungarians, *George Turſon*, *Nicholas Iſtuan*, *Iohn Mollart*, and *Althem*, with some others, the Emperours Commissioners for a peace to be made with the Turkes, went to Comora; *Sigiſmund Collonitz* and *Budin* following, them with the armie, for as yet the said Commissioners durst not altogether trust the Turkes for intercepting of them by the way. Which Commissioners carried with them *Solyman* the Bassa of Buda, who had now beene seuen yeares kept prisoner in the Castle of Vienna, and *Aly Bassa*, both brauely apparelled in blew silke; six waggons following of them, wherein were carried certaine presents for the great Sultan, to wit, a most curious clocke, certaine

the making of a good and assured peace for the ... them and all together, ... nineteenth of ... ded, and hostages on all sides given one to another, with ... sides given and received, for ... Whereupon the said peace was concluded, being these:

First That the Emperor and the Great Sultan ... Embassages, should not title themselues ... other and vnto one another the Emperor calling the ... Emperour (in regard of his years) his Father.

That in the beginning of their Letters they should ... and not of King, reputing one of them to another.

That these two Emperors should take order that the ... Austria, might be in all ... and ... and ... peace,

That it should be lawfull for the King of ... peace, without the ... of the other of ...

That the Tartars, and all other people ... prised within the ... the realme of Hungarie, and ... from their ...

That euery one hath on the one part and on the other ... leagues, and enterprises of war, and from all ... of hostilities one against another, ... nathelesse to haue power to pursue ... and robbers, and ... keeping of the peace and ... knowledge, to the Turkes by common force to suppresse them, and to cause them ... and harmes by them done.

That all places, Castles, Townes, and Forts, should remaine without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by force, surprise, or treason, and so likewise the goods, families, and cattell of the country-men, which were of their territories and jurisdiction, Bocskay still holding all that was lately to him granted by the treatie of Vienna.

That all prisoners taken in the wars should be set at libertie, but especially such as had been taken in Townes and Citadels, which by their valour and courage they sought to haue defended; and the other prisoners to be deliuered by exchange and ransome, as should be most expedient and easie for both parties.

That all controuersies happening as well on this side as beyond the riuer of Danubius, should be peaceably ended by the iudgement of the Gouernor of Rab, of the Bassa of Buda, of the Gouernour of Sclauonia, and of the Gouernors of other places; and that if they should chance to be of such important weight and consequence, as that they could not by these Magistrats be determined and composed, that they should in that case be reserued to be decided by their Imperial Majesties: and that it should be lawfull both for the one partie and the other to repaire and build the places ruined, but not to build places of new, which might preiudice either the one part or the other.

That Amurath *the Visier Bassa should send his messengers with Presents to the Archduke* Matthias, *and that the Emperor should dispatch an Embassador toward the Great Sultan with* 200000 *Duckets, and that the Great Sultan likewise should send his Embassador to Prague with great and rich Presents to the Emperor.*

That this peace should begin in the yeare 1607, *and continue for the space of twentie yeares, and that one of the Emperors should send vnto the other euery three yeares their Embassadors with their honorable and rich Presents, according to the pleasure and power of their Majesties.*

That all the Emperors successors, as also those of the Kingdome of Hungarie, should be comprehended within this agreement of peace, together with all their kinsemen, allyes, and confederats, as likewise those of the Great Sultans also.

That the Christians should againe haue the Citie of Vacia, which they should at their pleasure keepe and fortifie, and ... Strigonium, with all the Villages thereto belonging, should remaine vnto

vnto the Great Sultan; yet so, as that no man should be with any new tribute oppressed; and that such as had before been free from paying of tribute, should still keepe the same priuiledges.

And that the Turkes should not exact their tributes by the point of their swords, but by the way of Iustice, which they should commit vnto the discretion of Iudges and Receiuers, to that end appointed, that so it might be payed without oppressing of the people, except haply they which should pay it, vpon presumption should denie it, or too long deferre the payment of it: in which case it should be lawfull both for the one side and the other, to vse such meanes as should seeme vnto them good for the obtaining thereof.

These are the Articles of this Peace, which God turne to the glorie of his Name, and the benefit of the Christian Commonweale; and for which all the Townes of Hungarie made great joy and triumph, which they declared by the thundering of their Cannons, which they in great number discharged, with many other solemnities and triumphs. The Commissioners themselues in token of their conceiued joy, magnificently feasted one another also: which the Turks first began; and not content to haue made them great cheere, gaue vnto our Commissioners great Presents also: for the Bassa of Buda gaue vnto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turson*, *Istuan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoc*, *Cæsar Gallen*, and *Eleschin*, braue and couragious horses most gallantly furnished; and to the rest exceeding rich garments and tapestrie hangings of great value. And as at the time of this feast, the troupe of *Mansfeld* had by many sallies and vollies of shot giuen great pleasure vnto the Turks as they sate at the table; *Alla Bassa* to declare the contentment and pleasure he had therein receiued, sent to the captaine of this troupe two hundred duckets, which he would not accept, requesting in stead of them to haue deliuered vnto him a certaine captaine by the Turks then kept prisoner; whom the Bassa caused freely to be deliuered vnto him, and withall sent backe againe the two hundred duckets to be diuided among the souldiours; which for all that *Mansfeld* refused, sending them backe againe vnto the Bassa. After which actions of joy and peace, euery man returned home well content and pleased.

Great joy and triumph in Hungarie for the peace concluded with the Turke.

These things thus done, and the peace confirmed, the Bassa of Buda forthwith sent his Embassadors to Constantinople, certifying the Great Sultan of the peace now made with the Christians; who thereof conceiuing great joy, with a number of Ianizaries and others, in great magnificence went to the Church, to giue thanks therefore vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and spent the next day with great sport and pleasure, purposing from thenceforth to turne all his force and power for the suppressing of his Rebels in Asia, and the subduing of the Persian King.

The Great Sultan giueth thanks to his Prophet Mahomet, for the peace concluded with the Christians.

Now albeit that there was a peace of late concluded with the Hungarians at Vienna (as is before declared) yet diuers stirres and Tumults were neuertheless by the Haiducks in diuers places of the vpper Hungarie still raised: insomuch that about the end of Nouember the Inhabitants of the Countie of Bocotsie were through their insolencies enforced to joyne battel with them, wherein a number were on both sides slaine, and three countrey villages burnt: so that it should seeme, no peace can be so well and indifferently made, but that some will be still troubling and impugning the same.

The Haiduckes begin new stirs in Hungarie.

Shortly after, *viz.* the thirteenth of December, *Botskay* calling together an assembly of the Estates of Hungarie, propounded to them to be considered of, first, That the late reuolt, almost generally made throughout all Hungarie, with all the stirres and troubles thereby raised, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their religion, and the maintenance of their antient Libertie: Then, That whereas they by their general good liking had made choice of him for their Prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and consent; and that euen now at this present hee was by their consent readie to depart from the Castles and free Cities in the vpper Hungarie; and had now sent his Letters vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the sending of his Deputies to receiue them; whether hee should from thenceforth relinquish the title of a Prince, or not. And that for as much as no warre could be made without great harme doing, that hee would therefore for the auoyding of further troubles about such matters, that a Decree should be made, That all such wrongs and iniuries should be forgiuen and forgotten, and that euery man should still hold all such goods

Botskay calleth an assemblie of the States of Hungarie, and instructeth them what to doe at their next generall assembly.

the making of a good and assured peace for the appeasing of these wars: which euery one of them and all together, to that end employing the vttermost of their endeauours, at last the nineteenth of Nouember it was betwixt all the three parties fully agreed vpon and concluded, and hostages on all parts giuen one to another, with oathes and promises solemnly on all sides giuen and receiued, for the inuiolate keeping and obseruing of the same; the articles whereupon the said peace was concluded being these:

A peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the great Sultan.

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan.

First, That the Emperor and the Great Sultan, in all their Letters, Dispatches, Instruments, and Embassages, should not stile themselues by any other names or additions, but by the names of Welbeloued Father and Sonne; to wit, the Emperour calling the Great Sultan his Sonne; and the Great Sultan the Emperour (in respect of his yeares) his Father.

That in the beginning of their Letters they should take vpon them the name and quality of Emperor, and not of King, respectiuely one of them another.

That these two Emperors should take order, that the realme of Hungarie and the Archdukedome of Austria, might be in rest, peace, and tranquilitie, and altogether deliuered and assured from all incursions, oppressions, and outrages of the men of war on both parties.

That it should be lawfull for the King of Spaine, if he so thought good, to enter into this treatie of peace, without the opposition or let of one or of the other of both these Emperors in any sort.

That the Tartars, and all other people vsually wont to come in armes into Hungarie, should be comprised within this treatie of the peace, so to be disarmed of all power by their meanes to do harme within the realme of Hungarie, and they there assured from their violences and robberies.

That euery one both on the one part and on the other, should be sure from making incursions and pillages, and enterprises of war, and from all acts of hostility one against another; and yet euery one neuertheless to haue power to pursue theeues and robbers, and such others seeking after bootie, to the disturbing of the peace, and iniurying of the Commonweale: whereof euery man should haue power to giue knowledge, to the intent by common force to suppresse them, and to cause them to recompence the wrongs and harmes by them done.

That all places, Castles, Townes, and Forts, should remaine without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by force, surprise, or treason, and so likewise the goods, families, and cattel of the countrey-men, which were of their territories and jurisdiction, Botscay *still holding all that was lately to him granted by the treatie of Vienna.*

That all prisoners taken in the wars should be set at libertie, but especially such as had been taken in Townes and Citadels, which by their valour and courage they sought to haue defended; and the other prisoners to be deliuered by exchange and ransome, as should be most expedient and easie for both parties.

That all controuersies happening as well on this side as beyond the riuer of Danubius, should be peaceably ended by the iudgement of the Gouernor of Rab, of the Bassa of Buda, of the Gouernour of Sclauonia, and of the Gouernors of other places; and that if they should chance to be of such important weight and consequence, as that they could not by these Magistrats be determined and composed, that they should in that case be reserued to be decided by their Imperial Majesties: and that it should be lawfull both for the one partie and the other to repaire and build the places ruined, but not to build places of new, which might preiudice either the one part or the other.

That Amurath *the Visier Bassa should send his messengers with Presents to the Archduke* Matthias, *and that the Emperor should dispatch an Embassador toward the Great Sultan with* 200000 *Duckets, and that the Great Sultan likewise should send his Embassador to Prague with great and rich Presents to the Emperor.*

That this peace should begin in the yeare 1607, *and continue for the space of twentie yeares, and that one of the Emperors should send vnto the other euery three yeares their Embassadors with their honorable and rich Presents, according to the pleasure and power of their Majesties.*

That all the Emperors successors, as also those of the Kingdome of Hungarie, should be comprehended within this agreement of peace, together with all their kinsemen, allyes, and confederats, as likewise those of the Great Sultans also.

That the Christians should againe haue the Citie of Vacia, which they should at their pleasure keepe and fortifie, and Strigonium, *with all the Villages thereto belonging, should remaine vnto*

vnto the Great Sultan; yet so, as that no man should be with any new tribute oppressed; and that such as had before been free from paying of tribute, should still keepe the same priuiledges.

And that the Turkes should not exact their tributes by the point of their swords, but by the way of Iustice, which they should commit vnto the discretion of Iudges and Receiuers, that end appointed, that so it might be payed without oppressing of the people, except haply they which should pay it, vpon presumption should denie it, or too long deferre the payment of it: in which case it should be lawfull both for the one side and the other, to vse such meanes as should seeme vnto them good for the obtaining thereof.

Great ioy and triumph in Hungarie for the peace concluded with the Turke.

These are the Articles of this Peace, which God turne to the glorie of his Name, and the benefit of the Christian Commonweale; and for which all the Townes of Hungarie made great ioy and triumph, which they declared by the thundering of their Cannons, which they in great number discharged, with many other solemnities and triumphs. The Commissioners themselues in token of their conceiued joy, magnificently feasted one another also: which the Turks first began; and not content to haue made them great cheere, gaue vnto our Commissioners great Presents also: for the Bassa of Buda gaue vnto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turson*, *Istnan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoc*, *Cæsar Gallen*, and *Eleschin*, braue and couragious horses most gallantly furnished; and to the rest exceeding rich garments and tapestrie hangings of great value. And as at the time of this feast, the troupe of *Mansfeld* had by many sallies and vollies of shot giuen great pleasure vnto the Turks as they sate at the table; *Alla Bassa* to declare the contentment and pleasure he had therein receiued, sent to the captaine of this troupe two hundred duckets, which he would not accept, requesting in stead of them to haue deliuered vnto him a certaine captaine by the Turks then kept prisoner; whom the Bassa caused freely to be deliuered vnto him, and withall sent backe againe the two hundred duckets to be diuided among the souldiours; which for all that *Mansfeld* refused, sending them backe againe vnto the Bassa. After which actions of joy and peace, euery man returned home well content and pleased.

The Great Sultan giueth thanks to his Prophet Mahomet, for the peace concluded with the Christians.

These things thus done, and the peace confirmed, the Bassa of Buda forthwith sent his Embassadors to Constantinople, certifying the Great Sultan of the peace now made with the Christians; who thereof conceiuing great joy, with a number of Ianizaries and others, in great magnificence went to the Church, to giue thanks therefore vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and spent the next day with great sport and pleasure, purposing from thenceforth to turne all his force and power for the suppressing of his Rebels in Asia, and the subduing of the Persian King.

The Haiduckes begin new stirs in Hungarie.

Now albeit that there was a peace of late concluded with the Hungarians at Vienna (as is before declared) yet diuers stirres and Tumults were neuertheless by the Haiducks in diuers places of the vpper Hungarie still raised: insomuch that about the end of Nouember the Inhabitants of the Countie of Bocotsie were through their insolencies enforced to joyne battel with them, wherein a number were on both sides slaine, and three countrey villages burnt: so that it should seeme, no peace can be so well and indifferently made, but that some will be still troubling and impugning the same.

Botscay calleth an assemblie of the States of Hungarie, and instructeth them what to doe at their next generall assembly.

Shortly after, *viz.* the thirteenth of December, *Botscay* calling together an assembly of the Estates of Hungarie, propounded to them to be considered of, first, That the late reuolt, almost generally made throughout all Hungarie, with all the stirres and troubles thereby raised, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their religion, and the maintenance of their antient Libertie: Then, That whereas they by their general good liking had made choice of him for their Prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and consent; and that euen now at this present hee was by their consent readie to depart from the Castles and free Cities in the vpper Hungarie; and had now sent his Letters vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the sending of his Deputies to receiue them; whether hee should from thenceforth relinquish the title of a Prince, or not. And that for as much as no warre could be made without great harme doing, that hee would therefore for the auoyding of further troubles about such matters, that a Decree should be made, That all such wrongs and iniuries should be forgiuen and forgotten, and that euery man should still hold all such goods

the making of a good and assured peace for the appeasing of these wars: which euery one of them and all together, to that end employing the vttermost of their endeauours, at last the nineteenth of Nouember it was betwixt all the three parties fully agreed vpon and concluded, and hostages on all parts giuen one to another, with oathes and promises solemnly on all sides giuen and receiued, for the inuiolate keeping and obseruing of the same; the articles whereupon the said peace was concluded being these:

A peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the great Sultan.

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan.

First, That the Emperor and the Great Sultan, in all their Letters, Dispatches, Instruments, and Embassages, should not stile themselues by any other names or additions, but by the names of Welbeloued Father and Sonne; to wit, the Emperour calling the Great Sultan his Sonne; and the Great Sultan the Emperour (in respect of his yeares) his Father.

That in the beginning of their Letters they should take vpon them the name and quality of Emperor, and not of King, respectiuely one of them to another.

That these two Emperors should take order, that the realme of Hungarie and the Archdukedome of Austria, might be in rest, peace, and tranquilitie, and altogether deliuered and assured from all incursions, oppressions, and outrages of the men of war on both parties.

That it should be lawfull for the King of Spaine, if he so thought good, to enter into this treatie of peace, without the opposition or let of one or of the other of both these Emperors in any sort.

That the Tartars, and all other people vsually went to come in armes into Hungarie, should be comprised within this treatie of the peace, so to be disarmed of all power by their meanes to do harme within the realme of Hungarie, and they there assured from their violences and robberies.

That euery one both on the one part and on the other, should forbeare from making incursions and pillages, and enterprises of war, and from all acts of hostility one against another; and yet euery one neuertheless to haue power to pursue theeues and robbers, and such others seeking after bootie, to the disturbing of the peace, and iniurying of the Commonweale: whereof euery man should haue power to giue knowledge, to the intent by common force to suppresse them, and to cause them to recompence the wrongs and harmes by them done.

That all places, Castles, Townes, and Forts, should remaine without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by force, surprise, or treason, and so likewise the goods, families, and cattel of the country-men, which were of their territories and jurisdiction; Botscay *still holding all that was lately to him granted by the treatie of Vienna.*

That all prisoners taken in the wars should be set at libertie, but especially such as had been taken in Townes and Citadels, which by their valour and courage they sought to haue defended; and the other prisoners to be deliuered by exchange and ransome, as should be most expedient and easie for both parties.

That all controuersies happening as well on this side as beyond the riuer of Danubius, should be peaceably ended by the iudgement of the Gouernor of Rab, of the Bassa of Buda, of the Gouernour of Sclauonia, and of the Gouernors of other places; and that if they should chance to be of such important weight and consequence, as that they could not by these Magistrats be determined and composed, that they should in that case be reserued to be decided by their Imperial Majesties: and that it should be lawfull both for the one partie and the other to repaire and build the places ruined, but not to build places of new, which might preiudice either the one part or the other.

That Amurath *the Visier Bassa should send his messengers with Presents to the Archduke* Matthias, *and that the Emperor should dispatch an Embassador toward the Great Sultan with* 200000 *Duckets, and that the Great Sultan likewise should send his Embassador to Prague with great and rich Presents to the Emperor.*

That this peace should begin in the yeare 1607, *and continue for the space of twentie yeares, and that one of the Emperors should send vnto the other euery three yeares their Embassadors with their honorable and rich Presents, according to the pleasure and power of their Majesties.*

That all the Emperors successors, as also those of the Kingdome of Hungarie, should be comprehended within this agreement of peace, together with all their kinsemen, allyes, and confederats, as likewise those of the Great Sultans also.

That the Christians should againe haue the Citie of Vacia, which they should at their pleasure keepe and fortifie, and [illegible] *Strigonium, with all the Villages thereto belonging, should remaine vnto*

vnto the Great Sultan; yet so, as that no man should be with any new tribute oppressed; and that such as had before been free from paying of tribute, should still keepe the same priuiledges.

And that the Turkes should not exact their tributes by the point of their swords, but by the way of Iustice, which they should commit vnto the discretion of Iudges and Receiuers, to that end appointed, that so it might be payed without oppressing of the people, except haply they which should pay it, vpon presumption should denie it, or too long deferre the payment of it: in which case it should be lawfull both for the one side and the other, to vse such meanes as should seeme vnto them good for the obtaining thereof.

These are the Articles of this Peace, which God turne to the glorie of his Name, and the benefit of the Christian Commonweale; and for which all the Townes of Hungarie made great joy and triumph, which they declared by the thundering of their Cannons, which they in great number discharged, with many other solemnities and triumphs. The Commissioners themselues in token of their conceiued joy, magnificently feasted one another also: which the Turks first began; and not content to haue made them great cheere, gaue vnto our Commissioners great Presents also: for the Bassa of Buda gaue vnto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turson*, *Istnan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoc*, *Cæsar Gallen*, and *Eleschin*, braue and couragious horses most gallantly furnished; and to the rest exceeding rich garments and tapestrie hangings of great value. And as at the time of this feast, the troupe of *Mansfeld* had by many sallies and vollies of shot giuen great pleasure vnto the Turks as they sate at the table; *Alla Bassa* to declare the contentment and pleasure he had therein receiued, sent to the captaine of this troupe two hundred duckets, which he would not accept, requesting in stead of them to haue deliuered vnto him a certaine captaine by the Turks then kept prisoner; whom the Bassa caused freely to be deliuered vnto him, and withall sent backe againe the two hundred duckets to be diuided among the souldiours; which for all that *Mansfeld* refused, sending them backe againe vnto the Bassa. After which actions of joy and peace, euery man returned home well content and pleased.

Great joy and triumph in Hungarie for the peace concluded with the Turke.

These things thus done, and the peace confirmed, the Bassa of Buda forthwith sent his Embassadors to Constantinople, certifying the Great Sultan of the peace now made with the Christians; who thereof conceiuing great joy, with a number of Ianizaries and others, in great magnificence went to the Church, to giue thanks therefore vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and spent the next day with great sport and pleasure, purposing from thenceforth to turne all his force and power for the suppressing of his Rebels in Asia, and the subduing of the Persian King.

The Great Sultan gineth thanks to his Prophet Mahomet, for the peace concluded with the Christians.

Now albeit that there was a peace of late concluded with the Hungarians at Vienna (as is before declared) yet diuers stirres and Tumults were neuertheless by the Haiducks in diuers places of the vpper Hungarie still raised: insomuch that about the end of Nouember the Inhabitants of the Countie of Bocotsie were through their insolencies enforced to joyne battel with them, wherein a number were on both sides slaine, and three countrey villages burnt: so that it should seeme, no peace can be so well and indifferently made, but that some will be still troubling and impugning the same.

The Haiduckes begin new stirs in Hungarie.

Shortly after, *viz.* the thirteenth of December, *Botscay* calling together an assembly of the Estates of Hungarie, propounded to them to be considered of, first, That the late reuolt, almost generally made throughout all Hungarie, with all the stirres and troubles thereby raised, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their religion, and the maintenance of their antient Libertie: Then, That whereas they by their general good liking had made choice of him for their Prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and consent; and that euen now at this present hee was by their consent readie to depart from the Castles and free Cities in the vpper Hungarie; and had now sent his Letters vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the sending of his Deputies to receiue them; whether hee should from thenceforth relinquish the title of a Prince, or not. And that for as much as no warre could be made without great harme doing, that hee would therefore for the auoyding of further troubles about such matters, that a Decree should be made, That all such wrongs and iniuries should be forgiuen and forgotten, and that euery man should still hold all such goods

Botscay calleth an assemblie of the States of Hungarie, and instructeth the what to doe at their next generall assembly.

goods, whether they were moueable or immoueable, during the time of this late war. He G
wished them also in the next general assemblie of the States, with all their power and endeauor, to vrge the repealing of the Article concerning the burning of Heretiques, with all other Articles contrarie to their Religion: and not to remit any thing concerning the choice of their Palatine as had in former time been vsed: neither in this next general assemblie of the Estates to neglect any thing which might seeme to concern their priuiledges and libertie. And that therefore they should be carefull to send thither wise and powerfull men, such as should not easily be ouercome with the clamors and outcries of the contrarie part. At length he wished them to consider of this also, how a true and sincere confederation might be made betwixt Hungary and Transiluania, so that a safe and quiet traffique and commerce might in both places be vsed. H

Botscay dieth at Cassouia.

These things thus done, *Botscay* his sickneſſe still more and more encreasing vpon him, so at length preuailed, that it made an end of him, to the great sorrow and griefe of all the people in general, who had him in great honour and regard. He died at Cassouia the 30 of December, in the yeare 1606. He was honorably discended, and a man of great spirit, ambitious, wise, and politique, a great louer of his countrey, but an extreme enemie vnto the Germans, and their gouernment in Hungarie.

A little before his death, he earnestly perſuaded *Iohn Iannſie* his Chancellor to continue in his allegeance to the Emperor, and not to raise new stirres, or so much as in him was, not to suffer any to be raised. Neuertheleſſe, such his wholesome counsell not regarded, there were some who immediatly after his death were about to haue raised new forces, for to haue seised vpon Transyluania, and so to haue stirred vp new trouble. For preuenting whereof, *Matthias* I the Archduke forthwith sent a messenger vnto the States of the vpper Hungary; aduising them, That the great harmes and miseries considered which that part of Hungarie had of late felt end endured, almost to the vtter ruine and destruction thereof (which proceeded not so much from the wars with the Turks, as from their owne ciuile tumults and seditions) they should from thenceforth giue themselues to quietneſſe and peace, and not againe insolently to prescribe vnto the Emperor what to do, or how he was to dispose of the countrey of Transyluania; assuring them, that the Emperour would not hereafter winke at such their rebellious plots and deuices, but forthwith turne all his power and forces to the vtter destruction and rooting out of such rebellious and seditious persons, the disturbers of the common peace and K quiet. By which the Archdukes words, some, otherwise readie enough to haue raised new stirres and troubles, were not therein so forward as otherwise haply they would haue bin, but kept themselues quiet.

The Emperour not to be blamed for making peace with the Turke.

Now many there were (and yet are) which much maruelled, that the Christian Emperour would thus make peace with the Great Sultan (as is aforesaid) he being then so much troubled with wars, both against his owne Rebels, and the Persian King, in Asia, most part of his forces being turned that way; so that a fitter time, or of more aduantage, could not haue beene wished for the Emperor to haue done great matters against him in, and not onely to haue holden his owne (which he did not) in Hungarie, but to haue recouered some good part of his losses there before receiued also. And indeed true it is, that the time then well serued for both: L
but what auaileth opportunitie without power? And had the Hungarians (the greatest strength the Emperour hath hitherto had for the defence of that little which is yet left of that so great a kingdome) been at quiet and at his command, and he himselfe a Prince which had rested vpon his owne strength and power, euer at his pleasure to haue been raised, and as need should require supplied, without depending vpon his friends and allyes, then haply it might haue bin in him accounted a great ouersight, to haue omitted and ouerslipped so faire an opportunitie. But the Hungarians being then not only reuolted from him, but taking part with the Turks, and the Turks with them, and he of himselfe with his owne power not able to hold the field against them, or well to maintaine a defensiue warre; and his friends and allyes, his wonted and greatest stayes, then at his greatest need failing of him also, what should he in such M
a case do but as he did? to accept of a reasonable peace whilest he might haue it; especially against such an enemie, as whose whole power being turned against him, might haue easily endangered his whole estate. For it is not reasonably to be thought, how the Emperour should of

A of himselfe, without the great aid of the other Christian Princes, his friends and allies, be able to withstand the huge and dreadfull power of the *Othoman* Emperour: (without ominous presage be it spoken) it is to be feared it will too true appeare, whensoeuer his wars and troubles in the East being ended, he shall againe turne his forces this way toward the West.

Now *Botscay* was no sooner dead, but that some others of the Nobilitie both of Hungarie 1607
and Transyluania (happily no lesse ambitious than was he) began by diuers means to seeke after and to aspire to that principalitie. Of whom, though some either with the weakneſſe of their owne meanes or with the threats of *Matthias* the Archduke deterred, ceased further to seeke after it: yet were there some others, who better supported, and nothing afraid of the Archdukes great words, laboured vnder hand to haue obtained it. For the crossing of whome,
B and the auoiding of further troubles to be raised by these ambitious competitours, certaine of the Nobilitie of Transyluania gathered together at Claudionople the twelfth of Februarie, made choice of *Sigismund Ragotsie* for their Gouernor and their Prince of Transyluania, and *Sigismund Ragotsie chosen prince of Transyluania, afterward yeeldeth vp the same Principalitie againe.*
the more to assure him of their loue and affection towards him, bound themselues vnto him by the oath of their allegiance solemnely taken in the chiefe Church there. And afterward sent messengers to the Archduke *Matthias* at Vienna, to certifie him what they had done, and to excuse themselues thereof: who comming to Presburg the twelfth of March, there openly protested this election of *Ragotsie* for their Prince to haue been made, not for that they were about to rebell, or to reuolt from the Emperour, whome they would alwayes acknowledge for their Soueraigne Lord; but for that their neceſſitie so required, many of the Nobilitie
C both of Transyluania and of Hungarie gaping after this Principalitie, and going about, for the obtaining thereof, to raise new stirres and troubles. Howbeit, the same *Ragotsie* afterward doubting not to be able, without great trouble and danger, besides the Emperors displeasure, to hold the same Principalitie, of his own accord about a yeare after gaue the same vp again, and got himselfe out of the way to Sarentum: who was no sooner gone, but that *Gabriel Bathor* was about to haue stept into his place: vnto whome the States of Transyluania sent word by two of the Noblemen, That the free election of the Prince belonged to them, and that therefore he should not seeke by force to entrude himselfe into the Principalitie, but quietly to come vnto the election, and not to bring with him aboue a thousand horsemen, and fiue hundred foot.

D About this time the strong towne of Neuhuse (otherwise called Neuheusel) the last yeare *Neuhuse again deliuered vnto the Emperour.*
so hardly woon by the Hungarian Rebels, was againe deliuered to *Sigefrid Collonitz* for the Emperour; who shortly after comming to Vienna, brought newes of a great number of the Turkes to haue risen vp in rebellion at Belgrade, to haue rifled the towne, and to haue burnt another towne, called Alischria, downe to the ground, and so with a great prey to be gone ouer to the Rebels: and also *Redeius, Botscay* his Lieutenant, in going to take possession of certaine lands giuen him by *Botscay*, to haue been by his owne tenants, lying in wait for him vpon a strait passage, slaine.

Amongst the articles of the peace before concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Great Sultan, one was for the mutuall sending of Presents one of them vnto another: With which
E Presents, when as the Embassadour, by the Emperour appointed for the carriage of the same to Constantinople, from day to day deferred to set forward, the Turkes and Tartars began to doubt, or else seemed to doubt, of the good meaning of the Christians, for the obseruing of the aforesaid peace; and thereupon began againe not onely to roame abroad into the territories of the Christians, but also caused the pledges left at Buda for the obseruing of the peace, to be hardly handled and clapt fast in prison: whom when as the Bassa of Buda shortly after suffered again a little to walke abroad, the proud Ianizaries were therewith so much offended that rising in a tumult, they had almost slaine the Bassa with stones, heaping vpon him many *The Ianizaries in mutinie against the Bassa of Buda.*
reproachfull words, and vnto his face calling him traitor and betrayer of his Prince and countrey, one of which pledges they grieuously wounded also. Which their insolencie the
F Bassa in some sort to chastice, and to deterre them from doeing the like againe, caused certaine of them the night following to be secretly taken, and being bound, to be so cast into the riuer of Danubius. And yet shortly after, they purposing to make a road vpon the Christians, to colour such harmes as they should therein doe, and to lay all the blame

The Turkes in great number repaire to Buda

bours. And now the Turkes in the meane time, in hope that the peace betwixt them and the Christians would not long hold, were come to Buda in such multitude, that the houses in the towne beeing not able to hold them, they were glad to set vp tents for them to lye in within the citie: for that the Bassa would not suffer them to set vp any tents abroad in the fields, lest the Christians should suspect them to be about the raising of an armie, and so to disturbe the peace. G

The States of Hungarie depart from Presburg without any thing doing.

But the States of Hungarie hauing staied full 15 daies, as the Archbishop had requested, and the Archduke not comming; made a solemne protestation before the Chapter of the Cathedrall Church at Presburg, that they departed from Presburg, and so returned home, not vpon any discontentment or contumacie, but for want of things necessary, and other their vrgent occasions (hauing aboue 7 weekes expected the Archdukes comming, without whom nothing could be done) and yet that if it should please the Emperor by solemne summons at any time after to call another Parliament, they would be readie vpon such summons giuen, to returne againe to Presburg, and there to consult of all such things, as should be for the good and welfare of the Common-weale: so that nothing were propounded contrary to the articles they the yere before agreed vpon at Vienna, which they would haue in all points kept whole & inuiolat: so that if any man should go about or attempt any thing in disposing and ordring of the publique affaires contrarie to that agreement, they would not in any wise ratifie the same, although it were by the Emperor himselfe allowed: which their protestation they requested to haue registred, and sealed with the Chapters Seale, and so not hauing done any thing at all for which they came, againe returned. H I

The Haiduckes got about to raise new stirs in Hungarie.

After whose departure from Presburg, the Haiduckes (which had been vsed to liue by their swords, and not by their labour) of all others most discontented with this generall peace, began now to raise new stirres and tumults, and dayly to grow stronger and stronger, crauing aid of the Turkes and Tartars, and not of the other Hungarians their countreymen, now againe returned to their woonted allegeance vnto the Christian Emperour: a number of which Haiducks flocking to Buda, the Bassa there with some other of the Turks Captaines and Commanders, entered into consultation what to doe with these so fit instruments for the troubling of the Christians, and the disturbing of the peace. To entertaine them he durst not, and to cast them off hee was loth; but yet purposing to vse them and to set them a worke as occasion should serue, he to prepare an enterance thereunto, by letters threatened them of Comora, that except they better kept the capitulations and articles of the late peace, they should shortly heare of new matters. But in the meane time letters were sent from the great Sultan to the Bassa of Buda, with charge, that although the Hungarians were reported to encrease their strength, hee should yet keep himselfe within his bounds, and to attempt nothing against them, except they should proceed to manifest force: in which case he should not faile by all lawfull meanes to reuenge himselfe. Which the Sultans minde once made knowne, the Turkes againe departed from Buda, most part of the great ordnance that they brought with them being carried backe againe to Sigeth. K

The Bassa of Buda forbidden to make warres vpon the Christians.

An assembly of the States of the vpper Hungary & the decrees by them here made.

But the States of Hungarie, beeing returned home from Presburg, and againe assembled, the foureteenth day of October, by their generall consent, decreed, That Tokay should againe bee joyned vnto their jurisdiction; and that the great ordnance throughout all the free cities should be remoued and carried home vnto the places whereunto they before belonged: That the Vayuod of Transyluania should be admonished not to seperat Transyluania from Hungarie: That the Bassa of Buda should bee warned for to keepe his Turks within their owne bounds: and that the Nobilitie of Hungarie should betime bee admonished with all their force to represse the Haiduckes, and all other their enemies. Howbeit the Haiduckes proceeding in their insolent outrages more than before, tooke certaine forts, and with fire, and sword spoyled many places of the Countrey, causing the people to sweare to be friends to them and the Turks, and enemies vnto the Germans and Wallons: and demanding of *Humanoius* the Crowne wherewith *Bethlem* had sometime beene rewarded from the Grand Seignior, had a purpose to haue crowned him, or some other for their King: who for all that, by a messenger sent word vnto them, that hee would not at their hands accept that dignitie, but faithfully continue in his allegeance toward the Emperour. But when L

The Haiduckes conspire against the Germanes.

M

The Turks further the insolent attempts of the Haiducks.

A when the States of the vpper Hungarie were about to haue gone against these seditious and rebellious people to haue surprised them; they were from so doing deterred by the Bassa of Agria, threatening with his Turkes and Tartars to take their parts if they should once take vp armes against them.

About the same time six hundred Haiducks going to the castle of Saint *Andrew*, and coming thither, could not be let in by the garrison souldiers, as they had desired; and perceiuing them to make no reckoning of their seruice, could no longer hold, but openly professed themselues to become the great Sultans seruants: who from thence marching to Budnoc, tooke it by force, and ransacked it: and so still seeking after bootie, ran out towards Tockay, where by the way they were in a strait by *Humanoius*, lying in wait for them, entrapped, and B almost all slaine; who afterward sent two of the Turks Enlignes, taken from them, to Vienna, and to the the terrour of others, empailed some of them vpon stakes, being brought prisoners to Cassouia. For which vnfortunat expedition, some other of the Haiducks lighting vpon two of the Captains, who by chance had escaped out of *Humanoius* his hands, put them both to death for the euil leading of their fellowes, hanging vp the one, and with their swords hewing the other all to pieces. Now by the report of some of the prisoners there taken, it was C known this new rebellion of the Haiducks to haue bin railed by the procurement of the Baiasaes of Buda and Agria, who by their messengers had promised vnto them all helpe. Which report to haue been true, the euent did shortly after confirme: for the 27 day of Nouember almost 15000 of these Haiducks hauing before receiued from the great Sultan 300000 ducats for pay, came and most straightly besieged Filek, a strong castle, the Turks sending them great ordnance from Agria; vnto whom these Haiducks had promised to deliuer all such places as they should win. Howbeit, the euent of this siege answered not to their desire: for *Thomas Bosnias*, Captaine of Filek, with his garrison all of Germane souldiers, so valiantly repulsed them, and the extremitie of the Winter weather so distressed them, that they were glad to rayse their siege, and be gone.

Six hundred Haiducks intercepted by Humanoius.

The Haiduks in their rebellion supported by the Turks.

A great fire at Constantinople.

Now much about the same time, *viz.* about the beginning of Nouember, a great fire arose at Constantinople, wherein almost fiue hundred shops of wares with many other faire buildings were burnt, so that the harme there by fire done was esteemed to amount to aboue two millions of gold.

An assembly of the States of Austria, and the Emperours demands therein.

D At the same time that the assembly of the States of Hungarie should haue beene holden at Presburg (as is before declared) the Emperor had appointed also another assembly of the nobilitie and States of Austria to be holden at Vienna; where after they were assembled, certain articles were vnto them on the Emperors behalfe propounded for them in that assembly then to consider of: as first, that for the keeping of the frontiers of Austria in quiet, the contribution by them graunted amongst themselues the last yeare, should this yeare following bee doubled. Then, that if it should fortune the enemie to attempt any thing of new against that Prouince, that in stead of the horses and money which they were woont to send vnto the warres, they should for the space of twelue moneths, or of the greatest part thereof, as occasion should require, of their owne costs maintaine ten companies of German footmen, euery E ry companie beeing three hundred strong; and as many troupes of German horsemen, euery troupe consisting of an hundred horse. And, that if for the better defence of the borders of Austria there should happily need a greater strength, the same should be raised in no other sort than was vsed in Hungarie, nor at greater charges maintained. And, that if it should continue peace, these charges should be conuerted to the payment of the souldiers wages: And that the States and other subiects of that Prouince should so much as might be, be eased from the trouble of sending either of horse or foot for the defence of the frontiers. Thirdly, that Commissaries should be maintained this yeare also to attend the armie, and certaine skilfull Captaines appointed for the chusing of a fit Generall for the armie. That diligent regard and care should be had for the prouision of corne and victuals for the vse of the people in F generall, as well in the time of peace as of warre. And that forasmuch as it much concerned the good of the Common-weale, to haue the frontiers of the Countrey toward Canisia diligently viewed, for feare of the Turkes great garrison there still lying, that therefore certaine good and expert souldiers, which knew those places well, should bee chosen,

choſen, who together with the Deputies of the Emperour, Hungarians, and Stirians, riding about theſe confines, ſhould forthwith conſider what were beſt to be done for the ſafety thereof. In briefe, ſeeing that of the ſafetie of Rab, the welfare of the citie of Vienna and of the forts thereabouts depended, that for the repairing of the fortifications thereof, and the better ſtrengthening of the ſame, the ſumme of foure thouſand florens ſhould be appointed: and for the defence of the frontiers of Auſtria from the incurſion of the Turks gariſon of Caniſia, fiue thouſand: and for the furthering of the buildings at Nuſtorfe, fiue thouſand moe ſhould bee paied: and that thoſe who hitherto had beene ſlacke in paying of their contribution money, ſhould forthwith be enforced to pay the ſame. And alſo that it might be conſidered of, how that too much inhauncing of the value of monies might be reſtrained: that good orders might be kept, all the countrie cleered from the roberies of the ſouldiers, ſtragling hee and there vp and downe the ſame: that the counterfeit Hungarian and Polonian mony ſhould be prohibited, as not currant: that good order might be taken for the ſtaying of the Plague, which then began in many places in Auſtria. G H

The aſſembly broken vp, and nothing concluded.

Concerning which Articles, when as the States there aſſembled complained, all that countrie to be with the long wars againſt the Turke, the incurſions of the Rebels, and the outrages of the mutinous ſouldiers, already almoſt exhauſted, and miſerably bared of money; no reſolution could then, according as the neceſſitie required, be made, but was vnto a further time deferred, and the aſſemblie broken vp.

1608

A Diet of the Empire by the Emperour appointed at Ratiſbone.

The Emperour at the ſame time appointed a Diet of the Empire to bee holden at Ratiſbone: wherein he hauing appointed *Ferdinand* Archduke of Auſtria, to be chiefe in his place, he with a notable traine of ſeuen hundred horſe, and a gallant guard of footmen, came thither the eighth and twentieth of Nouember, and was there by the citiſens honourably receiued. Vnto which aſſemblie, when as the Deputies of the Electors, and of the other Princes and Cities of the empire, were in great number come, at length the twelfth of Ianuary Diuine ſeruice beeing done in the Cathedrall Church, *Ferdinand* the Archduke, with his Courtiers, the Emperours Counſellors, and other the Princes deputies being there preſent, taking horſe before the Church, with a great companie of the Nobilitie and princes deputies following of him, went to the Court, the citiſens in their armes ſtanding on both ſides: where *Godfrey Ortelius* the Emperours Secretarie hauing in a notable Oration ſet forth the Emperours loue and and affection towards the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; and why, the Emperor himſelfe could not be preſent at this aſſemblie, as willingly he would haue been; he propounded in his name fiue articles for them in this their aſſemblie to be eſpecially conſidered of. I K

The articles by the Emperour propounded to be conſidered of in the Diet of the Empire at Ratiſbone.

First, how the Empire might hereafter be preſerued and defended againſt the violence of the Turks, and the dangerous rebellions by their procurement ſtirred vp in Hungarie, to the endangering of the whole Empire; eſpecially ſeeing that the Turkes themſelues (with whome the peace was of late concluded) by their doings had heretofore more than ſufficiently declared what truſt or credit was to bee giuen vnto them: and ſeeing that it is moſt manifeſt, them therein to haue ſought for nothing elſe, than that hauing made or rather counterfeited a peace with the Chriſtians for a time, for the ſuppreſſing of the Rebels, and the repreſſing of the inuaſions of the Perſians, they might after ſuch victorie againſt them obtained, come better prouided, and ſtronger to ouercome the Chriſtians. Which was eaſie to bee ſeeene: for that whileſt they were yet intreating of peace, they had taken Strigonium, and hauing concluded peace, they ceaſed not as yet with their counſell and aid to helpe the Rebels in their rebellious tumults: which was manifeſtly to bee perceiued by the Haiduckes themſelues, who were not aſhamed openly to profeſſe themſelues to bee the Great Sultans ſeruants, to require Cities and fortreſſes to bee yeelded vnto the Sultan, and to conſpire againſt the verie name of the Germanes. For the ſpeedie remedie of which miſchiefe, the Emperour had thought good, that conſideration of this point ſhould ſo bee had, as that the Princes ſhould either conſent vnto a certaine ſtanding and perpetuall contribution, whereby a ſufficient ſtrength might alwaies bee readie, wherewith to withſtand the enemies attempts: or elſe that for certaine yeares twentie thouſand footmen and foure thouſand horſe might there bee ſtill in readineſſe, to bee maintained at the common charges of the Empire; which the Emperour (needs ſo requiring) might vſe againſt the common enemie. Or that if this were L M

A were heauie or troubleſome vnto the States of the Empire, yet at leaſt they ſhould conſent yearely to contribute ſuch money as might ſuffice for the ſuſtayning of ſuch a power. Another poynt of this concluſion, was about the correcting and reforming of the adminiſtration of Iuſtice in the Imperiall Chamber. For ſeeing that in the former aſſemblies and meetings this matter could not be fully decided, by reaſon of certaine hinderances and impediments which then fell out, and that without the due adminiſtration and execution of Iuſtice no Empire could long ſtand or flouriſh, no more than the World could without the Sunne; his Imperiall Maieſtie therefore would not haue the deliberation of this ſo neceſſarie a point to be put off or referred vnto any other aſſemblie, but to bee done and concluded in this preſent aſſemblie. The third point to be conſidered of, was the warre which
B hath beene now ſo many yeares made in the Low-Countries, and the inconueniencie thereof redounding vnto the Empire. For whereas in the treatie of peace in the Low-Countries, (at which treatie both hee and the whole Empire ought to haue beene there preſent) for the better concluding and ending of the ſame, hee had heard the confederate Princes to bee now acknowledged for a free State, he could not now any longer (as he ſaid) forbeare, but that (ſeeing the Low-Countries to bee a member and fee of the Empire, and by the antient Records of the Empire, and of the Emperors, and by many other proofes it appeareth, the Gouernours of the Low-Countries to haue beene vaſſals of the Empire) hee ſhould by Letters which were written vnto the King of Spaine, the Archduke *Albertus*, and the States of the confederate Prouinces, admoniſh them, That they ſhould not proceed to doe or deter-
C mine any thing in this matter, which might any way tend to the hurt or preiudice of the Emperour, of the Empire, and of the houſe of Auſtria. And foraſmuch as that warre in the Low-Countries had hitherto done no ſmall harme vnto the Empire, if happily it could not be agreed vpon betweene the parties, and that it ſhould happen the ſame warre to be any longer continued, or rather againe renewed, it ſhould then bee conſidered vpon, how the Empire might bee ſatisfied for the great harme it had vntill this preſent thereby receiued, and how it might be from the like harme hereafter kept and preſerued. The fourth point in this conſultation, which was to be conſidered of, concerned the coyne. For whereas it is manifeſt, that the value of the money to bee dayly more and more inhaunced and rayſed, and that thereby not onely the Magiſtrates in the publique receipt, but the ſubiects alſo in ge-
D nerall receiued great and manifeſt harme, foraſmuch as the price of ſuch neceſſarie things which wee muſt in this life haue ordinarie vſe of, muſt of neceſſitie bee ſtill more and more encreaſed, according to the value of the money, the Emperour thought good with mature deliberation to remedie this miſchiefe in this preſent aſſemblie of the Empire. The fifth and laſt point which was to be conſidered vpon, was the perfecting of the Matriculer of the Empire, for the giuing vnto euerie man that which of due belongeth vnto him: the perfecting of which Matriculer, the Emperour would haue in this aſſemblie to bee amongſt them conſidered of.

Which articles thus propounded, there fell a great controuerſie amongſt the Deputies of the Princes concerning the manner of their proceeding in theſe matters: as whether they
E ſhould conſider of theſe articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, or otherwiſe. And when as many thought it beſt firſt to conſider of the article, for the reformation of Iuſtice, beeing the ſecond article propounded to be conſidered of, and afterwards to come vnto the reſt of the articles to be afterward conſulted of: when as the two and twentieth day of Ianuarie they came againe to Counſell, a writing was by the Emperours commaund read vnto them, whereby it was ſignified vnto the States of the Empire; the rebellious tumults by *Botſcay* and ſome others rayſed in Hungarie to bee yet by the Haiduckes continued, the Sultan himſelfe ſending of them rewards, and furniſhing them with ordnance and other things neceſſarie for the warres, by the Gouernour of Agria, and the Baſſa of Buda, threatening all extremities vnto them which ſhould goe about to reſiſt them; and then augmenting the dan-
F ger which thereby might enſue vnto the Empire, and eſpecially vnto the Germane name, ſeeing that it was manifeſt thoſe rebellious Haiduckes to haue eſpecially conſpired the deſtruction of the Germanes, and to haue confirmed that their league, by drinking of an health: *It* was requeſted, that leauing off theſe contentions, for the manner of their proceeding, they would

to be by any man made or done vnto the Hungarians, or the countries thereabout, for the aforesaid articles of Pacification, which they had determined religiously to keepe, that they would forthwith with their vnited forces come to aid their confederat brethren, and together with them to liue or die.

With these letters signed and sealed with the hand of the Archduke, and of the Noblemen there present, the first of February, *Illishaschius* with *George Turson*, were sent vnto the tumultuous Haiducks (who had now appointed their messages to be sent vnto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to craue their aid) to dissuade them from such their purpose, and to persuade them to quietnes; threatening them withall, That if they would not hearken vnto such honest conditions, they should all together, and at once, be set vpon and oppressed by the whole power of the States.

The States of Austria commanded by the Archduke Mathias to be alwaies in a readinesse against the Haiduckes.

The Assemblie at Presburg thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to Vienna, and forthwith calling together the States of Enseric, declared vnto them all that was done in the Assemblie at Presburg. And for as much as that assemblie was chiefely to that end appointed, That the kingdome of Hungarie should not altogether be pluckt away from the Empire; and that after the reuolt thereof, the greatest harme to be done by the incursions and spoyling of the enemies, would lie vpon the countries of Austria; he aduised them so to looke vnto themselues, and carefully to prouide for the Commonweale, as that hauing money alwaies in readinesse to maintaine an armie, they might with all conuenient speed go to meet with the Haiducks, if haply they would not conforme themselues vnto the articles of Pacification, but againe raise new broiles; that so they might defend and preserue their countrey from their outrages.

The Prince of Valachia dieth; whose widow notably preserueth the Country for her sonne.

About the beginning of this Spring, when as *Ieromie* Prince of Valachia was dead, leauing behinde him a sonne but thirteene yeares old, the Emperour admitted him, as yet not capable of the gouernment, vnder Tutors, vnto the succession of his heritage. Which thing the Valachians being by no meanes willing to endure, and bearing themselues vpon the helpe of the Turks, went about to make choice of another in stead of their Prince of late dead. For which cause, the Princesse widow by letters certified *Pollosie* her sonne in law, of this outrage and injurie of her subiects: and hauing obtained of him a great summe of money, and therewith raised an armie of ten thousand good souldiers, went forth against the Valachians, and in open field ouercame them in so bloudie and terrible a battel, that hauing slaine fiue thousand of the Valachians and Turks, she had ouer them a notable victorie, and by that meanes preserued the principalitie of that Countrey for her sonne.

The Duke of Florence in vaine requested by the Turks to spare their gallies.

The Great Duke of Florence had of late done great harme with his fleet vnto the Turks in the Mediterranean sea: for which cause a Messenger about this time comming vnto him in the Great Sultans name, promised him great matters, if he would from thenceforth forbeare to hurt and pursue the Turkes Gallies. Which his request serued the Turkes to no other purpose, but as it were to put oyle vnto the fire. For the Duke afterward caused new gallies to be made, and his fleet encreased, and therewith did more harme than formerly he had done.

The Haiduckes refuse to admit of the Pacification made at Situatorok.

Now although that after the ending of the Assemblie at Presburg, *Illishaschius* and *George Turson* had deliuered vnto the Haiduckes the Articles of the Pacification, and commaunded them from thencefoorth to keepe themselues quiet; yet for all that, could they not yet be persuaded to hearken vnto such their counsell: for that they being men still accustomed to the warres, and liuing by their swords, could not endure to fall to husbandrie, and such other labours. For which cause they of the Countrey about Gymeric, writ vnto them which dwelt in the Countrey about Nusol, letters to this effect: That forasmuch as they beeing diuers times certified of the miserable estate of their neighbors, had refused to come to ayd them, they should yet now remember how necessarie a thing it were, with their conjoined mindes and forces to helpe one another; for that the Haiduckes hauing now passed the riuer of Teise, were broken into that Prouince, and were runne as farre as Budnoc: neither were they minded to stay, but to robbe and spoyle all the Countrey before them, if they were not with speed encountered. And the rather, for that but a few dayes before, they had receiued three thousand Hungarian Duckets from

from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their Lords, with horses and other gifts to be diuided among their Leaders and Captaines: and moreouer, dayly expected aid from the Tartars, whom in great number lay about Belgrade. Wherefore seeing it could not be expressed, what great harme and losse was by the Haiducks done, as well vnto the Noblemen themselues, as to the common countreymen; that they should therefore thereof giue their Neighbours to vnderstand, and with all speed to take vp armes against the same rebellious Haiducks.

Not long after, about the latter end of March, Proclamation was made by the commandement of *Matthias* the Archduke, throughout all Austria, That euery man should prouide himselfe to take vp armes. The cause whereof men diuersly suspected: howbeit that vnto this Proclamation was this reason joyned, That the Archduke was determined himselfe to go about the fourteenth of Aprill into Morauia, and there to gather together all his power, as well Hungarians, as Austrians and Haiduckes, for the warre hee was to take in hand. There were also Letters in the Archdukes name sent vnto the Vassals of Austria, to giue them to vnderstand, That whereas they were not ignorant, what, for the obtaining of peace, and defence of these Countries, had of late beene decreed at Presburg; and that all the States of Enseric had approoued the report thereof receiued from their Deputies, and so promised their helpe and aid vnto the Archduke, as if that he himselfe would take in hand any expedition, they would joyne themselues vnto him, and together with him to liue or die: yet that there were some, which being more desirous of war than peace, did not onely not rest vpon the former pacification, but gathered an armie also in the borders of Morauia; with a purpose to make an inroad as well into Morauia, as into Austria it selfe. For which cause the States of Morauia also were enforced, for defence of themselues to raise an armie, and to craue helpe from their Neighbours. And that therefore seeing the Archduke, mindefull of his promise for the common defence of the Countrey, was resolued to bestow his life and all his fortunes, and in his own person to vndertake an expedition vnto those places from whence the greatest danger was to be feared to fall vpon those countries; necessitie then required, that the States themselues also should suffer nothing to be wanting on their behalfe, but euery one of them together with their seruants forthwith to joyne themselues vnto the Archduke, and to the vttermost of their power to endeauor themselues to deliuer them and theirs from death and destruction. That God, in whose name this expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the louers of peace, might so in short time make an end of all tumults, and grant vnto those Countries wished peace and quietnesse. And that therefore they were to be admonished, That according to the tenor of the Decree made at Presburg, they with such a number of horse and foot as they could vpon the sudden raise at a day to be shortly after vnto them named, should joyne themselues vnto the Archduke, and not to suffer any thing to let them in so doing. So that if haply any chance or sickenesse should happen vnto their General, yet notwithstanding that they should send their power vnder the leading of some other man, seeing that the Archduke himselfe spared not to aduenture his life and fortunes, and (if God should see it so good) account it a great gaine euen to lose the same, so that thereby he might doe his countrey good.

The States of Austria warned by the Archduke to prepare themselues for an expedition to be made into Morauia.

The Archduke Matthias prepareth himselfe for his expedition into Morauia.

About the beginning of April, the Cardinal returning from Prague to Vienna, brought with him the Emperors answer and resolution, *viz.* That he did ratifie and confirme all things that were done and concluded with the Hungarians and Turks; but that his will was, That the confederation made betwixt the States of Hungarie and Austria at Presburg, should be void and of none effect. Which the Archduke protesting that he could by no meanes like of, or suffer to be done, he the 15 of Aprill afterwards with a great number of the Peeres, Nobilitie, and Counsellours, and a multitude of good souldiers, going out of Vienna towards the monasterie of Neoburg, set forward vpon his journey, carrying with him eight and twentie pieces of ordnance, there expecting his souldiers in all places leuied: by publique Letters protesting, That no man should from his armie receiue any harme; or if that by chance any harme were done vnto any man by his armie, assuring his subiects it should be againe vnto them restored and recompensed.

But the rumor of this expedition being brought into Bohemia, the Nobilitie of the Countrey began to assemble themselues the fifteenth day of April; whither when as many of the deputies

to be by any man made or done vnto the Hungarians, or the countries thereabout, for the aforesaid articles of Pacification, which they had determined religiously to keepe, that they would forthwith with their vnited forces come to aid their confederat brethren, and together with them to liue or die. G

With these letters signed and sealed with the hand of the Archduke, and of the Noblemen there present, the first of February, *Illisbaschius* with *George Turson*, were sent vnto the tumultuous Haiducks (who had now appointed their messages to be sent vnto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to craue their aid) to dissuade them from such their purpose, and to persuade them to quietnes; threatening them withall, That if they would not hearken vnto such honest conditions, they should all together, and at once, be set vpon and oppressed by the whole power of the States.

The States of Austrec commanded by the Archduke Mathias to be alwaies in a readinesse against the Haiduckes.

The Assemblie at Presburg thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to Vienna, and forthwith calling together the States of Enseric, declared vnto them all that was done in the Assemblie at Presburg. And for as much as that assemblie was chiefely to that end appointed, That the kingdome of Hungarie should not altogether be pluckt away from the Empire; and that after the reuolt thereof, the greatest harme to be done by the incursions and spoyling of the enemies, would lie vpon the countries of Austria; he aduised them so to looke vnto themselues, and carefully to prouide for the Commonweale, as that hauing money alwaies in readinesse to maintaine an armie, they might with all conuenient speed go to meet with the Haiducks, if haply they would not conforme themselues vnto the articles of Pacification, but againe raise new broiles; that so they might defend and preserue their countrey from their outrages. H I

The Prince of Valachia dieth; whose widow notably preserueth the Country for her sonne.

About the beginning of this Spring, when as *Ierome* Prince of Valachia was dead, leauing behinde him a sonne but thirteene yeares old, the Emperour admitted him, as yet not capable of the gouernment, vnder Tutors, vnto the succession of his heritage. Which thing the Valachians being by no meanes willing to endure, and bearing themselues vpon the helpe of the Turks, went about to make choice of another in stead of their Prince of late dead. For which cause, the Princesse widow by letters certified *Pollosie* her sonne in law, of this outrage and injurie of her subiects: and hauing obtained of him a great summe of money, and therewith raised an armie of ten thousand good souldiers, went forth against the Valachians, and in open field ouercame them in so bloudie and terrible a battel, that hauing slaine fiue thousand of the Valachians and Turks, she had ouer them a notable victorie, and by that meanes preserued the principalitie of that Countrey for her sonne. K

The Duke of Florence in vaine requested by the Turks to spare their gallies.

The Great Duke of Florence had of late done great harme with his fleet vnto the Turks in the Mediterranean sea: for which cause a Messenger about this time comming vnto him in the Great Sultans name, promised him great matters, if he would from thenceforth forbeare to hurt and pursue the Turkes Gallies. Which his request serued the Turkes to no other purpose, but as it were to put oyle vnto the fire. For the Duke afterward caused new gallies to be made, and his fleet encreased, and therewith did more harme than formerly he had done.

The Haiduckes refuse to admit of the Pacification made at Vienna.

Now although that after the ending of the Assemblie at Presburg, *Illisbaschius* and *George Turson* had deliuered vnto the Haiduckes the Articles of the Pacification, and commaunded them from thencefoorth to keepe themselues quiet; yet for all that, could they not yet be persuaded to hearken vnto such their counsell: for that they being men still accustomed to the warres, and liuing by their swords, could not endure to fall to husbandrie, and such other labours. For which cause they of the Countrey about Gymeric, writ vnto them which dwelt in the Countrey about Nusol, letters to this effect: That forasmuch as they beeing diuers times certified of the miserable estate of their neighbors, had refused to come to ayd them, they should yet now remember how necessarie a thing it were, with their conjoined mindes and forces to helpe one another; for that the Haiduckes hauing now passed the riuer of Teise, were broken into that Prouince, and were runne as farre as Budnoc: neither were they minded to stay, but to robbe and spoyle all the Countrey before them, if they were not with speed encountered. And the rather, for that but a few dayes before, they had receiued thirty thousand Hungarian Duckets from L M

from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their Lords, with horses and other gifts to be diuided among their Leaders and Captaines: and moreouer, dayly expected aid from the Tartars, who in great number lay about Belgrade. Wherefore seeing it could not be expressed, what great harme and losse was by the Haiducks done, as well vnto the Noblemen themselues, as to the common countreymen; that they should therefore thereof giue their Neighbours to vnderstand, and with all speed to take vp armes against the same rebellious Haiducks. A

Not long after, about the latter end of March, Proclamation was made by the commandement of *Matthias* the Archduke, throughout all Austria, That euery man should prouide himselfe to take vp armes. The cause whereof men diuersly suspected: howbeit that vnto this Proclamation was this reason joyned, That the Archduke was determined himselfe to go about the fourteenth of Aprill into Morauia, and there to gather together all his power, as well Hungarians, as Austrians and Haiduckes, for the warre hee was to take in hand. There were also Letters in the Archdukes name sent vnto the Vassals of Austria, to giue them to vnderstand, That whereas they were not ignorant, what, for the obtaining of peace, and defence of these Countries, had of late beene decreed at Presburg; and that all the States of Enseric had approoued the report thereof receiued from their Deputies, and so promised their helpe and aid vnto the Archduke, as if that he himselfe would take in hand any expedition, they would joyne themselues vnto him, and together with him to liue or die: yet that there were some, which being more desirous of war than peace, did not onely not rest vpon the former pacification, but gathered an armie also in the borders of Morauia; with a purpose to make an inroad as well into Morauia, as into Austria it selfe. For which cause the States of Morauia also were enforced, for defence of themselues to raise an armie, and to craue helpe from their Neighbours. And that therefore seeing the Archduke, mindefull of his promise for the common defence of the Countrey, was resolued to bestow his life and all his fortunes, and in his own person to vndertake an expedition vnto those places from whence the greatest danger was to be feared to fall vpon those countries; necessitie then required, that the States themselues also should suffer nothing to be wanting on their behalfe, but euery one of them together with their seruants forthwith to joyne themselues vnto the Archduke, and to the vttermost of their power to endeauor themselues to deliuer them and theirs from death and destruction. That God, in whose name this expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the louers of peace, might so in short time make an end of all tumults, and grant vnto those Countries wished peace and quietnesse. And that therefore they were to be admonished, That according to the tenor of the Decree made at Presburg, they with such a number of horse and foot as they could vpon the sudden raise at a day to be shortly after vnto them named, should joyne themselues vnto the Archduke, and not to suffer any thing to let them in so doing. So that if haply any chance or sickenesse should happen vnto their General, yet notwithstanding that they should send their power vnder the leading of some other man, seeing that the Archduke himselfe spared not to aduenture his life and fortunes, and (if God should see it so good) account it a great gaine euen to lose the same, so that thereby he might doe his countrey good. B C D E

The States of Austria warned by the Archduke to prepare themselues for an expedition to be made into Morauia.

About the beginning of April, the Cardinal returning from Prague to Vienna, brought with him the Emperors answer and resolution, *viz.* That he did ratifie and confirme all things that were done and concluded with the Hungarians and Turks; but that his will was, That the confederation made betwixt the States of Hungarie and Austria at Presburg, should be voide and of none effect. Which the Archduke protesting that he could by no meanes like of, or suffer to be done, he the 15 of Aprill afterwards with a great number of the Peeres, Nobilitie, Counsellours, and a multitude of good souldiers, going out of Vienna towards the Citie of Neoburg, set forward vpon his journey, carrying with him eight and twentie peeces of ordnance, there expecting his souldiers in all places leuied: by publique Letters signifying That no man should from his armie receiue any harme; or if that by chance any thing were done vnto any man by his armie, assuring his subiects it should be againe restored and recompensed. F

But the rumor of this expedition being brought into Bohemia, the Nobilitie of that Countrey began to assemble themselues the fifteenth day of April; whither

The Nobilitie of Bohemia assemble themselues.

The Nobility of Bohemia are by the Emperour commanded to be readie in armes.

deputies of the other Countries were assembled also, it beeing decreed, That the Nobilitie of the faithfull States there present, should with all speed returne home, and so prouide themselues and their subiects of necessarie armes; that, need so requiring, they should therewith be able to defend themselues and their countrey, the assembly was dismissed. Besides that, the Emperour himselfe carefull for all euents, caused many both horse and foot, to be brought to Prague, and to be diuersly bilited in the citizens houses: and furthermore, the eighteenth of Aprill, by letters directed vnto certaine Princes of the Empire, and to certaine Earles also, citizens, and other vassals of the Kingdome of Bohemia, warned them with all speed to send aid vnto him at Prague.

The Archduke Matthias with an armie commeth to Zname in Morauia.

But *Matthias* the Archduke in the meane time marching forward with an armie of twentie thousand horse and foot, the foure and twentieth day of Aprill came to Zname a citie of Morauia; and was there, by the States of Morauia (who the day before were come thither also with foure hundred horse) honourably receiued and brought into the citie. From thence sending out letters into the territories of Bohemia, and to the citie of Prague, hee requested, That they would send out of euery place two deputies for them, vnto the assemblie to be holden at Zaslauia, the fourth day of May: promising withall, That hee himselfe there beeing present, would yeeld vnto their deputies a reason of his doings, as also what he meant to do hereafter. Besides that, hee by letters sent vnto the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, declared the cause why hee was enforced to make this expedition: and withall sending vnto them a copie of the agreement made at Vienna, the fiue and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1606, by the common consent of the Archdukes; in most friendly manner requested them, That they would not intermeddle in this businesse but rather with their counsell and aid to further the same.

The Emperour sendeth embassadours to the Archduke Mathias at Zname

But the three and twentieth day of Aprill, the Emperour sent the Popes Embassadors, with the Embassadours of diuers other Princes and States, then lying at Prague with sundrie of the Bohemian Ministers, in Embassage to the Archduke *Matthias*, still lying at Zname: whom the Cardinal the next day after followed also, to make some good pacification, if it were possible, with the Archduke. But the Emperor in the meane time calling vnto him the counsellors of the old and new towne of Prague (contrarie to his woonted manner) most courteously with his owne hand receiued them, and giuing them thanks for the faithfull duties by them hitherto performed; requested them, That hereafter they would continue in their like fidelitie and loyaltie also: most liberally promising vnto them all kindnesse, with the restitution of the priuiledges concerning the shutting of the gates of the citie: which libertie they had before lost in the time of the Emperor *Ferdinand*. And not long after, a general muster was taken, not only in the Citie of Prague, and the townes thereabouts, but also throughout all the Kingdome of Bohemia, and three hundred musketiers appointed for the gard and keeping of the castle, vnder the command of Count *Solmes*, who had commission for the raising of other souldiers also.

The Tartar Cham dieth.

At the verie same time it was from Constantinople certainely reported, the Tartar Cham to haue dyed, and the Turkish Sultan hauing receiued newes thereof, to haue dismissed his sonne, whome hee hitherto had detained as a pledge, and with diuers ships and gallies, to haue caused him to bee transported ouer the Blacke Sea, vnto the borders of Tartarie, there to take possession of his fathers Kingdome. It was also then reported, certaine of the seditious Turkes making of a road, to haue surprised Smirna, a rich Citie of Asia, and to haue forraged all the Countrey about it farre and neere, and comming vnto Magnesia, a chiefe Citie of that Countrey, to haue had ten thousand crownes by the inhabitants offered, from thenceforth to spare the Countrey thereabouts. The Persian King also at the same time notably to proceed in his warres, and to doe the Turkes great harme, the Turkes and Tartars seeking in vaine to withstand him.

The seditious Turkes raise new stirres in the lesser Asia, and spoil Smirna with the countrie thereabouts.

Embassadours sent from the Electours of Saxony and of Brandenbourg, for the appeasing of the trouble betwixt the Emperour and Matthias.

In the meane time Embassadours comming vnto Prague from the Electors of Saxonie and Brandenburg, part of them the ninth of May, went vnto the Archduke *Matthias* to Zaslauia, who still lay there encamped with an armie of fiue and twentie thousand men: of whome they requesting a truce for the space of eight dayes, for the making of a pacification betwixt the Emperour and him, and for friendly ending of this businesse, easily obtained the same, especially seeing that those Princes Electors, being ioyned and bound vnto the Emperour

A rour in a double confederation, as well for their Electorship, as in respect of the Kingdome of Bohemia, could not, as they said, otherwise do, but send present aid vnto the Emperor, his necessitie so requiring; to which end they had now in readinesse certaine thousands of souldiors in the frontiers of their countries, to be forthwith sent vnto him: The other part of these Embassadors in the meane time staying with the Emperor, where after the Germane manner they were well prouided of good cheere and wine.

Matthias the Archduke marcheth towards Prague.

About the seuenteenth of May *Matthias* the Archduke with eighteene thousand men rose and marched towards Prague, *Collonitz* with the rest of the armie following him. And although that the Archduke had seuerely commanded his souldiers to abstaine from robbing, spoyling, and burning of the country, and had diuers times seuerely punished some offendors therein, by hanging of some, and heading of others, yet could he by no meanes so restraine them, and keepe them in, but that some of them would sometimes be straggling abroad, and doing harme, especially the Hungarians, who were still running out euen as far as the Emperours campe, and the new citie of Prague. Whom for all that, the Emperors souldiers (being then twentie thousand strong) would not meddle withall, being so commanded by the Emperor. Howbeit some of these straglers going too far abroad into the country, were by the country-men cut off and slaine.

An assembly of the States of Bohemia, holden at Prague in the presence of the Emperour.

The three and twentieth day of May an assemblie of the States of Bohemia was called at Prague, the Emperor himselfe being there present; *Adam Waldsteine* carrying the drawen sword before him. In which assemblie the Nobilitie and States of the countrey with one consent promised to spend their goods and liues in the Emperors quarrell; yet in the meane time requesting these things following to be granted and confirmed vnto them: *viz.* That Religion according to the confession of Bohemia and Augusta should inuiolately be kept, and that they which professed the one, should not therefore scoffe or despise the other. That Bohemians only should be preferred to Archbishopricks, Abbotships, and other spirituall preferments. That the Archbishop should not meddle with ciuile and politicall affaires. That Ecclesiastical offices should be permitted vnto the Protestant Ministers, as in former time, the Catholickes in the meane time holding that they had. That the Pontificial dispensation in causes of Matrimonie, according to the Decree of the assembly holden in the yere 1602, should be abrogated and taken away. That it should not be lawfull for Priests and other Ecclesiastical persons to buy lands or territories, without the expresse consent of all the three States. That hold themselues contented with their tythes and other their reuenues. That [illegible] full for all men in their owne ground and territories to build Churches [illegible] sides. That Protestants and Patrons of the Vniuersitie of Prague should be [illegible] sistorie, as they were in the time of the Emperour *Ferdinand*. That [illegible] Burgraue in this assembly. That chiefe politicall offices [illegible] That vnto these politicall offices men of both religions [illegible] graue were a Catholike, the chiefe iudge should be a Protestant. That [illegible] his right, and that no Decree should be published [illegible] were of the Order of Knights should be [illegible] Bohemians should always be chosen into the [illegible] hemian affaires. That euery man might haue [illegible] done by his Counsellors. That it should be [illegible] the crime of Treason. That a difference [illegible] should for any light offence, together with [illegible] of widowes, orphans, and others also, should [illegible] to-day deferred. That from henceforth the [illegible] which he was run into without his knowledge [illegible] offices men should not be too much grieued with [illegible] not be summoned but in good tearmes, and that [illegible] any arrest, without the hearing of their cause, and [illegible] vpon frowardnesse or madnesse [illegible] be againe set in the former [illegible] ted with such fees as were [illegible]

The Hungarians and Heiducks by Costumes [illegible]

[illegible] might [illegible] ed the Hun [illegible] some others [illegible] and other goods.

they in any wise requested the Emperour, that it would please him to ease the Nobilitie and States of Bohemia of these grieses, before they were compelled to answer vnto such things as were to be propounded vnto them on his behalfe. Who easily granted vnto most of these articles, those which concerned Religion only excepted; so that the Senators of the old town of Prague obtained the desired sword to be againe forthwith set in the wonted place. But as for the businesse of Religion, it was altogether put off and deferred vnto the next assemblie to be holden at the feast of Saint *Michael*.

Matthias the Archdukes embassadors come to Prague.

About the end of May the Archduke *Matthias* his Embassadors hauing receiued safe conduct from the Emperor and the nobilitie of the kingdome of Bohemia, came to Prague: and being admitted into the councell of the Nobilitie, *Charles* Count *Tserotin* to whome that charge was giuen, hauing in the Archdukes name first saluted the Nobilitie, declared what hee and the rest had in charge, to be before them out of a long writing in the Bohemian tongue read: which done, when as, the Nobilitie so requiring, they were put aside, and almost an houre after were called againe, they receiued answer, That the points of the Embassage by them propounded, were greater and of more weight than that sufficient deliberation could thereof in so short a time be had; and that therefore it was by the Nobilitie thought meet, that Commissioners on both sides meeting together in the open field neere vnto Debritse should there consult of these articles, and by the consent of the Emperor and Archduke to do what they might to end the matter: Vnto which answer the Archdukes Embassadors consenting, the ninth of Iune returned againe vnto the campe. The Emperours Embassadors within two dayes after with fortie coaches and an hundred horse following them vnto the place appointed: wo oftentimes going to and fro, at length so wrought the matter on both sides, that the businesse quietly and friendly ended, they were againe made friends.

Commissioners appointed for the ending of the troubles betwixt the Emperor and Matthias the Archduke.

The articles of which pacification and agreement betwixt the Emperor and the Archduke were the seuenteenth day of Iune in the castle of Prage openly read in the Bohemian tongue, *Lichtenstein*, *Kintskie*, and other Chiefetaines the Archdukes Embassadours, being there present, in order thus:

The Articles of pacification betwixt the Emperour and the Archduke Matthias.

That the Emperour refused not, but that the Crowne of Hungarie should be deliuered into the Archduke *Matthias* his hands: and to yeeld vnto him the Kingdome of Hungarie, and to remit vnto his subjects the oath of their allegeance before giuen vnto him, so that the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie should chuse no other King but the Archduke. That in the next Dyet of the Empire, he should propound vnto the States of the Empire to be considered of, what contribution they ought to make vnto the Archduke for the defence of their frontiers, if happely longer warre were to be made with the Turke. That hee should cause the Writings which concerned that Kingdome of Hungarie, within the space of two months to be deliuered vnto the Archduke. That he should likewise also surrender vp the Archdukedome of Austria, by himselfe hitherto possessed, vnto the Archduke: yet so as that the Archduke should take vpon himselfe all the Emperours debt as well in Hungarie as in Austria, and within a yeare should cause sufficient Recognizance or Caution sealed with his owne hand, to be deliuered vnto the Creditors. That hee should cause all the Letters and Writings, as well concerning the vpper Austria, as the nether, within the same time to be deliuered vnto him, together with a Copie of the Priuiledges therein, vntill that deliberation might be had concerning them, to be transferred vnto him also. That the Nobilitie and States of Bohemia should in the Emperors name ratifie and confirme the Treatie held at Vienna, for the making of the peace betwixt the Emperour, the Turkes, and the Hungarians. That they also should not refuse at the Emperours request, to promise vnto the Archduke a certaine succession into the Kingdome of Bohemia; but yet with condition, so that if it should happen the Emperour to die without heires male, before the death of the Archduke his brother: but if hee should haue heires male lawfully begotten and vnder age: that in that ease he should onely haue the rule and gouernment of the Kingdome of Bohemia, yet with certaine Bohemian Councellors joyned vnto him. That the Archduke should by writing confirme vnto the Nobilitie and States of Bohemia, That hee should after the vsual manner and fashion demand the kingdome of Bohemia, being void of a King. That he should take the vsual oath of a King, & alwaies haue like regard of all their priuiledges as the other Kings his

his predecessours had. That the States of Bohemia should not gainesay, but that the Archduke might hereafter vse the title of the designed King of Hungarie. That the administration of the Marquiset of Morauia should be granted vnto the Archduke *Matthias* and his heires, together with the title of a Marquesse, vntill that after the death of the Emperor this Prouince was againe to reuert vnto him which was to enioy the Kingdome of Bohemia. But if it should happen the Archduke to die before the Emperour, the States of Bohemia should not refuse, but that this Prouince separate apart, might (as should seeme good) chuse vnto it selfe a patron and defendour, vnto the death of the Emperour. That the Bishopricke of Almits, hitherto in temporalities subject vnto the King of Bohemia, should from thenceforth acknowledge the Archduke *Matthias* to be the Gouernour thereof, lest there should bee a confusion of suites in Morauia; the Bishop in the meane time hauing regard vnto his owne priuiledges. That the Emperour at the request of the Archduke should maintaine the priuiledges of them of Silesia, and of the States of the six Cities, and augment them also with new priuiledges, beeing reasonable and conuenient. That for the defence of the borders against the Turks, the Nobilitie and States of Bohemia should not contribute more than hitherto they were woont; yet sauing vnto the Archduke power and abilitie in the generall meetings and assemblies of the Kingdome to entreat thereof, as the Emperour had hitherto had. That the titles of all the Prouinces which the Emperor did now surrender vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, should be still vnto him reserued. That the Archduke *Matthias* should vtterly renounce the Countie of Tirali, and surrender his part thereof vnto the Emperour. That in the meetings and assemblies to come, the Archduke should by all meanes endeauour, that the Emperour should receiue a reasonable yearely contribution out of those Prouinces which hee now departed with. That all offences hitherto committed, should generally be forgiuen and pardoned, all and euerie the persons on both parties, onely *Verkauions* excepted, concerning whome, as also concerning his debt, the Nobilitie of Morauia had vndertaken in their next assemblie to take order. And that armes should on both sides bee layed apart.

Which articles thus agreed vpon, and on both parts accepted of, the Crowne of Hungarie, with the ornaments thereto belonging, such as are King *Stephen* his Sword, the golden Apple, with the Crosse of the Kingdome vpon it, two paire of rich shooes, a verie antient Robe, with a Royall Scepter, were by the Emperours chiefe Lieutenant carried into the campe, and there in a broad and open field deliuered vnto the Archduke *Matthias*: who with his armie in order raunged, and sixteene thousand horse and foot diuided into three battalions, after he had receiued these Royall ornaments, commanded three great vollies of shot to be discharged, and afterwards royally feasted the Emperours Embassadours. Which pacification thus made, many out of the Archdukes campe, but especially the Hungarians, went into the citie of Prague, there to buy things necessarie; and many came also out of the citie to see the Archdukes camp. But in the meantime certaine insolent souldiers hauing by night broken vp certaine shops of the Iewes, and carried out of them much rich wares, were the cause of great stirres and tumults in the Citie; insomuch, that diuers of the souldiers were therefore cast into prison.

The crowne of Hungarie deliuered vnto the Archduke Matthias.

The first of Iuly King *Matthias* rising with his armie, departed from before Prague, taking his way with his chiefe Counsellors towards Lintze, and diuiding his armie into three parts, that so they might the more easilier passe through those countries home. After the rising of which armie, a certaine noble Bohemian and a good souldier, called *Cottouits*, vnto whome the Hungarians and Haiduckes had in this expedition done great harme, with six hundered harquebusiers and a number of countreymen went foorth to a place called Partouitse; where hauing cut off the passage, and cut downe trees crosse the wayes, that none might that way conueniently passe, hee with such furie in a place of aduantage charged the Hungarians, comming that way, that hauing slaine about nine hundred of them, some others were also carried away prisoners, with a great bootie of horses, waggons, and other goods. With which deed the Hungarians grieued, trod downe the corne as they went, and began to set fire on the villages and houses in the Countrie thereabouts. But the newes thereof beeing brought vnto the King, hee forthwith by *Herbenstein*, Generall of the horsemen, commaunded the Hungarians and Haiduckes not onely to desist from [illegible] their insolencie,

King Matthias departeth with his army out of Bohemia.

The Hungarians and Haiduckes by Cottouits slaine.

but themselues also, vpon a great penaltie, to helpe to quench the fires by them raised.

King Matthias entereth into Hungary, & is royally receiued into Vienna.

In the meane time the comming of king *Matthias* being reported at Vienna, great preparation was there made for the receiuing of him and bringing of him into the citie, according to his royall dignitie: who the fourteenth of Iuly toward night being come thither, with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, and 3000 horse, the Archbishop of Hungarie, who with Count *Trautsamius* and many other the Emperors counsellors and seruants went out of the citie to meet him, and there amidst eight Ensignes of German souldiers, and 1500 horsemen, as it were set in order of battell, receiued him with a long & eloquent oration; as did afterwards *Trautsamius* in the name of the States of Austria; the Emperors Counsellors also honourably welcomming him. Which don, mounting again to horse, the King, with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, stayed vntill that two troupes of the horsemen of Vienna, whereof them consisting of 200 horse (were all entred into the citie; and afterward, 150 *Bucheime* his horsemen and the aforesaid eight Ensignes of Germans going before, and the Emperors counsellors following them, the King himselfe with the Archduke his brother, and all his traine, set forward, and passing ouer the bridge, whereon three triumphall arches were most sumptuously erected, hee was by three thousand citizens of Vienna, gallantly apparelled and armed, with much thundering of the great ordnance and vollies of small shot, most magnificently receiued, diuers other triumphs and sports, to manifest the joy of the people, being there made also, which for breuitie sake we passe ouer. But being gone a little further, he was by the Senators of Vienna on horseback receiued vnder a rich Canopie, borne vp by six of the auntientest of the said Senatours, and so brought to Saint *Stephens* Church: whither hee was no sooner come, but that lighting from his horse, hee was there receiued by the whole Clergie, and vnder a Canopie brought into the Church: where, after Seruice done, he was with like triumph and magnificence, through diuers other triumphall arches, brought to the castle, the great ordnance on all sides still thundering off from the castle, the walls, and bulwarkes of the towne.

But these triumphs and solemnities ended, shortly after when as they began to consult about such things as concerned the good gouernment of the kingdome of Hungarie, and the crowning of the King, and that the Protestant States of Austria in many places began to exercise their Religion according to the manner of the Confession of Augusta, and that the Ministers began openly to preach in the Churches there, *Leopold* the Archduke and Bishop of Passauia comming to Vienna, with *Caietanus* the Popes Nuntio (but a little before come to Prague) with Cardinall *Forgatsius* and the Bishop of Vienna, with earnest and importunat soliciting of the king, obtained from him a commandement, That that exercise of religion should be againe abrogated, the Churches shut, and publique preaching forbidden. Which thing forthwith brought forth new stirs and troubles in Austria. For the Protestant States forthwith calling a counsell among themselues, by generall consent refused by oath of loyaltie and alleageance to binde themselues vnto the new king, vntill they had of him obtained the liberty for the free exercise of their Religion; and combining themselues together, resolued euen with the losse of their liues and goods to maintaine the free preaching of the Word, and the exercise of their Religion, according to the Confession of Augusta; and to that end commanded all their subiects and tenants to be readie in armes, that need so requiring, euerie thirtieth man, tenth, or fifth, might be prest to come forth vnto the wars. But hauing sent a supplication vnto the king, whereunto 180 of the Nobilitie had set their hands, and receiuing no answere, but that they should desist from their purpose, and without delay to make their appearance to take the oath of their alleageance vnto the king, they forthwith the 14 of September going to Horne, by letters sent vnto the rest of the Roman Catholicke States, protested themselues to be cleare before God and the whole world of all the euils and mischiefes that were afterward to ensue, if those States not regarding the appeasing and ending of those troubles, or the safetie of them their countreymen, should take their oath of allegeance vnto the king. And so forthwith raising an army, lest vpon the sudden they should be at Horne oppressed, they began by all meanes to prouide for their affaires. But the report thereof comming vnto the States of Bohemia and Morauia, their neighbors, they were from them giuen to vnderstand, that they would become intercessors for them vnto the King, and yet not to be wanting vnto them at their need, as occasion should require

The Protestant States in Austria require to haue the free exercise of their religion granted vnto them.

The Protestant States of Austria refuse to take their oath of allegeance vnto the king vntill they might be secured of the free exercise of their religion.

In

Presents sent vnto the Great Sultan from King Mathias.

In the meane time letters were brought from Constantinople to Vienna, declaring King *Matthias* his Embassadors (hauing audience with the great Sultan) to haue in an eloquent Oration on the Kings behalfe promised religiously to keepe the peace, of late made betwixt him, the *Othoman* Emperour, and the Hungarians: and afterward in the Kings name to haue offered his Presents vnto the Sultan, and hee in the presence of his chiefe Bassaes to haue receiued them. But when hee came to request the gouernement of Transyluania, he would in no wise thereto consent, but gaue the same to *Gabriel Bathor*, with commandement vnto the Bassa of Buda for the establishing of him in this Principalitie.

Matthias sendeth vnto the Protestat states at Horne.

About the beginning of October, the Counties of Trautsame and Furtsenburg were from King *Matthias* sent vnto the Protestant States at Horne, and shortly after them, *Maximilian* the Archduke followed also: who although they with most glorious promises sought to appease them, and by all means to draw them to take the oath of their allegeance; yet could they with them no whit preuaile, without granting of them the free exercise of their religion. But the 16 of October, the Catholicke States not expecting the consent of the Protestant States, at Vienna tooke the oath of allegeance vnto *Matthias* the new King of Hungarie, the great ordnance in the meane time thundring off, with drums and trumpets in euery place of the city sounding, and the rest of the day being with great feasting, triumph, and solemnitie spent.

The Catholique States take the Oath of allegeance vnto king Mathias.

K. *Mathias* hauing thus at Vienna receiued the oath of allegeance of the Catholicks, shortly after departing thence, the 22 of October comming to Presburg, was there by the nobilitie of Hungary receiued and brought into the city with 10000 souldiers: which States afterwards, *viz.* the 6 of Nouember, offered in writing vnto the King certaine articles, whereof they desired to be by him assured: most of which articles were drawne out of the pacification made at Vienna the 23 day of August, in the yeare 1606, the chiefe effect wherof was this: That the free exercise of religion should be permitted vnto all men in all the cities and townes of Hungarie, not so much as that city excepted wherein the king should be resident: That no German Captaine should be suffered in any the strong forts of Hungarie, but that the strong townes of Rab, Comora, Viuaria, and others, should be committed vnto the gouernment of natural Hungarians borne: That the crowne of Hungarie should still be kept in Hungarie, and committed to the keeping of temporall men: That first and before all other things, a Count Palatine should be chosen: That the king himselfe should alwaies reside in Hungarie; or if not, that the Palatine should in his absence haue full power, with the counsellors of Estate of Hungarie, to determine and conclude of all things, and that the King should therewithall hold himselfe contented: That no publicke office should bee bestowed vpon any, but vpon such naturall Hungarians as had of their countrie well deserued; nor permitted vnto any for money: That no Iesuites should be suffered in the Kingdome, neither that Ecclesiasticall men should bee so much fauored as formerly they had been: That officers should not be bound to giue account of the administration of their offices, but before the Treasurers of Presburg, being naturall Hungarians borne: That from henceforth money should not be carried out of the Kingdome, as hitherto it had beene: That the Palatine being dead, the King should within a yeare chuse another, the chiefe Iustice in the meane time after the old manner supplying his roome.

Articles by the Hungarians preferred vnto King Matthias at Presburg.

King Matthias goeth to Presburg.

The Protestant States of Austria craue ayd of the Nobility and States of Hungarie.

The Protestant States of Austria and Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, then gathered together at Presburg; with request, that forasmuch as they could not by any intreaty obtain of the king the free exercise of their religion, as well within their cities as without, and that verie necessitie had driuen them by force of armes to seeke for the same, that they would by sending of them men, affoord them such aid as was vnto them due by the former pacification made at Vienna in the yeare 1606. Which troubles of Austria the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie desiring to haue appeased, sent *George Turson* and some others with letters of intercession in their behalfe vnto the Archduke *Maximilian*: which when they had deliuered vnto him, they receiued from him this answer, that king *Mathias* neuer thought to disturbe the common quiet of that countrie, or to attempt any thing against the priuiledges thereof, granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* of happy memory: but to grant vnto the cities the libertie of religion, he could by no means, partly in respect of conscience, partly for the danger that might thereof ensue from the Pope and the king of Spaine, and yet neuertheles, that he would promise to suffer and tollerat the free exercise of religion without the cities, and in the bestowing of publike offices to haue no respect of religion: yet with this

this condition, that they ſhould lay downe armes, ſubmit themſelues vnto the King, acknowledge their fault, and craue pardon for the ſame; for that in ſo doing, the States ſhould haply preuaile more than by force of armes. G

The Proteſtant States of Auſtria by the Hungarians aduiſed to lay downe armes, and to ſubmit themſelues vnto the King.

With which anſwer, ſeeing no better could be got, the Hungarian Embaſſadors going vnto the Proteſtant States of Auſtria, began by diuers reaſons earneſtly to perſuade them to ſubmit themſelues vnto the King. If the Hungarians ſhould (as they ſaid) giue aid vnto them of Auſtria, they ſhould in ſo doing, in ſtead of helping them, but do them more harme; for that the Hungarian power could not be brought into Auſtria but to the vtter deſtruction thereof. That the league betwixt the Hungarians and them of Auſtria was a general league, and concerned as well the Catholiques as the Proteſtants. That the Chriſtian religion was neuer with the ſword planted or defended, Chriſt himſelfe ſaying, them to be happie which therefore H ſuffer perſecution, and commanding *Peter* to put vp his ſword into his ſcabberd. That it was an eaſie matter for euery man to raiſe ſtirs and tumults, but that againe to appeaſe them was a far harder matter. That by the taking vp of armes, the free exercife of Religion could not be furthered or prouided for, it being rather dangerous, leſt the contrarie part preuailing, it ſhould be vtterly ſuppreſſed. That by this meanes Hungarie it ſelfe ſhould be expoſed to many dangers, for that not only new ſtirs might vpon this occaſion by the ſubiects thereof be raiſed, but other forein Princes take vp armes againſt it alſo; the Emperour by force of armes ſeeking for his right, and the Turkiſh Sultan by a new inuaſion going about to bring the ſame vnder his ſubjection: and telling them further, the Archduke to haue promiſed to take good order for al things, ſo that they would lay downe armes: and that the clemencie and bountie of thoſe princes being knowne, they were not to doubt but that they would indeed performe what they I had in word promiſed: and that the Hungarians could not now do or attempt any thing againſt the King: but that if it ſhould happen theſe two Archdukes being dead without heires male, the gouernment of theſe two Prouinces ſhould come vnto the Archduke *Ferdinand*, that then they ſhould haue more cauſe to helpe them of Auſtria againſt him. Morauia they ſaid to be a free countrey, and yet the King to haue thereunto giuen no more aſſurance for the libertie of religion, more than his bare promiſe. Wherefore ſeeing that both the fortune and chance of war was doubtfull, and that war was not without the great expence of mony to be maintained; that they were of opinion, it to be beſt for the Proteſtant States of Auſtria to lay down armes, and by way of requeſt to ſolicite their cauſe with the King. K

Illiſhaſchius choſen Palatine of Hungarie. Matthias at Presburg crowned King of Hungarie.

In the meane time, the griefes which of the Hungarians complained being taken away, and all controuerſies happily ended, *Illiſhaſchius* was by a general conſent choſen to be Palatine, and *Mathias* the 14 of Nouember openly proclaimed King of Hungary; and the 19 of the ſame month in S. *Martins* church at Presburg in this manner crowned: Firſt, the royal Crowne was in a ſtately chariot carried out of the caſtle vnto the church, with a great number of the Counſellors and Nobilitie of Hungarie attending the ſame; in which chariot were alſo carried ten Enſignes, with the armes of the Kingdome in them trilled vp; foure of the Hungarian Counſellors taking it out of the charet in a little cheſt couered with cloath of gold, and ſo carrying of it into the Chancel of the church. After which, King *Matthias*, together with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, followed on horſebacke, both attyred in Hungarian apparell, and ſo L going into the Chancel, there ſtayed about halfe an houre, vntill that he was by two Biſhops brought forth vnto the Altar, before whom ten of the Hungarian nobility caried the ten aforeſaid enſignes: after whom followed the Palatine with the Crowne, *Endeodius* with the royall Scepter, *Forgatſie* with the Apple of the kingdome, *Turſo* with K. *Stephens* ſword, *Tſechius* carrying the Pax, as they call it; *Budian* the Croſſe, the Cardinal *Forgatſie* ſaying Maſſe, with diuers biſhops and prelats helping of him; by whom the King was at the beginning of Seruice annointed with oyle: where, while the Epiſtle and Goſpel were in reading, the Cardinal ſet the crowne vpon the Kings head, all the people crying out, *Long liue* Matthias *the King of Hungarie*. But the King with the crowne vpon his head taking a drawne ſword out of *Sigefred Colloritz* the Marſhals hand, thrice brandiſhed it acroſſe ouer the Clergy mens heads, and receiued M the ſacrament at the Cardinals hand. The Maſſe being ended, he by an highway couered with cloth, going in his royal robes from S. *Martins* church, vnto the bare-foot Friers church, as he went, cauſed mony to be caſt abroad among the people. In which church after the firſt chapter of the Goſpell of S. *Iohn* being read, he made 28 Knights. From thence the king with the Crowne

A crowne yet on his head, and in his ſtately robes, went out of the citie at S. *Michaels* gate, and there on horſebacke was brought vnto an high ſtage couered with cloath, whereon he was ſworne vnto the Hungarians as their King, and they vnto him as his ſubiects: And afterward thrice mounting vp to horſe vpon a little hill made for that purpoſe, and to downe againe, and thrice brandiſhing his ſword acroſſe, he returned backe againe into the caſtle, where hee with *Maximilian* the Archduke, Cardinall *Forgatſie*, the Popes Nuntio, and the Palatine ſat downe at one table, the reſt of the Hungarian nobility, to the number of 70, ſitting downe at ſix other tables, and ſo dining with great mirth; the Haiducks and common ſort of people beeing there bountifully feaſted alſo: where many of them, in ſcrambling for the money that was caſt abroad, and in taking vp of the cloth from the ſcaffold, hauing their hands and fingers cut off, B and ſo lamed, carried from thence the wofull remembrance of that was there then done.

The ſolemnitie of this coronation thus paſt, king *Matthias* thought it good for him yet for a time to ſtay at Presburg, vntill that the new building in the caſtle was ended, which the nobilitie of Hungarie had appointed for the keeping of the Crowne of Hungarie, to the intent that he himſelfe might ſee the ſame, with other the royall ornaments, put thereinto, and ſealed vp with his owne ſeale: he in the mean while labouring to appeaſe diuers contentions, and to place fit men againe in the great offices of the common-weale: for that the Hungarians would by no means ſuffer the Germans to enioy any of the ſame: for which cauſe many of the chiefe officers, men of great authoritie, were diſplaced; and amongſt them, *Sigifrid Colloritz* alſo, a man who had moſt well deſerued of the kingdome of Hungarie: howbeit, ſhortly after he by C the counſell of *Maximilian* the Archduke was by the Hungarians themſelues (repenting them of that they had done) not only reſtored vnto his former offices, but had by them (and that not without his iuſt deſert) euen greater preferments offered him alſo; ſo mutable a thing the iudgment of the common people is. But *Illiſhaſchius*, now the Palatine of Hungarie, the 28 day of Nouember talking with the king *Matthias* at large, and earneſtly entreated with him in the behalfe of the Proteſtant States of Auſtria, eſpecially for that the other Proteſtant States of Hungary ſeemed now in their behalfe to be much moued alſo; and the Morauian Embaſſadors openly at the ſame time proteſting, that their ſtates could in no wiſe forſake them their friends the States of Auſtria, if their need ſo required. And albeit that both the Elector of Saxony, and other Princes of the Empire, were become earneſt interceſſours alſo vnto the king for them, D yet the Popes Nuntio ſo hardly withſtood them, as nothing could as then be granted

About the beginning of December the king returning againe from Presburg to Vienna, about the 16 of December the Proteſtant States of Auſtria at length ſent *Erneſtus* the baron of Landau, *Maximilian Polheime*, *Sebaſtian Grobne*, *Charles Forberger*, *Pilgram* [illegible] and *Chriſtopher Buchner*, their Embaſſadors vnto the king, to bring them [illegible] truſt: who the 27 of December receiued anſwer, That they ſhould [illegible] ted with ſuch anſwer as they had before receiued, and to ſubmit themſelues to [illegible] ſuſe, or els to do what they themſelues ſaw good. With which anſwer they return forthwith began to leuie new forces, and to perſuade their ſubiects, [illegible] oathes, they ſhould faithfully ſerue whitherſoeuer and [illegible]

E And now a great army of the Proteſtant States of Auſtria [illegible] ſa and Spaine, ſo that thoſe two townes were thought to be [illegible] ſtrengthening of wich places, *Bucheime* was by the king [illegible] tain pieces of great ordnance, and an Edict withall [illegible] States to be preſent at Vienna the 21 day of the ſame [illegible] to the king. Howbeit, they moſt ſtifly ſtill refuſed [illegible] they had before required: inſomuch, that *Maximilian* the Archduke little laboured in this cauſe, was quite out of hope to [illegible] any good end thereof. In the mean time certain of [illegible] ing about to haue taken vp a place, ſuch as they thought [illegible] F like to haue bin diſappointed of the ſame by the [illegible] which matter *Bucheime* comming forth with [illegible] troups of horſe, and 3 companies of foot, there [illegible] fought the 13 of Ianuarie: in which skirmill [illegible] of *Gerrane* his men not ſo many, they hauing [illegible]

Illiſhaſchius [illegible] *Bucheime* [illegible] *Gerrane* [illegible] there

A ſecret aſſembly of themſelues to be holden in the new court at Prague.

the skirmish holpen both for the defence of themselues and the annoying of their enemies. G Whereof the king hauing knowledge, and therewith much moued, beside the aforesaid Edict, caused another to be proclaimed at Vienna, against such souldiers as serued the Protestants; proscribing them all, and pronouncing them Rebels, except before the 21 day of Ianuary, they laying downe arme[illegible] parted out of the Protestants campe. Howbeit, the Protestant States were so far fro[illegible] mitting their forces, as that they with new supplies strengthened the same: and hauing tak[illegible] an hill not far from Hallenbynne, and from thence discharging three tire of 20 pieces of great ordnance, strucke a great feare and terror into the minds of the kings souldiers within the towne.

The States of Morauia make intercession for the Protestant States of Austria.

About this time also the States of Morauia (that nothing might on their p[illegible]bee wanting for the making of an attonement betwixt the king and the Protestant Sta[illegible] Austria) sent H some of their Embassadors vnto those States at Horn, and othersome vnto t[illegible]ing at Vienna; who hauing accesse vnto the king, declared vnto him the States of Morauia, from whom they came, to be earnestly importuned by the Protestant States of Austria, to send them aid, according to the agreement made with them the yeare before: and told him moreouer, That this manner of his proceeding tended not vnto peace and quietnesse, but rather vnto the trouble and destruction both of the kingdom and of all the other Prouinces to him belonging: all that error, the ground of those troubles (they said) to depend of a peruerse interpretation or misconstruing of words, rather than of the matter it selfe; so that it might by men desirous of peace easily be composed and ended. And that therefore [illegible] request vnto his Maiestie was, That he hauing regard not onely vnto the good and welfa[illegible] of his prouinces and subiects, but I euen of himselfe and of his honour also, would of his clem[illegible]tie and goodnesse vouchsafe to giue remedie vnto the present danger, and auert the miserable calamities now hanging ouer them, and euen readie to fall vpon their heads. The Protestant States they said to be content to put the controuersie to be decided and composed by certaine graue and wise men, to be chosen arbitrators on both parts; yet with this condition, That for the space of 14 daies no hostility should on either side be vsed: that the inhabitants both aboue and beneath Amisum should be compriſed within this truce: that such as were kept in durance for their religion, should be set at libertie: and that all high waies and passes should be from all ambushes, and other dangers cleared. Vnto which their requests the king condescending, gaue leaue vnto the States of Morauia, vpon they most equall conditions the could deuise, to compose and end all matters: K

The articles of the pacification in Austria.

who so laboured in this businesse betwixt the king and the Protestant States of Austria, that at length, *viz.* the 12 of March, a pac[illegible]ion was made betwixt the king and them his subiects; *Leopold* the Archduke, *Melinus* the P[illegible] Nuntio, the Bishop of Vienna, and other great men of the contrarie Religion and faction, [illegible]king in vaine to haue letted the same: the chiefe articles and points of which pacification were these: That the nobility in their castles & towns, as also in their houses in the cities, should for themselues and their people haue the free exercise of their Religion: That the free exercise of preaching might be vsed the in 3 Churches at Hersdore, Trihelsuincell, and Horne: That the other Churches shut vp, might againe bee opened by three of the Romish and three of the reformed Religion, and the free exercise of Religion in them vsed: That counsellors and other publicke officers should from thenceforth L indifferently be chosen of men of both Religions; but that such offices as were hereditarie should so still remaine: That the Election of Magistrates and other publicke officers in towns and cities, should from thenceforth be made by the Magistrates and citizens themselues, & not to be nominated from the Court, as hitherto they had bin: That no Church should hereafter be shut against either part, but their owne Churches to be left vnto them both, quietly to vse: That the townsmen and citizens in their townes and cities should from thenceforth haue power to make choice of their Ministers and preachers: and that for them it should be lawfull to visit the sicke, and to administer vnto them the Lords Supper: That the oath of alleageance should be taken of them of the reformed Religion, in like manner as it had bin before taken of them of the Romish, but yet not with the same ceremonies of the Romish church; all vnion & M confederation with them to be had, to be taken away: that all grudging hatred, and quarrell should be on both sides forgiuen, & for euer forgotten: *Wolfgang* of Hoffkirch, *Voltsogius* and others remoued & p[illegible]rom their offices, for not taking the oth of alegeance, being again receiued into fauor, and restored into their places: That it might be lawfull for the townes & cities aboue

A aboue Amisum, to haue the free exercise of the reformed Religion in their Suburbs and Hospitals.

The States of the Reformed Religion in Austria take the oath of obedience vnto King Matthias.

It was not long after this Pacification so made, but that King *Matthias* the seuenteenth of May going to Lintze with three hundred horse, was there with eight troupes of horsemen, and fifteene companies of foot, by the States sent forth to meet him, most honourably receiued, and by three triumphal Arches brought into the citie: where he receiued of the States of the Religion, the Oath of their obedience: which with much joy, triumph, and feasting performed, hee the seuen and twentieth of the same moneth againe returned to Vienna. The aforesaid States of Austria in the meane time with great zeale continuing the free exercise of their Religion at Horne; a great multitude of people dayly reforting vnto the Sermons there B made: they of the Romish Religion much grieuing and fretting thereat. The King himselfe also being come to Vienna, put diuers of the Romish Catholiques out of their Offices, and placed others of the Reformed Religion in their roomes, to the great discontentment of many.

The Turks seek secretly to encroach vpon the Christians, and the Christians seeke againe to annoy them.

About this time the Bassa of Agria, notwithstanding the peace, had for the summe of twentie thousand crownes before hand payed, secretly compacted with one *Andrew Drake*, to haue the strong towne of Fileck in the vpper Hungarie deliuered vnto him. Which the traitor had intended (as he himselfe confessed) to haue performed, by setting of the house wherein hee himselfe dwelt, by night on fire: vnto the quenching whereof the garrison souldiers reforting, his purpose was in the meane time to haue secretly let in the Turks, and so to haue deli-C uered the towne into their hands. But this his so wicked a purpose in good time discouered, and by him confessed, he was therefore, as he had well deserued) aliue cut into foure pieces: a just reward for his foule intended treason. The Bassa of Buda also, contrarie to the treatie of peace, about the same time went about to haue exacted the Oath of allegeance of aboue foure hundred countrey villages of the Christians, being not comprised within the foresaid treatie. But as the Turkes for their part were secretly plotting how to encroach vpon the Christians, and to do them harme; so the Haiduckes on the other side in great numbers gathered together in the vpper Hungarie, began here and there to molest and trouble the Turkes, vntill they were by their Superiours commanded to desist from so doing, for disturbing of the Peace.

Illishaschius the Palatine of Hungarie dieth.

D Now about this time also, *Illishaschius* the Countie Palatine of Hungary died at Vienna; a man much beloued of the Hungarians his countreymen, and now by them no lesse lamented for: whose dead bodie was with great honour afterward conueyed from Vienna, vnto his owne territorie in Hungarie, and there with all funeral pompe buried with his Ancestors. In whose stead *George Turson* was afterward by the general consent of an hundred and fifty of the Hungarian Nobilitie chosen Countie Palatine of Hungarie, and so with the vniuersal and solemne acclamations of the people saluted.

New troubles for Religion arise in Bohemia.

And now the troubles for Religion were scarcely wel ended in Austria (as is aforesaid) but that the like, or rather worse, began forthwith, euen for the same quarrel, to arise in Bohemia; the Hussites (as they call them) most earnestly importuning the Emperor for the free exercise E of their Religion, or rather for the taking away of certaine grieuances done to their Religion: and the Romane Catholiques euen at the same time leauing nothing vnattempted, which might serue to bring them of the Religion into hatred with the Emperour, and others sitting at the helme of the gouernment of the Estate, and so to frustrate whatsoeuer the Emperour had in the general Assembly of the States, the last yeare granted vnto them of the Religion, for the free exercise and aduancement thereof. The composing of which controuersie, (tending vnto the rending in sunder of the whole Kingdome) when as the Emperor had referred vnto certaine of his chiefe Counsellours, and they altogether fauouring the Romane Catholiques, would giue them of the Religion no certaine answer whereon to rest; they therewith much discontented, as out of hope to be by them relieued, and in great feare to be by

The States of the religion appoint an Assembly of themselues to be holden in the new court at Prague.

F their Aduersaries, as enemies vnto the State, oppressed, layed their heads together, and after good deliberation taken, what were best for them to do, both for the safetie of themselues, their wiues, children, and Religion; they by a general consent, of themselues appointed the fourth of May to hold a general meeting of them of the Religion, in the new court at Prague, there

these to consult of all matters concerning the businesse of Religion. And yet in the meane time openly in Parliament protesting, by the mouth of *Wentceslaus Bodouitsius* a Baron of Bohemia, Them to haue appointed this Assemblie for the Emperors good, and for the common quiet of the whole Realme; as also for the better informing of the Emperour of all matters: and to prouide that the Emperor and the kingdome might not through the meanes and persuasions of those euill Counsellors be brought into extreme perill and danger. Immediatly after, the States of the Religion with all speed dispatched their Embassadors vnto King *Matthias*, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Saxonie, and the Duke of Brunswicke; to request them, by their intercession to become mediators for them vnto the Emperor, for the obtaining of the free exercise of their Religion, which in all points agreed with the confession of Augusta, and which long before was exhibited vnto *Maximilian* the Emperour and by him allowed. Now in the meane time these the States of the Religion were by some for their proceedings commended; but by other some not onely blamed, but also accused of rebellion against the Emperour and the State. But the matter being declared vnto the Emperour, he complaining vnto himselfe of the inconsiderateness of his Counsellors; to maintaine his authoritie, caused the parliament then in hand to be prorogued; and to seeme of himselfe to grant that which he could not well withstand, commanded by a Decree, that same verie day to be appointed for the concluding of that article of Religion, on which the States themselues had before appointed their assembly to be holden in the new court at Prague. Notwithstanding which Decree, many troublesome spirits publiquely set forth other their conceits in writing, to far other purpose, grieuously therein reprehending the States of the Religion, for that of themselues they had appointed a day for their assembly into the new Court at Prague: Which (as they said) was nothing els but in a rebellious manner to rise against the Lawes of the Kingdome, and the authority of their lawfull Prince: and therefore admised them to forbeare from making any such assemblie as was by them appointed. Hereof arose great troubles euen vnder the Emperors nose, in Prague the chiefe citie of Bohemia, they of the Religion not daring to trust the Roman Catholiques, neither they them; being still ready vpon euery false report, or vaine surmise, to go together by the eares: vntill that the Emperour for the staying of these troubles, and the auoyding of further danger, was glad to cause it to be openly proclaimed in the new Court at Prague, That his Imperial Majestie hauing receiued and vnderstood the Apologie of the States, now did abrogate that his Edict published against them but a few dayes before; and now by this his new Edict did account all the States of the Religion for his faithfull and well beloued Subiects; and as of them vnto whom the right of the Kingdome, and the King his oath bound, as wel as to all other States of the kingdome. And that he also had those the same States excused, in that they for the good of his Majestie, and of the whole Kingdome, had appointed their assemblie in the new Court at Prague: and that therefore he denounced them in so doing, not in any thing to haue done any thing contrarie vnto his Majestie. And that he appointed the fiue and twentieth day of May for the general assembly of Parliament to be holden in the castle of Prague, for the ending of the Article concerning Religion, and the reforming of other the publique grieuances of the Commonweale: yet with this prouiso, That the said States should safely and quietly come vnto the said Parliament, without entertaining of any forreine souldiers; as that his Majesty should also, not by himselfe nor any other, for pay entertaine any, or suffer any forreine souldiers to come into the Kingdome. Which the Emperors Edict being proclaimed, the States of the Religion hauing made their publique prayers, and sung certain Hymnes and Psalmes vnto the glory of God, for the good successe of their businesse, left the new court at Prague, and returned euery man home to their owne houses, to make themselues readie to come vnto the Parliament to be holden at the appointed day.

The Emperor maketh faire weather with the States of the Religion in Bohemia.

The States of Bohemia by writing declare vnto the Emperor their purpose for the defence of their Religion.

But the day appointed for the Parliament being come, and the Emperour still delaying the matter, the States of the Religion wearie of such long delayes, and in doubt to bee therewith deluded, as hauing not receiued from the Emperour any such answer as whereon to rest, the third of Iune offered vnto the Emperour a short writing, concerning their griefe and further purpose, to this effect. They had (as they said) expected, and well hoped, that regard being had not onely of so many requests of so great and most noble Princes, made in their

A their behalfe; but euen of the Emperour his promise also, made vnto them, both in the generall assembly of the States the last yeare, and in the late precept of the Emperours also, they should at length haue receiued such answer vnto their petition, concerning the free exercise of their Religion, as whereon they might haue safely rested. Which for that it had not beene yet done, they referred the doing thereof vnto God and future time; imputing the blame thereof not vnto his Imperiall Majestie, but vnto the vnquiet and troublesome natures of some as well the Ecclesiasticall as Temporall magistrates and persons. But forasmuch as they meant not longer to be deluded by their enemies, and much lesse to be defrauded of his Majesties royall promise, which was now vnto the World knowne, they had thought good to offer and present vnto his Maiestie a writing conceiued in the Bohemian tongue: according
B vnto which they desired to be secured, concerning the free exercise of their Religion; most humbly requesting his Maiestie to accept of the same, and at length to satisfie their requests. Which if it might not be granted (the Emperour his Maiestie hauing more respect vnto the troublesome Clergie men, and some other his euill affected counsellors, than to the faithfull States and subiects of his Kingdome) that then they would rest themselues vpon the Decree made in the assembly holden in the yeare 1608, and vpon the last edict of his Maiestie: yet with this solemne protestation, That seeing they had by certain information vnderstood, much warlike preparation (but especially in Bauaria) to be made, and diuers consultations in many places to be holden against the States of the Religion (his Imperiall Maiestie and the other his faithfull Counsellours, thereof not knowing) which might tend vnto the ruine and de-
C struction both of his Maiestie and of the whole Kingdome: they themselues would take vpon them the defence thereof, and to doe their endeauour, that furnished with men and armes, they might to the vttermost of their power defend him their Soueraigne, together with themselues, and the whole Kingdome, against the force and inuasion of their foreine enemies.

Embassadours from the Duke of Saxonie in the behalfe of the States.

In the meane time while these things were thus in doing, an Embassadour came from the Duke of Saxonie to Prague, to intreat the Emperour for the States, and for the granting of them the free exercise of their Religion: the Embassadours of the States of Silesia forthwith following of them also; who in like manner requesting also of the Emperour, to haue the liberty for the free exercise of their Religion by him confirmed vnto them; promised their

The States of Bohemia raise their forces.

D most readie help and aid vnto the States of Bohemia, if need should so require. But the States of Bohemia hauing from day to day in vaine expected answer from the Emperour, turning themselues vnto their former resolution for the defence of themselues and of their Religion; forthwith raised a great number both of horse and foot, whome with their well knowne captaines and Commanders they brought euen vnto the citie of Prague. Howbeit at length, *viz.* the eleuenth of Iuly, the Saxon Embassadors earnestly soliciting their cause, and vrging their request, they according to their desire receiued answer from the Emperour, by letters from his Maiestie written to this effect.

The Emperors letters vnto the States of the religion in Bohemia, for the free exercise of their Religion.

Hee gaue all men (as hee said) to vnderstand, and by these his letters witnessed to eternall memorie, That after that all the free States of his Kingdome of Bohemia, which, in the re-
E ceiuing of the Lords Supper, participate the bodie and bloud of our Lord Christ Iesus vnder both kindes, his faithfull subiects, had in the assemblie holden in the castle at Prague in the yeare 1608; in all humilitie requested, That it might be lawfull for them to hold, and freely to exercise their Religion, according to the Confession of Augusta (as some call it) exhibited vnto his father *Maximilian* the Emperour of most happie memorie, and by him vnto the said States allowed: and that he then and at that time, by reason of other most weightie businesse, for which that assemblie was then called, and such as could suffer no procrastination or delay, had thought it good to deferre the allowing and ratifying of this their petition, vnto this present assemblie of Parliament: and that the same States now againe assembled, incessantly renewing this their former petition, and hauing thereunto joyned also the request and
F intercession of certaine noble personages, had requested to be therein satisfied: and that hee with his Counsellours would consult how prouision might bee made for his subiects in the Kingdome of Bohemia, as well communicating vnder both kindes, as vnder one; now at length to haue effected the same. Wherefore seeing that his will and desire was, that both in

in these and future times peace and quietnesse might for the increasing of the Kingdome be preserued and kept amongst his subiects of all the three estates of the Kingdome of Bohemia, communicating as well vnder the one, as vnder both kindes: that both parties might freely and without any impediment or let, haue the free exercise of their Religon, whereby they were [illegible] in hope to obtaine euerlasting saluation. And to the intent that accomplishmen[illegible]tisfaction might in all poynts bee made, as well according vnto the breaking vp of the assemblie of Parliament in the yeare 1608, as to the performance of his owne precept, of late published (whereby hee hath acknowledged, and euen yet acknowledgeth, those same Estates communicating vnder both kindes, and subscribing to this confession, for his faithfull and loyall subiects, vnto whom the rights and immunities of the Kingdome of Bohemia belonged) hee by the common consent of the Councellours, and other Magistrates of the Kingdome did determine, That his subiects communicating both vn[illegible]one and both kindes, should friendly and peaceably liue together, without wronging or reuiling of one another; and that vpon the payne and penaltie in the Law set downe, to be inflicted vpon them that should otherwise doe. And moreouer, seeing that they which communicated but vnder one kinde, enioyed the free exercise of their Religion in all poynts throughout the Kingdome of Bohemia, that hee gaue leaue and commaunded, that they also which communicated vnder both kindes, *viz.* all the States of the Religion, with all such as embraced the Confession of Bohemia, sometime exhibited to *Maximilian* the Emperour his father, in the [illegible]liament holden in the yeare 1575, and now againe to himselfe presented, should e[illegible]e where and in all places of the Kingdome, haue the free exercise of their Religion, without the let or interruption of any; to retaine the same, vntill a generall vnion of Religion, and an ending of all dissention and controuersies might bee made. Moreouer, That hee did grant vnto the States of the Religion this fauour, That they should haue the lower Consistorie at Prague, with power to conforme the same according to their owne Confession. That they might lawfully make their Priestes, as well in the Bohemian as Germane Tongue, and set them ouer their Churches, without any let of the Archbishop of Prague. That hee did also restore vnto them the Vniuersitie of Prague, which for many yeares agoe belonged vnto the States of the Religion vnder both kindes: giuing them power againe to open the same, to furnish it with graue and learned men of their owne Confession, to beautifie it with good Lawes, and to appoint certaine of [illegible]ir owne companie and profession for Gouernours and defendors as well of the Con[illegible]ion as of the Vniuersitie: whome so by the States appointed and chosen, hee without any [illegible]tay or delay, or other instruction or information than they should from the States receiue, would confirme in that their office, and pronounce them for the lawfull Defendours: yet so, as that if hee beeing letted by other greater businesse, cannot performe the same within the space of foureteene dayes, they shall neuertheless continue Defendours, and as well enioy the charge of the office committed vnto them, as if they had beene therein by him confirmed: and that one or other of their number beeing dead, it shall bee lawfull for the States to chuse other in their places. And if that beside the Churches which they now hold, they would build other moe, or erect moe schooles for the instructing of the youth, it shall bee lawfull for them freely and without any let so to doe, as well in the Cities as in the Countrey Townes and villages. And forasmuch as in some of the Cities of the Kingdome of Bohemia, men of both religions dwelt together, hee therefore did will and commaund, That for the preseruation of peace and quietnesse, either part freely exercising their religion, and obeying their Priests, should by no meanes either hurt or trouble them on the other part; and much lesse to hinder them to burie their dead in their Churches or Church-yards, with the ringing or tolling of the Bels, or goe about to turne any man from his Religion, of what state or condition so euer he bee, whether hee dwell in the Citie or in the Countrey towne or village; or by force to draw them to their opinion, or to take their part. For that he onely respected, that peace and quietnesse might be kept, and that mutuall loue might still grow amongst all the three States: Vnto which end and purpose, that hee for himselfe and his heires, and the Kings of Bohemia his Successo[illegible], in the Faith and word of a King, did graunt and promise vnto the States

A States of the Religion, vnto whom this common peace of Religion (as they call it) belongeth; as to a principal member of the Empire, all these things to be for euer inuiolably kept (the Ecclesiastical and temporal persons whosoeuer in vaine resisting) so that no contrarie precept or Edict, should either by himselfe, or any other his heires or successors be published against the States of the Religion; or being published by any, should be accounted effectual and strong: especially seeing that he by these his letters, pronounceth all the Edicts hitherto published against these the States of the Religion, to be voyd, frustrate, and of none effect. Neither would that any thing of those which were done by the States of the Religion whilest they sought for the confirmation of this Article concerning Religion, should for euer be layed to their charge, or by any man by way of reproch objected vnto them. And that
B therefore he straightly charged and commanded all Magistrates, and such as bare rule in Bohemia, to the vttermost of their power to protect and defend all the three States, together with them of the Religion; and neither themselues to trouble them, nor suffer them to be by any others for the exercise of their Religion molested or troubled: For that he and other the Kings of Bohemia his Successours, would most seuerely chastise all such as should offend against these his Majesties letters (which to be for euer remembred, he would cause the same to be enrolled in the publique Records of Parliament) whether such offendors were Ecclesiasticall or Temporall men, to bee sharpely punished as the troublers of the Common Peace.

This was the summe of his Majesties Letters, which he caused to be publiquely set vp in
C the Castle of Prague the thirteenth of Iuly, that it might be to all men knowne, this Article of Religion, which was the first of the Articles in this Parliament propounded, to be concluded and agreed vpon according to the minde of the States of the Religion, and so their requests to be in all points satisfied. Who forthwith thereupon, the fifteenth day of Iuly caused the first publique Sermon according to the confession of Augusta, to be preached in the German tongue in a Church of them of the Religion, which had for a long time before beene shut vp. At which time they also sent vnto the Elector of Saxonie, to send vnto them certaine learned men, for the setting vp of the Vniuersitie, and the gouerning of the Consistorie at Prague. And yet for all this, the Embassadors for the States of Silesia still earnestly labo-
D ring with the Emperor for the libertie of Religion to be granted to the said States and the rest of the inhabitants of the Prouince; the States of Bohemia refused in any wise to dismisse their souldiers whom they had mustered neere vnto Roggenson, vntill the Silesians were of their request in that point satisfied: offering also vnto the Emperor a large libell of the grieues of them the said States.

Now it may be that some hauing read so much as is before written concerning these late troubles about the free exercise of the reformed Religion, but especially in Bohemia, Austria, Morauia, and Silesia, may deeme the same both tedious and beside our purpose: vnto whom indeed it is not written; but rather vnto such as who together with my selfe (the wars betwixt the Christians and the Turks ended, & the peace concluded as is aforesaid) desire yet to know in what state those frontier Countries stand; which being the greatest Bulwarkes of
E that side of Christendome, and the chiefe Territories of the House of Austria, are (the peace being either expired, or otherwise broken off) most subiect vnto the furie of the puissant enemie, as neerest vnto him, and so like soonest to feele of his great force and power, prefining vnto it selfe neither bounds nor measure, so long as there is any thing farther. Against whom the Christian Emperour had no other Forces of his owne to oppose, more than such as hee could raise out of the reliques of Hungarie, and the aforesaid frontier Countries. All together but weake helpes against so puissant an Enemie, as neuer commeth into the field but with a world of men following of him: but yet much weaker, being (as now of late they were) euerie one of them apart diuided in themselues about matters of Religion, the incurable maladie
F of the Christian Estates and Commonweales; the heauie and lamentable effect whereof too much of late appeared in the losse of Strigonium, won by the Turks with a far lesse army than euer the Grand Seigniors Lieutenant General was woont to come into Hungarie withall: and yet the Christian Emperour by reason of the reuolt of the Hungarians (vpon a discontment about the exercise of their Religion) not able of himselfe to relieue the distressed citie of

Stri-

Strigonium, or yet to put an armie of any ſtrength into the field, for the defence of the reſt of his cities or territories. So weake are euen the greateſt Princes, their ſubiects being among themſelues in mindes diuided.

The Turkes Embaſſadour commeth to Vienna, and from thence to Prage

But not to ſtray farther, the Turks Embaſſador in the meane time with a notable traine of an hundred and [illegible] Turks comming from Vienna the one and twentieth of September, and there hauing [illegible], and with great gifts preſented the King, ſet forward toward Prague, where he was by the Citiſens and certaine Noblemen of the Emperours Councell the 12 of October honourably receiued; and the 19 of the ſame moneth admitted vnto the Emperors preſence, firſt preſented vnto him from the Great Sultan his Maſter, a rich Tent of diuers colours, moſt curiouſly wrought with faire Orient Pearle of great value; and three foure couragious horſes, all furniſhed with moſt rich and ſumptuous furniture. He preſented vnto him alſo certaine Turkiſh weapons ſet and garniſhed with pretious ſtones, and a Princely Turks robe ſuch as they vſe at their marriages, gliſtering with gold and pretious ſtones, with diuers other rare things of leſſe value: together with which he deliuered vnto him the Great Sultans Letters; and withall deſired the confirmation of the Peace before made for twentie yeares, to be now againe renewed. Vnto which Embaſſadour Letters were afterward deliuered from the Emperor, together with certaine other rich Preſents to be by him preſented vnto the Great Sultan: *viz.* certaine Caroches lined within with Damaske, and couered without with blacke Veluet; ſix faire and gallant horſes moſt richly furniſhed; a Clocke of wonderfull workmanſhip; two faire Desks to write vpon of Ebo[illegible]; with diuers other like Preſents of no ſmall price. Who ſo charged with Preſents, and bountifully rewarded, and to his good liking anſwered, was afterward in the beginning of Ianuarie with a traine of 200 horſe from Prague honourably diſmiſſed.

HERE

A Here followeth a Continuation of this preſent Hiſtorie (containing thoſe occurrents which haue happened to the Turkiſh Empire ſince the yeare of our Lord, 1609, vnto the yeare, 1617, &c.)

By EDWARD GRIMSTON, *Sargeant at Armes.*

THe Turkiſh Emperour, hauing beene freed ſome yeares from the care of warres in Hangarie, in regard that hee had concluded a truce for twentie yeares with the Emperour *Rodulphus*, he now bent all his forces againſt his Rebels in Aſia, and the Sophie of Perſia, where hee had no good ſucceſſe this yeare. For the Perſians hauing formerly extended their monarchie farre into the Turkiſh Empire, and defeated *Cicala Baſſa* and others in diuers battels; now they entered into the Prouince of Babylon, with a deſigne to joyne it to Perſia. *Achmat* to ſtay the courſe of their proſperitie, ſends a mightie armie thither, vnder the command of *Naſſut Baſſa*: but his fortune was no better than thoſe that went before him. The Perſians came to meet him, gaue him battell, defeated him, and ſlew 20000 of his men. Theſe mournfull newes comming to Court, did much diſtemper the Sultans minde; he could not endure it ſhould be ſaid, that the Perſian had defeated his mighty armies thrice in open battel; and much leſſe that it ſhould be ſo, and that hee ſhould ſeiſe vpon his countries: wherefore to repaire this loſſe, hee leuies new forces to be commanded by *Gambolat Baſſa* of Aleppo, who had beene the moſt powerful Rebell in Aſia, and was newly reconciled and brought into fauour with the graund Seignior. This man came to the Port to receiue the Sultans commandements, and to paſſe his armie into Aſia: but whether hauing ſome ſuſpition, that hee had intelligence with the Perſians, or that ſuch as enuied his greatneſſe, had giuen ſome bad impreſſion of his loyaltie to the Sultan; within ſome few daies after his arriuall, *Achmat* cauſed him to be ſlaine by his Capigi. Whereby wee may well obſerue, that hee that is a Rebell to his Prince, which hath ſo violently oppreſt his ſubiects, and ſet his countries on fire by ſedition, the which he hath been forced to quench with the bloud of innocents, cannot but end his daies violently and miſerably, ſeeing that God reuengeth the bloud of innocents vpon the guiltie.

1610

The Perſians enter into the Prouince of Babylon.

The Turkes defeated.

The Turke makes Gambolat Generall of his armie.

Hee commands him to be ſlaine

The Perſian ſeeing what aduantage hee had gotten of the Turke, laboured by the bruit of his victories, to draw the Chriſtian Princes vnto his partie, and with them wholly to ruine the *Othomans*; the which he had ſo happily begun For the effecting whereof, he ſent his Embaſſadors to the Emperor being at Prague, to perſuade him to breake the peace with the Turke, and to joyne with him. The Embaſſadors arriued at Prague this yeare with rich and rare Preſents: firſt a croſſe of gold inricht with many precious ſtones; amongſt which there was one piece of amber, whereon was ſeene the figure of the Virgin *Marie*, holding her young Babe in her armes; the which was ſo artificially grauen, as it might be thought the worke of nature: a Topas of exceeding greatneſſe, giuen to the king of Perſia by an Indian king: two kniues of [illegible]maske, with hafts of jaſper, and their ſheaths couered with diamonds: a certaine kind of Indian wood of moſt excellent vertue, moſt ſoueraigne to cure the paines of the breſt, and to purge the ſtomacke: the gall of a pellican excellent to cure the pleuriſie, appoplexie, and feuer: two topazes the one white, and the other violet; this laſt was ſo big, as it was capable to make a cup: an Amathiſt as big as a hens egge; a Perſian bow inlaid with the veines of a cammell, and a rough diamond exceeding great; a white ſtone of the colour of water, which was a preſeruatiue againſt plague, beeing hung about ones necke; three orientall pearles exceeding big; three rich eſcarbuncles, and three marueilous faire diamonds; and withall this a ſerpents horne, much eſteemed for the rare vertues. All theſe Preſents were very wel accepted, and the embaſſadors much honored. But what apparance was there for the Emperor, who had ſo great differences with his brother *Matthias* king of Hungarie, who ſaw the greateſt part of his ſubiects rebelled againſt him, his Prouinces in diuiſion, Tranſyluania in combuſtion by the conſpiracie which had bin diſcouered againſt *Battori*, and finally a generall diſorder ouer all, to breake the peace with the Turk, (who was at his dore, retained only with this bar) and to allie himſelfe with the Perſian ſo far from his countries, from whom he could draw no ſuccors, but onely

Embaſſadors come from the Perſian to the Emperour.

Preſents ſent to the Emperor

His affairs will not ſuffer him to joyne with the Perſian

and at his returne from Hierusalem and Palestina, went to receiue in Heauen the glorious palmes of his holy actions. The gallies of Biserta had beene accustomed to fetch prunes there in that season (which was in the Spring time) whom the gallies of Malta had a designe to surprise. But the contrarie winds, and the tempestuous seas ouerthrew that enterprise, yet their voyage was not altogether vnprofitable; for returning towards Malta, beeing within the channell, which diuides the Island from that of Sicilie, they encountered with a great gallion of Tunes, armed by a Turke called *Carousinan*, beeing in view of the gallies of Malta: The Rayse (who commanded) assured his companie, and (smiling) promised to free them from their enemies. Being so transported with vanitie, as he spake confidently, that he would not feare twentie of the gallies of Malta: but this his pride was soone abated with his ruine; for the fiue gallies came close vnder him, and plied him so furiously with their cannon, as they sunke him. The gallie wherein *Verdelli* an Italian Knight commanded, had like to haue been lost, for beeing grapled with the gallion, if the diligence of *Verdelli* had not speedily retired it. The Turks after the losse of their vessell, began to swim away, but they were all made slaues to serue in the gallies of Malta, who this yeare had no other fruits of their generous enterprises.

The gallies of Malta sent to surprise them of Biserta.

They sinke a gallion of Tunes.

The gallies of *Cosmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuskanie, parted from Ligorne, vnder the conduct of the Commander, and Admirall *Inghirami*, and running alongst the coast of Barbarie, they tooke a Turkish ship in the sight of Algier, loaden with merchandise, armes, and munition of warre, freeing many Christian slaues which were in it. This happie beginning promised them better fortune. They passe on, and sometwentie fiue leagues beyond Algiers they goe to surprise the towne of Bisquerre, a small towne in circuit, but strong and well walled. *Inghirami* drawing neere vnto the coast, tooke downe his masts, lest they should discouer his comming. In the meane time he sent two long boats to finde some place fit for their landing; the which being carefully obserued, Colonell *Bindy* landed his men, and about eleuen a clocke at night marched in good order towards the towne, and forced it. The darkenesse of the night kept them from spoyling it; beeing content onely to set their guards and Sentinels in the most important places of the wall: but day beeing come, the souldiers made themselues maisters of the towne, which they sacked and spoyled. Certaine Moores and Turkes, during the obscuritie of the night, had retired themselues into a Mosque which they fortified: They were summoned to yeeld; but the feare of beeing slaues, (which they could not auoid) made them resolue to die in their owne defence; so as the Florentines hauing forced the place, put them all to the sword; and then embarqued their troupes, hauing filled Bisquerre with fire and bloud. The night following, beeing in the Gulph called the Bad woman, they met with a pinnace loaden with corne, the which they tooke, and sent to Ligorne, and then they past on to encrease their conqueste. Beeing vpon the coast of Sardinia, two Galliots of Biserta did furnish them with a faire occasion. *Inghirami* sendeth his gallies to pursue them, who hauing had them in chase three-score leagues, tooke the one, wherein they had one hundred and twentie slaues, and freed many poore Christians from the chaine, who suffered the tyrannie of the Turkish seruitude. They also tooke a Turkish Gallie within halfe a league of Algier, and spoyled it. And thus triumphing ouer their enemies, they tooke their course towards Ligorne, hauing taken foure Turkish vessels, spoyled the towne of Bisquerre, and twice braued that of Algier.

The courses of the Duke of Tuscanie his gallies

They take a Turk-ish ship.

Bisquerre taken by the Florentines.

They take diuers Turkish Vessels.

This yeare was fatall for the Morisques or new Christians in Spaine, who being in number nine hundred thousand persons, as the originall writes, and had continued there from father to sonne, for the space of almost nine hundred yeares, were now in an instant banished, and made vagabonds with the blast of the Kings mouth: Men discoursed diuersly heereof. Some said, that the King had reason to do it, for that they had secret practises and intelligence with the Turke his capitall enemie. Others affirmed, that he did wisely to preuent their attempts against his Estate, which were to bee feared considering their numbers were so great. And some said plainely, that it was to haue their lands and inheritances, which had continued so long in their races. But the King declared his owne intent by his Edict, the which he published in these termes.

The Morisques or new Christians chased out of Spaine.

The King of Spaine: Edict.

The King: For that a Realme doth in conscience binde a good and Christian gouernment, to C expell out of all Realmes and Common-weales those things which breed scandall, and bring hurt to our good subiects, & danger to the Estate, but especially which are offensiue to God, and preiudiciall to his seruice: for this cause experience hauing taught vs, That the residence of the new Christian Morisques, and their abode in the Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andelosia, hath beene the cause of all these inconueniences: For that besides the manner of their proceeding, which ioyned in the rebellion of Granado, the which began by cruell murthers of all the Priests and old Christians which liued amongst them, calling the Turke in to their aid; yet hauing drawne them out of the said Countrey, and suffered them to liue in our other Prouinces, so as they would repent them of their faults, and liue faithfully and Christian like, according to the precepts and iust ordinances which H were giuen them: They haue not obserued and kept them according to the strict and direct rules of our Holy Faith: but haue alwayes made shew to contemne it, and to haue no feare to offend God; as hath beene seene by the great numbers which haue beene punished by the Inquisition: and besides, they haue committed many thefts and murthers against the old Christians. And not content herewith, they haue conspired against my Royall Crowne and Realmes, seeking aid and succours from the Turke, certaine interposed persons beeing sent to that effect, and doing the like with other Princes, promising vnto themselues ayde and assistance, offering vnto them their persons and goods. And seeing that during so many yeares, in which they haue practised these treasons and conspiracies, not any one hath come to reueale them, but they haue alwayes couered, concealed, and I denied them; it is a most apparant signe, that they haue all beene of one minde and will, against the seruice of God and of mee, and against the good of this Realme; yet they might haue imitated many Knights of theirs, of generous extraction, who haue done seruice to God, to the Kings our progenitours, and to vs, like good Christians, and most loyall vassals.

Wherefore considering all this, and how much I am bound to set downe some good order, and to procure the preseruation and increase of my Realmes and subiects, and desiring to prouide for all; I haue decreed, with the aduice and counsell of many iudicious learned men, and others, that are verie religious, wise, and jealous of Gods seruice and mine, to chase out of the sayd Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andelosia, and out of the Towne of Hernache (although these not within the limits of the said Realmes) all the new Christians Morisques, both men, women, and children. For when as a great or detestable crime is committed in any College or Communaltie, it is fit that Colledge or Communaltie should be ruined, and that the lesse for the greater, and one with another, should bee punished: And that such as peruert the good and sincere life of Common-weales, and of their Townes and Cities, should be banished from other inhabitants, lest their contagion infect them.

For this cause, by vertue of these presents, wee ordaine and commaund, That all the new Christians Morisques, without any exception of age or sexe, of those that liue and reside in the said Realmes, and in the Towne of Hernache, except such as be slaues, shall L within the space of thirtie dayes after the publication heereof, depart out of all our Realmes, and Dominions of Spaine, with their wiues, children, seruants, and others of their Nation: and that they shall not presume to returne nor to make any residence in them, in any sort whatsoeuer. And wee forbid them to depart by the realmes of Valencia, or Aragon, nor to enter into them, nor to stay in any of our Realmes or Countries after the time prefixed, vpon paine of death, and confiscation of all their goods. And wee commaund, that no person within our realmes and Seigniories, of what estate, qualities, or condition soeuer, shall presume to receiue, conceale, or defend publiquely nor secretly any Morisque man or woman, after the said tearme, vpon paine to lose all their goods, vassals, forts, and lands; and moreouer to lose all the graces, and benefits which they haue from mee, to be applied to my Exchequer.

And though I may iustly confiscate all the goods moueable and vnmoueable of the said Morisques, as belonging to traitours, and guiltie of high treason; yet vsing clemencie, I am content

A content, that during the said terme of thirtie daies, they may dispose of their moueable goods, and carrie them away, not in gold, siluer, iewels, nor letters of exchange, but in merchandise, which is not prohibited, bought of the naturall subiects of this realme, and not of others: or in the commodities of the said countrey. And to the end they may during the time of thirtie dayes dispose thereof, and of their mooueable goods, and employ it in merchandise, or in the commodities of the countrey, and transport what they shall buy (for as for their lands, that must be annexed to my reuenues, to be employed in the seruice of God and the common weale, as I shall thinke most fit) I declare by these Presents, that I take them into my royall protection, and assure them and their goods, That during the said time they may goe and come, to sell, exchange, and alienate all their mooueable goods, and to employ their mo- ney, gold, siluer, and jewels, in merchandise not prohibited, or in the commodities of the Countrey, and to transport the same freely, without any let or interruption, by land or by sea, paying vsuall customes; so as they carrie no gold or siluer coyned, or to coyne, nor any other thing prohibited by the lawes of my realme. Yet we are content, they shall carrie so much money as shall be needfull for their passage by land, and embarking by sea: commanding all our officers and louing subiects to see this present Edict duely obserued, &c. Signed, *I the King*.

After the publication of this Edict, the tearme of thirtie dayes was restrained to twentie, so as the Morisques were hastened to depart: and the ships and vessels of what countrey soeuer, were stayed in all the ports of Spaine, to transport them whither they would goe. Ma- C ny passed from Spaine into Barbarie: but during this yeare there came aboue 150000 of these Morisques into France; the King sending Commissaries, to see them well vsed, and orderly transported away.

There was a warre fallen out in Barbarie betwixt *Muley Xequy*, King of Fez, and *Muley Sidan* his younger brother, both Mahometanes; in which warre the younger forced the elder to flie his Countrey, and to come and craue ayd from *Philip* King of Spaine: But the vnfortunate losse of *Don Sebastian* King of Portugall, was a good president for the Spaniard not to trust in barbarous Kings, without good assurance: Hee treated with the Barbarian, and promised him succours, with an hundred thousand Duckats to re- turne to Alarache, (a place which held for him) where by money or other practises, D hee should draw vnto him as many souldiers as hee could: And that for the safetie of the succours that hee should giue him, hee should put Alarache or Arrache into his handes. This Arrache is a strong Towne in the Realme of Fez, in the Prouince of Algar, seated vpon the Ocean, at the mouth of the Riuer of Lucus, whereon part of it is built, and the other part vpon the Ocean: It hath a goodly Port, and hard to take for that it is defended by a Fort, in the which the Kings of Fez doe vsually entertaine a garrison of three hundred light horse, and three hundred harquebusiers: for that the Portugalls and Castilians, hold in a manner all the Sea Townes of the Prouinces of Habat, and Etif, where they haue great Garrisons. This Prouince is from the Riuer of Nocor along the Mediterranean Sea, vnto the straight of Gibralter, the other is vpon E the Ocean from the said straight vnto the riuer Lucus, in the which the King of Spaine holdeth at this day the strong Townes of Tanger, Arzilla, and others. According to the former accord, the Barbarian returned to Arrache, with his money in one of the King of Spaine his ships; to whome in a short time repayred many of his friends and seruants. The Spaniard in the meane time hauing prepared a fleet of a great number of gallies and ships, and embarqued ten thousand souldiers therein, he gaue the command thereof vnto the Marquesse of Saint *Germaine*, who arriued on the twentieth of Nouember in the euening at the Port of Arrache, and there rode at anchor all the night. The next day in the mornining, the Marquesse calling all the Captaines to a Counsell, impar- ting vnto them his designe for to force Arrache, in case that the Mooriſh King did not F keepe his promise; they gaue him assurance, that they would carrie themselues like vn- to braue and valiant souldiers. But see what happened: The King of Fez hauing no meanes to goe from his word, seeing the Spaniard so strong as hee might well force it, many of his followers and people, fearing to fall vnder the power of Spaine, they would haue abandoned him: but hauing the Gouernour of the castle of his deuotion, hee thrust out the

Warre in Barbarie.

Description of the towne of Arrache or Alarache.

the garrison infidelitie...ed the ke... himselfe vnto the Marquesse of S. *Germanie*. Vpon the first G
...ing that the Spaniards were entered into the castle, all the inhabitants ran to armes, and thinking to relish themselues that many of them had ended their daies valiantly, during 3 houres combat, they were forced to yeeld vnto the Marquesse, who presently planted the crosse and armes of Castile ... all the Towers and Steeples. Thus this strong towne which the Castilians Portugals ... so long desired, and whereas the inhabitants receiued a great ruine, ... the end fall ... vnder the domination of their king. The news of this exploit being brought into Spaine, pleased the King much, and the people made bone-fires for joy: these are the alterations of times. The Moores in old time were woont to ouerrun Spaine, and now the Spaniards take their pleasures in Mauritania.

About the end of this yeare newes came to Constantinople, of the great warre ... had been between the Vncle and the Nephew, by the death of the great Cham of ... ars: the sonne, who during his fathers life time, had continued at Constantinople as an hostage, and was now sent backe into his countrie by the Sultan *Achmat*, thinking to enioy his fathers estate; his vncle, brother to the deceased Cham, practised to seize vpon the crowne: but either of them hauing drawne an armie of 60000 men together, in the end, they ioyned battell, whereas after the slaughter of 40000 men vpon the place, the sonne had the victorie, and by that meanes obtained the Crowne of Tartaria.

A ciuill warre in Tartaria.

I will conclude this yeare 1610, with the relation of a particular businesse, to shew the greedie desire of the Turkes to get by any vniust meanes whatsoeuer, and their infidelitie and I
falshood to say and sweare any thing for bribes. Some yeares ... e, one Master *Willoughbie* an English Gentleman, hauing rigged vp a ship for war into the Leuant, hee came into Algier in Barbarie to sell his prize, where at that time one *Solyman Catania* was Bassa. This ship was suddenly seised on, and rifled by the command of this Bassa, vpon no other subiect, but that the Bassa pretended this ship had burnt a Caramousall of his, which in truth the Bassa himselfe had caused to be set on fire, that vnder colour thereof he might seise vpon the ship and goods. Master *Willoughbie* went to Constantinople, and there made his complaint to Sir *Henrie Lillie*, then Embassadour for the English; but yet could get no satisfaction: whereupon he returned into England, and obtained letters from his Majestie to the Grand Seignior, and to *Sir Thomas Glouer*, then Embassador, residing at Constantinople; which hauing receiued, he went presently to the Chimacham (who was Lieutenant to *Murath Bassa* the grand Visier, hee beeing then K
imployed in the warres against the Persian). The Chimacham hauing read these letters, would not suffer them to be deliuered to the ... Seignior; promising to doe justice vpon *Solyman Catania*, whom he discharged from his place, and sent for him to Constantinople; who beeing come, and called in question, he denied the fact: Master *Willoughbie* (hauing no certaine proofe of his losse) suborned one *Ofish Bassa* a Turke, who had beene at Mecha, and was therefore held a verie holy man, who set a brother of his to procure false witnesses, vpon promise to haue the tenth part of what should be recouered: The witnesses being readie to sweare to his assertion, *Solyman Catania* hearing their Oath, compounded with Master *Willoughbie*, and gaue him foure or fiue thousand Dollars; so the businesse ended. Which shewes the corruption of the Turks, and that the holiest of them for mony will not sticke to beare false witnesse, L
and take false Oathes.

A great plague in Constantinople.

This yeare 1611 the citie of Constantinople was wonderfully afflicted with the Plague, the which dispersed it selfe ouer all, and crept into the Grand Seigniours Seraglio, whereas one of his sonnes died of that infection: whereupon the Grand Seigniour was forced to retire for his safetie, and to passe the remainder of the Summer in his pallace or Seraglio of *Darut Bassa*, about a league and a halfe distant from the citie, this violent contagion did so rage in Constantinople for the space of fiue moneths, as there were numbred two hundred thousand persons dead within the time, and they did commonly carrie euerie day twelue or fifteene hundred bodies to be buried. The greatnesse of this mortalitie is not to be imputed so much to the corruption of the aire, as to the wilfull negligence of the Turks, who would not vouchsafe to turne away from a bodie dead of this disease, when it goes to buriall, nor to forbeare to visite their friends beeing infected. The obstinate beliefe they haue of Predestination maketh them brutishly contemne all sorts of dangers: For say they, as soone as man comes out of his mothers wombe to enioy the light of the world, God writes in his forehead al the good

200000 persons dead of the plague.

The Turkes obstinate beliefe touching predestination.

M

or

A or euill shall happen vnto him, and particularly of what death he shall die, the necessity whereof no humane power can auoid. All is gouerned (say they) by Destinie, and therefore they regard not any infection, but contrariwise when any one is dead, another takes his cloathes and weares them: which is the cause that Constantinople and the grand Caire are seldome free; and when as the aire is any thing disposed to contagion, there dies such multitudes of people, as they do not number them but by hundred thousands.

Death of the French embassador at Constantinople.

Before the beginning of this plague, the Baron of Salignac Embassadour for the French King at Constantinople, ended his embassage with his life. His most Christian Majestie sent the Baron of Mole, eldest sonne to the Baron of Sansie, to supplie his place. Hee arriued at Pera this yeare in the beginning of September, and about the end of October the Sul-
B tan being returned to Constantinople; after that hee had visited the Muphti, (who is the chiefe of their Law) the Graund Visier, the Defterda, (who is the Sultans high Treasurer) the Bostangi Bassa his chiefe Gardiner, with other Great men of the Port which were highly in fauour; in the end he was admitted to audience, and to kisse the Sultans hand. A ceremonie which in mine opinion I owe vnto the Historie, to shew that the Majestie of the Turkish Emperours is so great, as to approch neere vnto them, the Embassadours of forreine Princes are forced to disguise themselues, and leauing the habits of their nation, to attyre themselues and their Traine after the Turkish manner. Thus the Embassadour of France parted from his Lodging at Pera, wearing vpon his French apparell a long Turkish Robe of cloath of gold curled, furred with Sables: his Gentlemen and Secretaries to the number of sixteene had the

The Ceremonie of Embassadors at their first audience.

C like Robes, but of meaner stuffe, wearing caps of blacke Veluet: hee had twentie Seruants in long cassockes of skarlet, called in Turkish, Ferrages, and vpon them long Robes of the same stuffe, with caps of Taffata; the foure Dragomans or the Kings Interpreters, the Captaines, Masters of Ships, and other Frenchmen attyred all in long Robes, accompanied the Traine. Hee past the channell which doth separate Pera from Constantinople: being come to the other side, he found many goodly horses for him and his Traine, which some Turkes that were friends to France, had sent him to conduct him to the Citie; at the gate whereof many Chiaus and Ianizaries attended him to conduct him to the Seraglio: two Chiaus Bassa's went of either side him, accompanying him thither, the rest of the Turks going before. His arriual was no lesse honorable ... the Palace Royal, than his comming to the towne: Two Capigi
D Bassa's, or chiefe of the Porters, receiued him at the entrie of a great Court, and conducted him to the Graund Visier, who attended him at dinner in the hall, where he was feasted, being accompanied only with one Dragoman or Interpreter: the rest of his Traine were conducted into a low gallerie, whereas dinner was prepared for them after the Turkish manner: That is to say, a great Tapestrie vpon the ground without cloath or napkins, and some dishes thinne set. The meat was water-gruel with sugar, and some pottage with pullets: there were two men either of them holding a certaine instrument of sodden leather, in which there was a beuerage which they call Cerbet, made of the juice of Lymmons, water, and sugar, and withall they held a cup of blanch copper, giuing to euery one drinke, and going among the dishes to serue them more commodiously. From this feast, distastefull to them that had li-

The Turkes feast the French.

E ued after the French fashion, they past into another gallerie, whereas the Embassador and sixteene of his companie receiued each of them a robe of Tinsell, the which hauing put on vpon their other, they were conducted thorow a little court paued with marble, towards the Grand Seigniors chamber, which was enricht on the out side with many pillars of marble, & square stones of the same stuffe, and beautified with two little fountaines of either side: The Chamber within was about ten paces square, the planchard was gilt, the walls enamelled with flowers after the Turkish manner, and the floore couered with Tapestrie of gold and silke. At the entrie of this Imperial chamber stood six Capigi or Porters, whereof two of them tooke the Embassador vnder the armes, and led him to kisse the Sultans hand, or rather his Robe; for hauing saluted him from the greatest of Christian Kings, he kist but his Robe,

The Sultans Chamber.

F and then was led on the one side, going backewards, to the end he should not turne his backe to the Emperor. The French gentlemen were conducted after the like manner to kisse his robe. But they could hardly see the Sultan, for his face was turned towards a window that was grated, before the which, during the ceremonie there past 30 Capigi, euery one carrying a piece of the Presents which the Embassadour had brought: during the which, the Frenchmen could

not

not see him but on the other side. This saluation being ended, the Embassador made a short speech, and presented vnto the Sultan the principal letter of his embassage, written in the Turkish tongue.

Trouble in Transyluania.

This past at Constantinople, whereas the Sultan did willingly see an Embassador his Allye, whom he honored aboue all others. But in Transyluania the affaires went after another strain; the combustions which seemed inseparable to this miserable Prouince, made it still the theater of all disor[illegible] *Gabriel Battori*, who gouerned it since the cession of *Ragotzi*, had put himselfe into the Turks protection, against King *Matthias*, who pretended a title, by reason of the cession made by Prince *Sigismund* vnto the Emperour, as King of Hungarie, and had recouered Hermstad, and chased *Radwille* Vayuod of Valachia out of his Countrey: where hauing settled a new Gouernour, and filled the garrisons with Haiduckes, he returned toward Transyluania, to oppose himselfe against *Fortgatsie* King *Matthias* his Lieut[illegible], who came with Troupes out of high Hungarie, and past the riuer of Tibisce. The Vayuod *Radwille* had retyred himselfe into Moldauia to Prince *Constantine*, whom he gaue to vnderstand, That *Battori* had an intent to seise vpon his Country, and to make but one Monarchie of their three Prouinces: whereupon they joyned their forces together, and in the end of Iune entered into Valachia, from whence they expelled *Battori* his Lieutenant with all the garrisons. This exploit made them to hope of a continuance in the prosperitie of their armes; they entered into Transyluania, whereas they pursued *Battori* with such diligence, as they forced him to come to a battell neere vnto Cromstat, the which he lost with part of his troupes, being constrained to saue himselfe with his horsemen in Hermstad, whereas [illegible] of the chiefe inhabitants seeing him receiue this disgrace, attempted to submit themselues vnder the obedience of king *Matthias*: but the practise being discouered by him, he did such execution, as he purchased to himselfe the name of Cruell.

The Valachian expelled his Country by Battori.

Battori defeated by the Valachian.

Fortgatsie his Lieutenant in King Matthias ouerthrow Transyluania.

In the meane time *Fortgatsie* Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, maketh vse of this defeat to seise vpon Transyluania; hee made an Accord with *Andrew Nage* (who had drawne high Hungarie into rebellion, and caused the Haiduckes to reuolt) so as being freed from that feare, he entereth into Transyluania; where hauing taken some Townes and Castles, he layed siege to Clausenburg, the which he battered so furiously, as the garrison and inhabitants seeing themselues readie to be forced, yeelded, and tooke the Oath of allegeance to King *Matthias* the fiue and twentieth of Iuly. But as these prosperities of *Fortgatsie* were humane, so did they not long continue. *Battori* being shut vp in Hermstad, conjures all his friends to come vnto him, and entreated the Bassa's of Buda and Temeswarc to succour him, according to the commandement which they had receiued from the Grand Seignior: he practised with *Nage* (a man which did swimme continually in the floats of inconstancie) and makes him to reuolt againe in high Hungarie, vpon a promise, That *Fortgatsie* had not kept promise with him; so as *Nage* tooke armes againe, seised vpon the Fort of Bayens, and filled all high Hungarie with combustions; so as *Fortgatsie* could expect no succours at his need from thence: then hauing receiued some forces from the Turkes and Tartarians, he went to field, pursuing *Fortgatsie* with such heat and furie, as he forced him to abandon all that he had taken in Transyluania, and to retyre into Valachia. What desolations did this warre bring vnto these Prouinces by so many prises and reprises? *Battori* going with a thousand horse to surprise Tocai, vpon the frontiers of Valachia, whereas they then held a great faire, he found the garrison so watch full vpon their guard, as hauing lost part of his horsemen, he was forced to returne into Transyluania.

Battori his practise.

Fortgatsie expelled Transiluania by Battori.

Fortgatsie his memorable retreat.

On the other side, *Fortgatsie* with his Hungarians, thinking from Valachia to recouer high Hungarie by the Countrey of the Zeclerians, could not effect his designe: for *Battori* being aduertised thereof, stopped his passage, and in like manner the Earles of Bucheime and Dampier had passed the riuer of Tibisce to meet him: so as *Battori* set such guards in all the passages and streights, that *Fortgatsie* was forced to retyre towards Polonia by the steep mountains, and desart places, whereas his armie was so oppresst with famin and all other necessities, as they perished miserably, there remaining few aliue; with the which he ended his passage into Polonia, and from thence soone after he returned into Hungarie, but with a verie poore equipage.

Thus the storme ceasing in Transyluania by the restraint of *Fortgatsie*, a more violent tempest

A tempest riseth in Moldauia, to the end that these vnfortunate Regions should neuer be without some touch of miserie: For the Turke hauing vnderstood, That *Constantine* Prince of that countrey had relieued the Valachian against *Battori* his allye, or rather his Tributarie, he sends a new Prince into Moldauia, the supposed sonne of one *Thomas*, or *Aaron* as some write, who had in former time commanded there, and with him fifteene hundred souldiers, with Letters of command to the Turkes and Tartarians thereabouts, to assist him with their Forces. This new Prince was sometime in France, and afterwards detained prisoner in the Fort of *Iaques* in Spaine, within the Pyrenean mountaines. Thus two Princes contend for Moldauia, the one supported by the Polonian, and the other by the Turke. But behold, a third Prince commeth in and pretends a title, being sonne to one *Ianicole* who had commanded there. This man had beene a prisoner in the blacke Tower at Constantinople, to which he was committed by the Sultan *Amurath*, for that hee had lost a battell in the yeare 1601, against Michael, who then possest Moldauia; who escaping from thence, wandred through diuers countries, and at last comming into England, his Majestie of Great Britaine pitying his miserable estate, recommended him by his Letters to Sir *Thomas Glouer* his Majesties Embassador, then residing at Constantinople, with commandement to assist him, and to solicite his restitution with the Grand Seignior. Vpon the receit of which Letters, he retyred this wandering Prince into his house at Pera, where he entertained him, with many of his friends and followers which repaired vnto him, for a long time; and in the meane time hee solicited the Grand Seignior for his restitution, hauing good accesse vnto him, by reason that hee spake the Turkish tongue perfectly, and needed no Dragoman or Interpreter. To whom the Sultan still gaue good answers, but with delayes, that it was not yet time; but hee should haue satisfaction. His Competitor (who was in possession of Moldauia) hearing of this practise, made friends at the Great Turks Court, and corrupted some of the Bassa's by bribes, (they being all by nature verie couetous) to the end he might crosse his designe, and make him away if it were possible: and among the rest he had woon *Marath Bassa* the grand Visier, a man of great power and authoritie, who practised many meanes to get the Moldauian into his hands. First, he sent word vnto the Embassador, That the Sultan hauing a meaning to restore him, desired to see the man, if he were capable of the place or no: but being aduertised of their intent, and well acquainted with their practises, hee refused to send him. After which, he wrot vnto him, That it was the Graund Seigniours pleasure hee should send the Moldauian vnto him, that hee might confer with him. To whom the Embassador made answer, That vnlesse he might see a Warrant vnder the Grand Seigniours owne hand, he would not deliuer him. *Marath Bassa* seeing that none of these practises could preuaile, resolued to fetch him out by force. For the effecting whereof he drew together two thousand Ianizaries. The Embassador hearing of his intent, fortified his house, and armed his people with the Moldauians which were with their Prince, meaning to stand vpon his defence. *Marath Bassa* desirous to know what the Embassadour did in his Lodging, disguised a Ianizarie like vnto a Greekish Sheepheard; who entering into the Embassadours house, found them all in armes: then returning vnto the Bassa, hee told him that he had to do with a mad man, and if he proceeded in his enterprise, hee would hazard the losse of many Ianizaries: whereupon hee gaue it ouer. After which, the Embassadour being called home into England, the Moldauian despairing of restitution from the Turkish Sultan, he turned Turke, and being presented to the Grand Seignior, was made Bey of Bursia in Asia: the which he enjoyed not long; for *Nassuf* comming from the Persian warres, discharged him. Thus Moldauia hauing many pretending Soueraignes, suffered many miseries, and was a prey to Turke, Tartarians, and Polonians, all partisans to these Soueraignes.

Troubles in Moldauia.

Three Princes pretending to Moldauia.

The negotiation of the Embassador of England, for one of the Princes of Moldauia.

These were the troubles which the Turkes caused at land for the ruine of the Christians. But behold what hee suffered at sea by the Gallies of Florence, Malta, and Naples; the Florentines made their enterprise apart. The Great Duke of Tuscanie being aduertised, That the Caruan which transported the Tribute of Ægypt to Constantinople, prepared to put to sea, he resolued to diuert this tribute, and by the valour of his armes to bring it to Ligorne: and for the effecting hereof, hee speedily armed foure Gallions, vnder the command of *Beauregard* a Frenchman, who was Admiral. The first was called the new Gallion, in which the said Admiral went: the second, the great Ligorne, commanded by *Brandequeder*,

The voiage of the Gallions of Florence against the Turkes.

dor, Generall at land, and allied to the Duke; and the other two were commanded by two French Captaines. *Beauregard* hauing receiued commandement, to passe with this fleet into the Leuant, to meet with the Carauan, hee bent his course towards Candie, a fertile Island inhabited by the Græcians: Being arriued in the port of Calismene to water, he continued there six daies. Leauing this Island, he sailed towards Cyprus, which is held by the Turks, and so coasting Si[illegible] they learned of a ship of Marseilles, that the Carauan was yet in the port of Alexandria, where they prep[illegible] for their voyage to Constantinople. To attend them, the Admirall *Beauregard*, went and cast anchor at the fort of Sidon, called Sarepta, gouerned by *Emir*, or *Armir Facardin*, a Rebell to the Turke, and a great friend to the Florentines, where hee stayed twelue dayes, to take in Bisket, flesh, and other necessarie refreshi[illegible]. And hauing made a more strict league of friendship with *Facardin*, hee honoured him [illegible] a coffer full of armes, whereby the Florentines ships came as freely into those parts, as into their owne countrey.

The enterprise to take the Carauan of Ægypt.

Beauregard hauing well victualled and munitioned his gallions, hee returned towards the Isle of Cyprus, whereas he found a Christians ship called the flying Dragon, which came from Damietta, by whom he was assured that the Turks army, consisting of a great number of gallies, was gone out of the port of Rhodes, and had taken a Flemish ship. These newes made him thinke that hee should meet the fleet, and that he must of force defend himselfe. Wherefore he made all things readie, and prescribed the order which his Captaines should hold during the fight; causing his ordnance to be mounted as if they were to ioyne. He had foure as good gallions, and as well furnished, as any were in the Leu[illegible] seas, either of them beeing armed with 40 pieces of ordnance, and 400 good souldiers. Betwixt the Island of Cyprus and Caramania they encountered this Turkish fleet, consisting of fortie gallies and two galliasses, vnder the command of Bassa *Mustapha Grego*, who was Generall of this fleet, which was in sight of the Florentines ships: the galliasses aduance to take view of them, and to find how far their cannon would reach; and in the meane time the gallies put themselues into the forme of a Croissant, readie for the combat. *Beauregard* an old sea Captaine, and well practised in sea fights, would not make a shot against the gallies, but attended vntill the whole fleet came close vp to him; which being neere, he saluted them so furiously with his cannon, giuing them the broad sides, as the Turks (who expected no such reception) were all amazed; and making a stand, would proceed no further. Their Generall hauing well obserued the resolute countenance of the Florentines, diuided his gallies into two squadrons; giuing charge to the one to giue an assault to the Florentines gallies; and in the mean time the rest should prepare themselues to fight.

The Florentines meet with the Turkes fleet.

The Turks assaile the gallies of Florence.

Being thus diuided, they came one after another to the assault, the which continued for the space of six houres, and yet could not boord them. *Mustapha* seeing fiue of his gallies sunke by the enemies cannon, with the losse of all the men that were within them; but suddenly the wind changed, and proued fauorable to the Florentines, who embraced this aduantage, giuing chase to the Turks gallies, forcing them to seeke their safetie in the hauen of Famagusta, the chiefe fort of Cyprus; so of assailants (being beaten) they became run-awaies: so inconstant are the accidents of war; and especially at sea, whereas the good or bad successe many times dependeth of a little winde.

Fiue Turkish gallies sunke.

The Turks put to flight.

This Turkish fleet, hauing lost fiue gallies, and recouered a port in Cyprus, the Admirall *Beauregard* seeing his designe against the Carauan disappointed, he resolued to return towards Ligorne with his gallions: being at sea, he encountred a Turkish vessell called a Caramousall, which came from Rhodes, to go vnto Cyprus: they chased it, & in the end ouertook it; which they prest so with their ordnance, as they slew 130 Turkes, and tooke 300 slaues. The boocie was verie rich, being valued at 140000 crownes. After this prize, their victuals beginning to faile, hauing beene so long at sea, they bent their course for Ligorne: but the winde falling contrary, they were forced to stay eight dayes in the Island of Scarpante, past the bar of Messina, and hauing giuen chase to certaine gallies of Tunes, they arriued at Ligorne the fifteenth of Iune, where there was great ioy for their returne, and the prize which they had brought, the which according to the custome was to be diuided; one third to the souldiers and mariners, and the other two parts imploied for the entertainment of the ships, and the paiment of the captaines.

The Florentines take a ship of the Turkes.

This

This Carauan which goes from Ægypt to Constantinople, is euerie yeare attended for, not onely by the gallions and gallies of Florence, but by those of Malta and Naples, and by all the Pyrats of the Mediterranean sea: like vnto the English and Hollanders, who yearely lay in wait for the Indian fleet before the conclusion of the peace and truce with the Spaniard. And although their principal designe was to take some part of the Carauan, yet they had other enterprises vpon the Turkes Countrey, besides the spoile of merchants which they met by chance, which many times payed the charge of their voyage; and sometimes, they that thought to take, were taken, and lost both their ships and liues.

The gallies of Malta, commanded by the Bailife of Venouge, and those of Naples by the Marquis of S. *Croix*, joyned together soone after, with a designe to set vpon the Carauan which carried the reuenue and tribute of Ægypt to Constantinople, or els to put in execution the enterprise which they had long before projected, vpon certaine places of Albania, or to surprise or spoile some Island in the Archipelague which might pay their charges. But the first sailing, they met with a Venetian ship laden with merchandise, to the value of 100000 crownes. The Spaniards who commanded in the gallies of Naples seised vpon this ship, but the General of Malta would by no meanes consent vnto it, nor suffer any of the merchandise to be put into his gallies, for that he would not vniustly violate the friendship which was betwixt his Order and the State of Venice. This example did touch the Spaniards consciences, so as within few dayes they sent away the Venetian ship, but in curtesie they had vnloden all the merchandise.

The exploits of the Galleyes of Malta and Naples.

A Venetian ship taken.

After this prey of a Christian ship, the fleet discouered two sailes at sea, sending presently after them, they were two Barks, the one comming from Candie loaden with wood, and the other from Scarpante charged with wine, the which being brought vnto the Generals, gaue them to vnderstand, that the Carauan of Ægypt was not yet past, being aduertised that fiftie Christians gallies attended them in their passage. Vpon this aduice, the Christian Generals beeing out of hope to surprise the Carauan, presently resolued to vndertake a more great and glorious enterprise, and to surprise the Island and castle of Lango in the Archipelague, vpon the coast of Natolia; and about seuen of the clocke at night they set saile with a good winde, but being changed in the morning, they were forced te returne to the Island of Porcherne: from whence they parted againe at eight of the clocke at night, and continuing their course, in the morning they discouered three Florentine ships, who told them, that they had entred into the Isle of Nigropont with seuen gallies; but hauing been discouered, they could not effect any thing; and that their gallies were separated from them in the chace of foure galliots. The Christian fleet continuing their course, they arriued about eleuen of the clocke in the morning at S. *Iean de Seruaë*, where hauing cast anchor, there was a Councel called in the Admiral: where they resolued to petard the castle of Lango, toward the sea: for the execution whereof they should land 200 men; *viz.* thirtie Knights and fiftie souldiers out of the gallies of Malta, and 120 Spaniards out of the gallies of Naples; and that they should carrie two petards with them, the one giuen in charge to Captain *Beaulaigue* in the troupe of them of Malta, and the other was conducted by the Spaniards; the rest of their men which they should land, should go and assault the towne of Lango. With this resolution they parted from S. *Iean de Seruaë*, with a good winde, and arriued at the Island of Lango on the sixt of Iune, an houre after midnight, whereas they landed three miles from the towne: they that were appointed for the enterprise, marcht on with their petards, according to direction; but the night being very darke, the troupe of Malta strayed from their guide, but their valour brought them directly to the walls of the Towne; where after many turnings and windings to finde a fit place to plant the Petard, (notwithstanding that they were discouered and much shot at) *Beaulaigue* set it to a Port next the sea, well flanckt with the Castle, the which he forced, and his men entering with furie, went from street to street, and put all to the sword that made resistance. The Spaniards on the other side made another breach with their Petarde, and entered the Towne; notwithstanding that at their first approach, the Turkes (hauing discouered them) played vpon them with their great ordnance and small shot. The Troupes being joyned together, hauing cut all the Turkes in pieces they met with, they came to the place before the Castle, which they thought to surprise: but the bridge was drawne, and they lay open at the mercie of their shot; so as there were fifteene Knights of Malta hurt, one slaine, with a Spanish

The Christians Galleyes go to the Island of Lango.

Lango forced by the Christians.

Captaine,

captaine, and some six and thirtie souldiers of the gallies of Naples, and as many wounded. Day being come, the Bailife of Venouge General of the gallies of Malta, came vnto the towne with the foreward, wherein were 150 Knights, and 450 souldiers: the Marquis of S. *Croix* followed him with the two sonnes of the Viceroy of Naples, and 1500 Spaniards, who spoiled the towne and suburbs, and tooke all that were liuing captiue: but the Castle being well fortified, they found it impossible to force; whereupon embarking their men and spoile, they resolued in their return to Malta and Naples, to make an enterprise vpon some towns of Albania: but vpon the way they were aduertised, That the Turks had discouered the intelligence which the Spaniards & knights of Malta had with the Grecians of the country; whereupon they tooke reuenge vpon them, putting many of them to death, and amongst others a Patriarch, who being accused to haue practised the Christians reuolt against the Turks, was cruelly fleied aliue, and his skin sent to Constantinople. So dangerous a thing it is to seeke for liberty with this Mahometane nation.

An enterprise vpon Albania discouered by the Turkes.

A Patriarch of Greece fleyed aliue.

The Carauan of Ægypt was still in the port of Alexandria attending a passage, and to be freed from so many Christian gallies which lay in weight for it; and it stayed the longer by reason of the great plague, wherwith Constantinople was afflicted. But in the end of October, *Mechmet* Bassa of Caire (who would conduct it in person) hauing a conuoy of fiftie gallies well armed, put to sea, and arriued at Constantinople without any encounter. At his landing, this Bassa caused to march before him 60 mules, euerie one laden with 20000 Sequins in kind, being a whole yeares tribute of the kingdome of Ægypt, the which he caused to be carried to the Sultans Serail. This money was welcome to the Port: for the former wars both in Hungarie, Transyluania, in Asia against the Rebels, and in Persia, had so wasted the Emperors treasure, as it would hardly entertaine one of his armies. The Bassa who had gathered this tribute together faithfully and with great diligence, was at his comming to the Sultans Port honored with the charge of Bassa of the sea, (he who had it before, being aduanced to the dignitie of Visier) and moreouer the Sultan promised him his daughter in marriage, being but three yeres old.

The Carauan of Ægypt arriues at Constantinople.

The Bassa's recompence that brought it.

Newes came to the Port, that certaine ships, gallies, and galliasses of the Christians, to the number of fiftie, came neere vnto the Hellespont; which put the Turkes in great feare: and complaints being brought vnto the Grand Seignior, That certain Caramousals had been taken by the Christian gallies; he sent presently for the Captain Bassa or Admiral of the sea, demanding of him, Whether the report of the losses were true or no? To whom he answered yes. Why are not you then at sea, saith he? He answered, For that I can get neither men nor money. Whereupon the Defterdar or Treasurer was sent for, who had lost his head, had not the Aga of the Grand Seigniors women entreated for him.

The Turkes are in feare of the Christians gallies.

This Summer Constantinople and the Countrey thereabouts was so plagued with such clouds of grassehoppers, as they did shadow the verie Sunne beames, and fell vpon the Citie and countrey round about. The Turkes consulted with their Wisemen, what it might portend: Who answered, That they did foreshew great plentie to follow. But indeed they left not a greene hearbe nor a leafe in all the Countrey adioyning, nor in the citie, where they entered into their verie chambers, and annoyed them much, being almost as bigge as dormice, with red wings. And soone after there fell such extraordinarie great haile in Constantinople and Gallata, with such aboundance of raine, as the violence of the water did suddenly shut vp one of the gates of the citie, and so rebounding filled their shops and houses, that verie manie were in great danger of drowning. Some houses fell downe, and some people were slaine; the pauements of the streets were torne vp, and the stones carried together into great heapes.

Grassehoppers at Constantinople spoyle the Countrie.

Violent raine in the Citie.

We haue formerly made relation of the Persians victories, and of the defeat and death of *Cicala* General of the Turkes armie, in the yeare 1605. And that the yeare following, the Sophy hauing recouered whatsoeuer the Turkes had taken from his Predecessors, had extended the bounds of his Empire vnto the blacke sea, from whence he sent an Embassadour vnto the Grand Seignior, to let him vnderstand, that hauing recouered what had beene vnjustly vsurped from him, he would proceed no further, but desired to liue in peace; the which might now be the better affected, the one holding nothing from the other. Moreouer, this Persian Embassadour hauing remained seuen moneths at the Sultans Port, was in the end forced to retyre

retire into Persia without audience. And lastly, That *Amurath Serder* the Grand Visier, was afterwards forced to conuert his armes against *Gambolat* and the Rebels of Asia, and to neglect the war of Persia.

Notwithstanding the Persian war, there arriued this yeare at Constantinople an Embassadour from Persia, who according to the Turkes manner, was attended on by a great troupe of Chaoux on horsebacke, Capigi's, Ianizaries, and other Captaines, sent by the Sultan to conduct him to his lodging. Within few dayes after his arriuall, there was a great show made in Constantinople, by the seuerall trades of the citie, euerie one marching by themselues before the Grand Seigniors Serrail, and representing vnto him their manner of marching in the wars, and the order of their prouision; some carrying on their shoulders sheepe, others lambs, calues, beefe, &c. All which was done of policie to daunt and dishearten the Persian Embassador, and to encourage their owne people; and withall to let him know, that there should be as great plentie in their campes, as he saw at that present. And to abuse him still with the imagination of their great preparation, the Chimacham or Visiers Lieutenant, sent the next day for this Persian Embassador, and during their conference had taken order, That the Emperor of Tartaria's brother (who was then in the Sultans court) should come in: at whose entrance the Chimacham arose from his place; *Ob* (saith he) *I know for what you come, It is for money for your souldiers: you shall receiue it at such a place.* Which words were heard by a Dragoman to the English Embassador, being then present: the which was done to terrifie the Persian Embassador: and at the same time and to the same end they sent ouer diuers troupes of souldiers to Scudaret, as if they had been ready to march with an armie. 1611 *A Persian Embassador comes to Constantinople*

The Turks great armies are not raised in haste, neither doe they march in post: when as the Spahi's, that is to say the horsemen, which make the greatest part of his armie, and haue no other pay or entertainment than the reuenues of certain land, are discharged, they must haue a whole yeare to recouer their reuenue, and to put themselues in equipage; and moreouer, it is threescore dayes march for an armie, from Constantinople into Persia. *The Turkes armie against the Persian.*

Also in the yeare 1609 and 1610, the Turke had not attempted any thing against the Persian, who still solicited him for peace. The greatnesse of the *Othoman* Empire could not resolue to make a peace, hauing receiued so great defeats; they would giue it but as victors, not as vanquished. But this yere *Achmat* resolued to send a puissant armie of aboue 150000 men, against this antient enemie of his house, vnder the command of *Amurath Serder* his Grand Visier: But before the armie entered into Persia, it was without a commander, by the death of *Serder*, in the end of Iuly; so as they were forced to stay and attend the Sultans pleasure from Constantinople. *The death of Amurath Serder.*

It was suspected that hee had beene poysoned by *Nassuf Bassa*, one that stood out in rebellion against the Graund Seigniour, and yet hee had many friendes in the Turkes armie: Wherefore to preuent all mutinies, and consequently, the ouerthrowe of the whole armie, *Amurath Bassa* in his sickenesse aduised the Graund Seigniour (by letters which hee sent vnto him) to make *Nassuf* Generall of the whole armie, and so by faire meanes to drawe him home, and then to dispose of him at his pleasure. The Sultan with his Bassaes approoued well of this aduice, and chose him Graund Visier, and Generall of the armie; who hauing receiued the Seale and Authoritie, did forthwith put many of *Amurath* his friends to death, and with their money payed all the souldiers, which had wanted pay, whereof some had beene without fiue yeares before: hee also sent vnto the Graund Seigniour threescore and ten Mules loaden with money of *Amuraths* treasure, and threescore with goods; all which the Sultan gaue to *Amurath* his wife and children.

It is strange to read, how the Grand Seigniour doth tyrannise ouer his subiects, and how seuerely he doth punish the least omission in any of his officers: for I find it obserued, that the seuenth of Ianuary in the end of this yere 1611, the grand Seignior being abroad in the snow, and not well prouided for of fuell, he caused *Stambol Aga* who had that charge to be stript naked, and set in the snow foure or fiue houres. Indeed this Winter was very rigorous, and there fell aboundance of snow throughout all Turkie, with great stormes, manie houses were beaten downe; and amongst other the French Consull at Aleppo was slaine with the fall of his owne house. *Severitie of the Sultan.*

Nassuf

Naſſuf parted from Aſia, and marched with his armie vnto the frontiers of Perſia, where he committed ſuch ſpoiles, as the Sophie was conſtrained to draw all his forces together, to preuent the ruine of his countrey, beeing then about the midſt of Auguſt. But when they were come to a battell, the Perſian finding the partie vnequall for him, and dangerous, offered conditions of peace, and promiſed to giue the Turke a quantitie of ſilke which ſhould make the charge of 200 cammels, for a yearely tribute, in acknowledgement of ſome countries which he had conquered from the *Othomans*. Theſe offers were accepted at Conſtantinople, but there was added, that the Perſians ſonne ſhould bee called Baſſa of Tauris; and that the magiſtrat and Iudge of that citie, called the Cady, ſhould be ſent from Conſtantinople. We ſhall ſee in the following yeare the effects of theſe propoſitions. For the Embaſſadour of Perſia, whome *Naſſuf* ſhall bring to Conſtantinople; in the meane time let vs returne to the Mediterranean ſea, to take a ſurucy of the valiant exploits of the Knights of Malta againſt the Turkes.

The Perſian offers conditions of peace, and a tribute.

On the 26 of Aprill, a Turke hauing lent a good ſum of money to a Chriſtian, to be paid at a certaine day; he came before the appointed day with another Turke, and willed the Chriſtian to pay the mony to that other Turke when the day came; which the Chriſtian promiſed to do, and performed it accordingly: but the Turke denied the receit thereof: whereupon he to whom the mony was properly due, came and demanded it: to whom the Chriſtian anſwered, that hee had paied it to that partie to whom he had aſſigned it: whereunto the Turke replied, that if it were ſo, he was ſatisfied: but yet the other Turke denied it: wherupon the matter was brought before the Iudge, and the Turke who had receiued the money, taking an oath to the contrary; the Chriſtian according to the Turkiſh juſtice, was enforced to pay the mony again: the which he did, but withall he praied God to ſhew ſome publique ſigne which of them had done the wrong. And thereupon the Turke going forth to repaire home to his houſe, fell downe dead in the ſtreet.

The falſhood of a Turke puniſhed by the Iuſtice of God.

The Great Maſter *Vignancourt* continuing his generous deſignes to ruine the Turke, had an enterpriſe againſt Nauarrin, a place importing this common enemy of Chriſtians: for the execution whereof, he ſent the fiue gallies of his Order, vnder the charge of *Vaqueras*, great commander of the order, and chiefe of the nation of Prouence. They came within ſome miles of the ſhore, but found their landing very difficult, for that they had bin diſcouered by one of the caſtles of Nauarrin, which had giuen the alarme vnto the whole countrey, ſo as they were forced to paſſe on to ſome more eaſie conqueſt, to the end their voyage might not proue vnprofitable: wherefore they ſailed into the Archipelague, and came neere to the coaſt of Morea, ten leagues from Corinth, where in the night they landed 800 men vnder the conduct of the commander of *Cremeaux*, generall at land; this troupe marched towards Corinth, and an houre before day were at the town gates to force them. Some Turks tooke armes, but their weake reſiſtance could not ſtay the knights from entring with their troupes; they ſackt the towne, and hauing taken what ſpoile was portable, they carried away with them 500 ſlaues. After this triumph, the Chriſtians made a happie retreat, & in good order, notwithſtanding all the attempts of the Turks horſe and foot, who were drawne together in great numbers, making 10000 ſoldiers, for the country is very populous; in view of whom they imbarked their ſpoile and ſlaues. Hereby it appeares, that this was one of the moſt deſperat enterpriſes that hath been of long time ſeene. For to attempt a place ſo far from their retreat, in ſo populous a countrey, which vpon the leſt alarme, may draw together ten or twelue thouſand Turkes, and to make their retreat with ſo ſmall a number, againſt ſuch great troupes which purſued them: doubtleſſe we muſt confeſſe, that as they ſhewed great valor, and had good fortune, ſo they vndertooke a very dangerous enterpriſe. Thus the knights of Malta vanquiſhed, whom we might terme the maſters of the Mediterranean ſea, if the reuenues of their Order would ſuffer them to ſet forth ſhipping and forces equall to their valour.

Corinth taken and ſpoiled by the knights of Malta.

But to follow the variable courſe of the Hiſtorie, let vs obſerue the diffrent occupations of Chriſtians. At Prague the Germanes entertained themſelues, with the conſideration of a Crowne which appeared in the Firmament, ouer that Citie about the middeſt of October, giuing a verie great light, and about it armies of men fighting who ſhould haue it. At that time the Emperour *Rodulphus* was vpon the Weſt, or declining of his dayes, and *Matthias* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, then King of Hungarie, was vp-

on the ſunne-riſing of his triumphes. Many expounded this heauenly apparition, as a preſage of happineſſe and good fortune to *Matthias*: hee enioyed the Crowne of Hungarie already, and by deſignation that of Bohemia, and now they did prognoſticate vnto him that of the Romanes. Doubtleſſe men which aſpire after great fortunes, doe rather adorne the Sunne-riſing, than the ſetting; and mans life when it declines, taſtes of the lees. The flouriſhing glorie of *Matthias*, his age, and his actions in the warres, did adde nothing to the authoritie of other men in the countrie, but did mightily ſettle his owne. Three Sunnes which were ſeene in the firmament ouer Vienna, the chiefe citie of Auſtria, confirmed the Germanes more in this their hope, that he ſhould haue the third crowne of the Romans. This laſt apparition happened the yeare following.

About the end of the yeare, ſome of the Engliſh Embaſſadors men entering into quarrell with certaine Iamoglans of the next Setail: from words they fel to blowes, during which tumult one of the Embaſſadors men threw a ſtone, and ſmote a Iamoglan on the forehead, whereof he died within few houres after. The Aga of the ſeraill complained hereof to the grand Viſier, who preſently ſent the Subbaſſa of Galata, to make inquirie of the fact: the Embaſſadour went himſelfe to the Seraill, and ſent for his men which had been in the quarrell, willing the Turkes to deſigne the partie which had thrown the ſtone: who all with one ſhout ran vpon one *Simon Dibbins*, a man that was newly come from Candie, where hee had ſerued in the Venetian garriſons, and was now entertained into the Embaſſadors ſeruice. This *Simon* was not hee that threw the ſtone: notwithſtanding the Turkes would none but him; on him they laied hands, and dragged him away. The Embaſſador interpoſing himſelfe, and offring to pledge for him, was thruſt away by them, his men beaten, and one of his pages wounded: whereupon he complained to the grand Viſier, but preuailed little; for to priſon they dragged this *Simon*, and there kept him a whole month; neither could he be releaſed, albeit the Engliſh nation offered great ſums to ranſome his life: for the Turks would needs haue bloud for bloud. The day of execution being appointed, the Embaſſador ſent his chaplaine to the priſon where this *Simon* was, to prepare him for death: vnto whom (examining him how he had formerly liued) hee confeſſed, that in England ſome few yeres before he had killed a man, for which fact he fled thence into Candie: from whence he came to Conſtantinople, where he was to ſuffer for that which he did not: the juſt judgement of God purſuing him to the ſhedding of his bloud in Conſtantinople among Turkes vndeſeruedly, for the bloud which hee ſhed in England wilfully. He was hanged at the Embaſſadors gates, his head and heeles the next night were ſtollen away by the Turks, as it was thought, to vſe in ſome kind of Sorcerie; the other parts of his bodie they had leaue to take downe and burie.

1612

This yeare 1612 they did celebrate at Conſtantinople a double nuptiall feaſt; for the marriages of Baſſa *Mehemet* ſonne to the deceaſed *Cicala*, with the Sultans ſiſter; and of Baſſa *Mehmet*, Admirall at ſea, hee whom we haue ſeene lately returne from Ægypt, and bring to Conſtantinople the reuenues of that rich kingdome, with the eldeſt daughter of his Emperour. For the feaſts of yong *Cicala*, the Spahi made courſes on horſebacke with battleaxes and barres, in the open place neere vnto the Seraill, where they made diuers fire-workes of verie great charge, but of ſmall inuention; and they gaue Preſents to aboue 20000 perſons, beſides the charge of the banqueting ſtuffe which amounted to aboue 20000 crownes. The pompe was double; for the Sultans women did celebrat that day with the greateſt ladies of the Port, and the men ſeparated in other places did ſolemniſe it in like manner. But the magnificence of the marriage of the Baſſa Admirall at ſea with *Achmats* eldeſt daughter, had far more luſtre at the Port. The ceremony was performed on the 30 of Iune, 20 daies after the other; and the order of this pompe, as well as ſome other which we haue deſcribed in this Hiſtorie, requires a particular relation.

The ceremonie at the daughters marriages.

The order of the brides truſſe or moueables.

The day before the conſummation of the marriage, they ſent the brides moueables and jewels, from the Seraill to the bridegroomes lodging, with this order and ſtate that followeth: Firſt there marched 500 Ianizaries on foot, being followed with the grand Prouoſt of Conſtantinople, and the generall Surueiour, both on horſebacke and attired in cloth of gold: the Aga or Colonell of the Ianizaries verie proudly adorned, and enuironed with ſome Ianizaries, marched alone on horſebacke: after theſe, two hundred men of qualitie well mounted, and richly attired, followed with a ſlow pace. The laſt which marcht in this pompe or ceremonie,

monie, where the Talismans, Centons, Emirs, and other Ministers of *Mahomets* Clergie. And presently followed after the Bassa *Achmat*, Defterda, or high Treasurer, who conducted the moueables, as chosen by the Sultan to be Godfather or Sagois to the bride, being enuironed with twelue footmen attired in long robes of gold. After him followed the moueables, apparell, and jewels, which made the brides trusse, hauing in the head excellent musicke after the Turkish manner, of Hoboyes and Kettledrums on horsebacke,

wherein the brides moueables consisted.

These moueables, or this trusse, consisted of 27 Presents. The first was a little hat all of gold, couered with precious stones, and with pantofles or womens shoes after the Turkish fashion of pure gold, enricht with Turquoises, and rubies: A booke of *Mahomets* Law, the couering whereof was of Massie gold all set with diamonds, many bracelets, and other rare deuises for women, of pure gold, with many precious stones: a little coffer a cubit long, and halfe as broad, all of christall of the rocke, hauing the corners of gold, in the which were to be seene great diamonds and huge pearles, to the value of 80000 pounds sterling: After this precious coffer, were carried many smockes embroidered with gold and pearle, and head-bands for the forehead, with many robes of cloath of gold. All this was distributed into 27 Presents as we haue said, and carried with great pompe by 27 men on foot.

The brides slaues.

After these Presents followed 11 caroches full of yong maidens, slaues to serue the bride: these caroches were couered and shut, and either of them attended by two eunuchs Moores: after these followed 28 virgins slaues, attired in cloth of gold, and accompanied by 28 blacke eunuches all on horsebacke, and richly clad. After which were seene 240 mules, loaden, with tents of tapestrie, cloath of gold, sattin, veluet, with the ground of gold, with many cushions, which are the chaires the ladies of Turkie vse; with many other rich and sumptuous moueables. Such was the Trusse which this yong Princesse brought to her spouses house. Doubtlesse this equipage was stately, and did well become the pompe and greatnesse of the *Othomans* house, from whence shee had issued, the mightiest and richest of all the royall houses in Europe, yea I dare boldly say of all the World.

The order of the brides conducting to her husband.

The marriage day being come, the bride was conducted to her husbands lodging with no lesse pompe and State than her moueables. The Ianizaries marched first as they had formerly done, being followed by the grand Prouost, the Surueior their Aga, and many other officers of the Port. The Emirs (who are descended from *Mahomet*, and alone carrie greene turbants)

Emirs & their priuiledges.

marched after to the number of 80: this name of Emir is as much to say as lord. They which weare them answer not, and obey none but their chiefe, called Mirabachi, and their voice in judgement stands for two: they were followed by the Talismans or Priests of *Mahomets* law, and by a great number which studie it, and which aspire to the offices of Cadi's or Iudges, of Cadilesquiers or Mufti. The Visiers are supreme Iudges of the Turks estate, who judge of all affaires in counsell, came after with the grand Visier, who is Lieutenant Generall to the Turkish Emperor throughout his whole Empire, and keeps the seales of his Empire. He had on his left hand (which is the most honourable ranke in Turkie) the grand Mufti, or supreme Bishop of their Law. The musicke followed after on horsebacke consisting of thirtie men with drums and Hoboies, beeing followed by eight Ægyptians, which carried Biscaine tabors, and did a thousand apish trickes. These were followed by 40 musitians, marching two and two, some playing of citerns, others of harps, and some of lutes after the Turkish manner. A foole (held for a Saint amongst them) being mused with a cap and a cloke couered with mutton bones, danced and sung with these instruments: 50 of the chiefe officers of the Arsenall marcht after them, and 30 men with hammers & other iron instruments, to breake down whatsoeuer aduanced too far in the streets, and might hinder the free passage of 2 trees of an immense height, laden with diuers sorts of fruits all of wax, carried by many men, & supported from the top and the midst with ropes. After these trees came 20 officers belonging to *Achmat Bassa* the high Treasurer, Godfather to the bride. And he himself alone richly attired, & proudly mounted: after whom came 2 great torches light, caried by many slaues, & then a third torch of a wonderfull bignesse, all couered with plats of gold, & shining more with precious stones than the flame which burnt. The *Raisser Aga* with 50 of the princesses officers, followed these lights, & after them was carried a great canopie of crimson veluet, and after it another greater, couered with plates of gold, whose curtaines being shut on all sides, hung downe to the ground. Vnder this canopie was the princes on horsebacke, with some of her black eunuches, her caroch followed

A lowed couered with cloth of gold, and drawne by foure great white horses, wonderfull beautiful. Then followed eight other caroches, in which were a great number of the brides maids, with many Negroes gelt; and finally, 25 virgin slaues, chosen amongst the fairest, all on horsbacke, hauing their haire confusedly hanging vpon their shoulders. Such was the pompe of this marriage: but many times the nuptiall feast is intermixt with funerall mourning. For not many daies after, the Sultans second daughter, promised to *Nassuf Bassa*, was carried to her graue without any pompe or honour: for the Turks make no great esteeme of women.

The death of the Sultans daughter.

The day after the marriage, the Grand Seignior did cruelly beat his Sultana, the mother of

The grand Seignior beats his Sultana.

B this daughter, whom he had married to the Captaine Bassa; he stabbed her with his handjarre or dagger thorow the cheeke, and trod her vnder his feet. The reason was, because shee had strangled a fauorit of his, which was one of his sisters slaues, whom the grand Seignior hauing seene, and being enamoured with her, sent for her. The Sultana hearing thereof, caused her to bee brought to her lodging, where shee stript her of her apparell, strangled her, and put her clothes vpon one of her owne slaues, whom she sent to the Sultan instead of the other, and at her returne strangled her also; as she had done many others when they once appeared to bee with childe by the Grand Seignior.

A great plague at Constantinople.

The plague beginning furiously to spoile the city of Constantinople, the Sultan was forced to returne to his countrey pallace, called the Serail of *Darut Bassa*, to auoid the danger of this violent contagion: the which makes mee thinke, that the Turkish Emperours for their owne

C profit dispense with some articles of their faith; for as we haue said before, The Turkes are so obstinatly tied to the beleefe of Predestination, as they will not vouchsafe to turne from a pestiferous bodie, when it is carried to the graue, and much lesse forbeare to visit his friends being sicke of the plague, for that (say they) if we must needs die of this contagion, it is in vaine to flie it, for it will find vs where soeuer; if not, our health shall neuer be empaired, although wee conuerse with those that are sicke of this disease. But their Sultans know well how to flie the danger; yea and to cause them to be led vnder the arms that come to kisse his hand, lest they should offer him some violence. Thus we see the defect of false religions, when as we see this marke of vniuersalitie in the faith taken away; for there euery man beleeues according to his priuat interest, as well as among many others which haue separated themselues from the truth, to canton themselues in their errors, where we doe often trie the diuersitie of their beliefe.

A Deruis seeketh to kill the Emperour.

D Sultan *Achmat* being in his palace of *Darut Bassa*, and going to visit a stately Mosque which he caused to be built there, a Deruis or religious Turke thrust on by some deuillish fury, cast a great stone at him to beat him downe; but the blow of this detestable traitor, fell vpon his shoulder, and hurt him but lightly. *Achmat* commanded they should draw from this wretch the confession of his confederats: but the officers of the port caused him to be executed the next day, somewhat too suddenly, and by a death too honourable, for a crime so ful of abomination, for they caused his head to be cut off. A Deruis of the same order had in former times sought to murther the Emperor *Mahomet* the second.

The funerall of the lady Glouer the Embassiadors wife.

On the 14 of April, the ladie *Anne Glouer*, wife to sir *Thomas Glouer*, Embassador residing at Constantinople for the English, was buried with very great solemnitie, the like had not beene

E seene in that countrey, since the Turks conquered Constantinople. There were present at this funeral of most nations in the world; the sermon was preached in a large garden vnder a Cypres tree: and although but few of those present did vnderstand it, yet it wrought this effect, that whereas the Iesuits and Friers had formerly possest both Turks, Iewes, and other people, that the English nation since the change of their Religion, had neither churches, nor any forme of diuine seruice; hereby they perceiued, that they had both, and serued God far more decently and deuourly than they themselues, insomuch that the Iesuits being ashamed of their impostures, and slanderous vntruth, durst not for a while after walke the streets; for feare of the Turks, who threatned them for so much belying the English. The Sermon being ended, the bodie was caried from Pera vnto the English graues, which were almost a mile from the place;

F it was closed in lead, and layed in a Caroch couered ouer with blacke veluet, and the horses with blacke cloth. The Dutch Embassador, the Hungarian Agent, the French Colonell, with a great number of all nations both men and women followed her to her graue. The tombe was of faire marble built foure square almost the height of a man, hauing an Epitaph engrauen thereon.

The castle of Lango taken by the Florentines

Wee haue seene the yeare before, the Island and towne of Lango spoiled by the gallies of Malta and Naples, but the castle was saued from ruine, by the resistance it made against the Christians attempts: but this yeare in Iune the great Duke of Tuscans gallies running ouer the Archepelagie, assailed it so furiously, as they forced and spoiled it, carrying away twelue hundred prise[rs] *Mechmet Bassa* Admirall at sea, whom we saw euen now busied at his nuptiall pompe, w[ith] the Empere[ur]s eldest daughter, beeing aduertised of these spoyles of the Florentines, b[y] the dayly co[m]plaints of the Turks which lost their shipping, and of many other enterprises attempted vpo[n] his masters countries lying neere the sea shore; hee departed from Constantinople in August with three and thirtie great gallies, hauing commanded all the Beyes of the Islands and townes in the Archipelague, to joyne with him, wi[th] s many gallies as they could make, to stop the Christians courses in the West. But whil[e] at he is busied in those seas, the Pirats of Ruscia descending into the Euxine sea, by the mo[u]ths of those riuers which discharge their waters into the sea, ouerran and spoiled the Turks coasts in those parts.

Courses of the Russians and Tartars vpon the Turkes.

At the firme land *Constantine* one of the pretending Princes in Moldauia, annoyed all that had any dependance vpon the Turke. A part of that great army of the king of Polands, which had mutined for their pay, spoyled Podolia; and a Prince of the Tartarians discontent for that *Achmat* had preferred a cousin of his before him in the inuestiture of the realme of the Tartars Precopians, with 5000 souldiers spoiled the riuers of Mol[d]auia vnder the Turks dominion, and he did the like in the gulph of Nicopolis.

Troubles in Moldauia.

This was at such time when as miserable Moldauia was the theatre whereas the Turks, Tartars, and Moldauians acted a bloudie tragedie, at the costs and charges of the poore countreymen. For *Tomsho* hauing been cholen Vayuod or Prince of that Prouince by the Turke, *Constantine* who could not endure that he should raigne, armed the countrey, ouerran it, spoiled it, and made hauocke of all, detaining two Capigi prisoners, whom the Sultan had sent vnto him, with commandement to obey his will, and a prohibition not to trouble *Tomsho* in the possession of his Prouince. But this was a message of hard disgestion to *Constantine*; he could not with patience yeeld to this cession of Moldauia: and instead of sending these messengers backe to the Turke with an answer, hee carried them with him into Polonia, whither he went to demand succors, and caused them to be guarded as prisoners. In the meane time by the support and aid of *Potosky* Gouernor of Velin his brother in law, he obtained from the king of Poland, that he should be supported agai[n]st Prince *Tomsho* his competitor, whom the Turke had aduanced; and to make his entrie into M[o]ldauia more easie, they resolued to send an Embassador vnto Constantinople, to entreat [the Turke] to call backe *Tomsho* to his Port, that *Constantine* might quietly enjoy Moldauia, and to acquaint him with the right and interest the Polonians had by their capitulations with the Turkes, to name a Vayuod or Prince in that Prouince, to the end no wrong might be done vnto them.

A Polonian embassador arrested at Constantinople.

This Polonian Embassador being arriued at Constantinople (thinking to be presently dispatched, either by a grant or deniall of his demand, and not to stay aboue fifteene or twentie daies) beeing visited at his arriuall by all the Embassadours of Christian Kings and Princes which remained there: but in stead of audience, after six weekes attendance, hee was arrested and detained prisoner: vnderstanding from the Turkes, that he should haue no libertie vntill that the two Capigi, whome prince *Constantine* carried into Poland were released.

The troubles and diuisions among Christians, neighbours to the Turke, haue alwaies serued as a bridge for this Infidell to inuade them, and by this aduantage to vsurpe such townes and countries as lie fit for him. Now that Valachia, Moldauia, yea and Transyluania, are tost and turmoild with continuall disorders and combustions; the Sultan seemes to embrace this occasion, to make himselfe Soueraigne of these prouinces, and to get possession of all that lies betwixt the riuer of Danow, the mountaines of Sarmatia, the riuer of Tibiscus, and the Euxine sea. Hee emploies all his thoughts and inuentions vpon this subiect, to bring his designes to effect. Hee armes and drawes forces about Belgrade, vnder the conduct of Bassa *Mahomet Belzergi*: Hee commaunds the Tartarians to enter into Moldauia, and hee sent a nauall armie towards the mouth of the riuer, Dannow, which made the frigots of Russia to dislodge, the which had continually made inrodes and spoiles vpon his lands. *Battori* Prince of Transyluania was at that time before the Towne of Cromstad, which hee had besieged,

The Turk arms to inuade Moldauia.

Cromstad besieged by Battori.

besieged, but the tediousnesse of this siege made him resolue to send an Embassador to Constantinople, to demand succors from the Grand Seignior, to the end he might be able to continue this siege and to take the towne: he gaue this charge to *Andrew Giezy*, and sent him to the Sultans Port: but in stead of seruing his master faithfully, he practised a detestable treason against him, to put the Turke in full possession of Transyluania, and to make him absolute Soueraigne. The practise was concluded after this manner, That the Bassa *Mahomet Belzergi* should enter the Prouince with his armie, and that *Giezy* should joyne with him with certaine troupes, and should deliuer vnto him Veradin, Lippa, and some other strong and important places; and for recompence he should inuest him in the Principalitie of Transyluania, in the place of *Battori*, and vnder the authoritie of *Achmat*.

He demands succours from the Turke, and is betrayed.

This treason might haue drawne this miserable Prouince into ruine, and it may be the rest neere adjacent, if it had taken the effect which the trecherie of *Giezy* had promised vnto himselfe. But the Bassa of Buda vnderstanding that *Battori* had some vent of the practise at the Port, and that being now in great feare and perturbation, he had raised the siege from before Cromstad, and was readie to cast himselfe into the armes of the Palatine of Hungarie, and to craue reliefe from him; the craftie Bassa knowing that this course would be preiudiciall for the Sultan, and finding that the deposing of *Battori* would be more difficult than they expected, hee diuerted *Mahomet Bassa* from attempting any thing against *Battori* or Transyluania. This act shewes sufficiently, that Christian Princes which thinke to shelter themselues vnder the shadow of the Turkish Crescent, are verie ill assured: for hee neuer failes to stirre vp enemies against them, to make them sue for succours, and himselfe necessarie: Then in the end he expels them, and becomes absolute master of their countries. It was also said, That the Bassa *Mahomet* would not attempt any thing in Transyluania, by reason of the election of the Emperour *Matthias*, whereof the Bassa of Buda was assured by the Embassadour which the said Emperour sent to Constantinople, to carrie the presents vnto the Sultan; which Embassadour was honourably entertained at Buda by the said Bassa, and from thence conducted safely to Constantinople.

But not to keepe these Turkish troupes idle, *Mahomet Bassa* beeing aduertised that *Constantine* the pretending prince in Moldauia, had bin in Poland to craue some assistance from thence, he resolued to employ his forces that way, to dispossesse him and to settle another.

But the better to vnderstand the beginning and successe of these Moldauian warres, wee must make a repitition of that which past some yeares before. In the yeare 1608, *Ieremie Mohyla* Prince or Vayuod of Moldauia, died; committing the gouernement to his brother *Simion*, during the minoritie of his three sonnes, *Constantine*, *Alexander*, and *Bougdan*, the eldest beeing but eight yeares old. Hee left three daughters married to three generous Princes of Polonia, *Potosky*, *Visinousky*, and *Corresky*. Prince *Simeon* continued in the gouernement vntill the yeare 1611; after whose decease the young Prince *Constantine* by the persuasion of his mother, that he might safely take vpon him the gouernment of Moldauia, and not attend any confirmation from the Sultan, for that Prince *Simeon* who had beene confirmed by the Turke which then raigned, was but Tutor to his Nephew; entered the gouernement. At this time there remained at Constantinople, one *Stephano* or *Tomsho*, who had of a long time practised the fauour of one of the Visiers called *Mehemet*, an Eunuch of Georgia (who was then Chimacham, or Lieutenant to the Grand Visier) and of some other Bassaes, as well by money as by other practises, suggesting falsly that he was sonne to Prince *Aaron*, who had been Vayuod of Moldauia before the deceased *Ieremie*: and he preuailed so by his practises and corruption (whereunto the Turkes are more subiect than any Nation in the World) as he was admitted to the Principalitie by the Grand Seignior, and hauing giuen him to vnderstand by the Visier, that *Constantine* had thrust himselfe rashly into the gouernment, and that hee would not acknowledge him for his Lord and Soueraigne, nor pay the yearely tribute, which was 40000 chequines, hee sent *Fousseyen Aga* with 20000 Turkes and Tartarians to settle *Stephen* or *Tomsho* in Moldauia, and to expell Prince *Constantine*. Which armie marched so secretly, as they had in a manner surprised him; yet drawing together a head of 10000 men, hee resolued to attend the euent. The Aga sent to acquaint him with his commission, and among other things threatened him, that if he would not suffer him to proclaime *Stephen* Vayuod of Moldauia, and yeeld him the Citie of Yas free, he would cut him in pieces.

Constantine sonne of Ieremie enters the gouernment.

Stephen made Vayuod of Moldauia by the Turke.

Where-

Constantines answer to the Turks Aga.

Whereunto *Constantine* made answer, by the aduice of the Prince *Potosky* his brother in law, That the Grand Seignior had been abused: for if hee had vnderstood, that his predecessor had granted vnto the deceased Prince *Ieremy* his father, and to Prince *Simeon* his vncle, That he should succeed his said father in the gouernment: it was not credible that he would seeke to dispossesse him by force, without hearing, and install in his place an vnknowne person, who had falsely supposed himselfe to bee the sonne of a Prince of Moldauia: neither should they finde, that he had refused to acknowledge the Sultan for his Soueraigne Prince, or denied to continue the same tribute which his father and vncle had paid: but if the Aga would proceed without any respect of his oathes, he did hope that the true God of battell would maintain him in his just defence, and would not suffer an vsurper to preuaile ouer a lawfull Prince. *Fousseyen Aga*, who had no will to capitulat with Prince *Constantine*, being corrupted by *Stephen* with Presents and promises, aduanced with his army, so as the next day they joyned battell; but the Moldauians oppressed with multitudes of Turks, Tartarians, and Valachians, could not make it good. Wherefore *Potosky* entreated Prince *Constantine* to saue himselfe, and to suffer him to finish the battell: but hee could by no meanes perswade him, still resoluing to attend the euent. Whereupon they went both againe to the charge with such troupes as they had left, and defeated many of the Turks forces; but being oppressed with a new supply of 2000 horse which the *Aga* sent by *Stephen*, they were constrained to yeeld themselues to the mercy of their enemies. Prince *Constantine* fell to the Tartarians share, either for that he had been taken prisoner by some of them, or else was giuen them by *Fousseyen Aga*, to draw a ransome from him, and be in stead of their pay. But they made no great vse of him, for as they led him away, passing the riuer of Niestre, hee leapt into it, thinking either to saue himselfe by swimming, or vnwilling to suruiue his disgrace. And as for Prince *Potosky*, he was carried to Constantinople, and was put into the blacke tower, which is a prison appointed by men of qualitie, where he continued vntill the yeare 1616. The losse of this battell by *Constantine*, gaue an easie enterance to *Stephen* into Moldauia, no man daring oppose himselfe against the Turks forces: so as *Fousseyen Aga* caused *Stephen* to be proclaimed Prince of Moldauia in the citie of Yas, and then dismissed his armie, and returned to Constantinople. Such was the fortune of the Prince of Moldauia, ruined by the Turks, and such was the disorder and confusion of his miserable countrey.

Constantine & Potosky taken prisoners.

Stephen proclaimed prince of Moldauia.

Constantinople afflicted with grashoppers.

This Summer Constantinople and the countrey round about, was annoyed with aboundance of Grashoppers, as it had beene in the former yeare: but to free themselues from this deuouring vermine, about the middest of July, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Alexandria, with diuers other Bishops, and Calloires attired in their copes and other ornaments, went forth in solemne manner at the gate of Andrianople, being the North gate of the citie. Whereupon (said the Greekes) they all perished: and indeed about this time infinit heaps of them were found dead; but not by reason of their curse, for most were dead before they cursed them, and were to be seene dead vpon euerie bush and twigge of a tree before their curse, and many liued after their curse, and continued vntill the next summer. The cold deawes which fell this Summer (beeing extraordinarie) were thought to bee the naturall cause thereof; God causing those deawes to fall, to free the countrey from these deuouring creatures.

The troubles of Transyluania.

Let vs now describe the miseries of the Transyluanian, and of his Prouince, a table so often represented in this Historie. *Gabriel Battori* who gouerned Transyluania, as lawfully descended from the Soueraigne Princes thereof, hauing made himselfe a tributarie vnto the Turke, and by his impious actions mingled *Mahomets* impietie with the Christian Religion; and moreouer, exceeding in his crueltie, became a memorable example to all posteritie, that Princes which carrie the glorious name of Christians, when they haue once layed aside all feare of the Soueraigne of Princes, cannot attend, but a miserable end in their raigne, conformable to the course of their enormities. So *Gabriel Battori* holding it a Law of State, to settle his affaires with the ruine of Religion, allyes himselfe with the Turke, and with him afflicts the Christian Prouinces. But seeing many factions made against him, as well by the descendents of *Botscay*, as by *Giezi*, *Bethlem Gabor*, and some other, hee supports himselfe with the forces of *Andrew Nage*, the head of the Rebels in high Hungarie, who came vnto him to the siege before Cronstad to assist him in his affaires. *Battori* entertained him with all shewes

A shewes of courtesie, inuited him to dinner in his Tent; and for a greater demonstration of friendship, after dinner they two went to take the aire on horseback. *Nage* had drunke after the Hungarian manner; *Battori* entreated him to runne his horse a careere, and he refused it; the which *Battori* taking for an offence, spake many words of contempt vnto him, and hee answered him in the same manner, being more inflamed with wine, than gouerned by reason. *Battori* being wonderfully offended, that a man of no sort, being but a poore souldier of fortune, crept vp to some authoritie among the soldiers but by degrees of rebellion, should giue him such words of indignitie, gaue him three blowes on the head with a battle-axe which hee held in his hand, and slew him. Thus *Nage* swims iustly in his owne bloud, hauing wickedly and to the ruine of his Country, floted in the wayes of inconstancie, and popular tumults; and so he died as he had liued.

Battori kills Nage.

B But *Battori* found himselfe dayly oppresst with many affaires, which draue him insensibly to his ruine. *Peter Decaci* Kinseman to the deceased *Botscay* annoyed him on the one side with troupes of souldiers. *Andrew Giezi* (who had betrayed him in his embassie to Constantinople) leuied Forces to prosecute him; and *Bethlehem Gabor* a Nobleman of Transyluania, and assisted by the Turke, tooke many places from him, after that *Giezi* had forced him to raise his siege at Cromstad, and generally all Transyluania reuolted against this Prince. To see more plainely in the obscuritie of these confused disorders, you must vnderstand that this Prouince is peopled by three seueral Nations, the Sicules, Saxons, and Hungarians.

Parties against Battori.

C The Sicules (discended from the Scythians) came with *Attila* King of the Hunnes, in Pannonia, now called Hungarie, and taking their way towards their Countrey, they inhabited that part of Transyluania which lies next to Moldauia, and diuiding themselues into seuen Coloneys, they built the townes of Kisdi, Orbai, Scipsi, Cykuduarheh, Aranios, and Maros. The Saxons (mutinying against the gouernment of the Emperour *Charlemaigne* King of France) for certaine impositions wherewith hee had charged them) retyred into Transyluania, and by force seised on that part of the countrey which confineth vpon Valachia, where they built the townes of Hermenstad, (otherwise called Cibin) Cronstad, Nezen (or Bistric) Meduisch, Sciespourg, Clausenbourg, and Alba-Iulia. The Hungarians inhabited this prouince from the time of Saint *Stephen* King of Hungarie; and hauing mastered the other Nations, they obtained such preheminence among them, as since their successours haue

Diuision of the people of Transyluania.

D caused themselues to be called Nobles of Transyluania, and the Vayuods or Princes of the Countrey haue beene taken from among them. The Townes of Varradin, Deuer, Zilahi, Gela, and some others, owe their beginnings vnto them. The greatest part of these three Nations which inhabit Transyluania, were reuolted against *Battori*: but particularly the Saxons had taken armes against him, his great crueltie hauing forced them to this extreame remedie.

All the three nations against Battori.

Battori being thus abandoned by his subjects, prosecuted by his Nobilitie, and forsaken of all the world, knowing not whither to flie for succour, and not daring to trust vnto the Turke, who openly fauoured *Gabor*; he resolued to trie if he could by presents draw the Emperour *Matthias* to giue him any assistance. Wherefore he sent Embassadors vnto him, to promise

Battori finds

E all subjection and obedience; and he sent for Presents, a long robe or sacerdotal cloake of gold, set with Pearle and pretious stones, certaine plumes of blacke Herons, adorned with pretious stones, a Turkish sword, the scabberd being of siluer richly set with iewels, tenne blacke horses with rich furniture embroidered with gold and siluer, and a Turkish horse hauing halfe the bodie and legges of the colour of gold, with his furniture of crimson richly embroidered. He laboured to haue the Emperor giue notice to the Bassa of Buda, that the attempt of the Turks against Transyluania, was against the Articles of peace [illegible] made answer, That his Emperour was not to be blamed if he seised vpon that prouince, since it did immediately belong vnto him, and kept it quiet from the practiles of others. But [illegible] relying not wholly vpon this support; but desiring to haue more strin[illegible] sent Embassadours to the Sultan, with rare and rich Presents, who had [illegible] with the Bassa's: the which *Negromus* the Emperours Embassadour [illegible] nop'e discouering, he sent word vnto the Emperour, that [illegible] men.

F

About the same time there came Embassadours from [illegible]

Crueltie of Battori.

vania, complaining much of the crueltie and tyrannie of *Battori*. The Saxons (said they) li- G
uing many peares in Transyluania, had beautified the Prouinces with townes, villages, and
Markets, and had by their vertue obtained many priuiledges from former Emperors: but *Bat-*
tori, against his promised faith, and the oath which he had taken, had depriued them of their
priuiledges, and afflicted them in such sort, as they were in a manner ruined: that from his first
enterance he had sought to root out the antient familie of the Saxons: that he had afflicted
them with imprisonments & miserable seruitude, & had detained *Iohn Benner* 3 yeres in prison
for no other cause, but for that he knew he had brought a great estate out of Germanie: hee
had depriued honest widowes of their estates, and had oppresst others with vniust exactions:
hee had surprised Hermstad the chiefe citie of the Saxons, and suffered the Hadoks to spoile
it, and to commit all sorts of insolencies. That he had expelled the Magistrate, banished ho- H
nest Citizens, rauished women, slaine the parents, to depriue the children of their inheritance,
and committed all the barbarous cruelties that could be deuised. That he had sent three hun-
dred captiues to the Sultan for a Present; many he cut into small pieces, some he had throwne
downe from the tops of mountaines and towers; some he had hung vp by the feet, others
hee had drawne in pieces with horses and trees, and to conclude, hee had practised all kindes
of barbarous cruelties. That hauing expelled Religious Princes out of Moldauia and Vala-
chia, hee had made them subject to the Turke, for no other end, but getting an occasion to
circumuent the Christians, hee might waste all with fire and sword, hauing multitudes of
Barbarians to second him; and for a conclusion of his notable crueltie, hauing freed the towne
of Gaudin, he made choice of twentie of the principal inhabitants, and deliuering to euerie I
one of them a pike, he forced them in his presence to kill one another in the midst of the mar-
ket place.

Gabor and the Turke presse Battori.

But God reuengeth his excesse by his ruine, whereinto we shall presently see him run head-
long miserably: for, *Bethlem Gabor* his capital enemie hauing joyned his forces with those of
Bassa *Serder*, they both entered together into Transyluania, forced Lugasti, take Deue, and
strike a great terror into the whole countrey. *Ogli Bassa* on the other side surmounts the diffi-
cultie of the wayes, and lodgeth with his troupes in the suburbs of Cromstad, and from thence
went and camped ouer all the tract of Barry or Barsac. Thus *Battori* sees himselfe oppresst by
an enemie from whom he can expect nothing but his miserie and ruine: he attended succours
from the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the Palatine of Hungarie and *Fortgatsie*: they came, K
but not such as were able to resist the Turke. This made him write to *Trinan* for the leuying
of soldiers; but the hatred they bare him generally, deceiued his hopes, no man would march
vnder his ensignes. This refusal makes him distrustfull, he dares not confer with any man tou-
ching the affaires of the war. A treatie of peace seemes more fit for his affaires; hee makes an
ouerture to his most familiar friends, and tells them that he holds it necessarie to purchase his
peace with *Serder Bassa* at what price soeuer; yea, were it in deliuering into his hands the pla-
ces of greatest importance. But he receiues no other answers from them, but that they had ra-
ther die than aduise him to it. Thus he sees himselfe void of all hope of safetie in his affaires:
he wanted money, his subiects, yea euen his souldiers hated him, as a Prince abandoned to all
crueltie; and for his last remedie, and the most ordinarie in base and cowardly mindes, hee fel L
into dispaire, intreating one of his seruants to kil him; but the other refused him that honor,
suffering him to draw on his miserable life, till that within some few dayes after, going forth
to view where his troupes were lodged, being in an open chariot, accompanied onely with
two gentlemen, fiftie of his soldiers (which attended him in an ambush) shot at him, slew him,
and hurt those that did accompanie him. It is true, this accident hapned in the yeare 1613,
when as this vnfortunate *Battori* went to giue an account vnto God of the bad gouernment of
his estate.

The misteries and dispaire of Battori.

Battori slaine by his owne souldiers.

Bethlem Gabor made Prince of Transyluania by the Turke.

Some few dayes after, *Bethlem Gabor* was declared Prince of Transyluania by Bassa *Ser-*
der, who gaue him this aduisement at his introduction; *Battori shall serue for an example to*
bad Princes; I do not thinke that you will follow his steps. Beware you attempt not any thing
without the priuitie of my Master: Maintaine peace with your Neighbours, and make men of
experience and honestie of your Councell. Transyluania did yet feare the continuance of a
storme of a fatall warre, when as in lesse than fortie dayes it saw it selfe settled in the calme of
sweet peace, by the acknowledgement which all the Townes made vnto *Bethlem Gabor*, and
the

A the oath of fidelitie which they tooke vnto him, as to their elected Prince; notwithstanding
that the Emperour employed all his credit to hinder it. But the desire of peace, and the feare
of the Turkes armies, drew all the Gouernors of townes to acknowledge *Gabor*: such were
the affaires of Transyluania, disordered by the Turke. Let vs now make an end of the remain-
der of the yeare 1612, the which we haue deferred, for that we would not interrupt the rela-
tion of the affaires of this Prouince.

We haue said elsewhere, That the King of Persia had offered conditions of peace to Sultan
Achmat, much to his aduantage, seeing that he yeelded himselfe the Turks tributarie, in regard
of certaine lands which he had conquered from them. Now the Visier *Nassuf* General of the
armie against the Persian, brings his Embassador to Constantinople, to conclude this peace. *A Persian Em-*
bassador comes
B *Nassuf* triued with his armie and the Persian Embassador at Scudaret, right ouer against Con- *to Constantino-*
ple.
stantinople, whither most of the Bassas of the Port went to salute him, and then returned. But
the grand Visier stayd there two days; on the third he past ouer to Constantinople, where he
was entertained by the water side by all the Bassa's which accompanied him; an infinit num-
ber of Ianizaries going before with their Pieces, and some of them in armour, after
whome followed their Aga on horseback; then came a great number of Iamoglans, and
the Emirs or kindred of *Mahomet* with their greene Turbants, with many blinde men
shouting aloud: these holy men carried the banner (as they say) of *Mahomet*, and the peo-
ple standing by, kissed it with great deuotion as they past: after them came the Chaoux on
horseback, the Bassa's, then the chiefe Mufti, and last of all *Nassuf Bassa* himselfe: after
C whom followed the Treasure which hee brought with him for the Emperour, being two
hundred thirtie foure Moyles loden with gold and siluer. The Visier as he past by the Sultans
window, bowed himselfe verie low vnto him, from whom he had a nod with his head, and
so set spurres to his horse and rode away fast, as the manner of the Turkes is when they salute
a greater man than themselues, presently to runne or ride away apace. The Visier being come
to the Seraill, went in to the Sultan to kisse his hand, where he continued a whole houre, the
rest of the Bassa's attending without. There were present at this dayes pompe the Emperors
Embassadour, the French, the English, Polonian, Low-Countries, and Venetian; the Per-
sian remaining still at Scudaret. The Graund Visier as hee past by the Emperours Embassa-
dour, put off his hat and saluted him, but not the rest. The same day *Tomsho*, who had beene
D lately made Prince of Moldauia by the Graund Seigniour, sent many Polonians to Con-
stantinople, whom he had taken in the wars. All which (notwithstanding they threw downe
their caps and offered to turne Turkes) were put to death. And within few dayes after, the
Visier *Nassuf* sitting in the publique Diuano, had three robes sent him from the Grand Seigni-
or to grace him.

Achmat hauing a will to let the Persian see the magnificence of his Court, went out of
Constantinople; and vnder a pretext to go take the aire at his Countrie pallace called *Darut*
Bassa, hee takes occasion at his returne to make a stately entrie at his Imperial Citie. The
generall Surueyour being aduertised of his will, caused the wayes from his pallace of *Darut*
vnto the Citie, to be couered with sand; the which containes two French Leagues, or foure *The Sultan en-*
ters in state in-
E English miles. This done, the Emperour parted for his retinue, and entered in pompe into *to Constantino-*
ple.
Constantinople. The order of this enterie was in this manner: A great number of men at
armes marched first on horseback, and after them some troupes of foot, the Cadis of Con- *The order how*
his Houshold
stantinople, or men of justice, and all the Talismans, or those of *Mahomets* Law, in very great *marched.*
numbers followed after, and after these marcht the Visiers and Bassa's in great pompe: after
whom followed the Sultans houshold, that is to say, tenne men leading in their hands tenne
goodly horses richly caparisoned, the last of which had the bridle and saddle all couered
with pretious stones; the Sultans Targuet was made fast vnto the saddle, and vpon it did
hang euen to the ground a great tassel of pearles; and ouer all this, a long horse-cloath or
couering for a horse, the which was embroidered so thicke with pearle, as the ground could
F not be discerned: after which followed the rest of the Emperors houshold in diuers troups:
first, fiftie Ianizaries on foot, euerie one leading dogges in leashes, Mastiffes, or Irish Grey-
hounds, the goodliest of all were those which the French Embassadour had presented vnto
the Sultan. Secondly, the Graund Seigniours footmen called Peiks, Persians by Nation, all
well attyred, wearing on their heads bonnets of siluer and gilt, in forme of pots. Thirdly,
threescore

Cruelties of Battori.

vania, complaining much of the crueltie and tyrannie of *Battori*. The Saxons [illegible] using many peares in Transyluania, had beautified the Prouince with [illegible] Markets, and had by their vertue obtained many priuiledges from [illegible] *Battori*, against his promised faith, and the oath which he had taken, had depriued them of priuiledges, and [illegible] them in such sort, as they were in a manner ruined: that from his entrance he had sought to root out the antient familie of the Saxons: that he had afflicted them with [illegible] able seruitude, & had detained *Iohn Bewnes* [illegible] for no other cause, [illegible] knew he had brought a great estate out of Germ[illegible] had depriued hone[illegible] estates, and had oppreſt others wit[illegible] hee had surprised [illegible] it, and to commit all [illegible] that he had expelled the Magistrates [illegible] nen Citizens, to [illegible] be parcelled, to deprive the ecclesiastiques, Cler[illegible] nes that could be exempted, inuented, and [illegible] more he accused [illegible] upon him [illegible] and reuerst [illegible] turtle guards of the [illegible] with [illegible] nes, and ornamented [illegible] roure wherof ha[illegible] roofed [illegible] with cloath of gold.

[illegible] Loue, chosen amongst [illegible] The filthie and vnnatural pleasure [illegible] made of rich [illegible] troupe of young men, namely attyred [illegible] sugar loafe, and these were drawn [illegible]

Gr[illegible] Tu[illegible] Ba[illegible]

[illegible] were diuerse seruants to the Turkes in this pompe diuers Beglerbegs, as [illegible] Buda, Temesuar, Nicopolis, and others, each [illegible] companie going distinct, both of [illegible] and [illegible] the Bassa's themselues all [illegible] and well mounted: and after them followed [illegible] first were [illegible] being two hundred in number richly [illegible] med: there were also the [illegible] with siluer Agagins, the [illegible] officers of galleis with speares in their hands [illegible] before [illegible] the Arsenal, the [illegible] carriers which gouerne the carts going to war, and their Cap[illegible] names; [illegible] for-man with their banner, and the Armourers all in armour, with their par[illegible] ner. There were also the [illegible] of the Grand Seignior *Achomet*, and of the Grand Visier, [illegible] ners, the Chiefe [illegible] Gentlemen [illegible] Seigniors, and after all followed the Captains and Officers of his Kitchen. The number [illegible] Knights of Asiacants in this pompe was so great, as it was effeemed to amount to the number of forte thousand persons.

Turkish Embassador.

The Persian Embassador, for whose sake the Emperor *Achmat* had made this stately shew, to the end he might carrie backe into his countrie a patterne of the *Ottoman* state and greatnesse caused to be cast out before his lodging when as the Sultan passed by, [illegible] peeces of siluer, which were scrambled vp by the Archers of his guard, whereof they made good purchase. All these magnificencies, added to those which we haue formerly related in the marriages of the Sultans sister and daughter, with other pompe celebrated in France, Spaine, Naples, and [illegible] Infanta of Spaine, and of the Prince of Spaine with the Ladie *Elizabeth* of Bourbon the Kings eldest sister, and for the coronation of the Empresse, and the Emperours entrie into Nuremberg may giue vnto this yeare [illegible] the title of magnifique or stately.

The Persian Embassador to the Turke.

Foure dayes after Sultan *Achmat* entrie into his Imperial citie, the Persian Embassadour had audience, and was receiued to kisse his hands: hee presented vnto his Majestie in the behalfe of the King of Persia his Master, foure hundred balls of silke, a Besonard stone as big as a mans fist, with some others that were lesse; nine bagges of leather full of Turquoises, the which were a foot and an halfe long, and aboue foure fingers broad, a great number of Taperare. The complements being ended, they began to treat seriously of a peace betwixt two great and antient enemies, the Turke and the Persian; the which after some difficulties was concluded vpon these conditions: That the Persian king should pay yearely vnto the Turkish Emperor by way of tribute a quantity of silke to the burthen of two hundred camels: that the King of

A of Persia his sonne should be called Bassa of Tauris, and that the Cadi or Soueraigne Iudge of that towne should be sent from Constantinople. This peace thus concluded to the Turks aduantage, the Persian Embassador returned vnto his master, hauing left most of his traine dead of the Plague at Constantinople. Being arriued at Tauris, the king of Persia seeing this peace to be so dishonourable, and burthensome for him, he caused his Embassadours head to be cut off; and sent backe the Chiaux, who was come from Constantinople to see him sweare the peace. Some write that hee did him some indignities, which made these two great Monarchs returne againe to armes.

The Chimacham put from his place.

The Grand Visier *Nassuf*, after his returne to Constantinople, to shew his great power and authoritie, procured meanes to haue the Chimacham (who had formerly supplied the place B of the Graund Visier in the absence of *Amurath Bassa*, and vntill the returne of *Nassuf*) to be depriued of his Bassaes place, and sent presently ouer vnto Scudarer, vnder pretence of preferring him to a gouernment neere vnto Trebizond in the confines of Turkie, but with an intent to depriue him of his head. The friends of this Chimacham, (who were many and great in Court) seeing him so disgracefully sent away, and doubting *Nassuf* his purpose, procured leaue from the Graund Seigniour to haue him sent for backe againe, for that hee was an old man, and might from thence forth liue at home in quiet; and for his former seruices a thousand aspersa day allowed him for his entertainement: which *Nassuf* tooke verie discontentedly.

The Emperour Matthias sends an embassador to Costantinople

During the Persian Embassadours abode at Constantinople, the Emperour *Matthias* C (successour to *Rodulphus* his brother) sent an Embassadour to the Sultan, to complaine of the enterprises which were made dayly vpon Transyluania, a Prouince which he said belonged vnto him, as a dependance of his Realme of Hungarie. This Embassadour called *Negroni* was receiued at the Court, and admitted to kisse the Sultans hand: but his Presents were little esteemed, for that they were of lesse value than those which they had lately receiued from the Persian. His demaunds to haue the Prouince of Transyluania, were grounded vpon an article inserted among those of the peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botskay*, at that time chosen Prince of Transyluania; that is to say, *That* Botskay *dying without issue male, Transyluania should remaine at the disposition of his Imperiall Maiestie.* This article beeing read by *Negroni* in the Turkes Counsell, whither hee had beene admitted; the Muphti or soue-D raige priest of *Mahomets* law, answered, That it was contrarie to his law: so the demands of this Embassadour touching Transyluania were reiected; seeing that *Botskay* had no power from the Sultan (said the Graund Visier) to treat with the Emperour, and to giue him Transyluania after his death. *Negroni* grounded this gift of *Botskay* (mentioned in the said article) vpon the eighth article of the peace betwixt the Turke and the Emperour, concluded in the Isle of Dannow, by *Amurath* Visier, and the Deputies of his Imperiall Maiestie, in these words; *That all which had beene granted in the treatie of peace made at Vienna, to* Botskay, *should be duely and faithfully obserued.* *Nassuf* the Grand Visier replied, That the Bassa *Amurath* being then Visier, might erre in signing these articles of the peace vpon the Dannow: and at the same in-E stant he shewed forth some other articles, whereas that was not inserted; saying, That the Sultan would faithfully performe those and no others, pressing the Embassadour *Negroni* to signe them; the which he refused to doe: so as *Nassuf* vsed some threats to terrifie him; but *Negroni* replied, That hee was in their power, and that in this case he had rather lose his life, and die gloriously for the good of his masters affaires, than to haue ittaken from him at his returne to Vienna, with shame and infamie, hauing signed those articles. Finally he promised to aduertise his Imperiall Maiestie, and to certifie them of his pleasure: which promise for this time ended the contention.

The malice and falshood of the Turks.

In the beginning of this yeare, Sultan *Achmat*, after the reception of the Persian Embassadour, and the stately entrie hee made into Constantinople, went to lie at Adrianople, where his Ianizaries and Spahies beganne to mutinie, spurning at their bread and rice F which was giuen them for their dayly entertainement: and beeing demaundeded the reason of this their insolencie; they answered, that no Emperour before him had so carried out his men in the depth of Winter: which answere did much incense *Nassuf Bassa*. This Visier was in such credit with the Graund Seigniour, as during his abode at Adria-

threescore Archers on foot, in the middest of which the Sultan came, attyred in a rich robe of cloath of gold imbroidered with Pearles and Diamonds, his slaues were enricht after the same manner; his Turbant couered with fiue plumes of blacke Herons feathers enricht with great Diamonds, and a chaine of the same stones about the lower part of his Turbant: vpon his little finger he had a Diamond of a large bignesse and estimable price, the which gaue a maruelous great light. He was proudly mounted vpon a goodly horse richly caparisoned Emperour like, the saddle was embroidered with gold, pearle, and Diamonds, the stirrops, of pure gold set with many Diamonds, and from the horse necke did hang a great tassel of pearle, the which were so great, as they were esteemed verie rich and pretious. 4. After the Graund Seignior followed three men on horseback, carrying in their hands, the one his Armour, the other his cloake, and the third his Imperial Turbant, and these were attended on by certaine Esquires and Gentlemen all on horsebacke. 5. Then came the Musicke after the Turkish manner, consisting of threescore men on horseback, which played vpon Phifes, Clerons, and trumpets. 6. There followed an hundred Pages of the Sultans, brauely mounted, and followed by manie Eunuchs, fiftie of which Pages caried euerie one a Faulcon vpon his fist, hauing their heads enricht with Diamonds, and these were followed by thirtie guards of the Port. 7. Fiftie Faulconers and Huntsmen richly attired and wel mounted, foure whereof had either of them before him vpon his saddle bow a Leopard couered with cloath of gold. 8. A great number of other pages, fairer than the pictures of *Adonis* or Loue, chosen amongst the infants of the Tribute, and vnfortunately appointed for the filthie and vnnatural pleasures of their Master, whose garments after the Turkish manner were pretious, made of rich cloath of gold curled. They were followed by a great troupe of young men richely attyred in cloath, hauing vpon their heads yellow caps pointed in forme of a sugar loafe, and these were ordained to serue the Sultans Pages.

Pages chosen amongst the faiest for the Sultans pleasure.

There were moreouer attending the Sultan in this pompe diuers Beglerbegs, as of Bosna, Buda, Romania, Natolia, and others; euerie companie going distinct, both of horse and foot, with the Bassa's seruants all gallantly attired and wel mounted: and after them followed *Nassufs* attendants, being fiue hundred in number richly armed: there were also the Kings Friemen, Calkers, Azappes, the Rices or officers of gallies with speares in their hands; all that belonged to the Arcenal, the Carters which gouerned the carts going to war, and their Captaines; then the shot-men with their banner, and the Armourers all in armour, with their banner. There were also the banners of the Grand Seignior *Mahomet*, and of the Grand Visier, euerie one in his order before the Grand Seignior: and after all followed the Capigie's and Officers of his Kitchen. The number of all sorts of attendants in this pompe was so great, as it was esteemed to amount to the number of fortie thousand persons.

A largess of the Persian embassador when as the Sultan past

The Persian Embassador, for whose sake the Emperor *Achmat* had made this stately shew, to the end he might carrie backe into his countrey a patterne of the *Otheman* state and greatnesse, caused to be cast out before his lodging when as the Sultan passed by, 100 pieces of silke, the which were gathered vp by the Archers of his guard, whereof they made good purchase. All these magnificencies, added to those which we haue formerly related at the marriages of the Sultans sister and daughter, with other pompe celebrated in France, Spaine, Naples, and Germanie, for the marriages of *Lewis* the thirteenth, King of France, with *Anne* of Austria, Infant of Spaine; and of the Prince of Spaine with the Ladie *Elizabeth* of Bourbon the Kings eldest sister; and for the coronation of the Empresse, and the Emperours entrie into Nuremberg, may giue vnto this yeare 1612 the title of magnique or stately.

The Persians Presents to the Turke.

Foure dayes after Sultan *Achmats* enterie into his Imperial citie, the Persian Embassadour had audience, and was receiued to kisse his hands: hee presented vnto his Majestie in the behalfe of the King of Persia his Master, foure hundred balls of silke, a Besonard stone as big as a mans fist, with some others that were lesse, nine bagges of leather full of Turquoises, the which were a foot and an halfe long, and aboue foure fingers broad, a great number of Tapestries of wooll, silke, cloath of gold and siluer, with many other things of great price, and very rare. The complements being ended, they began to treat seriously of a peace betwixt two great and antient enemies, the Turke and the Persian; the which after some difficulties was concluded vpon these conditions: That the Persian king should pay yearely vnto the Turkish Emperor by way of tribute a quantity of silke to the burthen of two hundred camels: that the King of

of Persia his sonne should be called Bassa of Tauris, and that the Cadi or Soueraigne Iudge of that towne should be sent from Constantinople. This peace thus concluded to the Turks aduantage, the Persian Embassador returned vnto his master, hauing left most of his traine dead of the Plague at Constantinople. Being arriued at Tauris, the king of Persia seeing this peace to be so dishonourable, and burthensome for him, he caused his Embassadours head to be cut off; and sent backe the Chiaux, who was come from Constantinople to see him sweare the peace. Some write that hee did him some indignities, which made these two great Monarchs returne againe to armes.

The Chimacham put from his place.

The Grand Visier *Nassuf*, after his returne to Constantinople, to shew his great power and authoritie, procured meanes to haue the Chimacham (who had formerly supplied the place of the Graund Visier in the absence of *Amurath Bassa*, and vntill the returne of *Nassuf*) to be depriued of his Bassaes place, and sent presently ouer vnto Scudaret, vnder pretence of preferring him to a gouernment neere vnto Trebizond in the confines of Turkie, but with an intent to depriue him of his head. The friends of this Chimacham, (who were many and great in Court) seeing him so disgracefully sent away, and doubting *Nassuf* his purpose, procured leaue from the Graund Seignior to haue him sent for backe againe, for that hee was an old man, and might from thence forth liue at home in quiet; and for his former seruices a thousand aspersa day allowed him for his entertainement: which *Nassuf* tooke verie discontentedly.

The Emperour Matthias sends an embassador to Constantinople

During the Persian Embassadours abode at Constantinople, the Emperour *Matthias* (successour to *Rodulphus* his brother) sent an Embassadour to the Sultan, to complaine of the enterprises which were made dayly vpon Transyluania, a Prouince which he said belonged vnto him, as a dependance of his Realme of Hungarie. This Embassadour called *Negroni* was receiued at the Court, and admitted to kisse the Sultans hand: but his Presents were little esteemed, for that they were of lesse value than those which they had lately receiued from the Persian. His demaunds to haue the Prouince of Transyluania, were grounded vpon an article inserted among those of the peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botskay*, at that time chosen Prince of Transyluania; that is to say, *That* Botskay *dying without issue male*, *Transyluania should remaine at the disposition of his Imperiall Maiestie.* This article beeing read by *Negroni* in the Turkes Counsell, whither hee had beene admitted; the Muphti or soueraige priest of *Mahomets* law, answered, That it was contrarie to his law: so the demands of this Embassadour touching Transyluania were reiected; seeing that *Botskay* had no power from the Sultan (said the Graund Visier) to treat with the Emperour, and to giue him Transyluania after his death. *Negroni* grounded this gift of *Botskay* (mentioned in the said article) vpon the eighth article of the peace betwixt the Turke and the Emperour, concluded in the Isle of Dannow, by *Amurath* Visier, and the Deputies of his Imperiall Maiestie, in these words; *That all which had beene granted in the treatie of peace made at Vienna, to* Botskay, *should be duely and faithfully obserued.* *Nassuf* the Grand Visier replied, That the Bassa *Amurath* being then Visier, might erre in signing these articles of the peace vpon the Dannow: and at the same instant he shewed forth some other articles, whereas that was not inserted; saying, That the Sultan would faithfully performe those and no others, pressing the Embassadour *Negroni* to signe them; the which he refused to doe: so as *Nassuf* vsed some threats to terrifie him; but *Negroni* replied, That hee was in their power, and that in this case he had rather lose his life, and die gloriously for the good of his masters affaires, than to haue it taken from him at his returne to Vienna, with shame and infamie, hauing signed those articles. Finally he promised to aduertise his Imperiall Maiestie, and to certifie them of his pleasure: which promise for this time ended the contention.

The malice and falshood of the Turks.

In the beginning of this yeare, Sultan *Achmat*, after the reception of the Persian Embassadour, and the stately entrie hee made into Constantinople, went to lie at Adrianople, where his Ianizaries and Spahies beganne to mutinie, spurning at their bread and rice which was giuen them for their dayly entertainement: and beeing demaundeded the reason of this their insolencie; they answered, that no Emperour before him had so carried out his men in the depth of Winter: which answere did much incense *Nassuf Bassa*. This Visier was in such credit with the Graund Seignior, as during his abode at Adria-

Adrianople, hee came three times in person priuately to visite him, who grew so pow- G
erfull ouer his masters affections, as hee obtayned a priuiledge, That it might not bee lawfull for any man to speake with the Graund Seigniour priuately, but himselfe. Being returned to Constantinople, there happened a great fire, in which there were fiue hundred houses burnt. The Visier *Nassuf* comming to see it quenched, and finding some Ianizaries more carefull to breake open lockes, and rifle shoppes, than to doe any good seruice, hee strucke out the braines of one of them with his mace, and brake the arme of another.

It had beene an antient custome in Constantinople, that the owner of the house with all his familie where the fire beganne, should be put to death for their negligence: but it hap- H
pening that the Emperours owne Seraill, in the time of *Mahomet* father to *Achmat*, being set on fire, *Cicala Bassa* presented a petition vnto him, that this custome might be abolished, holding it vnjust that other men should be put to death, and the same let passe in the Emperors owne house: whereunto hee yeelded, holding it reasonable. And soone after there happened another great fire, at which the Visier caused many of the Ianizaries to bee hanged; finding them too busie in rifling houses; and he went vp and downe the streets with his scimitar in one hand, and a Ianizaries head in the other, which he had cut off. The Grand Seignior sent Holy Water vnto the Visier, wherein he had dipt a piece of *Mahomets* garment, the which beeing poured into the fire, the Turkes said, it ceased presently; yet by the report of visible witnesses, it burned foure houres after. The [illegible]nd Visier *Nassuf* was a cruell enemie to the Ianizaries, of whom he sent sixteene thousand away into Asia, and would not I
suffer any moe to be made, but onely Spahies: and ouer such Ianizaries as remained he made his owne seruants to bee Churbagies, and Agaes or Captaines ouer fifties and hundreds; fortyfing himselfe by all the meanes hee could deuise, against the future time, to preuent his sudden ruine; but all this could not preserue him from a shamefull fall, as you shall hereafter heare.

Troubles in the realme of Fez and Moroco.

In the meane time let vs passe vnto Affricke, to obserue the troubles which fell in the Realmes of Fez and Moroco; the quarrels betwixt Prince *Xerif Muley Cidan*, and the *Xerif Muley Achmet, Ben-Abdalla* his nephew, and the victories of *Cidan* against *Abdalla*. The Family of the *Xerifs* Princes of Fez and Moroco, tooke its beginning some hundred and foure
The beginning of the Xerifs of Fez & Moroco yeares since, from *Mahomet Xerif*, borne at Tigumedet in Dara, at this present one of the Pro- K
uinces of Moroco: hee was Alfaqui or preacher of *Mahomets* Law, who seeing the diuisions betwixt the Soueraigne princes of [illegible] Realmes, and that the Portugalls had seised of the chiefe Forts of Moroco, he began with [illegible]e of his sonnes, *Abdalla*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet*, to lay the foundation of a new monarchie, supported by three pillars. That is to say, by a counterfeit pietie and disguised Religion; vpon a godly pretext to make warre against the Portugals Christians which were in Affricke; and vpon a passionate desire to retire the Mahometane Moores which were in their pay, to the end they might by that meanes weaken them, and chase them with more ease out of the territories of Moroco. The King who at that time held the Scepter of Fez (seeing nothing but the outside of the *Xerifs* designes) suffered his three L
sonnes to display their standard against the Christian Portugals in the Realme of Moroco: Innouations and nouelties are commonly pleasing to the common people. At this beginning,
The children of the Xerif grow potent. these three leaders were followed by a great number of souldiers; they vanquished in many encounters, and the bruit of their new victories flying into the Realme of Moroco, retired the Moores from the Portugals seruice, whome they defeated soone after, with their Commaunder *Lopes Bariga*. True it is, that it was to their losse; for *Abdalla* the eldest of these three brethren lost his life in this combat. But they seised vpon the great towne of Taradente in the prouince of Sus, and of the prouinces of Herra, Ideuaca, Vbideuaca, Cus, Guzule, and in a manner of the whole country betwixt Moroco and mount Atlas, settling their principalitie in Taradente, whereas the *Xerif* their father carried the name of the Gouernour of the M
prouince of Sus.

They kill the king of Moroco The King of Moroco fearing the greatnesse of these new Conquerours, dissembled the desire he had to bring them vnder, assuring himselfe that time would present him some good occasion: so suffering them to enter into Moroco: but they preuented him, they tooke away

A away his life by poyson, and seised vpon his Realme. The King of Fez, who had by an indis- *The king of Fez begins to feare them.*
creet simplicitie suffered them to take armes, and by that means to open the way to a great fortune, he saw a far off the tempest of these vniust spoilers to fall vpon Moroco and other places. The feare of the like calamitie did much afflict his minde: but the *Xerifs* entertained this idle Prince with faire shewes; they abused his bountie, and with the fourth part of the rich spoiles which they had taken in so many townes and prouinces, they lull his distrust asleepe: moreouer, they send him the tribute due for the realme of Moroco. *Hamet* takes vpon him the name of King of Moroco; *Mahomet* that of king of Sus, in the towne of Taradente; and by a good intelligence betwixt them, they make themselues fearefull to all those countries; so as they haue nothing more to feare, than the threats and vengeance of heauen. They then began
B to contemne the king of Fez, and plainly to denie the tribute of Moroco; pretending for their reason, that they were issued from the line of *Mahomet*. This contempt made the king of Fez to *The King of Fez besiegeth Moroco, and is defeated.* open his eyes; he finds the faults past, by the interest of the present: he sees the *Xerifs* had abused the libertie which hee had giuen them: whereupon hee went to field with an armie of 18000 men, and planted his siege before Moroco; but as his enemies partie was stronger than his, so he was chased away, and his army defeated at the passage of a riuer. Thus the *Xerifs* became peaceable possessours of Moroco. The peace of the countrey made these men idle, and idlenesse drew the two brethren into quarrell; they mustred vp their forces and came to fight, *Quarrels betwixt the Xerifs, and the eldest taken by his brother.*
where after two bloudie battels, *Mahomet* being victor, he tooke his eldest brother *Hamet*, de-
C priued him of his realme and libertie, and made him end his daies miserably in prison. Thus God doth punish the vnjust spoiler of another mans good: we shall see in their posteritie the continuance of the same quarrell.

Mahomet settled soueraigne in Moroco by bloud and fratricide, as monstrous in ambition *The Xerif assaults the king of Fez.*
as in crueltie, hee turned the same armes wherewith hee had beaten and vanquished his eldest brother, against the King of Fez (whose improuidence had suffered *Mahomet* and his brethren to take armes, vnder the deceitfull title and pretence of making warre against the Christian Portugals) he assaulted him with great forces, vanquished him, tooke him prisoner, and depriued him both of Realme and life. Thus the *Xerifs* in the person of this *Mahomet* became Soueraigne princes of Fez and Moroco. The victory so happily gotten of so many nations, made him fearefull; but by his crueltie hee drew vpon his descendents the just judgement of him
D who punisheth the excesse and enormitie of crimes vnto the fourth generation. His posteritie *Cidan and Kequi brethren expell one another.* was miserable, the vnjust desire of raigne (one ruining another) entertained the brethren in perpetuall discord. For *Cidan* now king of Fez and Moroco, was lately expelled by his brother *Kequi*; but afterwards Fortune changing her inconstant fauour, *Kequi* was pursued by *Cidan*, defeated, and forced in the yeare 1610 to saue his life in Algarbe in Portugall. *Abdalla* the sonne of *Kequi* seeing his fathers affaires thus desolate, retires himselfe towards the mountaines in the prouince of Sus: where finding opportunitie to annoy his vncle *Cidan*, he made daily incursions vpon his territories, with some troups of Arabians who had ioined with him being 200 horse and 200 foot. But finding this to be a long course to attain vnto the conquest of the realme from whence he had been expelled, he bethought himselfe that some certaine
E counterfeit fictions in Religion, had in former times brought in his grandfather, and made him *A prophesie inuented by Kequi, and preached by religious Turkes.* absolute lord of a great countrey; wherefore he made vse of a prophesie forged in his ambitious spirit: and to worke an impression in the peoples minds (easie to be moued with a passion of religion) he sent certaine religious Mahometans throught the country, with a shew of holy simplicitie, who went preaching from place to place, That one *Falquere* a man of holy life, had giuen vnto a sonne of his a Drumme of an admirable power and vertue, commanding him expressely, to keepe it carefully, vntill that a prince called *Abdalla* should come into Moroco, beeing expelled by the injustice of his owne bloud: and that then hee should beat this Drumme, and that the people at the sound thereof might go to the war with all safetie; that it should be helpfull to them, giue peace vnto the Realme, and settle all the cu-
F stomes and antient lawes to their common content. Thus they preached this prophesie, the which they said was now accomplished, seeing that this propheticall Drum had been found, that *Abdalla* the eldest prince of the house of the *Xerifs* had caused it to be beaten, exhorting all men to follow the war for the common good of the countrey.

These vanities being preached by these ignorant and malicious religious Turkes, increased the number of *Abaallaes* partie: whereof *Cydan* beeing aduertited, hee sent a great armie against him into the prouince of Sus, vnder the command of *Alcas Elmye*, to hinder the progresse of his designes: But *Abdalla* finding these forces to approch, retired himselfe towards the [illegible]straines, from whence he might charge the enemies armie; the which he did so happily [illegible]daies he cut off fiue thousand of his men. This successe did so aduance his affaires, [illegible]es encreased daily, so as *Cydan* was forced to go with new forces to fight with him, the which was the cause of his ruine: for at this time hee was inuested, and notwithstanding the good successe of his false propheſies, lightly grounded vpon the sound of a Drumme, hee was defeated and slaine in this yeare one thous[illegible] six hundred and twelue.

Abdalla defeated and slaine notwithstanding his false propheſies.

The miraculous king of Mauritania.

Goterdus, discoursing of this miraculous King of Mauritania, whome hee calles *Muley Hamet*, writeth that he was charmed with deuilish incantations, and freed from all outward force, carrying himselfe for a Diuine Prophet: That with one hundred and eightie horse, and two hundred foot, hee went to make head against *Cydan* King of Moroco, hauing fortie thousand men: That his souldiers (who were so few in number) beeing readie to flie, hee persuaded them with a cunning speech to prepare to fight: That comming neere to *Cydans* campe, they might see a great armie of enemies fighting against them, in which there were fiue thousand of *Cydans* armie ouerthrowne, and the rest put to flight, and yet *Hamet* had not aduanced with his troupes. That within few dayes after, comming with his troupes tyred to a riuer side, hee [illegible]anded them not to drinke nor wash in that riuer, which if they did they would die: but some neglecting his command, thinking to quench their thirst, dyed suddenly. Hee tooke many places in those mountainous Regions, which no man had formerly subdued; his forces encreasing dayly, hauing fiue and twenty thousand men, and vowing to go against the Christians, more came vnto him: so as he went against *Cydan* with a good armie, who likewise attended him. *Hamet* persuaded his souldiers that no shot could hurt them; so as they assaulted *Cydans* campe with such furie, as within lesse than an houres space they had slaine aboue six thousand men, and put the rest to flight. They write that *Hamet* lost not aboue foure or fiue, and that such as were strucke with any bullet, shewed markes but no wounds; and that the great ordnance either shot ouer them, or the pouder vented out at the touch-hole, and wrought no effect. *Cydan* hauing lost his brother in the fight, fled with all his treasure, to recouer new forces, and in the meane time *Hamet* made him[illegible]master of the whole countrey. There were certaine Hollanders admitted vnto him, wh[illegible]ey found sitting vpon a carpet made of the barke of trees, hauing a white shirt, and a long gannent vpon it, a red cap on his head, bare thighs, and red shooes, a bag about his necke, and in it hee hid his Alcaron, a short crooked sword and a dagger hanging by him. Beeing saluted by the Hollanders, hee willed them to sit downe by him, telling them that hee was sent from heauen, to purge the World from euill, and to prepare the Law of God; to expell *Cydan* out of his Kingdome, and to restore peace vnto the World: wherefore hee aduised them not to haue any commerce with *Cydan*, nor to assist him in any sort. They obserued many markes vpon his bodie, hee had one blew tooth, all the rest beeing white, haire vpon either shoulder, a red circle in the palme of his right hand, and the proportion of a spurre vpon his right foot. Hauing gotten some victories against *Cydan*, and taken the towne of Moroco, in the end his deuillish art failing him, hee was slaine as you haue heard. Such were the affaires of Affricke, in the Realmes of Fez and Moroco.

Cydan king of Fez ouerthrowne.

A great drought & sterility at Algier

But in Algier a wonderfull drought had caused cruell combustions; it had so deuoured the fruits of the earth before their maturitie, as there followed a wonderfull famine throughout the whole land. The Turkes attributed the cause of their miserie sometimes to their sins; then to the comming of the Moores, who had beene expelled out of Spaine, as a pernicious vermine; and sometimes to the licentiousnesse of Christians, which liued in those places. Wherefore in the beginning of May this yeare, the Iudge of the towne ordained, That all the Turkes should make their deuout prayers to *Mahomet* their Prophet to obtaine raine, so necessarie in that countrey, that the Moores should depart the towne within three daies vpon paine

A paine of death; and that all the Christians, as wel free as bond-slaues, should cause their heads and their beards to bee shaued, this was speedily executed; for the Turks decrees require a prompt obedience. But the miserable Moores which could not get out of Algier within their three dayes prefixed, detained either by sickneſſe, or some other impediment, were all cut in pieces. For thirteene daies, there was nothing seene within the towne but processions of Turkes without Turbants, crying and howling after their manner to obtaine raine from their false Prophet: but he which commands Soueraignte ouer times, from whose hand proceed faire weather and raine, and which makes the earth fruitfull, held the pipes of heauen yet stopped, to open them at more religious and holy vowes than the superstitious clamours of these Infidels. For *Bernard Murroy*, of the Order of the Redemption of captiues, hearing that

B the Turkes meant to reuenge their miseries vpon them, and to ruine a little Chappell which the Christian slaues had in the prison, for the pious exercises of their Religion, obtained (by the meanes of *Bins* Consull of the French in Algier) permission from the Douan, or Turkish Iudge, to make processions, and to pray vnto God to send them the deaw of Heauen, which was so necessarie for them. All the Christian slaues which were prisoners, continued their deuotions for the space of fiue dayes: but on the fourth day beeing the eighth of May, there fell such aboundance of raine vpon Algier, as these poore Christians seeing their praiers heard in the middest of the enemies of their faith, gaue infinit thanks vnto God for his great mercie and grace.

Processions of the Turkes.

The deuout praiers of the Christians obtaine raine.

These miserable Christian slaues were still detayned in yrons and cruell seruitude,

C by this accident. This *Murroy* of the Order of the Redemption of captiues, accompanied with two others of the same Order, had redeemed to the number of one hundred thirtie and six: but when hee was readie to embarque them, their euill fortune would haue it, that the gallies of Genoa running along that coast, landed some men neere vnto Algier, where they tooke the Bassaes sonne of that Towne, with many other Turkes, and amongst this number a virgine of Algier, of a verie noble Familie, and of as rare a beautie, for the miserie of these slaues: for that when as the Bassaes sonne and the others were redeemed by a Frigot which the father had sent, the faire Algerian virgine was still detayned by a Captaine of the Genowayes, who had retyred to Caluy an Iland adioyning, there to satisfie his desires with more ease, vpn the fraile and fading perfection of

D this faire slaue, which had depriued him of his libertie. In the meane time the Bassa of Algier seeing his sonne returned with the other Turkes, and not the Algerian virgine, commanded that the hundred thirtie and six slaues should be put againe into yrons, with the three religious men which had redeemed them. Thus this feminine beautie, or rather the passion of this Genoways, who holds the possession so deare, makes a great number of Christian soules to suffer by insupportable seruitude, howsoeuer they of his Nation (flattering his disordered lust) say that his desire to win her to God, and to make her a Christian, caused him to keepe her so carefully.

These suffered in Algier the losse of their libertie: But a Capuchen Frier, a Florentine by Nation, endured at Tunes the losse of his life, by the crueltie of the Moores chafed out

E of Spaine, and retyred into those Countries. This religious man beeing a slaue among the Turkes, attended daily from Florence, or from some other place, money to redeeme his libertie: but it happened one day disputing in a Barbers house with a Morisque, concerning Christian Religion; the zeale of his faith transported him so farre, as to say among diuers Turkes, That his religion was better than that of *Mahomets*. These wordes tooke crimonously in that place, were reported by the Morisques to the Cadi or Iudge of the towne, whome they prest with such horrible clamors and cries, as he pronounced sentence of death against this Capuchen. Hee was deliuered vnto them, and they stripped him naked, leading him with infamie through Tunes, some spitting in his face, others casting durt at him, and so they led him out of the Towne, where they tyed him vnto a post, and

F they beeing cruelly incensed by a speech which a Morrabour or religious Turke said vnto them, *That he among them that gaue him not one blow with a stone, should be no good Turke*; they stoned him to death, where afterwards they burnt his bodie, and threw the ashes into the winde.

A capuchen of Florence in captiuitie at Tunes.

He dies gloriously for the faith.

An enterprise of foure slaues.

The martyrdome of this Capuchen, was followed by the constant confession (amidst the violence of torments) of a penitent Renegado, a Florentine by nation, and captaine of the chiefe gallie of Chio; foure Frenchmen beeing slaues in the Island of Chio, in the patron or chiefe gallie, belonging to the Bey or Gouernour of the Island, they resolued to recouer their libertie with the hazard of their liues, to returne into France, and carrie into some port of Christendom the gallie, being the best appointed in the whole hauen. They drew vnto their partie the Captaine which commanded, beeing a Florentine Renegado. Their enterprise should haue beene executed when as they should goe to land to cut wood. But whether that the scribe were trecherous to his companions, or transported with some rash indiscretion; beeing on land, hee spake these words aloud, the which ouerthrew both the

They are discouered.

designe, and them that proiected it; *Hoe, we shall returne into Christendome.* A Turke which was neere, taking hold of these words, reported them vnto the Patron; who presently layed hold vpon the Scribe, and drew from him the confession of all the enterprise. Hee presently

They defend themselues, and kill many.

sends an hundred men towards the gallie, to seise vpon the foure French slaues and the Captaine. But these fiue made such a generous resistance, as if the other slaues, who were for the most part Moldauians, or of the Prouinces which border vpon the blacke sea, had had the courage to fight for their libertie, without doubt the Frenchmens enterprise had succeeded happily. But what could fiue men do against an hundred? yet they slew fifteene, and wounded many: the foure Frenchmen were all slaine, and the Florentine Captaine was taken aliue, and reserued to the rigour of a cruell death. For they continued him six houres together in

The captaine cruelly executed.

most violent torments, hee still calling vpon the holy and sacred name of *Iesus Christ*, euen to the last gaspe, and detesting the errours and falshood of the law of *Mahomet*. This happened in October this yeare.

The Vnited Estates send an Embassador to Constantinople.

A little before, the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, and Count *Maurice* seeing the losses which the ships of Holland suffered in the Mediterranean sea, many of them beeing taken by the Turkish gallies, and a great number of their men made slaues: to the end they might be freed from that danger, and haue a safe passage for their ships, and procure libertie for their captiues, they resolued to make a league with the Turke. Wherefore they sent *Cornelius Haga* to Constantinople: who not onely willingly accepted of that Embassie, but performed it with such discretion, as hee purchased great credit and commendation to himselfe, and much profit to the Prouinces. He had resolued at first to passe through Hungary, but he found so many crosses and obstacles, by those that were Creatures to the Pope and Spaniard, as hee was forced to turne out of the way, and fetch a great circuit. First of all, he fell into the hands of the Archduke *Ferdinand*, who caused him to be examined, and admonished to desist from his purpose: After which hee was tost at sea, and in the end hauing surmounted all dangers, hee recouered Constantinople, the first of May. Hee had expresse charge from the Vnited Estates to labour for three things. The first was, to treat of the deliuerance of the Hollanders that were slaues. The second, to make a league with the Turke. And the third, to obtaine from him a free nauigation for the Hollanders, throughout all the seas and ports of his Empire.

Presents sent from the Vnited Estates to the Turke.

This Embassadour was brought to kisse the Sultans hands, and was fauorably receiued: he presented vnto his Maiestie in the name of the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, his letters of Embassie, with the Presents which follow: Three birds of Paradise of rare and precious plumes, wonderful goodly to behold, and valued at eight hundred pound sterling: two vessels of Christall wonderfull rich and beautifull: foure other vessels made of fishes bones, whereas the art seemed miraculous in the grauing: fortie pieces of cloth of gold of diuers colours; fiue pieces of silke, fiue of damaske, fiue of silke watered, and fiue plaine: A staffe of an Elephants tooth grauen with admirable industry. A Parrat shut in a cage of Christall, so artificially done, as no man could discerne the entrie: and many faire and rich table-clothes of Holland cloth, most part powdred with flowers to the life, and wrought in their liuely colours. The which the Sultan did accept with admiration. All these things shew sufficiently, That the Estates from the beginning or soone after haue raised handy-workes as well as traffique and nauigation to the highest point of perfection.

The sixth of July following, the league was sworne betwixt the *Othoman* Emperour, and the

A league betwixt the Turke and the Hollanders.

the vnited Prouinces of the Low-Countries, by the which *Achmat* promised to cause to be set at libertie, all the Hollanders that were detayned slaues within his Empire: That the traffique should bee free for the Hollanders shippes throughout all his seas and hauens: and moreouer he granted, That the Estates should haue an Embassadour residing at his port. This alliance with the Turke, for the which they haue so often, and with little reason blamed the French, hath beene affected and sought by the English and Spaniards, as wee haue said elsewhere; and now by the Hollanders, whose Estates proceed in all their affaires with such weight and measure, as it seemes they doe nothing but with great reason, and to good purpose.

The Morisques chase the Iewes out of Pera.

About the end of this yeare, the Iewes whose long slauerie throughout the World reproacheth their wretched and miserable obstinacie, receiued at Pera neere Constantinople the weight of a furious tempest which fell vpon them, stirred vp against them by the malice of the Morisques Granadines chased out of Spaine, and retired into the Leuant. These hauing by Presents wonne the fauour of the Cadi, or Iudge of the place, who was a Negro newly setled in that charge by the Graund Visier *Nassuf*; they obtayned power from him to thrust all the Iewes out of Pera, and to ruine their Synagogues. This power they executed with all violence: And yet these miserable Iewes durst not make their complaints vnto the Magistrate, except one of their sect which dwelt in the Isle of Chio, who being then at Constantinople, and supposing hee had more credit than the rest, went to complaine to this Cadi Negro, who presently caused to be giuen vnto him fiue hundred blowes with a cudgell, in stead of doing him justice; so dangerous a thing it is to haue to doe with such vnjust Magistrates.

The practises of the Morisques against the Christians of Pera.

The insolencies of the Morisques, transported them further: for after they had expelled the Iewes out of their dwellings, they threatned to doe vnto the Christians at Pera, as much as had beene done vnto them in Spaine: and they bragged, That they would seise vpon their Churches, and especially of that of the Franciscan Friers, the which was reasonable faire for the place. But the French Embassadour, hauing made his complaint to the chiefe Visier, hee prohibited them to make any attempt against the Christians, vpon paine of rigorous punishment. This prohibition staied their furie; but they did not forbeare in all other occasions to shew the cruell hatred they owe vnto Christians: so as through all the Leuant, in all encounters where they came, they doe a thousand times more mischiefe than the Turkes themselues.

The Turke armie for Transyluania.

At the same time the Sultan *Achmat* had drawne together a mightie armie to go into Transyluania; hee caused it to campe in tents neere vnto Constantinople, about his pallace called Darut Bassa, whither the people of Constantinople went to walke, and to see his forces: within few daies after, hee went to Adrianople; meaning from thence to proceed in his voyage, carrying with him all the chiefe men of his port, except the Bassa of the sea, or Admirall, who remained at Constantinople, to haue a care of the citie. And for the greater safety thereof, this Bassa caused an edict to be published, That no man should go out of his house, nor keepe any light in it after the ordinarie crie, which is made an houre within night, when as the Talilmans crying from the tops of their Mosques, inuite the people to make the Sala, or prayer. After the publication of this ordinance, hee sent certaine Chaoux to entreat all the Embassadours residing at the Port, not to suffer their people to goe out by night, to the end that their libertie might not serue as a dangerous example to others. But notwithstanding all the Bassaes entreaties and prohibitions, three Englishmen of the Embassadors traine, went out by night into the street, where they were met by the Prouost of Pera, who tooke them, and presently (without respect of the qualitie) caused either of them to haue an hundred and fiftie blows with a cudgel, and then committed them to prison, the dores whereof are neuer opened but with a siluer key: so strictly do they obserue in Turkie the orders of the Princes Lieutenants, without exception of persons.

A question for the Patriarchship of Constantinople.

About the end of the yeare, the Patriarch of Constantinople (by reason of diuers complaints made against him, was depriued by the Grand Visier, and one *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of Alexandria, (a learned and religious Bishop) was (much against his will) preferred to the place. The former Patriarch hereupon excommunicated all such as had wrought his ouer-

throw;

throw, but he himselfe was banished into the Isle of Rhodes. In his passage, the Barke where- G
in he went was cast vpon Mytilene, in which place he renounced all right and claime to the
Patriarchship before the Bishop of that place, and resigned it to the Bishop of Patras: where-
upon the Bish[op] came from Patras, to Constantinople, and laboured with the Visier *Nassuf*
for the place: w[hich] [o] pay him fifteene thousand Chequines (which is ten thou-
sand more than [th]e [pa]y) made him a Grant thereof: which *Cyrillus* the late
elected Patriarch vnderstanding, he came with all the Grecians to expostulate the businesse
with the Grand Visier: Who answered, That he was to do what he could for the Emperors
profit, and nothing against it; wherefore if they would giue so much as the oth[er] had promi-
sed, *Cyrillus* should continue in the place. Which the people were very willi[ng] to performe;
but *Cyrillus* refused it, and so the other was made Patriarch: who presently sen[t] for the old H
Patriarch to come from Rhodes to make peace with him, for that they held not his excom-
munication just, being not depriued by a Councell, but onely by the King. About the same
time, *Nassuf* the Grand Visier sent for the foure Embassadors, of England, France, Venice,
and the States of the Low-Countries; and the reason why he sent for them was, to raise their
custome one in the hundred more than the Merchants had formerly payd.

The enterprise of the Great Duke of Tuscanie vpon Agliman.

Whilest that the Sultan *Achmats* armie drew neere to Transyluania, and fortified the pla-
ces which he held in those Countries, *Cosmo de Medicis* Great Duke of Tuscanie bent his
generous designes against the Fort of Agliman in Caramania, in old time called Cilicia, a
Prouince which in the writings of Antients hath beene honoured with two famous Cities,
that is to say, Tharsis the countrey of Saint *Paul*, and Seleucia, the Fort and Port whereof is
called Agliman, a hauen which in old time hath contained within it's bosome the feareful for- I
ces of the Pyrats of those dayes: from thence in former times hath come forth a powerfull
armie of pyrats with a thousand saile, so proudly rigged, as many of them had their sailes of
purple, the tackling of gold thred, and the oares garnished with siluer, markes of the spoiles of
aboue foure hundred cities ruined by those pyrats, who stroke a terror euen to the Romans,
and forced them, to auoid their furie, to set to sea that great fleet whereof *Pompey* the Great
was General.

1613. The trophie erected vpon the walls of Agliman, of the heads of fortie Florentines, lost in
The number of the dukes gallies, & the commanders. a Ship called the Prosper, by the ignorance of the Captaine which commanded in it, made
the Great Duke to studie to haue his reuenge for this affront; and his desire to abate the pride K
of the common Enemie, eleuated [his] minde to generous enterprises. In the end of March
this present yeare 1613, hee armed [fo]ur Gallies vnder the command of the Admiral *Inghirami*, the which he manned with six co[m]panies of foot commanded by *Iulio de Conty*, called
Montano, General at land, besides fortie K[n]ights of the Order of S. *Stephen*, and a good num-
ber of gentlemen aduenturers, among the which was *Don Petro de Medicis*. This fleet parted
from Ligorne, and came to Ciuita Vecchia: in the beginning of Aprill they tooke in many
Noblemen and Gentlemen of France, which attended them, and would be partakers in the
enterprise; the which were, the Earle of Candale, eldest sonne to the Duke of Espernon,
Cipierre, *Themines*, *De Vic*, *Monterrault*, *De la Tour*, and his brother *Boissiere*, *Villandre*, *Ver-
negue*, *Du Plessis*, *De la Motte magnus*, *Auenes*, *Del Tour*, *Sainct Cyre*, *Monplaisir*, and *Loyres*. L
About mid Aprill the gallies landed in the night neere vnto a little towne in Asia the Lesse,
[They] land at [Ge]ronda. called Ieronda, held for that Geronda of the Antients: but their discent was fruitlesse, they
found it desart by the flight of the Inhabitants, who had preuented all surprises. They retur-
ned again to their gallies, and sailing towards the East, they encountred three Vessels like vnto
their Caramoussals, the which they set vpon and tooke: and about the fifteenth of May, ha-
uing scoured the Leuant seas, they resolued to attempt Agliman. Vpon the way they tooke a
The state of the Port of Agliman. Vessel called Grippe, which instructed them of the estate of the Fortresse: They vnder-
stood there were two Gallies of Cyprus in the Port, that the place was well furnished with
all things necessarie, and guarded without by a good number of horsemen, and that within
few dayes after, one of the said gallies should come out of the port of Agliman, and go to the M
Island of Pappadula, to fetch a new mast. *Inghirami* thought to preuent it, carrying his
whole fleet thither, the which he layd close in the Island to surprise the Turkish Galley; but
it hauing discouered his fleet, put out to sea, and with speed returned to the Port of Agliman;
to

A to giue the alarme vnto the Countrey. Notwithstanding the Christians resolued to assault
it, they went with their fleet to the port Caualier, twelue miles from Agliman, from
whence they sent a long boat to discouer: the which brings them word that the whole coun-
trey was in armes. These newes might well haue daunted the courages of some that had been
leese generous; yet they passe on and about three of the clocke in the morning they came
neere the shore, being couered with the silence of the night, so as before six of the clock they
had made their landing about a mile and a halfe from the port. The Seignior of *Montano* and
the Earle of Candale with some few choise men landed first, to discouer: a mile from the shore
they encountered the Turkish horsemen, yet notwithstanding *Montano* commanded they
should finish their landing, leaning twentie men for the guard of euery gallie.

The Christian land at Agliman.

The description of Agliman.

B This fort of Agliman is seated vpon a little pleasant hill, which lookes towards the South:
It extends from the hill vnto the sea shore: the forme is ouall; that part which is next to the
Sea is altogether Meridionall, and the other which riseth vpon the top of the hill, lookes to-
wards the North. The wals are built of good stone and lime, the which are fiue faddome
high, and one broad. Within there was a wall drawne from the East to the West, which di-
uides it into two vnequall parts, the which they enter by a port set in the midst. The circuite
of the wall is fortified with eight towers, whereof fiue be whole, and three are but halfe
towers: those which be whole are of a square forme, and haue fiue faddome in breadth
on either side: the halfe towers haue the same greatnesse on the one side, and halfe as much
on the other; their heigth exceedes not the wall, vnlesse it bee that which is built on the
C top of the hill, which is raised about eight foot aboue the wall. Within the place were aboue
three hundred fighting men; with store of victuals, munitions for warre, and many pieces of
ordnance: without, there were an hundred horse scouring vp and downe for the guard of the
place: and within the port there were two gallies, a Caramoussall, and a Greeke Brigandine,
with some hundred and fiftie fighting men. The order of the combat was diuided after this
manner, by the Seignior *Montano* Generall at land: for the principall port, and that of the re-
trear, he sent two companies of foot, which were those of the Admirals gallie, of the captains
gallie, and of S. *Stephen*, with the petards, all vnder the charge of the Earle of Candale, who lea-
ding this forward, discouered a *Corps de gard* of Turkes, horse and foot together: whereof hee
presently aduertised the Generall, sending him word that hee would march on towards the
D fort, and if the Turks came to charge him, he would cut them all in pieces. Many aduised him
to returne to the gallies: but *Montano* allowed the resolution of the Earle of Candale, who
past on without charge vntill hee came within 120 paces of the wall, where hee was charged
before by the musket shot of the fort, behind by the gallies, and in flanke by them of the
mountaine, with such horrible howling and crying out, as the mariners which carried the Pe-
tards being wonderfully amazed and terrified, let them fall to the ground, and fled away. The
Baron of *Mont terault*, and *Tiel*, a souldier of *Languezu* tooke them vp. They continued their
way vntill they came within fifteene paces of the walls, when as twentie Turks sallied forth
with a shew to make head against the Earle of Candales troupes: but seeing themselues too
weake, they fled presently againe backe to the towne. The Earle aduanced to enter with
E them, but the port was so soone shut as they were in: wherefore they must of force set the
Petard to worke, But whilest they were making it fast vnto the gate, there fell a showre of
great stones vpon the troupe, wherewith *Don Pedro de Medicis* (who would needs be pre-
sent) was ouerthrowne and halfe slaine; *Callonge*, *Mont-terault*, *La Tour*, *Dauanes*, and *Deltour*
had taken vpon them the charge of the Petard, euerie one carrying a part, to put it speedily in
execution.

The order giuen to assault the fort.

The Turkes come from their gallies to charge the Christians.

Whilest they were thus busied to force the Port, the Sergeant Maior came vnto the Earle
of Candale and told him, that there was a troupe of three hundred muskitiers come to charge
him: these were two Beyes which came out of the gallies with their troups, by reason of the
bad guard which the two companies that *Montano* had left to hinder their landing, had
F kept. The Earle of Candale had left part of his troupe with the Petard, and turned head with
the rest against these Beyes to charge them: but they had no meaning to fight, but onely to
make a shew, and seeing they should be forced if they staied longer, they tooke their way
towards the mountaine, and in their retreat made many shot. The Christians pursued them
not,

not, holding it fitter to returne to the Petard, the which plaied so happily, as it made a breach capable for three men to enter in front. G

The squadron of the knights of *S. Stephen*, commanded by the Commissarie *Lenzoni*, and the companie of the gallies of S. *Magdalen*, with two ladders were to assault the high tower. The companie of the Admi[illegible]lie with one ladder, had charge to force the port of the retreat; and the co[illegible] of S. *Iean* was to fight with the gallies and vessels in the hauen: all these [illegible] by the Generall *Montano*, and by Captaine *Alexander* of Tarentum, Sargeant Major) marched in order towards the fort. But the Petard hauing effected as we haue said, the Earle of Candale entered first with all his troup, and suddenly ran vnto the port of the retreat, there to apply a petard, the which also very fortunatly mad[illegible]. The Turkes amazed at the noise and forcing of their gates, fled vnto their walls, [illegible]ing into their towers, and others into the barricadoes which they had made in the street. At the same instant they planted two ladders on the lower part of the towne somewhat neere adjoyning to the sea, whereof one was broken with the losse of them that were vpon it: by the other (notwithstanding that the Turks horsemen charged them behind) a good number of Christians got vp to the wals, making their way by their armes, whilest that the rest put the Turks to rout: hauing taken their Cornet, they forced the rest for to flie vnto the mountaines. The squadron of Knights with the companie of the gallie of Saint *Marie*, hauing had a longer way to march, came not to the tower vpon the hill, vntill that aft[illegible] the petards had wrought their effects: so as the Turkes being retired thither, they four[illegible]ry great resistance, besides the attempts of the enemies horse which charged them bem[illegible]; thrice they planted their ladders against the wall, and could not make them hold. Wherefore the Commissarie *Lenzoni*, hauing performed as much as a braue and resolute man could doe in that extremitie, resolued to leaue that place, and go vnto some other where he might be more necessarie: but being the last to make the retreat, he was shot through with two musket bullets, and suddenly slaine. The companie of the gallie of S. *Iohn*, vanquished the two gallies in the port, whereof *Inghirami* the Admirall at sea went to take possession as soone as they had giuen him a signe, hauing the other two vessels at libertie. H I

The Turkes retire to their towers and wals.

The cõmissary of the Knights of S Stephen slaine.

Within the fort in the towers, and at the barricadoes, the combat was hot and dangerous, the Turkes had despaire and the aduantage of the place on their sides. The Christians thrust on by their valour and constant resolution, prest them on all sides; there was nothing to be seene but bloud, wounded or dead m[illegible]: but much more of the Turks side than of the Christians. In the end, after a combat c[illegible]e houres, the Turks fainted, some were taken, many were slaine, and the Christians obtai[illegible]bsolute victorie: But as it could not be made without losse of their enemies, who made[illegible]cat resistance: so there were fiue and fiftie Christians wounded, of which number *De Vic* a French Gentleman was one, who had a musket shot through his thigh, going to charge a troupe of Turks which were retired into a tower: and some Gentlemen were slain; among the which was yong *Boissierre*, a French man, whose valour in this action made them that saw him fight so generously, conceiue a certaine hope, that hee would haue prooued a valiant captaine, if heauen had lent him longer life. The sorrow for his death was generall; as well among the Italian troups, as among those of his owne Nation. *Vernegue* and *Villandre*, two other braue French Gentlemen were also slaine. The dead and the wounded were carried vnto their gallies: they emptied the Fort of all the artillerie, munition for warre, and victuals; the trophie of fortie Florentines heads was beaten downe, and all the houses set on fire. Agliman beeing thus ruined, they shipped their bootie, with three hundred and fiftie Turkish slaues, hauing freed about two hundred and fortie Christians which were in yrons. The two Turkish gallies were drawne out of the Port, and carried away with eight other vessels. In this triumph as the Admirall *Inghirami* bent his course towards Ligorne; vpon the way a Turkish Caramousall came into the middest of the fleet, as into a toyle: It prepared to defend it selfe, the patrons gallie inuested it, but not without losse; for the Turkes made so great resistance, as there were aboue foure score Christians hurt or slaine; the Earle of Candale fighting alone at the prow of the gallie, by the permission of the Generall. But this Caromousall beeing taken, and the Florentine mariners entered, it spli[illegible]nd sunke suddenly. The great Dukes gallies encountered some other smaller J K L M

A bloudy combat within the fort.

The Christians get the victory

Agliman ruined.

A smaller vessels; the which they tooke, and afterwards arriued happily at their port.

The twelfth of August following, *Octauio* of Arragon Generall of the gallies of Sicilie, by the commandement of the Duke of Ossunna, Viceroy in that Realme, parted from the hauen of Palermo, with eight gallies well armed and manned, to sayle into the Leuant. His first touch was vpon the Island of Cerigo, where he vnderstood that the Admirall Bassa of the sea was gone from Constantinople with thirtie gallies, bending his course to the Island of Negropont, whereas sixtie others attended him in the hauen; and moreouer, that the gallies of Rhodes prepared to goe and ioyne with him, all which Nauall fleet was to fall vpon Soria, against the Turks Rebels. *The Voyage of the gallies of Sicilie in the Leuant.*

Notwithstanding these news, *Octauio* continues his course vnto the Island of Nicaria, where he vnderstood by a Greeke vessell, that the Turkish admirall meant to send twelue gallies to Rhodes, to guard certaine vessels of the fleet, which came from Alexandria by the Channell of Samos. True it is, that of twelue which were together when they parted, two were sent by the Bey or Captaine which commanded them, into the Island of Chio, so as there remained but ten together. *Octauio* resolued to charge these 10, causing his fleet to row that day, and almost [illegible] whole night as secretly as they could, along the shore of the firme land of Natolia, and at the breake of day he arriued at the cape of Coruo, twentie miles from Chio; from whence he sent his long boat to discouer. But in the meane time hee himselfe espied the ten Turkish gallies not far from him; at sight whereof he ordred his gallies for battell, with such diligence, as at Sun rising he was about the enemies gallies, and had inuested them. At his first approch he discharged all his ordnance, and then with his Admirall gallie he joyned with the Turkes gallie which carried the standard; the Spaniards entered, slew and massacred all that made resistance: the combat began at the prow, from whence they went to the poope, where as the Bey or Commander of the ten gallies stood, whom they forced to yeeld. In the meane time the other gallies of Sicilie charged the Turkes so furiously, as they tooke fiue, all great vessels carrying lanthornes; two fled towards the land, hoping to saue themselues, but the Turkes had scarce leasure to leape to land, and to flie into the countrey, abandoning their vessels to the Spaniards, who pursued them; the other three gallies hauing gotten some aduantage escaped by flight: so seuen onely came into the Spaniards power, in the which they had a verie rich bootie, freeing aboue a thousand Christian slaues, which were at the chaine, and by a strange change of fortune, putting into their places the Turks which had inchained them. Among the most remarkable of the prisoners, were the commander of the 10 gallies called *Sinan* Bey of Grigna in the Island of Cyprus; the Bey of [illegible]lexandria (son to *Pial Bassa*, who was defeated in the battell of Lepanto, by *Don Iohn* of Austria) and some Raise or Captaines, and Patrons of gallies. *They set vpon ten Turkish gallies.*

A B C D

This Summer the Emperour *Matthias* being gone to an assembly of the States at Presburg in Hungarie, in the meane time *Sigismund Battori*, who had beene prince of Transyluania, and so great a terror & scourge vnto the Turks, as he made *Sinan Bassa*, hauing an armie of one hundred and fiftie thousand men, to flie thrice within ten daies from before him, and would neuer endure the sight of him, hee hauing but fortie thousand men in his armie. But afterwards being the author of his owne misfortunes and miseries, by his inconstant humours, he came and liued [illegible] priuate life at Prague, and there died of an Apoplexie. At the Estates of Presburg they consulted of the fortifying of their Frontier townes, and manning them with good garrisons, knowing the infidelitie of the Turks, and doubting they would not obserue the truce. But there was some question in the assembly, touching the admissions of Germans into their garrisons: for that the Hungarians maintained they had a decree to the contrarie; and yet they could not defend themselues without the assistance of Germanes: but in the end it was concluded, that the Germanes should bee admitted equally with the Hungarians into their garrisons, but all other strange souldiers should bee excluded. The Turkes in the meane time had burnt and spoyled many villages in Hungarie and Transyluania, carried away many Christians captiue, and committed many other actes of hostilitie, so as all men feared a new warre in Hungarie, but by the prouidence of God it was diuerted. For Sultan *Achmat* marching toward Transyluania with a mightie armie, hearing vpon the way that *Bethlem Gabor* was acknowledged prince, vnder his protection, hee turned head toward Constantinople *Sigismũd Battori prince of Transyluania dies at Prague.* *The Turks threaten warre in Hungarie.* E F

not, holding it fitter to returne to the Petard, the which plaied so happily, as it made a breach capable for three men to enter in front.

The squadron of the knights of *S. Stephen*, commanded by the Commissarie *Lorenzo* and the companie of the gallies of S. *Magdalen*, with two ladders were to assault the high tower. The companie of the Admi[ral]lie with one ladder, had charge to force the port [for the] retreat; and the co[mpanie] of the gallie of S. *Iean* was to fight with the gallies and vessels in the hauen: all these [led] by the Generall *Montaro*, and by Captaine *Alexander* of Tarentum, Sargeant Major) marched in order towards the fore-[said] place [for] as we haue said, the Earle of Candale entered first with all his [men] port of the retreat, there to apply [him]selfe, the [rest] Turkes amazed at the noise and fire [of] their towers, and others into the [ha]rbour [in] instant they planted two ladders [of] to the sea, whereof one was broken [by] rowing before the Marquis [of] notwithstanding [the] purpose, when they cut them in pieces, and gaue them vnto [the] sea.

The Turkes retire to their towers and walls.

The Grand Seignior beeing returned to Constantinople after the great Plague, notwithstanding, the Turkes hold a firme opinion of Predestination, and that they shall not die before their appointed time, and that the time of [their] death is written in their foreheads; yet apprehending the infection, by the aduice of [those] about him, hee commanded all the dogges in the Citie of Constantinople, to bee transported vnto Scutarie in Asia (a towne anciently called Chrisopolis) and for the due execution thereof, euerie housholder was to bring in his dogge first to the Cadi (which is the Iudge of the place) and to receiue from him a Tuscarie or ticket for his passage, or else hee was to pay foure Chequines; by which meanes there were transported to the number of fiftie thousand dogges. The reason of his sending them away, was, for that reading the Acts of his father, hee found that thirtie yeares before, he had sent away all the dogges for feare of the infection. The Sultan commanded allowance of bread and flesh to bee carried euerie day to sustaine them, which not sufficing, the inhabitants were much oppressed, and readie to fall into mutinie; but by the aduice of his Muphti, they were at length transported from thence to an Island that was not inhabited, some sixteene miles from Constantinople, where they all perished. Before their sending away, the Grand Seignior propounded to his Muphti, to haue them all slaine: who made answere, That euerie dogge had a soule, and therefore it was not fit to kill them.

The Grand Seignior causes all the dogges in Constantinople to be transported.

The care of the Turkes to win men to their Religion.

The Turkes are wonderfull glad when they winne any one to their Religion, and seeke by all meanes to seduce men either by force or by faire persuasion; whereof you may see an assured proofe, by a Iew, who beeing turned Turke, soone after buying of grapes of another Turke, fell at variance with him about the weighing of his grapes: from words they fell to blowes, and the Iew-Turke beat the other, which he endured verie patiently to encourage him as it seemed in his new Religion. Soone after, another Iew came to the Turke who had beene beaten, and demanded of him why he had suffered himselfe to be so abused? Who answered, You shall beat me as much if you will turne Musulman, so zealous they are to winne Prosolites.

A seuere punishment of a drunkard.

This yeare in October, the Turkes obseruing their feasts of Bairan (which is our Easter) the which they obserue twise a yeare; a Turke hauing drunke wine too freely (the drinking whereof is forbidden amongst them, although they loue it well, and drinke in priuate) was apprehended, and carried before the Grand Visier: who seeing the fact verified, inflicted this punishment vpon him, to haue boiling lead powred into his mouth and eares, the which was speedily executed.

Bethlem Gabor as you haue heard was seated quietly in the Principalitie of Transyluania, the Sultan supported him, and had sent *Sarder Bassa* with an armie against *Gabriel Bastori* who was then in possession, but weake both of men, money, and friends, hee was not able to make head against them, so as beeing abandoned of his friends, and hated of his subiects,

subiects for his tyrannie, he grew into despaire and was slain by his owne souldiers. Whereupon the country yeelding obedience to *Gabor*, *Sarder Bassa* retired out of Transyluania with his Turkes. Yet afterwards, some neerely allied to *Bastori* (desiring to reuenge his death) caused some alterations; and others seeking to get the Prouince from the Emperour, had surprised Hust and other places in his name. The Sultan hearing this, wrote his letters to the noblemen and States of the Prouince. They were not ignorant he said, that since the time that Transyluania yeelded obedience to his predecessors, and him, they had alwaies liued in peace vnder his protection, and had often desired and obtained succour against their enemies: That when as *Botscay* had been annoied by the Germans, assisting him with great forces, he had shaked off the yoke: That when as *Bastori* his successour had liued after his owne will, they sent *Bethlehem Gabor* with complaints to his court by their generall consent, and did easily obtain forces to free the Prouince from tyrannie. He being taken away, now a wished day began to shine, the clouds of tribulation beeing all dispersed: That he had held *Bethlem* worthy to succeed *Bastori*, and to enioy that Prouince. Wherefore he had commanded all the noblemen to submit themselues vnto him, and to enjoy a wished peace: That *Bethlem* had sent to aduertise him of the new practises of the Germans; wherefore he had giuen charge to the Bassaes of Temeswar and Agria, and to the Prince of Valachia to be watchfull to repell all these injuries, admonishing the noblemen to yeeld speedie obedience to *Bethlem*: to which end hee had sent them those letters, that vpon the sight thereof they might be admonished of their duties; and if the Germans should attempt any thing, they should make resistance vntill the coming of his forces: and following *Bethlem* in all things, they should acknowledge him for their true and lawfull Prince, and continue constant in their fidelitie, lest they should prouoke his wrath against them, and draw vpon themselues some great miserie: writing much more to the like effect; concluding, That hee had fully purposed and resolued, not to spoyle any one village or any fort in Transyluania, nor to doe any wrong to any man, nor suffer it to be done by any other, but would defend that Prouince from all oppression. Wherefore he would haue the Emperour aduertised, that if he meant to haue the peace inuiolably kept, he should cause the said places of Transyluania to be presently restored vnto the Prince, or signifie his minde vnto him by letters.

The Sultan admonisheth the Transyluanians to obey Bethlem

Of these Rebels of Asia, whereof wee haue made mention, the Gouernour of Sarepta or Sidon in Syria, called *Armili* or *Emir Facardin*, he who gaue enterance into his Port to the Florentines, and receiued them in their courses to the Leuant; hearing that the Bassa of Damas, and the Bassa of the sea, with the gallies which he brought from Constantinople, and the threescore which he tooke at Negropont (whereof wee haue made mention) came to fall vpon him with a mightie and fearefull armie, hee left his eldest sonne within Sidon with forces to command there, and in other forts about it, and flying from a furious tempest of enemies, he went to sea with three shippes, to retire himselfe into Europe, with his foure wiues, tenne children, seuentie Turkes, and foureteene thousand pound weight in gold. Hee arriued at Ligorne, and went from thence to Florence, vnder the protection of *Cosmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuscanie, whose hands hee kissed, presenting vnto him a Cuttelas verie curiously wrought, and enriched with stone, and two jewels to the great Ducheese, to the value of six thousand crownes. This Turke though he had no faith, yet hee found faith with this Prince of Tuscanie. *Cosmo* receiued him, defrayed him and all his traine, furnished him with money, whether it were by way of gratification, or that *Emir* had consumed his owne: and by all kinde of courtesies made this Infidell see what difference there is to flye vnto the protection of a Christian Prince, or to haue recourse vnto a Mohometane. They say that *Emir* made manie goodly ouertures for the settling of the Christians in Asia: but to attempt it with a good and happie successe, it should be necessarie that most of the Christian Princes would joyne their wils and armes together for the generall good of Christendome. It is true, that the great Duke *Ferdinand* deceased, and *Cosmo* his successour had made proofe of their good intentions, by many generous enterprises against the Turke. But one Prince alone cannot doe all.

Emir Facardin abandoned Sidon.

Emir retires to Florence.

The great duke receiues him courteously.

These things past in the yeare 1613, the end whereof concludes with the fury of terrible tempests in the Mediterranean sea. The tenth of Nouember a fearefull tempest full of lightening, thunder, and furious windes, was the cause of the losse of many gallies and ships in the

A horrible tempest in the Mediterranean sea.

the port of Genoa, with [illegible] number of persons which were miserably drowned; which G
losse was valued [illegible] crowns. The port of Naples was not free from this storm,
and the gallies of M[illegible] great number of other vessels receiued great losse.

The grand S[illegible] Iauu[illegible] s yeare and the yeare before sustained great losse of his gal-
lies and frigot[illegible] Medite[illegible] ean sea, by the gallies of Naples, Malta, and Florence; and in
the blacke [illegible] who had taken two gallies well manned and richly laden, he
now imposed [illegible] great [illegible] his Christian subjects towards the reparation of that losse,
so as hee [illegible] Armenians to build him nine gallies at their owne costs, and the Grecians twenty [illegible] the tyrannie of the Turke, as he suffers not the poore Christians to enjoy
anything. [illegible] meanes to pull it from them.

A conspiracie against the Visier Nassuf

The grand Visier *Nassuf* held his credit with the Prince, at whose retu[illegible]rom Adriano- H
ple, many Ianizaries (to whom the Visier was verie odious) conspired to kill [illegible]n as hee should
enter in at the North gate comming from Adrianople, and had placed themselues there for
the effecting of what they had entended: but comming neere vnto the gate, the Sultan (being
ignorant of what was entended against the Visier) called for him to speake with him, keeping
him by him vntill he was entred into the city, by which means he escaped the pretended pra-
ctise. Soone after, *Nassuf* inuited the Sultan to a sumptuous feast, and within few daies after
the Emperor feasted [illegible]e Visier; who presuming vpon his great credit, caused all the crosses in
the Church of S. *Sophia* (which is one of the goodliest monuments in Constantinople) to bee
throwne downe, and all the Images to be defaced, the which had stood entire euer since the
Christians gouernment. I

The King of Persias cruelty against the Armenians.

The yeare before, the King of Persia had put to death 1[illegible]00 Armenians vpon a false sug-
gestion as if they had intended to reconcile themselues to the Pope: that king hating the Pa-
pists, and yet suffers diuers Iesuits to liue in his dominons. The English Embassadors chaplein
desirous to know the reason of the Persians crueltie, conferred with the Patriarke of the Ar-
menians which resided at Constantinople (for there are two Patriarks, where of the one is vn-
der the Persian, and the other at Constantinople vnder the Turk) who told him that it was true
he had miserably slaine many of their nation by the cunning practises of an Armenian, who
had counterfeited letters from the Patriarke of Armenia to the Pope, by which the Patriarke
with his whole Church of Armenians, made offer to reconcile themselues to the Church of
Rome, and to acknowledge [illegible]pe as their head; intreating the Pope to write to the king of K
Persia to giue them leaue to [illegible] freely: which letters the Pope receiuing, he rewarded the
messenger bountifully, and [illegible]retur[illegible]res by him to the King of Persia, wherby he entreated
him to suffer the Armenians in his [illegible]ou[illegible]ey to vse their consciences freely. The king of Per-
sia hauing receiued these letters, g[illegible] into a great rage, causing many of them to bee put to
death; saying, *That if they would be obedient to the Pope, he could expect no seruice nor obedience from them*: notwithstanding the Papists said that this was done directly by the Patriarke; but the
Armenians affirme that it was the practise of a counterfeit rogue. Soone after there arriued
3 Embassadours at Constantinople; the one was a Circassian, the second a Georgian (and this
was a Bishop) and the third a Mingrelian, all of them to complaine of the Persians oppression
and cruelrie, imploring succours from the graund Seignior for their support. Presently after L
them arriued a Persian Embassador, whom the Sultan would not admit to audience, vntill all
controuersies were concluded betwixt himselfe and the Emperor, which was then in question,
the Sultan hauing sent one *Gasparo* (sometime a seruant in the English Embassadors house) to
treat with the Emperor, by whose means at length all matters were reconciled betwixt them.

1614 *The fal of Nassufs fortune.*

The yeare 1614 began by the horror of great prodigies; which were seene in diuers parts
of Hungarie and Silesia. Ouer the towne of Vienna in Austria, the heauens grew so red and
fearefully darkened, as they feared that either the last day was come, or else there would fol-
low some horrible effusion of bloud. But all these signes had no other effect this yeare, than
the ruine of the great fortune, and prodigious authoritie of *Nassuf Bassa*, grand Visier of the
Turkish Empire, formerly one of the greatest and most fearful rebels which had carried arms M
in Asia against the soueraigne power of their Sultan: but to comprehend more plainely the
fall and declining of his fortune, let vs behold him in his beginning and first rising. Hee was
the sonne of a Greeke Priest, borne in a little village neere vnto Solonica, and hauing beene
taken by the tribute, which the Turkes exact from Christians vpon their miserable children, ta-

A taking one of three; hee was carried verie young to Constantinople, and there sold for three *The beginning & progresse of Nassufs fortune*
chequines or Sultanins (euery one of which is not aboue eight shillings starling) to an Eunuch
of the Sultans, who nourished him and bred him vp till hee came to the age of twentie yeares,
and afterwards sold him to a Steward of the Sultanaes house, to serue him in his charge: who
finding this slaue to haue a spirit capable of greater affaires than the houshold, employed
him in the ouersight of the building of a rich and stately Mosque, which the Sultana
caused to be erected at her charge: In this place hee gaue such proofe of his wit and judge-
ment, to the Sultanaes content, that soone after shee gaue him the gouernement of her hous-
hold.

The Sultan had a will to employ him in his seruice, and retired him from the Sultanaes
B house into his Seraglio, where hee was honoured with the charge of the Capigi Bassa, or
Captaine of the Porters or Vshers of the Seraglio; from thence hee was aduanced to the
dignitie of the Bassa of Aleppo, and soone after hee was made Gouernour generall of Me-
sopotamia. The commoditie of his gouernment (frontiring vpon Persia) stirred vp his am- *He is made gouernor of Mesopotamia.*
bitious thoughts, and his disordinate desire to become soueraigne of that Countrey, and
made him to entertaine manie practises with the King of Persia, an antient enemie to his
master. The report of his practises came to Constantinople: the Sultan is aduertised, hee
knowes the ambitious and stirring spirit of this *Nassuf*, and findes that hee is verie profita-
ble for his seruice, if hee can by any milde course withdraw him from his disloyalties and in-
telligences with the Persian: wherefore hee dissembled the knowledge of his treacherous
C designes, and to gaine him the more powerfully, he gorged his ambitious appetite with the
greatest dignitie of his Empire. After the death of *Murath Bassa*, he honoured him with the *Nassuf made grand Visier and Generall of the armie.*
place of Graund Visier, and gaue him all his goods, and in his place made him Generall of
the armie against the Persian, with promise to giue him his daughter in marriage. Thus was
Nassuf aduanced by his dexteritie, wit, diligence, and trecherie, to the greatest chargesofthe
greatest Empire of the World.

He entered into Persia, as Lieutenant Generall of his masters armie, with the which hee *He forceth the Persian to a peace.*
made so great a spoyle, as hee forced *Ka Abbas* King of Persia now raigning, to demand a
peace; and after that hee had granted him a surceasse of armes, hee brought his Embassador
to Constantinople, to conclude this peace to his masters benefit, as we haue formerly obser-
D ued. Hee enters in pompe, presents a million of gold vnto his Emperour, is well receiued at
the Seraglio, much made of by the Bassaes, but more by the Sultan, who caused him to marry
his daughter. Fortune hauing thus aduanced him to the height of greatnesse, not being possi-
ble to climbe higher, shee ouerthrowes him, and doth precipitate him to the lowest degrees
of miserie. The Sultan feares his spirit, too headstrong by reason of his ambition; hee growes *The Sultan resolues to be rid of him, & concludes his ruine*
jealous of his actions, and about the end of the yere concludes his ruine and death. The com-
mandement is giuen to Bostangi Bassa, that is to say, the Sultans chiefe gardiner, and ouerseer
of his Seraglio, and all his houses, one of the goodliest dignities of the court. *Nassuf* was at that
time sicke in his house; Bostangi goes thither to visit him, and to cause him to be strangled, be-
ing accompanied onely with 7 or 8 men; for that he would not giue any suspition of the com-
E mandement he had receiued from his master. Being come vnto his lodging, he demanded to
speake with him, and *Nassuf* excused himselfe by his seruants, by reason of the discommoditie
of his health: but the Bostangi (who would needs execute his commission) replied, that hee
could not returne to the Sultan (who had sent him to haue certain newes of his health) before
he had seen him, to be the better assured. At this reply *Nassuf* grew distrustful, & would with-
out all doubt haue been far from thence in some place of Mesopotamia; but beleeuing what-
soeuer happened to him was inuitable, he commanded them to suffer the Bostangi to enter:
who at his first approch entertained him with many complements of courtesie; and hauing
demanded some questions of him touching his health, he drew out of his pocket a command-
ment from the Sultan to *Nassuf*, to deliuer vnto him the seales of the empire: the which being
F presently don, he drew out another commandement vnto him, by the which he was inioyned
to send him his head: then *Nassuf* cryed out aloud, and desired to speake with the Sultan;
but the Bostangi answered, that he had no commission to conduct him to the Seraglio, but to
cause his life to be taken away presently: vpon this refusall, he intreats him, to giue him leaue
to

to wash himselfe in the next c[illegible]ber, to the end that his soule (said he) should not depart this world in the estate of pollutio[illegible]cording to the Turkes beleefe, who hold the washing of the bodie for a true purifica[illegible] This fauour was also denied him; he saw there was no remedie in his miserie, nor any [illegible]pe of grace. Bostangi Bassaes followers (which were seuen or eight Capigies) beeing co[illegible] take away his life, and enuironing his bed, which was an vndoubted sur[illegible] that hee [illegible]st die; in the end he resolues, and turning himself e vnto these executioners, [illegible]m to doe their duties: whereupon they fell to worke, and casting themselues vpon him, they put a cord about his necke, and sought to strangle him; but seeing that the fatnesse of his repleat bodie would not suffer them to take away his life presently, they cut his throat with a knife. His death could not be displeasi[illegible] to the Christians, seeing that all his designes tended to their ruine: he had perswaded his [illegible]ter to breake the peace with the Emperour, the French King, and the Venetians, promi[illegible] him to make him soueraigne Monarch of the whole world, to the end he might keep his spirit in action, and make himselfe necessarie to his master, and liue more safely in combustions than in a calme; whereas the enuie and malice of his enemies gaue him a thousand furious assaults. Thus *Nassuf Bassa* ended his dayes and fortune; before Gouernour of Mesopotamia, Generall of an Imperiall army, and Grand Visier of the Turkish Empire; aduanced of these supreme dignities, by the great actions of his mind, but ouerthrown shamefully to his ruine by his boundlesse ambition. Doubtlesse it is a difficult thing for a fauorite that is insolently audacious, to continue long in grace with his Prince; especially when hi[illegible]nrestrained ambition hath once broken the bounds which reason prescribeth to those th[illegible]Fortune aduanceth by the fauour of her blastes; and that hee followes obstinately that pernicious curiositie to know by experience how high Fortune can aduance him: for then the desire to enjoy that which is aboue his condition, blinding the eyes of reason, hee doth precipitate himselfe by his rash and insolent actions, to the lowest steppe of shamefull ruine. The riches of *Nassuf* were so great and proportionable to his fortune, as after his death they found about two bushels of diamonds and pearles. Doubtlesse this rich and stately spoile deserued to be enioyed by some great Prince. So the Emperour *Achmat* seised thereon, and applyed it to his Chasna, or Treasurie.

Nassufs throat cut.

An insolent fauourite continues little.

The treasures of Nassuf.

Another discourse of Nassufs death.

This death of *Nassuf* is related after another manner by one who was then present in Constantinople, the which I haue thought good to set downe as I haue receiued it from him. The Grand Seignior being mu[illegible]discontented with his Visier; whither incensed with such as were neere about him, who both [illegible]d and feared *Nassuf*, or doubting his great power; hee dissembled his spleene, vntill he m[illegible] finde some opportunitie for reuenge: yet it was not so secretly carried, but *Nassuf* had d[illegible]red the Sultans discontent, and laboured by great gifts both to the Sultana and others t[illegible]pacifie him, prouiding notwithstanding in the meane time for his owne safetie, sending horsemen dayly ouer into Asia, meaning to passe himselfe when hee had gathered together a sufficient strength. But it fell out on the seuenth day of October, it beeing the Turkes Sabboth, that the Moone about eight a clocke at night was much eclipsed, which made the Turkes expect some great accident. The Grand Seignior hauing formerly caused it to be bruited, That he would about that time passe to visit a new Mosque which was then in building; whereupon all the streets were hanged with cloth and arras, and as the custome was, a crie went before, that *The King commeth*; at the noise whereof *Nassuf* (beeing then in his house) could not but descend to salute the Sultan as he passed by: But it was not the Graund Seignior himselfe, but his Bostangi Bassa, whom he had caused to be attired like himselfe, who being come before *Nassufs* dore, and finding him standing there, he suddenly leapt vnto him, and told him that the Sultans pleasure was he should deliuer vp his seale: whereat *Nassuf* being amazed, demanded what the Sultan meant to doe? to whome the Bostangi Bassa replied, That he knew not what the Princes pleasure was, but if he would not deliuer it, hee would returne with that message vnto him. Whereupon *Nassuf* drew the seale out of his bosome, and deliuered it. Then the Bostangi Bassa shewed him a warrant for his head, whereunto he presently submitted himselfe, and then two Iamoglans strangled him: his head was presently cut off, and carried to the Graund Seigniour, and his bodie throwne into the street to be trampled on.

It was

It was thought his death was procured by the wife of *Cicala*, Bassa of Babylon, who had beene manzoled or deposed from his gouernment there by *Nassuf*, and was a little before returned to Constantinopole, but could not bee allowed by *Nassuf* to haue any accesse vnto the Grand Seigniors presence; whereupon hee wrote a letter vnto the Sultan, wherein hee accused *Nassuf* to haue conspired with the Persian to kill him, charging him with many things that were capitall. This letter he sent by his wife who was sister to the Grand Seignior; who comming to his speech (although shee were watchfully obserued by *Nassuf* who was then present) left the letter in his chamber and so departed. The Grand Seignour finding this letter, and reading it, was much incensed against *Nassuf*, and neuer quiet in minde vntill he had his head. He writes, that there were found in *Nassufs* house eightie bags of gold, each bag containing ten thousand chequinos. After *Nassufs* death *Mechmet Bassa* Admirall at sea (who had married Sultan *Achmats* eldest daughter) was made chiefe Visier; he was borne in Constantinople, and the first naturall Turke that was euer Visier since Constantinople was wonne.

You haue heard in the last yeares relation, of some combustions which were growing in Transyluania, and how the Sultan had written his letters of an imperious stile vnto the nobilitie and States of the countrey, which letters were fixed vp in forme of a mandate throughout all Transyluania, and in places that were neerest vnto those Noblemen which held the Emperours partie against *Bethlem*. At the same time *Bethlem* defeated certaine troupes of the garrisons at Lippa and Genoa, which ouerranne and spoyled the Countrey, so as the Gouernours of those places were forced to send to Vienna, to demand succours of men and money. A Chiaus arriued at that time at Lintz, bringing letters vnto the Emperour from the Graund Seigniour; the first point contained in them, was, That his Imperiall Maiestie should haue a care, that the peace made betwixt them for twentie yeares should not be violated; and that for his part hee desired to obserue it faithfully. 2. That in the name of his Imperiall Maiestie they had seised vpon certaine places in Transyluania, a Prouince which had beene alwaies vnder his protection, which receiued her Princes from his hand, and the which he was bound to defend against all her enemies. 3. That the tyranny of Prince *Battori* had constrained him to giue forces to *Bethlem Gabor* to dispossesse him of the principalitie of Transyluania: That after the death of the said *Battori*, he had inuested *Bethlem* to gouerne it in peace. 4. That since, he had bin aduertised how that some troups of souldiers in the name of his Imperiall Maiestie, contrary to the articles of peace, had by force seised vpon the forts of Hust and Viuar, and the townes of Nagipan and Tonac. 5. That hee had giuen expresse charge to *Bethlem*, not to suffer any enterprise, no not vpon the least village of his principalitie, to the end that nothing might be separated; but that he should repell the iniurie of the aggressor by force. 6. That he exhorted his imperiall maiestie, if he desired the continuance of the peace, to command his people to make restitution of the places vsurped, or to signifie his intention by the same Chiaus which he had sent, to the end hee might be fully assured: for the mischiefe increasing daily, the affection which hee bare to the good of peace might grow cold.

Letters from the Sultan to the Emperor.

The Emperour receiued the Chiaus at Lintz verie honourably, and gaue him an answer to his letter wrapt in a piece of cloth of gold: the sence whereof was, That this businesse being of great importance, his Imperiall Maiestie desired to confer with the princes Electors, and States of the Empire to heare their aduice; after which hee would acquaint him with his last resolution: and finally, that he should rest assured, that for his part he would not attempt any thing contrarie to the peace. In the meane time there was a pettie warre in Hungarie, the incursions and spoiles betwixt the Christians and the Turkes beginning againe. The Turkes of the garrison of Agria going foorth, tooke a great number of cattell from the Christians; eight hundred Haiduckes aduertised of this spoyle, pursued them so speedily as they met them before they came within halfe a league of their retreat, when they made them to leaue their prize, and put them to flight. The Bassa of Agria aduertised of the defeate of his out-riders, goeth foorth with one thousand men, to recouer the booty from the Haiduckes, which they had newly taken from his souldiers: But after a sharpe encounter he lost his horse, and two hundred of his men, beeing forced to make his retreat.

The Emperors answer to the Turke.

The Turkes courses in Hungarie.

away. This tempest continued many daies, and during the violence thereof, another galliE was lost, in the which the Iesuites had beene, by good aduice they had retired to land during the furie of the sea and winds. The Iesuits imputed the cause of this losse, to the prohibition which *Oneze* the Bassa had made vnto them, not to passe into Mingrelia before the peace were concluded with the Princes of that countrie; the which grew long, by reason of the difficulties which happened in the treatie. In the end those Princes resoluing to pay the tribute vnto the [illegible] ded.

A peace betwixt the Turke and the Georgians.

The liberte of [illegible] peace, *Grangier* and his companions proceeded in their journey; twentie dayes after their departure from Macrogalo, they arriued at Satrapella, a place of Georgia, whereas the Princes Visier came to visit them, and after the Georgian manner saluted them, bare headed, and kneeling vpon one knee. *Gorell* Prince of the Georgians (who was then at Barlet, whereas the court was to passe the feast of Christenmas) beeing aduertised of the arriuall of these new Christian and French preachers, sent for them, receiued them fauourably, and saluted them bare headed and kneeling. After that he had made them to blesse his court, hee held many discourses with them of the trueth of the Romane Church: and of the Popes pōwer, as the father of all Christendome; beeing mooued partly thereunto by a feeling of pietie to the Church, and partly from the instructions hee receiued from these Iesuites, so as enlightened with a new beame of the true light, he intreated *Grangier* to craue absolution of his sinnes from the Pope, the which (said hee) hee may giue mee by the power he hath from God; promising to send him his confession in writing. But vnderstanding that the Iesuite had power from the Pope to absolue him, hee purged his conscience of all his sinnes, by a generall confession of his life. Without doubt the zeale of these soules, so far from succor, shews plainly what the haruest would be, if so many labourers were sent as are necessarie. A Monke of Georgia, who had liued at Rome for the space of twelue yeares, had in former times planted pietie there: the which they of this mission did now alter. This Prince *Gorell* entreated the Iesuites, to send him some of their companie at their returne into Europe, promising to make great esteeme of them, and to giue them a church, a house, and all things necessarie for their maintenance. The prince offered them siluer, which they refused, modestly excusing themselues vpon the rules of their institution, which forbids them to receiue any temporall recompence for the administration of holy things. Thus they parted from this prince, who commended much their manner of liuing, and caused them to be conducted to Satrapella, to continue on their journey into Mingrelia.

The salutation of the Georgians.

The reception of the Iesuites by a prince of Asia.

The third of Februarie in the yeare 1615, they parted from this towne with the Turkes who came to conclude the peace, and passing by the bankes of Fasso (a Riuer which doth water the Countrey of Cholchos, now called Mingrelia) they arriued at Herailcano, otherwise called Heraclia, and from thence to Margoula, whereas the Prince of the Mingrelians (called *Dodran*) then remained, being busie in the reception of *Threbis Cham* king of Georgia, who was come thither to visit him, beeing expelled his Countrey by the King of Persia. The Iesuites were brought to kisse the hands of Prince *Dodran*, and of *Lipartia* his Vncle, who was Regent of the Realme during his minoritie. They both promised them assistance in their affaires, sending them to the towne of Macaurie, to make their abode there whilest they were busied in the affaires of their Countrey, the which at that time were somewhat confused. The Bishop of that place entertained them with great demonstration of loue, and soone after, making a feast to *Threbis Cham*, or Prince of the Georgians, hee would needs haue the Iesuites assist at this banquet, for a great testimonie of his loue. It is the manner of those of Cholchos or the Mingrelians, as wel as the Georgians, to sing at their meat. The *Threbis Cham* desired, that the Iesuites might sing some note when it came to their turne, whereof they excused themselues diuers times: But there was no remedie, they must doe as others haue done: whereupon they sung the hymne of *Plange lingua, &c.* appointed for Holie Thursday. Beeing thus fauourably entertained in Mingrelia, they make their residence at Mocaury, with hope to labour profitably for the health of soules, which erre in that countrey through the darkenesse of ignorance, for want of men to reach them the way of truth. They are Christians of the Greeke profession, vnder the commandement of diuers Princes, alwaies in warre either against the Turke or the Persian: They carrie the name of

The custome of the Mingrelians at their feasts.

A of Cham, which is as much to say, as King or soueraigne Prince: The Sophie had dispossest *Threbis Cham* chiefe King of Georgia of all his countries, in the yeare 1613, who had retyred himselfe into Mingrelia, as you haue heard.

Whilest those men labour to sow the seeds of true doctrine of the Apostles in the soyle of Mahometisme, a Turke passing out of Asia, comes into Christendome to seeke the light of truth, and demands fauourable assistance and succours from Christian Princes, to enter into the possession of the Empire, whereunto his birth and the degrees of a lawfull succession seemed to call him by a just title. The discourse of his birth, of his fortunes, and of his pretensions to the Turkish Empire, is comprehended in this following relation. Hee tearmed himselfe the sonne of *Mahomet* the third, father to *Achmat*, now sitting in the Im-

The historie of Sultan Iacaia held by many to be Emperour Achmats brother.

B periall Throne at Constantinople; hee maintained, that his father by foure wiues or concubines had had foure sonnes; that is to say, *Mustapha* who was strangled, for that he would haue dispossessed his father of his Kingdome; *Iacaia* (which was himselfe) *Achmat* now raigning, and *Osman*: yet it seemes by the sequell of the Historie, that he had another *Mustapha*: that hauing beene sent for to come out of Magnesia to Constantinople, his mother (who had beene a Christian, and baptised vnder the name of *Hellen*, but was afterward ingaged in the compa-

His mother was a Christian.

nie of *Mahomet* the third, for the worth of her beautie, and knowne in the Turkie by the name of the Sultana *Lalpare*) could not conduct him to his father, for that he was dange-

C rously sicke of the small pockes. And this Princesse desired much, to finde some fauourable occasion, whereby shee might be freed from the damnable errours of *Mahomets* law, and returne to the wholesome way of the Christian faith, and retire her sonne *Iacaia* farre from the power of those bloudie lawes, which sprinckle the Imperiall Scepter of him that comes vnto the Crowne with the bloud of his brethren; shee well foresaw that *Iacaia* beeing but the second of *Mahomets* sonnes, should one day by his death secure the life of *Mustapha* his elder, and that the onely means to preserue him, was to retire him into Christendome. Wherefore she laboured seriously in this designe, and made vse of a fauourable fiction; giuing it out, that her sonne *Iacaia* was dead of the small pockes; and hauing supposed in his place the son of an Eunuch dead of the same disease assisted at his funerall, and by her constrained teares subtilly disguised her designe. An Eunuch called *Aftam Mehemet* was the faithfull secretarie of her enterprise; with him shee leaues Magnesia, a Prouince in Asia, and vnder

She passeth out of Asia into Europe.

D pretext to goe vnto certaine Bathes there by, shee gets her downe to the sea side, passes into Europe, and transports her sonne into Morea, sometimes called Hellespont, and lodgeth him (as vnknowne) in the Bishops pallace in the towne of Miclo. *Iacaia* was aboue nine yeares old; she held him not secure at Miclo, but transported him into Macedonia, vnder the habite of a Greeke Monke; and retires him into the towne of Cassandria; where shee discouers vnto the Archbishop of Thessalonica, a man learned and of a holy life, the

She discouers herselfe and him to an Archbishop.

qualitie of her sonne, and the desire shee had to make him a Christian: intreating him in charitie to take them both into his protection. This Archbishop lodgeth the mother in the Monasterie of religious women of our Ladie of Thessalonica, and giues the custodie of the sonne vnto an Abbot of Saint *Michael*, a man learned in all the sciences, vnder

I whome hee profited wonderfully, as well in the Greeke tongue as in many goodly arts. I doe wel know this to be true, for that I haue conuersed with him for the space of six months, and haue seene him often in the companie of learned men speake the Greeke, with as great facilitie as his Turkish and mother tongue. Hee continued in this Monasteric, vnder the care and gouernment of this learned Abbot, vntill the age of seuenteen yeares; that is to say, for the space of eight whole yeares; during which time, his mothers teares, the holy instructions of the Abbot (but rather the Diuine fauour) made him to enter into the way of his soules health, and become a Christian. The Archbishop of Thessalonica cleansed his soule from the pollutions of the law of *Mahomet*, and baptised him in the Church of Saint *Anastasius*, without the citie of Thessalonica; yet secretly, for feare least the Eunuch comming to

Iacaia becomes a christian.

F discouer this misterie, should a bandon him, and publish abroad the place and estate of his solitarie aboad, and so be miserably taken. Thus *Iacaia* calling himselfe Sultan, being alreadie in some assurance of the Crowne of Heauen by the promises of holy baptisme, whilest that hee was in the beginning of his pretensions to that of the Turkish Empire, he leaues the Monasterie where he had beene instructed; and in the companie of the Eunuch trauels vp

and

away. This tempest continued many daies, and during the violence thereof, another gallie G
was loſt, in the which the Ieſuites had beene, by good aduice they had retired to land du-
ring the furie of the ſea and winds. The Ieſuits imputed the cauſe of this loſſe, to the proh-
bition which *Oneze* the Baſſa had made vnto them, not to paſſe into Mingrelia before the
A peace betwixt the Turks and the Georgians. peace were concluded with the Princes of that countrie; the which grew long, by reaſon of
the difficulties which happened in the treatie. In the end thoſe Princes reſoluing to pay the
tribute vnto the Turke, it was concluded.

The libertie of [illegible] peace, *Grangier* and his companions proceeded in their
journey; twentie dayes after their departure from Macrogalo, they arriued at Satrapella,
a place of Georgia, whereas the Princes Viſier came to viſit them, and after the Georgian
The ſalutation of the Georgians. manner ſaluted them, bare headed, and kneeling vpon one knee. *Gorell* Prince of the Geor- H
gians (who was then at Barler, whereas the court was to paſſe the feaſt of Chriſten-
The reception of the Ieſuites by a prince of Aſia. mas) beeing aduertiſed of the arriuall of theſe new Chriſtian and French preachers, ſent for
them, receiued them fauourably, and ſaluted them bare headed and kneeling. After that he
had made them to bleſſe his court, hee held many diſcourſes with them of the trueth
of the Romane Church: and of the Popes pōwer, as the father of all Chriſtendome; beeing
mooued partly thereunto by a feeling of pietie to the Church, and partly from the inſtruc-
ons hee receiued from theſe Ieſuites, ſo as enlightened with a new beame of the true light, he
intreated *Grangier* to craue abſolution of his ſinnes from the Pope, the which (ſaid hee)
hee may giue mee by the power he hath from God; promiſing to ſend him his confeſſion in
writing. But vnderſtanding that the Ieſuite had power from the Pope to abſolue him, hee I
purged his conſcience of all his ſinnes, by a generall confeſſion of his life. Without doubt
the zeale of theſe ſoules, ſo far from ſuccor, ſhews plainly what the harueſt would be, if ſo ma-
ny labourers were ſent as are neceſſarie. A Monke of Georgia, who had liued at Rome
for the ſpace of twelue yeares, had in former times planted pietie there: the which they
of this miſſion did now alter. This Prince *Gorell* entreated the Ieſuites, to ſend him ſome
of their companie at their returne into Europe, promiſing to make great eſteeme of them,
and to giue them a church, a houſe, and all things neceſſarie for their maintenance. The prince
offered them ſiluer, which they refuſed, modeſtly excuſing themſelues vpon the rules of their
inſtitution, which forbids them to receiue any temporall recompence for the adminiſtration
of holy things. Thus they parted from this prince, who commended much their manner of K
liuing, and cauſed them to be conducted to Satrapella, to continue on their journey into
Mingrelia.

The third of Februarie in the yeare 1615, they parted from this towne with the
Turkes who came to conclude the peace, and paſſing by the bankes of Faſſo (a Riuer
which doth water the Countrey of Cholchos, now called Mingrelia) they arriued at He-
raileano, otherwiſe called Heraclia, and from thence to Margoula, whereas the Prince of the
Mingrelians (called *Dodran*) then remained, being buſie in the reception of *Threbis Cham* king
of Georgia, who was come thither to viſit him, beeing expelled his Countrey by the
King of Perſia. The Ieſuites were brought to kiſſe the hands of Prince *Dodran*, and of
Lipartia his Vncle, who was Regent of the Realme during his minoritie. They both promi- L
ſed them aſſiſtance in their affaires, ſending them to the towne of Macaurie, to make their
abode there whileſt they were buſied in the affaires of their Countrey, the which at that time
The cuſtome of the Mingrelians at their feaſts. were ſomewhat confuſed. The Biſhop of that place entertained them with great demonſtra-
tion of loue, and ſoone after, making a feaſt to *Threbis Cham*, or Prince of the Georgians, hee
would needs haue the Ieſuites aſſiſt at this banquet, for a great teſtimonie of his loue. It is
the manner of thoſe of Cholchos or the Mingrelians, as wel as the Georgians, to ſing at their
meat. The *Threbis Cham* deſired, that the Ieſuites might ſing ſome note when it came to their
turne, whereof they excuſed themſelues diuers times: But there was no remedie, they muſt
doe as others haue done: whereupon they ſung the hymne of *Plange lingua, &c.* appointed for
Holie Thurſday. Beeing thus fauourably entertained in Mingrelia, they make their re- M
ſidence at Mocaury, with hope to labour profitably for the health of ſoules, which erre in
that countrey through the darkeneſſe of ignorance, for want of men to reach them the way
of truth. They are Chriſtians of the Greeke profeſſion, vnder the commandement of di-
uers Princes, alwaies in warre either againſt the Turke or the Perſian: They carrie the name
of

A of Cham, which is as much to ſay, as King or ſoueraigne Prince: The Sophie had diſpoſſeſt
Threbis Cham chiefe King of Georgia of all his countries, in the yeare 1613, who had retyred
himſelfe into Mingrelia, as you haue heard.

The hiſtorie of Sultan Iacaia held by many to be Emperour Achmats brother. Whileſt thoſe men labour to ſow the ſeeds of true doctrine of the Apoſtles in the ſoyle of
Mahometiſme, a Turke paſſing out of Aſia, comes into Chriſtendome to ſeeke the light of
truth, and demands fauourable aſſiſtance and ſuccours from Chriſtian Princes, to enter into
the poſſeſſion of the Empire, whereunto his birth and the degrees of a lawfull ſucceſſion
ſeemed to call him by a juſt title. The diſcourſe of his birth, of his fortunes, and of his
pretenſions to the Turkiſh Empire, is comprehended in this following relation. Hee tear-
med himſelfe the ſonne of *Mahomet* the third, father to *Achmat*, now ſitting in the Im-
B periall Throne at Conſtantinople; hee maintained, that his father by foure wiues or concu-
bines had had foure ſonnes; that is to ſay, *Muſtapha* who was ſtrangled, for that he would haue
diſpoſſeſſed his father of his Kingdome; *Iacaia* (which was himſelfe) *Achmat* now raigning,
and *Oſman*: yet it ſeemes by the ſequell of the Hiſtorie, that he had another *Muſtapha*: that
hauing beene ſent for to come out of Magneſia to Conſtantinople, his mother (who had beene *His mother was a Chriſtian.*
a Chriſtian, and baptiſed vnder the name of *Hellen*, but was afterward ingaged in the compa-
nie of *Mahomet* the third, for the worth of her beautie, and knowne in the Turkie by
the name of the Sultana *Lalpare*) could not conduct him to his father, for that he was dange-
rouſly ſicke of the ſmall pockes. And this Princeſſe deſired much, to finde ſome fauourable
occaſion, whereby ſhee might be freed from the damnable errours of *Mahomets* law, and re-
C turne to the wholeſome way of the Chriſtian faith, and retire her ſonne *Iacaia* farre from the
power of thoſe bloudie lawes, which ſprinckle the Imperiall Scepter of him that comes
vnto the Crowne with the bloud of his brethren; ſhee well foreſaw that *Iacaia* beeing but
the ſecond of *Mahomets* ſonnes, ſhould one day by his death ſecure the life of *Muſtapha* his
elder, and that the onely means to preſerue him, was to retire him into Chriſtendome. Wher-
fore ſhe laboured ſeriouſly in this deſigne, and made vſe of a fauourable fiction; giuing it out,
that her ſonne *Iacaia* was dead of the ſmall pockes; and hauing ſuppoſed in his place the ſon
of an Eunuch dead of the ſame diſeaſe aſſiſted at his funerall, and by her conſtrained teares
ſubtilly diſguiſed her deſigne. An Eunuch called *Aſtam Mehemet* was the faithfull ſe-
cretarie of her enterpriſe; with him ſhee leaues Magneſia, a Prouince in Aſia, and vnder
She paſſeth out of Aſia into Europe. D pretext to goe vnto certaine Bathes there by, ſhee gets her downe to the ſea ſide, paſſes into
Europe, and tranſports her ſonne into Morea, ſometimes called Helleſpont, and lodgeth him
(as vnknowne) in the Biſhops pallace in the towne of Miclo. *Iacaia* was aboue nine yeares
old; ſhe held him not ſecure at Miclo, but tranſported him into Macedonia, vnder the ha-
bite of a Greeke Monke; and retires him into the towne of Caſſandria; where ſhee diſ-
She diſcouers herſelfe and him to an Archbiſhop. couers vnto the Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, a man learned and of a holy life, the
qualitie of her ſonne, and the deſire ſhee had to make him a Chriſtian: intreating him in
charitie to take them both into his protection. This Archbiſhop lodgeth the mother in the
Monaſterie of religious women of our Ladie of Theſſalonica, and giues the cuſtodie of
the ſonne vnto an Abbot of Saint *Michael*, a man learned in all the ſciences, vnder
E whome hee profited wonderfully, as well in the Greeke tongue as in many goodly arts. I
doe wel know this to be true, for that I haue conuerſed with him for the ſpace of ſix months,
and haue ſeene him often in the companie of learned men ſpeake the Greeke, with as great
facilitie as his Turkiſh and mother tongue. Hee continued in this Monaſterie, vnder the care
and gouernment of this learned Abbot, vntill the age of ſeuenteen yeares; that is to ſay, for
the ſpace of eight whole yeares; during which time, his mothers teares, the holy inſtruct-
ons of the Abbot (but rather the Diuine fauour) made him to enter into the way of his ſoules
health, and become a Chriſtian. The Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica cleanſed his ſoule
Iacaia becomes a Chriſtian. from the pollutions of the Law of *Mahomet*, and baptiſed him in the Church of Saint *Ana-*
ſtaſius, without the citie of Theſſalonica; yet ſecretly, for feare leaſt the Eunuch comming to
F diſcouer this miſterie, ſhould a bandon him, and publiſh abroad the place and eſtate of his
ſolitarie aboad, and ſo be miſerably taken. Thus *Iacaia* calling himſelfe Sultan, being alreadie
in ſome aſſurance of the Crowne of Heauen by the promiſes of holy baptiſme, whileſt
that hee was in the beginning of his pretenſions to that of the Turkiſh Empire, he leaues the
Monaſterie where he had beene inſtructed; and in the companie of the Eunuch trauels vp
and

away. This tempest continued many daies, and during the violence thereof, another gallie was lost, in the which the Iesuites had beene, by good aduice they had retired to land during the furie of the sea and winds. The Iesuits imputed the cause of this losse, to the prohibition which *Oneze* the Bassa had made vnto them, not to passe into Mingrelia before the peace were concluded with the Princes of that countrie; the which grew long, by reason of the difficulties which happened in the treatie. In the end those Princes resoluing to pay the tribute vnto the Turke, the peace was concluded.

A peace betwixt the Turks and the Georgians.

The libertie of [illegible] peace, *Grangier* and his companions proceeded in their journey; twentie dayes after their departure from Macrogalo, they arriued at Satrapella, a place of Georgia, whereas the Princes Visier came to visit them, and after the Georgian manner saluted them, bare headed, and kneeling vpon one knee. *Gorell* Prince of the Georgians (who was then at Barlet, whereas the court was to passe the feasts of Christenmas) beeing aduertised of the arriuall of these new Christian and French preachers, sent for them, receiued them fauourably, and saluted them bare headed and kneeling. After that he had made them to blesse his court, hee held many discourses with them of the trueth of the Romane Church: and of the Popes power, as the father of all Christendome; beeing mooued partly thereunto by a feeling of pietie to the Church, and partly from the instructions hee receiued from these Iesuites, so as enlightened with a new beame of the true light, he intreated *Grangier* to craue absolution of his sinnes from the Pope, the which (said hee) hee may giue mee by the power he hath from God; promising to send him his confession in writing. But vnderstanding that the Iesuite had power from the Pope to absolue him, hee purged his conscience of all his sinnes, by a generall confession of his life. Without doubt the zeale of these soules, so far from succor, shews plainly what the haruest would be, if so many labourers were sent as are necessarie. A Monke of Georgia, who had liued at Rome for the space of twelue yeares, had in former times planted pietie there: the which they of this mission did now alter. This Prince *Gorell* entreated the Iesuites, to send him some of their companie at their returne into Europe, promising to make great esteeme of them, and to giue them a church, a house, and all things necessarie for their maintenance. The prince offered them siluer, which they refused, modestly excusing themselues vpon the rules of their institution, which forbids them to receiue any temporall recompence for the administration of holy things. Thus they parted from this prince, who commended much their manner of liuing, and caused them to be conducted to Satrapella, to continue on their journey into Mingrelia.

The salutation of the Georgians.

The reception of the Iesuites by a prince of Asia.

The third of Februarie in the yeare 1615, they parted from this towne with the Turkes who came to conclude the peace, and passing by the bankes of Fasso (a Riuer which doth water the Countrey of Cholchos, now called Mingrelia) they arriued at Herailcano, otherwise called Heraclia, and from thence to Margoula, whereas the Prince of the Mingrelians (called *Dodran*) then remained, being busie in the reception of *Threbis Cham* king of Georgia, who was come thither to visit him, beeing expelled his Countrey by the King of Persia. The Iesuites were brought to kisse the hands of Prince *Dodran*, and of *Lipartia* his Vncle, who was Regent of the Realme during his minoritie. They both promised them assistance in their affaires, sending them to the towne of Macaurie, to make their abode there whilest they were busied in the affaires of their Countrey, the which at that time were somewhat confused. The Bishop of that place entertained them with great demonstration of loue, and soone after, making a feast to *Threbis Cham*, or Prince of the Georgians, hee would needs haue the Iesuites assist at this banquet, for a great testimonie of his loue. It is the manner of those of Cholchos or the Mingrelians, as wel as the Georgians, to sing at their meat. The *Threbis Cham* desired, that the Iesuites might sing some note when it came to their turne, whereof they excused themselues diuers times: But there was no remedie, they must doe as others haue done: whereupon they sung the hymne of *Plange lingua, &c.* appointed for Holie Thursday. Beeing thus fauourably entertained in Mingrelia, they make their residence at Mocaury, with hope to labour profitably for the health of soules, which erre in that countrey through the darkenesse of ignorance, for want of men to teach them the way of truth. They are Christians of the Greeke profession, vnder the commandement of diuers Princes, alwaies in warre either against the Turke or the Persian: They carrie the name of

The custome of the Mingrelians at their feasts.

of Cham, which is as much to say, as King or soueraigne Prince: The Sophie had dispossest *Threbis Cham* chiefe King of Georgia of all his countries, in the yeare 1613, who had retyred himselfe into Mingrelia, as you haue heard.

Whilest those men labour to sow the seeds of true doctrine of the Apostles in the soyle of Mahometisme, a Turke passing out of Asia, comes into Christendome to seeke the light of truth, and demands fauourable assistance and succours from Christian Princes, to enter into the possession of the Empire, whereunto his birth and the degrees of a lawfull succession seemed to call him by a just title. The discourse of his birth, of his fortunes, and of his pretensions to the Turkish Empire, is comprehended in this following relation. Hee tearmed himselfe the sonne of *Mahomet* the third, father to *Achmat*, now sitting in the Imperiall Throne at Constantinople; hee maintained, that his father by foure wiues or concubines had had foure sonnes; that is to say, *Mustapha* who was strangled, for that he would haue dispossessed his father of his Kingdome; *Iacaia* (which was himselfe) *Achmat* now raigning, and *Osman*: yet it seemes by the sequell of the Historie, that he had another *Mustapha*: that hauing beene sent for to come out of Magnesia to Constantinople, his mother (who had beene a Christian, and baptised vnder the name of *Hellen*, but was afterward ingaged in the companie of *Mahomet* the third, for the worth of her beautie, and knowne in the Turkie by the name of the Sultana *Lalpare*) could not conduct him to his father, for that he was dangerously sicke of the small pockes. And this Princesse desired much, to finde some fauourable occasion, whereby shee might be freed from the damnable errours of *Mahomets* law, and returne to the wholesome way of the Christian faith, and retire her sonne *Iacaia* farre from the power of those bloudie lawes, which sprinckle the Imperiall Scepter of him that comes vnto the Crowne with the bloud of his brethren; shee well foresaw that *Iacaia* beeing but the second of *Mahomets* sonnes, should one day by his death secure the life of *Mustapha* his elder, and that the onely means to preserue him, was to retire him into Christendome. Wherfore she laboured seriously in this designe, and made vse of a fauourable fiction; giuing it out, that her sonne *Iacaia* was dead of the small pockes; and hauing supposed in his place the son of an Eunuch dead of the same disease assisted at his funerall, and by her constrained teares subtilly disguised her designe. An Eunuch called *Astam Mehemet* was the faithfull secretarie of her enterprise; with him shee leaues Magnesia, a Prouince in Asia, and vnder pretext to goe vnto certaine Bathes there by, shee gets her downe to the sea side, passes into Europe, and transports her sonne into Morea, sometimes called Hellespont, and lodgeth him (as vnknowne) in the Bishops pallace in the towne of Miclo. *Iacaia* was aboue nine yeares old; she held him not secure at Miclo, but transported him into Macedonia, vnder the habite of a Greeke Monke; and retires him into the towne of Cassandria; where shee discouers vnto the Archbishop of Thessalonica, a man learned and of a holy life, the qualitie of her sonne, and the desire shee had to make him a Christian: intreating him in charitie to take them both into his protection. This Archbishop lodgeth the mother in the Monasterie of religious women of our Ladie of Thessalonica, and giues the custodie of the sonne vnto an Abbot of Saint *Michael*, a man learned in all the sciences, vnder whome hee profited wonderfully, as well in the Greeke tongue as in many goodly arts. I doe wel know this to be true, for that I haue conuersed with him for the space of six months, and haue seene him often in the companie of learned men speake the Greeke, with as great facilitie as his Turkish and mother tongue. Hee continued in this Monasterie, vnder the care and gouernment of this learned Abbot, vntill the age of seuenteen yeares; that is to say, for the space of eight whole yeares; during which time, his mothers teares, the holy instructions of the Abbot (but rather the Diuine fauour) made him to enter into the way of his soules health, and become a Christian. The Archbishop of Thessalonica cleansed his soule from the pollutions of the Law of *Mahomet*, and baptised him in the Church of Saint *Anastasius*, without the citie of Thessalonica; yet secretly, for feare least the Eunuch comming to discouer this misterie, should abandon him, and publish abroad the place and estate of his solitarie aboad, and so be miserably taken. Thus *Iacaia* calling himselfe Sultan, being alreadie in some assurance of the Crowne of Heauen by the promises of holy baptisme, whilest that hee was in the beginning of his pretensions to that of the Turkish Empire, he leaues the Monasterie where he had beene instructed; and in the companie of the Eunuch trauels vp and

The historie of Sultan Iacaia held by many to be Emperour Achmats brother.

His mother was a Christian.

She passeth out of Asia into Europe.

She discouers herselfe and him to an Archbishop.

Iacaia becomes a christian.

and downe Greece, passing away (in the length and varietie of his voyage) the impatiencie of his age and desires, and for that hee would not be knowne, hee takes vpon him the habite and the license of a Deruis or religious Turke. But when he came to the citie of Siopia, hee vnderstood the newes of the death of the Emperour *Mahomet* the third, his father, and the rejoycing for the new aduancement of Sultan *Achmat* to the Empire; learning at the same instant, that *Mustapha* his elder brother had beene strangled by the commandement of his father. T[illegible] hee conceiued for that hee had not beene bred vp at Constantinople with the rest, to receiue so rich a crowne as that of the Turkish Empire, made him to wauer in diuers irresolutions; sometimes hee would goe into Persia to the Sophie, to haue succours from him, and with him to make warre against his brother: sometimes hee would serue for a support and countenance to the Rebels of Asia, and iustifie their partie. After many discourses with the Eunuch touching his affaires, hee s[illegible]n vnto the sonne of *Peri Bassa*, a Rebell against the Emperour *Achmat*; the Eunuch treats for his Master, and receiues for him the Rebels oath; and returning to Tarlis, where the Sultan *Iacaia* remained, hee conducted him to *Peri Bassa*, to bee the head of his troupes. *Iacaia* arriues and sees himselfe obeyed by an armie readie to fight: for the Defterden or treasurer being sent against the Rebell *Peri* by the Grand Seignior with seuen thousand horse and three thousand foot, was alreadie vpon the bankes of the riuer Bardate readie to giue him battell. The Bassaes troupes (beeing lesse in number of fighting men) went to assayle him. There was a sharpe encounter; but in the end the Defterden was victor, and the troupes of *Peri Bassa* defeated, and *Iacaia* beeing wounded in foure places [illegible] his bodie, was forced to saue himselfe on the other side of the riuer, where wandring vp and downe the fields, he found reliefe with a poore peasant, and soone after with an Abbot there by, who entertained him, and caused him to bee cured, holding him to be one of the Defterdens Pages, as he himselfe said.

He ioines wit the Rebels of Asia.

The Rebels defeated, and Iacaia wounded.

He sends to Constantinople and corrupted the Visier.

His wounds beeing cured, *Iacaia* returnes againe towards Greece, where hee findes his mother, conferres with her, and soone after with the Eunuch, of the estate of his affaires; and concludes with both of them, to send to Constantinople, to the Visier Deruis (who at that time was discontented with the Emperour *Achmat*) to sound his dispositon, and to see if hee might gaine him to his partie: The Eunuch vndertakes the voyage, hee speakes with the Deruis, and findes him disposed to entertaine the offers of *Iacaia*: The conspiracie was concluded, and they sweare to kil[illegible] *Achmat*, and to settle *Iacaia* in the Imperiall throne. Hereupon hee transports himselfe to C[illegible]nstantinople in a disguised habite: but when as they were readie to execute their enterp[illegible]ay they) the Deruis dyed; bee it that the Emperour *Achmat* had discouered their designe, or otherwise. Thus *Iacaia* beeing frustrate of his hope to effect any thing by this meanes, hee left the citie and fled towards the blacke sea, and then wandred into the countries of Valachia, and Moldauia, following the Carock of a Poland Embassador on foot, vntill he came vnto the citie of Cracouia, whereas Fortune had layed a snare for him, which brought him in danger of his life; for a Chiaus being come from Constantinople, and knowing him, he desired the king of Poland in his masters name, to stay him, assuring him that by this meanes, hee should strictly bind vnto him the affections of Sultan *Achmat*: the King refused his vniust demand, holding himselfe much honoured to see his Court the refuge of vnfortunate Princes. After this refusall the Chiaus flies to trecherie; hee corrupts certaine Tartarians of the Kings guard with money, who promised to murther *Iacaia*; and doubtlesse they had performed it, if a Flemish embroitherer had not aduertised him, and lent him his lodging for certaine dayes to hide himselfe; after which he freed himselfe from danger, and past to Prague towards the Emperour *Rodulphus* who was then liuing.

Iacaia in danger of his life at Cracouia.

He retires to Prague to the Emperour.

In this Imperiall Court hee found reliefe, and meanes to ease his forepast miseries: The Emperour furnished him with all things necessarie: Hee spent a whole yeare there, and was acknowledged during his abode, by many Turkes which came to Prague, for brother to their Emperour *Achmat*. There wanted nothing but succours to effect his designes: But hee findes nothing but faire words and good wishes at Prague; so as hee was forced to seeke the effects elsewhere. Certaine Saxons that were his friends, aduised him to passe to Florence to *Ferdinand* the great Duke of Tuscanie: hee takes directions from that Princes

Embassadour

He comes to Florence to the great Duke of Tuscanie.

A Embassador residing at Prague, and goes on his journie: but entering into Italie; he heares that *Ferdinand* was dead; these mournfull newes made him to resolue to seeke some other place; if *Cosmo* successor to *Ferdinand*, and the great Ducheese his mother, had not called him backe. He came then to Florence, where he was honourably entertained, and lodged for the safetie of his person in the fort of S. *Iohn*, where he was supplied with all sorts of commodities. The great Duke *Cosmo* gaue him the title of Excellencie, appointed him horses and caroches, and such companie as he delighted in, for the pleasure of hunting. He had not staid long at Florence, but he saw himselfe assisted with such forces as he desired. The great Duke *Cosmo* caused his gallions to be armed, sending them into the Leuant, vnder the command of the knight *Beauregard*, where hee had conference with *Nassuf Bassa*, at that time chiefe of the Rebels of
B Asia. He offers him men, armes, and money, if he would come to land and march towards Persia, whither many Rebels were retired. But he who commanded the Florentine gallions, had no commission to leaue him in the hands of *Nassuf*: wherefore he carried him backe to Florence to his Highnesse.

He maketh a voyage into the Leuant with the dukes gallions.

During the time that *Iacaia* was a[illegible]rd the gallions, the great Duke sent diuers persons into many parts of the Leuant, to infor[illegible]e themselues carefully of these things which he had deliuered, not onely touching his owne person, but also of his mother; and they all brought backe certaine proofes of the truth of his discourses. This gaue the great Duke subiect to impart this faire occasion vnto Spaine, to labour for the common good of Christendome: He wrote vnto the Catholique King, and enformed him of the qualitie of *Iacaia*, to the end
C that contributing succours to his personage, they might vndertake some happie enterprise against the Turke. The King of Spaine was content hee should be sent to Naples; commaunding the Viceroy to giue him a reception fit for his qualitie. *Iacaia* went on his journey, beeing accompanied by some, by the great Dukes commandement: but according to the newes which hee receiued from Naples, hee stayed at Auerso, where hee was receiued by the Gouernour with much honour. The Viceroy came to visite him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellencie. But as the counsell of Spaine was tedious in their resolutions, and delayed too long (as *Iacaia* supposed) the succours which hee expected; he parted from Auerso to goe to Millan, and from thence in a disguised habit past againe into the Leuant, to sound their willes that might aduance his pretentions, and bring them to
D a happie end: but he preuailed as little as he had done before. Besides all these voyages which we haue described, to the end he might leaue no meanes vnattempted to aduance his affaires, he went to Rome to kisse his Holinesse feet. Cardinall *Belarmine* receiued him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellencie: the Pope assured him of his affection and succours; but it was necessarie the secular powers should begin to leuie men, and make the first ouerture to warre.

Iacaia goes to Naples and Millan.

He comes to Rome.

Since, we haue seene him in France, and at Paris, vnder the protection of the Duke of Neuers, entertained by the bountie of this prince, and assisted by his councell: and doubtlesse if the troublesome combustions of a ciuill war had not directed the armies of this duke, we had
E ces, to the ruine of the Turks, and the good of Christendome. Finally, as for this Turke called *Iacaia*, terming himselfe eldest brother to the Emperor *Achmat* now raigning at Constantinople, and for such acknowledged by many: yet some affirme (yea such as haue conuersed in the East) that Sultan *Mahomet* had but three sonnes, which were *Mustapha*, *Achmat*, and *Osman*: Notwithstanding it is hard to discouer in this personage any signes of an imposture: [illegible]ame
F tyrannie of the Turke; as he held it by vsurpation, without any iust title [illegible] all crueltie and inhumanitie, preferring crueltie before clemencie, and [illegible] who said openly, *That he respected not the loue of his subiects [illegible]hey feared him.* [illegible] *Stephano* at his first enterance plotted how hee might root [illegible] Countrey, whom in their language they call Boyers,

in the countrey, both for that they supported *Constantine*, as for the jealousie he had of them, being best able to resist his tyrannous designes: beeing also the common disposition of such as vsurpe any estate by wicked practises, to be alwaies in feare to be dispossessed, and to be entreated according to their merits. Hee began first with the Lord of Botacan brother to the Princesse widow to *Ieremie*, whom he caused with two others of the chiefe noblemen to be miserably and inhumanely empailed, as if they had been two notable theeues and murderers; and not content i[illegible] hee caused threescore and fifteene Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their heads, [illegible]d would not pardon any one, notwithstanding the great instance that was made by their kinsfolkes; charging them with the crime of treason, as if they had conspired against his person, hauing no proofe at all: but these his cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had perswaded himselfe; but contrariwise they were the more incensed, and many of them tooke armes openly, and had then seised [illegible] him, beene reuenged of his cruelties, and set their countrey at libertie (which had not beene ruined as it was afterwards) if hee had not beene assisted by the citizens of Yas; whome hee conjured to second him in this occasion, promising them immunites of all subsidies: In regard of which promise, these poore wretches preferring their priuat profit before their pulique safetie, employed themselues in the seruice of this tyrant, and fought valiantly against the Boyers, who were come to assault him in the citie of Yas; But finding that hee was better assisted than they expected; after some light skirmish they retired as well as they could, whereof many were taken prisoners, whom the tyrant caused to be sla[illegible]n cold bloud, or empailed to terrifie the rest.

The noblemen reuolt against Stephano.

Prince Alexander called into Moldauia by the Boyers.

The Boyers which escaped from this defeat, knowing that there was no hope of mercie in *Stephano*, who was full of reuenge; nor by consequence any safetie in Moldauia during his gouernment, they resolued to haue recourse vnto the princesse (widow to *Ieremie*) who had fled into Polonia when as she receiued newes of the taking of her sonne *Constantine*. This Princesse vnderstanding from the Boyers of the tyrannous gouernement of *Stephano*, and that most of the Moldauians were resolued to shake off the yoke of his tyrannie, and desired to haue prince *Alexander* in his place, remembring the good vsage they had receiued from the deceased prince *Ieremie* his father. These considerations, together with a desire of command vnder her sonne (who was then but sixteen yeares old) were strong motiues to perswade both her and her sonne to embrace this occasion, the which they imparted to prince *Visinouiskie* sonne in law to the princesse; and to prince *Correskie*, who at that time aspired to marrie her yongest daughter: These princes not onely allowed of [illegible]design, but they offered themselues willingly to accompanie Prince *Alexander* into Mol[illegible]and to take the whole care of his armie. This resolution beeing taken they presently emp[illegible]ll their credit to leuie men, and had within lesse than two months drawn together ten or twelue thousand foot and horse, Polonians, Cossacks and Transyluanians: whereof the Vayuod *Stephano* being aduertised, he presently leuied what forces he could, of Moldauians, Tartarians and Valachians, hauing drawne together an armie of almost 20000 men, which hee kept about Yas, and there resolued to attend the princes of Polonia.

The fort of Cochina yeelded vnto prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* beeing aduanced with his armie within two leagues of Caminithe in Podolia, hee was much troubled to passe the riuer of Niestre, which diuides that Countrey from Moldauia, fearing the fort of Cochina, in the which there was a strong garrison of Moldauians, and store of munition to defend the passage of the said riuer: but it fell out happily for Prince *Alexander*; for the Captaine which commaunded in the said fort, beeing much discontented at the cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, came voluntarily of himselfe to offer his seruice to *Alexander*, and brought him the keyes of the fort, leauing all to his disposition; so as hee past his armie easily into Moldauia, and in signe of joy discharged many vollies of his great ordnance, which made *Stephano* distrust the affections of the Moldauians, and to feele a pricking in his conscience, which doth neuer abandon tyrants and vsurpers.

1500 Tartarians defeated by the Cossackes.

Prince *Alexander* making some stay with his armie at Cochina in the yeare 1615, aduanced towards Yas, and being come within halfe a daies journey, he sent forth eight hundred Cossackes (chosen out of a great number) to discouer the countenance of his enemies armie: but they were not farre aduanced, before they encountered 1500 Tartarians, sent by *Stephano*

Stephano to giue some charge to the Polonians. Although the Cossackes were fewer in number, yet finding the Tartarians in disorder, they charged them so resolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the rest to rout. After which exploit they brought word to Prince *Alexander*, that *Stephano's* army might be about the number of fifteen thousand men; but they were such as were gathered vp in the country, and not trained vp to armes, who were rather drawne to it by constraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy successe, together with the report made by the Cossackes, did greatly encourage *Alexanders* army, being also much incensed against *Stephano* for certaine letters which he had written to their Prince, full of threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercie, the which did the more encourage the Polonians, and made them resolue rather to die fighting, than to fall into the hands of this cruell tyrant. The same day there came certain deputies of the Moldauians to Prince *Alexander*, without the priuitie of *Stephano*, to know what his designe was, and to intreat him to take pittie of Moldauia, which was threatned with a speedie ruine, if the war continued any longer; to whom the Prince made answer, That his intent was not to oppresse Moldauia, but to free it from the tyrannie of *Stephano*; that he had beene inuited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come vnto him into Polonia to that end, and had giuen him assurance, that it was the common desire of the Moldauians. That vpon this confidence he had marched with what forces he could draw together, and that if he did preuaile in his designes (as he assured himselfe with their assistance) he would gouerne them with no lesse mildnesse than his father Prince *Iermie* had done, whose sonne and lawfull successor he was. The deputies returned well satisfied with this answer, and hauing published it in diuers places, many Moldauians came and ioyned with the Prince his armie, and assisted him faithfully in this action.

Deputies sent from the Moldauians to Prince Alexander.

In October Prince *Alexander* aduancing about three leagues with his armie, hee made a stand in a faire Champian where there were good Springs to refresh them, and in the meane time he called a Councell at warre, to resolue what course he should take, and when he should draw the enemie to fight. In the meane time hee had sent a troupe of Cossackes to discouer the armie; who brought word that they were ranged in battell, and that they had twenty cannons readie in front, the which did not much amaze Prince *Alexander*, for that some dayes before, the Generall of *Stephano's* artillerie had sent to assure him, that if hee gaue battell, hee would annoy his men, as little as hee could, hauing a desire to serue the Prince, and by this means be reuenged of *Stephano*, who had caused his brother in lawes head to be cut off, vpon a false suspect which hee had conceiued against him beeing innocent. The which should teach Princes, that nothing doth procure them more secret enemies than crueltie, and that at one time or other they in whom they most relie abandon them when as they least expect it. The Vayuod *Stephano* meaning to make a second discouerie of the Princes armie, sent 1200 Tartarians, and two or three hundred Moldauians, who being seene a far off (for that it was in a plain champaine) the Prince sent 500 Cossacks with 400 Polonian lances to encounter them: The Tartarians perceiuing it, made a shew at the first as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from their camp; and being about a league off, they made a stand, thinking that they durst not charge them: but they were soone deceiued, for the Polonians fell vpon the Tartarians with such furie, as they ouerthrew them, and slew most of them, so as there escaped not aboue fiue or six hundred, who retiring to their campe caused a great amasement. The Princes armie was much encouraged by this exploit, and increased daily in number, as it is vsuall in ciuill war to follow that partie which hath the first aduanced.

The Generall of Stephano's artillerie resolues to betray him.

A second defeat of Stephano's Tartarians

Presently after this execution, the Prince meaning to aduance his armie towards the enemies campe, his foreward was stayed by a battalion of one thousand horse, who had the night before seised vpon a narrow passage, betwixt a poole and a marish, by the which they knew the Polonian armie must passe: but this obstacle was soone taken away, by the aduice which was giuen by certaine Moldauians, to send a companie of horsemen by a way vnknowne to the enemie, by which meanes they might surprise them behinde, before they should be discouered. The execution of this stratagem was giuen to the Cossacks, who speedily went, being guided by certaine Moldauians; who comming within 50 paces of the enemie vndiscouered, they charged them, & were seconded so fitly by the forward, that staid on the

1000 of Stephano's horse defeated.

in the countrey, both for that they supported *Constantine*, as for the jealousie he had of them, being best able to resist his tyrannous designes: beeing also the common disposition of such as vsurpe any estate by wicked practises, to be alwaies in feare to be dispossessed, and to be entreated according to their merits. Hee began first with the Lord of Botacan brother to the Princesse widow to *Ieremie*, whom he caused with two others of the chiefe noblemen to be miserably and inhumanely empailed, as if they had been two notable theeues and murderers; and not content [illegible] hee caused threescore and fifteene Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their heads, [illegible] would not pardon any one, notwithstanding the great instance that was made by their kinsfolkes; charging them with the crime of treason, as if they had conspired against his person, hauing no proofe at all: but these his cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had persuaded himselfe; but contrariwise they were the more incensed, and many of them tooke armes openly, and had then seised [illegible] him, beene reuenged of his cruelties, and set their countrey at libertie (which had not beene ruined as it was afterwards) if hee had not beene assisted by the citisens of Yas; whome hee conjured to second him in this occasion, promising them immunites of all subsidies: In regard of which promise, these poore wretches preferring their priuat profit before their pulique safetie, employed themselues in the seruice of this tyrant, and fought valiantly against the Boyers, who were come to assault him in the citie of Yas; But finding that hee was better assisted than they expected; after some light skirmish they retired as well as they could, whereof many were taken prisoners, whom the tyrant caused to be slai[illegible] in cold bloud, or empailed to terrifie the rest.

The noblemen reuolt against Stephano.

Prince Alexander called into Moldauia by the Boyers.

The Boyers which escaped from this defeat, knowing that there was no hope of mercie in *Stephano*, who was full of reuenge; nor by consequence any safetie in Moldauia during his gouernment, they resolued to haue recourse vnto the princesse (widow to *Ieremie*) who had fled into Polonia when as she receiued newes of the taking of her sonne *Constantine*. This Princesse vnderstanding from the Boyers of the tyrannous gouernement of *Stephano*, and that most of the Moldauians were resolued to shake off the yoke of his tyrannie, and desired to haue prince *Alexander* in his place, remembring the good vsage they had receiued from the deceased prince *Ieremie* his father. These considerations, together with a desire of command vnder her sonne (who was then but sixteen yeares old) were strong motiues to perswade both her and her sonne to embrace this occasion, the which they imparted to prince *Visinouiskie* sonne in law to the princesse; and to prince *Correskie*, who at that time aspired to marrie her yongest daughter: These princes not onely allowed of [illegible] designe, but they offered themselues willingly to accompanie Prince *Alexander* into Mole[illegible] and to take the whole care of his armie. This resolution beeing taken they presently empl[illegible]ll their credit to leuie men, and had within lesse than two months drawn together ten or twelue thousand foot and horse, Polonians, Cossacks and Transyluanians: whereof the Vayuod *Stephano* being aduertised, he presently leuied what forces he could, of Moldauians, Tartarians and Valachians, hauing drawne together an armie of almost 20000 men, which hee kept about Yas, and there resolued to attend the princes of Polonia.

The fort of Cochina yeelded vnto prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* beeing aduanced with his armie within two leagues of Caminithe in Podolia, hee was much troubled to passe the riuer of Niestre, which diuides that Countrey from Moldauia, fearing the fort of Cochina, in the which there was a strong garrison of Moldauians, and store of munition to defend the passage of the said riuer: but it fell out happily for Prince *Alexander*; for the Captaine which commaunded in the said fort, beeing much discontented at the cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, came voluntarily of himselfe to offer his seruice to *Alexander*, and brought him the keyes of the fort, leauing all to his disposition; so as hee past his armie easily into Moldauia, and in signe of joy discharged many vollies of his great ordnance, which made *Stephano* distrust the affections of the Moldauians, and to feele a pricking in his conscience, which doth neuer abandon tyrants and vsurpers.

1500 Tartarians defeated by the Cossackes.

Prince *Alexander* making some stay with his armie at Cochina in the yeare 1615, aduanced towards Yas, and being come within halfe a daies journey, he sent forth eight hundred Cossackes (chosen out of a great number) to discouer the countenance of his enemies armie: but they were not farre aduanced, before they encountered 1500 Tartarians, sent by *Stephano*

Stephano to giue some charge to the Polonians. Although the Cossackes were fewer in number, yet finding the Tartarians in disorder, they charged them so resolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the rest to rout. After which exploit they brought word to Prince *Alexander*, that *Stephano's* army might be about the number of fifteen thousand men; but they were such as were gathered vp in the country, and not trained vp to armes, who were rather drawne to it by constraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy successe, together with the report made by the Cossackes, did greatly encourage *Alexanders* army, being also much incensed against *Stephano* for certaine letters which he had written to their Prince, full of threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercie, the which did the more encourage the Polonians, and made them resolue rather to die fighting, than to fall into the hands of this cruell tyrant. The same day there came certain deputies of the Moldauians to Prince *Alexander*, without the priuitie of *Stephano*, to know what his designe was, and to intreat him to take pittie of Moldauia, which was threatned with a speedie ruine, if the war continued any longer; to whom the Prince made answer, That his intent was not to oppresse Moldauia, but to free it from the tyrannie of *Stephano*; that he had beene inuited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come vnto him into Polonia to that end, and had giuen him assurance, that it was the common desire of the Moldauians. That vpon this confidence he had marched with what forces he could draw together, and that if he did preuaile in his designes (as he assured himselfe with their assistance) he would gouerne them with no lesse mildnesse than his father Prince *Iermie* had done, whose sonne and lawfull successor he was. The deputies returned well satisfied with this answer, and hauing published it in diuers places, many Moldauians came and ioyned with the Prince his armie, and assisted him faithfully in this action.

Deputies sent from the Moldauians to Prince Alexander.

In October Prince *Alexander* aduancing about three leagues with his armie, hee made a stand in a faire Champian where there were good Springs to refresh them, and in the meane time he called a Councell at warre, to resolue what course he should take, and when he should draw the enemie to fight. In the meane time hee had sent a troupe of Cossackes to discouer the armie; who brought word that they were ranged in battell, and that they had twenty cannons readie in front, the which did not much amaze Prince *Alexander*, for that some dayes before, the Generall of *Stephano's* artillerie had sent to assure him, that if hee gaue battell, hee would annoy his men, as little as hee could, hauing a desire to serue the Prince, and by this means be reuenged of *Stephano*, who had caused his brother in lawes head to be cut off, vpon a false suspect which hee had conceiued against him beeing innocent. The which should teach Princes, that nothing doth procure them more secret enemies than crueltie, and that at one time or other they in whom they most relie abandon them when as they least expect it. The Vayuod *Stephano* meaning to make a second discouerie of the Princes armie, sent 1200 Tartarians, and two or three hundred Moldauians, who being seene a far off (for that it was in a plain champaine) the Prince sent 500 Cossacks with 400 Polonian lances to encounter them: The Tartarians perceiuing it, made a shew at the first as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from their camp; and being about a league off, they made a stand, thinking that they durst not charge them: but they were soone deceiued, for the Polonians fell vpon the Tartarians with such furie, as they ouerthrew them, and slew most of them, so as there escaped not aboue fiue or six hundred, who retiring to their campe caused a great amasement. The Princes armie was much encouraged by this exploit, and increased daily in number, as it is vsuall in ciuill war to follow that partie which hath the first aduanced.

The Generall of Stephano's artillerie resolues to betray him.

A second defeat of Stephano's Tartarians.

Presently after this execution, the Prince meaning to aduance his armie towards the enemies campe, his foreward was stayed by a battalion of one thousand horse, who had the night before seised vpon a narrow passage, betwixt a poole and a marish, by the which they knew the Polonian armie must passe: but this obstacle was soone taken away, by the aduice which was giuen by certaine Moldauians, to send a companie of horsemen by a way vnknowne to the enemie, by which meanes they might surprise them behinde, before they should be discouered. The execution of this stratagem was giuen to the Cossacks, who speedily went, being guided by certaine Moldauians; who comming within 50 paces of the enemie vndiscouered, they charged them, & were seconded so fitly by the forward, that staid on the

1000 of Stephano's horse defeated.

the other side; as of one thousand horse there returned not aboue fiftie to their campe, to car- G
rie newes of their bad successe.

Prince *Alexander* hauing happily opened this passage, he aduanced with his armie within cannon shot of *Stephano's* campe. Prince *Visnouiskie* was of opinion, that they should make a kinde of inclosure with their carts, which might serue them as a fort, hauing no place of retreat within ten leagues: the which being discouered by *Stephano*, hee shot certaine vollies of cannon thr[illegible] there were some souldiers slaine, and some hurt: and the Prince answered him with the like, but to small effect, for that night surprised them, neither had they aboue eight small pieces. Prince *Visnouiskie* spent the night to encourage his souldiers, letting them vnderstand that they had no reason to be amased, although their enemies were more in number, for that most of them were peasants, neuer trained vp in H
armes nor seene battell; whereof they had had good proofe in many encounters, where they had euer beene victors ouer their enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were so many testimonies and assurances that God did fight for them, and would vse them to punish the tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his cruelties against Moldauia. Finally, if they were victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their duties) there was not any one but should returne loaden with rich spoyles and recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did so encourage the souldiers, as they protested all with one voice, rather to die than to faile of their duties. Moreouer the Princes gaue the Collonels and Captaines to vnderstand of the intelligence they had with the Generall of *Stephano's* artillerie, wherewith they were much comforted.

Prince Visnouiskie incourageth his souldiers.

The disposition of the two armies.

The next day beeing the eleuenth of October, they began to put their armies in battell, I
during the which there were diuers skirmishes, wherein *Alexanders* partie had still the aduantage; so as it seemed they were so many presages of good Fortune which should befall them that day. The Princes armie was ordered by *Visnouiskie*, to whome Prince *Alexander* had giuen the charge of Generall, as most capable, hauing sundrie times giuen sufficient proofes of his sufficiencie and valour in other battels. This Generall seeing *Stephano's* horsemen diuided into three squadrons, and the Tartarians most aduanced, hee appointed the Cossackes to encounter with them: the which was iudiciously and discreetly done, for they both goe freely to the charge, neither are they couered with any armes, but onely with the skinnes of certaine beastes, wherewith they make themselues to seeme as fearefull as K
they can, obseruing no order in their fighting, and vsing cries which are fearefull to such as are not accustomed vnto them; and beeing once broken, they seldome returne againe to the charge. The Polonian Lanciers called in their language Houssarskie, being about one thousand and fiue hundred men well armed made the second battalion of *Alexanders* armie, led by Prince *Coreskie*, and were placed on the right hand against 3000 Tartarian, Valachian, and Moldauian horsemen. The Hungarian foot beeing about 3000 men were in the middest of prince *Alexanders* armie, with the cannon, vpon a little hill of some aduantage; and on the left hand was the rest of the Chaualrie, who were led by the princes *Alexander* and *Visnouiskie*; and the baggage was a little behinde the foot in the campe where they had lodged the night before. L

The battell betwixt prince Alexander and the Vayuod Stephano.

The tyrant *Stephano* hauing disposed his armie into diuers squadrons, began about nine of the clocke in the morning to play with his cannon vpon *Alexanders* armie, who found that the Generall of the Artillerie had kept his promise, for most of the bullets flew ouer his men and hurt them not; vpon which confidence hee commaunded the Cossackes to charge the Tartarians which were aduanced, whom they soone defeated. At the same instant two thousand light horse gaue charge to the Hungarian footmen which guarded *Stephano's* cannon, and in an instant cut most of them in pieces, and the rest yeelded themselues; so as *Alexander* became master of his cannon. The tyrant seeing his Infanterie in danger to be defeated, and his cannon lost, caused a battalion of three thousand Valachian and Moldauian horsemen to aduance, who without doubt had recouered the cannon, but the gene- M
rous Prince *Coreskie* with his Polonian Launciers charged them so furiously in the flanke, as that they slew almost the one halfe of them vpon the place, and put the rest that remained to rout. Presently after this followed another squadron, the which *Coreskie* perceiuing, he

A hee wisely retired towards his campe, seeing his men wearied and tyred with the slaughter of their enemies, and not able to maintaine the fight without some rest. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Visnouiskie* who was his faithfull guide, with the rest of his horsemen to encounter this last battalion of the enemie, whereunto they went with greater courage, for that they were assured the Vayuod *Stephano* was there present; which charge continued for the space of a quarter of an houre, during which time Prince *Coreskie* had leasure to take breath, and to gather together what possibly hee could of those of his partie, to succour them that were then in fight, who were almost tyred, and Prince *Alexander* farre engaged. But seeing these vnexpected succours, hee and his men recouered their forces, and their enemies were so much amased at it, as that all them that remained aliue were put to rout B and fled.

Stephano's army defeated.

The flight of Stephano.

But *Stephano* (being naturally a coward) apprehending blowes, had retired himselfe to the rest of his footmen, who had not yet come to fight, making a shew that he would rather die with them than flie away; but seeing the euent of this last charge, and his horsemen all in rout, hee soone resolued to saue himselfe by flight, hauing neuer giuen one stroke in this battell. The footmen which remained being about foure thousand men, seeing the successe of the battell, yeelded to the mercie of the victors, and cryed out, God saue *Alexander* Vayuod of Moldauia. The day of the victorie Prince *Alexander* made his entrie into the citie of Yas, hauing the Princes *Coreskie* and *Visnouiskie* on either side, after whome followed his whole armie. Entering into the Castle hee was there proclaimed Prince and C Vayuod of Moldauia by all the Nobles and Boyers of the Countrey, the which hee would neuer accept vntill that time. The next day Prince *Alexander* vnderstanding that a great number of the chiefest of the enhabitants of Yas were fled into the mountaines and forrests to attend the euents of these troubles, hee sent certaine Boyers to inuite them to returne backe againe (with all assurance) to their houses, causing part of his armie to dislodge, and to bee quartered in the Countrey thereabouts; and there were one thousand and fiue hundred foot, and fiue hundred horse (vnder the leading of Prince *Coreskie*) sent to the Citie of Vasselloy, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might returne backe againe into Moldauia. As for the Artillerie, some were sent into Polonia, and some were put into the fort of Cochina, the which is as it were the Arsenall of Mol- D dauia.

Alexander proclaimed prince of Moldauia.

Embassadours sent by Prince Alexander to the Grand Seignior.

At the same time Prince *Alexander* knowing that it was no lesse glorie to preserue than to get, hee called the chiefe Noblemen of his Court to counsell, to resolue what was fit to doe to maintaine him in his estate, which he had newly gotten by the sword: where it was concluded among other things, that hee should speedily send an Embassadour to the Graund Seignior, to let him vnderstand that hee had neuer any intent to take armes against his Maiestie, nor to withdraw Moldauia from his obedience; but that hee had been sought vnto beeing in Polonia, and enuited by the Boyers of Moldauia, for the vnspeakable cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, who had resolued to root out the Nobilitie of the said Countrey, hauing put many of the chiefe to death without any occasion. They E had also charge to giue the Sultan to vnderstand, That when his Maiestie aduanced *Stephano* to be Vayuod of Moldauia, hee had falsely suggested that hee was sonne to a prince of Moldauia; that hee was not truely aduertised by his Bassaes and Counsellours, that his predecessour had promised to the deceased father of Prince *Alexander*, and to prince *Simeon* his vncle, that after his decease his sonnes should succeed him in the said estate, if they shewed not themselues vnworthie, and did pay the yearely tribute of fortie thousand Chequines, which tribute since the death of *Ieremie* had been offered by prince *Constantine* his eldest sonne, to *Houssine Aga*, when as hee was sent to settle the said *Stephano*: as also that Prince *Alexander* promised to pay it hereafter; and if need should be, he would giue prince *Bougdan* his brother as a sure and certaine pledge for the performance of his promises during F the first yeare.

Embassadours sent by Prince Alexander to the Grand Seignior.

Prince Alexanders Embassadours put to death by Stephano.

The Embassadours hauing receiued these instructions, they tooke their journey speedily to Constantinople: But in stead of passing through Thrace which was their direct- est course, they were forced to goe by Transyluania, fearing to bee hindered by the men of

the other side; as of one thousand horse there returned not aboue fiftie to their campe, to carrie newes of their bad successe. G

Prince *Alexander* hauing happily opened this passage, he aduanced with his armie within cannon shot of *Stephano's* campe. Prince *Visnouiskie* was of opinion, that they should make a kinde of inclosure with their carts, which might serue them as a fort, hauing no place of retreat within ten leagues: the which being discouered by *Stephano*, hee shot certaine vollies of cannon through [illegible], so as there were some souldiers slaine, and some hurt: and the Prince answered him with the like, but to small effect, for that night surprised them, neither had they aboue eight small pieces. Prince *Visnouiskie* spent the night to encourage his souldiers, letting them vnderstand that they had no reason to be amased, although their enemies were more in number, for that most of them were peasants, neuer trained vp in armes nor seene battell; whereof they had had good proofe in many encounters, where they had euer beene victors ouer their enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were so many testimonies and assurances that God did fight for them, and would vse them to punish the tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his cruelties against Moldauia. Finally, if they were victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their duties) there was not any one but should returne loaden with rich spoyles and recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did so encourage the souldiers, as they protested all with one voice, rather to die than to faile of their duties. Moreouer the Princes gaue the Collonels and Captaines to vnderstand of the intelligence they had with the Generall of *Stephano's* artillerie, wherewith they were much comforted. H

Prince Visnouiskie incourageth his souldiers.

The disposition of the two armies.

The next day beeing the eleuenth of October, they began to put their armies in battell, during the which there were diuers skirmishes, wherein *Alexanders* partie had still the aduantage; so as it seemed they were so many presages of good Fortune which should befall them that day. The Princes armie was ordered by *Visnouiskie*, to whome Prince *Alexander* had giuen the charge of Generall, as most capable, hauing sundrie times giuen sufficient proofes of his sufficiencie and valour in other battels. This Generall seeing *Stephano's* horsemen diuided into three squadrons, and the Tartarians most aduanced, hee appointed the Coffackes to encounter with them: the which was iudiciously and discreetly done, for they both goe freely to the charge, neither are they couered with any armes, but onely with the skinnes of certaine beastes, wherewith they make themselues to seeme as fearefull as they can, obseruing no order in their fighting, and vsing cries which are fearefull to such as are not accustomed vnto them; and beeing once broken, they seldome returne againe to the charge. The Polonian Lanciers called in their language Houssarskie, being about one thousand and fiue hundred men well armed, made the second battalion of *Alexanders* armie, led by Prince *Coreskie*, and were placed on the right hand against 3000 Tartarian, Valachian, and Moldauian horsemen. The Hungarian foot beeing about 3000 men were in the middest of prince *Alexanders* armie, with the cannon, vpon a little hill of some aduantage; and on the left hand was the rest of the Chaualrie, who were led by the princes *Alexander* and *Visnouiskie*; and the baggage was a little behinde the foot in the campe where they had lodged the night before. I K

The battell betwixt prince Alexander and the Vayuod Stephano.

The tyrant *Stephano* hauing disposed his armie into diuers squadrons, began about nine of the clocke in the morning to play with his cannon vpon *Alexanders* armie, who found that the Generall of the Artillerie had kept his promise, for most of the bullets flew ouer his men and hurt them not; vpon which confidence hee commaunded the Cossackes to charge the Tartarians which were aduanced, whom they soone defeared. At the same instant two thousand light horse gaue charge to the Hungarian footmen which guarded *Stephano's* cannon, and in an instant cut most of them in pieces, and the rest yeelded themselues; so as *Alexander* became master of his cannon. The tyrant seeing his Infanterie in danger to be defeated, and his cannon lost, caused a battalion of three thousand Valachian and Moldauian horsemen to aduance, who without doubt had recouered the cannon, but the generous Prince *Coreskie* with his Polonian Launciers charged them so furiously in the flanke, as that they slew almost the one halfe of them vpon the place, and put the rest that remained to rout. Presently after this followed another squadron, the which *Coreskie* perceiuing, he L M

A hee wisely retired towards his campe, seeing his men wearied and tyred with the slaughter of their enemies, and not able to maintaine the fight without some rest. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Visnouiskie* who was his faithfull guide, with the rest of his horsemen to encounter this last battalion of the enemie, whereunto they went with greater courage, for that they were assured the Vayuod *Stephano* was there present; which charge continued for the space of a quarter of an houre, during which time Prince *Coreskie* had leasure to take breath, and to gather together what possibly hee could of those of his partie, to succour them that were then in fight, who were almost tyred, and Prince *Alexander* farre engaged. But seeing these vnexpected succours, hee and his men recouered their forces, and their enemies were so much amased at it, as that all them that remained aliue were put to rout *Stephano's army defeated.*

B and fled.

But *Stephano* (being naturally a coward) apprehending blowes, had retired himselfe to the rest of his footmen, who had not yet come to fight, making a shew that he would rather die with them than flie away; but seeing the euent of this last charge, and his horsemen all in rout, hee soone resolued to saue himselfe by flight, hauing neuer giuen one stroke in this battell. The footmen which remained being about foure thousand men, seeing the successe of the battell, yeelded to the mercie of the victors, and cryed out, God saue *Alexander* Vayuod of Moldauia. The day of the victorie Prince *Alexander* made his entrie into the citie of Yas, hauing the Princes *Coreskie* and *Visnouiskie* on either side, after whome followed his whole armie. Entering into the Castle hee was there proclaimed Prince and *The flight of Stephano.*

C Vayuod of Moldauia by all the Nobles and Boyers of the Countrey, the which hee would neuer accept vntill that time. The next day Prince *Alexander* vnderstanding that a great number of the chiefest of the enhabitants of Yas were fled into the mountaines and forrests to attend the euents of these troubles, hee sent certaine Boyers to inuite them to returne backe againe (with all assurance) to their houses, causing part of his armie to dislodge, and to bee quartered in the Countrey thereabouts; and there were one thousand and fiue hundred foot, and fiue hundred horse (vnder the leading of Prince *Coreskie*) sent to the Citie of Vasselloy, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might returne backe againe into Moldauia. As for the Artillerie, some were sent into Polonia, and some were put into the fort of Cochina, the which is as it were the Arsenall of Mol- *Alexander proclaimed prince of Moldauia.*

D dauia.

At the same time Prince *Alexander* knowing that it was no lesse glorie to preserue than to get, hee called the chiefe Noblemen of his Court to counsell, to resolue what was fit to doe to maintaine him in his estate, which he had newly gotten by the sword: where it was concluded among other things, that hee should speedily send an Embassadour to the Graund Seignior, to let him vnderstand that hee had neuer any intent to take armes against his Maiestie, nor to withdraw Moldauia from his obedience; but that hee had been sought vnto beeing in Polonia, and enuited by the Boyers of Moldauia, for the vnspeakable cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, who had resolued to root out the Nobilitie of the said Countrey, hauing put many of the chiefe to death without any occation. They E had also charge to giue the Sultan to vnderstand, That when his Maiestie aduanced *Stephano* to be Vayuod of Moldauia, hee had falsely suggested that hee was sonne to a prince of Moldauia; that hee was not truely aduertised by his Bassaes and Counsellours, that his predecessour had promised to the deceased father of Prince *Alexander*, and to prince *Simeon* his vncle, that after his decease his sonnes should succeed him in the said estate, if they shewed not themselues vnworthie, and did pay the yearely tribute of fortie thousand Chequines, which tribute since the death of *Ieremie* had been offered by prince *Constantine* his eldest sonne, to *Houssine Aga*, when as hee was sent to settle the said *Stephano*: as also that Prince *Alexander* promised to pay it hereafter; and if need should be, he would giue prince *Bougdan* his brother as a sure and certaine pledge for the performance of his promises during F the first yeare. *Embassadours sent by Prince Alexander to the Grand Seignior.*

The Embassadours hauing receiued these instructions, they tooke their journey speedily to Constantinople: But in stead of passing through Thrace which was their direct- est course, they were forced to goe by Transyluania, fearing to bee hindered by the men of *Stephano.* *Prince Alexanders Embassadours put to death by Stephano.*

the other side; as of one thousand horse there returned not aboue fiftie to their campe, to carrie newes of their bad successe.

Prince *Alexander* hauing happily opened this passage, he aduanced with his armie within cannon shot of *Stephano's* campe. Prince *Visnouiskie* was of opinion, that they should make a kinde of inclosure with their carts, which might serue them as a fort, hauing no place of retreat within ten leagues: the which being discouered by *Stephano*, hee shot certaine vollies of cannon thr[illegible] there were some souldiers slaine, and some hurt: and the Prince answered him with the like, but to small effect, for that night surprised them, neither had they aboue eight small pieces. Prince *Visnouiskie* spent the night to encourage his souldiers, letting them vnderstand that they had no reason to be amased, although their enemies were more in number, for that most of them were peasants, neuer trained vp in armes nor seene battell; whereof they had had good proofe in many encounters, where they had euer beene victors ouer their enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were so many testimonies and assurances that God did fight for them, and would vse them to punish the tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his cruelties against Moldauia. Finally, if they were victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their duties) there was not any one but should returne loaden with rich spoyles and recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did so encourage the souldiers, as they protested all with one voice, rather to die than to faile of their duties. Moreouer the Princes gaue the Collonels and Captaines to vnderstand of the intelligence they had with the Generall of *Stephano's* artillerie, wherewith they were much comforted.

Prince Visnouiskie incourageth his souldiers.

The disposition of the two armies.

The next day beeing the eleuenth of October, they began to put their armies in battell, during the which there were diuers skirmishes, wherein *Alexanders* partie had still the aduantage; so as it seemed they were so many presages of good Fortune which should befall them that day. The Princes armie was ordered by *Visnouiskie*, to whome Prince *Alexander* had giuen the charge of Generall, as most capable, hauing sundrie times giuen sufficient proofes of his sufficiencie and valour in other battels. This Generall seeing *Stephano's* horsemen diuided into three squadrons, and the Tartarians most aduanced, hee appointed the Cossackes to encounter with them: the which was iudiciously and discreetly done, for they both goe freely to the charge, neither are they couered with any armes, but onely with the skinnes of certaine beastes, wherewith they make themselues to seeme as fearefull as they can, obseruing no order in their fighting, and vsing cries which are fearefull to such as are not accustomed vnto them; and beeing once broken, they seldome returne againe to the charge. The Polonian Lanciers called in their language Houssarskie, being about one thousand and fiue hundred men well armed, made the second battalion of *Alexanders* armie, led by Prince *Coreskie*, and were placed on the right hand against 3000 Tartarian, Valachian, and Moldauian horsemen. The Hungarian foot beeing about 3000 men were in the middest of prince *Alexanders* armie, with the cannon, vpon a little hill of some aduantage; and on the left hand was the rest of the Chaualrie, who were led by the princes *Alexander* and *Visnouiskie*; and the baggage was a little behinde the foot in the campe where they had lodged the night before.

The battell betwixt prince Alexander and the Vayuod Stephano.

The tyrant *Stephano* hauing disposed his armie into diuers squadrons, began about nine of the clocke in the morning to play with his cannon vpon *Alexanders* armie, who found that the Generall of the Artillerie had kept his promise, for most of the bullets flew ouer his men and hurt them not; vpon which confidence hee commaunded the Cossackes to charge the Tartarians which were aduanced, whom they soone defeared. At the same instant two thousand light horse gaue charge to the Hungarian footmen which guarded *Stephano's* cannon, and in an instant cut most of them in pieces, and the rest yeelded themselues; so as *Alexander* became master of his cannon. The tyrant seeing his Infanterie in danger to be defeated, and his cannon lost, caused a battalion of three thousand Valachian and Moldauian horsemen to aduance, who without doubt had recouered the cannon, but the generous Prince *Coreskie* with his Polonian Launciers charged them so furiously in the flanke, as that they slew almost the one halfe of them vpon the place, and put the rest that remained to rout. Presently after this followed another squadron, the which *Coreskie* perceiuing, he

A hee wisely retired towards his campe, seeing his men wearied and tyred with the slaughter of their enemies, and not able to maintaine the fight without some rest. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Visnouiskie* who was his faithfull guide, with the rest of his horsemen to encounter this last battalion of the enemie, whereunto they went with greater courage, for that they were assured the Vayuod *Stephano* was there present; which charge continued for the space of a quarter of an houre, during which time Prince *Coreskie* had leasure to take breath, and to gather together what possibly hee could of those of his partie, to succour them that were then in fight, who were almost tyred, and Prince *Alexander* farre engaged. But seeing these vnexpected succours, hee and his men recouered their forces, and their enemies were so much amased at it, as that all them that remained aliue were put to rout

Stephano's army defeated.

B and fled.

But *Stephano* (being naturally a coward) apprehending blowes, had retired himselfe to the rest of his footmen, who had not yet come to fight, making a shew that he would rather die with them than flie away; but seeing the euent of this last charge, and his horsemen all in rout, hee soone resolued to saue himselfe by flight, hauing neuer giuen one stroke in this battell. The footmen which remained being about foure thousand men, seeing the successe of the battell, yeelded to the mercie of the victors, and cryed out, God saue *Alexander* Vayuod of Moldauia. The day of the victorie Prince *Alexander* made his entrie into the citie of Yas, hauing the Princes *Coreskie* and *Visnouiskie* on either side, after whome followed his whole armie. Entering into the Castle hee was there proclaimed Prince and

The flight of Stephano.

Alexander proclaimed prince of Moldauia.

C Vayuod of Moldauia by all the Nobles and Boyers of the Countrey, the which hee would neuer accept vntill that time. The next day Prince *Alexander* vnderstanding that a great number of the chiefest of the enhabitants of Yas were fled into the mountaines and forrests to attend the euents of these troubles, hee sent certaine Boyers to inuite them to returne backe againe (with all assurance) to their houses, causing part of his armie to dislodge, and to bee quartered in the Countrey thereabouts; and there were one thousand and fiue hundred foot, and fiue hundred horse (vnder the leading of Prince *Coreskie*) sent to the Citie of Vassilloy, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might returne backe againe into Moldauia. As for the Artillerie, some were sent into Polonia, and some were put into the fort of Cochina, the which is as it were the Arsenall of Mol-

D dauia.

At the same time Prince *Alexander* knowing that it was no lesse glorie to preserue than to get, hee called the chiefe Noblemen of his Court to counsell, to resolue what was fit to doe to maintaine him in his estate, which he had newly gotten by the sword: where it was concluded among other things, that hee should speedily send an Embassadour to the Graund Seigniour, to let him vnderstand that hee had neuer any intent to take armes against his Maiestie, nor to withdraw Moldauia from his obedience; but that hee had been sought vnto beeing in Polonia, and enuited by the Boyers of Moldauia, for the vnspeakable cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, who had resolued to roor out the Nobilitie of the said Countrey, hauing put many of the chiefe to death without any occasion. They had also charge to giue the Sultan to vnderstand, That when his Maiestie aduanced *Ste-*

Embassadours sent by Prince Alexander to the Grand Seignior.

E *phano* to be Vayuod of Moldauia, hee had falsely suggested that hee was sonne to a prince of Moldauia; that hee was not truely aduertised by his Bassaes and Counsellours, that his predecessour had promised to the deceased father of Prince *Alexander*, and to prince [illegible] on his vncle, that after his decease his sonnes should succeed him in the said estate. If they shewed not themselues vnworthie, and did pay the yearely tribute of fortie thousand Chequines, which tribute since the death of *Ieremie* had been offered by prince *Constantine* his eldest sonne, to *Houssine Aga*, when as hee was sent to settle the said *Stephano* as also that Prince *Alexander* promised to pay it hereafter; and if need should be, he would giue prince *Bougdan* his brother as a sure and certaine pledge for the performance of his promise during

F the first yeare.

The Embassadours hauing receiued these instructions, they tooke their journey [illegible] to Constantinople: But in stead of passing through Thrace which was their direct[illegible]est course, they were forced to goe by Tranlyuania, fearing [illegible]

of warre which then troubled all Thrace. Comming to Buda they went to salute the Bassa which commanded there, who beeing a speciall friend to *Stephano*, put them in prison, violating the law of Nations obserued by the most barbarous; and afterwards he sent them to Braille whither the tyrant *Stephano* had fled. They say he gaue 15000 Chequinos in recompence to the Bassa, and to reuenge himselfe in some sort of Prince *Alexander* in the persons of his Embassadours, hee caused their heads to be cut off one night after supper, and their bodies to be cast into the Danowe. The death of these Embassadours were verie preiudiciall to prince *Alexander*, by means whereof the Grand Seignior was not truly aduertised of what had past in Moldauia; nor receiued the complements, offers, and submission, of prince *Alexander*, so as hee was wonderfully insenced against him, and sware his ruine, as you shall heare hereafter.

Stephano returnes into Moldauia.

Stephano hauing receiued foure thousand men from *Michna* prince of Va[illegible], and gathered together the reliques of his scattered armie, he marched toward Va[illegible]nia; whereof prince *Alexander* beeing aduertised, hee sent prince *Coreskie* with six thousand horse Polonians and Cossackes to Ticouch a strong frontier Towne, to guard that passage: And prince *Alexander* and *Visnouiskie*, they stayed at Yas with the rest of the armie to preserue the Countrey, and to preuent all alterations in fauour of *Stephano*; who had some intelligencers. Within few dayes after, the prince had newes that the Inhabitants of Horreoua (a Countrey in Moldauia containing about fifteene or sixteeene French leagues in circuit) were in armes, and had joyned with a great troupe of Tartarians to come and inuest him, knowing well that prince *Coreskie* was otherwise emplo[illegible] with part of the Polonian armie. *Alexander* stayed not to haue these Rebels come [illegible] as; but sent *Visnouiskie* his brother in law with such forces as he could draw together to [illegible]ncounter with them. They met together within two leagues of the citie, where *Visnouiskie* charged the Tartarians with such furie, as halfe of them were slaine vpon the place, and the rest of them fled: there were a great number of prisoners taken, and all the poore inhabitants of Horreoua were brought vnto Yas in token of triumph. The dead being numbred, there were found about eight hundred Tartarians and others slaine, and of the Polonians onely fiftie, and some hundred hurt.

The inhabitants of Horreoua defeated, with the Tartarians.

Prince *Alexander* hauing receiued newes of this defeat, was wonderfully glad, and went presently to horseback with his companie of French, which hee had onely reserued about him, to goe and meet with *Visnouiskie*, and to congratulate his happie victorie. This beeing done with many complements and embracings, hee cast his eye vpon the poore inhabitants of Horreoua, whome they led [illegible] troupe of sheepe, and had such commiseration on them, as he presently sent them ba[illegible]gaine, hauing taken their oath of fidelitie, hoping that this his clemencie would draw th[illegible] factious to obedience, hauing formerly tried the oppressions of a most cruell prince. P[illegible]ce *Alexander* hauing giuen thankes to God for this new and vnexpected victorie, hee sent a Gentleman vnto prince *Coreskie*, to aduertise him thereof, who at the same instant was busie to dispose of his troupes to meet with *Stephano*, who returned into Moldauia. The encounter was in a plaine Champaine, hauing on the one side the riuer of Sirette, the which diuides Moldauia from Valachia: the skirmish continued from ten of the clocke vntill it was noone with like aduantage; but prince *Coreskie* beeing aduertised that *Stephano* was in a squadron of horse which was some two hundred paces distant from him; he joyned vnto his troupe foure hundred Gerbeys, who were well armed, and led by a verie valiant Captaine, with the which hee charged him with such violence and furie as he forced them to giue backe, yet fighting in such sort, as the euent seemed to be doubtfull: the which beeing discouered by another of the princes Captaines, who led a troupe of fiue hundred light horse: he came so fitly to succour him, as *Stephano* and his horsemen were forced to flie, whome the prince pursued and cut in pieces. *Stephano* escaped with a troupe which he had reserued rather for the guard of his person than to fight. Prince *Coreskie* at his returne from the chase of his enemies, caused the dead to be numbred, where he found that of *Stephano's* side were three thousand and foure hundred men slaine vpon the place, besides those that were prisoners and wounded; and of his part onely three hundred and fiftie.

[illegible]phano defeated the second time.

Presently

Presently after this victorie, the season of the yeare beeing cold (it beeing the twelfeth of Nouember) prince *Coreskie* put his troupes into garrison, and returned with one hundred and fiftie horse to Yas, where hee was receiued with much honour and ioy. The princesse mother to *Alexander*, was yet in Poland, but being aduertised of her sonnes fortunat successe, she returned to Yas, and brought with her Prince *Bougdan* her youngest sonne, with *Alexandrina* her daughter, who was yet to marrie. At whose arriuall there was great feasting and ioy; then they began to treat of a marriage betwixt prince *Coyaskie* and the princesse *Alexandrina*, the which had beene then consummated, if *Bellona* had not opposed it, stirring vp new and more powerfull armies than the precedent, to exercise the vertues and valours of the said princes, and to trie the patience of the two louers, who loued one another reciprocally from their youth.

A false alarme giuen to Alexander.

To continue the deduction of new affaires which troubled the quiet of the said princes more than euer, you must vnderstand that about the end of Nouember this yeare 1615 they were aduertised that *Michna* prince of Valachia with a Bassa called *Hebraim*, came against them with an armie of fortie thousand men, Turkes, Tartarians, and Valachians, to succour the Vayuod *Stephano*: and moreouer, that *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Transyluania, had charge from the Graund Seignior to arme against them, and to assaile them; which in effect was a false alarme; for the said Bassa had beene sent by the Graund Seignior to bring Caphtanes (which are robes of cloth of gold which the Graund Seignior doth vsually send in fauour to princes that are vnder his power) both to *Michna* and *Stephano*, who hee held to be in peaceable possession of Moldauia; but not with any armie, nor with an intent to make warre against the said princes; for hee was yet ignorant what had passed against *Stephano*.

An embassador from prince Alexander to prince Michna

Notwithstanding the princes holding this aduertisement to be true, assembled a Councell of the chiefe Noblemen in Court, where it was resolued, That an Embassadour should bee speedily sent to prince *Michna*, both to know his intent, and to discouer whether he marched toward Moldauia, and with what forces. This charge was giuen vnto a braue Gentleman of Polonia called *Boyartskie*, who parted presently from Yas, and beeing entered into Valachia, hee vnderstood that prince *Michna* was then in his towne of Bonza, some twentie French leagues distant from the frontiers of Moldauia. The Embassadour beeing arriued demanded audience before *Michna*, by whom he was sent vnto the Bassa, who at his first enterance (without hearing the subiect of his Embassage) demanded, who had made his master *Alexander* so bold, as to carrie armes in the Countrey of the Grand Seignior without his authoritie; for the which hee should be punished, and those that did assist him: commanding the Embassador presently to be put in yrons, as if he had beene a theefe or some miserable caitife. The Embassadors seruants seeing how they entreated their master, escaped as they could, fearing the like; who returning to Yas, enformed prince *Alexander* what had passed, assuring him that *Michna* had no armie readie, nor any intent to enter into Moldauia at that time. The Bassa disdaining to speake any more to the said Embassadour, he gaue charge to some of his officers to examine him particularly of all matters concerning *Alexander*, and what forces hee had: And within few daies after hee returned to Constantinople, leading the said Embassadour thither with him. But as soone as they were arriued, they sent the Embassadour vnto the Diuano, where hee was againe examined by a Visier, and in the end hee was condemned by him to the gallies there to remaine perpetually. So little accompt doe these barbarous people make, to violate the Law of Nations, especially with Christians, presuming that all the World should bow vnto them, as if they were Gods vpon earth.

Alexanders embassador put in prison by the Bassa.

Prince Alexander sends an Embassador to Bethlem Gabor

There was another Embassadour sent by prince *Alexander* vnto *Bethlem Gabor* who was prince of Transyluania, beeing at Fureuar or Alba Iulia, whome hee receiued verie courteously; to whome the Embassadour deliuered the subiect of his charge. That prince *Alexander* his master had beene aduertised that hee made some leuie of men to ioyne with *Michna* prince of Valachia, and to make warre against him; the which hee could not easily beleeue, for that hee had made profession of friendship to his deceased father, and had no cause now to leaue it; entreating and coniuring him, not to meddle in the affaires which hee had to decide with *Michna*; and that in requitall (if any occa-

sion

sion were offered to serue him) hee would employ all his meanes. The Embassadour ha- G
uing ended his speech, hee deliuered his princes letters of credit: To whome *Betblem Gabor* made this answere, that hee neuer had any intent to take armes, nor to attempt any thing against prince *Alexander*, whose father was his true friend; neither would hee euer giue any cause to discontinue this loue and friendship betwixt them, whereof he would giue good proofe in all occasions, especially in this subject now in question. The Embassadour was much satisfied with this answere, the which was also confirmed by Letters; yet hee afterwards leuied forces against prince *Alexander*, but he would not ioyne with *Michna* his armie.

To returne to the course of our Historie; presently after the Bassa his departure from Citouch to returne to Constantinople, Prince *Michna* sent an Embassador to *Alexander* with let- H
ters, by the which he excused himselfe for the ill vsage of his Embassadour by the Bassa, protesting, that he was much grieued, and that it was not with his consent that he had carried him with him, promising him to employ his best meanes to mediate his deliuerie. Moreouer, that hee was not ignorant what authoritie and power the Grand Seignior had ouer him, whome he might not resist, nor by consequence his Bassaes; that he had no armie on foot, as he was giuen to vnderstand, and that his designe was not to support the cause of the Vayuod *Stephano*, vnlesse hee were forced by the commandement of the Graund Seignior. And whereas he entreated him to deliuer his enemie *Stephano* into his hands, hee could not doe it, vnlesse hee should violate the lawes of hospitalitie, in betraying his friend who had fled vnto him for succour, and withall hee should incurre the indignation of the Sultan, and bee in danger to be dispossessed of his owne estate, hauing no sufficient meanes to maintaine himselfe against I
so great a power. Prince *Alexander* hauing heard this Embassador, and receiued an answer from the prince of Transyluania, by the aduice of his Councell, dismissed all his footmen, and part of the Cossackes, retaining onely fiue or sixe thousand men with him during the Winter.

Prince Visnouskie poisoned by a Priest.

About this time there was one of the most cursed and impious acts committed that euer was heard of. Prince *Visnouskie* who was a Protestant of the Greeke Church, hauing prepared at Christmas to receiue the Communion after their manner, the Priest (who had vsually serued him in that deuotion, beeing corrupted with money by his enemies) poysoned the bread; which the prince hauing receiued, hee suddenly fell sicke, and his torments were so vio- K
lent, as he died the next day. This bred a suspition that he had beene poysoned; whereupon the Priest was apprehended, who presently confessed that hee was guiltie, and had been prouoked by his enemies. As his offence was horrible, beeing committed by a man of that Coat, who had made vse of so reuerent a Sacrament to poyson a prince beloued of all men for his rare vertues; so his punishment was verie seuere and long: being bound in a chaire made of copper wire, and a fire made round about him, so as hee was heard for twelue houres crying out fearefully for the insupportable paines which hee endured. Whilest that prince *Alexander* and his whole court mourned for this fatall and vnexpected accident, there arriued a spie which hee had sent into Valachia, to obserue the actions of Prince *Michna*, who gaue him

Skinder Bassa comes with an armie against prince Alexander.

to vnderstand that there was a Bassa arriued called *Skinder*, with a great and powerfull armie, L
and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who pressed them dayly to march into Moldauia; and to begin the warre, hee sent foure hundred men to surprise the towne of Berlada, whereas prince *Coreskie* had left part of his men in garrison during the Winter: who keeping bad guard, were surprised, and most of them cut in pieces, which so puffed vp *Stephano* with pride, as hee assured himselfe of an easie victorie. But prince *Alexander* hearing of this defeat, hee sent foure hundred Cossackes, who made such speed, as within three dayes after they arriued at Berlada a towne not walled, no more than the rest, where hauing set fire in many places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in pieces, and the rest were burnt; so as there escaped not aboue fiue or six to carrie this bad newes vnto their master, who was much afflicted.

Stephano's men defeated by the Cossackes.

A defeat of Turkes at Vasselloy.

At the same instant, when as the Cossackes were sent vpon this expedition, prince *Coresky* desiring to be reuenged for the defeat of his men, tooke two thousand and fiue hundred M
choice horse, and put himselfe speedily into Vasselloy, fearing the garrison hee had left there

A there would be in like manner surprised: whereof the Bassa being aduertised, by some of the countreymen, he sent his sonne (being twelue or thirteene yeares old) and gaue him an old Turke of great experience for his conductor, with seuen thousand men, holding this a good occasion to get reputation to his sonne. Prince *Coreskie* being aduertised of his march by some Moldauians, and that they should surprise them early in the morning, knowing that they were of necessitie to passe a bridge of wood ouer a riuer that runnes by the towne, he disposed his men in such sort as that the enemie could hardly discouer them, some of them were lodged within Vasselloy, and the rest were couered with a little mountaine that adjoyned vpon the towne: when as some of the Turkes had passed the bridge, two squadrons sallied from the towne, and charged their foreward so furiously, as they were in a manner all put to the sword, and amongst them the conductor of the whole troupe, the which was no difficult thing to ex-
B ecute; for that the Turks who had marched in a manner all night, to arriue early in the morning, were benummed and halfe dead with cold; the rest of the Turkes which had not yet past, hearing the noyse of this hot alarme, durst not aduance, but retired speedily, fearing perchance that the Bassaes sonne might be lost as well as his conductor. Prince *Coreskie* pursued them vnto a village foure leagues distant from Vasselloy, killing and taking prisoners all hee found in the way. Among the prisoners there was one who gaue it out that he was neere kins- *The Bassaes kinsman taken.*
man vnto the Bassa, who beeing brought to Prince *Alexander*, he receiued him verie courteously, and gaue him a garment fit for him, hauing beene stript of his owne, he also gaue him a horse, and sent him backe vnto the Bassa with a good conuoy, to whom he sent a letter, by the
C which hee intreated him not to aduance in fauour of *Stephano*, promising that if the Graund Seignior would suffer him to enjoy Moldauia quietly, he would be most faithfull vnto him afterwards, and pay him the yearely accustomed tribute: whereof the Bassa made no great account; for he was wonderfully incensed, both for his sonnes bad successe in this enterprise, and for the death of his Turkish captaine.

Vpon the day of this victorie, prince *Alexander* sent fifteene hundred horse to fortifie prince *Coreskie*, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certaine Borough six leagues from Ticouth, whereas the Bassa and *Michna* were then with their armie; being about fiue and twentie thousand men. These eight hundred men neglecting their guards, did nothing but *800 of prince Alexanders men slaine by their hostes for their insolencies.*
drinke drunke, and molest their hostes with all kinde of insolencies, and forcing their wiues
D and daughters, which made them take a resolution to be reuenged, and to that end they called vnto them certaine Boyers out of the countrey, who chusing their time, cut all their throats when they were asleepe, and most of them drunke.

Prince Alexander retires to Cochina.

About the end of this yeare prince *Alexander* called a generall councell, whereas the princesse his mother, prince *Coreskie*, and all the chiefe noblemen and captaines assisted, where it was resolued that they should retire to Cochina, beeing thirtie French leagues off; for that it was the strongest place and the best furnished of all Moldauia, and withall they should be farre from their enemies, and neere vnto Polonia. According to this resolution, prince *Alexander* parted the next day with his whole armie, and came in foure daies march to Cochina, in the extreamest cold season that could be; hauing lodged his troupes, the princes
E sent diuers Gentlemen to all their friends and confederates to coniure them to come speedily to succour them; and in the meane time they gaue order to make prouision of victuals, and of all other things necessarie for their armie. The Bassa beeing aduertised of this retreat, hee marched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards Yas, notwithstanding the extremitie of the cold, which was so violent that many dyed vpon the way; whereupon they stayed vntill the time was more milde.

Succours come to prince Alexander.

In the beginning of March, the lord of *Tischewich* came vnto Prince *Alexander* with 3500 Cossackes, and within few dayes after arriued the lord *Potoskie*, nephew to him who had been taken at the first battell, and carried prisoner to Constantinople, who brought with him a troupe of fifteene hundred Polonians well armed, there came also other succors vnto him,
F so as by the end of that moneth the princes armie was ten or twelue thousand strong foot and horse.

Prince *Alexander* hearing of the enemies approch, hee sent foorth 1000 horse with his companie of French Caualliers to discouer the enemies armie, who staying to refresh themselues

Some of them defeated.

selues within halfe a league of the towne of Efpdnoria, whereas *Michna* his Tartarians were G
lodged: they were discouered and presently inuested by them and by a great number of
Turks; and although that there were little hope to resist so great a multitude, yet *Alexanders*
men (who had alwayes beene accustomed to vanquish) behaued themselues verie valiantly,
desiring rather to die, than to yeeld basely without giuing proofes of their valour. This fight
continued from 9 of the clocke in the morning, vntill night; and of the whole troupe there
escaped but twelue, seuen Polonians, and fiue French, the rest were either slaine or taken pri-
soners, among the which was the captaine of the French companie called *Mountespin*, whom
they would haue sent with the rest vnto the Grand Seigniors gallies: But *Stephano* preserued
him vpon promise that he would doe him good seruice. Heere Fortune (which hath hither-
to beene fauourable vnto prince *Alexander*) began to shew her inconstancie, [illegible]ach princes H
not to runne rashly into dangers, although they haue had some aduant[illegible] ouer their
enemies.

1616 At Constantinople about the end of August this yeare 1616, Enuie, the most furious
Iesuites at Constantinople accused. of all the windes that shake the affaires of the World, stirred vp a horrible tempest, whose
violent gusts fell dangerously vpon the Iesuites settled at Pera by the Sultans permission, at
the persuasion of *Henrie* the fourth, the French King; and labours to cast them vpon the
rockes where them might suffer shipwrecke, shamefull to their order, and preiudiciall to the
Christians, which liue in the middest or Mahometisme. And to ruine them without all hope
of helpe or relefe, they accused them before the Graund Visier, to bee spies to Spaine; to
giue absolution to renegadoes; to baptize Turkes, to conceale fugitiue slaues, and to send I
them into Christendome; and withall they obiected the doctrine of killing of kings, if they
They are imprisoned. were tyrants, the which had been rashly written by a Spaniard of their Coat: al which crimes
are commonly punished at Constantinople with death. They seised vpon their persons, and
lodged them in a dungeon, they were six in number, that is to say, *Francis Bouton*, *Denis*
Guthet, *Dominick Maurice* of Chio, and *Iohn Baptista Iobert* their superiour, all foure
Priests, and two assistants, and with them a Francisean Frier, Vicar to the Patriarke of Con-
stantinople. A suspition of danger in an estate is easily beleeued vpon the least accident.
In the meane time the Emperours Embassadour came to Constantinople, to renew the
truce; they entered with their drummes beating and their ensignes displayed. They which
thought to erect trophies to their glorie by their ruine of the Iesuites, made vse of this entrie, K
and gaue false aduertisements to the Seraglio, that there were in Constantinople, and at
Pera many thousands of Christians disguised in the habites of Greekes and Turkes, which
came with this Embassadour, with an intent to put that in execution which the Iesuites had
projected. Moreouer, they enformed the Grand Visier, and the Muphti, that the Churches
in Pera, and the Embassadours houses were full of armies; and that now when as the Turkes
estate, and especially Constantinople, was vnprouided of forces, hauing employed their
armies in diuers places, and at one instant, as in Poland, Persia, and both the seas, that they
meant to draw the Greekes into rebellion, and giue an entrie to the Cossackes, by the blacke
sea. The Sultan and his Bassaes tooke an alarme, they commanded euerie man to weare the
habit of his owne Nation, with a prohibition to weare any hat except the Frankes, and they L
to weare a Grecian habit; they also enrolled all the Christians in Constantinople and Pera.
But the Sultan did not thinke his Citie of Constantinople free from the danger of surprise
by this diligent search, but hee would seeke his assurance in the bloud of Christians: so
The Turke commaunds all the Christians to be slaine. as hee commaunded that all the Frankes should bee slaine, without exception. But yet
this commaundement tooke no effect, by reason of the remonstrances which the Graund
Visier and the Muphti made him, representing vnto him, that by this crueltie hee should
draw vpon his estate a dangerous warre from all the Christian princes in generall. But
all this freed him nor from feare, hee walkes all night on horsebacke vp and downe the ci-
tie, contrarie to his custome, and hee causeth a Friar, Vicar to the Patriarke, who had been ta-
ken with the Iesuites, to be executed in his presence; and he doth expressely forbid the pas- M
sage from Constantinople to Pera, and from Pera to Constantinople. During this prohibi-
tion, the French Embassador had past from Pera to the City, to sollicite the Iesuites libertie.
At his returne he fou[illegible]he passage stopt, he goes vnto the Muphti, and leaues his people in
the

A the meane time at the sea side (for it is the custome, to goe to the Soueraigne of *Mahomets*
law with a small traine) during the time of his being there, a multitude of people ran downe
to the shore, to see these men, thinking for certaine, that they went to put them to death:
They lamenting their miserable fortune, and the Turkes charging them furiously with iniu-
ries, as the men whom they thought practised by conspiracie their ruine. But the grand Vi-
sier hauing written with his owne hand, and sent one of his people to them that kept the pas-
sage, the Embassador with his whole traine was suffered to passe to Pera, but hee found the
storme as raging at Pera as from whence hee came: for one night after, the people of that *A tumult at*
place fell into such a furie, as it was to be feared the law of Nations would haue been violated *Pera.*
by the insolencie of some furious people, although the subject were of small importance. A-
B bout fiue hundred paces from the French Embassadours quarter, there fell out a dispute in a
lodging, betwixt some who spent the night in some kinde of employment: the Turkes that
dwelt neere, beeing awaked with this noyse, ran to armes, and trouped together in the street,
being in all 1000 men armed, crying out, that this noyse came from the Franckes, (that is to
say from the Christians in the West, as Italians, French, Spanish, English, and others) who
meant to rise; and they resolued to force the Embassadours houses, and to put all to fire and
sword, if some better aduised of the troupe had not persuaded them to delay the execution
vntill day, the which beeing come, the French Embassadour had meanes to get the Sultan to
interpose his soueraigne authoritie, to bridle the insolencie of a multitude inconsiderately in-
censed. Such is the danger, in the which many times the ministers of Christian Princes find
C themselues, who for their Masters seruice liue at the mercie of a Nation barbarously furious,
as the Turkish:

The Iesuites in the meane time continued prisoners in the dungeon, vntill that the Baron *The Iesuits set at libertie.*
of *Sansy* Embassadour for France, had let the grand Visier see their innocencie, and procu-
red their libertie, and the Sultan by his letters Patents did publish the falshood of the malici-
ous accusations inuented against them: but to auoid the furie of a multitude blind in their
passions, and dangerous in their furie, they went to sea to returne to France: but after they
had sojourned sometime at the Dardanels, they were againe committed to prison, by reason
of some certaine aduertisement that was giuen to the Sultan of the same substance; The Sul-
tan informed himselfe truely of their probitie, gaue them their libertie, calling backe two to
D Pera, in liue there, with the same priuiledges they formerly had, and suffered the rest to re-
turne into France.

Alexander prince of Moldauia hauing lost a thousand horse neere vnto Cochina, the last
yeare as you haue heard, the Bassa and *Stephano* were puft vp with this good successe; but
Michna had no joy of it, who hearing that the Princes attended him at Cochina, with a reso- *Michna feares to fight with the Polonians.*
lution to defend themselues, remembring that a certaine Italian making a profession to fore-
tell future things, had told him, That if he euer came to fight with the Polonians, hee would
be in danger of his life. Wherefore by the aduice of his Chancellor and Camp-master, called
Spaterlecha, he pretended, that he had receiued news from his Lieutenant, that there was a great
troupe of Tartarians entred into Valachia, and spoiled the countrie; vpon which pretext hee
E tooke leaue of the Bassa and returned, leauing all his souldiers in the armie, reseruing onely an
hundred horse for his guard. Being in Valachia, *Stephano* wrote vnto him, that he had defea-
ted the Polonians in battell, in the which there were slaine six thousand men vpon the place,
and had taken a great number of prisoners, which they meant to send to the grand Seignior: all
which was but a meere inuention to mocke *Michna*, and to make him sorrie that he was not in
the action: whereupon hee was so much discontented, as he caused the heads of his Chancel-
lour and Camp-master to be cut off, for their bad counsell, charging them that they had some
secret intelligence with the Polonians.

About the end of March, the Bassa with *Stephano*, and a Tartarian Prince called *Monoza*, *The Bassa and Stephano defeated at Cochina.*
resolued to aduance with their whole armie (being twentie thousand men) towards Chochi-
F na, and beeing within two leagues, they made a stand a whole day to refresh their men. In
the meane time the princes put their armie in order of battell, in a little plain within a quarter
of a league of Chochina, leauing 1000 choice horse within the towne vnder the command
of prince *Coreskie*, assuring themselues that the Turks would not faile to campe betwixt the
towne

towne and the princes armie, that if they were defeated, they might haue no meanes to retire G
into the fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of cannon out of
the fort, which they planted within a trench which was couered with a wood. The Bassa on
the other side thought that hee had the princes at his mercie, being aduertised that they had
not halfe so many men in their armie, early in the morning hee caused his men to march in
good order, who arriued neere to Cochina by seuen of the clocke in the morning, where
hauing made a stand to discouer the princes armie, he went and encamped betwixt them and
the towne, as it had been foreseene. His men beeing put in order, the Tartarians who had a
great desire to bee reuenged of the Cossackes, who had defeated them in many encounters,
intreated to haue the point: the which was granted, and the trumpets sounding, they aduan-
ced towards a battalion of Cossackes, nothing distrusting the cannon which was planted H
on that side, and not seene. Comming within the shot, they presently playe[d] upon them,
and ouerthrew a great number of the Tartarians and terrified the rest, the which the Cossacks
perceiuing, they charged them furiously, and cut the rest in pieces, and so retired towards
their armie, seeing another squadron of Valachians and Moldauians come to succour the
Tartarians. The Lord of *Tischeuich* with his troupe of fifteene or sixteene hundred horse
well armed, went to encounter the said squadron, which aduanced brauely towards the
princes cannon. The combate was long without any shew of aduantage, which made the
Marshall of the Turkes armie to send three thousand Turkes to succour them: and the
princes caused a squadron of Cossackes and Moldauians to aduance, who carried them- I
selues so valiantly, as they forced the Turkes to retire about an hundred paces. Then prince
Alexander cried out, Now my companions, behold the enemie is in disorder, let vs charge
them resolutely, and the victorie is certaine. After which hee aduanced with the rest of
his armie, commanding two cannons to be shot off together, for a signe to Prince *Coreskie*
that hee might sallie foorth, and charge the Turkes rereward, as it had beene resol-
ued: But hee stayed not for the signall, beeing already aduanced aboue three hundred
paces, fearing that the partie would bee ended without him, or that hee should fayle at
need.

The Bassa seeing this stratageme, which he feared not, and the bad successe of his men
which hee had sent to fight, and that hee was charged both before and behinde, hee began to
be amased, and hauing caused a squadron of two thousand horse, Turkes and Valachians, to K
aduance, to second his troupes, hee retyred apart with *Stephano* (who was no lesse afraid
than himselfe) with the rest of the Turkish Cauallarie, to attend the euent of the battell. There
was neuer a more furious combate seene, which continued for the space of two houres) full
of fearefull howlings of Turks, who in the end fainted, seeing no succours come vnto them:
whereas if the Bassa and the cowardly *Stephano* had ioined with them, they had without doubt
fortified their carriages, and renued their forces; and by all apparance woon the victory,
which they lost beyond all mans expectation. When as the Bassa and *Stephano* saw that their
forces were in rout, and no meanes to draw them againe together, they began to make a re-
treat with aboue two thousand horse, which had not yet fought. In the meane time the prin- L
ces *Tischeuisch* and *Coreskie* (like two thunderbolts of warre) cut all in pieces they could meet;
and fearing left they should make a new head, the princes drew all their men together, and
made a stand vpon the place of battell, nor suffering their soldiers to goe to the spoile, before
they were assured that the enemie was retired in great haste, fearing the princes would haue
pursued them, the which they would willingly haue done, if their men and horses had not
been almost tyred in the former battell, in which there was slaine aboue 12000 men besides
the wounded and prisoners.

Prince *Alexander* being returned to Cochina with the other Princes and noblemen, they
gaue thankes to God for the victorie they had obtained against the Turkes and their confe-
derates; and there was much joy with the Princesse and all the Ladies, who were retired into M
the fort, attending the euent of this fearefull battell. Prince *Coreskie* burned with desire to
enjoy his Mistresse, whome hee loued as his owne life; so as by a free consent of all
parties, they were married within two dayes after the victorie, to the great content of
all the Court.

Flight of the Bassa and Stephano.

Prince Coreskie marieth the Princesse Alexandrina.

Whilest

A Whilest that the princes began to enioy the fruits of their victorie, the Bassa and wretched
Stephano returned to Yas, but finding no safetie there, they parted presently; the Bassa to Con-
stantinople, and the tyrant into Valachia to Prince *Michna*, who was his onely support, not-
withstanding that he had mocked him apparently. But before this wretch departed from Yas
(hauing no hope euer to returne againe) hee caused the towne to be set on fire in many places, so
as of two and twentie thousand houses, there were not aboue six hundred vntouched. The
princes hauing aduice hereof in the beginning of Aprill, they marched speedily thither,
where finding it so desolate, they resolued to pursue *Stephano* into Valachia, and punish him
according to his deseruing. The next day they marched towards Valachia, being to passe the
riuer of Siretta, there being on the other side a Borough in which *Michna* had foure hun- *A defeat of 400 of Michna's men.*
B dred men in garrison, to keepe the Frontiers. The princes arriuing at this place, the gar-
rison put themselues in defence, but they were soone forced and cut in pieces, so as there
escaped not one, and as for the enhabitants, they were well entreated, hauing made no re-
sistance, and withall they hated *Michna* for the vexations they receiued from the said garri-
son. The armie hauing rested there three dayes, aduanced with all speed towards the citie
of Bonza, whereas *Michna* then remained with wretched *Stephano*, who had no care but to
make good cheere. The armie beeing come within a league of Bonza, it was discouered
by some countreymen, who ran to aduertise their prince, wishing him to saue himselfe spee-
dily, for that they had discouered the Polonian armie neere the citie. *Michna* was readie to
sit downe to dinner, hauing inuited *Stephano* to accompanie him: but he was so amased at this *Prince Michna and Stephano flyeth from Bonza*
C vnexpected comming of the princes, as he ranne himselfe to his stable, and mounted vpon
the first horse hee could finde, without saddle, and so tooke his way towards Tergouist,
beeing followed by few of his people, one of which gaue him his owne horse, which was
better furnished, and as for *Stephano* hauing sadled his owne horse, he fled all alone towards
Nicopolis.

The princes beeing entered Bonza without resistance, they were wonderfully grieued that
they had not found *Stephano*, which was their whole designe, and that prince *Michna* (to whom
they intended no harme) had been so amazed. The armie at their first enterance spoyled the
citie, which the princes could not hinder, nor yet the rauishing of many wiues and virgines,
which drew the wrath of God vpon them, and in all appearance was the true cause of the
D miseries which afterward befell the princes. During their abode at Bonza to refresh their
men, many Boyers or Noblemen of the countrey (desiring to shake off the yoke of prince
Michna's command, who gouerned insolently) came vnto prince *Alexander*, beseeching him
to stay in Valachia, promising that the whole Nobilitie would willingly yeeld him all obedi-
ence and fidelitie. But the prince (hauing no intent to dispossesse *Michna*) thanked them for *Prince Alexander refuseth the estate of Valachia.*
their good will, the which the Boyers vnderstanding, they told him, that they would bee
glad (seeing he refused it) that prince *Cherbanne* (who had been their Vayuod before *Michna*,
and had beene expelled Valachia by *Bethlem Gabor*, and forced to retire into Germanie to the
Emperour) might returne and take vpon him the gouernment of Valachia, entreating him to
giue him passage through Moldauia if hee presented himselfe, the which prince *Alexander*
E willingly granted, desiring much that prince *Cherbanne* were restored, for that *Michna* fauou-
red his enemie, and had himselfe a designe vpon the estate of Moldauia, which in the end hee
obtained.

Prince *Michna* beeing come to Playa, which is betwixt Bonza and Tergouist, hee
stayed some dayes there attending his traine, during the which hee sent speedily to his
wife beeing at Tergouist, willing her to goe with all speed to Nicopolis: for that hee feared
the princes would seise both vpon them and their estates, as they might easily haue done, if
they had foreseene what afterwards befell them. *Michna* beeing come to Tergouist, hee *Michna sends an Embassador to prince Alexander.*
presently sent an Embassadour to prince *Alexander*, to know vpon what designe hee had en-
tered Valachia with an armie, hauing no cause; but contrariwise, that hee had giuen good
F testimonie that hee was his friend, for that hee would not assist the Bassa and *Stephano*, when
they pursued him to Cochina, notwithstanding that they were much stronger in shew;
That if his intent were onely to seise vpon *Stephano*, hee assured him that he was not with
him, but was fled another way; promising that if hee could euer take him, he would deliuer

him

towne and the princes armie, that if they were defeated, they might haue no meanes to retire C
into the fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of cannon out of
the fort, which they planted within a trench which was couered with a wood. The Bassa on
the other side thought that hee had the princes at his mercie, being aduertised that hee had
not halfe so many men in their armie; early in the morning hee caused his men to march in
good order, who arriued neere to Cochina by seuen of the clocke in the morning, and
hauing made a stand to discouer the princes armie, incamped betwixt
the towne, as it had been
greate desire to bee reuenged of the Cossacks
increated to ma
ced towards
a that side,

A nothing holding the Visier to be still his friend, parted early in the morning to meet him, and
comming neere him he alighted from his horse to doe him reuerence, and the Bassa did the
like, where after some little conference together, he drew out the commission he had to seise
vpon his person, and to carrie him to Constantinople; the which *Stephano* perceiuing, he tur-
ned him to his seruants, and willed them to shift for themselues, for that he saw he went to his
death. His men being retired, the Chiaus who had his mace in his hand, gaue him a blow be-
twixt the shoulders, and then caused him to be bound hand and foot, and cast into a cart drawn
by foure good horses, and in this manner they carried him to Constantinople; where being ar-
riued, to auoid the punishment hee had deserued, he denied his faith, and became a renegado:
and withall he became very poore and miserable: for at the same instant that he was taken, the
B Bassa sent to seise and carrie away whatsoeuer he had at Brahile and Nicopolis, where his wife
remained, so as hee had nothing left him but the remorse of conscience that tormented him
continually, for the barbarous cruelties which he had practised in Moldauia. Some of his men
returned to Yas, and there declared what had befallen *Stephano* in their presence, for which
they generally gaue thanks vnto God, and were very joyfull.

Stephano carried to Constantinople and turns Turke.

Soone after, newes came to Yas, that the Sultan had appointed prince *Michna* to succeed
Stephano in the principalitie of Moldauia (which is verie much better than that of Valachia)
and that he sent *Skinder Bassa* his Generall in Europe, with a powerfull armie to settle the said
Michna, and to expell *Alexander*. The which prooued so true, as on the 25 of Iune this yere
C 1616, the said Bassa came to Tergouist, where prince *Michna* attended him, with great prepa-
ratiues both to receiue him, and to refresh his armie. The Bassa making his entry into Tergo-
uist, had amongst other things of note thirtie or fortie musitians on horsebacke, playing vpon
certaine instruments almost like vnto gitternes, which made but silly musicke; he had also ma-
ny pages, who in stead of clokes, ware the skins of leopards, lions, and tygres, as if they meant
to terrifie the world, and his armie consisted of about 20000 men, some Turks, some Tarta-
rians, to whom *Michna* ioyned his forces, hauing 10000 horse and foot, which he had drawne
from Valachia and the neighbor countries. The Bassa being entred the castle whereas prince
Michna attended him, after many complements, they entred into a great hall well appoin-
ted, where the Bassa presented him his letters patents, and a robe which his master had sent to
Michna, which he caused to be put on in the presence of all the noblemen of his court, pro-
D claiming him prince and Vayuod of Moldauia, with many ceremonies too long to relate. Af-
ter which, prince *Michna* led the Bassa into another great hall where a feast was prepared, as
well for himselfe, as for such as hee would admit to his table, *Michna* offering to serue the
said Bassa, but he would not suffer him, causing him to sit downe right against him. On the se-
cond of Iuly they parted from Tergouist, and marched into Moldauia, whereof the Polonian
princes were aduertised: but the Princesse mother to *Alexander* maintained, that the Bassa
came onely to bring the patents to prince *Alexander* her son; which dangerous opinion of hers
grew by reason of the letters which *Hebraim Bassa* had sent to prince *Alexander*, not remem-
bring that it came from a Turke his sworne enemie, and therefore not to be credited, especial-
ly in a matter of that importance, so as she was the cause of their vtter ruine.

Michna proclaimed prince of Moldauia.

E About this time the Generall of the king of Polonia's armie called *Zolkelchy*, enuying the
honor which the Polonian Princes had gotten by so many victories, and withall drawn by his
owne priuat interest, writ to prince *Michna* and the Bassa, that if they would promise to pro-
cure the Sultan to aduance the eldest son of the deceased prince *Simeon* (who liued with him)
to be prince of Valachia (whereof his father had been formerly Vayuod) he would so weaken
princes armie, as they should be forced to yeeld or flie. Whose demand being easily granted,
this traitor writ to certaine captains of the Cossacks, that they should leaue the princes armie,
and come with all speed into Poland, to accompanie *Vladislaus* their kings son, who had been
chosen Duke of Muscouie, and meant to go thither with a great armie by reason of some cros-
ses, and that they should be verie well paid. The Cossacks (who depend vpon the crowne of
F Poland, seruing those that promise most) began to mutiny, saying plainly, That if they had
not money speedily, they would retire into their countrey, yet concealing that they had been
called to any other seruice; and without any long stay, there parted early in a morning about
8000, carrying with them great store of oxen, sheepe, and other cattell, with all the spoyles
they had gotten in the precedent victories.

The treacherie of the Generall of Polonia.

The Cossacks mutinie and leaue prince Alexander.

Bicho generall of prince Alexanders armie forsakes him trecherously.

After their example, *Bicho* General of prince *Alexanders* army, whether corrupted by bribes, or for that hee had an apprehension of this powerfull armie which came against them, retired also secretly toward *Michna* and the Bassa, being followed by 2000 horse. This was a subiect of great amasement to the princes armie; and yet as if they had been inchanted by some deuillish charmes, they could not resolue to make a retreat, as they might easily haue done without danger. Many aduised prince *Alexander* to this course, euen prince *Michna* writ vnto him aduising him to retire into Polonia, before that his armie approched neerer to Yas; the which he did for feare of the successe; wherof his false prophet had forewarned him, as we haue formerly obserued: whereupon *Alexander* went to councel on the 25 of Iuly, but they could not resolue; the commanders and souldiers beeing much diuided, most of them d[illegible]ling their pay, else they would not fight; the which they tooke for a pretext of thei[illegible]eat. In the mean time the Tartarians, which made the vantgard of prince *Michnas* army, approched; which made the princes to leaue Yas, and to march toward Cochina; but they could not do it so secretly but the Tartarians were aduertised, who past speedily through the citie, and charged them in the reare, in which incounter *George Potoskie*, nephew to him that was taken with *Constantine*, hauing fought valiantly, and slaine many Tartarians with his own hand, was in the end shot thorow the bodie with an arrow, whereof he died presently. The lord of *Tischeuich* came speedily to the charge with a troupe of Cossacks which he had staied, and charged the Tartarians so furiously, as he slew 800 vpon the place, and put the re[illegible] to rout.

Prince Alexanders answer to Prince Michna

Alexander hauing receiued the letter aboue mentioned [illegible] prince *Michna*, he made answer, that (contrary to his promise to continue his friend, an[illegible]er to take armes against him) he had craued aid from the Turke to dispossesse him of Moldauia, to the which his predecessor had neuer pretended, neither could they according to the fundamental lawes of the countrie, and the conuentions accorded by the grand Seignior, when as the Moldauians submitted themselues vnder his soueraignetie, by the which no man could be Vayuod of Moldauia vnlesse he were borne in the countrey. Moreouer, he should remember that it was in his power to dispossesse him of Valachia, when as he entred Bonza with his armie in pursuit of *Stephano*; the which he would not do, nor detain any of his precious moueables, which he had reserued and sent vnto him: that if he abused the power which hee then had, God would not suffer so great an ingratitude and vsurpation to remaine vnpunished. And although his armie were far inferior to his, yet he would let him know, that he neither feared him nor the Bassa, putting his chiefe confidence in the assistance of the Almightie, who had in many occasions vsed them to abate the Turks pride, which he shou[illegible]ld or if he were a true Christian, rather than to joyne with them to satisfie his ambition.

Prince *Michna* hauing sent this letter to [illegible]*nder Bassa* Generall of the Turks army, he was so incensed, as hee presently commanded his Lieutenant to pursue the Polonians with 12000 choice men, they being then at Cotnard, betwixt Yas and Cochina. Prince *Alexander* being aduertised hereof, he suddenly caused his armie to aduance towards the fort of Cochina. At the same time the Chancellor to prince *Cherbanne* who came with 150 horse to prince *Alexander*, to assure him that his master was comming to his aid with fiue or six thousand men, was pursued by the Turks neere vnto Yas, whereas he thought to haue found the said prince, and of all his troupe onely himselfe and one more escaped, so as the prince could haue no certaine newes of the said *Cherbanne*. Prince *Coreskie* who had remained with 2500 horse not far from Cotnard, was also encountred by a great troupe of Turks and Tartarians, which hee could not well discouer by reason of a little mountaine that couered them: the Prince seeing some of them appeare, charged them; but finding that as hee defeated one troupe, a fresh succeded in his place, he was forced to make his retreat, with this aduantage, that he had almost slain 6000 of his enemies, hauing not lost aboue 250 of his owne men. But the prince was wounded with two arrowes, one in the thigh, and the other in the backe, which was a great disaster for himselfe and for the whole armie. Hee which commanded this troupe of Turkes beeing much amased at this vnexpected encounter, hauing gathered his men together, and joyned them to 15000 others whom the Bassa had sent, hee beeing yet at Yas, he caused this army to approch within a [illegible]uarter of a league to the Polonians, where hauing encouraged his men in what hee could, hee told them, that to shew his affection vnto the Sultans seruice in this occasion, hee was resolued to send a challenge to prince *Coreskie*, whome hee confest to

A challenge sent to Prince Coreskie from the Turkish generall.

to be the most valiant of all the Polonian armie, so as he presently dispatched one of his captaines to goe vnto the prince, and to call him in the behalfe of his Generall. The Captaine comming to *Alexanders* campe, demaunded to speake with Prince *Coreskie*; who beeing brought vnto him, deliuered the charge he had from his Generall. The Prince, although hee were neither able to stand nor to sit on horseback, by reason of his wounds, yet would hee needs haue accepted this challenge, if prince *Alexander*, and the chiefe noblemen of the armie had not conjured him to excuse himselfe by reason of his indisposition: letting him know, that the euent of such a combat did not onely import him, but all those of his partie, who had their chiefe hope in him: whereunto the princesses added their instant intreaties; and among others his deare spouse, who was much afflicted for his wounds. The Lord of *Tischeuich* (a braue and valiant Gentleman) being then present, intreated prince *Alexander* to giue him leaue to accept of the challenge for prince *Coreskie* his cousin; the which was willingly granted: so as he sent a Gentleman with the said Turke, to know if the Generall would yeeld thereunto, which he did willingly, not beeing ignorant of the qualitie and valour of the said *Tischeuich*. It was agreed that the combate should bee betwixt both armies, lying in a plaine open field, within a quarter of a league one of another, with promise, that neither partie should be assisted.

A combat betwixt Tischeuich and the General of the Turks armie.

These two braue warriours hauing taken leaue of their friends, came to the place appoynted, in view of both armies. The Turkes Generall being about fiftie paces from his armie, caused water to bee brought, with the which hee washed his mouth, eyes, nose, eares, and priuie parts, beleeuing (according to his law) that this washing would serue as a purifying; then turning toward the East hee made his prayer: after which he went to horseback, beeing richly armed and furnished, and then marched softly towards his aduersarie, who attended him wel mounted and armed, and so they began their combat; their chiefe arms beeing bowes and arrowes, which they spent without hurting one another; till at last *Tischeuich* hauing a Petronell, shot the Turke thorow the bodie and ouerthrew him, who striuing to rise againe, *Tischeuich* passed ouer him with his horse, and wounded him in the right arme, and at the next blow slew him: after which he cut off his head, and carried it to prince *Alexander*.

The princes of Polonia enuironed by their enemies.

The Polonians were verie joyfull of the happie successe of this famous combate, and the Turkes beeing much amased, aduertised the Bassa and *Michna*, that it was necessarie they should bring the rest of their armie and their cannon, if they would be reuenged of the Polonians. In the meane time the traitour *Bicho*, who had abandoned Prince *Alexander*, with a troupe of two thousand Tarrarians and Moldauians, found meanes to get before the Polonian armie, and to cut off the way betwixt Cotnarde and the towne of Bothocan six leagues off. The Valachians and Transyluanians led by the Generall of *Michna's* armie, inuested them vpon the right hand, and the bodie of the Turkes armie followed behinde: so as there remayned nothing but vpon the left hand a wood of timber trees which might fauour their retreat. *Skinder Bassa* hearing the successe of the combate, commaunded his armie to aduance presently with sixteene cannons. The Princes seeing themselues enuironed by so many enemies, they resolued to fortifie themselues with their carts and carriages, and to defend themselues: but what could fiue or sixe thousand men preuaile against two or three and twentie thousand; for so many were thought to bee in the Turkes armie: True it is, they expected daily Prince *Cherbanne*, and the Lord *Bossi*, who were within two dayes journey, and brought with them ten or twelue thousand men. This made the Bassa and *Michna* to aduance, to force the Polonians to yeeld, or to fight. Comming neere vnto their campe, and seeing them inuested on all sides but towards the wood, they approched their cannon, which had been able to haue spoyled their campe, but it was not their desigme; they onely desired to take the Princes and Princesses prisoners, with the chiefe Noblemen: Whereupon they sent to summon the Polonian armie to deliuer into their hands the said Princes and Lords, promising that the rest of the armie should depart with bag and baggage; whereunto they would not yeeld, but made an answere all with one consent, That they would rather die, than commit such baseneese and trecherie. This being reported to the Bassa, and prince *Michna*, they com-

The princes armie summoned to yeeld.

commaunded that some of their cannon should be charged with small bullets, and discharged through the Polonian armie; whereby there were a great number slaine and wounded. The princes who had but some small pieces, made certaine vollies, but to small purpose; neither had they any more bullets left, and little pouder: for that by ill chance part had been burnt some few dates before: so as all things seemed to foretell their ruine at hand. The Lord of *Tischeuich*, having iudiciously obserued, that remaining in that enclosure, he could not escape death, or at least captiuitie, resolued with fiue hundred horse (the most valiant among the Polonians) to force through three or foure squadrons which were set in guard by the wood side, to the end none might escape, that place being most suspected to the Turkes: the which they executed with such furie, as they ouerthrew all they encountered; shewing that it is a verie dangerous thing to make head against those who are reduced to that extremitie they must either vanquish or die. Prince *Coreskie* would not haue failed to haue made the like retreat, and to haue carried prince *Alexander* with him: but he could not sit on horseback by reason of his wounds; and besides, he had rather haue died than to leaue his wife in that extremitie. His last refuge was to disguise himselfe as well as he could, giuing it out, that he had escaped with *Tischeuich*, to the end hee might passe for a common souldier, if the prisoners were put to ransome. In like manner the princesses disguised themselues in the best manner they could, for the like intent.

A braue retreat made by Tischeuich.

The Turkes cannon hauing ouerthrowne many of their carriages, which serued as a rampier, two squadrons, one of Tartarians, and the other of Turkes, presented themselues at one instant in two seuerall places to force the Polonians campe: who seeing no meanes to make resistance, and to repell the enemie, layed downe their armes, crying out with a loud voice, That they yeelded: whereat their enemies were exceeding glad, desiring nothing more than to take these noble princes prisoners, and to dispose of the rest at their pleasures. The Turks and Tartarians hauing entered their campe, making spoile of all, and seising vpon what they could lay their hands on, beginning to share their prisoners, the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*, with their mother were deliuered vnto *Skinder Bassa*, who led them to Constantinople, whereas soone after their arriuall they forsooke their God, denied their faith, and became renegadoes, for feare of perpetuall imprisonment, where with they were threatned. For which Infidelitie *Bougdan* was presently punished; for hauing caused himselfe to be circumcised according to the law of *Mahomet*, he died, and the princesse his mother was confined to the old Seraglio. As for prince *Coreskie* (in this generall ruine of a Christian armie being forced to yeeld and submit it selfe to the Turkish tyrannie) hee had so disguised himselfe, as he past for a time vnknowne, and was led to Yassa among the common souldiers, where he was afterward discouered by a souldier of his owne people, who obtained his libertie by this base trecherie. The Turkish captaine who had gotten this prince, hearing of his qualitie by the aforesaid villaine, he led him to *Skinder Bassa* his General, who recompenced him well, and made both him and the souldier who discouered him, to take solemne oaths not to impart it to any man: for he had an intent to draw some great ransome from this prince, and to restore him to his former liberty, knowing wel that if he carried him to Constantinople, the grand Seignior would confine him into his prisons, by which meanes he should make no vse nor benefit by his taking. But it happened, that another perfidious of the Polonian armie aduertised *Michna* of *Coreskies* captiuitie, and in whose hands he was, who was so iealous, as he crost and ouerthrew the good designe of *Skinder Bassa*, telling him plainely in the presence of many, that he knew for certaine, prince *Coreskie* was among his slaues, and that he should beware he did not escape, for that the Graund Seignior would call him to account. The Generall made answere, that hee would be glad it were so, but he had not yet any notice of him, thanking *Michna* for his good aduice. But fearing that if hee did what he intended, suffering prince *Coreskie* to escape for a ransome, the Sultan comming to the knowledge thereof, would be much incensed, and punish him with disgrace or death, the next day he told prince *Michna* plainely, that the aduice that he had giuen him was true, and that *Coreskie* had been found disguised amongst his other prisoners, whom he would present vnto his master, with the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*, as he did, of whose deliuerie you shall heare hereafter. The young princesse, wife to *Coreskie*, hauing disguised herselfe, and disfigured her face with her nayles, and other helpes, fell into

The princes taken prisoners, and carried to Constantinople.

Prince Coreskie being disguised is discouered.

into the hands of a Tartarian captain, with many others, who carried her into Tartaria, whereas shee was inhumanely intreated.

In the Mediterranean sea, *Cosmo* great Duke of Tuscanie, continued his enterprises this yeare against the Turkes: his gallies part from Ligorne, and run into the Leuant, in quest of some occasions to annoy these Infidels. They drew neere vnto Cerigo, in old time Cithaera; the fiue and twentieth of Aprill, where meeting with certaine Christian ships, some Venetians aduertised them, that in the Island of Chio, the Turkes had prepared two gallies to passe into Barbarie. *Inghirami* (Admirall to the great Duke) resolued to set vpon them; being on the way, hee turned with his fleet where they were to passe, and being couered by the night, hee cast anchor vnder castle Roux. But when hee attended a fauourable occasion, the Moone shining, discouered him to the Turkes, and the guards hauing aduertised the Turkes gallies, they presently began to flie, the one rowing amaine towards land, and the other continued her course at sea with all speed. *Inghirami* with his Admirall gallie got before that which was going to land, inuested it, beeing followed by the gallie called Saint *Stephen*, and three houres within night grapled with it, and laboured to enter it: but the Turkes (who were all good souldiers) defended it valiantly, so as they were aboue an houre fastened together, hewing one another furiously: yea the Turks (who were entered into *Inghirami* his gallie) fought valiantly vpon the hatches: but in the end the Florentines had the victorie, and tooke this Gallie, yet with much losse of Christian bloud. It was the Patron gallie of that famous Pirate *Amurath Rase*, which was commanunded by the sonne of *Mammi* a Portugall, called *Mustapha Celebi*, who was taken aliue, but sore wounded. The other gallie which had fled to sea and was the Captaine gallie of the said *Amurath Raise*, commanded by the Bey of Mitilene, nephew and sonne in law to that Pirate, called *Amurath*, who had married his daughter, beeing his mothers sonne, was inuested by the gallies of Saint *Marie Magdalene*, and the Patron Saint *Cosmo*; the combate was no lesse furious than the other, the Turks making a wonderfull defence: But after some houres fight, in which time the bloud of either side was aboundantly spilt, the Florentines had the victorie: *Amurath* Bey of Mitilene, was slaine, and *Mustapha*, whome these Turkish gallies carried to Algier in Barbarie. They were of fiue and twentie bankes a piece, carrying Lanthornes, and furnished with all things necessarie, and manned with foure hundred and twentie Ianizaries, all men of action, and practised in piracies with that pyrate *Amurath Rais*. In this prize the Florentines tooke two hundred and forty Turks, and freed foure hundred and thirty Christians: among the artillerie of these gallies, they recouered a cannon and two sacres of the gallie of Saint *Iohn*, and a sayle belonging to the Great Dukes Captaine gallie, which the Pyrat *Amurath Reis* had formerly spoyled. These Turkish gallies were loden with great store of rich commodities, the which was valued at two hundred thousand crownes. But this conquest was gotten with the losse of much bloud: for the Florentines had two hundred twentie three men wounded, and fiue and thirtie slaine in those two combats; the which made the Admirall *Inghirami* to rest satisfied in this voyage with the taking of two gallies, after which he returned to Ligorne.

The courses of the Florentine gallies.

Turkish gallies taken by the Florentines.

Wee haue formerly made mention in the Iesuites businesse, beeing presented at Constantinople, of the entrie which the Emperors Embassador made into that citie. And this was the effect of his embassage. The peace concluded at Situa Torok, in the yeare 1606, betwixt the Emperour and the Sultan, was somewhat altered by the diuers interpretations and explications, which they made of the Articles therein contained. But this yeare 1616, in the moneth of March, the Embassadours of both their Imperiall Maiesties assembled at Vienna in Austria; that is to say, the Cardinall *Forgatsie* Archbishop of Strigonium, and Chancellour to the Emperour, the Cardinall *Klesse*l, Bishop of Vienna, the Baron of *Rainek*, Count *Adolph Althen*, the Earle of Solmes, the Earle of Thoron, and *Pauli Apponi Nagi*, for the Emperour: *Hali* Bassa of Buda, *Achmat Tybaia*, and *Gaspar Gratsiani*, for the Turke: where they concluded these following Articles; to take away all pretext of controuersie in the explication of those which were agreed vpon at Situa Torok. But it was after that Embassadours had beene sent of either side, as well to Constantinople, as to Prague, with royall and rich Presents.

Deputies meet at Vienna to confirme the peace betwixt the emperor & the Turke.

Articles extracted out of the Letters Patents of Achmat Emperour of the Turkes.

Articles touching the differences of the peace.

1 *For as much as many things haue happened of either side contrarie to the peace concluded at Situa Torok, it hath beene necessarie to confirme it anew, and to reduce it into the right course. Wherefore this holy peace made and concluded at Situa Torok, shall bee obserued for twentie yeares compleat, to begin at the date of these presents. Giuen in the moneth of Chomazilabil, in the yeare of the Prophet,* 1024.

2 *That the peace heretofore concluded at Situa Torok, shall remaine firme in all the articles, according to the treatie which the Emperor* Rodulphus *did send vnto vs, signed with his hand, and sealed with his seale, the which wee haue receiued willingly, and the same treatie wee also sent backe confirmed backe to the Emperor of the Romans the which he receiued in like manner. And this treaty which was sent vnto vs, is date the ninth of December, in the yeare* 1606 *of* Iesus *of reuerend and happie memorie: and that which we sent vnto the Emperor of Romans, wherewith he was satisfied, was dated in the yeare of the Prophet* 1021.

3 *Since the time that Agria, Canise, Alba-Regalis, Pesth, Buda, Zolnok, Hatwan, and other places haue beene taken, that the villages which were of their appurtenances. shall hereafter remaine annexed vnto them. But those villages which since the peace of Situa Torok, haue beene hindered from paying of their tribute by either side, or haue beene held by force, contrarie to the treatie of peace, that those villages shall be viewed by Commissaries appointed by vs and the Emperour of the Romanes, and presently shall bee set at libertie, and restored to their Lords and right owners. As for the Villages which pay tribute to either part, those which are scituate vpon the frontiers of the Emperour of the Romanes, towards Nonigrade and other places, shall be viewed by Commissaries thereunto deputed, who shall take a Register to the end those villages may not be molested by our neighbors. In like manner the Commissarie shall make a Register of the villages which pay to both sides, lying neere the townes of the Emperour of Romanes, of Strigonium and other places; to the end they may take notice what villages are bound, to the one or the other partie, that hereafter there might grow no controuersie. And for that which concerned the* 158 *villages about Strigonium, for the which there was some controuersie, the* 69 *lying nearest to the said towne shall be adiudged as it hath beene agreed, and the Commissaries of either side shall take order for it. The foresaid villages lying neere to Strigonium, and all others of the Realme of Hungarie, which shal be adiudged to the one or other partie shal not in any sort be disquieted, more than the antient custome, and there shall be nothing exacted from them more than the tribute.*

The Iudges of villages shall pay vnto the Lord the tributes according to the antient custome; if the Iudges do not bring the tribute, the Bassa or Beg of the place shall sum mon the inhabitants three to the end their Iudges may come and pay the tribute, and if they doe it not after these summonings, he shall write vnto the next Gouernour for the Romane Emperor, that the Iudges of the villages may be sent vnto him with the tribute: And finally, if after all these formalities it be not paied, the Bassa or Beg, may vse force to fetch in these inhabitants, and make them slaues: the which shall be obserued throughout all the villages which owe vs tribute in the realme of Hungarie, yet nothing shall be exacted or demanded of them, more, than they haue been accustomed to pay in antient times. The commissaries deputed shall view and set downe by a ioynt consent the limits and bounds of the lands and Seigniories, which are held by either part in the vpper or lower Hungarie, and in the realmes of Croatia and Sclauonia.

4 *They that shall breake the peace of either part, if they cannot be conuicted and punished instantly; we haue decreed, that there shall be order taken of either side, and iustice shall be done within three moneths. All prisoners of warre, and others which haue beene taken since the peace of Situa Torok, shall be set at libertie without ransome.*

5 Achmet Tahaia *hath presented vnto vs a Roule of places built and fortified since the peace, for the retreat of souldiers. Whereupon we haue ordained, that informations should be taken of all fortifications made on either side since the peace of Situa Torok; and if it be found that any fortification hath been made contrarie to the peace, it shall bee visited within foure moneths by the captains on both sides, or by a Nobleman of either partie, and the fortifications which shall be found to haue been thus made contrary to the peace shall be demolished.*

6 *And*

6 *And for that some wicked and malicious spirits, haue attempted many things vniustly to infringe this holy peace and good amitie; we haue ordained that if hereafter any persons of either side shall attempt or practise any thing that is wicked and lewd contrarie to the peace and mutuall correspondencie, wee will aduertise the Emperour of the Romans thereof: and in like manner the Roman Emperour, king of Hungarie and Bohemia, shall write vnto vs to our court, and no credit shall be giuen to the reports of such persons.*

7 *The Priests, religious men and Iesuites, among the people of holy* Iesus, *which follow the Popes religion, may build Temples in our realmes, there to say diuine seruice after their manner, and read the Gospell. Wee will yeeld them all fauour, and will not suffer any one to disturbe them contrarie to law and equitie.*

8 *It shall be lawfull for the inhabitants borne in the realme of Hungarie of either part to re-edifie the villages ruined and laied waste, and after they are inhabited, they shall pay tribute to the one and the other, if they be such villages as haue been accustomed to pay to both.*

9 *Merchants shall haue free leaue to traffique, passing from our port into those countries, and the transports of merchandise shall bee free to such as shall take letters from the Gouernours of the frontiers, or from the Receiuors of the thirties; the which they shall represent in passing, and the Lord of the place or the Receiuor shall attest the said letters, by his manuall signe or seale: for the which they shall not take any thing of the merchant. If the merchant be to passe by any dangerous place, they shall giue him a sufficient conuoy to conduct him in safetie: and after that the merchant hath paied of either side the thirtieth, which is the full due, no man shall molest him nor hinder him to goe where he pleaseth.*

10 *The merchants which would passe from the realms and seigniories of the Emperor of the Romanes and the house of Austria, into our kingdomes, with merchandise or money, shall come vnder the ensigne of the Emperor of Romans and shall haue his letters patents to vs, without the which they shall not be suffered to passe. And if they enter without ensigne or the said patents, the Agents and Consuls of the Roman Emperor may seise vpon their vessels, merchandise, and money, and shall giue advice thereof vnto their Emperour. wherefore all the merchants of the Emperours countries of the house of Austria, and of the king of Spaine, both as well those of the Low Countries as his other realmes may come with all assurance into our realmes, with their ships, money, and merchandise, paying three in the hundred. And as for the Agents and Consuls of the Roman Emperour, they shall pay vnto them two Aspers for the hundred: and in doing so the said Agents and Consuls of the Roman Emperour, shall haue a care of the merchants affaires. If any merchant chance to die the Emperours Agent and Consull shall cause his goods to be sealed vp, and shall take them into their possession, to the which our Treasurer shall haue no colour of pretension. And when as the merchants haue paied the custome of three for the hundred in one place, they shall not bee bound to pay it in another for the same merchandise. If the merchants haue any controuersie amongst themselues, or with others, the Cadi or Iudge of that place may take knowledge of the cause, if it exceed not the value of* 4000 *aspers, but it shall be iudged by the Cadi of our Port.*

11 *As long as this holy peace shal continue, the posts which shall be sent with letters by the Bassaes, Begues, Lords, and Agents, or by the Visiers on our behalfe to the Emperour of the Romans; and respectiuely from him to our Court, shall be honourably entertained by our officers: and if the way be dangerous, they shall giue them assistance to conduct them into a place of safetie with their letters. And if the Agent which is with vs, desire to write any particular letter vnto the Emperour, and not send an expresse messenger, that this letter shall be carried by the post, and deliuered safely where it is directed. That the messengers of the Bassaes and Begues shall goe no more into the villages, but the Iudges shall bring the tribute and deliuer it where they ought.*

An accord for the execution of the Articles touching the Villages in controuersie, and the raising of fortifications.

To conclude all differencies touching the diuision of Villages, and demolition of fortifications made in preiudice of the peace of Situa Torok: Wee the commissaries deputed, had agreed vpon the time of foure moneths: But for that all controuersies cannot bee decided within that time, by a common consens wee haue concluded the time of twelue moneths, for the expedition of all that shall remaine vndeci-

vndecided; all things remaining in the same estate during the time. For the ending of these affaires G
on the behalfe of the Maiestie of the Roman Emperour, shall be sent the noble Lord Adolph *of Alsben*
Earle of the sacred Empire, with others according to his Maiesties good pleasure. And on the behalfe of
the Othoman Emperour hath beene named the noble Lord Ali *Visier Bassa.*

For the greater assurance of these things, wee the said Commissioners haue caused six copies of this
treatie to be dispatched in the Italian, Hungarian, and Turkish tongues. And we the director or presi-
dent of the priuie Councell to his Imperiall Maiestie, and Cardinall, with other Counsellors of his pri-
uie Councell, and Commissioners, hauing full power and authoritie, haue confirmed these presents vn-
der our hands and the Seales of our armes.

As also we Ali *Bassa of Buda, Visier to the most powerfull Sultan* Achmat. Tybaia Mutafaraga, *and* Gaspar Gratiani *Embassadors to the Turkish Emperor, with the Imperiall Mai[illegible] of the Roman* H
Emperour, hauing full power and authoritie to conclude this treatie, haue signed it wi[illegible]r hands, and
sealed it with our ordinarie Seales: whereof there were three copies deliuered to either partie. Giuen at
Vienna the first of March, 1616.

This new declaration of the *Othoman* Emperour, vpon the first Articles concluded at Situa Torok, shewes plainely how much the Turkes are of late daies refined from their antient barbarisme and rudenesse, hauing made themselues capable of great affaires. And these frequent meetings betwixt the Emperour of the Romans, and the Sultan, by their Embassadors, as a holy watering of the Olive tree of peace, seemes to make [illegible]o flourishing, as the sweet sauour may pierce further, and make vs hope that God will ma[illegible]se of this peacefull vnion, to I
prepare vnto himselfe some meanes to a new haruest, or a healthfull conquest of soules wandring amidst the falshoods of the Alchoran.

Prince Coreshy his wife caried into Tartaria.

Alexandrina wife to prince *Coreskie* hauing been taken at that vnfortunat ouerthrow of the Polonian princes in Moldauia, by *Skinder Bassa* and prince *Michna*; shee was carried away (as you haue formerly heard) by a Tartarian Captaine, and led captiue vnknowne to Bialigrot, where shee receiued many indignities, beeing with childe; yea during the time of her lying in, which was fiue or six moneths after her taking: all which time shee bethought herselfe of a meanes to hasten her owne deliuerie, and withall to free a Polonian souldier called *Iaques*, who had carried armes vnder Prince *Coreskie*. This man although hee knew the Princesse well, and might by her discouerie haue purchased his owne libertie; yet hee K
would not do it: wherefore the Princesse hauing tryed his fidelitie, taught him a meanes how to worke his owne libertie, and her[illegible]he end, by his care and diligence. The Tartarian being one day absent from his lodging, [illegible]*ndria* tooke occasion to talke with *Iaques* the Polonian; telling him, That hauing foun[illegible]n faithfull vnto her, shee would direct him a course, whereby hee might redeeme him[illegible]e from captiuitie; so as hee would principally obserue what shee did prescribe. *Iaques* hauing promised to execute whatsoeuer this ladie should enioyne him, yea with the hazard of his life; she then said vnto him: You know the Tartarian whose captiues we are, hath an elder brother, a very rich man, who of late is become blind and deafe, by reason of a great cattarch and defluction which is fallen downe into his eyes and eares, wherewith his brother seemes to be much afflicted: I haue a jewel which my L
great Lord and husband gaue me when we were made sure, the which I haue kept carefully, hiding it sometimes in my haire, sometimes in my old tatterd rags which I haue worne since my captiuitie, the which I haue much esteemed; for that my deare spouse had assured mee, that the stone which was set in this jewell had many and singular vertues, and amongst others, that it would restore the sight, which had been lost by defluction, and cure deafenesse, so as it were not naturall or too inueterate. I am resolued to take out the stone, and deliuer it thee: after thou hast founded the Tartarian, whither hee will set thee at libertie if thou doest cure his brother of his infirmities; making him sweare solemnly not to retaine the stone, but to suffer thee to carrie it away, to the end thou maiest restore it vnto me without his knowledge. Hauing resolued vpon this plot, the Ladie said vnto him, You must also demand of the sicke M
man a horse and some money, with passe-ports to goe into your Countrey, to the end thou maiest goe speedily to my deare husband, whersoeuer thou shalt heare of him, and to deliuer him my letters, and bring mee an answere if it be possible. The Polonian hauing sworne to per-

A performe whatsouer the Ladie commanded him beeing at libertie; the princesse deliuered him the stone, he swearing to restore it vnto her againe, as soone as he had done his cure, if it were not taken from him by violence.

The Polonian attended with impatiencie vntill the Tartarian did talke vnto him of his brothers infirmitie: who finding him one day much afflicted, tooke occasion to tell him, that hee knew a certaine meanes how to cure his brother, without any paine, or taking any thing inwardly: I beleeue nothing, replied the Tartarian; for all the Physitions in the Countrey could not doe it; but if he could effect his saying, hee promised to set him at libertie without ransome, and to giue him wherewithall to conduct him into his countrie: it is the recompence, said the prisoner, I meant to demand, and that you sweare vnto me by your great God
B not to faile of your promise when I haue performed mine, and not to retaine, nor suffer any one to take from me the thing I shall vse in the cure. The Tartarian hauing solemnly sworne, and layed his right hand vpon his heart, the Polonian tooke a time to make preparation for his cure. The Tartarian although he distrusted his new physition, yet he acquainted his brother with the proiect, who beeing desirous to recouer his sences, intreated his brother not to neglect the offer, promising to saue him harmelesse, both in regard of the ransome which hee expected from the Polonian, and for the money he should giue him. The day appointed beeing come, the Tartarian prest the prisoner to perform his promise; to whom the sicke man also promised a horse and fiftie chequines to returne into his countrie, taking the same oath which his brother had formerly done. All things being readie, he applied his physicall stone,
C binding it fast to one of his eyes for the space of seuen houres, after which being taken away he saw clearely, and in like manner he recouered his other eye, and afterwards his hearing by the like application: whereat the Tartarians much reioyced, giuing vnto the Polonian what they had promised, and procuring him passe-ports from the Gouernour, without which hee could hardly get out of the countrie.

The Polonian before his departure told the Tartarian Captaine that hee had a suit vnto *Iaques seekes out Coreskie,* him, that was, that the Polonian woman which was also his prisoner was his neere kinswoman, entreating him that in respect of his good office he had done to his brother, hee would vse her and her little infant better, and that as soone as he were returned into his countrey, he would take a course for her ransome, and it might be would bring it himselfe. The Polonian
D hauing acquainted the Ladie with what had past, and deliuered her iewell faithfully vnto her, hauing receiued her letters to prince *Coreskie*, and vowed to finde him out, hee tooke his leaue. This Polonian trauelling towards his countrey, met with one of the same nation, who freely of their aduentures, *Iaques* enquired carefully what was become of the princes which had beene carried prisoners to Constantinople by *Skinder Bassa*, and especially of *Coreskie*; and hearing that hee was in the prisons of the Blacke Sea, hee enquired by what meanes he might speake with this prince, or at least how hee might conuey some letters vnto him: to whome hee answered, that it was verie difficult, for that he was straightly guarded. But hee vnderstood that the French Embassadour had sometimes leaue to send to visit him, whereof
E he might informe himselfe more particularly. After this, *Iaques* intreated his countryman to deliuer certaine letters which the princesse had written vnto her kinsfolkes, the which hee promised to performe faithfully, and so they parted. *Iaques* comming to Constantinople, hee grew acquainted with one of the French Embassadours men, who was sometimes employed to visit the prince, and to carrie him mony and other necessaries, by whose meanes hee got accesse vnto the Prince, and deliuered his letters, the which hee receiued with much joy, hearing of his wiues health. Eight daies after, the Polonian comming to visit the Prince, he receiued from him an answere to his wife, and so tooke his leaue; who after many trouble-
some encounters, returned to Bialigrot, where finding the Ladie all alone (the Tartarian *He returnes into Tartaria.* and his seruants being gone a hunting) he gaue an account vnto her of his negotiation, and
F deliuered his letters, whereat shee was much joyed, hearing that hee was aliue, though infinitly grieued for his captiuitie, vnderstanding that the Grand Seignior had refused to put him to ransome. After their discourse, the princesse aduertised her faithful Agent, That since his departure, the Tartar had grown jealous of her qualitie, and had enquired of her what her husband,

husband, her kinsfolkes and their eſtates were; to whome ſhe had anſwered, that her husband G
was a captaine who had been taken priſoner with prince *Alexander*, and carried with him in-
to Turkie; and as for her other kinsfolkes they were all ſouldiers, which had beene rui-
ned during the troubles of Moldauia: deſiring the Polonian to remember it well, leaſt
they ſhould be found to differ when they ſhould come to treat of her ranſome. The Tartari-
an returning ſoone after to his houſe, he found *Iaques* the Polonian there, whom he entertained
verie kindly, both in reward of the good offices he had done to his brother, and for the hope
hee had of his priſoners ranſome, remembring that *Iaques* had told him that ſhe was his kinſ-
woman, and that it might be he would bring it. After ſome little diſcourſe, *Iaques* asked him,
What ranſome hee would require for his Polonian Priſoner? to whom the Tartarian anſwe-
red, That he would haue 6000 Chequines for her and her ſonne, vnleſſe hee would giue him H
the ſtone with the which he had cured his brother: to whom the Polonian replyed, That as
for the ſtone it was not in his power, hauing reſtored it to a Nobleman whome hee had fol-
lowed when hee was taken priſoner. And as for the ranſome which hee demaunded for his
priſoner and her childe, it was more than ſhe and all her kindred were worth, ſhe beeing wife
to a Captaine who had beene taken priſoner at the defeat of *Alexander*, and for want of means
was ſtill detained. The Tartarian interrupted him; ſaying, That hee vnderſtood ſhee was of
noble extraction, and that ſhee had rich kinsfolkes, who would not ſuffer her to ſpend her
life in captiuitie. I confeſſe, ſaid the Polonian, that ſhee is deſcended from Noble parents, but
they are ruined during the troubles of Moldauia; adding withall, that he would not haue re-
turned if he had thought hee would haue demaunded aboue 6000 Chequines, the which he I
offered him, intreating him to accept it, in regard ſhee was his kinſwoman, and for the good
office he had done for his brother. You haue beene ſatisfied, replyed the Tartarian, and haue
no cauſe to complaine: Notwithſtanding after ſome conteſting, by the mediation of the
captaines brother, who had beene ſo well cured, the ladies ranſome was ſet at three thouſand
Chequines, whereof her faithfull agent gaue preſent intelligence to prince *Charles* brother to
prince *Coreskie*, who ſent this ſumme with all poſſible ſpeed; and ſo the princeſſe and her lit-
tle infant were redeemed from captiuitie, and conducted into Polonia by their faithfull
Prince Coreskie his wife redeemed from the Tartarians. ſolicitor: From whence ſhee aduertiſed the prince by letters of her deliuerie. This rela-
tion was written by a Frenchman, who by his report was preſent in all the troubles of Molda-
uia: but as touching her deliuerie by meanes of the cure, I cannot warrant it, but leaue it K
to the cenſure of Phyſitions and Naturaliſts, who can beſt judge of the vertues of ſtones,
hearbes, and plants; but it is certaine that ſhee was impriſoned and ranſomed as an vn-
knowne perſon.

1617 In the yeare 1617, there came to Paris a Chiaus, a Spaniſh Renegado, called *Solyman*, ſent
A Chiaus ſent from Conſtantinople to Paris. from Conſtantinople with letters from the Emperor *Achmat* to the king, for the deliuerie of
eight and twentie ſlaues, who had redeemed their libertie for money in diuers ports of Italie,
and in their returne to Conſtantinople, had been taken by the ſhips of Marceilles: the King
cauſed them to be ſet at libertie. But the Chiaus had alſo charge to intreat his Maieſtie to
The cauſe of his voyage. cauſe juſtice to be done vnto the Moores Grannadines, expelled out of Spaine, and wronged
in their goods and perſons, vpon their paſſage into France; wherein hee had what content- L
ment he could expect of juſtice. Notwithſtanding he did witneſſe openly his amaſement at
their long delaies, in the diſpatch of ſuits; ſaying plainly, That France which had the repu-
tation throughout the world, to maintaine euery mans right inuiolably, did no Iuſtice, but af-
ter long and tedious purſuits; and that the execution of decrees, was many times longer than
the ſuit it ſelfe. Whereas the Turkes Iuſtice (ſaid hee) was ſpeedily adminiſtred to euery
man; and within eight dayes they ſaw an end of the greateſt and moſt important ſuits. This
Chiaus was fauourably entertained, and defraied with his traine for the ſpace of ſix or ſeuen
moneths at the kings charge.

The eſtate of the Turks Empire this yeare. As the Turkes eſtate hath not growne great but by combuſtions, ſo it is ordinarily full of
troubles; whereby it ſeemes that the preſeruation thereof depends in making warre vpon M
others, or to ſupport it when as neighbour princes ſeeke to recouer that which they had vn-
iuſtly wreſted from them, by the *Othoman* force. So this great eſtate entertained this yeare
foure great armies, two at land, the one againſt the Perſians his antient enemie, the other
(con-

A (conſiſting in a manner all of Tartarians) againſt the king of Poland, as ſupporting the part of
the Vayuod of Moldauia againſt the Turke, who had ſetled another in that Prouince:
And two nauall armies, the one in the Blacke ſea againſt the Coſſackes or Ruſſians, who *He entertaines foure armies.*
made daily incurſions into the *Othomans* Countrey, men wholly giuen to armes, which goe
to ſea in ſmall boats, able to carrie but fiue or ſix men, made of the bodies of hollow trees;
but they are in a manner inuincible with theſe kind of boats: for when as the diſaduantage
of a combat forces them to found a retreat, they retire neere vnto the land, and in ſuch places
whereas the Turkiſh gallies cannot approch; and ſo they eaſily preuent a totall ouerthrow.
Finally, in caſe of neceſſitie they carrie their veſſels with them. For in the end of the
laſt yeare finding the paſſage of the Blacke ſea ſtopped at the mouth of the riuer of Danow
B by the Turkiſh gallies, they put their boats into carts, and taking the way by the mountaines,
they brought them eaſily into the ſea. The Turkes fourth armie is in the white ſea, as they
call it, employed either to conduct the Carauan, which brings the tribute from Ægypt to
Conſtantinople, or in ſearch of the gallies of Malta and Florence, which ſcoure thoſe ſeas
continually to annoy the Turke. The armie againſt the Perſian is led by *Haly Baſſa*, ſucceſſor
to *Mehemet Baſſa*, hee who fled into Perſia after that hee had loſt threeſcore thouſand men in
a ſet a battell: after which beeing ſent for to come vnto Conſtantinople, fearing that the Sul-
tan would take reuenge of ſo great a loſſe vpon his life, hee retired to the Sophie, where he
now remaines.

The Turkes complaine to the Venetians of the Vſcoques ſpoiles. The Turks being much annoyed both at ſea and land by the Vſcoques, made great com-
C plaint to the Eſtate of Venice, with whome they are in league, beeing greatly grieued at their
theſts; and complayning much that they could not paſſe by ſea without danger of ſeruitude
or death: adding withall, that theſe pyrats hauing gotten a way into Turkie by the Venetians
territories, they were by them made ſlaues and ſlaine in their owne countries; and although
they went not from their houſes, nor vndertooke any voyages, yet they were ſtill in alarme,
and ſubiect vnto ruine. That the ſmall reſiſtance which was made, gaue great cauſe of jea-
louſie, that there was ſome ſecret intelligence betwixt the ſubiects of the Seigniory of Venice
and the Vſcoques, and that they diuided the ſpoile betwixt them. Finally, that in what ſort
ſoeuer the matter paſt, they held them inſupportable to all men, but eſpecially to themſelues.
The Turkes threatened to take their juſt reuenge, the which beeing impoſſible to effect in
D the countrie of the Vſcoques (for that by the letters of the commonwealth of Venice their
paſſage was ſtopped) they reſolued to be reuenged vpon their ſubiects, and recouer a part of
their goods which they had loſt. Finally, they prepared to come into the gulph of Venice
with a mightie armie, the which without doubt had brought that State into great extremi-
ties, and been verie preiudiciall to many prouinces of Chriſtendome. But for that the inſolen-
cies and theſts of the Vſcoques had like to haue ingaged the Venetians in a dangerous warre
againſt the Turke with whome they were in league, it ſhall neither be vnpleaſant nor vn-
profitable to make a little digreſſion, and ſhew what theſe Vſcoques were. About the yeare
The beginning of the Vſcoques. 1550, there aſſembled together in certaine plaines neere the ſea belonging to the princes of
the houſe of Auſtria, people (who were cruell, violent, and infamous) from diuers parts of
E the countrey of Chimera, Dalmatia, and the other confines of Hungarie, and ſuch as had
beene baniſhed from the State of Venice; whoſe delight was onely to liue vpon ſpoyle and
bloud. All theſe theeues beeing thus gathered together (whome they called by a generall
name Vſcoques) as enemies to all art and induſtrie to liue honeſtly by their labours, retired *Enemies to all art and induſtrie.*
themſelues into a deſart countrey, receiuing no pay from the Princes of Auſtria who com-
maunds there. Being thus by their naturall inclination giuen to ſpoyle, adding thereunto
the ſpurre of pouertie, nothing mooued them to ſtay in thoſe places, but all libertie was left
them to rob and ſpoyle: whereupon they applyed all their mindes and forces; ſo as hauing
made certaine light foiſts, they began to make courſes at ſea, with the moſt barbarous and
impious cruelrie that euer was practiſed amongſt the Scithians, Tartarians, or any other inhu-
F mane Nation whatſoeuer. And for that it is an ordinarie courſe for any one that will com-
mit a great villanie, to ſeeke out ſome goodly pretext to couer it: ſo they concluded among
themſelues, to ſhadow their inſolencies and theſts with a colour to goe againſt the Infidels.
Wherefore in the beginning, there were no merchants were they Turkes, Iewes, or ſubiects
to

They rob the Turke & Iews trafficking to Venice.

to the Turke, although they were Christians, but if they entred into the gulfe either to traf- G
fique or to furnish Venice with prouision and merchandise, they were taken by them, their goods diuided amongst them, and they forced to pay a great ransome, or to die miserably. All the ports of the State of Venice, both of Istria, Dalmatia, and the Islands from whence they receiued their victuals and prouision, were soone after shut vp by these pyrats, who not content to spoile the Turks (which trafficked no more by reason of their great dangers and losse) allured by the rich spoiles which they tooke, and the desire they had to encounter them, they began to set vpon the Venetian ships, forcing the merchants whom they tooke to confesse by torments, that the goods belonged to Turks, although in effect their chiefe booty came from Christians. Hauing drawn many vnto them of their owne humors, and thinking their spoyles at sea not sufficient to satisfie their couetous desires, nor the presents which they were to giue H
to others, to bee faored and supported in the courts of princes, they staied not long before they entered with all violence into the Turkes countrey, through the Venetian territorie, to whom they were as hurtfull as to the Turks; from whence they carried away rich spoiles and many prisoners. There was nothing that was precious, rich, or good, but was subiect to the insatiable greedinesse of those pittileſse theeues and pyrats, if passing by sea they came neere vnto the maritime coasts. Wherupon grew the great complaint you haue heard made by the Turks, threatening to be reuenged vpon the Estate of Venice for the insolencie of the Vscoques, which afterward bred a cruell war, betwixt that State and the Archduke *Ferdinand* of Grets, now Emperour, who seemed to support them, thereby to ingage the State in a war with the Turke. But for that the succesſe thereof doth not belong to our historie, wee will leaue it to I
them that haue written it at large.

Death of Achmat.

On the fifteenth of Nouember this yeare, Sultan *Achmat Chan* hauing liued 30 yeares, and gouerned that great Empire of Turkie fifteene, died. When he came to the Empire he was but

The disposition of Sultan Achmat.

fifteene yeares old; hee was of a good constitution, well complexioned, and somewhat enclined to bee fat, strong and actiue, which appeared by his exercise in casting of a horsemans mace of nine or ten pounds weight, wherein hee exceeded any one of his Court; in memorie whereof there are two pillars set vp in one of the courts of the Seraglio at Constantinople, with an inscription, as markes of his dexteritie. Hee was by nature ambitious and proud, which some hold qualities befitting his great estate. He was not so cruell as many of his predecessors: but he was much giuen to sensualitie and pleasure; for the which hee entertained K
three thousand concubines and virgines in a Seraglio; beeing the faireſt daughters of the Christians. His mother was a Christian of Bosna, or of Cyprus; and therefore it is thought he was somewhat fauorable to Christians. He was much delighted in hawking and hunting; and namely for hawking he kept in Grecia and Natolia fortie thousand faulkoners, who attended his comming, and kept his hawkes in their seuerall places of charge, and had good yearely pensions. Neither were his huntsmen much fewer in number, or of lesse charge. As the Turkish Emperours are bound by the law of their religion once euery day to practise some manuall trade, so *Mahomet* his father gaue himselfe to the making of arrowes, and *Achmat* to the fashioning of horne rings, such as the Turkes weare when they draw their bowes: This they doe in the morning, after they are readie and haue said their prayers, then they call L
for their exercise, but it is only for forme, for they scarce make an arrow or a ring in a whole yeare.

Christian Princes at the same time with Achmat.

- *Emperours of Germany*
  - *Rodolph the second.* 1577.35.
  - *Matthias.* 1612.
- *Kings,*
  - *Of Great Britaine,* — *King Iames that new raigneth*
    - *Of England.* 1602.
    - *Of Scotland.* 1567.
  - *Of France,*
    - *Henrie the fourth.* 1589.
    - *Lewis the thirteenth, that now raigneth.* 1610.
- *Bishops of Rome,* — *Paul the* 1605.

Nought but Affliction, thundring out of Heauen,
makes men of earth to any goodneſſe giuen:
Nor longer than ſhe thunders, any feare
that any Heauen holds any Thunderer:
So *Muſtapha*, while Heauen reſtrain'd his State,
and held him fettered in his brothers hate,
To vertuous actions did his ſtudies driue;
was courteous, pious, and contemplatiue:
But when his brother could no longer liue,
and Libertie did to him Power giue;
Then Pride, and Tyrannie, his horſes were,
and driue him alwaies paſt Heauens Loue or Feare.
Greatneſſe on Goodneſſe, loues to ſlide, not ſtand,
and leaues for Fortunes ice, Vertues firme land.
Honour had rather be with danger driuen,
than ſtay with Vertue on the hand of Heauen.

THE

THE RAIGNE OF MVSTAPHA,
THE FIRST OF THAT NAME,
NINTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

C

Sman the eldeſt ſonne of *Achmat*, beeing not aboue twelue yeares old, *Muſtapha* brother to *Achmat*, being fiue and twentie, was drawne out of a cell where hee liued as it were religiouſly and in contemplation; and proclaimed Sultan *Muſtapha Chan*. They write of him, that hee grew cruell, cauſing young *Oſman* to bee kept vnder ſure guards, putting to death his brethren: Hee alſo did many indignities vnto the Chriſtian Embaſſadours; and to confirme him in his Throne, hee gaue great ſummes of money to the Ianizaries and Spahie's; and ſent a meſſenger to Vienna to the Emperour, to aſſure him that hee would maintaine inuiolably whatſoeuer had beene concluded betwixt him and his deceaſed brother *Achmat*. But growing odious by reaſon of his tyrannie, the Grand Viſier came out of Perſiia with an armie and depoſed him, forcing him to returne to his cell, ſetting prince *Oſman* at libertie, and ſeating him in the Imperiall Throne. But for that it may ſeeme ſtrange, that *Muſtapha* ſhould be preſerued aliue during the raigne of his brother *Achmat* (contrarie to the cuſtome of the *Othoman* Emperours, who doe vſually kill all their brethren at their firſt comming to the crowne, thinking thereby the better to aſſure their eſtates) it ſhal be fit to make mention thereof. *Mahomet* the third of that name, dying in the yeare 1602, and leauing *Achmat* and *Muſtapha* his ſonnes by the Sultana *Flatra* a Ladie of Cyprus, ſome ſay of Boſna, *Achmat* the eldeſt was ſent for ſpeedily out of Magneſia, by the Baſſaes, to take poſſeſſion of his fathers Crowne, beeing the firſt Emperour of that name. And for that the cuſtome of the Turkiſh Emperours was (as wee haue ſaid) to haue neither brother nor nephew aliue, vnleſſe they could ſaue themſelues by flight; yet the Viſier Baſſaes, and other officers of the court concluded in Councell, that it was not fit that *Muſtapha* brother to *Achmat* ſhould die; grounding their opinion vpon a good reaſon of State, for that their Emperour beeing but fifteene yeares old, they feared (that dying in his nonage, without children able to gouerne) the Empire might fall into combuſtion, and ruine it ſelfe by reaſon of ciuile wars. Whereupon they decreed, that *Muſtapha's* life ſhould bee preſerued; but with that caution and reſtriction, that hee ſhould remaine ſtill a priſoner in ſome chambers of the Emperours Seraglio at Conſtantinople.

Muſtapha aduanced to the Empire.

Depoſed againe.

During *Achmats* minoritie, and before he had children, there was no cruell decree made againſt *Muſtapha*, but hee onely continued in his contemplation without any libertie: But when as the Emperor ſaw himſelfe fortified with iſſue, and remembring the cruell cuſtome of his predeceſſours, hee many times propounded the putting of his brother to death to his Councell: the which may ſeeme verie ſtrange it tooke not effect, hauing beene often conclu-

ded. Among others, it is written that his death was concluded one euening, and that it ſhould G
haue beene put in execution the next day: But *Achmat* was ſo frighted in the night with
apparitions and fearefull dreames, as day beeing come, he ſaid, Seeing that the onely reſolu-
tion to put his brother to death had ſo terrified him, he did beleeue that his torments would
much increaſe if he ſhould put it in execution; and therefore hee commanded his brother
ſhould liue, more in regard of the terror of his mind, than for any brotherly affection. Another
time Sultan *Achmat* being in one of the windowes of his Seraiglio, he beheld his brother *Mu-*
ſtapha, who by his permiſſion was walking in the gardens with his guard: Some one of his
Baſſaes or other officers that was neere vnto him, and willing to flatter his humour, told him
that it was a matter of dangerous conſequence to ſuffer him to haue ſo great libertie. *Ach-*
mat (moued with jealouſie and diſtruſt) grew into rage at his words, whereupon hee ſuddenly H
tooke his bow and arrow (beeing a verie expert archer, as all the Turkiſh Nation generally
are) and aimed at his brother to kill him; but at that verie inſtant, hee felt ſo great a paine in
his arme and ſhoulder, as not able to let looſe his arrow, nor to performe what hee had inten-
ded, hee ſaid with a loud voyce, That *Mahomet* would not haue *Muſtapha* to die. This
prince had three chambers in the Seraglio, where hee remained a priſoner fifteene yeares, and
ſpent his time in a contemplatiue kind of life, after the manner of the Muſulmans; his whole
delight was to read the Arabian bookes of their doctors in diuers ſciences. The Grand Seig-
nior gaue him leaue ſometimes to take the aire of his gardens with his guard, and called him
to conſult with him of affaires of eſtate, taking his aduice many times, knowing him to bee of
a ſound judgement. I

After a long impriſonment, and a daily apprehenſion of death, the Emperour *Achmat* fal-
ling grieuouſly ſicke in Nouember, as you haue heard, his Baſſaes and other Councellours
about him (ſeeing the danger hee was in) perſuaded him to take ſome good courſe for the ſuc-
ceſſion of his Empire. Hee had children by the Sultana, but they ſo young as they were not
capable to gouern the Empire. Moreouer, this Sultana was dead, and the children left friend-
leſſe, and none to ſpeake for them. But on the other ſide the Sultana *Flatra* mother to the Em-
perour *Muſtapha* was yet liuing, who thought that if the Baſſaes ſhould vndertake to gouerne
the State during the minoritie of the Emperors children, her honor would be much eclipſed:
wherefore ſhe fauored *Muſtapha*, & perſuaded the dying Emperor to make him his ſucceſſour.
On the 15 of Nouember *Achmat* ſeeing his end grow neere, he called for his brother, and told K
him, that ſeeing death approched, hee deſired to prouide for the preſeruation of the Empire,
and therefore had made choice of him to ſucceed him, intreating him to take the gouernment
vpon him preſently after his death. *Muſtapha* was much amaſed at his ſpeech, and anſwered
him with words full of feare and humilitie, That he might not accept of the honour which he
did him, ſeeing that the Empire did rightly belong vnto his eldeſt ſonne. *Achmat* diſabled his
ſonne for ſo great a gouernement, both for his age and capacitie; beeing neceſſarie for the
maintenance of ſo great a monarchie, that hee (who was of ripe yeares and deepe judge-
ment) ſhould take vpon him the mannaging thereof; recommending the Children hee had
by the Sultana, vnto him; intreating him to vſe them in the ſame manner that hee had vſed
him; leauing the other children which he had by concubines beeing his ſlaues, to his diſcre- L
tion. Soone after theſe words, *Achmat* dyed, and *Muſtapha* was generally acknowledged for
ſucceſſour to the Turkiſh Empire: who at the firſt was ſo amaſed as he thought he had beene
in a dreame, to ſee himſelfe aduanced to ſo great a power and ſoueraignetie, from a ſtraight
priſon and a daily apprehenſion of death. At his firſt comming to the Empire, he cauſed the
Perſian Embaſſadour to be ſet at libertie, whom his brother *Achmat* had cauſed to be reſtrai-
ned contrarie to the publique faith; for that newes came vnto the court of ſome combuſti-
ons rayſed by the Perſian. After which hee ſent ſpeedily to the Baſſa of Buda in Hunga-
rie, commaunding him to entertaine the treatie of peace made by his predeceſſor with the
Emperour inuiolably. Yet notwithſtanding he carried himſelfe during the ſmall time of his
raigne inſolently and cruelly; for violating the Laws of Nations, he had ill intreated the ba- M
ron of *Mole* ar *Sancie* Embaſſadour to the moſt Chriſtian King, ſetting guards vpon him as a
priſoner, hauing cauſed his people to be put in priſon, and tortured after their manner. The
reaſon of this indignitie which *Muſtapha* did vnto the French Embaſſador, and to his people,
grew

A grew vpon an occaſion which will require an ample diſcourſe; for the better vnderſtanding
of that which hath gone before. After the ouerthrow and taking of the Princes of Molda-
uia, Prince *Coreskie*, as you haue heard, was brought by *Skinder Baſſa* to Conſtantinople;
whereat the Grand Seignior was wonderfully well pleaſed, for that he was held (euen by his
enemies) for one of the moſt valiant and redoubted princes of Chriſtendome; wherefore hee
was ſent away priſoner, and confined to the towers of the blacke ſea, the which are diſtant
fiue miles from Conſtantinople; a place appointed for the guard of priſoners of great
qualitie and importance, ſuch as hee was. Hee was ſhut vp with a French Captaine called
Rigaut, in a little Chamber which was on the top of one of thoſe towers, in which chamber
there was a window capable for a man to paſſe through, and yet it had no barres for that the
B height of the place freed it from all ſuſpition. This prince was much ſolicited by the Turke
to become a Renegado, as the Princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan* his brothers in law had done;
but hee reſiſted it with a generous reſolution, reſoluing rather to die in that tedious captiuity, *The generous reſolution of prince Coreskie.*
than to commit ſo baſe an act againſt God and his conſcience: The which beeing made
knowne vnto the King of Polonia, it mooued him to compaſſion, and made him write to
the French Embaſſadour, and to entreat him to bee a meanes that this prince might be put to
ranſome, and freed from captiuitie, at what price ſoeuer; the which the Embaſſador durſt not
vndertake, although hee deſired it much, for that hee had no charge from the King his
Maſter. The Emperours Embaſſadour did what poſſibly hee could, knowing how much
the libertie of this prince might be auaileable to Chriſtendome: For which conſiderations,
C the Turke would not yeeld in any ſort to ſuffer him to be releaſed; ſo as the friends of this
captiue prince were out of hope euer to ſee him at libertie. But moſt commonly in ſuch
extremities the Almightie workes by the ſecret inſtruments of his Diuine prouidence, and
giues aſſiſtance vnto them that feare him, when as all humane helpe and hope failes, as
you may vnderſtand in the ſequell of this hiſtorie: whence grew the Embaſſadours affront
which he receiued.

About the ſame time, there had beene a Ladie taken out of Podolia with a faire young
daughter of hers and a maid ſeruant, by the Tartarians, who ſould them vnto a Turke;
and hee brought them vnto Conſtantinople to make his profit. This Ladie who was a
Chriſtian, hearing nothing from her husband for the ſpace of nine moneths, went accor-
D panied with her daughter to the French Embaſſadours houſe which was at Pera, to craue
his aid and aſſiſtance; where his Secretarie (who was called *Martine*) mooued with com-
paſſion and loue, promiſed vnto them all ſeruice, and afterwards aſſured the mother, that if
ſhee would promiſe hee ſhould marrie her daughter, hee would endeauour to redeeme
them from captiuitie: whereunto the Ladies yeelded, and they paſſed their promiſe in
writing to the Secretarie; whereupon he payed two thouſand and fiue hundered crowns
for their ranſome, and ſent them home into their countrey. Being returned, the Ladie made
her husband and the reſt of her friends acquainted how they had beene freed from captiuitie;
and of the contract of marriage which was paſt betweene her daughter and the French
Embaſſadours Secretarie; but the father did altogether diſlike of this marriage, for that
E *Martine*, hee ſaid, was no Gentleman, and had not an eſtate to entertaine his daughter ac-
cording to her qualitie. The mother aduertiſed *Martine* ſoone after of the fathers refu-
ſall; proteſting vnto him, that he alone was the hinderance: and as for the mony which hee
had diſburſed for their ranſome, they would ſend it vnto him if hee pleaſed to Conſtantino-
ple with intereſt. *Martine* was much diſcontented, and diuers Letters and expoſtulations
paſt betwixt them, but he could not obtaine the execution of his deſire, and their promiſe;
whereupon he grew full of griefe and melancholie, and thereupon went to viſite prince *Co-*
reskie who was in the Blacke Tower, to make his complaint vnto him, and to take his aduice
what courſe were beſt for him to follow: Hee made his excuſe that hee had been ſent by his
maſter to carrie the prince ſome money, as he had done at other times, who making the prince
F acquainted with his diſcontent (for that he knew theſe Podolians, and had formerly allowed
of the ſuit which he had made to this virgin) hee comforted him, ſaying, That if he might
by any meanes get out of priſon, hee would willingly ſupplie the defects which they ob-
iected againſt him, and would maintaine him againſt all that ſhould oppoſe themſelues againſt
his

Osman, thy gentle Nature farre declinde
from Turkish tyrannie and pride of minde,
Which made heauen raise thee and extirpat them,
the proud vsurpers of thy Diadem.
O! would all Princes (when their States are blest
with Power, and Empire) thinke their interest
In those their blessings, held but by the grace
of Gratitude, and Goodnesse; and no place
Is held without them long: they soone would try,
that Truth preuailes past all their Policie.

OSMAN THE FIRST OF that name, tenth Emperour of the Turks,

he that now swaieth that mightie Empire.

C P Rince *Osman* beeing set at libertie by the graund Visier, hee caused him to bee proclaimed Sultan, and seated in the Imperiall throne of the *Othomans*, with the generall applause of all the Bassaes and armie. The French Embassadour beeing by the same meanes freed from his guard, aduertised the King his Master, how barbarously hee had beene entreated by *Mustapha*, entreating his Maiestie to reuoke him from that charge. Whereupon the King sent two Gentlemen to Constantinople to the new Emperor *Osman*, to demand reparation of the indignitie done vnto his Embassador and Secretarie; and to let him vnderstand, that hee could not send any other Embassadour to his Court to condole the death of Sultan *Achmat* his father, nor congratulate his comming to the East, vntill that hee had receiued satisfaction from him befitting his dignitie, and the wrongs hee had receiued in his Embassador. The Grand Visier and the Muphti hearing this Embassie, and considering of the actions which had passed, aduised the Emperor *Osman* to send an Embassadour to the most Christian King, to confirme their league, and to testifie both by word and letters how much he was displeased for his discontent. 1618

The French king sendeth to Constantinople.

The Grand Seignior by the aduice of his Visier and others, sent *Vri* Chiaus into France. *The Turk sendeth an Embassadour into France.* to confirme the articles of peace betwixt the French and the Turks. At his first audience he presented a letter vnto his Maiestie with this superscription.

E *To the most glorious and puissant Prince of the Beleefe of Iesus, arbitrator of all the differences which happen among the Christian Nations, and of all the most noble, and the most antient, the Emperour of France, to whom we wish the end of his daies to be happie, and his desires accomplished.*

Know, that I send vnto you the capitulations and treaties of peace which are betweet our [illegible] giuing you to vnderstand, that there is not any thing firme or stable in this world [illegible] gar although they liue long: that which pleaseth God cannot fayle. [illegible] without doubt all men would goe to heauen. Man whatsoeuer he doe [illegible] be, shall not remaine in this fraile life; wise men know it, and it is [illegible]

F *which we haue said, wee desire to let you know, that he who was in [illegible] gone to a goodlier place, to Paradise, my father Sultan* Achmat *[illegible] blance haue mercy on him. No man shal remaine in this lying [illegible] to God, where there is no death. Finally he is gone.*

Since the beginning of the Othomans *vntil this present [illegible]*

from father and sonne, from hand to hand, and from father to sonne, the inheritance comming so vnto G
vs; our Vncle Sultan Mustapha Chan, for that he was elder than our selfe, was preferred before vs to
the throne of the Otromans, and was some daies in peaceable possession of the Empire, yeelding justice
equally to all men both great and small. But as he was shut vp many yeares in secret places, pray-
ing vnto God continually; so of himselfe he hath relinquished the dignitie of the Emperor, and contem-
ned it. The Empire then belonging to those of our high linage, and for that by right it should come vnto
me, the Almightie God by his infinit bountie and mercy hath restored it into my hands, my Visiers, Bas-
saes, Lieutenants, the Musti, and other great personages, and they that are in any respect with me: and
finally, all my subiects and vassals, by a generall consent haue acknowledged me for Emperor, in the hap-
py yeare 1027. About the first day of the Moone of Ianuarie, in a good houre. Wherefore I am seated in H
the great throne of the Othomans, like vnto that of Salomon, a powerfull and able Emperour, and in all
our countries and cities: All the Musulmans being assembled together in their churches to preach,
the greatnesse of my name hath beene proclaimed, and through all the mints of mine Empire they haue
grauen it in their stamps, to coine pieces of gold and siluer. Finally, wheresoener there are any Musul-
mans, and in what places there are men, my name shines like gold. Heereafter iniustice nor impietie shall
haue no place, but iustice shall be done equally. Now we are in ioy and for that our naturall disposition is
good, and the ancient freindship betwixt vs is perfect, I therefore thought good to aduertise you of all
that hath passed here, and to send you our letters of Imperial alliance by Vieiu Chiaus who is my antient
seruant, hauing had the managing of my treasure, whereof hee hath given me good account, being arri-
ued at your court, carrying my said letter, hee deserues to be receiued with honour: swearing and prote-
sting againe vnto you, to obserue in all points the full capitulation made betwixt my predecessors, and I
your great grandfathers, and for our part, you may be assured, that the faith promised shal be maintained
as it hath been heretofore by our predecessors. And from the day I entered into my throne, I haue made
my will knowne to all my Viceroyes, and other officers which do my Iustice, and generally to all those of
my obedience; intreating you to giue the like commandement to your Gouernours of prouinces, and other
officers of Iustice, as in like manner to all your subiects. And as your grandfathers haue taken the faith
of our high family, so it may please you to continue with me, and we desire that on both sides it may bee
good and firme. Know then that for my part it shall be obserued, so as of your side, there be nothing done
contrarie to the promised faith. And if before we came vnto the Imperiall throne, your Embassadour
which did your affaires hath receiued any distaste, and hath not receiued the honor and frienaship accu- K
stomed, in my time he shall be the more honored and respected as the chiefest Embassadors haue beene: I
haue commanded that he shall be greatly fauored, and our respect shall be vnto him as Quineo, that is
to say, Gold, and doubt nothing of it: for I doe certifie you.

The French king hauing receiued by this relation a full satisfaction for the indignitie done vnto his Embassador: soon after he called the Baron of *Mole* or *Sancie* home into France, sending the Earle of *Sezi* to succeed him as Embassador at Constantinople.

Abattell betwixt the Turks and the Persians.

The war continuing still betwixt the Turkes and the Persians, the grand Visier was sent to inuade Persia with a great armie, where after many exploits of war, newes came to Constantinople, that the Visier had gotten a great aduantage vpon the Sophy of Persia in a battel which L
had beene fought, wherein there had been 100000 men slaine. And although the Turks lost the greatest number, yet they remained masters of the fielde, and spoiled the Persians campe, who was retired or fled. For that the manner of the Sophie is to fight with the Turks in retiring or giuing way a little; and with this manner of fighting they haue alwaies made head against the Turks. After this ouerthrow the Visier aduanced with his armie, and entred far into Persia, which made many doubt that his returne would proue difficult: yet soone after there came letters to Constantinople, importing that the Turkes being in Persia in great distresse for victuals, the Sophie had sent an Embassador to the Visier to demand peace, promising hereafter to satisfie the tributes of silkes which he ought yerely vnto the Turke; and that the Visier
A peace concluded betwixt them. (in regard of the necessitie of his armie) had accepted his offer, and graunted him peace, the which Sultan *Osman* did afterwards ratifie. After the conclusion whereof, the Sophie sent M
many Cammels loaden with victuals vnto the Turkes armie, which was in great distresse and want.

A comet seene ouer Constantinople.

During the Turkes warre in Persia, vpon the anniuersarie day of Sultan *Achmat*, there appeared in the night a Comet ouer the Citie of Constantinople; in forme like vnto a crooked

A crooked sword, or Turks scimiter: and it was so great, as it extended from the meridian neere vnto our zenith, vnto the horizon: the point began to shew it selfe an houre after midnight, and then it appeared little and somewhat whitish, and gaue but a glimpse, after an houre it was more apparent and of a deeper color, and the more it did rise, the redder it was, and like vnto bloud; but at the breake of day it vanished by little and little in the light: And it was so big when the point approched neere vnto the zenith, as the hilt was hidden vnder the horizon; the Mathematicians did obserue, that it followed the motions of the heauens; it did alwayes rise in one place, and the bending of the said sword was toward Crates, more Southerly than it. It did appeare directly in the East a quarter towards the South, the point comming directly towards Constantinople, and the blade extending it selfe to the said East a quarter to the
B South, which is justly the part where Persia is scituated. The edge looked directly towards Constantinople, the which made men discourse diuersly, and many were amased, fearing that it did signifie the losse and defeat of their armie in Persia, whose returne they feared much.

Vri or *Husseine* Chiaus hauing finished his Embassie in France, came into England with the like charge, and had audience from his Majesty at White Hall, Sir *Thomas Glouer* being Interpreter, from whom I receiued a true discourse of his whole speech, as followeth.

The Turkish Embassadors speech to his Maiestie.

C *Hac subhanehu, ve Allahuteale. Saadetlu, ve izzetlu Padishah hazeretlerinung vmriny ve deuletiny ziyad ve berziyad eileie, Amin yah Rabil alemin.*

Ziyade cudretlu ve saadetlu Sultan Ali Osman Chan *Padishah Hazeretleri; saadetlu Padishah Hazeretlerine juzbin selamler ve doaler idub, bu namei humaiun saadet maakrunile, Sultanum Hazeretlerine irsal idub: vmidleri oldurchi, maabenilerinde munakid olan sulhu selah, bu anedeghin, ne veczuzre chyvz olundise, halia dachi ol vslub vzre ber daim giunden ginne artirub mucarer olmasina murad humaiunleridur.*

Ali Osman, *Padishahung dachi Lala, ve Bash vezirazam Bassa hazeretleri, saadetlu*
D *Sultanum hazeretlerine juz binselamber idub, bu mektub sherifleri dachi haki pay sherifslerine irsal idub doaler ider.*

Assitanei saadette dachi mutemekin olan elczighiz nam Paulo Pinder *Cullighiz haki pay sherifslerine juz kylyndikdensongra, mubarek aiaghyn pusse idub, bu mektub Sultanum hazeretlerine irsal eiledy ler.*

The Interpretation hereof is thus.

That most true, incomprehensible, and most high God, encrease and multiply your Maiesties yeares in
E *all happinesse and felicitie, amen oh thou Lord of the world.*

The most inuincible, most mightie, and most happie Sultan Osman Chan *of the* Othoman *Empire, Monarch, sendeth vnto your excellent Maiestie a hundred thousand salutations and greetings, euermore praying the most high God for your Maiesties happinesse, sendeth vnto your Highnesse with all possible honor and renown, this his Imperiall and most noble Letter; and withall hopeth, that the sacred bond of peace, which hath beene hitherto inuiolable on your maiesties parts kept and obserued; your Maiestie will be well pleased still on your part, with daily encrease more and more of friendship, earnestly to continue therein. And his Imperiall Maiestie on his behalfe is also resolued in the like manner euermore punctually to keepe and obserue the same.*

Also the most mightie Emperour his Tutor, and his chiefe Visier Bassa, hath addressed to the dust of
F *of your noble feet, this his most honorable letter, with a thousand commendations, praying euerlastingly that mightie God for your Maiesties long life and happinesse.*

Also your Maiesties Embassadour at Constantinople, your slaue Paul Pinder, *bowing his forehead to the dust of your Maiesties feet, and most humbly kissing your Highnesse blessed feet, hath directed vnto your Majestie this his submissiue Letter.*

This

This that now followeth, is the said Embassadors speech to his Maiestie at the taking of his leaue at White Hall. G

Saadetlu Padishabum, Nitekim bu kullighiz haki pay sheriflerine effendimuz olan Cudretlu ve adaletlu Ali Osman *Padishah Hazeretlerinung name humaiunlerin destimuzile teslin eileduk: Regia ve temenamuz budurki Sultanum hazaretcleri dachi angba giore effendimuze name sherisflerile gionab idub bu killighize teslim eilemek erzany buiurila, ve berdaim saadette ve deulette peydar ola.*

The Interpretation *verbatim* is thus. H

Most happie Emperor, as I haue with mine owne hands, bowing my selfe to the dust of your princely feet appresented vnto your excellent Maiestie the most mightie and high Sultan Othoman *my lord and Master his Imperiall Letter, so likewise I most humbly beseech your Maiestie, that you will be pleased in conformitie thereof, to vouchsafe your princely answer by your noble Letter, and to deliuer the same into the hands of me your slaue: and be euer partaker of all blessednesse and happinesse.*

A Copie of the Letter of Sultan *Osman* the present Othoman Emperour, written to the Kings Maiestie, and presented by *Hussaine* Chiaus. I

Although in this transitorie world, if the king or the beggar should enioy the longest terme of life that might be, and obtaine all that his heart could wish, yet it is most certaine, that in the end hee must depart and be transported to the world eternall; and it is well known vnto the wise, that it is impossible for man to abide for euer in this world. The occasion of this prologue is, that the Immortall, omnipotent, and onely God hath by his Diuine will and pleasure called vnto himselfe our father of blessed memorie Sultan Achmat Chan, *who in life was happie, and in death laudable; and departing out of this momentarie world to be neerer the mercifull Creatour, being changed into perfect glorie, and eternall blisse, hath his habitation on high, and his rest in Paradise. This paternall Empire and Monarchicall kingdome hath almost vntill this present blessed time, beene alwayes hereditarie, from grandfather to father, from father to sonne, and so cursiuely on that manner; but hauing regard vnto the age and yeares of our great and noble Vncle* Mustapha, *hee was preferred and honored to sit on the* Othoman *Throne, and being setled for some time, tooke care for the affaires of the Empire, and for all that might concerne the people both in generall and particular. But he hauing been many yeares retired in solitarinesse, and giuen to deuotion and Diuine obedience, being also as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire, of his owne accord withdrew himselfe from the gouernment; for that the Diademe and Scepter of the Empire of the seuen Climats, was the true right and inheritance of our most excellent Maiestie, of the which with the meeting and consent of all the Visiers, and other deputies of State, of the Primat of the Mussulman Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the souldiers, and of all subiects both publike and priuate, the Almightie God hath made an high Present and worthy gift vnto vs. And in the happie day in the beginning of the Moone Rebea-il-euel of this present yeare 1027, in an expected time, and in an acceptable houre, was our blessed and happie sitting established vpon the most fortunat* Othoman *Throne, the seat and wisedome of* Salomon. *In the pulpits of all the Mosques (the congregations of the faithfull and deuotion of the Mussulmen) throughout all our dominions is read to our imperiall name the* * Hutbeh. *And in the mints (where innumerable summes of money are coined, as well vpon the siluer as the gold) our happie name and stampe is signed. And our most powerful commandements are obeyed in all the parts and dominions of the world: And the brightnesse of the light of the Sunne of Iustice and equitie, hath caused the darknesse of iniuries and molestations to vanish away.*

* Hutbeh is a prayer only for the prosperitie of the king.

Now seeing it hath been an ancient custome of our famous Predecessors to giue notice of the same vnto such Princes as are in sincere friendship, and do continue it with the House of great Maiestie and our Imperiall Court: Wee also haue written these our princely letters, and appointed for their Bearer the choice among his equals Hussaine Chiaus *(whose power is great) one of the honoured and respected seruants* M

A *seruants of our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World, to the end that such newes might cause great ioy of our most honourable assumption. And wee doe hope that when they shall come to your hands (in conformitie of the well grounded friendship vpon the sure league, articles, and writings which hath been established of old with our most royall Race, and permanent Empire) you will manifest infinite ioy and gladnesse, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Gouernours of the dominions and Countries vnder you, that they may know that the articles of peace and league, and the points of the oath which are firme and*
B *to be desired on both parts, from the time of our grandfather and predecessour of royall stocke now in paradise (whose soules God enlighten) vndoubtedly during the time of our raigne shall be obserued with all respect. And let there not bee the least imagination of any want of due obseruance of the signes of friendship on our part, or by any manner of meanes on your part, for the violating the foundation of the peece and league.*

The Copie of a Letter written by *Halil Bassa*, chiefe Visier, and Generall in the expedition against the Persian, at his returne from the warres, to the Citie of Senit in Aprill 1618, vnto Sir *Paul Pinder* Knight, then Embassadour for the Kings Majestie at Constantinople.

The humble Visier Halil Bassa.

To the courteous Lord of the Nation of the Messiah, *both great and honourable among the people of*
C Iesus, *and the true determiner of Christian affaires; our good friend* Paul Pinder, *the English embassador whose latter daies be with all felicitie. To whose noble presence (after our many kind salutations tending to all good affection and manifestation of ioy, worthy and beseeming our friendship) our louing aduice is this, That if you desire to heare of our estate and being, you shall vnderstand, that after wee departed from the happie port with the armie for the wars of Asia, we arriued and wintered in Mesopotamia, and remouing thence in the Spring with all the Mussulman hoste (alwaies victorious) we went to Van, from which place vntill we came to Tauris, the Mussulman armie went on alwaies sacking and destroying all those places and townes of the Persians which wee met withall by the way in those parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, some thousands of villages, and tormenting all those people that came to hand. And when wee were come neere to Tauris, the Generall of the Persian forces (of*
D *peruerse religion) called* Carelghai Han *(the accursed) retired himselfe into the said Tauris, where beating vp his drummes in euerie quarter, he made a shew that he had a will to fight, so we sent a little before vs some Tartars and others of our armie to bearken out and take notice of the enemie; who meeting with 7 or 8 hundred Persians of note, put them to the sword, very few escaping, and that with verie great difficultie and hazard. By which the said Generall finding himselfe vnable to resist the power and furie of the Mussulman host, or to stay any longer in the said place, the verie same day that we arriued there, the said Generall hauing spoiled all the Citie, fled away; so we tooke the place, ransacked it, and burned all the buildings, towers, gardens, and whatsoeuer else we found within it: And thus the great citie Tauris by Diuine fauour and grace became ours. Then forthwith we sent after the enemy, the Tartar with some Beglerbegs, who ouertaking them gaue them battell; and albeit some of ours did fall,*
E *yet they which fell on the enemies side were innumerable. And so going forward towards Erdeuil (their obscure residence) about ten daies journey of country, we went burning and spoyling it, and killing all the Persians that we met; that indeed there was so much glorie and honor won, as that all the antient men of the country do affirme, there was neuer seene the like; insomuch, that from the confines vnto Erdeuil, 20 daies journey of countrey was on that manner by vs destroied. Thus afterward the king caused to emptie the said place of Erdeuill, and fled into a place called Hulchal, and caused his armie to goe to the top of a high mountaine, from whence hauing sent 3 or 4 times men of qualitie vnto vs, seeking and entreating for peace, with promise to giue yearely to our Emperour 100 Somes of silke, and all such places as are vpon the confines gotten in the time of Sultan Solyman, except Der Ne and Der Tink; wherewith we were contented with the peace and his Embassadour is vpon the way comming toward vs.*
F *And so we returning the same way againe (alwaies spoyling) wee came to Erzirum. And this our present letter is written vnto you for the respect and preseruation of our friendship: and euen as our amitie hath euer been hitherto sincere and firme, so likewise by the Grace of God at our arriuall in the happie Port, it shall be in like manner maintained and continued, that more cannot possible be. And so God keepe you in health.*

The

...in Bohemia against the Protestants, and the Emperour ...
...directors or gouernors of the ...
...Transyluania, to acquaint ...
...That a countrie standing euen ...
...the very iawes of the Turkes ...
...the water of the vast ...
...of the Christians, especially ...
...and no Rebel in Asia against ...
...the Ottoman ...
...to make an ...
...means to ac-
...inople to ac-
...d letters from
...consent and fauor.
...ia, the Pope of
...promising to be
...stay in Hunga-
...army at Clausenburg.
...themselues ver...
...able to make his
...so strong, and took
...vpon Neuheusall, the Go-
...writing letters to Bethlem Ga-
...bor, with the title of Austria and their titles, and that the Ele-
...ctors of the Empire would send ...no the Emperor. The ...uersall, that
...he doubted not of the power of those kings, and that the Electors would ...
...the Emperour; yet hee hoped that before they came, all should bee ended, and their ...
...should be prouided.

Bethlem Gabor takes many townes in Hungarie.

Soone after, the Prince of Transyluania came to Presburg with his armie, a towne of ...
in Hungarie, whereas their kings are vsually crowned. The newes thereof comming to Vienna, they sent 3000 souldiers with three pieces of ordnance downe the riuer of Danow, who entred the suburbs on the 13 of October, the night was very stormy and rainie, and the Transyluanians taking this opportunitie charged them, and slew the greatest part, their Commander flying away with some few. The suburbs being taken, *Bethlem Gabor* sent to the Palatine, to know whether he would yeeld the towne and castle without force, giuing him some time to resolue; who after consultation with some noblemen, they resolued to yeeld, and so the town was deliuered into his hands. After which he sent part of his army vnder good Commanders into Austria, to the gates of Vienna, where they committed great spoile, the particular relation whereof I leaue to the Historie of the Emperors liues, to which it doth properly belong.

Propositions made by the Transyluanians & Hungarians to the Bohemians.

In November *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Transyluania, and the Estates of Hungarie, sent Embassadors to Prague, where they propounded diuers articles vnto the Councell, and amongst others, That they should joyntly send Embassadors to the Grand Seignior, & that the prince of Transyluania should negotiate the businesse. And for that the kingdome of Hungarie was much exhausted, whatsoeuer should be taken in Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, should be vnited vnto it, to the end it might be the better able to resist the Turke: all which tended to the prejudice and ruine of the house of Austria. The Prince of Transyluania hauing taken diuers townes in Hungarie, belonging to the Emperor as king of Hungarie, and entred Austria in hostile manner in fauor of the Bohemians, knowing that he had thereby much incensed the Emperor, and the whole house of Austria, and that if he should preuaile ouer the Bohemians, the whole burthen of the warre would lie vpon him, hee therefore in the end of this yeare sent an Embassadour with presents to Constantinople, to craue assurance of the Graund Seignors aid and support (vpon whose fauour he had alwaies depended) in case the Emperor should inuade Transyluania: where being countenanced by many of the chiefe Bassaes, he had assurance of Sultan *Osman* his support and protection, the which he confirmed by a solemne oath vnder his hand, as followeth:

The

G

The Great Turkes Oath to Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transyluania.

Sultan Osman,

By the grace of God vnconquerable Turkish Emperour, sweares by the Highest, Almightiest, and Almightie Goas Holinesse by his Kingdome, by the substance of the Heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, by the earth, and by all vnder the earth, by the braines and all the harie scalpe of my mother, by my head, and all the strength of my soule and bodie, by the holy great Mahomet, *and by my circumcision, That I thee my brother and sonne* Bethlem Gabor, *succeeding King of Hungarie, in no manner of way, in thy great and weightie affaires will leaue, though it be to the ouerthrow of my Kingdome, to be brought to nothing, vntill there shall bee no more left but my selfe, or foure or fiue Turkes at the most, yet will I be still obliged to defend thee, and all those that doe any wayes appertaine vnto thee. And if thou shalt haue need of mee, I will be alwaies readie to goe with thee. And in case this my promise shall in any wise be frustrated, then let Goas Iustice fall vpon my head and destroy me and my posteritie, and wipe away whatsoeuer belongeth vnto mee, and gather it together into a rocke of stone, or substance of earth, and that the earth may cleaue a sunder and swallow mee vp bodie and soule.*

H

Dated at Constantinople the fifth of Ianuarie, 1619.

I

Bethlem Gabor being assured by this oath, of protection made by the Graund Seigniour, in the beginning of the yeare 1620, hee called an assemblie of the Estates of Hungarie at Presbourg, whither Embassadours were sent from the King of Bohemia, and the States of that Countrey, which the incorporated Prouinces, where a perpetuall league was concluded betwixt them, and afterwards concluded at Prague; where among other articles, it was concluded, that forasmuch as necessitie did chiefely require, that a peace should bee concluded and inuiolably kept with the Turke, therefore a new Embassie should be sent to the Graund Seigniour from all the confederate Kingdomes and Prouinces; and that *Bethlem Gabor* should

K

take vpon him the chiefe care of that businesse; but yet in such sort, as the Bohemians and incorporated Prouinces should send their Embassadours with the Hungarians, and beare their shares of all that should bee disbursed, as wel for the Presents, as for the Embassadors charges.

1620

A league betwixt the prince of Transyluania, Bohemians, & Hungarians.

An assembly of the Estates of Hungarie at Neuheusall.

In Iune following, *Bethlem Gabor* went to an assemblie of the Estates of Hungarie at Neuheusall, where he propounded diuers heads vnto the States: That hee desired nothing more than to restore the Kingdome of Hungarie, so miserably afflicted, to libertie; and that they might enjoy their Religion and priuiledges: That he had spared no cost for the lawfull defence of the countrey; and for a testimonie that he desired peace, he had refused the Crowne which the Estates offered him at Presburg: That the ground of peace was to maintaine the

L

league which they had begun with the Bohemians: That he had alwaies desired peace with the helpe of other Princes, so as it were sincere and without fraud or deceit, for the obtaining whereof hee had assisted his confederates miserably afflicted: That he knew for certaine the Emperor desired not peace but war, hauing suffered the Cossackes to enter into Hungarie, and to spoile many places with fire and sword, and denied passage for the Embassadors of Bohemia and Austria; for this cause they were not now to treat of peace but of war, and to consult how it might be begun and maintained: for the leuying of money which is the sinewes of warre: for the furnishing of their forts vpon the frontiers, and for the speedie sending of Embassadours to the Turkish Emperour, lest beeing engaged in an inestine warre, there might be some attempts made vpon those bordering forts. Hauing deliuered his minde vnto the

M

Estates, there came diuers Embassadours thither from Bohemia, Austria, Silesia, and Lusatia, Venice, Poland, and Turkie: The Venetian Embassadour was content their Commonwealth should enter into the league, and the Turke made offer to conclude a perpetuall league with them.

On

Mahomet Celebi proclaimed King of Hungarie.

On the first and twentieth day of August *Mahomet Celebi* prince of Transylvania was proclaimed King of Hungarie by the Palatine in the absence of the Turkish Embassador, and with the ancient and publicke of most part of the Estates of the countrey. After which he hasted a great armie of Hunnic horse and foot, and made many Bridges and fitted Emblemes and armes; which being knowne, the Ambassadors of Vienna, with the consent of the Emperour, wrote vnto him, humbly requiring him to spare the Citie and Countrey, for their innocent wiues and children sakes: but in the meane vnwell the citizens were commanded to make prouision of victuals for five moneths.

Mahomets tombe at Medina Talnain.

There came newes to Constantinople of a strange apparition or vision, which was seene at Medina Talnain in Arabia, wherein *Mahomet* their great Prophet was buried: to the whole tombe the Turkes vse to goe in pilgrimage, but they must first goe to Mecha, which is some few daies journey off, and there they take a ticket from the Grand Seignior Beglerbeg, else they are not allowed to goe to Medina. This vision continued three weekes together, which terrified the whole countrey, for that no man could discouer the truth thereof. About the twentieth of September, there fell so great a tempest, and so fearefull a thunder about midnight, as the heauens were darkened, and those that were awake, almost distracted; but the vapours being dispersed, and the element cleare, the people might read in Arabian Characters these words in the firmament, *O why will you beleeue in lies?* Betweene two and three in the morning, there was seene a woman in white compassed about with the Sunne, hauing a cheerefull countenance, and holding in her hand a booke: comming from the Northwest, opposite against her were armies of Turkes, Persians, Arabians, and other Mahometanes, ranged in order of battell, and readie to charge her; but shee kept her standing, and onely opened the booke, at the sight whereof these armies fled; and presently all the lampes about *Mahomets* tombe went out; for as soone as euer the vision vanished (which was commonly an houre before sunne rising, a murmuring winde was heard, whereunto they imputed the extinguishing of the lampes. The antient pilgrims of *Mahomets* race, who after they haue visited this place neuer vse to cut their haire, were much amased, for that they could not conceiue the meaning of this vision: onely one of the Deruices (which is a strict religious order amongst the Turkes, like vnto the Capuchins among the Papists, and liue in contemplation) stepped vp verie boldly, and made a speech vnto the companie, which incensed them much against him, so as this poore priest for his plaine dealing lost his life, as you shall heare.

A Deruice speech vnto the Turkes.

The summe of his speech was this: That the world had neuer but three true religions, euerie one of which had a Prophet; first God chose the Iewes, and did wonders for them in Ægypt, and brought them forth by their Prophet *Moses*, who prescribed them a Law, wherein he would haue maintained them, if they had not beene obstinat and rebellious, and fallen to Idolatrie: whereupon hee gaue them ouer, and scattered them vpon the face of the earth. Then presently after he raised a new Prophet, who taught the Christian Religion. This good man the Iewes condemned and crucified for a seducer of the people, not moued with the pietie of his life, his great myracles, nor his doctrine. Yet after his death, the preaching of a few fishermen, did so moue the hearts of men, as the greatest Monarchs of the world bowed to his verie title, and yeelded to the command of his ministers. But it seemes they grew as corrupt as the Iewes, their Church being dismembred with the distinction of the East and West, committing Idolatrie again by setting vp of Images, with many other idle ceremonies, besides the corruption of their liues, so as God was wearie of them too, and not onely sent diuisions among them, but forsooke them, dispossessing them of their chiefest cities Hierusalem and Constantinople: yet God is still the Gouernor of the World, and prouides himselfe of another Prophet and people, raising our great *Mahomet*, and giuing way to our nation, so as no doubt wee shall be happie for euer, if we can serue this God aright, and take example by the fall of others. But ahlas! I tremble to speake it, wee haue erred in euerie point, and wilfully broken our first institutions, so as God hath manifested his wrath by euident signes and tokens, keeping our Prophet from vs, who prefixed a time to returne with all happinesse to his people, so as there are now fortie yeares past by our account: Wherefore this strange and fearefull vision is a prediction of some great troubles and alterations.

For

A For either the opening of this booke in the womans hand, doth foretell our falling away
» from the first intent of our law, whereat these armed men departed as confounded with the
» guilt of their own consciences; or else it signifies some other booke in which we haue not yet
» read, and against which no power shall preuaile: so as I feare our religion will be proued cor-
» rupt, and our Prophet an Impostor, and then this *Christ* whom they talke of, shall shine like
» the sunne, and set vp his name euerlastingly. Hitherto the companie was silent, but hearing
him speake so boldly, they charged him with blasphemie, & knowing their law, which makes
all blasphemie capitall, they presently condemned him, and hauing the Beglerbegs consent
and warrant, they put him to death.

The Deruice put to death for his speech.

As their rage against him was violent, so their execution was extraordinarie, for they nei-
B ther cut off his head nor strangled him, as they vsually doe to malefactors, but they tortured
him by degrees: for stripping him first naked, they gaue him a hundred blowes on the soles
of his feet with a flat cudgell, vntill the bloud issued forth, the poore priest crying continually
on the woman that opened the booke. After which they tooke a bulls pizzell, and beat all his
bodie vntil his sinewes crackt, and in the end they laid him vpon a wheele, and with an Indian
sword made of sinews, they brake his bones to pieces, the poore man crying to the last gaspe,
O thou woman with the booke, saue mee, and so he died: At which time there was a fearefull tem-
pest. The Beglerbeg sent certaine Spahis to the port of Sidon to imbarke for Constantinople,
to the end they might aduertise the Emperour of these tidings.

Sultan *Osman* from the first entrance into his raigne was freed from all cares of forraine
C warre, or intestine combustions; for he had that happinesse (being himselfe very yong, and not
able to gouerne so potent an estate) as by the counsell and assistance of *Halil Bassa* his grand
Visier, hee had forced the king of Persia to demaund a peace, and to pay the tribute which
had bin formerly promised. His rebels in Asia were all pacified, and the truce with the Em-
perour (which had beene somewhat interrupted by misinterpretation, or the practise of bad
ministers) was newly confirmed a little before his comming to the crowne, onely Moldauia
had beene the theatre of warre for some yeares, where his father had exercised his armes, and
imployed his forces, to aduance whome he pleased to be Vayuod of that Countrey, against
another partie that was supported by the Polonians, as you haue formerly heard. *Michna*
prince of Valachia, being made Vayuod of Moldauia by *Achmat*, and the Polonian par-
D tie wholly ouerthrowne in the yeare one thousand six hundred and sixteene, hee enioyed it
not long: but whether he died of a naturall death, or fell into disgrace with the grand Seig-
nior, I doe not read: yet I finde that after him there was another Vayuod or prince of Mol-
dauia, who is yet liuing, but in disgrace with the Sultan, his name is *Casparo Gratiani*: and
to the end you may vnderstand, that the Turkes neuer respect the birth and qualitie of any
man in their aduancements, I will relate what this man was, from the mouth of him that knew
him verie well.

This *Casparo* was borne at Gretz (a Towne of great strength belonging vnto the
Archdukes of Austria, by the which a branch of that house is distinguished from the
E rest) and whereof the Emperour now raigning is the head) but beeing a man of small
fortune, and little expectance in his owne countrey, hee went to Constantinople, and
put himselfe in seruice with Sir *Thomas Glouer*, before that hee was Embassadour for
his Maiestie to the Grand Seignior, vnder whom he learned both to write and read the Tur-
kish tongue. After which hee came with him into England, and there by his recommenda-
tion was employed to Constantinople for the redeeming of young Sir *Thomas Sherley*, who
was then a prisoner among the Turkes. Hauing performed his charge orderly, and beeing
come to Venice with the young Knight, hearing that Sir *Thomas Glouer* was sent Embas-
sadour to the Graund Seignior, he left Sir *Thomas Sherley*, and went to Constantinople to his
old master, where he was emploied yerely to buy or exchange Christians for Turks, carrying
F the Christians into Italie, and so returning Turkes for them. About the end of *Achmats*
raigne arriuing at Constantinople with a ship full of Turkes, which he had exchanged, hee
acquainted the Bassa Visier with the good seruice he had done vnto the Grand Seignior; who
demanding of what countrey he was and his breeding, asked him if he would vndertake a ser-
uice which should be for his aduancement, which was to goe vnto the Emperour to reconcile

all difficulties concerning the peace, wherein he carried himselfe so discreetly, as Commissioners were appointed, who concluded all difficulties, as you haue heard. But before his returne home, the Grand Seignor was dead; yet hee pressed the Bassa for the performance of his promise, desiring him, that hee might bee made Vayuod of Moldauia, which the Bassa effected: but the presents he gaue aduanced him more than his merits. Since hee grew into some disgrace; so as the Graund Seigniour making choice of another Vayuod, gaue charge to certaine Capigis, to go into Moldauia to strangle *Gasparo*, and that they should take foure hundred Turkes vpon the frontiers to assist them: But *Gasparo* hauing good spies at Constantinople, who aduertised him of their designe, resolued to preuent them; wherefore taking some troupes with him, hee met them vpon the way, and cut them all in pieces; then returning to Yas, hee slew one thousand Turkes. After which he fled into Poland with two thousand horse; from whence they write that he hath made diuers incursions into Moldauia, and committed great spoiles vpon the Turkes, being assisted by the Cossackes, and keepes possession of the countrie, although there bee another Vayuod made by the Turke.

Gasparo made Vayuod of Moldauia.

He is in disgrace and flies into Polonia.

The Turks preparation to armes.

Sultan *Osman* seemes to be much incensed against the Polonians, as well for this support, as for former quarrells, making it his colour for the leuying of the greatest armie that hath been seene since that *Solyman* went vnto the siege of Agria, consisting, as it is said, of three hundred thousand men, hauing drawne down all his forces out of Asia. God knowes where he will imploy it, but it is much to be feared that he will make vse of this diuision betwixt Christian princes, who should vnite their willes and forces, to oppose them against the common enemie of Christendome, who watcheth only to get an aduantage, little regarding his word and promise.

Manfredonia taken by the Turks.

The Turke hauing no imployment for his forces by land, sent three score gallies to sea, to make some enterprise vpon the Christians. They came into the Mediterranean sea, and hauing coasted the Island of Sicile, they sent twentie gallies to land in the kingdome of Naples, where they surprised the towne of Manfredonia, and spoiled it, carrying away foureteene or fifteene hundred captiues, and so retyred againe to sea. The rest of their fleet lay about Vellona in the gulfe, which made the Spaniards iealous that the Venetian had been acquainted with this enterprise. And since there is newes, that the Gallions and Galliots of Algiers, haue taken Iuisa, a small Island of foure miles compasse, neere vnto Maiorca: It is a place of great importance, for that it hath a hauen able to containe much shipping; for the gard whereof the king of Spaine entertaines a great garrison, and it did much annoy them of Algiers. They tooke the towne; but it is not yet certaine whether they haue taken the castle.

Iuisa taken by the Turkes.

The greatnesse of the Turkes Empire.

This is all I could learne of the Turkes affaires since the yere 1609 vntill this present. The reader may obserue, that since the raigne of *Ottoman* their first Emperor, this great empire of the Turkes, is proudly built vpon the foure monarches of the world; that is to say, of the Assirian, Persian, Greeke, and Romane. For they enioy Babylon, aad all Chaldæ, with the countrie of the Medes: We haue seene them in Tauris the capitall citie of Persia, Greece is subiect to the yoke of their command, Constantinople sometimes called New Rome, by the transport of the Imperiall seat, is now made their throne, and so many prouinces and realmes which in former times depended vpon the Romane Empire, do now acknowledge their power; they are masters of the realmes of Egypt and Cyprus; the Islands of Rhodes, Meteline, Negrepont, Chio, and many others acknowledge them, the empire of Trebisond is theirs; the realme of Colchos, now called Mingrelia, payes them tribute: they of Tunis and Algier in Affrica obey them; Dalmatia, the Illayrians, Triballiens, the countries of Transiluania, Valachia, and Moldauia do them homage, and we see them commaund euen in the chiefe townes of the realmes of Hungaie: But all this power of the Ottomans had neuer beene so great nor so fearefull, but by the discord, diuision, and bad intelligence betwixt Christian princes, as you may read in the course of this historie, as well in Greece, at Constantinople as in other parts of Europe, whereas these princes contending one with anorher, haue furnished matter and meanes to the Turke to dispossesse them of the chiefe pieces of their monarchies. They measure the continuance of their Empire

A pire by the discord betwixt the Princes of the beleefe of the name of Iesus, and they confesse truely, that this diuision is the onely cause of their greatnesse, the which hath made them beleeue, that among Christians, there was a bad Angell enemie to peace, which they call *the strong or powerfull Spirit*, which kindling the fire of reuenge and ambition in the hearts of great men, drawes from their affections the good of their beleefe, to entertaine them in perpetuall discord; during the which, they promise vnto themselues a firme and an assured reigne. So the Mufti, and the Talismans praying on Friday in their Mosques, demand of their Prophet the circumstance of this bad intelligence betwixt Christian Princes, to the end they may inioy the empire which they haue vnjustly vsurped. Yet their prophecies do not promise
B them a perpetuall possession; behold one in their own tongue, which hath alwaies made them feare the vnion of Christians.

Patissahomomos ghelur caiferun menleker alur keuzul almai alur kapze iler ie di yladegh Giaur Keleci cſikmasse on ikigladegh on laron Begbhgheder. Enſi iapar, baghi diker batheſai baglar, ogli keſi olar; onichi ylddenſora Hriſtianon-keleci cſcchar, al Turkci ghereſ-ſine Tuſchure. *A Turkish Prophesie.*

C That is to say;

Our Emperour shall come, he shall possesse the realme of an Infidell prince, he shall take the red apple, and make it subiect to his power: if at the seuenth yere of his command the Christians sword doth not aduance, he shall rule vnto the twelfth yeare, he shall build houses, plant vines, compasse in gardens with hedges, and beget children: but after the twelfth yeare that he hath held the red apple, the Christians sword shall appeare and put the Turke to flight.

The exposition of their prophesie.

By the *Infidell* prince they vnderstand a Christian Prince (for so they call them) and by the *Red Apple* an Imperiall towne strong and important; in the which, and elsse where the Turkes
D shall *build houses*; that is to say, conuert holy temples to the vse of the Mahometan impiety: for by this word *to build*, they that haue commented vpon this prophesie, vnderstand vsurpation of the houses of God: *Plant vines*, by these words they signifie the extent of the Turkish Empire, and the setling of their colonies, as we see in Hungarie and Transyluania: *Compassing in Gardens*, that is to say, they shall fortifie the townes which they haue taken from their enemies: *Beget Children*, extend the Mahometan religion, far in the Christians countries. *But after the twelfth yeare, &c.* within a certaine time best knowne to God, his diuine Maiestie, opening the eyes of his clemencie vpon the Christians, will vnite the wills of their princes, kindle their affections with a holy zeale, and blessing their armes, wil make them victorious ouer
E the Turke, whom he wil banish out of the East, and chase into Scythia, from whence they came to be a scourge vnto Christendome. These are my wishes, wherein I hope all good Christians do concurre.

The beginning of the Turkish Empire.

Hauing runne ouer the occurrents which haue happened in the Turkes estate for the space of eleuen yeares, I must according to master *Knolles* his method, conclude the worke with a description of the Graund Seigniours port or Court, of his Gouernement, Officers, Riches, Force, and Religion. The Turkes (a people of Scythia) hauing like a violent deluge ouerthrowne a great part of the East, and taken diuers prouinces, beeing expelled from Hierusalem by *Godfrey* of Bouillon, and the Christians, their remainder retired to Nicea where they liued without any head or soueraigne commander, vntill that *Ottoman* about
F the yeare of our Redeemer 1300, by practise, made himselfe sole and absolute monarch. His sonne conquering diuers prouinces, remoued his imperiall seat to Prusia, now called Bursia, the chiefe abode of the Kings of Bythinia. *Amurath* the first (beeing drawne in by the Emperour of Constantinople to succour him, and allured with the wealth of Europe) turned his armes against him, taking diuers prouinces and townes from him, amongst others Adrianopolis, which hee made the seat and residence of the Turkish Emperours, in the

yeare 1363. But Mahomet the second hauing taken the citie of Constantinople, and expelled G
the Emperour [illegible] made it the royall seat of his Empire, for which and
great reasons [illegible]

[illegible] by the space of one myles in length, and seuene miles,
and [illegible] Hippodromus or Atmeidan, the [illegible]
on the North and South sides: Towards the East it is diuided from Asia by a large
[illegible], which runneth from the one seato the other, and is about seuen miles
[illegible] is built vpon the declining of a hill, in which there are many
[illegible] I omit, being described elsewhere. There are in this Citie seuen [illegible]
which are built [illegible] Metropolitall Mosques or Churches, by seuerall Emperours, H
[illegible] and most stately is that of Sultan *Solyman*. Vpon the North
[illegible] the Graund Seignours Pallace or Seraglio, commonly called by the name of
[illegible]: The which hath on the one side thereof the Sea, and on the other side of
the other two being towards the citie, being about three miles in compasse
[illegible]. It is walled about, and within it are many gardens, orchards, medowes
[illegible] into the first port (which hath double gates of yron) [illegible]
[illegible] there stands a building like vnto a Turkish Mosque, which
[illegible] for a store-house, wherein are great store of armes which
[illegible] his Seraglio. And on the other side of the Court are seueral garden walled
[illegible] they passe another Court with a gate like vnto the former where are
[illegible] hanging, and many porters attending, as at the first: After this, through
another large court, wherein [illegible] planted with cypresse trees, [illegible] full of
[illegible] round about it is a cloister which is in length about six hundred and fourteene
[illegible] whose fine hundred in breadth, paued with stone, and couered with lead, it being supported
with one hundred and forty pillars of white and grey marble standing vpon [illegible]
[illegible] with capitals of the same, vpon the North side whereof stands the [illegible] where-
[illegible] the other sides is the Counsell and hearing of matters of
[illegible] In the Seraglio the Graund Seignour hath many chambers
[illegible] which are richly appointed, wherein he reposeth, and there the faire young men
[illegible] and the seruice of his chamber, whereof two watch daily, and at
[illegible] they were in the sleeues, the one of them at his head, and the other at his feete,
[illegible] hanging in their hands. In the morning [illegible] writes, when the
[illegible] attires himselfe, they put into one of his pockets a thousand aspers, and
[illegible] twenty ducats of gold, the which if he giue not away that day is
[illegible] neither (as they say) doth hee euer put on the same cloathes: and when-
[illegible] hunting, or to any other exercise besides, the money which he hath with
[illegible] Bassa or chiefe Treasuror still followes him with great store of money to
[illegible]. The office of these six young men (who are changed as it pleaseth the Graund
Seignour) is diuided: for the one carries his shooes, the second his bow and arrowes, the third
[illegible] the fourth a vessell with water, the fifth carries a seat, and the sixth called *Oda Bassa* is L
head of the number.

The chiefe officers of the house. He hath day'ly a great number of persons resident in his pallace, imployed in their seuerall charges, some in one place, some in another, vnder their seuerall commanders. But among all the great men in his court these are of chiefest eminencie and note.

First the *Capigi*, that is to say, the mouth of the graund Seignour, by whom the Sultan speaketh to such as haue any great suit vnto him: for no Embassadour is admitted vnto him, but at his first arriuall when he deliuers his letters of credit and his presents, and when he hath any businesse to treat of he resorts to the Visier Bassa or his Aga.

The second is *Casnadar Bassa*, the chiefe Treasurour of the household, or superintendent of the Treasurie.

The third *Sultani Bassa*, chiefe cupbearer. M

The fourth is *Seraglio Agasi*, steward or master of the household.

The fifth is *Chuller Agasi*, or *Saraidar Bassa*, Ouerseer of his Seraglio of concubines, who is alwaies a cunuch if he test be.

The

A The sixth and last is *Bostangi Bassa*, chiefe Gardiner, and ouerseer of all his gardens, Captaine of his Iamoglans, and stearer of his Barge whensoeuer he goeth by water. Hee hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many Gardiners vnder him, which are called Bostangi, who when they come out of the Seraglio, become Ianizaries, Solacchi, or Capigi, according to their qualities.

These sixe Officers of the Sultans house aboue mentioned haue no authoritie out of his pallace, yet the greatest Bassaes stand in awe of them, and feare them, for that they haue free accesse vnto the Sultan, and haue dayly opportunitie to incense him against them: for by their secret suggestion and false informations, many of the greatest Bassaes are manie times suddenly and vndeseruedly cut off in the height of all their pompe
B and glorie.

Hee hath many Mutes or dumbe men attending about him, whereof eight bee his daily companions and play-fellowes in the Seraglio, in whose companie hee takes great delight: besides many others to the number of fortie, which attend vpon him as pages. They are all borne deafe and dumbe, yet by long practise they grow so perfect, as they will vnderstand any thing that shall be acted vnto them by signes and gestures; and will themselues by the gesture of their eyes, bodies, hands, and feet, deliuer matters of great difficultie, to the great admiration of strangers. *The Sultans dumbe men.*

The Graund Seigniour hath within his pallace a Seraglio, of young men to the number of fiue hundred, from eight yeares of age to twentie: these are the well-fauouredst *A Seraglio of young men.*
C and best proportioned of all the tribute children which hee draweth from Græcia and Natolia, and they are chosen out of his Seraglioes at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places, and brought to this to bee bred vp, where they are instructed in diuerse Arts, according to their disposition, but especially to read and write, and in the doctrine of their Law, and to ride, there beeing a great number of horses kept within this Seraglio for their exercise, and for the Eunuches. They neuer goe out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinkes them to be of fit age to vndergoe some charge, and then he makes them Spacoglani, or Silichtari, and to some hee giues greater places, according to their valour, or the fauour they haue gotten with him.

Hee hath in like manner about fourescore Mutaferache, that is to say, Launce-bearers *They that carry his Launce.*
D to the Graund Seignour: which carrie his Launce whensoeuer hee goeth to field, and acknowledge no other commander, and in time by his fauour or their merites, are made Captaines.

Hee hath alwaies aboue one thousand Eunuches entertained in seuerall places, where- *The Sultans Eunuches.*
of some of them are in verie great credit with him, and can preuaile much: they are called Hudurni, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgines in his Seraglio. They are not onely depriued of their genitors, but in their youth they haue their whole priuities smoothed off by their bellies, and in their Turbants they beare short
E quills of siluer, through which they make water. This inhumane custome was first inuented by Sultan *Solyman*, who seeing a Gelding make offer to couer a Mare, grewe suspitious that they were able to doe some small thing, notwithstanding the losse of their genitors.

The Graund Seignour hath a Seraglio for his women without his pallace, in the *The Sultans Seraglio of women.*
which there are alwayes foure or fiue hundred young Virgines, the fairest of the Christians children, which hee gathereth vp out of Græcia for tribute. The Sultan repaires sometime thither to make choice of such as he shall like best for his pleasure; whereof they are aduertised the day before by the Eunuches, that they may prepare themselues in their best habits to giue him content. Being al in a roome, and standing vpon either side, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch or two, and viewes them, to her that hee likes, he casts a hand-
F kercher, (whereof hee hath many hanging at his girdle) and in this manner it may bee hee makes choice of halfe a dozen, the which his Eunuches obseruing, they put them prefently into a Coach, and are carried into another little Seraglio within his pallace. In this Seraglio they haue good entertainement, and are apparelled in silke twice a yeare, and are taught to make diuers workes by antient matrons, and are attended on by the younger sort.

Description of Constantinople.

But [illegible] Constantinople [illegible] three hundred Capigi's C
[illegible], which keepe their gates. When as the nu[illegible] these virgine slaues de-
[illegible] are not wherewithall to supplie them with their tributarie children, they
[illegible] the market in Constantinople, where they say there are dayly ten thousand slaues of all
ages and sexes to bee sold: and there they buy the faireſt they can get, but they will
[illegible] them [illegible] eight yeares old, leſt they ſhould bee corrupted before they come into the
Turkes Seraglio.

The state of the Grand Seignior. As for the other Seraglio within the Sultans pallace, there remaines the Sultans wife
their children, and ſuch other Concubines as hee hath made choice of for his [illegible]. He
neuer marries, but when any one is brought vnto him, hee giues her an attire [illegible] of H
gold, and tenne thouſand aſpers, cauſing her to liue in a chamber apart, encre[illegible] her dayly
maintenance. The firſt that beares him a childe, is called Sultana, and is miſtreſſe of all the
reſt, and moſt fauoured by him, as the chiefeſt of all his women, the reſt as they are fauored
by the Prince, are brought vnto him to haue his pleaſure, and then returned backe againe: if
they chance to be with childe, they are put into the number of the Sultanaes, and are much
reſpected by him. Such as the Prince hath had the vſe of, but no children by them, are giuen
in marriage to his ſlaues, who are aduanced to dignities, and made Gouernours of coun-
tries.

His guard foot men or porters. Hee hath three hundred Sollacchi, which march continually about his perſon, and make
as it were his guard, beeing vnder the commaund of the [illegible] of Ianizaries; they are richly I
attired, hauing lawne garments hanging downe beneath their knees, and ouer it a quilted
waſtcoat with halfe ſleeues of taffatie, damaske, or ſatten, and on their heads caps and fea-
thers like vnto the Captaine of the Ianizaries, and they attend on him with bowes and ar-
rowes. He hath alſo ſtill about him when he rides abroad fortie Peichi, that is to ſay, foot-
men or poſtes which runne wonderfull ſwiftly, and are ſtill at hand to attend his comman-
dements, where hee ſhall pleaſe to employ them: they weare long coats of cloth of gold
with a broad girdle of the ſame, and caps like vnto womens thimbles, with a horne of ſil-
uer and gilt ſtanding vp before. There are about foure thouſand Capigi's or Porters which
continually attend his pallace and Seraglios, they are attired like vnto the Ianizaries, and
haue ouer them thee Capigi Baſſaes. Theſe men are many times employed to execute the K
Grand Seigniors commandements, when he will haue any great mans head, or his throat cut,
as we haue ſeene of late yeares in *Gambolat Baſſa*, and in *Naſſuf Baſſa*, who was graund Viſier to
Achmat.

The Turkes ſeruitude. The Grand Seigniors gouernment is [illegible] abſolute, as they all tearme themſelues his ſlaues,
and no man how great ſoeuer can aſſure himſelfe of his eſtate, no not of his life, but by
the great Turks ſpecial fauor. He commits the managing of his eſtate to ſuch as haue abjured
the Chriſtian religion, & haue bin brought by way of tything in their infancies from Greece
and Natolia, and afterwards for their merits are aduanced to great dignities, as Baſſaes, Beg-
lerbegs, and ſuch other. The Prince hath a court or Councell which they call Diuano, and
this is held within the Seraglio foure dayes in the weeke; that is to ſay, Saturday, Sunday, L
Munday, and Tueſday, where they treat of matters of State, and afterwards of the affaires
of priuate men. To this Councell are admitted the Graund Viſier, eight or nine Baſſaes
who are are alſo called Viſiers, and are continually reſident at Conſtantinople, (for there are
many more which are employed abroad in the conduct of armies or gouernment of Coun-
tries) the Beglerbegs and others. At the riſing of the court or councell, the Grand Viſier
informes the Sultan of all the proceedings in particular; wherein he dares not diſſemble, for
that the Prince hath a window joyning to the Diuano, where he may heare and ſee any thing
and not be ſeene. He ſeldome impugnes what they haue reſolued, vnleſſe it be to moderate
ſome rigorous ſentence, or to giue anſwer to ſome Embaſſadour, and what he himſelfe con-
cludes is irreuokable.

The Turkish iuſtice. Their ſuits are verie ſhort, for they haue no aduocates to breed delaies, as they haue in M
Chriſtendome; yet commonly hee that bribes moſt ſpeeds beſt; for the Turkes are the moſt
couetous and corrupt nation in the World, neither will they doe any man a kindneſſe with-
out a fee; and yet they are not ſure to enjoy any thing they get no longer than it ſhall pleaſe
the

the Prince. They puniſh crimes with great ſeueritie, and ſpeedily, the fact being proued, A
which doth ſo terrifie them, as by the report of ſuch as haue conuerſed long there, you ſhall
ſeldome ſee a murder or a theft committed by any Turke; and if any foule fact be commit-
ted, it is moſt commonly done by Græcians.

The chiefe of the Grand Seigniors Councell, is the Graund Viſier, who weares the prin- The Great Viſier.
ces ſignet, and is as it were the Lieutenant Generall of the whole monarchie: he hath autho-
ritie ouer the other Baſſaes, and they are bound to yeeld him an account of their imploy-
ments. Hee is ſtill about the prince his perſon, and is not ſent abroad for any imploiment,
vnleſſe it bee for an important warre, as they haue done of late yeares againſt the Perſian.
When the Viſier is ſent abroad, he makes choice of one of the Baſſaes to be his Lieutenant
and to execute his authoritie, and he is called Chimacham. *Mechmet Baſſa* is at this preſent
B chiefe Viſier.

Next vnto the Baſſa (which is as much to ſay as great Lord) follow the Beglerbegs, and The Beglerbegs and Sanzacks.
haue their places in court next vnto them. They are men of great authoritie, and haue the
command of great kingdoms and armies, vnder whoſe obedience are diuers Sanzacks which
are ſent as Gouernors into prouinces during the princes pleaſure. Theſe are men of great expe-
rience, and haue command ouer the Spahi, and Timariots, the Turks chiefe forces on horſ-
backe, whom they cal continually to exerciſe their armes. There is one Beglerbeg of Greece,
which hath all the countries in Europe in the Turks dominions vnder his charge, and this is
the firſt of all the Beglerbegs, who hath vnder him aboue thirtie Sanzackes. There are ſix
other Beglerbegs in Aſia, whereof the firſt is he of Natolia or Aſia the leſſe. He hath the go-
C uernment of Pontus, Bythinia, and other Kingdomes, and hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes.
The Beglerbeg of Caramania with ſeuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Aladuley, vnder
whoſe command are ſeuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Amazia and Toccato, hauing foure
Sanzackes. There is alſo one in Meſopotamia, and vnder his command twelue Sanzackes or
Gouernours of prouinces. There is likewiſe a Beglerbeg of Damas, Suria, and Iudæa, who
hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes. And there is one of Caire, who commands ouer ſixteene
Sanzacks, his charge extends to the Arabians, but they are not ſo obedient as the Turks other
countries.

The great Turkes forces. As for the Turkes forces, they conſiſt of horſemen, footmen, and fleets at ſea. His horſe-
men conſiſt of Spahi, Timari, Spachoglani, Silictari & Olofagi, who haue aſſignations of lands
D for the entertainment of them and their horſes. For no man can enjoy any poſſeſſions, but he
is enjoyned to entertaine a certaine number of ſouldiers proportionable to the reuenues of the
land: ſo as the Gouernour or Baſſa is alwaies bound to haue this number ready to march
when they are called. Of theſe Timariots they are able to raiſe about an hundred and fiftie The Timariots.
thouſand horſe alwaies readie at the firſt call, for the which the prince diſburſeth not a penny;
for in regard of the land which is allotted them, they are bound to maintaine themſelues, their
horſe and armes in the war. Whereſoeuer the Turke conquereth any countrey, he diuides it
among his ſouldiers; aſſigning 4000 aſpers yerely (which is little aboue ten pound ſterling)
to euerie one for himſelfe and his horſe, and ſo proportionably if he haue more land. Theſe
horſemen are much peſtered with armes when they goe to warre: for they haue a jacke, a
E ſpeare with a little white banner, a caliuer hanging vnder his left arme, a cemitar, a bow and ar-
rows at his girdle, and a battleaxe at his ſaddle bow. And of theſe kind of horſemen they ſay
there are 80000 in Greece, beſides an infinit number in his other countries. This Turkiſh
Cauallerie worke two great effects, for they ſerue as a ſupport to his eſtate, to ſuppreſſe all
ſeditions, and they are readie to vndertake any enterpriſe. Beſides theſe he enteraines many
horſmen about his perſon, whereof ſome are Spahi, and theſe are Chriſtian ſlaues bred vp The Spahis.
yong in the princes ſeraglio, who by their merits attain to that degree, and afterwards to grea-
ter dignities. They are alwaies attending about the princes perſon whereſoeuer he goes, bee-
ing commonly thirteene hundred.

The Caripices & Spachoglani. The *Caripices* are held for the flower of all his horſemen, beeing in number about eight
F hundred, who march ſtill about the princes perſon during the wars. The *Spachoglani* which is
as much to ſay as yong men on horſebacke, are aboue three thouſand, who haue yearely pen-
ſions in money, which they are bound to receiue yearely at Conſtantinople, or elſe they are
held as dead men. In the wars they march on the right hand of the Grand Seigniour, and are
knowne

A twentie foure thousand of these Ianizaries when as the Graund Seigniour is there, (for in his whole estate he hath a far greater number) vnder their Aga or Captaine Generall, which is a place of great credit, but not like vnto any of their Bassaes; the great Turke fearing to joyne power and authoritie together. Being once Ianizaries, they are either sent to the wars, or put in garrison, or else they remaine at the Sultans court (which they call port) where they haue certaine spacious places for their dwelling, like to religious houses, where they liue vnder their commanders: and the younger serue the antient with great respect. All the Ianizaries of one squadron eat together at one table, and sleep in certaine long halls, and if any one chance to be absent all night, he shall (the next night) be beaten with a cudgell, which he takes so patiently as he kisseth his hand that hath thus corrected him. They are much respected and feared of
B all men, and are diuersly imploied in the citie; as to see the peace and good orders kept, to looke to the prices of things, to arrest malefactors, and to guard the gates. If they buy any thing they will haue it at their owne rate; they cannot be iudged but by their Aga or Captaine. There is seldome any one punished with death by the course of iustice, without danger of a mutinie; and therefore they execute them very secretly. They haue many meanes to get money; for some attend vpon Embassadors and keep their houses; others go with trauellers, to guard them safely through the Turks Estate. They haue a great power in their princes election; so as to winne their loues euerie new Emperor at his first comming to the Crowne giues them a donatiue, and increaseth their pay, presuming vpon their valour and multitude. They many times commit strange insolencies vpon any discontents; as in firing of houses, braving the Bassaes, and sometimes bearding the Sultan himselfe, as you may read in this
C Historie.

The chiefe strength of the Turkes forces consists in the Ianizaries; and yet there are other sorts of footmen, whereof some are called *Aconizes*, which is a forlorne hope, and receiue no pay, but march before the armie, and haue leaue to spoile; so as they giue the fifth part of their bootie to the prince. There is another kinde called *Azapi*: these are souldiers of small effect, and serue rather with the pickaxe and spade than with the sword: they are fitter to tire an enemie with their numbers, than to vanquish them with their valour; and they are accustomed to fill vp ditches with their dead bodies to make a passage for the Ianizaraies to ascend vnto a breach. The grand Seignior hath euer 6000 Gunners in pay whom they call *Topegi*. And for the guard of the powder and shot when the armie marcheth, there are alwaies 12000 men in pay, whom they call *Iebegi*.

Aconizes. *Azapi.* *Topegi and Iebegi.*

D The grand seignior hath also certaine officers attending on him to the number of 3000, whom they call *Chiaus*, which are as it were sergeants at arms. These are men well esteemed, and are often imployed in embassies to forreine princes: They also carrie letters and commendations from the prince or his chiefe Visier, and they apprehend offendors. These neuer go to the war but when as the Sultan is there in person. They are commanded by a Chiaus Bassa, who is of so great credit with all men (as *Sansouino* writes) that when he is sent by the grand seignior to any Bassa, Sanzacke, or Cadi, with order to haue any mans head cut off, he is obeyed, although he haue no warrant in writing, as if the prince were there himselfe, and commanded it.

The Chiaus.

E Thus we haue set downe the grand seigniors forces at land, whose numbers are so great, as in shew they should breed confusion and ruine themselues; but they keepe verie good order and discipline, so as in that point they yeeld not to any. They liue of a little bread baked in the ashes, with rice and the powder of flesh dried in the sunne: They may drinke no wine, and there are no women seene in their armies: they obserue a wonderfull silence, and all the souldiers are gouerned by the becke of the hand, or any shew of the countenance. Quarrels and thefts are seuerely punished. When they march they dare not enter into any corne fields nor vines. The valiant are assured of preferments, and cowards of punishment.

The Turks discipline in their armies.

Hauing spoken sufficiently of their land forces, let vs see what strength he hath at sea: they haue great store of forests for the building of ships; neither want they good shipwrites, for
F that couetousnesse hath drawne many Christian carpenters into the grand seigniors arsenal: And he hath great numbers of men trained vp in marine affaires, in regard of the gallies which he hath at Mitilene, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and for the retreat hee giues pyrats at Tunis, Bona, Bugia and Algiers, from whence hee drawes commaunders

and

A prouinces. The one hath his charge ouer Europe, and is called *Cadileſquirie Romly*, before whom (after good information of his life, and ſufficiencie) he ſweares that he will doe iuſtice to all men, and yeeld an account of his charge when he ſhall be called. The other *Cadileſquirie* is for Natolia: they are ſoueraigne iudges in all cauſes, and as it were Patriarks. They are of great authoritie, and haue place in the Diuano with the Baſſa's to conſult of weighty matters.

There is a third degree of their churchmen, belonging to their law, called *Mulli*, which are biſhops and chiefe gouernors vnder the Mufti; and their office is to place and diſplace churchmen at their diſcretion. Next are the *Nuderiſi*, who are ſuffragans to the Biſhops, and their charge is to ſee the Cadies do their duties. Next come the *Cadi's* who are Iudges to puniſh offendors, of which there is one in euerie citie vnder the Seigniors command. *The Mulli, Muderiſi, and Cadi*

B Vnder theſe are another kind of yong Doctors of the law called *Naipi*, who are not ſo wel read as to be abſolute Iudges, but yet ſupply their places in their abſence. *The Naipi.*

After theſe are the *Hogi*, who write their bookes, for that they allow no printing: and inferior vnto them are the *Calfi*, who read vnto them that write. And the yongeſt of all are called *Softi*, who are yong ſtudents or nouices in their law. *The Hogi, Calfi, and Softi.*

Theſe are their ſeuerall degrees of lawyers or churchmen: for the Turks are gouerned by a kinde of Eccleſiaſticall law, according to their Alcaron. They haue colledges (called Medreſſæ) at Conſtantinople, and in other places, where they liue and ſtudie their law and diuinitie, and ſo they aſcend by degrees to the higheſt dignitie of their profeſſion.

As for their religion, it began in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, when as the empire was much diſmembred by the hereſies of *Arrius* and *Neſtorius*. *Mahomet* borne in Arabia im- *The Turkiſh religion.*

C braced this opportunitie, ſeeking to ouerthrow the diuinitie of *Ieſus Chriſt*, which was oppoſed by the Iewes and Arabians: he was aſſiſted by two hereticks, the one was *Iohn* a Neſtorian, and the other *Sergius* an Arrian. After which (being aſſiſted by many ſlaues, to whom hee allowed all that was pleaſing to the ſence and fleſh if they ſhould receiue this law) he obtained many victories. By *Mahomets* law they make a diſtinction of clean & vnclean meats to content the Iews, and alſo it maintains circumciſion, but not at the eight day of their birth, as the Iews vſe it, but after the eight yeare, when the infant is able to make confeſſion of his faith, where lifting vp his finger he ſpeakes theſe words, which are grauen in their temples in the Arabian tongue: *There is but one God, whoſe Prophet* Mahomet *is, one God and equall Prophets*. The circumciſion being ended, they feaſt three daies together, and then they carry the circumciſed

D to a bath with great pompe; after which the gueſts conduct him to his houſe, and preſent him with gifts. The women are not circumciſed, but onely ſpeake the words. If any Chriſtian abiure his faith and indure circumciſion (as they often do by reaſon of their tributes and vexations) they are led through the towne with great honor and reioicing of the people, who doalſo giue vnto them, and they pay no tributes. *Mahomets* law denies the diuinitie of *Ieſus Chriſt*, to pleaſe the Arrians who were then powerfull: It is full of fables to pleaſe Idolaters, and it giues libertie to the fleſh, which is pleaſing to moſt men.

They confeſſe one God, and honor *Ieſus Chriſt*, not as the ſonne of God, but as a prophet borne of the Virgin *Marie*. They neither honor nor allow images. Friday is their Sabbath as Sunday is ours. They obſerue a Lent of 30 daies, which they cal Ramadan; during which they

E eat nothing in the day time, but when night comes all meats are indifferent, but ſwines fleſh; yet they abſtaine from wine and women. They haue their Eaſter called Bayran, which continues three daies, in which they enioy all pleaſures: but this feaſt is not alwaies prefixed, for that they account not the day according to the courſe of the Sun, but of the Moone; and therefore they do carefully obſerue the new Moone, and ſalute it.

They haue no bels in their Moſques, neither do they ſuffer the Chriſtians which liue there to haue any. They put off their ſhooes when they go into their Moſques, and take them again at their comming forth. Whereſoeuer they ſit in their churches or houſes, they haue tapeſtrie couerlets or mats vnder them: they are not much giuen to contemplation or learning, yet the Turkiſh women being married and hauing iſſue, are carefull to breed vp their children, and to

F be inſtructed; for the which there are many ſchooles, where they read their lawes, to the end they may ſerue in their Moſques, and be able to gouerne the common weale.

The Turkes by *Mahomets* law haue leaue to marrie as many wiues as they can maintaine; and a Turkiſh woman being once with childe, her husband neuer toucheth her vntill ſhee be deliue-

deliuered, but lies with his slaues out of the house where his wife remaines. They haue a cer- G
taine kind of marriage made at pleasure, which they call Kebin, the which is many times pra-
ctised by strangers, who being out of their country contract with women, whom they are to
enjoy during their pleasure, and when they cast them off, they giue them a certaine summe
of money, and keepe the children. The Cadis or Iudges allow not this kinde of contract, es-
pecially amongst Christians, vnlesse it be with an oath of marriage. A Turke hauing had the
vse of a Christian woman, they are both condemned to die, vnlesse she will abiure her faith:
the like is obserued betwixt a Christian and a Turkish woman, if they haue been found toge-
ther. Diuorce is allowed among them in case of barrennesse and incontinencie.

There are foure orders of religious men among the Turks which differ in liuing, ha-
bit, and ceremonies. These be the *Terlaques*, *Derus*, *Kalenders*, and *Huquiemes*, and these H
last are very vicious, and wicked impostors, deceiuing of the common people. The Deruis is
a strict order liuing in contemplation, much like vnto the Capuchins among the Romish
Papists. The Turkes forbeare to blaspheme either God, Christ, or *Mahomet*, or any other
Saint whatsoeuer, and they punish blasphemie seuerely. They conuerse with Christians, and
eat and traffique with them freely; yea sometimes they marrie their daughters, and suffer them
to liue after their owne religion. But they hate the Iewes, and despise them as the basest
people in the world. They haue an assured confidence, that he that shall duely obserue the laws
of *Mahomet*, shall haue eternall life, and a Paradise full of delights: and contrariwise they that
shall breake the lawes of their Alcaron are threatned with pain and eternall death; yet they
haue an opinion that hee that beleeues in the Alcaron when hee dies, shall bee vndoubtedly I
saued.

The disposition of the Turkes.

To conclude this relation with some few lines of their humours and dispositions; they write of them that they are grosse witted, idle, and vnfit for labour. They are exceeding couetous and corrupt, aboue all other Nations; for iustice is sold to him that offers most. They are humble among themselues, and obey their superiors with great silence. They are proud and insupportable to strangers, thinking none fit to be compared with them. They are giuen to gluttonie and drunkennesse, and will spend whole daies together in feasting, and will drinke with excesse if it be in priuate, for that it is forbidden by their law. They are vaineglorious, proud, and deceitfull, neuer keeping their words, but when it may be to their profit. They are much inclined to venerie, and are for the most part all Sodomites. They are very superstitious, giuing credit to dreams and diuinations; and they hold that euery mans destinie is written in his forehead, which cannot be altered or auoided. K

Thus I haue continued this historie foreleuen yeares, hauing informed my selfe out of the best authours and intelligencers I could finde that concerne this subiect: I should haue beene glad that some which haue resided at Constantinople most part of this time, would haue assisted me with their obseruations which should haue been for the generall good of our nation; but I hope notwithstanding the reader shall finde content and satisfaction. L

* *
*

A

A CONTINVATION OF THE TVRKISH HISTORIE, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD, 1620. VNTILL THE ENDING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1628.

COLLECTED OVT OF THE PAPERS and Dispatches of *Sir* THOMAS ROE, Knight, his MAIESTIES *Embassadour with the Grand Seigniour during that time.*

By *M. B.*

B

Efore wee come to speake of the great preparations made by the Grand Seigniour, in the yeare 1621, to inuade the Kingdome of Poland; and those by that King to resist him; I hold it somewhat necessarie, briefely to set downe the causes and reasons of the ensuing warre. 1620.

The cause of the warre betweene the king of Poland and the grand seignior.

The *Chrim* Tartar, confining vpon the dukedome of Russia and borders of Poland, made many incursions, and did great spoile vpon the Cossackes within the sayd prouince of Russia, and other parts belonging to the Kingdome of Poland, and carrying away people of all ages and sexes, made sale of them within the Turkish Empire. Now *Iean-begh-Ghiray-Han* Prince of the Tartars, being wholly dependant on the *Ottoman* Emperours, his Majestie of Poland sent many seuerall Embassadors to complaine at that Port; That notwithstanding the antient league betweene him and the *Ottoman* Family, the Tartars greatly spoiled his Countries; which was both vniust and vnreasonable. How soeuer the complaints were many and great, yet the King of Polands Ministers found no redresse for those their alledged wrongs; but were answered, That the Tartars were absolute Lords ouer themselues, and that they pretended to haue an annuall tribute of fourtie thousand florins from the King of Poland; which beeing denied them, they had reason so to doe: and that the Grand Seigniour could onely entreat, but not command them to surceasse. The Tartars seeing the Polacke thus sleighted at the Port, grew more insolent and outragious euery day: wherewith the Turkes were well content, for the great

great benefit they receiued by theſes which were continually brought to be ſold in their do-
minions, (as was ſayd before) finding for the moſt part, that thoſe men had able bodies, and fit
to be applied to the oare. It is true, that the Chrim Tartars in ancient time, being ſo neere
neighbours, were wont to receiue ſuch a ſtipend from the Crowne of Poland, for which they
were obliged to ſerue in euery occaſion of warre. But of later times the payment
ed, becauſe they rather receiued hurt, than any aſſiſtance of that vagebond and proud
people.

When the Coſſacks ſaw that after ſo many complaints they could not hope to
procure reſtitution of their wrongs, nor take their reuenge vpon the Tartars (being a ſtrong
and warlike people, and had no certaine place of abode) they reſolued to fall vpon the poſſeſ-
ions of the Grand Seignior, who ſeemed, in not to protect, yet to commit at leaſt the iniuries
receiued from theſe their neighbours. The Coſſacks then that inhabited vpon the bankes of the
riuer Boriſthenes (which emptieth it ſelfe into the blacke ſea) were conſented vnto by the
for the execution of this reuenge: and therefore they prepared a great number of well armed
Barques, and falling downe the ſaid riuer, did very great damage to the Turke, by robbing,
burning, and ſpoyling diuers Townes and Villages bordering vpon the Blacke ſea. The
newes being brought to Conſtantinople, the Grand Seignior tooke it in great ſcorne, that
ſuch a baſe and rude people ſhould come and affront him ſo neere his dores. Therefore he
cauſed ſome gallies to be armed forth with ſpeed to ſuppreſſe them: but his forces were foure
or fiue times valiantly repulſed, and ſtill the Coſſacke went ſafely home with his prey. Now
the tyde of affaires was turned, and this great Emperour, who was formerly petitioned by the
Polacke, is now become a ſuitor to him himſelfe, and ſindes Miniſters meaſured by the an-
ſwer the Grand Seignior had giuen concerning the wrongs done by the Tartars: That though
the Coſſackes adhere to the Crowne of Poland, yet are they a free people of themſelues; but
when the Tartar ſhall ceaſe from his hoſtilitie, it is like enough the Pole will entreat the Coſ-
ſacke to do the ſame; and that is all the authoritie he can exerciſe ouer them.

The perſuaſions of the Grand Seignior for the warre with the King of Poland.

Affaires ſtanding thus, no accommodation for wrongs on either ſide could be made; and
the Grand Seignior, although he was but now fifteene yeares of age, yet was he ſtrong, vi-
gorous, and of a high ſpirit, and more than deſirous of a war, but eſpecially with the King of
Poland, from whom he looked for better ſatisfaction. This deſire was nouriſhed in him by the
counſels of *Ali Baſſa*, grand Vizier; notwithſtanding it was vtterly diſliked by all the reſt of
the Miniſters of State, and Officers of warre in that Empire. A war was neuertheleſſe there-
vpon proclaimed throughout all the Turks Dominions, which did in generall diſpleaſe the
common ſouldier alſo.

1621. The Grand Seignior the foure and twentieth of Aprill commanded payment to be made
to all the Souldierie, and the day following cauſed all his Tents and Pauilions, with thoſe of
his Viziers and other Officers, to be ſolemnely pitched without the citie, with thoſe of all
trades that were to attend his Royall campe.

The Grand Seignior hauing now gathered of foot and horſe three hundred thouſand
(though reported to be ſix hundred thouſand) ſet forward together with his Court and traine
out of Conſtantinople the nine and twentieth of Aprill, with three hundred field pieces, be-
ſide a hundred double cannon ſent vnto the frontiers by ſea; leauing *Achmat Baſſa* and the
Boſtangi Baſſa Gouernours of the citie till his returne.

The beginning of the warre with the king of Poland.

When he was arriued at the confines of Poland, he firſt attempted the fortreſſe of Cotyn in
the prouince of Moldauia, lately giuen by *Gaſparo Gratiani* to the Polacks. The which being
ſtrong of ſcituation, and well furniſhed for defence, the Turke finding it difficult to carrie in
few dayes, left it aſſieged; and paſſing the riuer of Boriſthine, found there the Chancellour
of Poland intrencht vpon the borders, in a ſtrong place, and of good aduantage, kept with
fourtie thouſand Polacks and Coſſacks, and eight thouſand high Dutch ſent by the Emperor
in aid of the King of Poland. The Prince was incamped at Caminitza, and ſtrongly intren-
ched with ſixtie thouſand ſouldiers; the King abiding in Cracouia with the Nobility and his
Court. The Grand Seignior facing the trenches vpon Boriſthine, with the multitude of his
armie incloſed them round, and ſhut vp all the paſſages; ſending preſently the prince of the
Tartars, *Iean-beagh-Ghiray-Han* with thirtie thouſand light horſe to make incurſions within
the heart of Poland: who did great ſpoyle, and brought away captiues twentie fiue thouſand
ſoules

A ſoules of all ſorts; which dammage did not ſo much proceed from the will of the Prince, as
from a Captaine of his, a nobleman of Tartarie called *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, in great fauour at
that time with the Emperour: for it was thought that betweene the King of Poland, and the
Prince of Tartarie, there was ſome ſecret intelligence by the vertue of money.

During the ſpace of foure and thirtie daies that the Grand Seignior held theſe Trenches be-
ſieged, almoſt euerie other day hee gaue them terrible aſſaults, but was alway forced to retire
with loſſe. The Polacke in brauerie making ſome ſallies and encounters, were alſo glad to
recouer their ſtrength; onely once they ſo farre aduanced in the euening with their ſhot vp-
on the quarter of the Ianizaries, that they made a great execution, and almoſt put the whole
Campe into diſorder; and as the Turkes themſelues did confeſſe, if this ſallie had beene gi-
B uen in the night, it had hazarded the confuſion of the whole armie: All which being ſeene
by the Graund Seignior, and little hope of aduancing further, for diuers reaſons hee was
enforced to treat a ceſſation of Armes with the Chancellour. The firſt was, That conſide-
ring hee had ſpent ſo much time without any aduantage, and the Winter approching, where-
by his armie ſuffered great extremities of cold and other miſeries, by reaſon of terrible raines
which had carried away diuers tents, horſes, and other cattell, and ſome part of his can-
nons. Secondly, the prouiſion of fodder was become ſo deare, that diuers forſooke their hor-
ſes for want of meanes to feed them: beſides the great mortalitie of men, of fluxes, Feauers,
and colds, and the horſes of Aſia not vſed to ſuch a climate, that many men of qualitie that
came out with ten and twelue, were compelled to returne on foot. Thirdly, the armie either
C for wearineſſe, or for diſcontent receiued from the Emperour himſelfe, for his narrowneſſe
and auarice ſhewed to the ſouldier, contrarie to the glorious example of his anceſtors in like
enterpriſes, not onely refuſed to fight, but were little leſſe than mutined. Fourthly, this at-
tempt from the beginning, proceeding meerely from the obſtinacie of the Grand Seignior,
contrarie to the counſell of all his Viſiers, who deſired generally a peace: at their ſolicitation
and by the mediation of *Radula* Prince of Valachia, both parts were eaſily induced to treatie,
and the Chancellour was drawne to ſend a Secretarie to the Grand Seignior; where it was
agreed, as followeth.

Firſt, That the Emperour ſhould raiſe his armie, and retire from the confines of Poland; and the
Tartars as the occaſioners of this warre ſhould ſend an Emirze to reſide as a pledge from enſuing in-
D *curſions. The Chancellour promiſing in the name of the King of Poland, to keepe another in the*
Court of the Prince of Tartarie, with condition to pay yearely as aforeſaid fortie thouſand florins (an
antient pretenſion of the Tartars) as a donatiue from the King of Poland; promiſing moreouer, for
the better confirmation of the future peace, to maintain a Reſident in the Port of the Ottoman *Court;*
and vpon the arriuall of euerie ſuch Embaſſadour to ſend a preſent conformable to the Ledgiers of
other Chriſtian Princes. And as the Grand Seignior was obliged for the Tartars that they ſhould
forbeare all inuaſions vpon the Polacke; ſo the Polacks ſhould binde themſelues in behalfe of the Coſ-
ſacks, that they ſhould commit no robberies in the dominion of the Grand Seignior. And further co-
uenanting in the name of the Poliſh merchants for the priuiledge of free traffique, to make a preſent
of an hundred thouſand chequins in plate, ſables, and Bulgarie hides; alway intended with this refer-
E *uation, that this treatie ſhould not preiudice or binde, vntill the Graund Seignior did ſend a Chiaus*
to the King of Poland with theſe ouertures, that he might haue time to aſſemble his Parliament, and
there reſolue to ſend an Embaſſadour with ample authoritie to treat and conclude a finall peace in the
Port. Whereupon the Grand Seignior being ſatisfied with theſe conditions, did diſpatch pre-
ſently his Nuntio into Poland, and ſuddenly to the great content of all his armie, he raiſed his
campe and returned to Adrianople.

The loſſes in the Turkiſh and Poliſh armies.

By relation of diuers preſent in that warre, it was reported, That there died in the Turkes
campe, by the ſword, famine, ſickneſſe, and cold, about eightie thouſand men, and aboue an
hundred thouſand horſe; and the remaine at their returne appearing ſo naked, ſickly, and
poore, made euident demonſtration of the great loſſe and miſerie ſuſtained. The Polacks in
F their trenches loſt aboue twentie thouſand by the famine ſuffered in their beſieging: ſo that if
the Winter, and other wants had not conſtrained the Grand Seignior to riſe with ſome pre-
tence of honor, and that he had ſtaied a few daies longer, they had been enforced to render or
periſh; which is euident, in that they were glad and prompt to accept of any agreement, al-
though as yet there was nothing fully concluded.

1621. *The Grand Seignior enraged that the Emperour had sent aids to the Pole.*

The Grand Seignior being informed that the Emperour of Germany had sent aid of eight thousand Dutch to the King of Poland, and enraged that he had so little aduanced in that attempt; pretending that the Emperour by giuing succours had broken the peace; to vent his choler, contrarie to the aduice of his Councell, presently vpon his arising from the confines of Poland, in his campe proclaimed warre against Germanie for the next Spring; commanding vpon great penaltie, all his souldiers and slaues to be readie for that inuasion. Which gaue great discontent to the Armie, insomuch as they did almost publiquely professe, they neither could nor would follow him. And conformable to this his rash resolution, hee gaue order to *Kante-Emir-EmirZe*, a Tartarian Captaine then Bassa of Silistra, to winter with twentie thousand of his souldiers in the countrey. Presently hereupon, *Cæsar Gallo* the Emperours Embassadour was stayed at Buda; the Grand Seigniour pretending, that he said *Cæsar Gallo* had promised vpon his life, That the Emperor would giue no aid to the King of Poland. Not considering that hee himselfe, contrary to the peace, the Sommer before had surprised Vatz a towne of Hungarie, and had permitted many of his souldiers to follow the Prince of Transyluania, as voluntiers against the Emperour.

The Graund Seignior changeth his minde of making war against the emperour.

The King of Poland hearing of this resolution against the Emperour, called the Chiaus sent about the Treatie, before him, and told him, That if the Grand Seigniour shold proceed to make war vpon the Emperour for his occasion, that he could conclude no peace with him, being obliged to take part with the Emperour as his deere brother and confederate. Which message the Chiaus sent to the Grand Seigniour, when he was yet at Adrianople, where hee either purposed to Winter to affright the Emperour, or to [illegible]cken the Polacke to a conclusion of peace: cold in his sudden pretence, by the persuasions of the Visiers and Mufti, hee changed his resolution, and tooke his way to Constantinople, where hee entred the last of December.

Now it being giuen out, that the Emir of Sidon in Siria was in rebellion, and that he had possessed himselfe of the citie and castle of Tripolie, the Grand Seignior pretended to go in person against him, and gaue out 60000 Checquines to prepare his carriages and pauilions; and tooke order to prouide his pallace in Aleppo, determining to passe that way to amuse and raise suspition in the Persian: and likewise commanded the armie of Asia to be in readines by the end of the month of April; & gaue out commission for victuals, munition, & other necessaries. The Mufti, Hoja, & other the Viziers (who knew not the mistery) misliking this counsell, with great instances & reasons dissuaded him, as being a course verie dangerous to his estate. First, that his Maiestie should go in person, leauing all Greece desolate, and commit the care & gouernment of his Imperial seat to a poore Chimacham or lieutenant; it not being probable that the Emir of Sidon would stay to oppose himselfe against the force of his royal armie, but rather make an escape, and retyre himself to some part of Christendom: & that a Generall by land, and the Captaine Bassa Admirall of the sea, with his Fleet of Gallies, would suffice to puunish and destroy him. Besides, if his Maiestie vndertooke the journey in person, it was necessarie that all his souldiers should attend him, which were a charge superfluous and aboue the enterprise, and almost impossible for them, hauing been so harrassed and distressed in the late inuasion of Poland (who did euen publiquely murmure that they would not go.) For which reasons the King changed his resolution, and was content to make a Generall by land with the Armie of Asia; to which charge was named the Bassa of Cairo. The next day after the Grand Seigniours comming to the Arsenall, he called the Vizier Bassa, the Admirall, and the great Treasurer before him; where it was concluded to make readie at least a hundred Gallies: for the preparation whereof sixtie thousand Checquines were then deliuered; the Vizier promising to furnish the rest of the whole charge with expedition, of his owne purse, and to take it vp vpon the Kings assignations. Whereupon the Grand Seigniour with great content did vest them as a marke of fauour, and gaue present commission to the Admirall to be readie and to depart by the middest of Aprill following; and for his better strength he gaue a command to send for aids to Tunis and Algier: which was thought requisite, because it was reported, that the Prince *Philibert* of Sauoy, then Viceroy of Sicilie, had in readinesse sixtie Gallies and six Gallions at Messina, which force was doubted would be employed to giue succour to the Emir of Sidon, or to reuenge the attempt and late sacke of Manfredonia; so that they were with all expedition rigging and preparing the Armado in the Arsenall;

A nall: and for prouision and preuention of the worst, there was ordained twelue small gallies and the ordinarie fleet of Frigots to keepe the blacke Sea from the incursion of the Cossacks. 1621
And though it was giuen out that this army was onely prepared against the Emir, yet many that vnderstood the secrets of that empire, knowing it to be too great, did beleeue it should be sent to preuent a generall reuolt which was then murmured and suspected in Asia.

The Grand Seignior marrieth.

About this time, contrarie to the Counsell and will of all his ministers, the Grand Seigniour married the Grand-childe of a Sultana, wife to *Pertau Bassa* onely for her beautie, without any pompe, which was ill interpreted in that Court; his ancestours of late yeares not vsually taking wiues, especially of a Turkish race, for respect of kindred. This and other inconstancies, with extreame auarice, made him odious with the souldier; and his daily haun-
B ting the streets on foot, sometimes disguised with a Page or two, prying into houses and Tauerns like a pettie officer, encreased his contempt euen in the Citie.

Secret order to make war vpon the emperor.

Secret order was giuen about the same time to *Diac-Mahomet* the Bassa of Canisia, and to *Gelut-EmirZe* a Tartarian, to vnite themselues with *Bethlem Gabor* against the Emperour of Germanie: But the Bassa of Buda did aduertise the Graund Seigniour, that *Gabor* had concluded peace with the Emperour; which newes did greatly displease him, being ardent in the desire of warre.

His Maiesty of great Britains embassador arriued at the Port.

The peace betweene the Graund Seigniour and the King of Poland, was not yet fully con-
cluded; but Embassadours weekely expected at the Port from Poland and other places, to ha-
sten a full consummation thereof. Amongst which, Sir *Thomas Roe* Knight Embassadour in
C ordinarie from his Maiestie of Great Britaine to the Grand Seigniour, arriued there the first of Ianuarie, and had his first audience of him speedily, when he made this speech vnto him in English, which immediatly hereafter followeth.

Most high and mightie Emperour, his sacred Maiestie the King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, my most gracious Lord and Soueraigne, according to the antient league of friendship and amitie, of long time begun and continued betweene the most noble Ancestours of your Maiesties, and in his Royall person confirmed by his sundrie Embassadours and Letters, both to your renowned father, and your Imperiall Maiestie; being fully determined on his part, to maintaine, and inuiolably to hold, a faire and good peace and correspondencie with your Maiestie: hath commanded and sent mee with his Letters of credence and friendly Present, to reside as his Embassadour in your Royall Court. Not doubting but your Imperiall Maiestie will accept them, and receiue mee, his
D *seruant with your woonted honour and fauour; and that you will giue credit vnto mee in those matters of importance which he hath commanded me to deliuer in his name, comprehended in fiue articles written in this Memoriall: And that you will be pleased to do therein according to the [illegible] all friendship of his Maiestie and your princely wisedome and Iustice. The particulers whereof I desire your Maiestie to read and consider at your ease and leisure; and to affoord me your [illegible] answer, his Maiestie resting assured hee shall receiue content and satisfaction worthie the [illegible] friendship.*

E The Letter of Credence sent by Sir *Thomas Roe*

IAmes by the Grace of God King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the [illegible] stian Faith, against all those that falsly professe the name of Iesus, & [illegible] mightie Prince, Sultan Osman Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the [illegible] Empire of the East, sendeth health and greeting.*

WE doubt not but you receiued our Letters sent vnto you by our [illegible] wee signified vnto you our royall pleasure in recall and [illegible] Ayre, from his employment and residencie in your Court, whom [illegible]
F *fauour to dismisse for our especiall seruice, and to [illegible] remaine in your protection; for the better support and [illegible] and abide in your Dominions, and for the [illegible] and friendship, which hath beene a long time [illegible] the arriuall of our seruant Sir* Thomas Roe, *[illegible]*

as our Embassadour; as well to propound vnto you diuers things necessarie for the generall peace, G
as to reside in your Court for our particular seruice. Notwithstanding, lest the said letters should
not come safely to your royall hands, wee haue thought fit againe to make knowne our purpose of re-
calling our former Embassador Sir Iohn Ayre, and to desire you to discharge and dismisse him from
your Port, and to receiue and admit in his roome our trustie and welbeloued seruant Sir Thomas
Roe one of the principall Gentlemen of our Court, and of our Priuie Chamber, whom wee haue now
expressely sent, and whome wee authorise vnder our great Seale of England as our Embassadour to
reside at your Port, and to negotiate in our name, and in the behalfe of our subiects abiding within
your Kingdomes: of whose fidelitie and discretion as we are well assured, so wee doubt not but hee
will giue you good content in his demeanor and negotiation with you. Wee haue also thought fit to
put you in minde of those common rouers vpon the seas, who are enemies to the Law of Nations, and H
spoylers of the quiet and peaceable Merchant, by whom amitie and friendship is many times betweene
Kings and Princes: That you would please to exercise your great and mightie power to chastise and
destroy them, as traitors to you honour, and infringers of the sacred and publique peace. In full as-
surance that you wil extend the same good respect vnto vs, as your Royall ancestors haue done vnto our
most renowned predecessors, wherby that antient league and commerce may be inuiolably maintained
betweene both our Kingdomes, which on our part wee shall be verie loath to infringe or dissolue. We
doe by these our letters recommend vnto your princely fauour, this our said trustie seruant and Em-
bassadour, to reside and remaine in your Port, on our behalfe to treat with you in all affaires for the
publique weale of our dominions, and for the generall peace of us both, and our allies and friends, as
also for the support and aid of all our subiects, which doe liue and trade within your estates and coun- I
tries; to whose good discretion we recommend their affaires, and by whose industrie and mediation we
conceiue our people may be relieued in their iust and reasonable demands, to the perfect maintenance
and assurance of that mutuall commerce which hath so long time beene continued betweene our
Royall progenitours. And as wee haue great cause to professe our gratefull acknowledgement, for
many fauours which our former Embassadours and all other our subiects, haue, and doe receiue from
your Royall hands, so in our princely loue, we doe intreat you to take knowledge of, and to command
redresse for diuers oppressions and wrongs done vnto some of our said subiects persons and goods, that
liue vnder the assurance of your friendship with vs, which wee haue formerly signified to our
Residents at your Port: but as wee verily beleeue, they haue neuer come vnto your eares, that are K
open to the iust complaints of all strangers; whereof we haue now giuen charge to our seruant and
Embassadour to acquaint you with more at large, vnto whom wee desire you to giue protection and
credit in whatsoeuer he shall moue and propound, for the establishing, confirmation, and inlargement,
in all occasions, of those liberties and priuiledges which our subiects haue antiently enioyed by the be-
nignitie of your selfe, and of your Royall ancestours. And in all other things and occasions, wherein
hee hath or shall receiue our commands, as if our selfe did communicate them with you, which wee
doubt not shall redound to the great vtilitie and honour of both our Empires. And so wee wish you
health and true felicitie. Dated at our Royall Citie of London, the sixth day of September, Anno
Dom. 1621, and of our Raigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, the nineteenth.

Articles propounded by the Embassadour to the Grand Seigniour. L.

I First, his sacred Maiestie of Great Britaine, according to the most noble and renowned league of amitie, betweene your Maiesties and your Crownes and Dominions, hath commanded me to renew the antient capitulations and priuiledges granted by your Imperiall Maiestie and your Royall ancestours, and therein to moone your Maiestie, that you will be pleased to enlarge and extend your fauour to our Nation that liue vnder your protection, and to giue remedie to diuers iniuries done vn-
to them by the Costomers of this Royall Port, Aleppo, Smirna, Scio, Petras, and other places, contra-
rie to the Iustice and honour of your Maiestie: and that you will bee pleased to giue order for seuerall M
commands to these places, in all our iust occasions; that both the fame of your iustice may be renow-
med, and the friendship of your Maiesties confirmed, and the coresspondence and commerce betweene
your Dominions established and encreased.

II Secondly, his Maiestie hath commanded me to offer himselfe as a mediatour of peace, to ac-
commodate

A commodate the late breach with the Kingdome of Poland, the King of Poland hauing sent his Em-
bassadour expresse into England to desire his aid, he hath thought it more agreeable to his honour and
to the antient league of friendship, to vse his credit with your Maiestie to procure the generall quiet
and peace of the Princes of Christendome; desiring your Maiestie to consider his interest in the pub-
lique cause, and not to despise the forces of so many as may partake in the quarrell: which if your
Maiestie shall hearken vnto, the rather for his sake, as your royall Ancestor hath done in the like oc-
casion, his Maiestie will accept it as a respect of your loue, which will assure and encrease the com-
merce and friendship of your Dominions; in which his Maiestie hath giuen me more particular and
full instructions to treat and mediate in this businesse.

Thirdly, his Maiestie hath commanded me to moue your Imperiall Maiestie for the release of di- III
B uers of the Polish Nobilitie, now your Captiues; and for one Scottish Gentleman, a subiect of his Ma-
iestie my Royall Master.

Fourthly, his Maiestie desires, that you will take some order with the Pyrats of Tunis and Al- IV
giers, who shelter themselues vnder your Royall protection (to the great dishonour of your Maiestie)
and doe many robberies vpon the subiects of Kings and Princes in amity and league with your empire,
and take euen the ships sent vnto your Royall Port: admonishing your Maiestie to consider, that if
they be suffered to continue, they will occasion the dissolution of all commerce and trade; being com-
mon enemies to all honest Merchants, by whom the friendship of these Kingdomes are maintained and
increased. And that if your Imperiall Maiestie please not to exercise your Royall power and authori-
tie to bridle or destroy them; that then you will not take it in ill part, that his Maiestie, with other
C Princes his Allies, shall make an Armie to punish both them and all others that receiue and cherish
them; which hath hitherto been forborne in respect onely of your Maiestie: and that the towns where
they harbour themselues are or ought to be vnder your Imperiall command.

Fiftly, his Maiestie hath commanded me to require Iustice and restitution of a great summe of V
money taken from Arthur Garaway here imprisoned by force and iniurie in the time of Achmet
Bassa: whereof his Maiesties former Embassadours haue complained to Sultan Achmat, your Maie-
sties renowmed father, and to Mehemet Bassa Vizier, to Hussen Bassa, to the Hoja of the King, and
to the Mufti; wherein your Maiesties most noble father gaue command for our satisfaction. All the
said great Officers hauing heard the cause, vpon examination giuing their testimonies of the great
wrong done vnto him; Mehemet Bassa also writing a letter, by the order of your Maiesties Royall
D Father, promising iustice and restitution; which his Maiestie doth yet expect, and againe demand.
And hauing so often written in this cause, his Maiestie will not beleeue, but that in iustice and ho-
nour this Royall Court would do right; imputing the fault to his owne Ministers and Embassadors,
that they neuer complained to your Imperiall Maiestie, according to his highnesse command. Also
his Maiestie hath commanded me to require and desire your Maiestie to giue him your Royall answer
in all these particulars, by your letters in writing, as shall be fit for your owne honour, and conforma-
ble to the antient league of amitie and friendship betweene your Royall Maiesties.

His Majesties Embassadour not many dayes after sent to the Visier, who had promised him an answer vnto these Articles; who returned him this that followeth.

E To the first he said, That the Emperour his Master had giuen him order to renew the Ca- *The grand Seigniors answer.*
pitulations, and to make any such additions as should be requisite, agreeable to their law, and
conformable to the antient League; and that therein his Majesties Embassadour should finde
no difficultie: for they honoured his Majestie, and were resolued to giue him assurance of
their will to maintaine a true friendship; and therefore desired the Embassadour to draw and
prepare the Capitulations, and send them to him and the Chancellour, who would consider
them, and being such as were fit to be granted, the Embassadour should haue speedie order.

To the second, the Vizier answered with great subtiltie; First, iustifying the occasion of the
warre, and imputing the fault to the Cossacks, maintained by the Pole to robbe euen at the port
F of Constantinople: therefore that the Emperour could not in honour but chasten and destroy
them, hauing first by message demanded iustice against them; and now his Master being inga-
ged with great charge, and in his honour he could make no peace with them who had beguil-
led him: pretending that they had no other intention but the warre, because hauing raised his
campe, and dissolued his Armie, the Polacks now scorned him, and kept no faith, neither sen-
ding Embassadour nor messenger, no not any Letter since their returne. That therefore they

could not hearken to any condition: and that his Majestie of Great Britaine did not value the G
honour of the grand Seigniour in this motion.

To the third, the Visier replied, That the motion for the prisoners was vnseasonable, because in order it should follow the Generall treatie, and making peace; which it finished, his Maiestie of Great Britaine should finde, that for his sake, all those mentioned in the Memoriall should bee free, except onely the Prince *Coreskie*, who had beene the cause of many troubles, and had made escape from prison formerly.

To the fourth, the Visier made protestation in the Grand Seigniours name against the Pyrats, offering that his Maesties Embassadour should haue what commands, what message he would desire in companie of any Englishman.

To the fifth the Visier replied, It was an old obsolete quarrell, and that the Embassadour did him injurie to presse him, when in the time of three former Visiers, his predecessors could H
obtaine no relieue: therefore hee would not looke backe vpon the actions of other men, nor rake among the bones of the dead: but he desired the Embassadour should rest satisfied, that while He had the honour to gouerne, there should no wrong be done vnto the English Nation, and that hee would heare all complaints, so as no man should need to looke backe vpon his actions.

This perfunctorie answer, did not much satisfie his Maesties Embassador, but that he desired some other of effect, beeing loath to accept of generalities, and therefore required a direct reply for his own discharge: which was promised after much pressing, by the Visier who I
had first vndertaken the same.

1622 *The Polish Embassador expected at the Port.*

The long stay of the Duke of Sbaraskie (chosen extraordinarie Embassadour by the King of Poland, to consummate the peace betweene him and the Grand Seigniour) did much trouble the Emperours Court; and especially the Visier, who procured the cessation of Armes, but that a letter was writ by the King of Poland, which did a little prolong their hopes. In the meane time the Emperour divulged a pretence to visite Mecha, the tombe of *Mahomet* his great Prophet; contrarie to the counsell and instance of all his Visiers that knew not the secret, and euen to the hazard of a generall reuolt; for they were jealous that vnder colour of that voyage, hee had some other designe; and it was feared, the Duke would not proceed to follow him at randome, nor treat with his Deputies left at the Port: For the Polacks seemed in performing and assuring the peace, a little too glorious of their good successe; and K
the Nobilitie not so obedient to the King, as that he could absolutely command; which did both trouble their Agents at the Port, and discontent the Turkes: so that a little motion of the Cossackes or Tartars at that time (spoyle being both their liuelyhoods) had kindled new fires, and had disturbed or quite broken the peace.

In the meane space, the Grand Seigniour writ his letter to his Maiestie of Great Britaine, in answer to his royall letter by his Embassadour; wherein was contained a satisfactorie replie to all the particulers of those fiue articles deliuered vnto him. And the Grand Seigniour made such demonstration of great care to giue his Maiestie al content and satisfaction, that his L
Letter was presented to the Embassador with ceremonies of honor, requiring that it should be sent by an expresse messenger; and gaue command for a safe conduct for that purpose. The true translated coppie whereof doth immediatly follow.

Prince *Osman* euer victorious.

The Grand Seigniors letter to his Maiestie of great Britaine.

TO the mightie Prince, renowned among the Maiesties of the Princes of the Law of Iesus, *obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Messiah; the onely director of the important affaires of the Nazaren people; Soueraigne of the limites of power and honour; Lord of aduancement and authoritie, the most glorious* IAMES, *King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland; to whose last daies* M
We wish all felicitie.

THis our Imperiall arriuing you shall know, that your houourable and famous Embassadaur, Sir Thomas Roe, *is with your Royall and acceptable Letter come vnto our happie Port, the refuge of the Princes and Commanders of the World. Whereof the sincere contents and substance was, That our antient capitu[lations] should be renewed, and diuers articles therein reformed and explained, and some*

A *some other inserted. And whereas certaine Customers and other officers of our Empire, haue often transgressed our Royall agreements, and done many violentes and iniuries to the Marchants your subiects, that for the time to come they may be secured from all oppression: and concerning the affaires of the Polacks, that the enmitie and warre lately begun betweene vs and them might be conuerted into peace and friendship; and that there should be established a sinure league and amitie, as in the time of our Ancestours. And that diuers Noblemen of Poland, and some of your Maesties Subiects now detained in our captiuitie, should be set at libertie. Complaining also against the Inhabitants of Tunis and Algier, That they who haue violated our Imperiall Capitulations, Amitie, and League, ought to be duely punished. And lastly, That whereas one of your subiects named* Arthur Garraway, *from whom vpon a pretension there was a great fine taken, and other wrong done vnto*
B *his person, you desire that his cause may be with iustice reuiewed: All which being made known vnto vs; with prudent and mature deliberation we haue both duely weighed, and perfectly conceiued them. Wherefore by the fauour of the great and prosperous God we do promise, that in all those matters propounded, we will employ our imperiall care and diligence: And we haue already giuen our high and expresse command, that our antient Capitulations shall be renewed and confirmed. And such conditions as are correspondent to the peace, amitie, and league betweene vs, shall in due forme be granted. And there shall be sent with all expedition, our Royall Edicts to all our* (a) *Beglerbeghs,* (a) *Viceroyes.*
(b) *Beghs,* (c) *Cadees, Gouernours, Customers, Farmours, Superintendents, and Commissioners of* (b) *Presidents.* (c) *Iudges.*
our Reuenues, that from henceforth none of them shall giue any molestation to any of your Merchants or other Subiects. And insomuch as our happie gates are euer open to any who with sincerity seeke
C *our friendship, good will, and fauour: and the table of our liuely Graces is alwayes prepared for all men: Therefore whensoeuer on the behalfe of the Polacks, an Embassadour shall arriue at our high Court, and kisse the hemme of our vesture, and repent them of their former errours, and present vnto vs a good friendship and sincere league, and shall desire our fauour and amitie; by the mediation of your Resident now in our Imperiall Port, all matters shall be pacified and ended, and with a pen we will blot out all former differences. And the Peace being so established, your instances and desires for them shall haue gratefull acceptance with vs, and we will giue fit order for the prisoners.*

To the Beglerbeghs of Tunis and Algier, and to all other our slaues in those parts, we will presently send our expresse and high commaunds, and other orders, that they shall neuer hereafter transD gresse the tenour of our Imperiall Capitulations, nor commit any iniustice, nor do any violence to the Subiects of your Maestie. And concerning the businesse of the Merchant Arthur Garraway, *wherein you haue informed vs, that there hath beene taken from him by oppression a great estate and faculties; in the time of our father* Achmat Han *of happie memorie (the Vizier* Achmat Bassa *being then Deputie here) vpon pretence that diuers Mussulmens goods were found in his hands: which cause being now ouerpassed many yeares, you require a new hearing and inquisition. By the grace of the great God it shall be reuewed and examined with all Iustice: in the processe and issue whereof you shall be assured to receiue a right and fit answer from your Embassador now remaining in our Court. And in our time we shall neuer permit, that any the least iniurie or iniustice shall be done to any. Giuening you assurance on our behalfe, that the foundation and nerues of peace, friendship, and League betweene vs, are of vs straitly preserued, continued, and encreased: and our amitie, correspondence,*
E *and loue, is euer respected, esteemed, and pretious with vs. Therefore in the meane time, while our Capitulations are making perfect, and that the full conclusion may be certified vnto you; your embassadour hauing solicited vs for an answer to the Propositions made by you; by an expresse Messenger,* Robert Roe, *this our Imperiall letter is written and sent vnto you. Which arriuing, we hope that as in times past, the antient, perfect, and acceptable course of friendship, amitie, and league, adorned with aboundant sinceritie, resplendant loue, and benigne correspondencie on your part, hath beene alway obserued and maintained; so it is now also requisite, that you preserue the same affections, with all pure, firme, and constant good will, grace, and goodnesse: or rather that you aduance and encrease therein, as we will euer doe by all sincere wayes of loyall friendship and holy peace, nourishing it with our perfect intention and affectionate diligence, neuer admitting any occasion that may be thereunto*
F *preiudiciall.*

Giuen in our Imperiall Citie of Constantinople, the first day of the Moneth Gemaziel Achir (or Aprill) in the yeare of the departure of our Prophet Mahomet 1031; *that is,* Anno Christi Dei pari, 1622.

The Grand Seignour discontented since his disgrace in Poland, as soone as he came to Constantinople meditated reuenge vpon his souldiers, and alteration; and finding that his [illegible] for Mecha did not relish, gaue out that hee would passe into Asia to suppresse the Emir of Sidon, who had taken armes, and was reported to rebell; but indeed hauing secret intelligence with *Osman* and the Vizier *Delaur Bassa*. But from which purpose being dissuaded by the great instance of the Vizier, and that it would not so well serue his secret designes; hee returned to his first colour, that hee would visite Mecha the tombe of his false Prophet.

The Grand Seignour deuises of peace with the Polake.

To make this voyage the more secure in apparance, hee seemed content to accept of any treatie with the Polacks, euen to conditions both of disaduantage and dishonour; for his estates in Hungarie, hee re-inforced the frontiers with diuers troupes; and although hee were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of Germanie and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he dissembled it so, as that he would not displease the Transyluanian, but rather offered new succours, and forbearance of his tribute. From the incursions of the Cossackes hee hoped to assure himselfe by the treatie of the Poles; and in occasion of breach, hee had the Tartars ready to requite them; and for more securitie, hee added to the number of his gallies appointed to keep the Black sea. The common people and Visiers of the Port that loued rest, and knew not the designe, were much troubled and discontent at this iourney; and made many remonstrances to him of the inconuenience and danger, to leaue the seat of his Empire to the trust of a Deputie, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the Germane Emperour, and therefore not to be trusted; and the Pole newly reconciled to him, and therefore to bee mistrusted. Diuers other reasons were [illegible] to him, many petitions deliuered from the Church-men, Lawyers, and from all Estates. But melancholy reuenge had wholly possessed him, so that by no meanes he could be perswaded to desist. The souldierie passed so farre as to threaten publiquely, and to protest they would not follow, but rather set vp another King in his absence, that should stay among them. In conclusion, carried by his owne fate to destruction, hauing first commanded away his Armado to the Leuant, and thereby disposed many of his souldiers, vpon Wednesday the seuenth of May, hee began to passe ouer his tents and pauilions to Asia side, with great quantities of treasure. The Ianizaries and Spahies, who had also secret intelligence, vpon the King his owne words and actions betraying some further proiect than a Pilgrimage (for hee made preparations to carrie away all his iewels and treasure, euen defacing his pallace, and taking from Churches, and his Ward-robes whatsoeuer could be conuerted to Bullion) suddenly met at the Hippodrome in the citie, vpon a word giuen; and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in tumult, but without armes, and there according to their barbarous mutinies, cryed out for the the King; (hauing first taken order to stop the passage of any thing vpon the water) Who appearing to them, asked, What this insolencie meant, and what they pretended? They then, by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the monster) demanded first, That he should not proceed in his purpose to goe to Mecha, nor into Asia, but that he would abide in the citie. Secondly, they required to haue deliuered to their furie, the great Visier *Delauir Bassa*, the Hoja or Confessor of the King, the Caslariaga Gouernour of the women, the Tefterdar or Treasurer, the Cadde leschar or chiefe Iustice, and some others, as enemies to the State, and consenting to this voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The first, after a little dispute, the King granted vnto them, promising to giue ouer his iourney, but they not content, exacted it in writing. To the second hee replyed, That it was dishonour to him to haue his seruants so vsed without order of Iustice: but perswaded them to haue patience, to stay vntill Saturday, the next Diuan or publique Councell, where they should appeare, and if they were found culpable, they should receiue punishment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time, and allay their present furie. These fellows not content with this moderat answer, vndertooke to know that they were guiltie, and therefore that they needed no other witnesse, tryall, nor judge, but themselues; and with extreame clamour called to haue them rendered. But the King refusing to giue them any other satisfaction, and they vnprepared for force, returned into the citie, which now was all in feare, euerie house and shop shut vp, expecting a generall sacke. But they followed the way of their owne hatred, and first went into the house of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: But not

not finding him, they proceeded to the great Viziers, who made some defence, and they (being vnarmed) beat them off; and so they separated, being now euening, but yet kept a gard in some parts of the Towne.

That night the King made an attempt to send ouer to Asia side, but was preuented; and to fortifie and defend the Seraglio, which was strongly walled about, and had alway in it of household seruants about three thousand: but it seemed no man would arme himselfe in his cause; for the next morning the Mutiniers assembled againe, and taking their armes, went first to the Mufti, or Archpriest among them, and enforced him and diuers others to accompanie them to the Court, where they anew demanded these men, but with more instance and furie. In the meane time the Hoia, Cadeleschet, and Tefterdar fled, and were not in long time discouered. The Vizier retyred to the King, and perswaded him earnestly to go ouer in person in his owne boats (which from his garden he might easily do) to Asia, and there to take horse, and he would secure him from all perill; but the King would not moue, bidding him stay confident and assured that he would punish these Rebels.

The Ianizaries mutiny against the grand seignour.

The wise old man seeing this constancie or obstinacie, desired leaue to shift for himselfe; which he tooke or obtained, and so got away to the hermitage of a Saint renowmed amongst them; who (like himselfe) betrayed him, yet did him the fauour as not to deliuer him to the multitude, but perswaded and carried him backe to the Kings house. At this time it was disputed in the Seraglio about the deliuerie of those Officers; the Emperour refusing, the rebels clamouring and threatening; insomuch as he began to feare they would breake in, and in their rage do worse than was yet pretended. Whereupon (whether by the Kings order, or by his owne consent, willing to be the peace offering) the braue Vizier went out to them, and with a good assuredness demanded what they sought of him, and wherein he had offended. At first they were amased; but one insolent villaine breaking the generall modestie, they answered him with their swords, and suddenly cut him in pieces.

The great Vizier slaine by the Ianizaries.

The Emperour seeing their furie so outragious, had now more cause to doubt, and retired himselfe, then too late, when he had lost his faithfull Counsellour; and would haue fled into Asia, but could not, yet he conueyed himselfe into a priuat place prepared by his Bostangi Bassa, or chiefe Gardiner. The Rebels continued without in their madnesse, asking for the King, and for more sacrifices. But the seruants protesting they knew not where he was, they said they must haue a King, and if he would not appeare they would make another: and hauing a while attended, they resolued to enter the Palace (but first tooke a generall oath not to sacke the Imperiall Throne, which they called their House and their Honour) and there seeking for the King, not able to finde him, they extorted by confession the Caslariaga, and slew him; and then they demanded for *Mustapha*, vncle to *Osman*, by him formerly deposed, a man esteemed rather holy (that is, franticke) than wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell than a Sceptre. The King the first day of this tumult had put *Mustapha* into a vault with two Negro women, without bread or drinke; in which estate these new Electors found him, almost naked, and halfe pined. At first sight he thought they had beene the messengers of death: but that feare passed ouer, and his first request was a cup of water. Whom they tooke vp, and instantly proclaimed him their Emperour; which he was loath to accept, in a manner ashamed to be raised to that dignitie. How vnstable are the estates of the greatest Princes! for hee that was but euen now in the iawes of death, naked, starued, and dying for thirst, is become a great Monarch, may drinke gold, or the innocent bloud.

The Ianizaries demand Mustapha.

They as yet not knowing what was become of *Osman*, and loth to trust *Mustapha* in the pallace, carried him in triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him; departing to the sacke of the Viziers house, and so in the euening to their Rendeuous, where they kept both good gard and good order in the citie, from fires and other insolencies. Sultan *Osman* amased with these newes, so soone as they had left the Court, came out, and called to councell in the night *Hunewes*, so soone as they had left the Court, came out, and called to councell in the night *Hussein Bassa* late Vizier in the Polish warre, and the Aga of the Ianizaries, both faithfull to him, and demanded their aduice: first hauing sent to the old Seraglio, to practise the women there to strangle *Mustapha*; but some of them taking his part, a new vprore began in the house betweene that Sex; and the souldiers that kept watch hearing the noyse, entred in and rescued him, and from thence remoued him to the chambers of the Ianizaries, where they garded him for that night in an ill lodging. All this while *Osman* consults what course to take. These two

The Grand Seigniour discontented since his disgrace in Poland, as soone as he came to Constantinople, meditating reuenge vpon his souldiers, and alteration; and finding that his pretence for Mecha did not relish, gaue out that hee would passe into Asia to suppresse the Emir of Sidon, who had taken armes, and was reported to rebell; but indeed hauing secret intelligence with *Osman* and the Vizier *Delauir Bassa*. But from which purpose being dissuaded by the great instance of the Vizier, and that it would not so well serue his secret designes; hee returned to his first colour, that hee would visite Mecha the tombe of his false Prophet.

The Grand Seigniour desirous of peace with the Polake.

To make this voyage the more secure in apparance, hee seemed content to accept of any treatie with the Polacks, euen to conditions both of disaduantage and dishonour; for his estates in Hungarie, hee re-inforced the frontiers with diuers troupes; and though hee were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of Germanie and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he dissembled it so, as that he would not displease the Transyluanian, but rather offered new succours, and forbearance of his tribute. From the incursions of the Cossackes hee hoped to assure himselfe by the treatie of the Poles; and in occasion of breach, hee had the Tartars ready to requite them; and for more securitie, hee added to the number of his gallies appointed to keep the Black sea. The common people and Visiers of the Port that loued rest, and knew not the designe, were much troubled and discontent at this iourney; and made many remonstrances to him of the inconuenience and danger, to leaue the seat of his Empire to the trust of a Deputie, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the Germane Emperour, and therefore not to be trusted; and the Polake newly reconciled to him, and therefore to bee mistrusted. Diuers other reasons were made to him, many petitions deliuered from the Church-men, Lawyers, and from all Estates. But melancholy reuenge had wholly possessed him, so that by no meanes he could be persuaded to desist. The souldierie passed so farre as to threaten publiquely, and to protest they would not follow, but rather set vp another King in his absence, that should stay among them. In conclusion, carried by his owne fate to destruction, hauing first commanded away his Armado to the Leuant, and thereby disposed many of his souldiers, vpon Wednesday the seuenth of May, hee began to passe ouer his tents and pauilions to Asia side, with great quantities of treasure. The Ianizaries and Spahies, who had also secret intelligence, vpon the King his owne words and actions betraying some further proiect than a Pilgrimage (for hee made preparations to carrie away all his jewels and treasure, euen defacing his pallace, and taking from Churches, and his Ward-robes whatsoeuer could be conuerted to Bullion) suddenly met at the Hippodrome in the citie, vpon a word giuen; and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in tumult, but without armes, and there according to their barbarous mutinies, cryed out for the the King; (hauing first taken order to stop the passage of any thing vpon the water) Who appearing to them, asked, What this insolencie meant, and what they pretended? They then, by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the monster) demanded first, That he should not proceed in his purpose to goe to Mecha, nor into Asia; but that he would abide in the citie. Secondly, they required to haue deliuered to their furie, the great Visier *Delauir Bassa*, the Hoja or Confessor of the King, the Cassariaga Gouernour of the women, the Tefterdar or Treasurer, the Cadde leschar or chiefe Iustice, and some others, as enemies to the State, and consenting to this voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The first, after a little dispute, the King granted vnto them, promising to giue ouer his journey; but they not content, exacted it in writing. To the second hee replyed, That it was dishonour to him to haue his seruants so vsed without order of Iustice: but persuaded them to haue patience, to stay vntill Saturday, the next Diuan or publique Councell, where they should appeare, and if they were found culpable, they should receiue punishment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time, and allay their present furie. These fellows not content with this moderat answer, vndertooke to know that they were guiltie, and therefore that they needed no other witnesse, tryall, nor judge, but themselues; and with extreme clamour called to haue them rendered. But the King refusing to giue them any other satisfaction, and they vnprepared for force, returned into the citie, which now was all in [illegible] rie house and shop shut vp, expecting a generall sacke. But they followed their way [illegible] owne hatred, and first went into the house of the Hoja, which they brake [illegible]

not finding him, they proceeded to the great Viziers, who made some defence, and they (being vnarmed) beat them off; and so they separated, being now euening, but yet kept a gard in some parts of the Towne.

That night the King made an attempt to send ouer to Asia side, but was preuented; and to fortifie and defend the Seraglio, which was strongly walled about, and had alway in it of household seruants about three thousand: but it seemed no man would arme himselfe in his cause; for the next morning the Mutiniers assembled againe, and taking their armes, went first to the Mufti, or Archpriest among them, and enforced him and diuers others to accompanie them to the Court, where they anew demanded these men, but with more instance and furie. In the meane time the Hoia, Cadeleschet, and Tefterdar fled, and were not in long time discouered. The Vizier retyred to the King, and persuaded him earnestly to go ouer in person in his owne boats (which from his garden he might easily do) to Asia, and there to take horse, and he would secure him from all perill; but the King would not moue, bidding him stay confident and assured that he would punish these Rebels.

The Ianizaries mutiny against the grand seigniour.

The great Vizier slaine by the Ianizaries.

The wise old man seeing this constancie or obstinacie, desired leaue to shift for himselfe; which he tooke or obtained, and so got away to the hermitage of a Saint renowmed amongst them; who (like himselfe) betrayed him, yet did him the fauour as not to deliuer him to the multitude, but persuaded and carried him backe to the Kings house. At this time it was disputed in the Seraglio about the deliuerie of those Officers; the Emperour refusing, the rebels clamouring and threatening; insomuch as he began to feare they would breake in, and in their rage do worse than was yet pretended. Whereupon (whether by the Kings order, or by his owne consent, willing to be the peace offering) the braue Vizier went out to them, and with a good assurednesse demanded what they sought of him, and wherein he had offended. At first they were amased; but one insolent villaine breaking the generall modestie, they answered him with their swords, and suddenly cut him in pieces.

The Emperour seeing their furie so outragious, had now more cause to doubt and feared himselfe, then too late, when he had lost his faithfull Counsellour: and would haue fled into Asia, but could not, yet he conueyed himselfe into a priuat place prepared by his Bostangi Bassa, or chiefe Gardiner. The Rebels continued without in their madnesse, askin[illegible] for the King, and for more sacrifices. But the Ianizaries protested they knew not whose he was that they would haue a King, and if he would not appeare they would [illegible] [illegible] resolued, they resolued to enter the Palace but at length [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] King, not doubting [illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] demanded for [illegible] priuiledges. *Delauir Bassa*, a man of great wit and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

two his friends, and some others, tell him that the case was desperat, & could not be cured but G
by a desperate remedie: and therefore they agreed, that the Aga should go and persuade, with
the Mufti; and that the King in the morning should suddenly present himselfe to the soldiers
at their owne dore, and make experience what his presence, his submission, and his beneuo-
lence promised, could worke, to moue them to loyaltie or compassion. Which counsell early
in the morning they put in practise. The King, accompanied with the Mufti (who neuer con-
sented to his deposing, though he fauoured the souldiers against the Vizier) with *Huzein*
Bassa, and about twelue horsemen, went directly to the Ianizaries Colledge, where *Mustapha*
was kept, and there in teares made them an Oration; offering great recompence, repenting of
his errour, and finally inuoked them by the merits of his father and all his Ancestours, to haue
some pitty vpon their true Master. The multitude (*tam prona in misericordi[a] tam quam im-* H
modica sæuitia fuerat; sometimes as prone to pitty as they were before to hatred) now knew
not what to do; a silent murmure now ranne among them, and they were halfe conuerted: but
the Aga of the Ianizaries thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead vnseasonably
for him, with some harsh words of vpbraidure (*vt natura maris omni flatu venti turbida*; as
the nature of the sea is to swell with euery blast of wind) anew moued their furie, so that they
cried out *Treason*, and fell vpon him and *Huzein Bassa* and cut them into pieces, euery man ta-
king a part of their flesh to satiate their reuenge. The Mufti would speake, but was with-
drawne by some, for respect to his place, and with difficul[ty] was conueyed away. Now the
poore *Osman* saw his friends slaine, and knew not which [way] to conuert himselfe, but bin-
ding vp his eyes with a napkin, expected death as the last of [their] furie. But they carried him I
first before *Mustapha*, and accused him as the disturber of the peace of the Empire, and deman-
ded sentence against him (*More vulgi suum quisque flagitium alijs obiectans*) The forsaken
Prince pleaded for life, and the new king knew not how to condemne, but nodded and agreed
to all that was propounded. At last they consulted with themselues, and put him vpon an
horse (an insolent Spahi changing turbants with him) and sent him away prisoner to the seuen
towers, vnder good gard (in his passage begging a draught of water at a fountaine) and then re-
turned to their new master, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperial Throne; where hee
had need to haue good broaths and nourishment to restore his decayed bodie.

Daout Bassa strangleth Sultan Osman in prison.

The souldiers now thought all was done, and (onely sacking the houses of *Huzein Bassa* K
and some others their conceiued enemies) returned in quiet to their seuerall lodgings, and had
no further malice. But the new Vizier *Daout Bassa*, made by *Mustapha*, knew well, if *Osman*
liued, that this storme might passe ouer, and he would as easily, and by the same meanes re-
turne to his estate, as he fell from it (*vulgus vt mos est cuiúsque nouit motus cupidum:*) There-
fore he consulted with some few interessed in *Mustapha's* preferment, and thereby obnoxious
to *Osman*, to search how many of the Royall bloud were left aliue, and resolued if there re-
mained two, to make an end of *Osman*. Two of his brothers were found, the one about
twelue, * the other about seuen yeares of age: and thereupon the Vizier went himselfe to the

* *Morat now Emperour.*

prison with a packe of hangmen, and gaue order to strangle the vnfortunate Prince: who now
hauing had no rest in two nights, and thinking himselfe secure for a season, was newly falne
asleepe: but awaked by the comming of these messengers, asked, *What newes?* saying hee did L
not like their sudden intrusion. They at first stood amased, and the king made shew to defend
himselfe; But a strong knaue strook him on the head with a battle-ax, and the rest leaping vpon
him, strangled him with much ado. Thus one of the greatest Monarchs in the world was
first affronted by mutined troups, his owne slaues, almost vnarmed, and few in number, no man
taking vp a sword to defend him: and they who began this madnesse, not meaning to hurt
him, by the increase of their owne furie, which had no bounds, deposed him against their
owne purpose, and at last exposed his life, against their will, to the counsels of other men
whom they equally hated. And now they mourned for their dead King as freshly, as they ra-
ged vnreasonably; knowing they had stained their honour, being the first of their Emperors
they euer betrayed, and that they had set vp another that in all likelyhood they must change M
for disabilitie. *Nunquam tulit documenta fors maiora quam fragili loco starène superbi.*

This was the last act of the life of Sultan *Osman*; but his intents and great designes, which
drew vpon him this fatall blow, will not be vnworthy the communication: the practises, rea-
sons, secrets, and consc[ience] of all actions, being the soule of Historie, and *res gesta* but the
bare

A bare carkasse: and, as many ages haue not produced so strange an example of the incertaintie
of humane greatnesse, so in the disposition thereof, and in the waies leading thereunto, there
was seene euidently the wonderfull prouidence of God, in confounding the counsels of the
worldly wise, who had layed a foundation of new greatnesse, whereby this Prince aspired
the vniuersall Monarchie. And lastly, the World may see vpon how weake foundations this
Monarchie was at first builded, how easily it was now shaken and corrupted; how their Kings
are subiect to the rage of a few slaues, how Anarchie hath prepared it an easie prey to any able
hand that would attempt it. From the inuasion of Poland all these changes tooke their be-
ginning. Sultan *Osman* aduanced to the Throne in his youth, full of heat and bloud, being
of a great and haughtie spirit, verie couragious, strong of bodie, and a mortall hater of Christi-
B ans, enuious of the glorie of his ancestors, and ambitious to raise his name aboue any of theirs,
had proiected in himselfe the conquest of the remaines of the bordering Europe. But to so
great designes, he had one vice that resisted al hope of prosperity, which was, extreme auarice;
vnnaturall to youth, and a symptome of the decrepit age of monarchs: *Vbi viri luxu corrum-*
pebantur, contra veterem disciplinam & instituta maiorum apud quos virtute quàm pecunia res mi-
litaris melius stetit. His first enterprise was that of Poland, moued by the incursions of the
Cossackes; which then he vndertooke of his owne head, without the counsell of any his
Viziers (who in a tyrannie growne to the height, by ease and wealth, are euer corrupt and la-
zie) and against the liking of all the souldiers, who (contrarie to their institution being marri-
ed and fathers of families, entered into trades, receiuing nothing in warre more than in peace,
C besides danger and trauell) are not easily drawne from their owne chimneyes. This action
he thought so easie, as he had disposed of his conquest, and diuided the liue Lyons skinne.
But being met vpon the borders with a poore armie in comparison, hee was first arrested at
Chotyn, a little fortresse, which he was faine to leaue behinde him vntaken; and then seeking
to aduance into the plaine Countrey, by forcing the trenches of the Chancellour of Poland
opposed against him, he could neuer procure his Ianizaries to fight, though ingaging his per-
son once or twice beyond the regard of his qualitie, and his owne troupes readie to mutine
against him nor to forsake him he was at last enforced to raise shamefully his camp, and to ac-
cept of any treatie to saue his outward honor. In this attempt he lost aboue 100000 horses for
want of fodder, and eightie thousand men for want of fighting: for they would rather die
D running, or pillaging, or eating, than in the face of the enemie. For this disgrace he conce-
ued so inward and rooted an indignation against the Ianizaries, and so iustly, that he often la-
mented himselfe, and complayned he was no King that was subiect to his owne slaues, vp-
on whom hee spent great treasures, and yet they would neither fight in warre, nor obey in
peace, without exacting new bounties and priuiledges. *Delauir Bassa*, a man of great wit and
courage, lately called from the Easterne parts, where he had long gouerned with honor, who
came in, though late, yet in a verie braue and warlike equipage, aboue all other his captaines,
was suddenly made great Vizier, the former *Huzein Bassa* being in the same disgrace com-
mon with the souldier, though not in the same fault. This man was neuer bred at court, but
had liued many yeares in action, and so had neither faction nor dependance at the Port, but
E stood vpon himselfe and his owne merit: and being now vnexpectedly aduanced to this high
dignitie, he wrought vpon the Kings discontent, and nourished it: and in conclusion brake
with him, That it was true he was no Emperour, nor could be safely aliue, while the Ianiza-
ries had the power which they lately vsurped: informing him, That they were corrupted
from their antient institution, and were lazie cowards, giuen ouer to ease and lust: *Et animi*
per libidines corrupti nihil honestum inanit. But if his Maiestie would pull vp his spirits, and
follow his aduice, he would prouide him a new souldioury about Damascus, Coords, of men
euer bred in the frontier, with hardnesse and warre, of great courage and experience; and that
of them he should erect a new *Militia*, that should wholly depend of him, entertaining onely
fortie thousand in pay, which should alway be his guard: and that in the distribution of eue-
F rie Prouince, he should constitute that the Begler-begh in his gouernment should traine some
of the inhabitants, who in all occasions of making a great armie, should be in readinesse, and
thereby he should spare infinite treasures spent vpon these drones that eat vp his estate; and
with men of new spirits and hopes, he should be enabled to doe greater matters than any of
his ancestours: but withall he desired the King to communicate this counsell to no man, nor
to

The Grand Seignior hisdesigne to conquer Europe.

to truſt his life vpon anothers ſecrecie. *Delauir Baſſa* neuer reuealing himſelfe to any but the king, who extreamely pleaſed with this aduice, that flattered his owne humour, conſented, and remitted all to the Viziers direction, who was a true ſouldier, and a verie wiſe man, able by his credit in Aſia, to performe all he had vndertaken: for hee was exceedingly beloued in thoſe parts, verie rich, and had kept Damaſcus, whereof he was Gouernour, for himſelfe in a late rebellion. Vpon this concluſion betweene them, it was firſt agreed, That the King ſhould pretend to goe in perſon either to viſite Mecha, or againſt the *Emir de Sidon*, who was mooued to take armes really to aſſiſt in the deſigne; but they vſed it to colour the departure of the Emperour: which when it was well weighed, was found, that then the armie of the Ianizaries muſt be kept together, which could not agree with their ends. Heereupon the journey of the Pilgrimage was divulged, That the King might [illegible] the ſhadow of an holy deuotion goe out with a ſmall traine, and diſperſe thoſe who [illegible] ſuſpected to him. And for this, preparation was made, but ſomewhat to groſſely; by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of houſe, Lampes of Churches, and whatſoeuer could more eaſily be conueyed away in mettall, with all the jewels and treaſurie. This gaue the firſt ſuſpition, which was confirmed by diuers vnaduiſed words let fall from the King; of diſdaine againſt the cowardiſe of the Ianizaries, and that he would ſhortly find himſelfe ſouldiers that ſhould whip them: and laſtly, diſmiſſing all his houſehold, except ſome few elect, the diſcontented ſort obſerued this and betrayed him. *Delauir Baſſa* kept his owne ſecret, and in the mean time prepared by his friends in Aſia ten thouſand men; about D[illegible]ſcus ten thouſand, from the Coords, beſides thoſe in readineſſe of the *Emir de Sidon*; a[illegible] vpon pretence of defending the borders of Perſia, who might make ſome aduantage of the changes in thoſe parts: and gaue order, That all theſe ſhould meet the King at Damaſcus, where he would preſently cut off his guard and ſtay there, vntill he had regulated his new armie and diſcipline, and then to returne triumphant to Conſtantinople, and vtterly root out the order of Ianizaries, Spahies, and Timariots, and to exauctorate all their captaines and officers, to ſettle a new Gouernement, and to change the name of the citie. And theſe things ſucceeding, he then reſolued with his new ſouldiers to attempt the recouerie of his honor in Chriſtendome; in the meane time to hold a diſſembled friendſhip there in all parts. Certainely this was a braue and well grounded deſigne, and of great conſequence for renewing of that decayed Empire, languiſhing vnder the inſolencies of lazie ſlaues, if God had not deſtroyed it: it being verie true, That the Turkiſh Emperour ſtands at the deuotion of his owne troupes for peace, or warre, life or death, and is in effect nothing but the Steward or Treaſurer of the Ianizaries. If this project had taken effect, what euents it might haue produced by a ciuill warre, is not eaſie to judge. For doubtleſſe the Souldiorie would haue ſet vp another King, and maintained him as well as they could; and the Europeian part had beene in danger to haue beene torne away by the the diuiſion. Beſides, *Delauir Baſſa* hauing the King and the treaſurie in his poſſeſſion, and his owne credit ſo great, and his inclination *velle imperare*, ſo willing to beare rule, once diſcouered, it might well be thought that hee had ſome ends of his owne to ſhare a part of this mightie eſtate: if on the other ſide the Viſier had proued true and faithfull, the reformation and new erection of the diſcipline of warre, and the encreaſe of treaſure conſequent to the diſmiſſion of the old *Militia*, would haue been fearefull to all Chriſtendome; but *Vbi eſt ſapiens? vbi diſquiſitor ſæculi huius? Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium*. It is a great queſtion whether then was the wiſer wiſh, That theſe counſels had ſucceeded, or not: for either diuiſion and ſubuerſion, or a new proſperitie and enlargement of their dominion had neceſſarily followed.

Obſeruations vpon Sultan Oſman.

Some obſeruations vpon this occaſion, will not be impertinent to thoſe that deſire to know aſwell the diſpoſition and vſe, as the things themſelues. Firſt in the purpoſe of the ſouldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much leſſe to depoſe and murder him; but onely to take away thoſe about him whom they though aſſiſtants in this proiect: yet the furie once on foot, they proceeded by miſſenſible ſteps, to the vttermoſt of outrage, againſt many innocents in that buſineſſe, though otherwiſe obnoxious, [illegible] againſt the throne and life of their owne Emperour, *Vbi furor ingruat, innocentes ac noxios [illegible] cadêre*; where rage and furie hath got the vpper hand, there the innocent and nocent fare alike. Secondly in the degrees; that yet the King had not fa[illegible] thus low, if firſt he had not loſt that owe and reuerence which alway

A alway attendeth vpon Maieſty, if it be kept vp, by vnſeemly offices done by him in the ſtreets and Tauernes, apprehending many ſouldiers for petty faults; like a Conſtable, making his perſon common, cheape, and deſpiſed among them; which were wont only to be ſeene and feared, as ſomewhat aboue humane greatneſſe. And this he did alſo in hatred and diſdaine of thoſe that had in the warre forſaken him. And now in this laſt act, if his owne obſtinacy had not plunged him into deſtruction, but that he had ſoftened them by a ſeaſonable yeelding to time, he had preuailed onely by time. Thirdly in the order, that theſe Mutiniers hauing no head or direction, kept that reglement, that they tooke oath in their furie, in hot bloud, in the Kings yard, not to diſhonour, ſpoile, nor ſacke the Imperiall Throne, neither committed nor ſuffered any inſolence nor violence in the citie to the Neutrals, but rather proclaimed peace
B and iuſtice. Fourthly in the conſequents, that at the third dayes end all was quiet, and all men in their trade, as if no ſuch thing had happened; onely the Ianizaries ſuffered no Diuan nor Councell vntill they had receiued a donatiue or guerdon of their iniquitie. In which alſo the infinite waſte of treaſure is worthie the conſideration, which was exceedingly exhauſted by three changes in foure yeares, and by the late warres in Perſia and Poland; for euery Ianizarie in the Citie, abſent or preſent (whoſe rolle was about fourtie thouſand) receiued twentie fiue Checquines of gold; beſides the Spahies, Iamoglans, and other Orders, at euery alteration: which amounts in all neere to two millions. And now thoſe fellowes that had taſted the ſweet of proſperous mutinies (*haud ignari ſumma ſcælera incipi cum periculo peragi cum præmio*) tooke ſuch a head, as could not ſafely be ſuffered on, nor ſecurely be taken off. Fiſtly, of
C certain preſages that foreran: for *Oſman* dreamed in the night, *That he though the rid a camell, and being mounted, he could not force him to go by faire means nor ſtripes: and that when hee deſcending in a rage, the bodie of the beaſt vaniſhed, and left the head in the Kings hand.* Who next day troubled at this fancie, ſent to a learned man familiar with him, for the interpretation. He excuſed himſelfe, as vnfit to giue opinion in a matter of that conſequence; but perſuaded *Oſman* to enquire of the Mufti. He alſo craued pardon; but withall ſaid, there was none ſo fit to interpret it as *Muſtapha* the Kings vncle, who was eſteemed a holy man, that had viſions and Angel-like ſpeculations (in plaine tearmes, betweene a mad man and a foole.) The King repaired to *Muſtapha*, who briefely told him, *The* Camell *ſignified his Empire: his* riding, *abuſe in gouernment: his* diſſention, *his diſpoſition: the* vaniſhing of the Bodie, *the reuolt of his Sub-*
D *iects: the* Head remaining in his hand, *onely a bare title; and that hee ſhould ſhortly die within a few moneths, and loſe his Kingdome, but the emptie name of Emperour ſhould accompanie him to his graue.*

A ſecond of leſſe conſequence in the Vizier *Delauir Baſſa*; from whom his Maieſties Embaſſadour hauing receiued particular friendſhip, about ſix dayes before this vprore, he went to viſit; and hauing no other buſineſſe but to perſuade him to ſtay the King from this intended pilgrimage, the Embaſſadour gaue him many reaſons in the preſent eſtate of their owne affaires; eſpecially, the Treaty of Poland yet depending. To which the Baſſa replied very graiely. Then the Embaſſadour vrged the feare of ſome tumult, collected from the licentious ſpeeches rumoured in the towne: And he was bold to deale plainly, ſincerely, and friend-
E ly, That if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, the fault would be imputed to the Baſſa, in being of authoritie to perſuade the King; whom his qualitie and youth would excuſe, [illegible] the fury would be diſcharged vpon the greateſt Miniſter: deſiring him to conſider the euent, at leaſt to take his affection in the beſt part.

The old *Reinard* ſtayed a while from reply: at laſt, ſmiling to himſelfe, that he ſhould be perſuaded againſt that which was his owne counſell, he gaue a finall anſwer, That there was no remedie, he durſt not hazard himſelfe to oppoſe the Kings reſolution: but aſſured him he would ſo order the matter, as this iourney ſhould not proceed ſo farre as was expected. The Embaſſadour concluded for himſelfe, deſiring then that he would leaue him a particular re-
commendation to the Chimacham or Deputie as his friend. To which he ſuddenly replied,
F *Trouble not your ſelfe, nor feare; I will neuer remoue ſo farre but thou ſhalt [illegible] this citie to ſerue you.* Which the poore man fulfilled; for being [illegible] within re[illegible] after, one of his legs whole and entire was hanged [illegible] the Hippodrome, place of the citie.

The reading of hiſtorie, to know what is donne and paſt, hauing in itſelfe no recompence but delight, vnleſſe it looke forward to vſe and action, either to correct errours, or by that light to gather aduantage in future, it will not be an vnprofitable degreſſion to obſerue what was like to ſucceed theſe monſtrous alterations. It was feared by contemplatiue men, that the ſouldiers in Aſia, who had loſt their hope, would not ſit downe with this affront, but rather attempt ſome reuenge for the death of the King, who was their martyr: or that ſome great Baſſa, farre remoued from Court, might apprehend this occaſion, not to obey an vſurper, ſet vp by treaſon; and vnder that colour to hide their owne ambition: or laſtly, that the whole State would fall into combuſtion, and inteſtine warre. This they themſelues foreſaw, and it came to paſſe, as will appeare in the ſtorie; for within few moneths *Abaſſa Baſſa* of Arſorome declared himſelfe reuenger of his Princes bloud, and troubled, and almoſt hazarded the whole Empire. The Perſian apprehended the opportunities, and recouered the Prouince and Citie of Babylon: and the ſame Souldiers that had betrayed their Prince, were neuer quiet vntill they had made ſome ſatisfaction, by reſtoring his brother and right heire: onely it pleaſed not God to open the eys of Chriſtian Princes to ſee the inconuenience of their own vnciuill quarrels, while the diſtractions of this mightie Empire did inuite to conquer it, and to diuide it as a proſtituted prey.

A practiſe to murther the brethren of Sultan Oſman.

On Saturday euening the firſt of Iune following, the Capi-aga or Maior Domo of the Seraglio, hauing receiued a ſecret order to remoue the brethren of *Oſman* from their lodgings, and in the night to ſtrangle them; as he was performing his command, aided with a few of his carnifices to carrie away the Princes, they cried out: the Pages running to the noiſe, and incouraged by the Caſſiaraga, who had ſome ſuſpition, without further examination killed the Capiaga, now almoſt euerie Order hauing riſen againſt their owne head. That night they ſent ſecretly to the Ianizaries and Spahies, to informe them what they had done; and in the morning early hanged his bodie in the Hippodrome for a publique ſpectacle. The ſouldiers returned in furie to the Court, in fauour of the Pages, and demanded juſtice againſt thoſe that had conſented to this wicked order, which had made an end of all the *Ottoman* race; onely this *Muſtapha* being left aliue, who was ſo holy a Saint, that he would not people the world with ſinners, nor endure any woman neere him. The innocent King proteſted hee knew nothing of this purpoſe: and if ſuch command were procured, it was gotten by ſubreption; and he was eaſily beleeued. But his mother, another *Liuia*, and the new Vizier, *Daout Baſſa*, who had her daughter to wife, were vehemently ſuſpected. It was a day of Diuan or Councell; but the ſouldiers would ſuffer none, vntill they had an account of this treaſon. The Vizier denied all; the mother was a woman, and hidden in the houſe: yet it is very likely, they both were guiltie, to vphold and ſecure their owne authoritie; it being rumoured, that the Vizier determined to place ſubditiouſly in the roome of the elder Prince, his owne ſonne, and verie like him, and ſo to gouerne *Muſtapha* for a time, and by his remoue to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his race for euer. But now ſomewhat muſt be done to appeaſe the people; therefore *Daout Baſſa*, was degraded from his office, and one *Huzein Baſſa*, newly arriued from the gouernment of Cairo, aduanced to his place, with promiſe of further examination. But the furie once ouer, there was no great ſearch nor diſcouerie made, for perhaps the Sultans checquines quieted the matter. The new Vizier was a man without friends, yet verie rich, of a ſtubborne and obſtinate nature, reported iuſt in his waies, but peremptorie and vnflexible (*Audax ferox, ac prout animum intendit, prauus aut induſtrius eadem vi*) one from whome all men might expect much good, or much ill: he beguh his gouernement roughly, and vndertooke to puniſh inſolencies early, and profeſſed a reformation, or to be a ſacrifice: A man fit for thoſe times that were deſperate: for the worſt was, that he muſt at laſt endure their furie. In the meane time he procured a little awe, & reſtored the face of juſtice: yet it was thought it could not laſt long, the Ghoſt of *Oſman* would not be at reſt vntill there were ſome *parentalia* made vnto him. The nature of the Vizier was vnſupportable; but if he preuailed, and were once ſetled, hee reſolued a new to change the King, and lay an obligation vpon the brethren of *Oſman*; for he did neuer thinke himſelfe ſecure vnder a man gouerned by an inſolent woman, *dominandi auida*, deſirous to rule. And what aſſurance could he haue in that prince, in whom there was neither judgement nor hatred, but as it was infuſed? And though the particulars could not be foreſeene, nor where the ſore would breake out, yet the whole bodie was ſicke, their King

A King being *mentis inops*, an Ideot; and the next in expectation a childe vnfit for action, and all the great men and ſouldiers decayed, mutined, and corrupted.

In the meane time, the Duke of Sbarasky came neere vnto the borders of the Turkiſh Empire, and ignorant of thoſe great changes which had happened, ſent a ſeruant with a letter to the dead Vizier *Delauir Baſſa*, with whom onely the Poles had treatie. The contents were, That the king of Poland had ſent him to conclude a peace, vpon ſuch conditions as were agreed vpon by the Vizier and the Commiſſioners of Poland, ſigned on both parts; but that it was reported vpon the death of the Grand Seigniour, that the new gouernment was varied from ſome of them; that he had no other inſtructions to treat anew; but if he would giue his word to the Engliſh Embaſſadour, that there was no alteration in the intents of peace, hee
B was ready to ſet forward on his journey. This letter receiued by the new Vizier, was Greeke to him, who was lately come from Cairo, and vnderſtood no article nor piece of the buſineſſe; which was ſo ſecretly carried by *Delauir Baſſa*, that Sultan *Oſman* and he being dead, there was no man had ſo much as a copie, or knew the ſubſtance of that agreement: ſo that the Vizier giuing good words, aſhamed to confeſſe his ignorance, promiſed all things, but knew not what to write in particular anſwer, and therefore was at a ſtand. The meſſenger neuertheleſſe importuned a diſpatch, the which he had in generall termes, and ſo returned againe to the Duke his Maſter vpon the confines.

The Poliſh Embaſſador approcheth vpon the confines and writeth to the dead Vzier.

With this Nuntio, the Duke wrot to Sir *Thomas Roe*; and being verie doubtfull to entangle himſelfe in this vnſetled gouernment, deſired him both to councell him, and to tell the Vi-
C zier, that he would not aduance vnleſſe he might receiue ſuch aſſurance of ſafety and publique faith, as that he might engage his credit to him: hoping thereby to haue both aſſiſtance and witneſſe in all his proceeding. Which gaue the Viſier occaſion to entreat the Engliſh Embaſſadour, both to promiſe for the good vſage of the Duke, and to haſten him, and alſo to enforme himſelfe by him of the ſubſtance of the treatie of Chotyn; which being by him vndertaken, it turned to the great aduantage of both, eſpecially of the Peace it ſelfe.

The prince Coreſky ſtrangled in priſon.

The ſeuenteenth of Iune in the morning the Prince *Coreskie*, one of the Lords of Poland, taken priſoner in the late warre, recommended by his Maieſtie of Great Britaine, who had formerly made an eſcape from the Turkes captiuitie, was ſtrangled in the priſon, after two yeares of durance. This put all into murmure, and deepe conſideration, for what politique
D end this ſhould be done, euen when they themſelues deſired a peace with the Pole, and yet did that which might vtterly breake the ſame: But it ſeemed they were at that time either carried with a brutiſh furie, or that the Prince was betrayed from home, by imitation that his remuant nature would neuer ſuffer the peace long to continue betweene the Crowne of Poland and the Grand Seigniour.

The Vizier attempteth to ſet vp Morat the brother of Oſman, and to depoſe Muſtapha.

The Vizier (who cauſed this Polacke Prince to be ſtrangled) vpon ſome ſpleene towards the Aga or chiefe Captaine of the Ianizaries, took this occaſion to caſt the fault on him, and to caſſiere him; & ſent him to the Iſlands to be ſtrangled; & gaue order to murder ſome other Baſaes & Officers, and that way being made to depoſe the Emperor *Muſtapha*, to ſet vp *Morat* the childe, and brother of *Oſman*, many being of his partie. Wherupon the ſoldiers, roſe all in arms
E at the Seraglio, taking the alarme at the medling with the Aga, reſcued their captaine, and the reſt, and demanded the head of the Vizier: wheruponhe fled, and order was giuen to kil him where he could firſt be found. The ſouldiers alſo required the letter of *Morat*, Aga Cuſtomer, and diuers others; but for feare of other complices, they durſt ſearch no further into the conſpiracie; onely the Viziers houſe was ſacked, and infinite treaſure taken, ſo that the ſouldier was quieted for a day or two by making a new Vizier, *Muſtapha Baſſa*; who was of a ſoft nature, and ſcarce durſt doe juſtice for feare of offending any man. Now a new faction was made betweene *Muſtapha* and *Morat*; and it was expected hourely when there ſhould bee ſome great ſlaughter or maſſacre in the Citie; for of neceſſitie one ſide muſt fall.

F There was then no ſecuritie for any man; when the King and Viziers, and all officers held their liues and dignities at the courteſie of the mutined ſouldier, who had taſted the ſweet of rebellion, and caſt off all awe and reuerence, and could not eaſily be reduced to order, without much bloud and hazard of the whole. Therefore the wiſer men retired from office and imployment, and the inſufficient did cauſe their owne daily change and ruine. The ſouldier adhered

The reading of hiſtorie, to know what is done and paſt, hauing in lesse recompence but delight, vnleſſe it looke forward to vſe and action, either to correct errours, or by that light to gather aduantage in future, it will not be an vnprofitable degreſſion to obſerue what was like to ſucceed theſe monſtrous alterations. It was feared by contemplatiue men, that the ſouldiers in Aſia, who had loſt their hope, would not ſit downe with this affront, but rather attempt ſome reuenge for the death of the King, who was their martyr: or that ſome great Baſſa, farre remoued from Court, might apprehend this occaſion, not to obey an vſurper, ſet vp by treaſon; and vnder that colour to hide their owne ambition: or laſtly, that the whole State would fall into combuſtion, and inteſtine warre. This they themſelues foreſaw, and it came to paſſe, as will appeare in the ſtorie; for within few moneths *Abaſſa Baſſa* of Arſorome declared himſelfe reuenger of his Princes bloud, and troubled, and almoſt hazarded the whole Empire. The Perſian apprehended the opportunitie, and recouered the Prouince and Citie of Babylon: and the ſame Souldiers that had betrayed their Prince, were neuer quiet vntill they had made ſome ſatisfaction, by reſtoring his brother and right heire: onely it pleaſed not God to open the eys of Chriſtian Princes to ſee the inconuenience of their owne vnciuill quarrels, while the diſtractions of this mightie Empire did inuite to conquer it, and to diuide it as a proſtituted prey.

A practiſe to murther the brethren of Sultan Oſman.

On Saturday euening the firſt of Iune following, the Capi-aga or Maior Domo of the Seraglio, hauing receiued a ſecret order to remoue the brethren of *Oſman* from their lodgings, and in the night to ſtrangle them; as he was performing his command, aided with a few of his carnifices to carrie away the Princes, they cried out: the Pages running to the noiſe, and incouraged by the Caſſiaraga, who had ſome ſuſpition, without further examination killed the Capiaga, now almoſt euerie Order hauing riſen againſt their owne head. That night they ſent ſecretly to the Ianizaries and Spahies, to informe them what they had done; and in the morning early hanged his bodie in the Hippodrome for a publique ſpectacle. The ſouldiers returned in furie to the Court, in fauour of the Pages, and demanded juſtice againſt thoſe that had conſented to this wicked order, which had made an end of all the *Ottoman* race; onely this *Muſtapha* being left aliue, who was ſo holy a Saint, that he would not people the world with ſinners, nor endure any woman neere him. The innocent King proteſted hee knew nothing of this purpoſe: and if ſuch command were procured, it was gotten by ſubreption; and he was eaſily beleeued. But his mother, another *Lamia*, and the new Vizier, *Daout Baſſa*, who had her daughter to wife, were vehemently ſuſpected. It was a day of Diuan or Councell; but the ſouldiers would ſuffer none, vntill they had an account of this treaſon. The Vizier denied all; the mother was a woman, and hidden in the houſe: yet it is very likely, they both were guiltie, to vphold and ſecure their owne authoritie; it being rumoured, that the Vizier determined to place ſubditiouſly in the roome of the elder Prince, his owne ſonne, and verie like him, and ſo to gouerne *Muſtapha* for a time, and by his remoue to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his race for euer. But now ſomewhat muſt be done to appeaſe the people; therefore *Daout Baſſa*, was degraded from his office, and one *Huzein Baſſa*, newly arriued from the gouernment of Cairo, aduanced to his place, with promiſe of further examination. But the furie once ouer, there was no great ſearch nor diſcouerie made, for perhaps the Sultans checquines quieted the matter. The new Vizier was a man without friends, yet verie rich, of a ſtubborne and obſtinate nature, reported iuſt in his waies, but peremptorie and vnflexible (*Audax, ferox, ac prout animum intendit, prauus aut induſtrius eadem vi*) one from whome men might expect much good, or much ill: he begun his gouernement roughly, and vndertooke to punish inſolencies early, and profeſſed a reformation, or to be a ſacrifice: A man fit for thoſe times that were deſperate: for the worſt was, that he muſt at laſt endure thei[illegible] time he procured a little awe, & reſtored the face of juſtice: yet it was [illegible] long, the Ghoſt of *Oſman* would not be at reſt vntill there were ſome [illegible] him. The nature of the Vizier was vnſupportable; but if he preuailed [illegible] hee reſolued a new to change the King, and lay an obligation vpon the [illegible] for he did neuer thinke himſelfe ſecure vnder a man gouer[illegible] by an infolent word, [illegible] *audi auidi*, deſirous to rule. And what aſſurance could he [illegible] in that prince, in whi[illegible] there was neither judgement nor hatred, but as it was infuſed? And though the particular [illegible] not be foreſeene, nor when the ſore would breake out, yet the whole bodie was ſicke, [illegible]

A King being *mentis inops*, an Ideot; and the next [illegible] the great men and ſouldiers decayed, mutined and [illegible]

In the meane time, the Duke of Sbarasia [illegible] pire, and ignorant of thoſe great cha[illegible] the dead Vizier *Delauri Baſſa*, [illegible]

That the king of Polan[illegible] greed vpon by the Vizier [illegible] was reported vpon the death of [illegible] from ſome of them [illegible] his word to the Engliſh [illegible]

[illegible] ...ut of many [illegible] ...might
...Ottoman Kings
...But ſeeing
...wicked men,
...antient Peace, and doth
...ned in the time of Sultan
...not apprehended the oppor-
...the Emperour of Ger-
...in Aſia, to hearken [illegible] ...inſtigation of many Chriſti-
...to the Tartar diſcontented; but rather hauing refuſed all other
...his owne ſubiects, and the charge of his purſe, regained from the Re-
...and part of Tranſyluania, and rendered thoſe Prouinces into the hands of
your Maieſties father, and [illegible] no man at any time to diſturbe on that ſide the friends of your em-
pire: giuing intelligence like a [illegible] friend and neighbour to your Anceſtours, of all your enemies
deſignes and machinations, [illegible] in as much as was poſſible endeauoured to preſerue a good peace and
friendſhip; which he offereth to your moſt ſerene Maieſtie, contenting himſelfe with the Capitulati-
ons treated at Cholyn, and thoſe of your moſt happie father and brother: praying your Maieſtie that
they may be confirmed and maintained. And not doubting but your Maieſtie will reſtraine the Tar-
tars, as he will do the Coſſackes; and that you will ſuffer no occaſion of kindling new fires, he beſeech-
eth your Maieſtie to do what iuſtice you thinke meet vpon Cantemir and Tomſha, who contrarie to
the agreements and publique faith, haue made ſpoyle and new incurſions into Poland, euen ſince my de-
parture from thence; and with many deceits and falſe aduices haue deſired to diſturbe the happie be-
ginnings of accommodation. And ſeeing that by the antient capitulations made with the moſt war-
like Sultan Soly[illegible]man, and his ſucceſſours, the father and brother of your Maieſtie; the Princes of Mol-
dauia,

adhered to the King of their owne creation, and hee was in effect their creature, for they did wholely gouerne him. But the Lawyers and Church-men made ſecret conuentions, and ſtill practiſed ſome great alteration; and feared not to ſay openly, that the foundation of their State was diſſolued, the King vnlawfull, and all that had adhered vnto him lapſed into hereſie, hauing diſpiſed the inſtitutions of *Mahomet*. They wrought by wiſe counſels, and held a large correſpondencie with thoſe of their owne coat, and ſpread their confederacie to all parts of the Empire to procure a faction, and kindle a greater fire than that of the ſouldiers: for at Bagdat the captaine of the Ianizaries roſe and ſlew the Baſſa, burnt the Mufti and all his kinne, and gaue his daughter in marriage to one *Aſlan Begh*, a pretender to the antient inheritance of a bordering prouince, to cautionize that part. All Aſia was in doubt whom to obey; and Cairo was eaten vp with oppreſſion; and that which was moſt dangerous, they had no ſence of the ſickneſſe in the Court, to cure it, nor any of them ſo wiſe as to diſſemble it.

The prince of Tranſyluania's Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

The two and twentieth of Auguſt, the extraordinarie Embaſſador of *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Tranſyluania arriued at Conſtantinople; who amongſt other Inſtructions had order to excuſe his Maſter, and to declare the reaſons why he had made peace with the Emperour without the knowledge of the Port: which were, That the warre had continued three yeares in the kingdome of Hungarie, and had ſo conſumed and deſolated the countrey, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtay longer in the field, and to maintaine an armie, for the great famine and ſcarcitie of all things which the Souldierie ſuffered, and could from no place be ſupplied: ſo that if he had not accepted of peace offered, he had been enforced to quit the countrey of neceſſitie, and by his ſeeming flight haue left the enemie victor. Therefore he was conſtrained to winne time, and to returne into Tranſyluania, to refreſh his men of warre, and to re-inforce them; as alſo his owne preſſing affaires calling him backe, his brother whom hee had left Gouernour in his abſence, hauing aduiſed him, That the King of Poland, by the inſtigation of the Emperor, by intelligence with ſome of the principall Lords, did practiſe a reuolt, and promiſed aid to make a new Prince that ſhould wholly depend vpon the Empire and Poland. Laſtly, ſeeing the Grand Seignior had ſuddenly concluded a peace with the Poles, he feared he ſhould be left alone to the burthen of the warre, in which the King of Poland, being at eaſe, might aſſiſt the Emperour, which he was not able to ſuſtaine. Therefore hee was content to take the opportunitie to accept of that, at the inſtance of the Emperour, which hee ſhould haue been forced to do by neceſſity.

Yet afterward, although he made this Apologie for his Maſter, for concluding a peace, he aſſured the Port, that his Maſter meant not long to keepe the ſame: informing them, that the Emperour had made a League (being at that time quiet in Germanie) to inuade the *Ottoman* Empire: perſuading the Port to grant a Commiſſion with ful power and authoritie to him and the Baſſa of Buda (who had been twentie yeares in that charge, and knew all the borders) if they ſaw it fit, to preuent the Enemie, and to inuade the Empire or the kingdome of Poland. This demand was made by *Gabor* to inſinuate with the State of Turkie, and to get a power dormant in his hands, to aduance into Hungarie if he ſaw aduantage, or to oblige the Emperour; and to aſſure his peace, by hauing meanes not to care if it were broken. But the Grand Seignior finding himſelfe, by reaſon of ciuile diſtractions at home, vnfit for a warre abroad, and that they ſaw *Bethlem Gabor* had no other thing in recommendation than his owne deſignes and fortune, his Embaſſadours Propoſitions began to be altogether sleighted and neglected.

The Poland Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

The Duke of Sbarasky, who came to conclude the peace betweene his Maſter the King of Poland, and the Grand Seignior, after long ſtay vpon the confines, did at length arriue at the Port; but they made him ſtay fiue weekes before he could haue audience, forcing him to giue a Preſent, contrary to his inſtructions. Notwithſtanding he could not get them to enter into a Treatie, finding nothing but falſehood and vncertaintie among them, no promiſe nor faith kept, no priſoners deliuered, nor indeed any thing at all performed: for now that they had him within their liberties, they hoped to worke their owne ends, and to wearie him out, who had twelue hundred of his ordinarie traine. They threatened to keepe him, and to denounce a warre againſt his Maſter: yet by the mediation of the Engliſh Embaſſadour, the Miniſters of the Port and he were pieced again, and the peace concluded, as ſhall be hereafter ſet downe at large.

After

A After many difficulties to obtaine admiſſion to the preſence of the Grand Seignior, cauſed by the frowardneſſe of the old Eunuch *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, then great Vizier; who diſcouering that the Duke would complaine againſt *Tomſha* Vayuod of Valachia, and his Creature, endeauoured by all fraud, cunning, threatening, and faſtidious delayes, to diuert him from that purpoſe; being loath that the actions of him whom he had foſtered and maintained in many tyrannies, eſpecially in the occaſion of the laſt warre, ſhould be examined or layed open to Iuſtice. But when he ſaw that nothing could preuaile, but that he muſt hazard a direct breach by the diſcontent of the Duke; and that the people began to murmure, and the Engliſh Embaſſadour to protect him, he was admitted, and nobly receiued, according to the pompous cuſtome of that Court; and with his Letter of Credence he ſpake theſe following
B words.

The Oration of the Duke of Sbarasky to the Graund Seigniour.

SIGISMVND, *by the grace of God King of Poland, Sueden, Gothia, Vandalia, great Duke of Lituania, and of many other Prouinces Prince and Lord: To your moſt renouned Maieſtie, moſt mightie Emperour of Aſia and Europe, and King of many Kingdomes and Prouinces, euer moſt happie, wiſheth health; and by me his great Embaſſadour ſalutes you with all conuenient reuerence and*
C *honor; deſiring to your Maieſtie from the moſt high God, the fulneſſe of all proſperitie, happineſſe, long life, triumph aboue your Anceſtors, Princes worthie of all memorie.*

HIs high Maieſtie of Poland, conſidering the depth and height of the decrees of the great God, *mernailing with all the world, and praiſing his high name; doth comfort and ioy himſelf, being more than certaine, that, that eternall power which hath preſerued your Maieſtie from all euill deſtinies of men, and from the bowels of the earth, and hath placed you in this ſhining Throne, hath not done it but for the publique good: and like a wiſe Gardiner, who hath weeded out all venomous and noyſome plants, that he hath placed your Maieſtie in their roome, as a noble and ſweet ſmelling flower, full of vertue, clemencie, and peace, deſired of all the world. His Maieſtie my Lord and Soue-*
D *raigne hath alwayes wiſhed, that not onely the actions of later yeares, but of many ages paſt, might haue been forgotten; and that that friendſhip and peace begun with the renowned* Ottoman *Kings two hundred and more yeares ſince, might haue beene without interruption continued. But ſeeing that the great God hath been pleaſed to chaſtiſe the people of both parts, by the meanes of wicked [illegible] that muſt be accepted for good which commeth from his diuine will: and therefore blotting out of mind whatſoeuer is paſt, doth now return to deſire the continuance of the firſt antient Peace, and doth offer himſelfe to your high Maieſtie to keepe it inuiolable, as it was maintained in the time of Sultan*
E *Amurath of happie memorie. In witneſſe of which his ſinceritie, he hath not [illegible] the offer tunitie of the breach begun by the Perſian, the expiration of the truce with the Emperour manie, nor the many reuolts and troubles in Aſia, nor hearkened to the inſtigations of many Chriſtian Princes, his friends and Allies, nor to the Tartar diſcontented; but rather hauing [illegible] wayes, hath with the bloud of his owne ſubiects, and the charge of his treaſure, bell Valachia, Moldauia, and a part of Tranſyluania, and rendered those Prouinces your Maieſties father, and ſuffered no man at any time to diſturbe or [illegible] pire; giuing intelligence like a good friend and a neighbour to your [illegible] deſignes and machinations, and in as much as was poſſible endeauoured [illegible] friendſhip; which he offereth to your moſt ſerene Maieſtie, [illegible] ons treated at Chotyn, and thoſe of your moſt happie father [illegible] they may be confirmed and maintained. And not [illegible]*
F *tars, as he will do the Coſſackes; and that you will ſuffer [illegible] eth your Maieſtie to do what iuſtice you thinke meet upon [illegible] the agreements and publique faith, haue made ſpoyle and [illegible] parture from thence; and with many deceits and falſe [illegible] ginnings of accommodation. And ſeeing that by the [illegible] like Sultan* Soly man, *and his ſucceſſors, the father [illegible]*

dauia, the Baſſaes of Siliſtria, and the Beghes of Ackirman ought to keepe the paſſages of the Riuers to reſtraine the Tartars; and that thoſe now in poſſeſſion of thoſe Gouernments are alreadie knowne, and growne old in their rapine and ſpoile, the King my Lord deſireth your renowned Maieſtie, that they may be diſmiſſed, and their Prouinces giuen to ſome others more enclined to peace. For Canteмir, it is a true rule obſerued, That one Tartar can hardly gouerne another, where both liue vpon ſpoyle: and how eaſily vpon any occaſion new troubles are apprehended by thoſe who are antient enemies, I leaue to your Highneſſe wiſedome; in which his Maieſtie is ſo aſſured, that he doubteth not, that for the publique good, and for the complaints, and teares of both ſubiects, you will alſo vouchſafe to accept the requeſt of your friend, and a King your neighbour. And if all the world, and the people thereof reioyce, and praiſe God of the friendſhip and peace betweene your Maieſtie and the King my Maſter begun and concluded he hopeth that the poore and miſerable priſoner [illegible] o articipate of your clemency, that they may ioyne in the generall care to pray to the eternall God for [illegible] ncreaſe of your greatneſſe. The King my Maſter doth therefore deſire your Maieſtie to grant liberty to thoſe who are in your captiuitie, as he bindeth himſelfe to ſet free all ſuch of your Maieſties ſubiects, as are now his priſoners; and I doe promiſe on the behalfe of my Maſter, that he ſhall bee a friend to your friends, and an enemie to your enemies. In concluſion, he deſireth all happineſſe and proſperitie to your Maieſtie from a cleere heart; in ſigne and teſtimonie whereof, and of the friendſhip begun on his part, hee honoureth you with a Preſent, which you may be pleaſed to receiue with your accuſtomed benignitie; and ſhutting your eares to ſuch enformers, enemies of peace, as are found at your Part, that you will eſteeme him for a friend, and neighbour of the moſt royall and a[illegible]t kings of your moſt princely Family.

The ſouldiers continued ſtill in their mutinous diſpoſition, euen in Conſtantinople the head citie of the Turkiſh Empire, and grew to that height of inſolencie, that going in troupes to the Court, they demanded all offices of gaine; to be Stewards to the reuenues of the Churches, which are great; to take the Farmes of cuſtomes; and there committed many other outrages which were vnſufferable. The Viſiers durſt denie them nothing; they drunke wine in the ſtreets without prohibition, contrarie to their law; and ſtood in companies in the open day exacting money of all Chriſtians to pay for their wine; and being denied it, ſtabbed and murthered without any puniſhment: and when complaint was made to the Vizier or Magiſtrat they anſwered, None durſt meddle with them, who had murthered their owne King; and the Baſſaes themſelues deſired the Complainants patience, and that they would beare a part with the generall ſufferance.

The Ianizaries aſſault the houſes of the Chriſtian Conſuls at Smirna.

About the ſame time, the Ianizaries in the gallies which rid before Smirna, commanded by the captaine *Halil Baſſa*, aſſaulted againſt his will the houſes of all the Chriſtian Conſuls there. The Engliſh with all thoſe of the Nation, were forced to runne naked from their lodgings, and to ſwimme to the Admirals galley to ſaue their liues: they ranſacked the lower parts of the houſe, and carried away to the value of two thouſand dollers; the French ſuſtained more loſſe; and the Venetians at leaſt ten thouſand, and one of the ſubiects of that State cut in pieces. The Generall had much adoe to appeaſe them by threats or perſuaſions, or to ſaue the liues of all; inſomuch as they miſcalled and threatened him, becauſe he would not conſent to their madneſſe. In concluſion, he was faine preſently to put to ſea, or elſe they had finiſhed the Trade at that place.

In Aſia there was then three open rebellions; one at Babylon, another at Arzerum vpon the borders of Perſia neere Tauris, and the third in Meſopotamia. The Viziers at the Port diſſembled all this, and durſt take no knowledge thereof, nor ſo much as to ſend a command thither, for feare of blowing the fire which would haue put all into combuſtion: whereupon they held a ſecret counſell and conſented to remooue themſelues, to proue if they could recouer the deſperate eſtate of that Empire, and tooke reſolution to make *Halil Baſſa* (the beſt ſouldier and moſt beloued) great Vizier; and in his roome *Daout Baſſa* captaine of the Sea; and the preſent Vizier, Chimachna or Lieutenant at the Port; and in the Spring following, they reſolued to ſend the Vizier into Aſia, with all the force they could make: to which end they ſent into Greece to warne all the ſouldierie to bee re[illegible] at Adrianople, not daring to make a rendeſuous at the Por[illegible], for feare of new trouble; and ſo to paſſe the Helleſpont, wide of the city, to appeaſe (if they could) thoſe reuolts, and by that way to draw the mutinies from the

the Court into action, and to reduce them vnto obedience. And notwithſtanding that there was no other ſymptome or prediction but ſuch as threatened the ruine of that Empire, yet were they neuer prouder nor more ſeeming not to diſtruſt themſelues, their onely ſecuritie being, That they had no enemie but themſelues.

The Grand Seignors treaſure exhauſted.

The treaſurie was farre exhauſted, the reuenue abated by the oppreſſion of euery Baſſa in his gouernment: the ſouldier increaſed both in pay and number, and ſo impatient of delay, that at euerie quarter (beſides borrowing and taking vp of the farmes of the cuſtomes beforehand) there were ſo many intollerable exactions to raiſe monies, that the apparance of domeſticke quiet could not long endure between two extreames; for means could not be found, and the Ianizaries would not be retrenched nor deferred; and this was their generall eſtate at that time.

An Embaſſador from the great duke of Muſcouie arriued at the Port.

While the Poliſh Embaſſadour was treating the peace at the Port, whereof there was no great doubt, becauſe neither ſide was fit for warre, there arriued an Embaſſadour from the great Duke of Muſcouia, which gaue ſome interruption therein, preſſing the Grand Seignior to continue the warre for ſeuen yeares againſt Poland, according to the promiſe of Sultan *Oſman*; offering that his Maſter ſhould enter into Poland with an armie, and that they would diuide the country between them: but his propoſition was rejected, becauſe they had had ſufficient triall of his Maſters cunning proceedings in the laſt war. For the Muſcouite hauing made peace with Poland (before the inuaſion of *Oſman*) for foureteene yeares, and being inuited by him to breake it and to inuade that countrey, vpon promiſe that he would continue the warre for ſeuen yeares, and make no agreement without their comprehenſion: firſt anſwered, That he could not breake the peace; thinking that the other was but a flaſh of a yong Prince: but ſo ſoone as he ſaw the Turks in the field and borders of Poland, then he began to hope he might make aduantage; and therefore promiſed Sultan *Oſman* on the conditions mentioned, to enter into the quarrell. And to that end diſpeeded an Embaſſadour to Poland with inſtructions to demand three things. Firſt, that the Prince of Poland ſhould renounce the title of *Elect Duke of Muſcouia*. The ſecond, That the Poles ſhould reſtore a territorie in the border of Lituania, taken in the late warres. Laſtly, that the peace ſhould be perpetuall; threatening that if they refuſed thoſe conditions, he would enter into the countrey with an armie, and get what he could. This Embaſſadour being arriued in the confines, heard newes that the Poles had repulſed the Turke at Chotyn, that he was retyred, and a peace treated: whereupon he feigned himſelfe ſicke, and ſent backe a Poſt with this aduice and his old inſtructions, deſiring in this alteration ſome new order from home. The Gouernour of the towne where he lay, ſuſpecting ſomewhat, intercepted the meſſenger and his packet and ſent it preſently to the King. The man returned to his Maſter the Embaſſadour, as robbed, and was againe diſpeeded the ſecond time, and ſent backe with another ſtile, to wit with letters of congratulation, joy, and offers of all helpe and continuance of the Peace: with theſe the Embaſſadour went forward to the Court; and hauing audience, the King anſwered him, That if his meſſage were ſincere, it had been very acceptable; but he knew it to be a fugred treaſon, and no faith intended from the Muſcouite, and therefore commanded him to depart.

The Embaſſadour proteſted, vowed, and vſed all means to aſſure the integritie of his meſſage; vntill he was confronted by the Chancellour, with his owne letter and his Maſters inſtructions. Hereupon was this other diſpatched to the Port to hinder the peace, and ſo offer all their helpe to continue an inuaſion. In the meane time the Muſcouite neglected no means to ſecure himſelfe, and by renewing two Embaſſadours, obtained a peace with [illegible], not knowing what effect the negotiations of the Duke of Sbarasky might produce at [illegible]. And now the Muſcouite was forced to diſſemble againe with the Turke, and make [illegible] preparation[illegible] depart.

The great Vizier *Georgi* enuying the authoritie of *D[illegible]* and the beloued ſonne of the Queene mother and brother in law to the Emperor *Muſ[illegible]* (who had formerly been deposed) who had beene both the inſtrument and the counſellour to murther Sultan *Oſ[illegible]* ſcorning that he ſhould vnderhand gouerne in his raigne, [illegible] in oppoſition the Duke of Sbaraskies buſineſſe, he there[illegible] but not daring to doe it by his owne authoritie, and in [illegible]

ſtirred vp the Spahies to demand iuſtice of him for the death of the laſt King. This looked further than the firſt aſſent; for the ſubtill Vizier, who was faithfull to his true Lord, and knowing the rage of an vnguided multitude, aimed at a by-reuenge vpon others, whom hee hoped would be inuolued and accuſed of the Order: and the ſouldier ſoone raiſed and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded him. *Daout* fled; but now that the buſineſſe was on foot, if he were not found the Vizier himſelfe was in danger: but the poore man was taken and brought to the Diuan, and there being called to publique iuſtice, he muſt excuſe himſelfe vpon ſome greater perſon: wherein the Emperour and his mother ranne a new hazard, which was the ſecret end. Therefore both of them forſooke him and left him to the law; and without any triall he was brought before the ſouldiers, ſtripped, his tutbant taken off, and on his knees readie to receiue the ſtroke of death: But ſuddenly the Ianizaries came to his reſcue, and carried him away to their chambers. The Spahies who began this action, tooke it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would haue him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publique Iuſtice. Thus thoſe two mutined Factions were readie to come to blowes. *Daout Baſſa* now in ſome hope of life, bribed the Ianizaries, and that day diſtributed fourty thouſand chequines of gold, & they promiſed to protect him. Who did not now thinke but he was taken away for ſafetie? But the Spahies followed their firſt reſolution, and to appeaſe the feare of that diſſenſion, it was agreed he ſhould die. They that meant to ſaue him, could not, but preſerued him for a greater example of iuſtice. They would not now let him loſe his head in the Court, for that death was too honourable for him that had murthered his Prince. Then the Ianizaries put him ſecretly into the ſame Coach wherein he had ſent Sultan *Oſman* to execution: twice in the way being drie with ſorrow, he dranke at the ſame fountaines where his late Maſter begged drinke, and ſo was conueyed into the ſame chamber where he had murthered him. The Executioners beginning to tie him, himſelfe ſhewed the verie corner where he had committed that foule fact, and deſired that there hee might (if poſſible) expiate it: and ſo he was at laſt miſerably ſtrangled. Thus he had his reward, and God was iuſt alſo euen for the wicked.

About the twentieth of Februarie, the peace (after many rubbes) betweene the grand Seigniour and the King of Poland, by the mediation of the Engliſh Embaſſadour (who was choſen by the Grand Seignior as Arbitrer of all differences) after many meetings with *Diac Mahomet Baſſa* Commiſſioner for the Treaty, was concluded; the Duke hauing firſt been forced to ſend this following Remonſtrance for his expedition, which much moued the Vizier, and quickened the concluſion.

The Duke of Sbarasky his Remonſtrance to the great Vizier.

YOur Excellencie may be pleaſed to remember the happy and honourable Treaty made before Chotyn: In which a peace was concluded betweene the Ottoman *Empire and the kingdome of Poland, ſigned by Commiſſioners on both parts: wherein (with reference to other antient Treaties) it was agreed, That a great Embaſſadour ſhould come to the Imperiall Port, as well to confirme and ſweare the Peace, as to ſet in order ſome other incident circumſtances, as then not fully taken into conſideration. Since which, the King and Republique of Poland hauing elected me for that imployment, his Maieſtie and my ſelfe haue receiued many Letters from* Delauir, Daout, Huzein, *and* Muſtapha, *Baſſa's, all great Viziers; not only promiſing a ſpeedy end & diſpatch of the concluſion of peace, which on both parts is ſo much deſired, but alſo the releaſe of our Captiues, and all other reſpects of loue and friendſhip, according to the antient honour of the Imperiall Port: deſiring me vpon that aſſurance to proceed with alacrity and expedition. And further, it hauing pleaſed his Maieſtie of great Britaine (a friend to both) to mediate in this pious office, by his Embaſſadour Reſident, and ſent to that end, who hath giuen me by his Letters great encouragement and hopes of a reall and true proceeding in this buſineſſe, agreeable to diuers promiſes made vnto him, which he accordingly hath enformed his owne Maſter; I was very glad of this honourable function, and hoped to haue found as ready performance as is by his Maieſtie and all the world expected.*

To this end I am come to the Port, with full power and inſtructions from his Maieſtie and the Republique of Poland, to conclude and finiſh a full and perpetuall Peace, with all ſinceritie and heartineſſe,

neſſe, and in his Maieſties name to ſweare the ſame; offering to be friend to the friends, and enemie to the enemies of this Imperiall Port reciprocally, and to be readie to treat and accommodate all or any other circumſtances incident to a buſineſſe of ſo great conſequence.

Since my arriuall, notwithſtanding that I haue produced both the mentioned treaty at Chotyn and letters, how little I haue aduanced in the main affaires, and the doubtfull conſequences of a long protraction. I deſire you to conſider, hauing as yet proceeded no further in ſubſtance, than the deliuerie of my letters and Preſents; and to that end that there may neuer be imputed to the King and Republique of Poland any ſlackneſſe in preſent, or any breach in future, out of a ſincere and good deſire to eſtabliſh this treatie ſure and firme, and to open a cleere and true heart, I am enforced to make this true declaration: and deſire your Excellencie to weigh maturely the motiues following.

I doe not repine at mine own ſtay at this Imperiall port, where I receiue all honour; I do not doubt of the ſincere and faithfull meaning of the Emperour to conclude the peace; but the deferring hereof may, againſt our wills, breed three inconueniences.

Firſt, your Excellencie doth know, that the Coſſackes are a people not eaſily to be reſtrained, if they be once at libertie, and that they liue vpon their armes. They haue readie eight hundred boats to make an inuaſion into the Blacke Sea. In the Winter they cannot arme; they attend onely the aduice of the concluſion of peace: therefore now is the ſeaſon to finiſh and publiſh it; for if by long delaies it ſhall be deferred vnto the Spring, and that iealouſie or their owne deſire ſet them free, your Excellencie doth know in wiſedome how difficult it is, to reduce into order a people of that condition, which for our parts we are now able and readie to preuent; the State hauing ordained to ſatisfie them, and to buy their boats vpon the firſt intimation of a conclusion.

Secondly, it is the order of our nation euerie Spring to call a Parliament for the reglement of all publique affaires; of which aſſemblie I am a member: if I ſhall be ſtaied heere, and not able to render a reaſon thereof, it will breed great ſuſpition and diſturbance in the generall reſolution; you may conſider that in all parts, there are ſome miſaduiſed men, friends of ſedition and warre, and many that make aduantage of others troubles, who may doe ill offices, ſuch as the innocent may bee ſorrie for but cannot helpe.

Thirdly, the eyes of all Princes are ſet vpon the honour and faith kept on both parts, in this treaty, and accordingly will gouerne their owne occaſions.

For theſe reaſons I doe in his Maieſties name deſire your excellencie to giue me a diſpatch, ſuch as may bring ioy and content to all, by auoiding the miſeries of warre; and in ſuch time, that the ſnowes and diſcommodities of Winter ſhut me not vp; but that I may return as well to ſatisfie his maieſty and the Republique in our generall aſſembly, as to retaine thoſe, who may be cauſe of much trouble, without our conſents.

There is no difficultie that I vnderſtand; I am content to accept the antient and honourable treaties made with the famous Emperor Solyman *and his ſucceſſours, and now laſtly at Chotyn: if there be any other difference, I haue power and am readie to accommodate it.*

My deſire then onely is, That a preſent end and concluſion be made of a peace, firme, and perpetuall: and that the Emperour will be pleaſed according to many promiſes, to deliuer and ſet free the captiues taken in the laſt warres; as I doe in his Maieſties name giue my word that all others taken on our parts, ſhall haue libertie and paſport to returne. And if there haue been any difficultie made by occaſion of my preſſure for the reiection of Tomſha, *and* Cante-Emir-Emirze, *I doe make this true proſtatetion, That as it is the requeſt of his Maieſty my king in friendſhip, ſo there is no other end nor cauſe of that deſire, but only to remoue all occaſion of offence and breach with this Imperial Port, which thoſe ill neighbors are euer readie to miniſter: But if that be any great inconuenience to this Imperiall Port, I only then ſeeke, that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may liue quietly without offence of the publique peace.*

I deſire your Excellencie to weigh and conſider theſe my reaſons and proteſtations, which proceed onely from a good and ſincere heart, to promoue and maintaine an inuiolable and good friendſhip with this Imperiall Port.

Within two daies after, the Duke of Sbaraskie tooke his leaue of the Emperour, to the great ioy of himſelfe and his traine, who thereby ſaw themſelues deliuered out of captiuitie. The three great and noble priſoners were ſet free, and did make a publique acknowledge-

ments

ment of his Majeſtie of great Britaines fauour, to whom both the Embaſſadour and they attributed the beſt part of their good ſucceſſe, and gaue particular thanks by Letter. G

Articles contracted betweene the Grand Seigniour and the King of Poland.

His Maieſtie of Poland hauing ſent into our happy Port his well deſeruing and famous great Embaſſadour the moſt illuſtrious Duke of Sbarasky, to offer vs ſincere peace, loyall friendſhip, and good correſpondence, and to ſeeke that the antient Peace and friendſhip ſhould be of vs anew confirmed, and the old Capitulations renewed, and that for the H *time to come that there might be eſtabliſhed an eternall peace and friendſhip: His kingly inſtance hath beene moſt pleaſing to vs, and the peace and friendſhip of vs accepted: and we haue ordained, That all the antient treaties ſhall be renewed, and at the preſent haue giuen this our Capitulation with the following Articles.*

I. *FIrſt, That neuer vpon our part, nor of any of our Viziers, Beglerbeghs, Beghs, Cadees, Officers, nor Souldiors, any harme ſhall be done to the Prouinces, Cities, Caſtles, townes, villages, and other places pertaining to the King and State of Poland. And likewiſe vp-* I *on the part of his Maieſtie of Poland, that by his Princes, Miniſters, or Coſſacke, nor any other his ſubiects, there ſhall be no wrong done in any part of our empire, city, caſtle, towne, or village, but that both parties ſhall alwayes remaine friends to friends, and enemies to enemies.*

II. *And ſeeing that the Tartars of Dobrirza, Biaolograd, Keil, Ozu, and Siliſtra, and the people of Moldauia, do enter, inuade, and damnifie the State of Poland: We command, that for the time to come, our Beglerbeghs of Siliſtra, and all other Beglerbeghs of Bender, ſhall take care to keepe all thoſe paſſages and riuers, to the end that hereafter the ſaid Nations* K *ſhall haue no paſſage by thoſe wayes to damnifie the ſtate of Poland: and whenſoeuer it ſhall be knowne that the ſaid miniſters haue vſed negligence in keeping thoſe paſſages, according to the treatie with Sultan* Solyman, *of happy memorie, that ſuch miniſters be degraded and ſeuerely puniſhed.*

III. *The Vayuod of Moldauia likewiſe ſhall neuer grant any paſſage to the ſaid Nations: and whenſoeuer it ſhall be knowne that the ſaid Vayuod hath tranſgreſſed in this our will, hee ſhall be degraded and ſeuerely puniſhed.*

IV. *And whenſoeuer the ſaid Tartars and others, contrarie to this our will, ſhall make any inuaſion or ſpoyle in the ſtate of Poland, all our miniſters and gouernors ſhall apprehend* L *and ſeuerely puniſh them: and as it is ſet downe in the Agreements with Sultan* Solyman, *all the ſlaues and priſoners which ſhall by ſuch malefactors be brought into our dominions, ſhall be ſet at libertie, and their goods reſtored to them againe, and the malefactors puniſhed for hauing tranſgreſſed our Imperiall Capitulations.*

V. *And if any of our ſubiects ſhall buy any perſon or Poliſh goods, vniuſtly taken by ſuch malefactors, and it ſhall be made knowne vnto vs by the King of Poland; the buyers for hauing bought vnlawfull goods, their eſtate ſhall be confiſcate, and they themſelues ſeuerely puniſhed.* M

VI. *The Prince* Chrim Tartar *ſhall be obedient to vs, and all the Tartarian Nation vnder his command.* Kalgha *Sultan, and other Emirs and Princes of his bloud, from henceforth ſhall neuer enter into, nor inuade any part of the ſtate of Poland, nor euer do any damage,*

A *mage, either by the way of Moldauia, the open field or deſart, nor ſhal euer enter into or inuade any part or iuriſdiction of the ſame. And at all times that his Maieſtie of Poland ſhall notice, That the ſaid Prince or others aboue mentioned haue broken this our will and capitulations, and entered and damnified his State; for their diſobedience, the ſaid Prince giue as well as the others, ſhall be by vs puniſhed and chaſtiſed; and we command that neuer any one, in any part of our Dominion, ſhall ſel either people or goods robbed from the State of Poland; and finding that there be any one that hath dared to buy men, or goods, robbed from them, ſuch ſhall be immediately puniſhed with confiſcation. And as before mentio-*
B *ned, the Beglerbeghs of Siliſtria, with all diligence ſhall keepe the ſtraights of Oſue and neuer ſuffer the ſaid people to paſſe; and if it ſhall bee knowne they haue tranſgreſſed they ſhall be puniſhed with loſſe of their charge and office.*

And whenſoeuer the ſaid Prince Crim Tartar, *or his Kalka, Emirze, or others ſhall by* VII. *our order be called and commanded in their proper perſons, to goe to any part of the war in our ſeruice, if by chance they ſhould paſſe by the confines of Poland, as it is ſet downe in the capitulations of my father of happie memorie, They ſhall enter into any village, Borough, Caſtle, or Citie of Polonia, or doe any kinde of dammage to the people thereof; and finding that they haue giuen any moleſtation or hurt, they ſhall bee corrected, as is aforeſaid.*

And in conformitie of my fathers ſaid capitulation, euerie time that his Maieſtie of Po- VIII.
C *land ſhall inuite and call the ſaid Prince* Crim Tartar *in his occaſion of warre whiles hee giueth him his annuall ſtipend, the ſaid Prince with all his forces and armie, ſhall go, help, and aſſiſt his maieſtie in euery ſuch occaſion, and ſhew all friendſhip and ſinceritie: to which effect we haue giuen order, that our Imperiall letters be written to the ſaid Prince, in this particular, who ſhall obſerue all according to our will and pleaſure.*

And for the better eſtabliſhing of this our peace and amitie according to the antient ca- IX.
pitulations and obſeruance, his maieſtie of Poland promiſeth to ſend his great Embaſſa-
D *dor to the ſaid Prince of Tartars; and (beginning from this preſent, the 24 of the moneth of Iune) to pay yearely to the ſaid Prince his accuſtomed ſtipend in this forme following. Euerie yeare his maieſtie ſhall ſend the ſaid ſtipend into the Caſtle of Chotyn in Moldauia, and the Vayuod thereof ſhall certifie the ſaid Prince* Crim, *who ſhall preſently ſend his Embaſſadour to receiue the ſame, by the hands of the Vayuod. The which Prince ſhall alwaies obſerue this forme, and ſhall bee alwaies obedient to this our Imperiall Will.*

And in caſe that his Maieſtie of Poland ſhould faile any yeare to ſend the ſaid ſtipend, the X.
Prince Tartar *ſhall not ſuddenly riſe with his armie and inuade Poland; but, according*
E *to the agreements of Sultan* Solyman, *continuing ſtill in his obedience, he ſhall certifie vs, and we will procure and recouer his right.*

His Maieſtie of Poland doth promiſe that from henceforward, the Coſſackes ſhall not XI.
enter nor come into any part of our empire by the riuers of Oſue or any other, nor make any ſpoile therein: and if the ſaid Coſſackes doe enter into any part of our Dominions and doe any hurt, we certifying his Maieſtie by our Imperiall letters, hee promiſeth to correct them ſeuerely, and to put to death the malefactors for breaking the capitulations, and violating the peace and amitie.

And all our ſubiects which ſhall be made ſlaues, and impriſoned by the ſaid Coſſackes, XII.
F *ſhall be immediatly ſet at libertie; and the miniſters of his Maieſtie ſhall alwaies be diligent to puniſh the tranſgreſſours, and wholly reſtore thoſe perſons and goods, which they ſhall haue taken from our ſaid ſubiects, and that neuer any ſubiect of the King of Poland*

ſhall buy any ſtollen goods: and if any haue preſumed and bought, that he be ſeuerely puniſhed: and in generall all that which we haue promiſed concerning the Tartars and Moldauians, ſo his Maieſtie alſo doth promiſe to vs for the Coſſacks and other his ſubiects. G

XIII. After the concluſion of this Peace, if vpon the confines or open fields, fiſhers or hunters on either part meeting together, ſhall happen to fall out or be at difference by their owne occaſion, it ſhall be no diſturbance to this our peace and amitie.

XIIII. Alwayes according to the antient agreements, the princes or Vayuods of Moldauia, ſhall ſhew to his Maieſtie of Poland all due reuerence and reſpect, good amitie and neighbourhood: and ſeeing that the ſaid Vayuods haue euer been as it were inſtruments of preſeruation, or of the breach of the Peace; therefore we command, that for the time to come, neither the ſaid Vayuods, nor other of our Beglerbeghs or miniſters, ſhall build in thoſe Confines any new Caſtle, Fort, or bridge; and that in thoſe Caſtles or Forts of thoſe frontiers which are alreadie built, there ſhall neuer any other garriſons be kept but Moldauians: and according to the antient Capitulations, the Tartars ſhall not inhabit, dwell, or till within thoſe confines, of both nations. H

XV. And to the end this peace and amitie may be alwayes kept betweene vs, we ſweare by the name of God, and aſſure by this our Imperiall Article, that all the Embaſſadours, great or inferiour, which ſhall be ſent from vs to his Maieſtie, or thoſe great or leſſe which ſhall bee ſent from his Maieſtie to vs, ſhall alwaies be ſafe and ſecure, as well in their comming, as their returne; and that there ſhall neuer be need of any other paſport, but that they ſhall be of vs by all wayes honored and well receiued. I

XVI. Concerning merchants, paſſengers, and other Polacke negotiators, they ſhall alwayes come ſafely and ſecurely by ſea and land, into all the parts of our Empire; and for cuſtomes, tolles, and other duties of their merchandiſe, and in caſe of debt, credit, ſuretiſhip, and ſuch other like accidents concerning the courſe of Juſtice and Law, we command that it ſhall be alwayes obſerued according to the agreements with our father, of happy memorie, Sultan Achmat. Which Articles we at this preſent accept and confirme, ratifie, and command that they be of all our ſubiects for euer punctually obeyed and obſerued. K

XVII. Furthermore we promiſe, and in the name of God ſweare, to obſerue and maintaine for euer all thoſe couenants and Articles agreed vpon and written in our Capitulations, by our great grandfather, grandfather, and father, and neuer to diſanull any of them.

XVIII. And whereas to ſhew greater deſire of ſinceritie concerning this Peace, his Maieſtie of Poland hath ſought of vs by his ſaid great Embaſſadour, that the ſubiects of Poland may ſafely and ſecurely come by the riuer of Turla with diuers merchandiſe, and ſell, buy, and traffique in Ackirman, which traffique being vſed will be of great benefit to both Eſtates; We ordaine and command from henceforward, that the ſaid Nation may come and negotiate ſafely and ſecurely in the ſaid Ackirman. And to the end that this buſineſſe be eſtabliſhed and concluded in a good manner, we will giue order to our Embaſſadour, whom we intend to ſend ſhortly to his Maieſtie for the ratification thereof. L

XIX. Which preſent Articles, Capitulations, Peace, Amitie, League, and Correſpondence, by the grace of God we promiſe vndoubtedly to maintaine ſo long as we liue in this world: and do hereby conclude betweene vs and our poſteritie, and the Kings and State of Polonia, an euerlaſting Peace; Sealing it and confirming it with theſe words, Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies. M

Notwithſtanding all this, after the Duke was departed one dayes journy, where he ſtayed to

A to receiue the treatie ſigned, they altered ſome of the articles to their own aduantage, without his knowledge. Which when he heard, he complained anew by his letters to the Port of the abuſe offered vnto him, and made haſte rather to eſcape than returne. But the Coſſackes at the ſame time being ſtirring about the Blacke ſea, the Vizier and State (hauing nothing more in care than to ſhut vp that backe port, whereby they ſuffered much loſſe and diſhonour, and could not reuenge it vpon a fugitiue people; which diuided their nauall armie, being forced to ſend a portion of gallies to defend the trade, the beſt part of reliefe of the citie of Conſtantinople comming from thoſe coaſts) reſolued to giue content to the Poles, and to aſſure the Peace; that they might with more ſecuritie attend their affaires in Aſia and Hungarie; which action was fauoured vehemently by the preſent Vizier. To which end, he ſent anſwer into Poland, with promiſes of faith, and reparation for the iniuries committed by the Tartars; laying the fault of miſwriting the treatie vpon the Chancellour, which though they amended not, yet they did explain and interpret: and for better eſtabliſhment and ſecuritie on their behalfes of the peace, they reſolued to depoſe *Iehan-Begh* Prince of Tartaria, and ſent *Mechmet Gheray* his couſin german and firſt of the bloud, late priſoner in the Rhodes, to take poſſeſſion of his dominion; who vndertooke to quiet and reſtraine that people: which he cauſed to be ſignified to Poland, that the King might ſee, theſe alterations were onely for the full ſecuritie of the peace on their ſide, that the Pole might take the like courſe with the Coſſackes, who were not as yet reclaimed. *Some of the capitulations of peace altered by the Turks.*

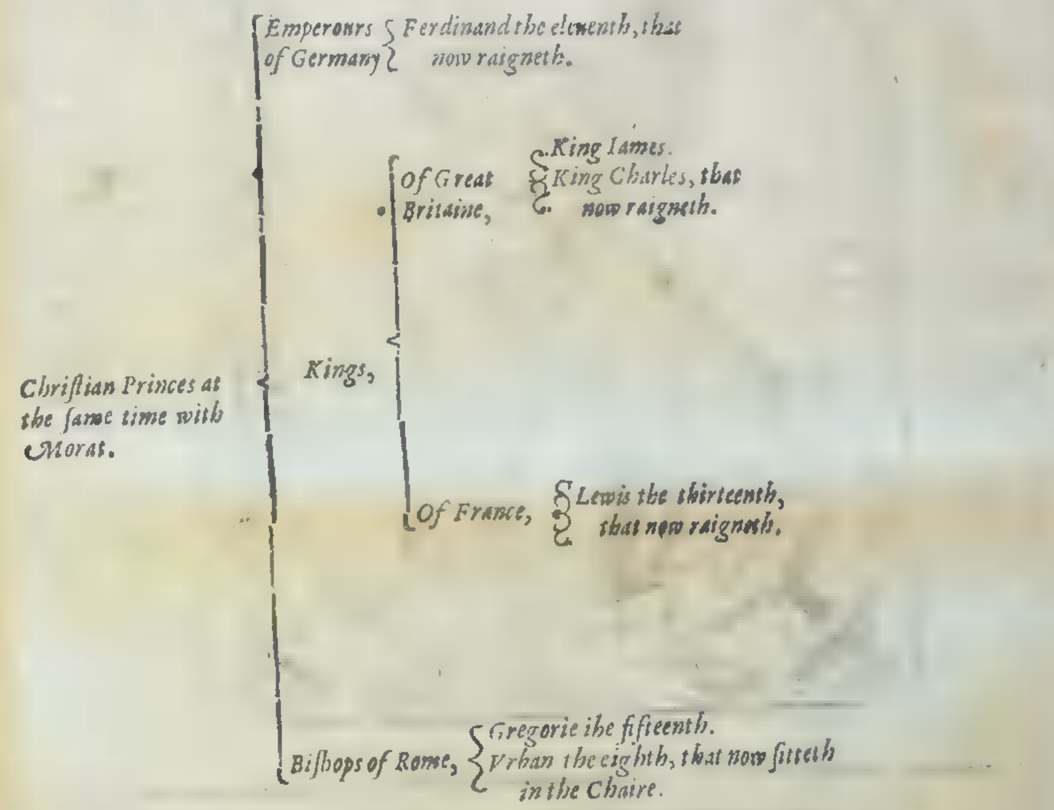
1623. The ſouldiers continued ſtill in their height of furie and madneſſe, and thoſe that were to C goe vpon the gallies for the defence of the blacke ſea, and other deſignes, being ready to depart, robbed, ſlew, brake houſes in the face of the Magiſtrate in the open day: What was it not lawfull for them to doe, that had ſlaine their King, and made and deſtroied the great Miniſters at their will and pleaſure, as their Stewards and ſeruants? and God did ſo blinde them, that they ſhould not ſee, that they digged vp their owne roots, and were made by God the blind inſtruments of their owne ruine. The mint alſo was remoued into the Seraglio, where was brought forth all the ſaddles, bridles, ſtirrops, that had any gold or ſiluer vpon them, with all old plate, to make money to patch vp a quiet, and to ſatisfie and content the ſouldiers, and all little enough for the preſent, to ſaue the citie from a totall ſacke. *1623. The ſouldiers ſtill continue in their furie.*

The Embaſſadours of the Prince of Tranſyluania, hauing changed their ſtile of excuſing a D firme peace with the Emperour by the change of the Vizier, and finding the opportunitie of a friend now in place to aid their Prince, they negotiated new matter, aſſuring the Port, that by the troubles of Germanie, a faire occaſion was giuen to recouer Hungarie, and to ſet the Crowne vpon their Maſters head; and that therefore if the Grand Seignior would be pleaſed to grant vnto their Prince the aid of the Græcian armie, that he would make another attempt to weaken the greateſt enemie of that Empire; which they eaſily obtaining (the ignorance and auarice of the Turke opening a way to credulitie which was the conſtant aduantage of *Gabor*, who could concord both their vnderſtandings and forces to his own ends) being in all fully ſatisfyed, they departed the twentieth of Aprill. Which reſolution of the Port was much wondred at by all wiſe men, who knew how vnfit the Turke was at that preſent for E a warre. The Prince was then at Caſſouia, expecting the iſſue of his Embaſſage, and in hope of Turkiſh aid; which being granted and gathered vpon his frontier, and ioyned at laſt with his owne forces, his whole armie was not very great, nor had he any cannon to march withall to beſiege any place: his chiefeſt truſt conſiſting in his intelligence in Hungarie, where hee expected a generall reuolt, and that all the garriſons would open to him, or at leaſt ſome diuerſitie in Sileſia (which he was promiſed) facilitate his wars; and he was not in deſpaire, that vpon the firſt appearance of an armie, Morauia, by the fauour of the Countie of Tourne and his friends, would follow the ſame example; and this was the deſigne which his Embaſſadors had ſo long ſolicited at the Port, and diſſembled at their firſt comming. Now there was nothing expected but a warre: but not long after, there arriued a new Embaſſadour from the F Prince, without any mention of the affaires of thoſe parts; which made all men inquiſitiue, thinking hee was either come to haſten the ſuccours, or to change ſomething in the manner and other circumſtances depending thereon: but it was found that the States of Tranſyluania had aſſembled at Alba-Iulia, and were verie loath to entertaine a warre, or to breake with the Emperour; and therefore diſpeeded two Commiſſioners towards him, who were well receiued *The Embaſſadours of the prince of Tranſyluania departed from the Port.*

receiued and treated at Vienna: and from the Emperour was ſent to Tranſyluania the Biſhop G
of Nitria. Whereupon a new peace was treated, and this Embaſſadour ſent to procure the re-
call of the former commands, giuen to the Baſſaes to moue with their armies. Whereby it was
ſuſpected he neuer had any purpoſe to make a warre, but onely to ballance by the continuance
thereof his feares and laſt agreements with the Emperour.

The Baſſa of Arzirum in rebellion.

All men propheciedd (by reaſon of daily diſorders) the fall of the *Ottoman* Empire. But now
the Baſſa of Arzirum who was ioyned with diuers others, and had made a great armie, was in
his march towards Angria, the direct way to Conſtantinople (Babylon yet reſting in rebelli-
on) with a pretence of reformation; who tooke nothing by force, but the treaſure of the Em-
pire. He held a generall Counſell in his campe, and ſent to the Port to require the preſence
of the Mufti, Cadees, Baſſaes, and antient Beghs, to take knowledge and to pu[illegible]he traitors H
that murthered the late King, and to ſettle a new one lawfully, that ſhould be a[illegible] to gouerne;
to reduce the mutined citie-ſouldier to obedience and diſcipline, and to place about the Em-
perour ſome great Vizier, choſen by the State, able to direct and apply remedies to the diſea-
ſes then growne to a Chryſis: complaining, that euery three or foure moneths, by the change
of the Vizier, the prouinces were deſtroyed (for they placed and diſplaced the gouernors ac-
cording to their own factions) and ſo contrarie orders were ſent abroad dayly, inſomuch as no
man knew who was King or Vizier, nor whom they ſhould obey. Theſe were his pretences,
and if the preſent State would not conſent to this aſſembly, he then reſolued to come to the
Port, and ſettle all things at his pleaſure by the ſword. The g[illegible] Officers in poſſeſſion of the
Emperor and gouernment, loath to be called to an account b[illegible] the ſouldier, tooke a worſe re- I
ſolution, To make a war; and made choice of *Cigala Baſſa* fo[illegible] General: which he refuſed vp-
on the ſame pretence, that in his abſence alterations would be ſo frequent; and that he ſhould
not pleaſe, or at leaſt vncertainly, and according to interpretation. Therefore he would haue
an abſolute Dictatorſhip for the time, equall to that of a great Vizier, or elſe he would not ſtir.
This was granted him, and mony giuen out, and order to paſſe the water ſpeedily; enrolling
for his armie fifteene thouſand Ianizaries and thirty thouſand Spahies. But thoſe did demur,
and alledged it was a war againſt their owne brethren, and ſought any excuſes rather than to
come to blowes. But the ſecret was, it was then *Ramazan*, or their holy Lent, at the end of
which they were to receiue their pay; and therefore they would not moue, but pretended re-
ligion. Next day after their feaſt, when they ſhould march, they ſhewed themſelues careleſſe K
(hauing firſt held many conſultations) and would not march at all, vnleſſe the Emperour or
great Vizier would go in perſon. So euery day brought forth new ſubiect of trouble, and
the Empire to a great deale of hazard and danger.



MORAT

Morat in tender age the Throne aſcends,
for wanton luſt more apt, than princely ends:
Sporting he lies in a luxurious bed,
whileſt Bagdat is by Perſia conquered;
A greater loſſe than this, who can deuine
vnleſſe to loſe the ſeat of *Conſtantine*.
His other Acts, and how he ſtill proceeds
ſhall here enſue in ſtorie of his deeds.

MORAT,

THE RAIGNE OF MORAT, OR AMVRATH, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, ELEVENTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES; HE THAT NOW SVAYETH THAT MIGHTIE MONARCHIE.

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR.

C Vpon the laſt day of Auguſt, Sultan *Muſtapha*, brother of *Achmat*, who had beene twice Emperour, was depoſed; and Sultan *Morat*, ſonne to *Achmat*, and brother to *Oſman* murthered, the yere before placed in the Throne. But it will not be vntimely nor vnprofitable, to diſcourſe of the cauſes and reaſons of thoſe great mutations, which are the intrinſique part and ſoule of Action. *Sultan Muſtapha depoſed, & Sultan Morat placed in his Throne.*

That State for fifteene moneths after the death of *Oſman*, was a ſtage of varietie, the Souldierie vſurping all gouernment, placing and diſplacing as the winde of fauour or diſfauour moued them. In that time there were three Emperours, ſeuen great Viziers, two Captaine Baſſa's, fiue Aga's of the Ianizaries, three Treaſurers, ſix Baſſa's of Cairo, and in proD portion as many changes of Gouernors in all the Prouinces; euery new Vizier making vſe of his time, diſplacing thoſe in poſſeſſion, and ſelling their fauour to others: ſo as the whole empire was in a manner fined foure or fiue times; ſuch was the eating and welcome of euery Baſſa to their gouernment. *Huzein Baſſa* the laſt Vizier of them (a tyrant hated of all men) conſumed the publique treaſure to faſt, and exacted money from priuat men ſo violently, to maintaine his faction with the Ianizaries, that euen the Receiuers were afraid, and weary, and the wiſeſt of them foreſaw their owne ruine in the generall conſumption: when there was any murmure againſt him, he preſently ſilenced it either by gifts or bloud. As ſoone as hee had diſpatched away the Generall *Gigala Baſſa* with the armie for the ſuppreſſion of the great rebellion in Aſia (which vpon the depoſition of *Georgi*, and the making of him Vizier, was E content to march: which he did rather to disburthen himſelfe of feares, by ſending out of the way the Spahies, who were his oppoſites, than for any loue to the State: which Armie, what inſolencies they committed for thirtie dayes before their paſſing the water, euen in the face of Iuſtice, was as incredible as impoſſible to relate) he ſent priuatly to ſtrangle *Halil Baſſa*, *Georgi*, and *Muſtapha*, late Viziers; hoping thereby he had remoued all concurrents. Whether this gaue the occaſion, or that his ſinne was ripe for reuenge, the Spahies ſuddenly gathered head, and the old Wolfe fled to his truſtie gard the Ianizaries. The citie was almoſt diuided; but the Spahies ſent their reſolution plainly, being the weaker in number, That they deſired not to come to blowes with their Brethren; but if the Ianizaries would protect him, that they ſhould keep him, Conſtantinople, & Greece: but they themſelues would depart and F diſpoſe of Aſia. Which was a bold profeſſion, but eaſie, the forces of the Rebels being of their ſocietie. The wiſeſt foreſaw the peril, and they all agreed to change him; and ſo the Seale was giuen to *Aly Baſſa*, a man reputed honeſt, but melancholie and vntried for ſo great a charge. Euery one ſaw thoſe outward wheeles of motion, but the ſpring within that moued them was not ſo ſoon diſcouered. The armie mentioned for Aſia, arriuing at Nicomedia, fiue dayes

A Councell did still connive with the actions of that Bassa.

Bechir-Subbaſi, who had reuolted in Babylon, and held that castle against the Emperour all the last Summer, hauing beene streightly besieged by *Hasis Achmat Bassa*, and in danger to be forced, sent his sonne to *Sha-Abas* the King of Persia, for succours: whereupon hee obtained some Persian horse; vpon the discouerie of which, the Bassa, fearing he should be compelled to raise his siege, betooke himselfe to dissimulation, as if he had such authoritie from the Grand Seignior; he made a composition, and not onely pardoned *Bechir*, and all offences past, but conferred the gouernment of that citie and prouince vpon him as Bassa, and so retyred his Armie. Yet although *Bechir-Subbaſi* was content to free himselfe from the present necessity by treaty, yet really he held the place of the Persian, and to his vse; whose Agent at

B the Port demanded both that and Ahiska, as the antient patrimonie of his Ancestors.

Bechir-Subbaſi sends his sonne to Sha-Abbas the King of Persia for succours.

Bethlem Gabor hauing with great expedition marched ouer Hungarie, and reduced most part thereof to his obedience, except the townes of Presburgh, Rab, Romasa, and some few other forts, his armie consisting of thirty three thousand Transyluanians and Hungarians, and almost as many Turks and Tartars voluntarily following for bootie; met with no shew of resistance vntill he approched Tyrnauia, within foure dayes march of the borders of Austria: whither sending before some regiments of his horse, to the number of foure thousand, to summon the towne, they discouered some Imperiall troupes sent to make garrison therein, being two thousand three hundred foot, and two hundred horse, and arriued within halfe an English mile; betweene whom and the citie they thrust themselues. These troupes perceiuing they

C were suddenly preuented, and not knowing how farre the Princes whole armie was behinde, tooke downe a small brooke to a village, and fortified themselues in a Church and Church-yard walled. The Commander of the Hungars dispatched away a Currier to *Bethlem Gabor*, with aduise that he should send him some foot with expedition, relating the manner how hee had enclosed this garrison. In the meane time he summoned the Imperialists, and told them that he had taken possession of Tyrnauia for his Master; and at the same time summoned the towne, and told them, That their succors sent had yeelded vnto him, keeping all intelligence from one another, and both from attempting any thing. The next day, the Prince with his Vantguard arriued in sight, and then this Colonell sent some troupes to make guard before one of the Ports very neere the wall. Those Germanes shut vp in the Church-yard, seeing

D the enemies horse vnder the command of the towne, and no shot made at them, beleeued that it was true that the place was rendered: so before the foot came vp to force them, they yeelded themselues, and tooke pay of the Prince, all except six and thirty of the principall that had licence to depart. Those being then woon, the citizens the next day opened their gates, and receiued *Bethlem Gabor* for their Lord, and thus these were gained without any stroke. From thence he marched directly towards Morauia, and sent before him a daies iourney eight thousand horse to discouer and spoile. The Emperour finding these beginnings vrgent, ordered the brother of the Prince of Licheſtein to draw downe his garrisons from Bohemia and Morauia to the frontire, and sent the Marquesse of Montenegro, with *Colalto*, *Don Baltheſar de Marades*, the Count *Sticke-Walſtein*, *Tiffenbacke*, Count *Torquato* kinsman to the Pope, *Sampach*,

E and all his principall Captaines to meet them, and to forme an armie for defence. There was gathered together fifteene thousand besides the baggage; who being lodged at the foot of an hill in the borders of Morauia, and many of their souldiers straggling to gather grapes, were by the auantcurriers of *Bethlem Gabor* discouered, and presently beset, who tooke and slew seuen hundred. Some escaped and gaue the alarme, or else the whole Imperiall campe had beene surprised without sentinell or guard, they hauing proued as seruiceable as the geese in the Capitoll. The Hungars hauing gotten the top of the hill, and seeing the Bohemian and German armie so neere in the bottome, and in some confusion, resolued to make triall how they were prouided, and made shew of a charge; but finding them in better order to receiue them, they retired; one captaine onely aduenturing too neere, was taken prisoner and carried to the Im-

F periall quarter; who being examined, told them, That the Prince with a mightie army, would the next night be in sight, and therefore he aduised them to prepare for their safetie; for that he came with resolution to fight, and ouermatching them with number, there was no possibilitie of other than death or captiultie. The Imperials rather scorned, than beleeued these threatnings: but the captaine assuring them it was no time to jest with his own life and theirs, they

The Prince of Transyluania summoneth the towne of Tyrnauia.

Osman; desiring such as fauoured him, to come on his [illegible] ...ding the people to depart in peace, euerie man to his own house. He did no harm, nor took the [illegible] his army was very great, and euery ...nizarie that he could catch, he [illegible] the dead Emperor. Men report, he was first aduer... by a Dreame to reuen... *Osman* appeared vnto him, and ...stly ... to reform the world, from the ... and en... to the Port ... and d... therers of th... Prince tri... down ... ...ne cam... and rumor... then ... ...l ... those ... ...ntinuance ... ...ll ... ...Christian ... ...and to ... ...and faith. The reason ... ...pire from the flatterers ... opinion and ...ustome, that ... ...breake vp their campe ... ...day ... ...six and twentieth of the ... ...ding to stay longer in ... ...incommodities ... ...in the nature ... ...gotten their prey, it ... ...could hold them from rising ... ...them. they then resolued ... ...to make quarter for themselues. the ... ...and commanders purposing ... ...into the cattle with some competent ... ...doubted not to keepe ... ...or weather should force the enemie to ... ...Prince of Transyluania knowing ... ...that at that time he should haue trouble ... ...for his succours, and if they ... ...he feared they would proue ill Winterguest ... ...him with his Hungars, whom they indifferently spoiled, tooke counsell ... ...the enemie by that day, or ... ...winne them by policie; but the later ... ...for it seemed he had no desire to put to many persons of qualitie into the power ... ...Turkes, whose prisoners by agreement they must remaine; and hauing also intelligence, vpon what ... ...hopes the Imperialists held out, he counterwrought with the Turkes, to giue him a promise to abide with him fifteene daies after Saint *Demetrius*; in which time hee pretended to deliuer the fort and all into their hands; conjecturing as it seemed, that before ... ...the Germanes would make some ouerture, out of which hee might worke his ... ...aduantage, and obtaine his owne ends, and they would admire and feare his power and credit in the Turkish armie: for doubtlesse he might haue forced them if he had pleased, but ... ...he ... ...his estate desperate of any reconciliation with the Emperour, and must re... ...vncertaine of the constancie of the Turkes, assured, they beeing ... ...draw againe into the field; and perhaps he doubted the various ... ...with ... ...of the ... ...ding of the State of the Grand Seignior in Asia, where all ... ...were ... ...and was somewhat carefull of his reputation in Christendome, ...was farre ... ...in this action: for which aboue twentie thousand poore ... ...to ... ...liuerie, and indangered their faith. Therfore he made vse of his time and his ... ...Imperialists finding themselues deceiued in the hope of breaking vp of the campe, now no longer able to ... ...their wants, sent commissioners to him in the Emperors name, ...agreement. He seeing his fifteene dayes weare out a pace, and the Turkes beginning to dislodge, accepted the offer; and that very day, to giue satisfaction to the Port ... ...peeced one of his chamber in post to make known vnto the Vizier (a man not vnlearned ... ...) ... ...easier and ... ...to detaine the Turkes to Win... Hungarie; but being ... ...longer to hold them together, he was forced to come ... ...treatie: for to venture to winde and treasons, was all of perill, or rise without some conclusion, were to quit the place ... ...against the enemie, and to weaken his owne reputation: to continue the negotiation ...

A ...ure of his succours, would hazard his ... ...to make a truce for eight moneths; that ... ...the Emperours Embassadour, time might be allowed ... ...him instruction to say, That as then he had ... ...fully agreed be done, onely with a formall reseruation of ... ...it should be held as not don: That he should ... ...the Grand Seignior would continue constant, ...resolued vpon warre, then to demand prouision ... ...necessaries in season, and in a measure, in those times ... ...they should giue a draught of what conditions they affected ...
B to himselfe to mitigate them, and to make such other ... ...affaires and time required for the profit of his Empire. The ... ...Commissioners at his quarter, discouered some iealousie and ... ...lowers, Bohemians, and Germanes: whereupon he called before ... ...ders, and desired them not to mistrust him; he shewed some reasons why ... ...ced to make a truce; but protested he would neuer depose Armes, nor ... ...with the Emperor, except he would also disarm, and leaue those Prouinces ... ...quiet. For though it were a hard choice for him to be bitten by a Wolfe, or by a dogge (which were his owne words) yet seeing he could better trust the one, than the other, he would make vse of one to curbe the other. This gaue not full satisfaction; but the words of a Prince must
C be currant payment, because they beare his stampe; for his meaning, or what he treated, ...trusted none withall but his owne breast. The messenger hee sent vnto the Port, played his part so well and secretly, as he gaue satisfaction to that State, readie enough to beleeue well, and procured a ratification of the truce supposed then to be made; and for instructions in the intended treatie, he propounded, in his Masters name, three articles, and one commission. Firſt, That the Emperor should disclaim all right and title to Hungarie, and should leaue the people free, and the Prince of Transyluania to gouerne them. Secondly, That the Princes, and all the Prouinces that had sent their embassadors and Presents to the Port, and had made league with him, and had taken the Imperiall protection, should bee restored to their pristine libertie and
D states. Thirdly, That the Emperour should pay a tribute of fortie thousand dollars for Austria, pretended to be granted in the daies of Sultan *Solyman*. But the Commission was the key of the worke, whereby the Prince, with the counsell of the Bassa of Buda, obtained full power at his owne discretion, if he found peace conuenient, to make and conclude it; this last being, (as was supposed) the end and scope of *Bethlem Gabors* desires; the other propositions onely a garnishing, to make the Turkes beleeue that he was carefull of their seruice; and the Emperour, that he was verie powerfull, and much esteemed at the Port. Which all men imagined would produce an end of those wars: For the Prince of Transyluania confessed, that he drew not in the Turkes for any need he had of their succours, nor for any benefit intended to them, but to make a glorious shew to the Emperour, of his credit with the Grand Seignior, thereby to facilitate his ends.

A truce betweene the Emperour and the Prince of Transiluania.

E After some time spent in treatie with the Commissioners of the army, a truce was taken betweene the Prince of Transyluania and the Marquesse *De Monte Negro*, Generall for his Imperiall Maiestie, before the town of Ghoding on the frontier of Morauia, where the Germans were besieged; and letters presently written thereof by the Prince to the great Vizier, which were dated the tenth of Nouember. The mediatour betweene them was the Palatine *Stanislaus Turzow* an Hungarian. The articles of greatest importance, or that were then published to the world, were foure:

The articles of the truce.

I. *That on both parts Armes should be deposed for ten moneths (ending the fixth of Septem-*
F *ber 1624) and all other acts of hostilitie giuen ouer. That there should of neither side any attempt be made, nor by force nor fraud to take any Castles, Forts, Cities, or places of defence during this time; and that both Germanes, Hungars, and Turkes, should be alike comprehended.*

II. *That if the Emperour were desirous to treat and conclude a finall peace with the Grand Seignior,*

A Iuſtice of his Maieſtie, without offence of the Port: the great vizier ſhall
Commands ſhould be required. But He knowing how weake effect thoſe
had produced in other occaſions, and how little obedience and reſpect thoſe comm
did beare vnto the Port (the Baſſa's themſelues connniuing, and nouriſhing thereby the
gain) eſpecially conſidering, that what face ſoeuer, and ſeeming diſlike was ſhewed & preten-
ded, yet inwardly the Turks did take pleaſure and glory, that the Chriſtian was robbed wea-
kened and ſpoyled, vnder the ſhadow of peace; did vtterly refuſe to accept of ſuch feigned
remedies, but inſiſted vpon two points, whereby only there might be ſome hope of redreſſe
in that affaire:

First, That the Grand Seigniour would ſend an expreſſe Chiaus to Algier and Tunes, to
B call to the Port ſome of the principall inhabitants and aduenturers, of all the Orders of thoſe
cities, ſuch as ſent and armed out the ſhips of courſe; that being conuented face to face, and
accuſed and conuinced of matter of the fact, the State might be truly informed of the conſe-
quence of their outragious theeuerie, and prouide ſuch remedie as ſhould be requiſite and
ſufficient in the future, to ſecure the commerce and free nauigation in thoſe ſeas.

Secondly, That the Baſſa's who were ſent from the Port rather for cuſtome and pretence
of dominion, than for any great fruit or hope of obedience (yet becauſe they returned at the
end of their gouernment, they might be reſponſible for matters concerning themſelues)
might receiue ſtrict and abſolute order, not to take any tenths of the prizes, becauſe being
diſintereſſed, and ſharing no profit, there might be more hope, by their authoritie, of execu-
C tion of the Grand Seigniours pleaſure in reſtraint of their robberies.

These Propoſitions found at firſt much oppoſition; but the Embaſſador refuſing all other
ordinarie and vneffectiue means, required either this forme of proceeding; or, that the grand
Seignior would declare them out of his protection, and ſtanding neutrall leaue them to their
owne defence: proteſting, That this courſe was taken for good reſpect to the Port; yet if
really ſome order were not eſtabliſhed, that there was no remedie but to redreſſe theſe iniu-
ries by the ſword, and to puniſh thoſe Barbarians as *Inimici humani generis*, publike enemies of
mankind. Deſiring the Viziers to take it to ſerious conſideration, that ſeeing amitie and corre-
ſpondence betweene the Kingdome of England and the Turkiſh Empire, did principally and
almoſt integrally depend vpon commerce and traffique, the whole foundation was ſhaken
D and made vſeleſſe to both, by the interruption of thoſe theeues. Theſe reaſons concurring
with the diſtemper of thoſe times, and their owne feares, ſo farre preuailed, that by a gene-
rall conſultation it was concluded, to ſatisfie the Embaſſadour in his owne wayes: and accor-
dingly a meſſenger was diſpatched from the Port to call to Iuſtice ſome of all the Orders, to
anſwer as Deputies for the Cities, before the Vizier and Diuan, in ſuch accuſations as ſhould
be obiected againſt them.

This negotiation was begun and finiſhed, as much as concerned the authoritie of the
Grand Seigniour, in the yeare 1622; but being not perfected and tranſacted vntill the next,
and that time full of various mutations, we haue thought fit to continue the thred of the for-
mer hiſtorie, and not to mingle and confound it with relations of ſeuerall and vnlike ſubiects
E and natures: and though this part be found a little out of his owne time, yet both will be the
cleerer by the diſſeueration.

The Baſſa and inhabitants of Algier hauing receiued letters by *Mehemet Aga*, both repre-
hending them for inſolencies committed vpon the Engliſh nation, and commanding them to
keepe the peace of the Empire, and to bring with him ſome of the principall of that gouern-
ment; did elect foure and twentie Commiſſioners (amongſt whom, the Mufti was both the
head and aduocate) and gaue them inſtructions and order to recriminate and accuſe the Engliſh
of many depredations and iniuries: hoping thereby, either to extenuate their owne offence,
or by pretending iuſt cauſe, to leaue themſelues at libertie to continue their piracies. And
F the Baſſa and Citie of Tunes hauing receiued by the ſaid Meſſenger reprehenſions and com-
mands to the like effect, they reſolued in their paſſage to Conſtantinople to conſult with
their fellowes of Tunes, who ioyned to them two of their Councell, and gaue them inſtru-
ctions to be aſſiſtant: but with this caution, that they ſhould not declare themſelues openly,
but to obſerue the proceedings of thoſe of Algier, and to conforme with them, that if they
were enforced to make peace, they ſhould concurre and be comprehended; but if it were

poſſible

Seigniour, he should vse Bethlem Gabor *as the mediatour, and doe nothing therein with* G
out his priuitie.

III. *That all the places and fortes, taken in by the Prince of Transyluania in his late expedition, should rest quiet in his possession vntill the time expired: And that all Cities and castles now in the possession of either, should so remaine without any alteration.*

IIII. *That all passages should be open for free trade, and secure entercourse of marchants, and all other the subiects and friends of either side.*

This done, the Prince of Transyluania made a shew of redeeming all the poore captiues, H
taken by the Turks at his own charge, with some help from the Imperials, vpon whom he laid the blame, as hauing failed to meet him vpon a passage of water, where he entertained the Turkish army: but they not comming, hee pretended the Turkes rose in the night, and carried them all away to the number of twentie thousand.

The Hungars set vpon the Turkes in their retreat.

The Prince warned the Turkes to keepe in order, and not to straggle in their retrait, nor to commit any insolencie and spoile, the countrey being all in armes and alreadie enraged: but they followed not his councell, which caused some two thousand Hungarian horse to set vpon them as they were diuided, and slew fiue or six hundred of them, and recouered some prisoners, whereupon the Turks vnited and returned, and killed as many of the Hungars, tooke one man of qualitie, and many other slaues.

The King of Persia inuades the Prouince of Babylon.

Vpon aduice from *Hafis Bassa* General of the Prouince of Babylon, That the King of Persia I
with a powerfull armie, had entered those quarters, and that both the citie and that countrey would be lost, if aides did not arriue verie speedily; and the Rebels in Asia continuing their insolencie, a warre was suddenly proclaimed at the Port, in such termes as neuer had beene heard of in former times; to say, That whosoeuer tooke pay of the Grand Seigniour in any kinde as a souldier, if hee came not to the Rendeuous appointed with his armes, should bee confiscated, esteemed as a Rebell, and his wife and children sold for slaues. This was sent into Greece, Natolia, Trabizond, and all the vtmost confines of the Turkish Empire. Hereupon the Grand Seigniour and the wisest of the Bassaes, inclined to buy *Abassa Bassa*, and to send him a generall pardon and grant of all his demands, vpon condition, that he would pre- K
sently march and turne his army against the common enemie; fearing either the doubtfulnesse of a battell with desperate men, or to force him to retire and joyne with the Persian, where he might be well receiued. And as the present condition of the State then stood, the councell was good; but the Ianizaries would not consent nor hearken to any reconcilement with their professed enemie; but required to be led out against *Abassa Bassa* first, and so to proceed in the warre: and because their owne Aga (brother in law to the Empetour) did not concurre with them in opinion, they mutined against him, who wisely gaue way to the storme, and surrendered his charge; to which a Page of the Court was presently aduanced. Thus, while it was vnresolued how to proceed against the Persian and *Abassa Bassa* joyntly, who continued to spoile and put to ransom all Asia the lesse, and could not be reconciled for the Ianizaries, nor safely attempted for the Spahies (between which two Orders) there was as yet bad intelligence L
and emulation: the King of Persia conquered the prouince and Citie of Babylon, put to flight *Hafis Achmet Bassa* the Generall of that defensiue warre, and tooke prisoner *Chur Hassen Bassa* a renowned old Souldier, cut in pieces all that opposed him, possessed himselfe of * Mo- *Niniue.*
sul, and Leska on the Persian Sea, and diuiding his armie, sent part towards Van and Diarbeck, and the other towards Mecha, as if he had hope and designe to share all the Easterne part of the Turkish Empire.

Touching the affaires of Tunes and Algier.

His Maiestie the King of Great Britaine, hauing by his first letters in 1621, complained to the Grand Seigniour, and commanded his Embassadour to seeke redresse against the Piracies and insolencies of the inhabitants of Algier and Tunes, who in the two former yeares, had ta- M
ken aboue a hundred ships and vessels of all sorts, and had made slaues of aboue twelue hundred of his Maiesties subiects: and had then vpon their walls, a thousand pieces of yron ordnance, besides those in their shipping, taken from the English and Dutch: The Embassadour pressing to obtain iustice against them, or that they might be abandoned and left to the

Iustice

A Iustice of his Maiestie, without offence of the Port; the great Vizier offered to giue what Commands should be required. But He knowing how weake effect those Letters of course had produced in other occasions, and how little obedience and respect those common theeues did beare vnto the Port (the Bassa's themselues conniuing, and nourishing thereby their owne gain) especially considering, that what face soeuer, and seeming dislike was shewed & pretended, yet inwardly the Turks did take pleasure and glory, that the Christian was robbed weakened and spoyled, vnder the shadow of peace; did vtterly refuse to accept of such feigned remedies, but insisted vpon two points, whereby only there might be some hope of redresse in that affaire:

First, That the Grand Seigniour would send an expresse Chiaus to Algier and Tunes, to
B call to the Port some of the principall inhabitants and aduenturers, of all the Orders of those cities, such as sent and armed out the ships of course; that being conuented face to face, and accused and conuinced of matter of the fact, the State might be truly informed of the consequence of their outragious theeuerie, and prouide such remedie as should be requisite and sufficient in the future, to secure the commerce and free nauigation in those seas.

Secondly, That the Bassa's who were sent from the Port rather for custome and pretence of dominion, than for any great fruit or hope of obedience (yet because they returned at the end of their gouernment, they might be responsible for matters concerning themselues) might receiue strict and absolute order, not to take any tenths of the prizes, because being
C disinteressed, and sharing no profit, there might be more hope, by their authoritie, of execution of the Grand Seigniours pleasure in restraint of their robberies.

These Propositions found at first much opposition; but the Embassador refusing all other ordinarie and vneffectiue means, required either this forme of proceeding; or, that the grand Seignior would declare them out of his protection, and standing neutrall leaue them to their owne defence: protesting, That this course was taken for good respect to the Port; yet if really some order were not established, that there was no remedie but to redresse these iniuries by the sword, and to punish those Barbarians as *Inimici humani generis*, publike enemies of mankind. Desiring the Viziers to take it to serious consideration, that seeing amitie and correspondence betweene the Kingdome of England and the Turkish Empire, did principally and
D almost integrally depend vpon commerce and traffique, the whole foundation was shaken and made vselesse to both, by the interruption of those theeues. These reasons concurring with the distemper of those times, and their owne feares, so farre preuailed, that by a generall consultation it was concluded, to satisfie the Embassadour in his owne wayes: and accordingly a messenger was dispatched from the Port to call to Iustice some of all the Orders, to answer as Deputies for the Cities, before the Vizier and Diuan, in such accusations as should be obiected against them.

This negotiation was begun and finished, as much as concerned the authoritie of the Grand Seigniour, in the yeare 1622; but being not perfected and transacted vntill the next, and that time full of various mutations, we haue thought fit to continue the thred of the for-
E mer historie, and not to mingle and confound it with relations of seuerall and vnlike subiects and natures: and though this part be found a little out of his owne time, yet both will be the cleerer by the dissueration.

The Bassa and inhabitants of Algier hauing receiued letters by *Mehemet Aga*, both reprehending them for insolencies committed vpon the English nation, and commanding them to keepe the peace of the Empire, and to bring with him some of the principall of that gouernment; did elect foure and twentie Commissioners (amongst whom, the Mufti was both the head and aduocate) and gaue them instructions and order to recriminate and accuse the English of many depredations and iniuries: hoping thereby, either to extenuate their owne offences or by pretending iust cause, to leaue themselues at libertie to continue their piracies. And
F the Bassa and Citie of Tunes hauing receiued by the said Messenger reprehensions and commands to the like effect, they resolued in their passage to Constantinople to consult with their fellowes of Tunes, who ioyned to them two of their Councell, and gaue them instructions to be assistant: but with this caution, that they should not ingage themselues openly but to obserue the proceedings of those of Algier, and to conioyne with them, except they were enforced to make peace, they should concurre and

possible for both to escape, that they should leaue the breach open, and themselues at li- G
bertie.

They arriued together at Constantinople in the moneth of Nouember, in that yeare in the raigne of *Mustapha*, and made their first addresses priuatly to the English Embassadour; subtilly pretending to end all differences secretly with him, because they were vnwilling to answer and discouer to Iustice what infinite spoiles they had gotten; and that if they could accommodate with him, and treat without the authoritie of the Port, they resolued to promise any thing, which they meant not to obserue, and so escaping for the present, they hoped to do more mischiefe, by the aduantage of the securitie of the English, and their owne breach of faith. But the Embassadour refused to treat with them, as being subiects, and not *sui iuris*, and to giue them any hearing, but in the presence and by the mediation of the great Vizier. H
Whereupon they applied themselues and returned to their resolution of com[illegible]t: And the Embassadour prosecuting their accusation, after many meetings and disputes, by the interposition of *Halil Bassa* there was an *Amnestia* accepted on both parts, and a peace concluded on the Articles and conditions ensuing. Which were ratified by the proper signature of the grand Seignior *Mustapha*, and reconfirmed by Sultan *Morat*, proclaimed in Tunes and Algier, and recommended by seuerall letters from the Vizier and Captaine Bassa, to the Bassa's, Caddees, * and Councell of both Cities.

* Iudges.

Imperiall Commands sent by the Gra[illegible] Seigniour to the Bassa's of Tunes and Algier, Caddees, Aga of the Ianizaries, Dyes, Captaines, Antients, and other Gouernors. I

OVr high and Imperiall Firmo being come vnto yon; Know, That from the time of our great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father of happy memorie, the Kings of England haue alwayes been firme and constant with all sincerities, in friendship, league, and correspondencie with the Imperiall Port, our glorious Progenitors, and with our Maiestie. And in conformitie of the Imperiall Capitulations, league, and Peace heretofore agreed on betweene both parties, and alwayes vntill now obserued of Vs; Forasmuch as the English Nation, their Merchants and subiects, with their K
merchandise, ships, and goods, are free to come and go, traffique and negotiate safe and secure in all the parts of our Empire; it hauing neuer beene our Imperiall will and permission, that by any of our subiects or slaues they should at any time be troubled, spoyled, or damnified. Which Nation while (vnder the shadow of our iustice and protection) they passe through the seas with their ships and goods for traffique and negotiation, diuers of you my slaues of Algier and Tunes, without consideration or respect of the friendship, peace, and league betweene vs and the said King, whersoeuer you meet with the ships of the said Nation, either at sea, or in any port or hauen, you take the said ships, L
spoyling them of their goods and merchandises, making slaues and killing the men which you find in their ships, a thing not onely vniust, but also contrarie to our Imperiall Capitulations. Wherefore, that for the time to come the said nation should not be so vniustly spoyled and indamaged, there haue been sent to you diuers times our Imperiall and expresse commands: But you shewing your selues arrogant and disobedient (as we vnderstand) do still continue to rob and spoile the said English, contrarie to our said Capitulations, intention and will. The concourse of Merchants and traffique being the nutriment and splendor of Kingdomes; you shall vnderstand, that it is by no meanes our Imperiall will, that the said Nation, now in league and friendship with vs, be any more in like sort, con-
trarie to our capitulation, will, and promise, spoyled and molested. Which iniuries and other wrongs done vnto them, being a great dishonour to our State and Imperiall Maiestie, all you haue not only deseruedly fallen into our displeasure, but also are worthy of all disgrace, shame, and punishment. And to the end hereafter all things may be performed by you according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capi- M
tulations, and that all such as haue committed such insolencies and spo[illegible]es, be apprehended and worthily punished, we haue at this present vnder our Imperiall hand [illegible] and commanded, and haue sent you this our Imperiall Commandement by this bringer our se[illegible]nt Mehemet Aga, *who as soone as he shall be there arriued, we command you that you call together all, great and small, noble and meane, which dwell in the said place of Tunes, and publiquely in the presence of them all, with a loud*
voyce

A *voice you shall reade this our Imperiall commandement. And after that, with the assistance and aid of this our Messenger, you haue deliuered into the hands of the English men, there appointed for the same, without further excuse and delay, all such Englishmen, their goods and merchandises and ships, which haue been taken, contrarie to our Imperiall capitulations, from the said Nation; all those transgressors and malefactors, whosoeuer they be, who haue committed these outrages, and caused such disturbance to the peace, league, and friendship, you shall without any fauour chastise and punish according to their deserts. And afterward ye shall haue care, that the Nation, Merchants*
B *and subiects of England be not so vniustly spoyled, hurt, or molested, contrary to our Imperiall promise and will. Therefore you shall publiquely protest and declare vnto all, That hereafter no man do trouble or molest them, but rather meeting them in any place whatsoeuer by sea or land, to helpe and succour them, obseruing the termes of true peace and friendship, according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations; and that euery one take heed and beware, that he doe, or permit nothing to be done contrarie to our will, peace, and Imperiall Capitulation. And especially you shall looke and procure all things to be obserued, conformable to this our Imperiall will. And if, according to the an-*
tient custome, the King of England will establish there any Consul, we command, that the said Consul, as also the Merchants and other subiects, be accepted, assisted, and protected at all times, according to the intention of our Imperiall Capitulation. And all of you, with all your care, endeauour,
and diligence, shall alwaies prouide that the said Nation may passe free and secure vnder our Imperiall protection and shadow, and traffique and negotiate, buy and sell through all the parts of our dominions, to their content and full satisfaction. And if after the date of this our Imperiall Commandement, we shall vnderstand that the said Nation be againe robbed and spoyled by you; be you hereof
C *assured, that our true slaues and subiects are those which do obey our Lawes and commands, and obserue our will, as also it is written in our Alcoran,* Obey God, the Prophet, and your soueraigne Lord: *But those that do not obey nor obserue our Lawes and commandements, are not our slaues nor subiects, but rather by their disobedience do fall into our displeasure, disgrace, and malediction. For which, our Imperiall commands shall be sent throughout all the parts of our Empire,*
especially to Tunes and Algier, and to all the Ports of Natolia and Grecia, and to what places soeuer else they shall come, to be alwayes driuen from thence, abandoned, and punished, and by all our Officers and gouernors persecuted. Therefore take you heed, that you say not hereafter you were not war-
ned hereof before hand, but giue notice publiquely vnto all men, of the effect of this our command,
D *and look that you cause euery man to be obedient thereunto. By which doing, you shall be blessed of God, and obtaine our fauour: for if the said English nation be againe troubled and molested, and the king of England do send any forces against those transgressors, to chastise and punish them, do you consider, that it shall displease vs, that ye are the cause to disturbe the peace and friendship betweene vs. Therefore take heed and beware of all such actions as may any way tend to the disturbance and violating of our said peace and friendship. And it being our chiefest desire, that this businesse be duly fulfilled and effected when this our Imperiall commandement shall come vnto you, and that you haue per-*
formed our will therein, and shall haue deliuered into the hands of the Englishmen, all such men, ships, and goods as haue been taken from them, you shall aduise vs particularly and punctually there-
of, and in what maner you haue satisfied and contented them, and send the same to our Imperial Port.
E *And all this let be knowne vnto you, giuing alwayes credit and obedience to our Imperiall Firmo.*

Written the last of the Moone *Gemaziel Ahir*, from the departure of the Prophet 1036. Giuen at Our Imperiall Citie of Constantinople.

The great Viziers Letters to the Bassa's of Algier and Tunes.

F

TO the high and honourable Bassa: To whose noble presence sendeth infinite salutations tending vnto all loue: And to the honoured among the Iudges, and Fountaine of wisedome and eloquence, the Caddee of Algier, whose wisedome be encreased: and to the renowned among the great

and honourable men, the Aga of the Ianizaries of Algier, whose dignitie be augmented; and to G
the famous amongst their equals the Dye and Captains of squadrons and companies, and other chief-
taines and antients, whose dignitie be aduanced.

AFter our louing salutations sent vnto you, our aduice is this: Whereas of a long time the Kings of England, with all sinceritie and good correspondencie, haue alwaies beene true, firme, and constant friends to this Imperiall Port and our Emperour, Soueraigne of the whole earth, whose Empire the mercifull God protect vntill the day of Iudgement; and according to the said friendship, league, and Imperiall capitulations agreed on betweene both parties, It was alwaies the minde and intention of our Emperor, That the Nation, Marchants, and subiects of England, might with their ships and merchandises, goe and come, negotiate and traffique, safe and secure through H
Empire, and that they should by no man be troubled, molested, or hindered. Notwithstanding, diuers of the slaues of Algier, without respect or regard of the said friendship and amitie, and contrarie to the Capitulations, minde and will of our Emperour; whersoeuer either at sea, or in any Port they meet with any the said English ships, they rob and spoile them, and take away their goods, and the men they kill and make slaues: which wrongs and grieuous offences, that they might be remedied and amended, diuers times many expresse orders, protests, and other commands haue beene sent to you. But because the said slaues of Algier could not be quieted, but rather do continue to commit the same insolencies (whereof his Maiestie hath beene againe amply enformed) tow[illegible] of their disobedience against the will of his Imperiall Maiestie, and of the losses and wrongs co[illegible]ually done to the said Nation; he hath now vnder his Imperiall hand affirmed and commanded and sent you his Imperiall commande- I
ment, to the end the said malefactors may be apprehended and duly punished: for which end we haue also thought it necessarie to send you this our present letter, which when you shall receiue, it behoueth especially that you vse all your diligence and care, about this particular businesse: and cause that in the publique assemblie and presence of all, great and small, noble and meane, souldiers, Gouernours and others, the said Imperiall command bee read; and that all such persons as haue committed such disobedience and spoiles, be apprehended, and with the assistance and aid of the bringer hereof, and the said commandements, let all such ships, goods, and men, be taken and recouered from them, which they haue taken from the English, and all entirely without any contradiction bee deliuered and giuen into the hands of the Englishmen there appointed to receiue the same; punishing seuerely all such whosoeuer they be, which haue committed such spoiles and robberies, as disturbers of the peace & amitie; K
and yet shall cause, that in time to come no hurt or violence be done to the said English Nation, their goods, ships, or men, by any person whatsoeuer. And if (according to the Imperiall Capitulation and antient custome) the King of England will establish there any Consull, you shall receiue him with all courtesie, and protect him in all occasions. And to conclude, you shall be carefull to fulfill and obserue all such orders as are written in the Imperiall commandement, forasmuch as the will of the Emperour is, That the said Nation may be in peace and quiet estate. And if after the date hereof we shall heare, that the said Nation be againe so damnified and spoiled, your disobedience thereby will euidently appeare, and that all is done with your knowledge and approbation. Wherefore know yee for certaine, that our Emperour will inflict the same punishment vpon you, which is due to such offen- L
dors. Therefore with all your diligence and care you shall prouide, that none be permitted at any time to commit the like spoiles, nor to fauour any such whomsoeuer: but you shall alwaies obserue and fulfill the will and command of his Maiestie, and not suffer any fact to be done by any man, preiudiciall thereunto.

A Letter from the Captaine Bassa to Isuph Dye, in Tunes.

M

TO the esteemed among his equals Isuph Bassa, whose dignitie be euer augmented. After our respective salutations, we let you know, That whereas for many yeares past, vntill this present, the Kings of England haue euer beene sincere friends to this Imperiall Port, diuers of the souldiers and other officers of Tunes and Algier, without regard and respect to the peace and Imperiall Capitulations, meeting either at Sea or in any harbor the English ships, they do take and sp[illegible] them and iniustly

A iustly rob them of all their lading and facultie, imprisoning and killing the subiects and people of the said King of England. Wherefore to the end that hereafter, contrarie to the antient League, Peace, and Imperiall Capitulations, the said English may no more be molested and spoyled, and that such transgressors of the Imperiall will, command, and Capitulation, may by all means be found and duely punished: by this present bearer here is sent an expresse Imperiall command; in conformitie whereof this our letter is written particularly to you. Which arriuing, it is conuenient, and it behoueth you, that you especially vse all your diligence and care, that from henceforth the said English nation may no more, contrarie to the will, minde, and Imperiall Capitulations, bee so vniustly damnified; but that you liue with them in all good peace and friendship; and that all such which B shall transgresse, and commit any act contrarie to the Imperiall will and capitulations, may be punished by Iustice, the which with all your power and diligence you shall attend to fulfill and obserue.

A Letter from the Captaine Bassa, to the Bassa Caddee, and other the Officers of Algier.

TO the great and illustrous Bassa, and to the fountaine of wisedome, my Lord the Caddee; and to the great and courteous Lord the Ianizari-Aga of Algier in Affrica, whose degrees be al-
C waies augmented, and to the esteemed among their equalls, the worthy Dyes and Captaines of the footmen, Leaders of Companies and squadrons, and other gouernors; and to all Commanders of ships, and other the Antients of the Countrey, whose dignitie be alwaies encreased. To whose presence hauing sent infinite salutation, our louing and faithfull aduice is this; Whereas from antient times vntill this day, the Kings of England haue euer remained firme and perfect friends with the Imperiall and high Port, and the will of his Maiestie hath euer beene, that according to the peace, league, friendship, and capitulations long since contracted on both parts, the subiects of England might at all times safely and securely go traffique and negotiate in all parts of the Imperiall dominion; and that no iniurie or molestation should be done vnto them by any person whatsoeuer. In conformitie whereof, while the said Nation vnder the shadow of the Imperiall protection doe passe in the seas in
D their affaires of merchandise and businesse, diuers of the souldiors and other Officers of Algier, without respect or consideration that the said Nation are in league and peace with our Emperor, meeting them in the sea, or in harbour, they do take the said ships, and doe carrie away their goods and merchandise, imprisoning or killing the men found therein. And whereas in times past, that the Imperiall Capitulations might haue bin obeyed and obserued, and the said Nation no more in such manner iniuried and damnified, there haue been diuers expresse Imperiall commands sent vnto you. But now of new, his Maiestie hauing beene fully informed of your disobedience continued against his Imperiall will, and of the iniuries and outrages committed vpon the said Nation; and considering, that commerce and traffike of Merchants are both the nutriment and splendor of kingdomes, and that a nation now in league and peace with the Imperiall Maiestie, should be so vniustly, contrarie to the
E Imperiall Capitulations, wronged and molested, to the great indignitie of the Empire, and dishonour to the fame of his Maiestie. To the end that from henceforth the antient league and peace may be truly obserued, and the Imperiall Capitulations duely obeyed, and that all such transgressors and malefactors may be speedily taken and seuerely punished, his Maiestie hath now vnder his Imperiall hand affirmed and commanded, with which we also send you our present letter: Which arriuing, we do hope that all you will be obedient, and euer obserue the tenour of the said Imperiall Commands: and that all such that shall hereafter transgresse the will, command, and Imperiall Capitulations of his Maiestie, and shall commit any act contrary thereto, be duely punished according to Iustice. And that you will take care to liue quietly and in peace, and with all your diligence that you follow and obey the will of his Maiestie.

offendour; if not, he shall then certifie the cause to his Maiestie of England, or elseto his Embassadour resident in our happie Port, to the end that the disturbers of the publike peace, may be duely punished. In conformitie whereof, if for the time to come any of theinhabitants of Algier and Tunes shall haue committed any action contrarie to the Imperiall capitulations, by continuing to trouble or quarrell with the said English Nation, the said Consull shall make certificate and complaint to the Beglerbegh and Commanders of the armie, who shall alwayes seuerely punish all such malefactors, to the end that those of Algier may be carefull, neuer to do any act preiudiciall to this Peace and amitie.

III. All those English slaues which shall be found now in Algier shall be set free, who with a note or list of their names shall be deliuered to the said Consul at his arriuall, in exchange whereof there shall be another list giuen vnto the said Consul, of the names of diuers Mussulmen taken not long since by their English ships and made slaues: which list the said Consul shall send to his Maiestie of England to procure their libertie; and in this particular, of either side there shall be vsed no fraud or deceit.

IIII. For the time to come, all the Merchants and other English which shall arriue at Algier or Tunes, shall be receiued, cherished, and protected from all wrong and iniury; and as in all other parts of the Empire they doe safely and securely traffique and trade, so also they shall peaceably, quietly, and safely go, come, and negotiate in these cities, without any molestation, and alway they shall liue according to the antient Capitulations.

V. That the ships of Algier and Tunes, small and great, meeting with any English ships vpon the sea, or in any port, or seale, or otherwhere, shall alway salute one another; and the English shewing their Colours, that they are English and friends, there shall be no disturbance or quarrell betweene them, but all mutuall courtesie shall be shewed; and they shall do one to the other all such offices of friendship as may encrease and fortifie this good amity and correspondence: and there shall neuer be done any wrong or outrage one to the other; prouided that the English Shippes shall not take part nor assist the enemies of the Imperial Port, nor transport in their vessels the armes or faculties of our foes, nor protect nor defend them. And if it shall happen after this conclusion, that it shall be found that any English Ship shall so carry or protect the goods of our enemies, they shall stand to their perill and receiue punishment; and yet this our accord and peace shall remaine safe and vnbroken vntill the day of Iudgement: And thus alwayes with vs, with all care and respect the antient and Imperiall Capitulations and commands shall be reuerenced and obeyed.

Which Commissioners, (to say) the two Mufties, Cadeas, and other diuers mentioned in our presence made answer, That, We allow to name and beleeue of our day of Algier, and as the generall Procurators thereof, are content, and do accept of this accord and agreement, and we doe sweare and promise to obserue the same: and that for the time to come, on our parts, nor on the behalfe of our successors and posterie, there shall nought any wise be committed nor suffered in preiudice or disturbance of this Peace and accord. All which foresaid Commissioners hauing before professed promise and sworne; the said English Embassador did also say, That he, in the name of his Lord and King, and as his full Procurator, do accept and receiue these Capitulations, and do promise, That the Subiects of his Maiestie my Lord and Master, shall alway maintaine with the Subiects of his Imperiall Maiestie,

A stie, peace, acording to the antient Capitulations; and that neuer on our parts shall be done any act of wrong, iniurie, or hostilitie: and at all times, when of either side there shal arise any controuersie, or be done any iniustice, that this peace shall not therefore be broken, but that the malefactours shall be sought out and duely punished.

Which declaration made on both parts, it was by vs registred and published, and this our present assurance and writing giuen the first of the moneth Gemaziel, *in the yeare of* Mahomet, 1032, *being the middle of March*, 1622.

B

The Captaine Bassaes Letter to his Maiestie of Great Britaine, concerning the Peace with Tunes and Algier.

C TO the mightie and renowned Prince, chiefe among the Maiesties of the Princes of the Faith of Iesus: obeyed of the greatest Potentates, followers of Messiah; onely Director of the important affaires of the Nazeren Nation: Lord of the limits of Honour and Power; Protector of greatnesse and authoritie; sincere friend to our most high and dreadfull Emperour: The most glorious IAMES, King of England, whose euerie affaires God accomplish with all felicitie; to whose last dayes we prophesie happinesse and prosperitie, that the Diuine fauour may be propitious in all his wayes. To whose Royall presence when with due respect and honor, Our humble salutations and wishes of pure health, and this our Letter full of sincere loue, shall be presented to the benigne and magnificent mind of your most excellent Maiestie, with al reuerence we giue you to vnderstand:

D THat on your Royall Letter not long since arriuing at this happie Port, the sincere and friendly tenour whereof was to this purpose, That your Maiestie had now for many yeres maintained peace and friendship with the *Ottoman* Empire, and from the daies of Sultan *Morat Han*, of famous memorie, with whom the league and correspondence between your kingdomes was first mutually contracted, vntill this time on your Maiesties part there hath beene no defailance, nor act committed in prejudice or disturbance of the said friendship. Notwithstanding for some yeares past, that many your Maiesties subiects haue receiued great dammages and spoiles by the inhabitants of Tunes and Algier, the slaues of the Imperiall Maiestie of my Emperour. Your Maiestie therefore desiring, that conformably to the league and amitie, the said Imperiall Maiestie should punish those people, and for the time to come prohibit such courses: your Maiestie further signifying your constant resolution to continue in peace
E and correspondence with his Imperiall Maiestie my Master. His Imperiall Maiestie with his owne proper hand and Seale, did instantly ordaine and command, That those of Tunes and Algier should answer; and for the future, should desist from all the like depredations, contrarie to the peace and friendly Capitulations: which said order and Imperiall command, was with all expedition dispeeded, with diuers other our vehement letters, by one of our Capigi Bassaes, named *Mahomet Aga*; who arriuing at those Ports, the officers, souldiers, and other Mussulmen of both cities being assembled, and the said Imperial Orders & Commands publiquely read, with one consent they answered, *It is verie true, wee are slaues and faithfull subiects of the Emperour, and alwaies with our heads bowed to the ground, obedient to his lawes and commandements, and from vs shall neuer proceed any act contrarie to the will of his Imperiall Ma-*
F *iestie. And although the originall cause of these differences, and disturbance of the antient peace, both begun from the English and they, and not we, made the first breaches: notwithstanding we will goe to the feet of our Emperour, and informe him of our owne state and cause, and then let his Imperiall Maiestie doe what he shall please; for we will euer be obedient and obseruant to his Imperial will and command.* To which purpose they haue amongst themselues, chosen certaine Commissioners

sioners and Procurators whose names are these. The elect and wise Lord the sole Mufti of G
that Kingdome, called the Lord *Seich Seidi*, and the Lord *Seich Salmi* Mufti of the citie, and
the two Iudges of the countrey, two that haue beene Gouernours of the citie, two Colonels
of the armie, two Captaines of foot, and two of the Antients of their Diuan, or Councel-hall,
with some other assistants, persons discreet and worthie of such imploiment, whom they haue
sent with their petition to this Imperiall Port; whose arriuall being made knowne vnto his
Imperiall Maiestie, with the differences and contracts, which for some few yeres haue hapned
between the subiects of your Maiestie & them. His Imperiall Maiestie my Lord, did instantly
& expressely command, That for the time to come between those of Tunes & Algier and the
English Nation, there should not be nor remaine, any further quarrell or dispute, nor word or
act iniurious, one to the other; but that according to the antient peace and friendship long H
since contracted on both parts, all tearmes of friendship should be establ[illegible]d and obserued
betweene them: giuing expresse commission by mee his absolute minister the grand Vizier,
That the reasons and pretences on both parts should bee heard before vs, and there decided
and concluded, and their differences conuented into a good and holy peace and amitie. In
obedience to which order, wee hauing called before vs all the said Procurators of Algier in
presence of the famous, & prudent, the illustrious Embassador Sir *Thomas Roe*, resident in this
happie Port, of whom hauing demanded for what cause they had done spoiles and wrongs to
the English Nation; they gaue answer, That antiently betweene the English and vs, there
was held a strict peace, friendship, and commerce; and that our ships and theirs meeting in the
seas, did shew one to the other kindnesse and amitie; and that neither from their parts nor I
ours, was any offence, so that this loue among vs did daily encrease and augment; That the
English Nation did maintaine a Consul in Algier, a man of qualitie and credit: and whilest we
day and night did studie to aduance the said friendship between vs, an English ship in the Port
of Alexandria, did take in diuers our Pilgrimes, and other our Musselmen passengers, with
promise to transport them to Algier, of whome some they after set on shoare vpon a desart
Island, where they perished with cold and hunger; and the rest being the greater part, they car-
ried and sold to Malta; which pilgrimes Mahometanes being borne in Algier, their parents
and kindred made often and earnest exclamations in our publique Councell. After this, ano-
ther English ship being come to our Port of Algier, and anchored certaine daies, according to
custome, the English Consull going aboord with one of our captaines of foot to make search, K
they threw ouer and drowned our officer, the Consull making escape with the ship, who pre-
sently departing for another of our Ports called Bigia, our people there esteeming and tru-
sting the English, as our friends, vnder colour thereof, hauing enticed aboord the Captaine
of the castle and two of his sonnes with diuers other Musselmen, they carried them away by
force, and sold them in the State of the Duke of Florence: another of their ships being arriued
at Algier, hauing taken in diuers Musselmen passengers to transport them to Tituan, they car-
ried them and sold them in Spaine. Since, the said English being vnited with the King of Spain
our capitall enemie, with their ships haue often made warre vpon vs, and shot with their ordi-
nance into the castle of Algier, and attempted to burne our fleet in our Port (though therein
failing) which alliance with our enemies and act of hostility, hath made a iust breach of peace
and friendship betweene vs: now there being in being a league and Capitulation betweene the L
Maiestie of England and our Emperor, by what reason should the said Nation load their ships
with the goods, faculties, and persons of our enemies the Spaniards, colouring them as their
owne, and transporting them often into the Imperiall Dominions, and meeting with our ships
they hide and denie such goods and men, protecting, assisting, and aiding against vs those our
mortall foes, affronting and outraging vs many and many waies: for which cause we also haue
beene inforced to reuenge our selues, and these differences betweene vs haue succeeded. But
if the English Nation had remained constant with vs in peace and commerce, according to the
Capitulations betweene ours and their Lord, certainely we had neuer done, or suffered to be
done any act or violence contrarie to the league and peace; as also for the time to come, there M
shall no disobedience staine vs against the commands and pleasure of our Lord and Emperor.
The Embassadour of your Maiestie hauing heard this co[illegible]int, replied, *That neuer on the behalfe or with the consent of the King my Master, can there bee prooued any act contrarie or preiudiciall to the antient Peace and League, betweene his Maiestie and this Port, much lesse can*

A *can be said, that any Englishman or subiect of my king, as in obedience, hath done any of these things wherewith you calumniate vs: But if any fugitiue Rebell or Pirat, vnder the Colours and name of an Englishman, whom you haue nourished and receiued into your Port, haue committed any such facts, we cannot preuent it, you haue beene in the faults. And doubtlesse the King my Master, if vpon any complaint he had knowne who were the offendors, and that they had returned into England, he would haue seuerely punished such faith-breakers, as in his iustice he hath often done to pyrats. But you and all your Citie of Algier, how often, and how infinite damages, spoyles, and iniuries haue you vniustly done and vsed towards the subiects of the King my master? which you can neither deny nor defend.* Which your Embassador hauing with many reasons answered them,
B and particularly shewed the great iniuries done by them; we considering, that if wee should suffer both parts to reply to euery particular, it would draw the businesse to length of dispute, and perhaps stirre vp so much eagernesse, as it would be more difficult to accommodate and appease the sharpenesse and differences between them; we did thus interpose, What is done, is done: Now the command and expresse will of our Emperour to you of Algier, is, and in the name of our Emperour I commaund you, That there be no more remembrance of the enmitie past, but that between you and the English nation peace and friendship may be renewed and established, conformable to the antient league and amitie continued to this day betweene our Emperour and his Maiestie of England, and that in the time to come you shew your selues obedient and obseruant thereunto. Which resolution being published, they answered, That they were readie to obey, and to conforme themselues to the will and com-
C mand of their Lord. And so we haue from this time forward re-integrated and established a Peace and League with the English nation, and do promise to maintain and obserue it friendly on these following Conditions: That we do promise to set free all the English slaues which shall be found in our territorie of Algier; so that the English wil procure the libertie of those Mussulmen slaues taken by their ships: and that a man discreet, wise, and of good qualitie, may be sent to reside Consull in our city, to whom wee promise all faire reception, honour, and courtesie; and that in any occasion, from the part of the English any indignity or insolencie shall be offered, that the said Consul shall resist and hinder it, to auoid scandall, and shall aduise his Maiestie of England, or his Embassadour residing in the Imperiall Port, and procure by all iust meanes, that such malefactors shall be duely punished. And if in any oc-
D casion, on our parts any offence or act of insolence shall be committed, the said Consul shall make it knowne, and demand Iustice; we do promise seuerely to punish such transgressors and delinquents; and for euer we will obserue with all dutie, according to the command of our Emperour, this peace and amitie. To which Consul and Nation there shall neuer be done any outrage or wrong, but rather with all courtesie and honour (as it becomes vs that all strangers should be protected) they shall be receiued, cherished, and esteemed, and there shall neuer to them, nor to any of their goods and faculties, by any way, by any violence, iniustice or iniurie offered. And that our ships encountring with any of theirs in the sea, they shall salute the one the other, and shall shew all manner of courtesie and loue; and the English shewing their Colors that they are English, they shall do one to the other all friendly and accepta-
E ble offices. And we do promise on our behalfes, that there shall neuer be done any act contrarie and preiudicial to this Peace and Faith giuen. Further, we on our owne part, and in the name of all the Souldierie and other Mussulmen of Algier (whom God prosper) and in our owne name, as their principall Commissioners, do sweare and promise, and do accept of these Articles, agreements, and contracts of friendship, and that our posteritie shall also accept thereof, and that vntill the day of generall Iudgement it shall be thus faithfully obserued: That both the people and subiects on both sides shall be free and secure one with the other; and that the English Merchants and their Ships, at their owne pleasure may trauell in all parts; and as they safely and securely go and come into euerie port or dominion of the Mussulman Empire, so they shall now in all friendship come hither, and friendly and peace-
F ably be welcome. This their promise and protestation wee haue caused to be written and published. Which your Maiesties Embassrdour accepting, and resting therewith contented, did promise in your Maiesties name for the time to come, That your subiects should obserue the peace, and conforme themselues to the antient Imperiall Capitulations, Articles, and termes of Amitie, maintained till this day betweene your Maiestie and our Emperour. Who

hath of vs desired that the said articles should bee registred, and that wee should aduise the whole proceedings to your Maiestie. For which cause we haue written this our most respect- G full letter, to giue you knowledge that this businesse (by the fauour of the propitious God) is concluded with all circumstances, such as were requisite to the antient friendship and faith, continued betweene your Maiestie and our Emperour. Therefore being confident in your sincerities, we hope and pray your Maiestie to be contented with the conclusion, and that by your Order you will cause it to be published throughout all your cities, ports, and harbours, and to euerie one of your Kingdome; that after the date of this our letter it may be knowne to all men, that this peace is renewed and ratified in behalfe of those of Algier & Tunes in the same forme, as with all other the subiects and slaues of our Emperour; to say, That from hence- forth there shall neuer be offered to the Merchants or subiects of your M[illegible]ie, either by H that people or by any other Mussulman any the least trouble or iniurie: and [illegible] hope is such, that this conclusion and confirmation of peace, shall continue and abide firme for many and many yeares without any breach. In correspondence whereof, there is giuen order and expresse Imperiall command, That all our subiects shall for euer hereafter respect and honor the friendship and amitie betweene your Maiestie and our Emperour. And thus much wee haue thought good to signifie to your Maiesty: To whom from the omnipotent God, we do augure and wish all true felicitie, both present and future, both in this and the other World.

The least and humble seruant,
Generall of the Sea, Halil. I

March the fifteenth, 1622. Gemaziell- euell. *the middle* Mahomet, 1032.

The Captaine Bassaes Letter to the Bassa Aga of the Ianizaries, Collonels, Captaines, and others of Tunes, concerning the Peace.

TO *the illustrious, and magnificent the Lord Bassa, and to the esteemed among his equals* K *the Ianizar-Aga of Tunes, and to all the illustrious Collonels of the Armie, Captains of Squadrons, and Antients of the Militia, and to all the souldiers of Tunes, our beloued sonnes; To whose presence hauing sent infinite and sincere salutations, our faithfull aduice is this: Not long since his Maiestie the King of England, our most honoured friend, hauing on purpose sent his Embassadour with his Royall Letter to the most potent Emperour, giuing notice thereby of his constancie past, and firme resolution in time to come, to maintain the peace and league with this Imperiall Port, did therewithall complaine, That for some yeares since, betweene the souldierie of Tunes and Algier and the subiects and Merchants of England, there haue happened many losses and discontents, requiring therefore that his Maiestie, our* L *Emperour, should giue remedie to such inconueniences. His Imperiall Maiestie instantly with his owne gracious Affirmo did commaund and order, and gaue diuers his Imperiall commands, which were sent vnto you by our Capigi Bassa, Mehemet Aga; which being publiquely read, you all vnitely gaue answer, That you were readie and disposed to obey and obserue the will and command of our Lord, and that you would neuer hereafter vse, or shew any enmitie, or make any quarrell with the said English Nation; yet notwithstanding, since, you haue sent two of your citie in companie with those sent from Algier with order to attend our aduise and resolution. For which your promptnesse and obedience shewed, we pray Al-* M *mightie God alwaies to keepe you in his protection, and [illegible]ue you honour and victorie; and his Imperiall Maiestie doth blesse you, as we also doe, [illegible]d you our benediction. Therefore now my beloued sonnes, know yee, That this businesse by the order of his Maiestie was by*

A *by vs treated and concluded; and the absolute will and command of our Emperour, is, That as well you of Tunes, as those of Algier, all whosoeuer for the time to come shall liue in quiet with the English Nation, and shall keepe with them a sincere peace and amitie, and their ships either comming to any Port of our Dominion, or going to any other Port, their merchants, faculties, and goods, shall passe quietly without any molestation, dammage, or iniu-[illegible]ne by you; and that you for euer keepe with them a true peace and correspondencie, it* B *being a matter so cleere, that your are many waies obliged to obey the will and order of your Lord, especially seeing it is not onely the will and pleasure of his Maiestie, but of the whole Empire, Gouernors and Ministers with vs. It therefore behoueth you hereafter to liue in peace and friendship with the said English Nation, as you haue done in times past, and so to proceed in all occasions with them, that neither from you nor them there may be giuen any the least cause of distaste. But rather that you vse all courtesie towards them, and to all their ships which shall come vnto the* Ottoman *Empire. Further, what English Slaues soeuer are found in your Iurisdiction, you shall giue them libertie, and deale with them in such manner in all things, as there may be no more occasion to write you new Commands.*
Moreouer, we vnderstand, that since the receit of the mentioned Imperiall Letters and C *Commands, and after you had promised obedience, and made an Order, That from that time you would not do any act contrary thereunto; notwithstanding, our Captain* Sampson, *not far from Modon meeting with an English ship, did take and make her prize: But our Capigi Bassa* Mahomet Aga *returning that way, caused him to restore the said ship: but the said* Sampson *tooke seuen or eight English men, and carried them away, with promise to set them free at Tunes. Which action after the peace was concluded (or whether afore or after) at the arriuall of this our letter, you shall restore to libertie all the said English men. And further know yee, that I haue written my Letter to his Maiestie the King of England, aduising him of the Accord, Articles, and conclusion of amitie made and confirmed by* D *vs, and haue giuen his Maiestie our assurance for you, of a sincere peace and friendship. Therefore, my Sonnes, take heed to the obseruation of this Conclusion and Accord made, that it may abide constant and inuiolate. And so wee rest praying.*

Generall of the Sea, *Halil.*
Gemaziel euel. Mah. 1032. *March*, 1622.

E

The Captaine Bassa's Letter to the Dye of Tunes, in behalfe of the Peace, &c.

TO *the Magnificent, famous, renowned, and esteemed* Iusph Dye, *whose honour the Lord* [illegible] *creasc. Hauing sent you infinite salutations, you shall know, That by the fauour of God we are in health, and that we hope not to be forgotten in your prayers. Not long since we hauing sent vnto you our beloued* Mahomet Aga *our Capigi Bassa, with diuers Imperiall and expresse Commands, in the which it was ordered, That for the time to come you should remain* [illegible] *with the* F *English Nation in peace and amitie; it hath beene made known* [illegible] *you haue obeyed and accepted the said Imperiall commands, and haue concluded, established, and confirmed a peace and League with the said Nation: for which your readinesse and affection, and loyall proceeding* [illegible] *strated in this affaire, and in all other occasions, the Lord the* [illegible] *this happie Port, hath oftentimes before vs declared the great* [illegible]

in that our sincere dealing: and it being that we haue confirmed and renued the said G
Peace and amitie, and rest out all the past [illegible] and the said English
nation; we haue thought fit to write you this our present [illegible] And our will is in you, that for the
time to come you will take order, that the our Conclusion and accord shall be duely maintained and
obserued, and that from you and none of yours shall euer be done any wrong or violence whatsoeuer
vnto the said English Nation, their Merchants, ships, or faculties, but that for euer you will rest
and keepe with them a good and firme peace and friendship; and to this end we are especially re-
commend to your care, That to the English there may neuer be done iniurie nor iniustice. We haue
beene further aduised that since the arriuall of the said Imperiall commands, you hauing concluded
and promised peace, one Captaine Sampson neere Modon, hath taken an English ship, & carried a-
way some of the English prisoners. Therefore we aduise you, that without delay or excuse you H
cause them to be set at liberty, and that for the time to come, you take care to honor protect and de-
fend the said Nation in your liberties. Not other occurring, we rest,

Generall of the Sea. *Badi.*

Gemaziell-euel Mahomet, 1032. *March* 1622.

The Captaine Bassaes Letter to the Bassa of Algier, to the Ianizar-Aga, and the chiefe of the Armie. I

To the magnificent and illustrious Lord the Bassa, to whose noble presence infinite salutations, and to the renowned and famous among his equals the Ianizar-Aga of Algier, to the Collonels of foot, Captaines of squadrons, and Antients of the Armie; and in generall to all the well deser-uing our companions, and other souldiers, whose prosperitie we wish. After our salutations we giue you to vnderstand, That whereas the King of England, hath of long time beene a sincere obseruer of the peace and amitie with this Imperiall Port, and that of late yeres betweene the souldierie of Algier and Tunes and his subiects, there haue happened many dessentions, troubles, and losses, his Maiestie of England hath sent his Embassadour with his Royall Letter to this Imperiall Port, complaining of K
the depredations, iniuries, and spoyles, done to his people by you the souldiers of Algier; and hath desi-red that his highnes our Emperor, should command, that you should desist to commit the like outra-ges, that the peace might be renued and confirmed a on both parts: In conformitie wherof, his Imperial Maiestie our Lord, with his owne Royall Signature hath giuen diuers Imperiall commands, which not long since were sent vnto you by the esteemed Capigi Bassi Mahomet Aga, *which order being read in the publique councell, and the will and pleasure of our emperor fully conceiued, you haue seemed to shew all obedience and reuerence to the Imperiall commands, but withall haue answered, That we hauing receiued and suffered many and great losses and wrongs from the English Nation, doe desire to in-forme his Imperiall Maiestie of euery particular, which being heard in all dutie we will conforme* L
our selues to his good pleasure and command. For which end, you haue among your selues elected the wise and esteemed lord the prouincial Mufti named Seich Seidi, *and the prudent the Mufti of your Citie,* Seich Salim, *and the two Caddees Iudges of the Court, and two lately Gouernours among you; two Collonels of foot, two Captaines of squadrons, and two, of the Antients of your armie, assisted with other persons graue and discreet; whom together with the said* Mahomet *you haue sent to this high Port, whose arriuall being made knowne vnto his Maiestie our Emperour, and relation made how by the assistance of God, after a combate of three daies, you haue taken from the enemies of our Law, a ship of seuen deckes, in greatnesse like vnto a mountaine; in which vessell you haue found two Gentlemen, young and worthie to serue in this Imperiall Court, whom you haue presented hi-ther: and that day and night with all your industrie you doe indeauour the honour and exaltation* M
of the Imperiall Maiestie; the said Mussulmen your brethren by you deputed, haue beene receiued with honour to haue touched with their eyes the euer victorious [illegible]rop of his Imperiall Maiestie: in regard whereof, his Highnesse (whom God alwaies prosper) hath sent you his benediction, and wee also doe pray, that in this and in the next World, you be full of honour, and that our Prophet may grant you glorie, and victorie ouer all the enemies of our faith; and be assured, That in the light and darknesse,

A *darknesse, we will not cease to beseech the diuine Maiestie, to exalt the glory of our Mussulman law, and to giue it triumph and encrease. Which ceremonies passed, the differences also betweene you and the English Nation, haue been certified to his Imperiall Maiestie; who, together with his abso-lute Minister, the grand Vizier, haue commanded vs, and ordained that this cause should before vs be discussed, and by vs compounded and decided. To which end we haue desired the presence of the Embassador of England, resident in this happy Port, and called before vs the aboue mentioned Muf-ties, and the others your Procurators: of whom we hauing first demanded (his Maiestie of England being in peace and amitie with this happy Port) what hath beene the cause of so many iniuries and wrongs done from you; they answered, That,* Whereas for some yeares since wee haue liued in
B good friendship with the English nation, and their Merchants did come and trassique freely in our Ports, and from vs they neuer receiued the least wrong, an English Ship in Alexandria did take in diuers Mussulmen Pilgrims, deceiuing them with faire promises to transport them to Algier; of whom some they landed vpon a desart Island, where they perished with cold and hunger, and the rest they carried and sold in Malta, and in other places. After this, ano-ther of their Ships riding in the Port at Algier, and we sending aboord one of the Captaines of our Bands, in companie of the English Consul, to make search according to vsance, they threw the officer ouer boord (the Consul making escape:) and setting saile for another of our Ports called Bigia, did take prisoner the Captaine of the castle, two of his sonnes, and diuers other Mussulmen, and made them slaues, and after sold them to the Spaniards or Florentines.
C Since againe a third English Ship anchoring in our Port, tooke aboord diuers our passengers to transport them to Tituan, whom they betrayed and sold in our enemies countries. In sum, we perceiuing the English had broken the peace with vs many wayes, and that dayly we suf-fered many losses and iniuries by them, and that they apprehended all opportunitie to do da-mage to the Mussulman Empire, declaring themselues our foes, and hauing recalled their com-merce and Consul from vs, we were enforced to maintaine the honour of the Mussulman law, and to reuenge our selues. *Hauing heard this their answer, we then demanded of the Embassador,* My Lord, seeing his Maiestie of England hath euer been a friend of this Empire, how comes it to passe that the English subiects haue done so many spoyles and wrongs to the inhabitants of Algier, the slaues of our Emperour. *Who replied;* Our intent and purpose with the Impe-riall Port hath neuer been otherwise than peace and commerce; but the great iniuries, rob-
D beries, and murthers committed by you of Algier, vpon the subiects, merchants, and fisher-men of the King my master, are both innumerable and insupportable: How many and many of our ships haue you vniustly betrayed? how many of our nation haue you vpon aduantage killed and inchained? For these calumnies which you haue mentioned, That we by deceit haue taken your Pilgrims and sold them; you shall know, that all those that take the English Colours are not English men, but mingled of all nations; nor were they subiects of my king, but theeues and villaines, fugitiue people, nourished vp by you, which vnder the Crosse of England, for credit perhaps, haue done such iniuries, certainely without the consent and knowledge of vs: and if they had returned, and had beene accused, the iustice of his Ma-iestie would haue seuerely punished them. Mention not therefore Pirats, but name mee
E one man a Merchant, or subiect dwelling in his Maiesties obedience, that hath done you any wrong. But you your selues with your owne ships now riding in your Port, what thefts and spoyles haue you not committed vpon our barques, goods, and men, wheresoeuer you haue met them? How can you answer this? *Your Commissioners replied;* Your ships and vessels dayly lade the goods and faculties of the Spaniards, enemies of vs and our Law; protecting and defending both them and their lading from vs: which is sufficient cause for vs to make prize of those that assist our aduersaries. *But we seeing this discourse to grow into heate and length, did interpose;* The will and absolute command of our Emperour is, That whatsoeuer is past shall be forgotten, and that peace and friendship shall be renewed and established.
F *And so we giue you to vnderstand by this our present letter, That we haue concluded the Peace and amitie in this forme: To say, That from henceforward, conformable to the times past, the friendship and commerce betweene the English nation and you of Algier and Tunes shall be renewed, and that neuer from you of those ports, shall be done any violence or wrong to the English nation: And as at this present the English, their Merchants, and others, do safely and securely go and come through all the parts of this Mussulman Empire, in like manner they shall come and go into all the territorie*

of

of Algier and Tunes, without any moleſtation, oppreſſion, or violence whatſoeuer: And that for the time to come, the Engliſh Nation may ſend a Conſul to Algier, a perſon diſcreet, prudent, and of eſteeme, whom you ſhall receiue with all courteſie; and that happening any action contrary or preiudiciall to this Peace, you ſhall aduiſe the ſaid Conſul, who ſhall doe his endeauour to preuent all offence, or at leaſt ſhall certifie his Maieſtie of England, or his Embaſſadour reſident at this happy Port; to the end that in all occaſions future miſchiefes may be auoided. To which Conſull you ſhall conſigne all the ſlaues of the Engliſh Nation, which ſhall be found in Algier and Tunes, with a liſt of their names: And likewiſe you ſhall make a liſt of the names of all the Muſſulmen ſlaues taken by the Engliſh ſhips, and ſhall giue the ſame vnto the Conſull, who ſhall ſend it to his Maieſtie of England, that he may procure their libertie. And for the time to come, the ſhips of both ſides great and ſmall, meeting in the ſeas, ſhall ſalute one the other; and the Engliſh ſhewing the Colours of Engliſh men, and making the ſigne of friendſhip, you ſhall ſhew mutually all courteſie, and performe all good offices which may encreaſe this good Peace and correſpondence, without offering any the leaſt iniurie one to the other: And that hereafter there ſhall neuer be any thing done contrarie to the Imperiall Capitulations; but that you ſhall on your parts day and night endeauour the augmentation of this good friendſhip. And the Engliſh ſhips ſhall not lade the armes and faculties of our enemies, nor in the time to come defend nor protect them. And if any ſhall do the contrary, ſuch perſons ſhall be out of protection, and ſubiect to puniſhment, without preiudice of this Peace and friendſhip, which ſhall abide firme and ſtable. And if any quarrell ſhall happen contrarie to this agreement made, that in like manner the peace ſhall not be broken, but the authors of ſuch diſturbance ſhall be duely puniſhed: And if ſuch offence or iniurie ſhall proceed from any of the ſubiects of Algier, that you the officers ſhall immediately giue ſeuere puniſhment: And if the offence ſhall be committed by any of the ſubiects of England, it ſhall preſently be certified to the Engliſh Conſul, that he may do or procure the like iuſtice. And that after the regiſtring of this renouation and confirmation of treatie, there ſhall be a man ſent to his Maieſtie of England with our letters, to the end that his Maieſtie may command and publiſh through all the ports and harbours of his Kingdomes, That this Peace is firmely publiſhed and aſſured; That as both his Merchants and all other paſſengers for the time to come may ſafely and freely traffique and trauell throughout all the ports of the Muſſulman territorie; ſo they may come and go at their pleaſure to the Ports of Algier and Tunes, and in their way they ſhall neuer be moleſted or troubled. And being now that we haue concluded this buſineſſe vpon theſe conditions and Articles, which are accepted, and promiſed to be obſerued on both parts; it ſeemed neceſſarie to vs, and we haue written and aduiſed you of all circumſtances by this our preſent and friendly letter; to the end you, the Beglerbegh, Ianizari-Aga, and all the Colonels, Captaines, and Antients of the Armie, our beloued Sonnes, might know that this affaire hath beene diſtinctly made knowne to his Maieſtie our Emperour: As alſo, that when Bachi Baſſa was at Algier, diuers Engliſh Ships with ſome Spaniards came before your port, and attempted to burne your Fleet. Of this and of euery particular his Maieſty hath bin fully informed: But now ſeeing the Engliſh hath ſhewed all promptneſſe on their part to maintaine with you the like peace and amitie as they do with all the ſubiects of the Muſſulman Empire; it behoooueth that you cancell all that is paſt, and according as his Maieſtie our Emperour hath expreſſely commanded, That the generall Peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed and confirmed according to the antient cuſtome betweene you and the Engliſh Nation; I ſay, my deere ſonnes, and you are bound, conformable to the will and pleaſure of our Lord, to vſe all courteſie and kindneſſe to the ſaid Engliſh, and neuer to offer any the leaſt wrong to their Ships or Merchants, but to obſerue firmely this Peace and amitie, that it may neuer be diſturbed or broken. And ſeeing it is knowne to all, that the Engliſh Nation is ſincere friend to this Imperiall Port, it is your dutie, and reaſon requireth, that all the Slaues and ſubiects of this Empire ſhould be their friends. Inſomuch that this our Letter arriuing, take you heed that you ſhew no contrarietie or backwardneſſe, but according to the tenour written, that youreſt in quiet, and vſe all your diligence and care to preuent euery occaſion and action inconuenient and preiudiciall. And let it be knowne vnto you of certaintie, That it is the will of the Emperour and of vs: and we do deſire, that hereafter there may be no contraſt or diſcord with the Engliſh Nation, but that you alway obſerue according to this our Treatie now written to you, and that you giue no more occaſion to write you new Commands. Therefore receiue our benediction; that is, The iuſt and great God keepe you in the Imperiall protection, and grant you victorie ouer all our enemies, and giue you conſtancie and ſinceritie towards our friends; of which, ſeeing the Engliſh Nation hath alway made demonſtration, certainly it is inconuenient to repay them with iniuſtice,

iuſtice. Briefely, we recommend vnto you, That you vſe all diligence and endeauour, not to tranſgreſſe this Order: for we hauing made promiſe for you, ſhall receiue great ſhame and diſhonour; And hauing been both mediator and concluder of this buſineſſe, it behoooueth you to obey and obſerue, according to the true and ſincere Tenour.

Generall of the Sea, *Halil.*

Gemaziel-euell. Mah. 1032. *March*, 1622.

The Engliſh Embaſſadours Letter to the Dye of Tunes.

TO the renowned and famous Iſuph Dye, Captaine Generall of all the ſouldiers of Tunes, health and friendly ſalutations. We haue found by good experience, that the honour and fame we haue heard reported of you, hath beene grounded vpon your merits and worthineſſe; and wee are hereof extreamely gled, that a buſineſſe of ſo great conſequence as the Peace betweene mighty Princes, is committed to a ſouldier, a man that regards his honour and word. Which vertues we hauing experienced in you, we cannot chuſe but acknowledge; and do promiſe, that both here, and in all parts of the world we will publiſh your name and renowne, as worthy of true honour. Firſt, wee giue you thankes for the courteſie ſhewed to a young man ſent by vs with the Imperiall commands; and for the friendſhip you ſhewed to our Nation, in giuing libertie to ſome poore men, which his Maieſtie my Maſter doth take in good part, and as a ſigne of your loue. We alſo acknowledge your readineſſe to procure the ſealing of the Peace, made here at the Imperiall Port. But withall we deſire you not to ſeeke a quarrell by pretending to ſearch our Ships: You are a Souldier, and know the termes of honour; you know alſo that our Nation are ſouldiers, and valiant men, who will not be ſubiect to any ſuch diſgrace. This point hath largely beene diſputed at the Port, and reaſon on both ſides vrged; wherein it is made manifeſt, that the Captaine of the ſea of this Empire challengeth no ſuch priuiledge, nor can we ſuffer ſo great indignitie. If therefore you intend to keepe peace with vs (of which we doubt not) we deſire you in all friendly manner to accept of the ſame Articles which are agreed with the Commiſſioners of Algier, ſigned by your friend the moſt noble Halil Baſſa, Generall of the ſea, and ſent as ſecuritie for you to his Royall Maieſtie my Maſter; the Copies of all which we haue ſent you: deſiring you to confirme them, and to conſigne them to William Cooke our Deputie Conſul, vntill we haue further aduice out of England; from whence we doe promiſe you to ſend graue and diſcreet men to liue among you, and to bring you the trade and commodities of our Countrey, whereby you and your citie ſhall haue more profit than by a warre with vs. We therefore truſt and hope in your worth, that you will cauſe this Peace to be publiſhed, which is made by generall conſent of the grand Seigniour and all his Miniſters; and that there may be no occaſion giuen by your Souldiers to ſeeke a quarrell with vs, which in the end will cauſe an vtter breach betweene his Maieſtie my Lord, and this Imperiall Port; which you in your wiſedome will auoid: and be aſſured, that on our parts all ſinceritie ſhall be vſed; nor ſhall you haue any doubt, that we will any way, by any aſſiſtance with your enemies, breake the antient Capitulations. Wee are bound to giue you further thankes for the great iuſtice done by you, in giuing order to recouer ſome part of the goods of a deceaſed Engliſh Merchant in your City, and that you haue cauſed neere fifteene hundred Checquines to be repayed to William Cooke. Not doubting but you will continue the like fauour; and be pleaſed to heare the further reaſons of the ſaid William Cooke, and to take order that the reſt may alſo be recouered; it being apparant and true, that there yet is wanting two thouſand Checquines, which the Deceaſed had in money and goods. This worke is acceptable to God, and honourable to you, and it will encourage our Merchants to liue vnder your protection, to encreaſe the friendſhip made betweene vs.

Our laſt requeſt is, That you will ſet at libertie, for my ſake, our poore Countreymen, according to promiſe made by you and the Miniſters of the Grand Seigniour. Thoſe ſlaues will honour you abroad, and pray for you when you are at home, their parents, wiues, children, and friends. Wherein we will endeauour to procure the libertie of any of yours, to our vttermoſt power. And that you will

warne

warne an enemie to the peace, one Sampſon, to deliuer backe the goods and men lately taken at Mo- G
don, since the Peace concluded: which if he refuse to do, I shall finde means to reuenge it vpon him.
In conclusion, I desire you to accept of this young man, onely sent to deliuer you our Letters, and to
carry newes to England of your friendship; desiring you to dispeed him away in two dayes, that hee
may the sooner procure from England some shipping to come in trade to your Port. And so I com-
mit you to the protection of the Almightie God, wishing to the honourable Gouernor and Captaine
Isuph Dyc, all true happinesse.

From your friend, The Embassadour
of England.

H

The Commands sent to Algier and Tunes by a *Capigi* of the Grand Seigniour, in companie of *Iserug* the new Bassa of Algier.

[Written by the Grand Segniors owne hand:]

In conformitie hereof let it be obeyed of all my Subiects. I

To the Diuan of Algier.

THe Imperiall Command; To the Caddee of Algier, to all the Doctors and Churchmen, to all the Captaines of Isuph; to all the Commanders, Elders, and Officers; to all the Heads and Antients, and to all the Souldierie of Algier, and my slaues there inhabiting: At the arriuall of the high and Imperiall Affirmo, you shall know; That whereas from the times of happie memorie of my Grandfathers and Fathers (entred into mercie, whose Sepulchres let God glorifie) vnto this K
day, alwayes the Kings of England haue with all sincerítie beene in good peace and friendship with this high Port and all my Ancestors; and therfore the Imperiall mind & will always hath bin, That according to the Imperiall Capitulations contracted at the first Treaty betweene both parties, That the subiects and English Merchants might freely and securely go and come into all parts of this well gouerned Empire; and that they should neuer be troubled, hindered, nor damnified by any man, and that the said English with all their Ships should haue safe and secure passage in the sea, vnder the Imperiall protection, and to their hearts content and quietnesse they should follow their trades and merchandise; and whereas in all times past there was neuer done vnto them any wrong or dam-
mage by any of our subiects: you my slaues of Algier, or some of you, not respecting the friendship of L
those with whom the high Port hath peace and correspondence, do whersoeuer you meet their Ships, either in the sea, or iny port or harbour, take them and all their goods, doing them many iniuries and violences; and contrarie also to the Imperiall Capitulations, do make them slaues, and many others you kill: for which your actions so iniust, contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations not long since in the time of our brother Sultan Osman Han (now in mercie placed in Paradise) his Maiesty the King of England hauing sent his expresse Embassadour, and his Royall Letter, aduising him of the wrongs and spoyles (so contrarie to the League and Peace contracted, and the Imperiall will) com-
mitted by you: to the end that all you should obey, and with all diligence, care, and respect, should maintaine and obserue the peace and friendship with all the friends of the high Port; that all those who had committed such actions, so contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations, should be punM
shed; he said our brother did then send you his expresse Imperiall Commands, signed with his hand; which was deliuered vnto you by one Mutafaraga of the high Port called Mahomet, whose dignitie God encrease. Which Commands being read in the presence of you all, euery man did answer, saying, You were ready to obey the Order and Commands of your Lord: but that you had some particulars requisite to be presented to the Imperiall stirrop, and therefore that you did elect certaine of the prin-
cipall

A cipall of your Countrey, and sent them hither to him as your Procurators: who being arriued in the time of the regiment of my honourable Vncle, and hauing made knowne at the foot of the Throne of his Maiestie, all those your reasons which you had giuen in instruction; He gaue command, that those said Commissioners, come hither in your behalfe, with the Embassadour of England resident in our happy Port, should haue a conference in the presence of my late Vizier Halil, then Captaine Bassa; and that all things there should be accommodated and appeased. Which conference being made in the prescribed forme, there all your grieuances were largely repeated to the end, that by reason of the aboue mentioned inconueniences, there should not happen any breach of the antient Peace and friend-
ship, all matters were then anew pacified, and by writing and new treaty accorded, That according to the antient custome there should be sent an English Consul to Algier and Tunes, and that their
B Merchants should safely and friendly go thither, and into all other parts of this well gouerned Em-
pire, and traffique in all ports thereof, and that they should neuer hereafter be any way hindered, of-
fended, or molested by any of you; and for more caution and assurance, there being written an authen-
ticall Letter, sent vnto the King of England, he gaue order and hath appointed a Consul with many rich merchandises arriued in those ports. Which my said Vncle did also then send you his expresse Command, That you should obserue all the said Agreement. But now being newly aduertised, That you my slaues of Algier, who wholly contrary to the last promise, contract, and faith giuen, doe get,
take, and spoyle all the English Ships that you meet on the sea, robbing them of their goods, and ma-
king slaues of their men, doing them all wrong and damage; and considering the King of England is constant and sincere in his Peace and League with vs, and that the protection and cherishing of his
C subiects is necessarie vnto vs; and that for you of Algier, or other of my Beghs whosoeuer, to take
vessels, goods, or men from the said English Nation, so contrarie to the last Agreement made, and faith giuen, is a thing much against our will and the Imperiall Capitulations by vs granted; and also it being our will, that betweene you and them there should be a good peace and correspondence, and that the said English Nation may safely and securely trafique in all parts of this our well gouerned Empire, and that no man presume to do them any damage or iniurie, and that for the time to come the tenour of our Imperiall Capitulations in their Land may be duely obserued, We haue sent you this our Imperiall Command, and We do command you,

That euery one of you, of what condition soeuer, do obey according to the tenour of this my Impe-
riall Command, sent you on purpose for this onely reason; That whether by sea, or in any other place
D where you shall meet any Ship of the English, their people or goods, you do vnto them no violence or
wrong whatsoeuer; but alway according to the Capitulations giuen them, and the last treaty and agreement made with you, that you hold and keepe a true peace and friendship with them; and also that you obey according to the commandements formerly sent to you in this businesse; and that you ne-
uer do nor suffer to be done any act contrarie vnto them, but that you with all diligence obserue and obey this my Command sent you: in doing whereof you shall obtaine our fauor and benediction. And seeing according to the agreement made betweene you, there were diuers slaues set free and sent vnto you from England, you also shall set free all those English slaues that shall be found in your hands, and shall consigne them to the English Consul. And that whereas the Ship of England which was sent vnto you with diuers English goods, hauing been discharged, and receiuing your safe conduct,
E and returning to their Countrey, being met by some of Algier, who had no respect to the accord and faith giuen, they did take both the Ship and goods, and make the men slaues: therefore that act be-
ing very contrarie to our louing peace and friendship, you shall deliuer the said ship and goods and men to the English Consul; and take heed you do not herein shew disobedience to our command, and that those whosoeuer, who haue been so bold to commit such an offence so contrary to the Peace and faith giuen, you shall cause to be seuerely punished. In conclusion, know you, that in no case it is our Imperiall will, that the said English Nation hereafter shall be any way troubled or dammified, so contrarie to our Imperiall Capitulation. Therefore let euery one of you be admonished, That accor-
ding as it is written in our Law, saying, Obey the Lord God, the Prophet, and the Emperor; that thereby obeying you shall obtaine my blessing; you shall neuer consent nor permit that any thing
F be done contrarie to my Imperiall will: for if hereafter it shall be made knowne vnto vs, that the said English Nation shall be againe outraged and iniuried by you, be assured that euery one of you shall fall into my indignation and disgrace, and you shall be punished with all seueritie. Therefore be you aduertised, that the obeying of my Imperiall Command shall be vnto you an assurance and or-
nament both of glorie and felicitie; and hauing my benediction, euery one of you vndoubtedly shall

[illegible] happinesse in this world, [illegible] and all [illegible] my slaues of Algier, according to [illegible] Englishe sincerely and perfectly, and do [illegible] you friends kindely the English. Consul among you [illegible] Merchant [illegible] and whether by sea or in port you shall meet any of [illegible] vnto him all friendship, and vse no [illegible] to aid, defend, and protect [illegible] them: and thus our Imperiall Command [illegible] in what sort you haue receiued and obeyed it, and in what forme you haue [illegible] and referre my will and command, you shall aduise the whole by your answer vnto our [illegible] And thus let it be knowne vnto you, giuing alway credit vnto our Imperiall Signature. G H

To the Bassa of Algier.

THe high and Imperiall Affirmo being arriued, you shall know, Whereas in times past the Gouernours in that Prouince before you, by receiuing the fifts and tenths of the ships, goods, and men, which the Souldierie of Algier did take and rob from the English Nation, and by giuing them leaue and authority to do such depredations & acts, so contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, the said souldiers haue taken so much boldnesse and daring, I that they continue to do innumerable spoyles and violences vnto the sayd English Nation: which their insolent actions being made knowne vnto the high Port, and there was instantly written and sent vnto them expresse and Imperiall Commands, That in no way, nor by no meanes it was not the will nor Imperiall minde, that the Gouernours should in such sort connive, and so euidently (contrarie to the Imperiall Capitulations) should take any fifts or tenths, nor giue nor permit any licence vnto the said soldiers, to do so iniust things; but that in this particular they should do all their diligence and loue, and that they should neuer take any fifts or tenths of the goods of the said English, stollen by the said soldiers, nor K that they should permit vpon no pretence, that the English ships, goods and men, so contrarie to the Imperiall Capitulations, should be neither by them nor any other, outraged, molested, or damnified; and that if hereafter it should be knowne, that the said Gouernours should notwithstanding anew haue taken & accepted the fifts & tenths of the ships, goods, or Englishmen, robbed and taken by the said Souldierie, and because they haue consented and suffered the Souldierie to do such depredations, wrong, and spoyles, and for hauing also beene the cause to violate the Peace, League, and friendship betweene vs and the King of England; that as faulty guilty men they should be condignely punished. Now being that L we are anew confirmed, if that the Souldiers do not obey the said Commands and Orders sent by vs, and that by you the Gouernors there is leaue giuen them to continue in their iust course of robberie and oppression, and that still you do take the said fifts and tenths, and that you proceed in violating of the Imperiall Capitulations; Know you, That you are fallen into our disgrace, being it is in no sort our Imperiall will, that the said English Nation should be so damnified and outraged. And to the end that all the Commands giuen and sent into those parts for this busines, may be obserued and obeyed, and that hereafter by no means there may neuer be giuen nor permitted any libertie to the said Soldiers to do the like depre- M dations vpon the said Nation, and that neuer you nor any after you, do neuer take any fift nor tenth, nor any part, but that alway the said Nation should be protected and defended, We haue giuen this our Imperiall Commandement, and we do command,

That when this shall be arriued, you shall obserue and do according to this our high and Imperiall

A Imperiall Command; onely giuen for this reason, and also in conformitie of the former Commands sent in this businesse: which you shall obey with all diligence and care; and that you shall neuer take nor accept any fift nor other share, of the ships, goods, or men, that the Souldiers of Algier shall so vniustly take (contrarie to our Imperiall Capitulations) from the said English Nation: nor neuer hereafter shall giue leaue, nor suffer, that the Souldiers, so contrarie to my will and Imperiall Capitulations, shall do such spoyles and depredations to the said English Nation; and that in no case you shall neuer permit that Englishmen shall be there sold, but you shall alway protect and defend them. And know of certain- B tie, That if after the arriuall of this our Command, we shall vnderstand, that the said Nation shall be anew outraged and iniuried, no excuse from you shall be accepted nor heard; and not onely you shall be depriued of your gouernment, but you shall be seuerely punished. Therefore be aduised, and take heed that you commit no act that shall be contrary to my will and Imperiall Capitulations giuen to the said Nation. And in conclusion, take you order that all my slaues of Algier may keepe peace and friendship with the said English; because it is my Imperiall desire, that the said Nation and their Merchants may come, go, and traffique in all parts of our Empire. Therefore do you do all your diligence and endeauour, and to see that the Peace be setled with the said English, and take heed that you commit no negligence C nor errour whatsoeuer. And thus be it knowne vnto you, giuing alway faith to our Imperiall Signature.

The like three seuerall Commands, onely some circumstances altered, according to the requisites of the place, were written and sent to the Dye, and Bassa, and Diuan of Tunes.

This Peace thus concluded and promulged, was well and exactly obserued for fiue yeres, and not one English ship assayled or taken, and at least six hundred Mariners, subiects of his Maiestie, released from a miserable seruitude and captiuitie: vntill a small offence was done to them, which they easily apprehended, to renew their desire of spoyle, by which only they D liue, as being a people without industrie or traffique; there being but one way to maintaine a Peace with them who are glad of any occasion of warre, not to begin, not to vnbinde their hands; for the soule of Wisedome is Preuention. And so wee proceed to our generall Storie.

On the foure and twentieth of March *Ali Bassa* the great Vizier was sent for into the Sera- 1624. glio; where being questioned by the young Emperour about the affaires of the Persian inua- *Ali Bassa the great Vizier beheaded.* sion, he was condemned instantly to lose his head, which was executed in the place, and his body throwne out naked into the streets. The occasion of his sudden death was attributed to his dissimulation with the Grand Seignior in the losse of Babylon, and that he had suborned E false aduice that there was no such matter; either for sloath, or feare to take vpon him the charge of the war, with an army that would not obey in the Citie: and the base mony which he had caused to be coyned, being but one fist siluer, with which hee made a whole payment to the Souldierie, putting the good dollars into his owne purse. But indeed the true cause was his owne sordid couetousnesse, who in six moneths had heaped vp an infinite treasure, by sale of all Iustice and Offices; which in the end weighed him downe to the ground, and supplied (like a large spunge) their present wants for the intended warre in Asia. To this dignitie was aduanced *Cerques Mechemet Bassa*, an antient Vizier, a man of an honest and sincere nature, and one too good for those times; who after he had enioyed his place but a short while, laboured to surrender it, as vnable to support or content the insolencie of the Spahies F in their vnreasonable demands of impossible benefits. In the meane time the preparation for the war in Asia was aduanced, though the resolution to set forward was deferred, vpon hope that by the authoritie of *Cherques Mehemet Bassa* and other new Ministers, *Abassa Bassa* might be reduced to obedience, and that great feare and impediment remoued, they hauing vndertaken to endeauour it: though it appeared very difficult, being that he yet continued the siege of

of Angria; and that his scattered armie that wintered abroad begun to returne to him from all parts, he would be loth (although the Grand Seignior had sent him another) to trust his life vpon a pardon. G

The Emperour prepares for a war in Hungarie.

While the Grand Seigniour was thus threatened in Asia with the King of Persia and his owne Rebell *Abassa Bassa*, the Emperour of Germanie made great preparations for Hungarie, to the number of fiftie thousand men, which bred great iealousie at the Port: but his Embassadour the Baron of Carey, lately arriued, to preuent a generall breach, and the expiration of the last Treaty made for twentie yeares at Zilwar, in the yeare 1606, dissembling all the aids giuen to *Gabor*, gaue the Grand Seignior full assurance, that his Master had no intent of breach with him; but openly disauowed the Truce with the Prince of Transyluania, made at Goding: and that *Cæsar* would make warre vpon him, vnlesse he might haue all the places H in Hungary, in his possession, restored; desiring onely a neutralitie from the Port, according to the antient Treatie. The Prince of Transyluania, who now repented that hee had giuen away the vse of his late victory, which he might haue enjoied, and foreseeing the storme that was like to fall vpon him, sent to the Port for succours; who with much ado obtained some Tartars, and Commands to the Bassa's of Bosnia, Buda, Caniza, Agria, and Temizuar, to be in readinesse with all their frontier garrisons to defend and assist him in any motion of the Emperor, or else not to stirre: being vnwilling to abandon him, who was then their chiefest bulwarke toward that part of Christendome, whilest most of their forces should be employed against the Persian in Asia; who had then entred Diarbecli (the antient Mesopotamia) and taken Misbin and Merdin, two principal places, and all that Prouince, except Hamit the chiefe I citie, wherein was a Bassa, who defended the same with great valour and reputation: and it was then not knowne where the Persian would limit his ambition, many other parts fearing him for that which he had alreadie done; for he had separated the Arabia's, and all to the East of the Persian sea, from the Turkish Empire; as hauing conquered from Balsara Northward almost all to his owne Derbent vpon the Caspian sea.

Vpon the eighteenth of Aprill the Victuallers for the Asian armie passed ouer the water, but the dispatch of the Vizier and the armie was still delayed, and little speech when they should depart. In the meane time the Persian preuailed, without any opposition of consequence; and no man could discerne the inward cause of this slowenesse, onely the outward appearance was, A suspition and complaint from the Blacke-Sea; the Citie of Caffa hauing K sent their Mufti and other Commissioners to informe the Grand Seigniour, That foure hundred boats of Cossackes were abroad; That they had done great spoyles in the coast of Tartaria and of the Turkish Empire, and taken many shippes laden with prouision for the Port, and forty thousand more armed and horsed readie for some land attempt; which put all those parts into great feare: of which they desired that present care and prouision might be taken and ordered for their defence. Whereupon there was held a new Councell, and *Ibrahim Bassa* dispatched with thirteene gallies to make gard vntil more aids could be prepared; intending not long after to send a land armie, and the Captaine Bassa with their whole Fleet.

Abassa Bassa reconciled to the Grand Seignior.

Abassa Bassa (the supposed Rebel of Asia) hauing collected his armie together, suddenly rose from Angria, and departed Eastward, hauing done no spoyle to the city nor inhabitants, L but left behinde him a better fame than any gouernor sent from the Port; he now had accepted the Grand Seigniors pardon, and in obedience to his command, and shew of submission, marched directly towards Diarbecher, to vnite himselfe with *Hafis Achmet Bassa*, as was supposed for the defence of that Countrey, who onely made some head against the Persian. This resolution of his departure did much seruice to that state; for thereby the Ianizaries and Spahies were accorded, and encouraged to go to the warre, who before could not be drawne out, suspecting one another, and fearing Him more than the forreine Enemie: For it was euident, if he had stayed in the way, either the souldiers would neuer haue gone out, or beene subiect to delay, mutinies, and dissentions, by reason of their factions. But now vpon this good fortune to that State, the great Vizier, Treasurer, Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the of- M ficers and armie was passed ouer to Scutari, and mustered the tenth of May, being ordained to march the twentieth: which was expected with great longing, in respect of the Souldierie, who as yet behaued themselues soberly, and made shew of reformation and obedience to Lawes. They were in all about thirtie thousand Ianizaries, and fourtie thousand Spahies, many

A many being gone before to make the Armie compleat, and the place of their Rendeuous about Brussia.

In the meane time a report was spread, that the King of Persia was dead: but that fame gained little credit with the Turkes, who knew it to be an vsuall policie of that King, in hope thereby to slacken the hast of their forces sent against him; but it did rather quicken them, insomuch as they said he had been often dead, but still reuiued to some greater mischiefe.

Biram Bassa was dispatched Generall of the frontier of Poland and Bugdania, with foure thousand soldiers, and order to draw together and command all the Beghs and garrisons, and to raise new forces on that Quarter, in preuention of some attempt feared from the Cossacks, who were in arms vpon the border, and had put all into distraction. To the thirteen gallies be- *Biram Bassa dispatched Generall against the Cossackes.*

B fore mentioned to make a gard in the Blacke-Sea, were added ten more; who first transported *Ieam Gheray Han*, to re-establish him Prince of the Tartars, and depose *Mechmet*, aduanced the yeare before. That resolution was carried very secretly, and though there was some whisper, yet he was not declared vntill the day he kissed the Grand Seigniors Vest, tooke his leaue, mounted his galley, and departed. The cause of this sudden muration was pretended, That *Mechmet* was accused by the Poles to haue broken the Peace, and so they would pacifie the Cossacks on better hopes: but the truth was, he was suspected, because he had excused to send aid to the Asian warre, being thereto required, as fearing the entry of the Cossackes into his Countrey: and the rather, because his brother *Shachin Gheray*, who fled twelue yeares before to the Persian, being in disgrace with Sultan *Achmat*, was now return-

C ned into Tartaria, at the instant when the Persian did inuade the Turkish dominions, as if there had been some confederacie betweene them, both those brethren being braue souldiers: and therefore it was feared that a dangerous reuolt or warre would breake out in those parts. For if *Mechmet* were not suddenly surprised, it was thought he would defend himselfe and his Possession. When the gallies had performed their seruice to the new Prince, they were appointed to ioyne with the others, and to discharge *Ibrahim Bassa*; one *Huzein Bassa* a Vizier of the Bench being sent to that command: *Biram Bassa* hauing likewise order to haue an eye vpon the Tartars, as well as on the Poles. At the first departure of the first gallies, as soone as they came into the Blacke-Sea, they met with a small Carmisall, who reporting that only forty boats of the Cossackes were before them, the Ianizaries mutined, and forced their

D General to retyre into the Channel, and demanded more strength; who were checqued, supplied with more men, and so proceeded.

Amongst other distractions and reuolts of the subiects of that Empire, the Pirats of Algier and Tunes cast off all obedience not onely vpon the sea, where they were masters, but presuming to doe many insolencies euen vpon the land, and in the best ports of the Grand Seigniour. They began at Rhodes, where the Castle shot at them. Afterward, a fleet of six Pirats of Tunes met with a Flemish ship called the Moon, laden at Alexandreta; with whom notwithstanding their Peace, they fought, and fired her, not hauing any thing but some of the men, whom they made slaues: & after, comming into the port of Salines at Ciprus, they found two Flemings more, and two Venetians, able to fight with two such Fleets. As soon as they E came into the Road they now claimed peace of the Flemings, seeing themselues too weake to set vpon all foure; protesting, That if they would assist their enemies, the breach was on their parts: who thereupon (vnworthily) promised a neutralitie. Then they set vpon the Venetians, the Captaines whereof went ashore to craue protection of the Castle in the Grand Seigniours port; for which the Begh demanded fifty thousand dollars, or else they should take their fortune: which they refused, and so were exposed to their owne defence; and the Pirats beginning with the smaller ship, she made a good resistance, but hauing no helpe, she was thrice fired, and at last burnt to the water: The Captaine of the Dolphin (the greater ship) not shooting a shot, with his men stole ashore, and fired her, being a vessell of eight hundred tunnes, and armed with forty eight Pieces of brasse. The ladings of these two were F valued at three hundred thousand dollars, of which the Pirats saued nothing: and in ill euils it was a blessing, that such a ship fell not into their hands, seeing the cowards were not able to hold such a strong Fort. From thence they sailed to Scandaron, where finding another Fleming, and a Polacra, they surprised both, and then prepared to land: The Aga of the Scale and all the inhabitants fled, and they sacked the towne, and robbed all warehouses; and *The Pirats of Tunes and Algier in rebellion.*

and not therewith content, they ſet it on fire, ſo that nothing remained but ſtone walls that would not burne. The greateſt loſſe to ſtrangers fell vpon the Dutch and Engliſh; for the former loſt about thirty thouſand, and the later about ten thouſand dollars; and ſo they raigned in the port eight days, and departed. An inſolencie vnſufferable, if that State had any ſence of honour or profit: for by this example there was no Scale of the Grand Seigniour ſecure, and all trade muſt be giuen ouer, if no preſent courſe were taken for a full redreſſe.

Vpon the laſt of May, after long expectation, the great Vizier *Cerques Mehmet Baſſa* and the Armie for Aſia began to march; and *Abaſſa Baſſa* had made ſo many halts on the way, that he was greatly ſuſpected of the Ianizaries, that he lingered vpon purpoſe for them; and at the beſt it was feared, he would onely returne to Arzirum, and keepe the ſar[illegible] The Perſians death was no more ſpoken of, but was rather doubted he would be found[illegible]ue ſuddenly neere Aleppo: and the Emir of Sidon did once more threaten Damaſcus and Ie[illegible]uſalem. Thus the miſchiefs and feares of that State followed one another like claps of thunder: For *Mechmet Gheray*, made Tartar Han the yeare before, being encouraged by his brother *Shachin*, newly come from his baniſhment in Perſia, would not ſubmit to the Grand Seigniours Order, and reſigne his principalitie to his Couſine *Iean Gheray* (not long after ſent and made Prince) and therefore he was againe recalled, fearing to put that Countrey to trouble. But before that Order could ouertake him, he was landed, and *Mechmet Gheray* come down with a great Army to reſiſt him; and the Generall of the gallies in the Blacke-Sea was forced to land both his Ianizaries and artillerie for his defence, and with ſuch power as they could make (not exceeding foure thouſand) to entrench them vnder the countenance of their ordenance, where there paſſed ſharpe blowes in three skirmiſhes, and on both ſides about two thouſand ſlaine; the Generall diſpatching one galley to the Port with aduice, and requiring preſent ſuccours. Whereupon the eleuenth of Iune a peremptorie Order came from the Grand Seigniour, That ſeeing his honour was now ingaged, he would maintaine *Iean Gheray*, and giue him ſpeedy aids. To which end a Councell was held the ſame day, and reſolution taken to ſend ſupplies, either the Captain Baſſa, who was then ready for the Mediterran, or by order to the Princes of Bugdania and Wallachia. And thoſe brothers, then in poſſeſſion, had no retreit, but muſt maintaine their diſobedience by the ſword, which was a matter of as much danger as euer befell the Turkiſh Empire. Hereupon the Captaine Baſſa with ſixteene gallies went into the Blacke-Sea in aid of *Iean Gheray*, made Prince of the Tartars, whom *Mechmet Gheray* had beaten off the land, and forced him to retyre to the Grand Seigniors gallies that carried him thither. The Emperour being ſtill reſolued to giue thoſe people a Prince, ordered all the frontier ſuccours to meet him to place them by force; which was, in the opinion of many that knew the countrey, held a matter of great difficultie, all the Tartars taking part with *Mechmet*, who had in his Army neere threeſcore and ten thouſand horſe.

Troubles in Tartarie.

In the meane time the great Vizier *Cerques Mehmet Baſſa* marched towards Dierbecker; from whence there was newes, That the Arabs, ioyned with ſome of the Grand Seigniours forces, had giuen a Checque to the Perſian: which did encourage their owne Army, who were not yet out of feare of *Abaſſa Baſſa* and his troupes (that ſtayed about Keſarie) earneſtly expecting what part he would take. Yet the ſeaſon being hot, the Perſian aduanced little, but onely forraged the countrey.

The Coſſackes enter the Boſphorus,

Vpon the ninth of Iuly, betweene ſeuentie and foureſcore boats of the Coſſackes, with fifty men apeece (rowers and ſouldiers) watching the opportunitie of the Captaine Baſſa's being ingaged in Tartarie, entered the Boſphorus about breake of the day; where diuiding themſelues, they ſackt and burnt almoſt all the villages and houſes of pleaſure on both ſides the Riuer, as farre as the Caſtles, and within foure miles of Conſtantinople. The principall places were Bainkdery and Ienicoie, on the Grecian; and Srenia on the Aſiaticke ſhore: where hauing made great and rich booty, they ſtayed vntill nine of the clocke in the forenoone; and then all the city and ſubiects hauing taken the alarme, the Grand Seignior came downe to the water ſide, the Chimacham to the water-port: *Halil Baſſa* [illegible] himſelfe Generall in this tumult, and hauing not one galley ready for defence, he cauſed to be manned and armed all the ſhip-boats, barges, and other ſmall wherries, to the number of foure or fiue hundred, with ſuch people as they could either get to row, or hope to fight; and diſpatched all the horſe and

A and foot in the city, to the number of ten thouſand, to defend the caſtle from further ſpoyle. Neuer was there ſeene a greater feare and confuſion for the time: yet they expected that thoſe poore Theeues would vpon their preparation preſently retyre. But they ſeeing the Turks boats make towards them, drew themſelues together into the middeſt of the channell, not farre aboue the Caſtles, and ſtayed firme vpon their oares in battalion (in forme of a Creſcent) expecting the aſſault, the wind and current being againſt them. *Halil Baſſa* cauſed ſome ſhot to be made a farre off, but they anſwered not with one musket, but houered from one ſhore to another, without any ſhew of retreit. Hereupon, the Generall ſeeing their forme and reſolution, thought it not fit to aſſaile them with ſuch boats as hee had, but eſteemed it wiſedome enough to keepe them from further attempts; fearing if they had broken his fleet
B of boats, which was eaſily done, that they would venture downe to Conſtantinople, which was now emptie of all defence. And thus theſe few boats hauing firſt made great ſpoile, lay the whole day, vntill the Sunne ſet, facing and brauing that great and fearefull citie of the world, and all the force it could make, and departed with their booty, with their Colours ſpred, vnfought with, or almoſt reſiſted.

This ſmall action and bold attempt, to affront ſo great an Empire, made a ſtrange diſcouerie, how much vnder the reputation, the terrour and ſtrength of that State was then, how weake and vnprouided they were. But as the Oracle commanded them, Firſt to ſeat ouer againſt blinde men, it hath beene their fortune euer to haue blinde enemies. *Philip* of Macedon had neuer proiected, nor his ſonne *Alexander* neuer aduentured with ſo ſmall forces, the
C huge enterpriſe of ſubduing the Eaſterne Empire, if they had not diſcouered the effeminate and faint courage of the Aſiatiques, by the admirable retreit of *Xenophon*, and ſwift incurſion of *Ageſilaus* great armies, not daring to oppoſe the vertue of their ſmall numbers. So wee ſee, of ſmall beginnings oftentimes great matters do ariſe; for by this attempt of the Coſſacks the Poles had abſolutely broken the Peace with that Empire.

Huzein Baſſa ſtrangled in the Court.

Huzein Baſſa that was great Vizier, and vpon the tumult of the Souldierie made eſcape the yeare before (a man turbulent and hated of all men) being at laſt taken and carried into the Seraglio, after he had (by many faire promiſes) confeſſed and reſtored much of the treaſure carried away by him, and giuen to the officers of the Ianizaries to maintaine him, was ſtrangled in the Court, and had the iuſt reward of his tyrannie. And the preſent great Vizier, ſent
D to make head againſt the Perſian, did yet ſtay at Iconium, expecting the Souldierie, who did ſlowly draw to him: ſo that it was thought he would Winter in Aleppo, being not able to proceed in the warre that Sommer.

The Captaine Baſſa, ſent into the Blacke-Sea to eſtabliſh *Iean Gheray* Prince of the Tartars, was forced to retyre to Caffa, being repulſed from the land; the people maintaining *Mechmet* in poſſeſſion. Whereupon, to cure the wound with as little skarre as was poſſible, he in the Grand Seigniours name was conſtrained to confirme the other, and to be content to accept a courteſie, for which he gaue ſmall thankes. And *Cante-Emir-Emirze* hauing againe entred Poland, and done ſome ſpoile by the cutting downe of ſome woods, was intercepted in his retreit, and routed with the loſſe of two thirds of his Armie; and the Poles with a very
E great campe intrenched very neere Chotyn (the fort beſieged by Sultan *Oſman* in the late warre, and ſurrendered vpon the Peace) expecting the euent of the great troubles on that ſide.

The Coſſackes returne to the Boſphorus.

The Coſſackes after their firſt retreit, returned againe to the mouth of the Boſphorus, with double the number of their firſt fleet, being an hundred and fifty boats at the leaſt: the ſupply hauing lurked behinde, either for ſuccour in caſe of need, or for ſome other aduantage. They ſtayed off and on vpon the coaſt three dayes more, burnt the Pharos and ſome two or three villages. They threatened to come to the Arſenall, putting all the city in great confuſion. Gards were continued and re-inforced in all parts vpon the land; and at laſt, two Gallies (filled with porters and laboring men taken vp in the ſtreets) and about 02 boats were ſent
F out to keepe watch, where they remained at the entrance of the channell. But the Coſſacks with their great booty, and two or three Carmiſals taken, retyred; and ſo the feare was paſt for that time. But ſome of the poore Coſſacks being taken ſtragling too farre vpon the land, confeſſed vpon examination, That *Mechmet* Prince of the Tartars was confederate with them to this attempt, in reuenge of the offer made to diſplace him. And this confeſſion [illegible]ne

the death of *Huzein Bassa*, who in the time of his gouernment, of a prisoner made *Mechmet* G a Prince, and gaue libertie to the Lords of Poland that were prisoners at the Port (of whom mention hath been made before) and dispeeded suddenly the Duke of Sbarasky, who if they had then been there, without doubt they had been kept hostages; for in this tumult the A- * *Lieutenant to the great Vizier.* gent of Poland ranne some hazard, if by the wisedome of the * Chimacham it had not been preuented.

About the foure and twentieth of Iuly the Prince of Transyluania made an absolute Peace with the Emperour, without the knowledge or warrant of the Port: which caused great suspition amongst them; but they bare it both silently and patiently, in regard of their owne troubles then in Asia and other places. Therefore the Prince kept the conditions more secret: howsoeuer, it was knowne that he surrendred and disclaimed all title [illegible] Hungarie, and H consented that the Emperours sonne should be presently chosen King thereof, and keepe his Court in Presburg: That all the Estates of Hungarie should receiue him, and the Prince of Transyluania assist and serue him in all his occasions: That *Bethlem Gabor* should remain quietly Prince of Transyluania, and Earle of Siculi: That he should hold Cassouia and two or three other Seigniories which he formerly possessed, during life; and after, that they should returne absolutely as members to the Crowne of Hungarie. And this Article did trouble the Grand Seigniour, That the Prince at all had mentioned Transyluania without any relation to him; as if that Prouince had depended of the Empire. Some other Articles there were concerning the estates of priuat men, and mutuall pardons; this which hath been set downe was the substance of the Treaty.

In the meane time a Chiaus (sent by the Grand Seigniour to the Emperour, with the news I of his inauguration, and to offer the continuance of the antient Leagues and Treaties between them) returned to the Port with the Emperors Letter of acceptance, and confirmation of the Treaty made at Zitwa, which was the last: Wherein it was agreed, That what either side possessed at that time, should remaine as it was; and if any road should be made, and prisoners taken, or place surprised (during the Truce) on either part, that restitution and full satisfaction should be giuen by him that innouated. *Ali Bassa* the Vizier before, and *Cerques Bassa* at that present, did both of them consent to the renewing of this Treaty, which was often broken; ignorant vtterly of the affaires of those parts, and of the disaduantage to the Prince of Transyluania and their owne State: for hereby the Truce being againe in vigour, K the Grand Seigniour was bound to surrender Vatz, and many other places of importance that had been surprised in a time when there was neither absolute peace nor warre betweene them, and was obliged to make many other restitutions of damage. But the Imperial partie did not presse those smaller matters; onely demanding Vatz and all the countrey depending, held themselues (for their limits) strictly to that Treatie, which was then againe confirmed on both sides. This conclusion discontented many, who laid the blame on the information of the Bassa of Buda, a suspected pentioner of the Emperour: but it was the Grand Seigniours troubles in Asia that made him silent, and suffer both that losse and many affronts from Tartarie and the Cossackes.

Newes of the Turks Army ouerthrowne by the Tartars. There arriued in the meane time from the Blacke-Sea two gallies, which brought the bo- L dies of two Viziers, and certaine newes of the ouerthrow of the Armie sent vnder command of the Captaine Bassa, to plant the new Prince of the Tartars; who hauing landed his forces and artillerie, was routed and beaten, himselfe wounded, twenty eight pieces of ordnance lost, two Viziers of the Bench and about fiue thousand souldiers slaine and taken, the rest saued by flight vpon the gallies; onely the Captaine Bassa with his fleet stayed about Varna to receiue new Order. There had not happened to that Empire in many ages a losse of more importance, in respect of the consequences; an Imperiall Armie beaten, and thereby Tartaria separated from obedience to the Turkish Empire, and that people taught to know, That they were able to make and maintaine their owne Prince. But this was no time to take too much knowledge of that disgrace, Policie teaching them, rather to cure than to make M the breach greater. For the Grand Seignior after that dispatched a galley to the Prince of the Tartars, with a Vest and a Sword to his sonne, and a confirmation to him of his place; casting all the faults vpon the Captain Bassa, and disauowing his attempts; though he was sent with Commission to do it. Which (to make the dissimulation good) was like to cost him

A him his head, being sent for in to answer the same. The sudden yeelding on the Grand Seigniors part shewed a great weakenesse and feare, to flatter a victorious enemie; and it was doubted how the Tartarian would accept a Gift which he had gotten by his owne strength: for if he stood out he would proue a dangerous neighbour, the city of Constantinople alwaies being open to him; for Adrianople and the borders did then feare him, and euen some Cossacks did ioyne with him, although before they had been mortall enemies. Yet to make some compensation of this defection, *Abassa Bassa* the strong Rebell had made his peace with the great Vizier in Asia; and to seale the credit of his faith by another treacherie, sent in the heads and estates of three of his chiefe followers, to redeeme his owne. Which much raised the dull countenance of that Court; for although the pardon was dishonourable, yet it was seasonable. But they durst not ioyne their Armies for feare of new stirres, for he went toward his B owne gouernment of Arzirum, with promise to keepe it safe; and the Vizier marched slowly towards Babylon, [illegible] then held by the Persian.

About the twentieth of September the great Vizier *Cerques Bassa* abiding in Iconium, and *Abassa Bassa* in Kaiserie (neere thereunto) he was earnestly prouokad by the Ianizaries to set vpon him. But the Vizier hauing expresse order, not to make the breach greater with the Rebell, but to vse all meanes to appease him, and to reconcile him to them, would not be drawne to consent thereunto: for which cause, and some other their small discontents, they twice stoned the tents of the Vizier, and wounded him in the head. Whereupon he assembled the Commanders of the Spahies, declaring vnto them the great trust the Grand Seigni- C our had in them; and shewing them an absolute Order giuen him, to keepe good termes with *Abassa*, and neuer to fall to blowes with him, he desired them to finde some way of pacification betweene him and the Ianizaries: who instantly promised their obedience and aid to execute all his commands. Then the Vizier called together some of the Captaines of the Ianizaries, and persuaded them so to worke with their companions, that a Peace might be concluded betweene them and *Abassa Bassa*. Who finding their fellowes very vnwilling, had much difficultie to persuade them: In the end it was agreed, that the Vizier should treat and accommodate all differences. Who presently sent to conferre with *Abassa*; but hee by no meanes would trust himselfe, or giue a meeting; and answered, That he would neuer depart from his followers and Armie; but if that he desired to speake with him in priuat, that hee D should first send his brother the Beglerbegh of Caramania, and *Elias* Bassa of Natolia, in hostages, and then he would come vnto him. Which diffidence of his much displeased, and the Vizier was constrained to treat the Peace by mediation: which hauing brought to effect, hee tooke his oath three times vpon the Alcaron, To hold him as a friend, and neuer to doe him any violence. The Ianizaries also gaue their consent in publique, promising to maintaine the word of the Vizier: And the Articles of their reconciliation being drawne in writing, were sent to *Abassa*; who reciprocally made the like Oath, and accepted the Peace vpon the conditions following, signed by the Vizier: *That he should be confirmed Bassa of Arzirum: his Son Beglerbegh of Orfa, and his Lieutenant of Maras (all on the borders of Persia) and that he should depart with all his Armie to the defence and custodie of that Prouince, and wait vpon the* E *motions of the Enemie.*

A truce concluded betweene the great Vizier and Abassa Bassa the rebell.

While *Abassa Bassa* did treat this accommodation, *Colophon Mustapha Bassa* [illegible] of his Colleagues in all his rebellion) made some shew of retyrednesse from him, and hand to parle with the Vizier apart; and in conclusion wrote vnto him, [illegible] liuer or to kill *Abassa Bassa*. Which Letters of his being either intercepted [illegible] seeing that *Colophon* had resolued to sell him treacherously, he called him [illegible] asked him plainly, Why he went about to betray him; and without [illegible] hand, he drew his sword and claue his head, deliuering all his goods [illegible] the Vizier, to consigne to their Master. Then it was anew moued [illegible] aduance with his forces presently towards Babylon, against the [illegible] F maine armie to oppose the Princes of Vsbecke that had made [illegible] thousand garrison souldiers in the Citie. But *Abassa* refused to [illegible] bound by the Treaty, to returne and make gard in his gouern[illegible] the Vizier, forced to rise and aduance, hee arriued at a [illegible] wherein were diuers chiefe followers of *Abassa Bassa*; who [illegible]

cation made, came out with prſents and victuals to meet the Vizier and his Armie, and were G
of him well receiued: but the Ianizaries enuying to ſee them ſo well vſed and honored, in a
fury fell vpon them and killed them all (vſing the opportunitie) and entering the caſtle, put
to execution their wiues and children, and euery perſon found therein, and all others that
could be diſcouered in the bordering villages appertaining to him, to the great diſcontent of
the Vizier. Which being knowne to *Abaſſa*, and ſeeing they had broken their oath and faith,
he roſe with his Armie, and marched right to the Imperiall Campe; where arriuing, one of
his Captaines with foure hundred horſe began the dance, and without delay fell into the
Quarter of the Ianizaries, doing ſome execution for an houre and a halfe: in which skirmiſh
there fell on both ſides two or three thouſand. The Vizier ſeeing this beginning, partly for-
ced by the Ianizaries, and partly for his honor, drew vp his whole army to c[illegible] a battel in H
their defence. Which *Abaſſa Baſſa* perceiuing, and that which hee expected not (who ho-
ped that the Vizier and Spahi's would haue giuen him leaue to reuenge many inſolencies vp-
on the other) vnwilling to fight with the Grand Seigniours Generall, founded a retreit, and
got himſelfe and his armie a mile or two off diſtance. The Vizier to ſhew himſelfe faithfull
to the Ianizaries, and to keepe in grace with them, ſent foure Beglerbeghs with their Regi-
ments in purſuit of him: who finding *Abaſſa* and his Armie in good order, and firme, made
ſome ſhew of skirmiſh, to little purpoſe. But they returned to the campe, and told the Vi-
zier, that they had found him in battalion with forty thouſar[illegible] men, and that they were not
able to deale with him. The next day *Abaſſa* with many great threatnings marched away di-
rectly for Arzirum; and the Vizier to Diarbecher, for his hybernation; in great diſpleaſure I
of the Ianizaries, and the rather, for that he was beloued and protected by the Spahies.

The Tartars make an incurſion into Poland.

The brother of *Mechmet Gheray* in the mean time broke through the Prouince of Bugda-
nia (*Radula* the Vayuod hauing made eſcape) & entred into Poland, firſt ſpoiling the country,
and driuing away all the cattell; and afterward entered Wallachia, and beſieged his ſonne,
Prince of that Countrey, in his caſtle of Tergouiſta, notwithſtanding they were ſubiects of
the Grand Seigniour. And in ſtead of ſending backe the artillery loſt in the laſt defeat (which
was expected) hee entered the Caſtle of Caffa, the chiefe Port of the Negropont, and
carried away from thence all the canon and munition, which he tooke vp into the land to his
towne of Bagchaiſeray, as if he meant to fortifie himſelfe (a practiſe at that time vnknowne to
the Tartars:) which were ill ſignes of ſubmiſſion, and yet the name of Muſſulmen, at any K
time when they come to blowes doth eaſily accommodate all quarrels.

Tartar Han ſends an embaſſadour to the Port.

About the twelfth of March following, the Tartar *Han* ſent an Embaſſadour to the Port,
with an offer of his Maſters ſeruice (which was receiued with great ioy) excuſing the enterie
of the Tartars into the frontier of the Turkiſh Empire, as being done in ſeruice of the Grand
Seigniour, onely to fetch *Cante-Emir-Emirze* and his followers out of Siliſtria, and to com-
pell them to retyre, to auoyd and take away all occaſion from the Poles, to lament the iniu-
ries done by them; that thereby they alſo might take the like order for their Coſſackes,
and ſo the Peace might be duly obſerued on both ſides. Whereupon a Poſt was diſpatched
into Poland, aduiſing what was done, and requiring that on both parts the like correſponden-
cie might be obſerued; or elſe that the Grand Seigniour would vnderſtand, if the Coſſackes L
made any new attempt, that the Peace was broken on that ſide, being they could haue no ex-
cuſe to lay the fault vpon the Tartars. This vſe was made of the Embaſſage; yet the Vizier
was not without iealouſie of the ſinceritie of the Meſſenger, but thought he was ſent for ex-
ploration, to diſcouer the force, preparation, and reſolution of that State: and therefore they
made all ſhew of good prouiſions; Armes being giuen out to the Buſtangies, and a great fleet
dreſſing for the Blacke-Sea; wherein the Coſſackes had been alreadie ſeene, and rumor made
them to exceed three hundred boats: inſomuch that all the inhabitants of the Boſphorus did
daily retyre to Conſtantinople. The feare was generall, which was ſufficient argument of
weakeneſſe; and the yeare before had ſhewed what might be done with a ſmall and reſolute M
Force.

1625. Now that the ſeaſon ſerued, the Perſian prepared to continue the inuaſion, and the Vizier
to oppoſe him. All the Souldierie departed towards the Campe, though they intended not
to meet, but to make warre by diuerſion. *Abaſſa* got ſome credit at the Court, and they eaſily
apprehended

A apprehended all occaſion to beleeue his reconciliation. One of the chiefe Commanders in
the Perſian Armie ſent to *Abaſſa Baſſa* to perſuade him to deliuer Arzirum (his gouernment)
to the Shaugh: which he ſeemingly accepted, and trained him on with eight thouſand men
to take the poſſeſſion; when in the meane time he drew together his troupes, and ſuddenly
ſent them vnder the conduct of a Prince of Georgia, and ſet vpon them that ſuſpected no
treaſon, routed them, and ſlew a thouſand, whoſe heads he diuided, and ſent them for Pre-
ſents to the Port and the Campe. Vpon which action, by the multitude he was proclaimed
to be the beſt Subiect of the Grand Seigniour, and named to be Vizier. But ſome thought it
not ſo great an aſſurance of his fidelitie, becauſe he went not in perſon, nor would come out
of his ſtrength, though commanded to draw into the field to aſſiſt in the generall ſeruice; ex-
B cuſing himſelfe vpon the neceſſitie of defending the Frontier. Neither could he refuſe to
ſend ſome of his followers to this exploit (being vrged thereto by ſome of his Captains) with-
out diſcouering himſelfe too ſoone: his reſolution vndoubtedly being, That while thoſe
two great Oppoſites ſtroue for the whole, he would keepe a part of Aſia, and his owne head;
knowing that he could make his peace with the ſurrender to the Conquerour, at pleaſure.

From theſe parts were not the greateſt nor neereſt feares; for the Prince of the Tartars (ha-
uing made peace with the Poles, and taken the Coſſacks into his fellowſhip) made ſhew of
ſome deſigne againſt the Turkiſh Empire, and the people were very indifferent, many incli-
ning to him. The Coſſacks with three hundred Frigots croſſed the Blacke-Sea, ſacked and
burnt the ſuburbs of Trapezond and all the adioyning coaſt; and retyring, were receiued
C into the port of Ghioſleue, belonging to the Tartars; which augmented the iealouſie, that
they would vnite.

The Coſſackes ſacke the ſuburbs of Trapezond.

At the ſame time there appeared a little Rebell in Natolia, one *Ianet Ogli*, a ſimple Spahi
not aboue twenty foure yeares of age, dwelling in the plaines of Tirria; who vnder the colour
of reformation of the Commonwealth, came downe to Smyrna with ten thouſand follow-
ers. The Citie amaſed, ſent to Conſtantinople for ſuccours, but receiued an anſwer as cold
as their means to helpe them: The Chriſtians fled to their ſhips, by chance in the port; the
Gouernor to the Caſtle: But it ſeemed he had priuate quarrels with ſome great men in the
Towne; whoſe faction ſent out foure thouſand ſhot to keepe a paſſage; which being beaten,
he came before the citie, and executed his will, beheaded two Caddees, puniſhed diuers in-
D ſolent ſouldiers, placed and diſplaced the Officers, and proclaiming peace in the Grand Seig-
niours name, offended no priuate man, nor did any ſpoyle; but giuing a particular protection
to the Conſuls, and promiſing them in their quarrell, if they were oppreſſed, [illegible] with
his rod of correction, he departed to his owne home without any further trouble
ration of that medicine proued wholeſome, though it appeared dangerous, and he
to haue had order from the State, a diſorderly way: but it was likely they did
niue at, than approue of that rude execution of Iuſtice. Howſo[illegible]
diſturbed Smyrna, he tooke vp armes againe with a greater pow[illegible]
punitie or proſperitie of his former attempt; for he marched
the State was forced then to take his actions into conſideratio[illegible]
E ſeene. There was two Councels held about him, and a re[illegible]
were but new and wauering, to reſiſt the beginnings, and to ſend out
preſſe him: but who ſhould command, who would obey, or what
agreed. He ſtill vſed the name of the Grand Seigniour, and the
on, Reformation: but what he would haue, or whither this
dangerous for the vncertaintie.

Ianet Ogli a Spahi commeth in a rebellious manner to Smyrna.

The Armado ſent into the Blacke-Sea for [illegible]
garriſon towne kept by Gubegies (an inferiour kinde
tweene them and the Ianizaries. The Superiour the Gubegies returned from the Blacke-Sea,
the other their Quarrell in their owne Territories. The Captaine Baſſa brought in triumph two
F gun betwixt them; [illegible]
[illegible] but they did not triumph at the victorie, but ouer the
[illegible] of a thouſand. [illegible] this ſea fight next to that of Lepanto; but the nobler
[illegible] the [illegible] if the winde had not riſen too great for the Frigots, which were
[illegible] them againſt [illegible]

in

the gallies, and kept the land, leauing the Armado without ſouldiers to gard it, in danger of the Tartars and Coſſacks. G

The Great Vizier in Aſia gaue command, That no ſouldier ſhould retyre to Winter garriſon, but ſtay with the Armie about Babylon, the fitteſt ſeaſon being then to make the war: diſpoſing himſelfe in the meane time to take in places of leſſe import. *Abaſſa Baſſa* moued not, and promiſed obedience in all things; but to go out of his Hold of Arzirum he did peremptorily refuſe.

Strange predictions of a great plague which enſued.

The yeare and ſeaſon was full of contagion, which was obſerued by ſome forewarnings, and ſome extraordinarie diſpoſition of the aire and accidents: For, on the eighth of May at midnight there was a great and fearefull earthquake at Conſtantinople, which endured about ſix minutes; and crolling the ſea, was felt in Greece, Aſia, and the Iſlands. And on Munday the twenty ninth of Iune, at night there began a moſt terrible tempeſt, with ſo violent and continuall thunder and lightening, that all the city of Conſtantinople ſhewed as if it had been on fire; at the end whereof fell a ſtorme of haile that brake tiles and glaſſes, ſo that ſtones by report were taken vp of a hundred and fifty drammes; but from credible witnes that weighed diuers of them, the next morning there were found of ſixty and ſeuenty drammes apiece, (which is about ſeuen or eight ounces) wherewith many were wounded. On Sunday the third of Iuly, another tempeſt of thunder and lightning began at Conſtantinople, which burned a woman and her children in their bed, and ſlew much cattell in the field. And the fifth of Iuly the ſickeneſſe was growne to that heigth, that the Turkes proclaimed their publique proceſſion and prayers; which is performed with great ſolemnitie by the Mufti and all the Müllaes, accompanied with the Viziers and the chiefe of the city, attended by the people at a little Moſchie on the edge of the plain of Achmadan, ouer the water on Grecia ſide: which ceremonie is neuer vſed vntill the mortalitie exceed a thouſand a day; which was eaſily knowne by the burials, that were all made without the walls, and account of them were kept at euery port: and that day was numbered onely to go out of the gate of Adrianople nine hundred and ſeuenteene. On the eighth following there died a 1034: by computation of the whole (being many ports of buriall) there could not die leſſe than two or three thouſand a day, beſides Galata, Pera, and Scutari, the infection being ſpred almoſt into all the villages. The ſame day, proclamation was made in the Citie, That no Butcher ſhould kill murton; a murrion or plague (whither was vncertaine) hauing taken that ſort of cattel ſo violently, that they died in multitudes with ſores in the fields; and it was not knowne what they ſhould eat, nor where ſafely to prouide it. H I K

The Perſian feignedly deſires peace, and the Georgians ſend their Embaſſadors.

Vpon the approch of the great Vizier toward the Prouince of Babylon, there was a motion made on the part of the King of Perſia, of peace; but it was vnderſtood by the Vizier to be but an artifice to delay his Armie. There came Embaſſadours from the Princes of Georgia, who hauing formerly depended vpon the Perſian, were about nine yeares before betrayed and tyranniſed by him: in reuenge whereof they hauing taken protection of the Grand Seigniour, and the laſt ouerthrow giuen to the Perſian (though attributed to *Abaſſa*) being executed by a Nobleman of that Nation, they then ſent to offer themſelues in a confederacie of that warre. The meſſage was acceptable, and the Archbiſhop of Calcedon their countryman appointed to receiue, entertaine, and returne with them as Embaſſadour from that Port, to confirme and diſpoſe the whole Nation (who were gouerned by three Princes) to enter into this League, and to make warre vpon the King of Perſia. The race of thoſe three Families had long ruled that Countrey, whereof one was accounted the chiefeſt (though the others had ſeuerall iuriſdictions) of which the maſculine line was then failed, except onely one, who being made Turke young, was a Baſſa neere the Red-Sea. The State ſent vnto him, and made meanes to the Vizier, that he might returne and be their Prince; but on condition that he ſhould become a Chriſtian: but that being denied them, they elected the daughter of their laſt Prince, notwithſtanding their antient Law, that excludes the ſucceſſion and rule of women; and hauing procured therein a diſpenſation from the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, thoſe Embaſſadors had alſo order for formes ſake, to procure the confirmation from the Grand Seigniour; which was granted them. L M

The Ianizaries mutined in the Blacke-Sea being againe appeaſed, the Captaine Baſſa ſent out *Sackſachi Baſſa*, hauing made a fleet of an hundred and foureſcore frigots, and armed them

A them to keepe the riuers about Oſu, by which the Coſſackes deſcended. *Sackſachi* arriuing at Oſu, and finding all quiet, on the Biram day went aſhore; and being at dinner, was ſurpriſed by the Coſſacks, and hardly eſcaping, loſt all his fleet, and many of his men. The Captaine Baſſa hauing aduice of his ouerthrow, made all haſt to Oſu, and finding no ſhew of enemie, reſolued to go on towards Caffa; but that night the Coſſackes deſcending with their boats by many out-lets, the Baſſa of Oſu ſent to him to returne ſpeedily and make haſte towards Conſtantinople, for that the Enemie, growne proud with their late victorie, ſuppoſing no other force abroad, were directly gon for the Boſphorus, and were reſolued to aſſault the Imperiall city, or at leaſt (as they boaſted) to burne the Arſinall. Vpon this aduice, the Captaine Baſſa ſet ſaile, and the next morning by breake of day, and in a fog fell in with the fleet of the Coſſackes (conſiſting of three hundred and fifty frigots, that carried from forty to foureſcore musketiers apiece) and was ſo mingled with them, that he could neither vſe his ordnance for the danger of his owne gallies, nor auoid them without fight. Thus engaged, the Coſſackes furiouſly began the aſſault, and being three or foure boats to one gally, boorded them: twice they entred to the maine maſt of the Admirall galley of the Turkes, killed three at the helme, and broke the rudder off; which being againe faſtened by foure Chriſtian ſlaues, and the Sunne breaking out, ſo as the gallies could vſe their great ſhot, and the wind riſing, the Coſſackes were forced to leaue their fight, and betake them to their oares; where in parting, with the ordnance (as was reported) thirty boats were ſunke, and ſix or ſeuen hundred men taken vp. The conflict was bloudy on both ſides, being come to hand blowes, and the Ianizaries almoſt conſumed. The Captain Baſſa ſent to the Port for ſupplies of men, and all that tooke pay of the Grand Seignior, euen to the old ſoldiers which were put to penſion, were ſent away, ſome to make gard at Chananchy by land, on the mouth of the Boſphorus; other by water to re-enforce the Armado, and all was filled with trouble and terrour. The feare of the Tartars likewiſe was not ſo extinguiſhed that there was not cauſe to expect ſome attempt by land, *Shachi Gheray* being in armes; and thoſe motions, if not ſuddenly appeaſed, would occaſion another breach with Poland. B C D

The Coſſacks returne to the Boſphorus.

The Plague at that time raged as if it would haue diſpeopled the city of Conſtantinople and the villages adiacent, and the Francke Nations did all feele it; but the Turkes and Iewes by Armies, as if they went to conquer hell, if there were no league and confederacie betweene them. On the three and twentieth of Iuly there was Corban or ſacrifice made at the gate of the Seraglio, two Beeues and a hundred Sheepe: at euery other port of the citie two Beeues and ſome Sheepe for the contagion and warre.

Ianet Ogli returned againe towards Smyrna, and the Chaya or Lieutenant of the Bey of the city, raiſing three thouſand ſouldiers, went out againſt him, hoping to draw more to follow him: They met at a plaine, and fought valiantly, *Ianet Ogli* remaining victor, with the death of the Chaia and two thouſand of his men: and he was dayly expected at Smyrna, hauing ſent before to aſſure the people that he would do no violence to any Trader or inhabitant, but onely renew the Oath of obedience to him, and puniſh ſome that were authors of this enterpriſe againſt him. The Merchant-ſtrangers were ſo confident in him, as they purpoſed not to ſtirre, but to receiue him as their Protector; and thought the Rebell an honeſter man than any Iuſtice of their Towne. The myſterie of this ſtrange courſe could ſcarce be penetrated, for he ſtil reported he had authoritie from the Grand Seignior; though it was denied at the Port, for they were glad to know how to quiet him. E

Ianet Ogli taken and ſlaine.

Yet not many dayes after, he fought a battell which he loſt, and was taken, being betrayed by his owne followers; and it was deſired that he might be brought aliue to be ſeene at the Port; but the Ianizaries crucified him, and ſent his and his mothers and his brethrens heads together, ſo that the tumor was ſuddenly allayed.

About the foure and twentieth of September the gallies returned from the Blacke-Sea, with the loſſe onely of foure by a great ſtorme. The Captaine Baſſa brought in triumph two hundred & ſeuentie poore Coſſacks, & was receiued as if *Pompey* had againe finiſhed the Piratique war, that almoſt famiſhed Rome: But they did not triumph at the victorie, but ouer the conquered people; and they eſteemed this ſea fight next to that of Lepanto; but the nobler for the eſcape: for doubtleſſe if the winde had not riſen too great for the frigots, which were F

in number aboue foure hundred, the whole fleet had bin in danger to haue bin towed North- G
wards euen into the iawes of the Enemie.

The great Defterdar strangled & thrown into the streets.

About the same time, the great Defterdar, Treasurer of that Empire, was sent for into the Kings gardens, and there by the Bustangi Bassa strangled and slung out in his shirt into the streets; an vsuall end of riches and greatnesse in that Court. Otherwise, the State of that empire did then produce no remarkeable alteration: for the iealousie of the Tartars was somewhat appeased; but the Termes with Poland were vncertaine, while the Cossackes were yet vnrestrained. The Grand Seigniour vsed all flatterie to the Tartar *Han*, to enter Poland in reuenge: Which he promised, and rode as farre as Akyrman; but from thence excused his not proceeding, vpon the waters: which was doubtfully interpreted, That hee had no will. In the meane time the King of Poland sent an Armie against the Cossackes, to shew his sin- H
ceritie to the Peace; which was very well taken of the Turks.

The Persians ouerthrown by the Georgians, and the Bishop of Calcedon sent Embassador to them.

The Georgians in the meane time gaue a blow to the Persian, and sent many of their heads to the Port by a Nuntio; who was presently dispatched away with the Bishop of Calcedon, as Embassadour of the Grand Seignior, to enter league with those Princes, to make some diuersion. *Abassa* the old Rebell would not yet trust himselfe with the Vizier, but pretended he would vnite himselfe with the Georgians in the seruice of that State; although he fortified himselfe strongly, and discharged himselfe of his Ianizaries. The Grand Seignior to assure him, or to preuent that hee should not reuolt, sent him the dignitie of a Vizier, a Sword and a Vest, and authoritie to make warre in companie of the Georgians, in qualitie of a Generall (so well a strong Theefe prospered there:) and he arriued not long after with his I
Army at * Mosul, a place recouered from the Persians in the way to Babylon: who vnderstanding of supply of eight thousand, sent thither by the Persian to re-inforce the garrison, sent out a party of Courds, that encountred and broke them, obtaining a full victorie with the fall of two thousand, and the General and two young Sultans taken prisoners; who were sent to the Port, with the heads of their followers. The newes of which ouerthrow was receiued with much ioy and content in the Court. The Vizier demanded a million and two hundred thousand Cheequines to be sent beforehand for foure moneths pay of the Army; giuing this reason, That foreseeing he must Winter in those parts, and that Babylon would be defended, it was necessarie to haue money to hold his souldiers together; for if hee should diuide them to their Hybernation, it would be August before they could be drawne into the K
field, and the Spring lost: and to hold them that were alreadie almost in mutinie, were impossible, vpon credit. To this end all wayes were vsed to raise money; a third of which sum was sent from the Port, but the rest was hardly found (for the ordinarie charge far exceeded the reuenue) and fell very heauie vpon such as were forced to contribute.

* Ninive.

The Persian King, reported to be taken in his limbes at the same time (which did commonly forerunne some sudden enterprise) lay with his Armie about Tauris, indifferently to succour Babylon, and to attend the Circassians, or to make some diuersion when hee should see the Viziers Armie setled and ingaged in a siege: Which was not long deferred; for hee besieged Babylon, wherein were eight thousand Persians in defence. His regular army (consisting of Ianizaries and Spahies, directly payed from the Grand Seignior) were lodged on L
the one side; and the Beghs (which were thirteene) with the Timariots and Souldiers repartited on their gouernments on the other. As they began their approches, in a morning twentie thousand Persian horse fell into the Quarter of the Vizier, and did a great execution: but the alarme taken by the Beghs, they came to his rescue, and the Persians retyred. In that faction there fell fiue or six thousand Turkes. Whereupon afterward there was made a generall muster, and not found aboue foure thousand Ianizaries, of twelue thousand; nor ten thousand Spahies, of thirty thousand that were written for the warre: so that all the strength did rest in the Beghs, who were well followed, and little care or obedience in the other Orders. There were seuen Princes of the Arabs, who were subiects to the Grand Seignior, and ought to serue and aid him when they were commanded; but being summoned, they raised their M
forces by common consent, and stayed vpon their owne borders; answering, They durst not displease the possessor of Babylon; but if the victorie did fall to one, they would yeeld their antient obedience vnto the Grand Seignior: and if the Persian did hold his recouered right, they

A they also would not longer acknowledge any superiour, being (as they pretended) borne of free Ancestors.

About the fiue and twentieth of March there fell a great storme vpon the Bailo of Venice, 1626.
for an accidentall fight by a Venetian Vessell with a Bey of Andry: Many of the Turks were slaine, and the Captaine Bassa pretended great damages; auerring, That their galley was rich and rifled. He answered wisely and stoutly, That it was a chance; and would vnderstand of no composition, but only write to the Senate to examine the cause by iustice. But the Turks sought to draw an inference, That he, as Procurator of the Republique, was bound to stand in Law before the Iudges of the Port (where he was like enough to be heard and condemned
B together) and then to remaine as a Pledge for satisfaction. But he would not yeeld so much aduantage; insisting, That he was an Embassadour, to expound the sence of his Prince, and to maintaine the Amitie: and so by his standing mute the businesse rested in discontent.

The Ianizaries mutine against the Bostangi Bassa.

The gouernment of the Turkish Empire dayly declined, and (as a great and strong Bodie) had violent luctations before it yeelded and wasted. The Ianizaries about the last of March mutined against the Bostangi Bassa, for beating one of their Order (for disorder in the night) by the Grand Seigniours command, and before his window. By their Canon, they ought to be deliuered to their owne Capes to be iudged and punished; yet, though the Emperours word should be aboue the Law of his Slaues, and though he auowed the fact, sent and wrote vnto them, nothing would appease them; onely his life they pardoned, exacting his displa-
C cing, with sentence of incapabilitie euer to beare office. He had been a good seruant to his Master, carefull of the publique Honour, seuere against the licentiousnesse of the times, and therefore vnfit for them. Afterward (following the example) they began to quarrell with the Vizier, who had fauoured the Bostangi; and with much labour they were silenced for a time, but not quieted. This was their estate: What could then strangers expect, when the Emperor suffered iniuries of his owne bondmen?

At the same time, an open rupture betweene the Grand Seigniour and the King of Poland was like to succeed an inuasion made a little before into Podolia by the Tartar *Han*; who returning from thence with a great prey, was met, and lost with a part of it, the greatest part of his Army. Whose brother *Iean Geray* refusing to accompanie the action, as contrarie to
D the Peace and his Oath, sent the Generall *Conessoloky* the copy of the Order from the Port; which being discouered there, they hearkened after any ouerture or meanes to make vp the breach, and to procure a new reconciliation. But the ouerthrow giuen to the Tartars encouraged the Poles to declare their reuenge, and to auow the attempts of the Cossacks, who were then ready with seuen hundred frigots, to fall vpon some part neere Constantinople, munition being allowed them, and a Polish Captaine to euery boat. They threatened to fight with the Grand Seigniours Armado, and made a vow to inuest and carry away the Admirall Galley. All the villages on the Bosphorus to the gates of Constantinople trembled, and the city it selfe was not without feare; softened by certaine prophecies and Astrologians, who foretold a great blow from a Northerne people. Twentie gallies kept the mouth of the chan-
E nell, and the Captaine Bassa was to depart within ten dayes with forty more; almost alreadie conquered with his owne and the common feares.

The Grand Seigniours Army setled before Babylon.

Certaine newes was brought from Babylon, That the King of Persia had besieged the Viziers campe, and that he was lodged vpon his Trenches, and had cut off all accesse of prouision: so that the Grand Seigniours care was then greater to saue his Armie, than to recouer the Citie. Yet his Ministers did abate little of their pride, but were more readie to doe a wrong or any insolencie than euer; insensible of their owne estate, or dissembling it a peruerse way.

The King of Poland being yet very loth to breake the Peace with the Grand Seigniour, which had been concluded betweene them chiefely at the instance and mediation of his Ma-
F iestie of Great Britain; although the Tartars had entred his countries, and done great spoile, he caused his Minister to write to his Maiesties Embassadour at the Port, to lay downe their iust complaint: which the Embassadour did, in confidence of his friendship with the Chimacham; to whom he went directly, pressing him as well to a consideration of his Masters and his owne estate, as of that of the King of Poland; saying, That all the burthen and blame

would

would finally light vpon him; it being the vsuall way of great Princes, to discharge their failings and errours vpon their Ministers. This admonition moued the Chimacham to much, and this was the substance of his answer:

In all Lawes and Religions (said he) *there is nothing more odious than to be esteemed a Lyer; because Law and Religion presuppose truth, especially in great Ministers, vpon whose faith much of the publique quiet depended: but most especially at such a time* (for then it was * Ramazan) *separate to deuotion, that it was most abhominable to God to sweare a lye, by whome hee swore, and by the life of the King, all whose benefits might be poyson to him in his heart, if euer either he or his Master gaue any order or intimation to the Tartar Han to enter Poland, or to do any act contrarie to the Peace: which if he had done he might iustifie, seeing the Cossackes the yere before did make the first breach, and gaue the occasion.* To witnesse this assertion he called the * Reitzkuta, who made no scruple, *iurare in verba Magistri*, to sweare to what his Master had said: finally he confessed there were Commands written to *Mehemet Gheray*, by intelligence and consent of the Polish Generall, to enter the countrey of the Cossacks on both sides, to reduce them to obedience; with restriction of any damage to be done to those comprehended in the Peace: and that whatsoeuer the Tartar Han had done more, was and should be disauowed, as beyond his Commission. Many other matters he repeated, as the remoue of *Cante-Emir*, and the death of *Hagi Key*, onely to auoid any occasion of their parts. And in conclusion, all his discourse tended to an expression of desire to maintaine a good and perfect Peace. His Maiesties Embassadour asked the Chimacham, what he was willing he should write in answer to the King of Polands Ministers? Who briefely answered, That they had no other intent but to keepe the late Treaty; and that if vpon the Poles part (as they had begun) the Cossackes should be restrained, they would take absolute order with the Tartars; who had no other pretence of quarrell, but a claime of a certaine pension (mentioned in the Treaty) vsually giuen them; which if his Maiesty of Poland would establish, there should neuer be more occasion of those mutuall laments: That it were a dishonour to the Grand Seignior, to seeke and entreat the comming of an Embassadour to settle those late disorders; but if the King of Poland pleased to send one, he should be receiued with all rites and respects. To this the English Embassadour replied, That he doubted some ill example of the vsage and detention of others, would make the Polacke warie, and difficult to engage any person of Qualitie. To which hee gaue all such assurance of good and free acceptation as words could expresse. All which, the Embassadour returned in writing to the Ministers of Poland; entreating both parties to conniue at what was past, and endeauour by all means afterward to restraine those mutuall incursions, which were begun anew by the Cossackes, the noyse of whom had strooke the Imperiall citie with great feare.

** Lent.*

** Chantillor.*

The Spahies cause the Chimacham to be strangled.

Vpon the third of Iuly the Spahies assembled in the Hippodrome; discontent with the gouernment of the old Chimacham *Georgi Mehemet Bassa* (the ablest and wisest man in that State, but to Christians malicious, and of the Poles a continuall persecuter) who had the authoritie of the great Vizier in his absence at the war; and in great furie ran to the house of the Mufti, and demanded of him to pronounce a sentence of death against him, and that he would rise and informe the Grand Seignior of their will; which if hee refused, they threatened a generall reuolt, and to do their owne iustice. There was no remedie; the Emperour being enformed, was pleased instantly to displace him, and to giue the office to *Regeb* Captaine Bassa, and his to * *Imbraher Bassa*; hoping thus to quiet all matters. But this gaue them no satisfaction, they demanded in greater furie his life. The poore old man was retyred into the Grand Seigniours protection, who vsed all meanes to appease them, offering to banish or confine him: but nothing would content and separat them vntil he had deliuered him vp; who the next day was strangled and throwne into the streets, where the Barbarians vented their spleene vpon his dead body, cutting off his eares and nose, and carrying them in triumph to their fellowes. Presently they demand the life of some others, principally of *Morat Chiaus* the Customer (odious to all men), whom when they could not finde they sacked his house. Within a day or two after, they began to be quiet, vpon promise, That if he could be found he should be rendred to them, and others to be brought in Iustice: but all feared that that Pestilence and Destruction of the city would escape by force of his money, hauing three times before been in the like danger. That great Minister the Chimacham was ninetie six

** Master of the Horse.*

A six yeares old, had been forty fiue yeares Vizier, and thrice Chimacham. The great seruices he had done, euen to the preseruation of the Empire, nor any other respect could protect him from this rage. The occasion then taken against him, was, That he did conceale the ill estate of the Army in Babylon, flattering the Grand Seignior while their fellowes perished; and certaine Letters written in bloud, as from the Campe, produced to accuse him; which afterward were discouered to be written in Constantinople. When the sentence was deliuered to the Bostangi Bassa, he came to the lodging of the Chimacham in the Kings Garden, where he thought himselfe in sanctuarie, and for reuerence to his age and place; held it (being written) in his hand, rather to intimate, than to be the messenger. The poore old man perceiuing it, desired an houre to pray; and coniured him to warne the Grand Seigniour,
B hereafter not to be so easie to consent to shed innocent bloud, which within few dayes hee would repent: and lastly he entreated, that he might not die by the foule hands of the Hangman: which cost him deare; for the Bostangies executioners, either for respect, or for want of skill, could not finish his life (so great was his old heart) in one houre: hee was buried by a few Rascals, his owne seruants hid, and no man daring to accompany him to his last Bed.

The immediate foregoing discourse was filled with the iniustice and insolencie of man; but this bringeth with it examples of the iustice of God, who reuengeth the bloud of his enemies and wicked men, vniustly spilt, to preserue his image euen amongst them that studie to destroy it. To this may be fitly applied that boldnesse, *Non esse curæ Deis securitatem eorum etiam vltionem*: The Ianizaries either enuious that they had no part in the last sedition,
C or being innocent, vnwilling to participate in the infamie, or rather it was their turne to doe somewhat; forced the boats of the gallies which lay aboue Constantinople in the channell, and came downe to a garden house vpon the sea in the night, where the Emperour priuately reposed, and began to exclaim against the death of the Innocent; protesting they had no share therein, but as obedient slaues they desired the peace of the State, and that Iustice and quietnesse might returne to the City; and requiring reuenge vpon diuers whom they accused as the authors of those tumults, they named their owne * *Segmen Bassa* as the principall, and eighteene of their owne officers, and diuers others of the chiefe Spahies, who held councels together, and were become heads of Factions; which vntill they were all cut off, there was
D no hope of good gouernment and peace. The Grand Seignior gaue them milde words, and promised to do iustice, and to punish all such as should be found guilty: but nothing being don to satisfie them, and it being beleeued that the new Chimacham conniued, and had bin a partie to al their counsels, at least his preferment made him obnoxious to that suspition; and it was most true, that the *Segmen Bassa* & his followers & faction were the contriuers of the tal and murther of *Georgi Mehemet Bassa*, and very probable that he was fauoured if not prompted by the new Minister; the Ianizaries rose againe, and by force brought downe the gallies neere the city, and landed and held a Councell very secret in their chambers. This bred much suspition and feare; but the day of publique audience being come, according to the
E custome, they repaired all to the Seraglio, and waited in their order: their *Segmen Bassa* only did not appeare; and it was thought he absented purposely by agreement with the Chimacham, lest there should be some occasion to examine the past businesse, which would not endure the light. The * Diuan being finished, and the Viziers and * Cadder-Lesehers comming toward the gate, they were stopped by the Ianizaries, and told plainly they would speake with the King. Such persuasions as were requisite were vsed; but there was no remedie, they would deliuer their owne message. The young Emperour at first was afraid, and retyred; but to auoid greater inconueniences, resolued to come out to them. Order was instantly giuen to send for the Mufti and the Antients of the Law, and many Santons, for the *Segmen Bassa*, and others of qualitie to be present at this action. In the meane
F Throne was brought out, and placed in the great Court, and the Grand Seignior came forth and sate in his Maiestie, attended and assisted by all the great Ministers and officers of his empire, to strike a reuerence and feare into the souldiers, whose purposes were not discouered. Contrarie to all expectation, an Elect o spake for them: *In all humble manner professing their obedience, and lamenting the sickenesse of the State, and those late tumults, and declaring as they were not guilty of this last mutinie, so they were read* [illegible] *of their*

The Ianizaries petition against their late mutiniers.

** Lieutenant to the Aga.*

Prince, and for the reformation of those disorders, to which there could be applied no remedie but by A
the sword of Iustice to cut off all those heads which held Conuenticles, and plotted dayly alterations,
onely to gouerne the whole Empire at their will. They desired their Petition might be accepted, and
those disturbers of the peace sought out and executed, in which they would assist: and that new names
and titles might be forbidden, which many had taken vp as Heads of Factions; and the Souldierie
reduced to their antient discipline: Which if his Maiestie would grant, and speedily put in practise,
they were ready to die in his seruice; otherwise, as there was no hope of quietnesse, so they did fore-
see greater mischiefes dayly contemplated, which they would oppose as well as they were able. At
the end of this Oration (which might haue become a *Cato*) they deliuered a briefe petition
in writing, wherein they modestly accused the new Chimacham of confederacie and conni-
uence with their *Segmen Bassa*, whom they anew appealed, and gaue vp th[illegible]mes of those H
their owne Officers, and Spahies, vpon whom they layd all the burthen of the dayly tumults.
The Emperour gaue them a short but satisfactorie answer; yeelding to their request, yet
mingled with some admonition such as became a Prince: and so they departed euery man to
their owne rest. But the *Segmen Bassa* hauing some intimation that his name was renewed in
that list of death, tooke the first opportunitie, fled, and hid himselfe; and diuers others, con-
scious of their owne merits, retyred, and thereby condemned themselues: not one roaring
Spahi to be seene in the city; all things were so calme as if *Astræa* were descended. There
was no distemper but in the heart of the Chimachim, who was afraid to bring his compli-
ces into triall, and yet was sure if they were not taken, the escape would be his ruine: for
the Ianizaries exacted of him an account of the execution. With much diligence the *Seg-* I
men Bassa was apprehended and brought to the Court. He was first examined, rather to find
his owne treasure which was infinite (for he had the spoyle of Greece in the last gathering of
tribute-children; and of the Seraglio at the death of Sultan *Osman*) than to discouer other
men. The Grand Seigniour sent for him, and after few words, gaue sentence to haue his
head strucken off, which was instantly performed before the dore. Afterwards diuers of
both Orders were taken (as was reported, to the number of twenty two) priuately strangled
and throwne into the sea; and some (principally branded) were hidden and fled. This trou-
ble turned the Grand Seigniour to account many wayes; for by confiscations he aduanced a
million and two hundred and fiftie thousand dollars of the *Segmen Bassa*; by the Scriuano as
much; by others, very great summes; and, as if peace had risen out of the graue of the old K
Chimacham, there was heard no more noyse: the Spahies shrunke, and the Ianizaries as their
glory tooke vpon them an austere reformation. But there were many inward sores and discon-
tents, which notwithstanding all this cleere aire, were like to breake out, and one day could
not be sufficient to cure or purge the corruptions of that State.

The Grand Seigniours Army in di-stresse.

While the Grand Seigniour was thus troubled with appeasing his disordered and muti-
nous Ministers and Slaues at home, newes was brought from Babylon, That his campe there
was in great extremitie, besieged without by the Persian, Master of the field, and consequent-
ly of their prouisions; nakednesse, famine, and diseases, within, were more terrible than the
Enemy; and the supplies sent, stayed at Dierbeker, not daring to proceed without better
gards: insomuch as if speedy succours were not giuen them, the army must dishonourably L
and dangerously breake and steale away. But hereupon there was a publique Councel held,
in which all Orders as well ciuile as militarie assisted; and a present supply collected, and a
Generall chosen to conduct them.

The Grand Seigniour, because the greatest part of his land forces were thus busied and
employed against the Persian in Asia, sent his Letters (at the instance of the Prince of Tran-
syluania) to diuers Kings and Princes vnited for the liberty of Germany, to encourage them
to perseuerance and constancie in such designes as were fit for that purpose. But this was an
art of *Gabor*, to insinuate (by this shew) into the Grand Seignior an opinion of great confede-
racie with those Princes, to make himselfe more valued and considerable at the Port; and
on the other side to improue his authoritie in Christendome, by the pretence of so much cre- M
dit, and so great aids ready for his seruice. The copy whereof doth here immediately fol-
low.

Prince

Prince *Morat* euer Victorious;

TO the most glorious amongst the great Lords of Iesus, and chiefe amongst the highest of the
people of Messiah, Directors of all the affaires of Christians, Princes of the limits of po-
wer and honour, Lords who direct to greatnesse and glorie, and Kings ouer many Nations, who an-
tiently haue declared themselues to beare true loue and affection to our high Port: and to all Kings
and Princes, glorious Potentates, and other Gouernours of the people of Iesus, whose last dayes wee
pray God may euer be happy: but especially to those who haue at the present desired the friendship
B *of our most happy Port, the sanctuarie and refuge of the Cæsars and Princes of our age. To them*
let it be knowne, vpon the sight of our most high and Imperiall Signature, That there is arriued at
our happy Port, a messenger with a Letter from the most glorious amongst the followers of Iesus,
and the most respected and honoured amongst the people of the Messiah, Director of the affaires of
the Nazaren people, Patron of the limits of honour and power, and Lord of greatnesse and glory,
Bethlem Gabor, *Gouernor of Transyluania, and King of Hungarie, whose last dayes be propitious;*
beeing a true seruant and an vndoubted friend to our high Port, by the great mercie of the most
high God euer preserued; and by the wonderfull protection of the chiefe of Prophets our Prophet Ma-
homet Mustapha *(whom God blesse) kept safe, with a most noble, high, and continued off-spring:*
which did signifie, That some of you who in those parts be Kings and great Gouernours, and chiefest
C *and most glorious of the honoured and famous amongst the Lords that are obedient to the Messiah*
haue attentiuely shewed your selues constant and firme in your affection and sincere goodwil to our high
Port; and that some others of you, being Lords of great Countries, do now desire friendship and ac-
quaintance with our Imperiall Maiestie; and that the Gouernor of Transyluania and King of Hun-
garie, holdeth at the present good friendship and correspondence with you, and that you haue united
your selues with him for good and honorable ends: who letteth vs vnderstand, That you haue sent
Messengers and Letters to him; certifying him, That although some of you were antient and vn-
doubted friends long before of our high Port; yet others of you who haue beene more remote, doe now
desire to approch our familiaritie; and that he should be the guide and presenter of the sincere Faith
and good affection which you pretend to haue with vs. And the said Bethlem Gabor *King of Hun-*
D *garie, in obseruance of the perfect obedience and loue to our happy Port, hath enformed vs of the*
truth of your state, and your offered friendship. Which his Letter, with all the particulars therein
contained, we haue caused to be translated by our Viziers, and presented to our Imperiall view; so
that nothing therein hath been hidden or vnknown to vs from the beginning to the end: the particu-
lars whereof hath pleased our happy eyes, and the friendship which you haue desired to make with our
high Port, hath been accepted of our Imperiall Maiestie: and all those things he certified there are
most acceptable to our sincere minde; assuring you, That our high Port hath and shall be at all times
open to the whole world, but especially to those who by a fresh and new friendship seeke to enter in and
receiue it. And as all our Progenitors, and we our Selfe, to all the Friends of our house haue beene
euer benigne and courteous, so to you shall be shewed all honour from our Imperiall Dignitie, and more
E *fauour than to others who are your equals. And in token that you may know we do accept of your loue*
and friendship offered, we giue you safe conduct to send your Embassadours into our high Court; wri-
ting this our Letter vnto you, full of all affection and integritie. At the arriuall whereof it is
meet, that in conformity of the good affection and sincere friendship which you haue promised in
presse to our high Port, you vse all diligence and care to fulfill and prosecute this worthy and good
businesse which you haue begun, hauing your mindes attentiue and setled vpon the same, in such sort
as they be stable and sure, according to antient custome in like cases. And to other Kings friends
of this Port, you shall send your Embassadours of Honour, that the meanes of loue and friendship may
encrease euery day; and the good effects vpon our part shall be dayly augmented, and the bonds of
our affection shall go forward and continue: and by the grace of the high God, your Embassadours or
F *other Ministers comming to our happy Port, shall haue assigned them euery one apart their house,*
and according to the forme and manner of our Imperiall Maiestie shall be entertained and vsed: and
and when it shall be fit for them to returne to you again, we will take order for their more com-
modious and safe passage. Therefore rest satisfied in minde, and giue credit to all things and
lines set downe concerning this affaire: and be you also firme and [illegible]

ſpondence and confederacie. And we haue ſent to Mahemet Baſſa our Vizier, &c. (whoſe glorie God continue) who at the preſent is Gouernour of Buda our expreſſe Commands, and giuen order, That all the Armies belonging to him, of Buda, Boſnia, Temeſuar, Canſia, and Agria, and other places adioyning thereunto: and beſides them, to the moſt eminent Beglerbeghs of the Prouince of Greece (whoſe Armies belong vnto him) the moſt valiant Captaines of all our Empire; and to other perſonages of eminent ranke, who haue vnder their command many thouſands of men; That they repaire to our ſaid Vizier and Generall, (whoſe glory God encreaſe) and being all gathered together, that they make their Muſters and Campe at the confines neere Buda, in ſuch a place and part as ſhall be fit for that purpoſe. And on the other ſide alſo, That Bethlem Gabor (Gouernour of Tranſyluania, and King of Hungarie, ſhall leuie a good Armie, and keepe good correſpondence with our ſaid Vizier, that they may be in readineſſe and prepared, in caſe that any Enemy inuade the ſaid King of Hungarie, or the Prouince of Tranſyluania; that then they vſe all their diligence and readineſſe to repell them, and fulfill all theſe duties which concerne the honour of our State, and are beſeeming the reputation of our Religion. And by the grace of God, after that your Embaſſadours (honourable and fit perſonages) ſhall come here with your Letters, and eſtabliſh a good Peace and friendſhip, there ſhall be no doubt but you and your Countries and Allyes ſhall be protected by vs, and hereafter comprehended in all our Treaties of Peace which we ſhall conclude and eſtabliſh. In concluſion, All that which our noble minde can expreſſe or promiſe, ſhall be effected: whereof we haue giuen notice at large to all our Miniſters. Of euery other particular the Gouernour of Tranſyluania and King of Hungarie will write to you more amply; to whom I deſire you to giue faith and credit; and to obſerue good correſpondence both with him and our ſaid Vizier Muhemet Baſſa of Buda: and you ſhall write vnto vs (when this our Imperiall Letter ſhall come to your hands) of what other thing ſhall happen, by your Embaſſadours; which by the grace of God you ſhall ſend to our high Port: and you ſhall be very carefull alwaies to fulfill the beginnings of this our friendſhip and Amitie.

Written in the middle of the moneth of Iuly, 1626. in Conſtantinople.

About this time there arriued a Letter from the King of Great Britaine to the Grand Seigniour, concerning the Treaty of Algier and Tunes; and complaining of diuers iniuries done vnto his ſubiects, and requiring Iuſtice and redreſſe: which being reſpectiuely anſwered, are worthy of publique communication.

His Maieſties Letter to the Grand Seigniour.

CHARLES *by the grace of the moſt high God, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, &c. To the high and mightie Emperor Sultan* Morat Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the Muſſulman Kingdome, ſole and ſupreme Monarch of the Eaſterne Empire, ſendeth greeting.*

WE *haue vnderſtood by our Embaſſadour reſident with you, with how much honour and reſpect the death of our deere Lord and Father of euer glorious memorie was condoled at your Imperiall Port; And if the ſignification thereof, and of our peaceable ſucceſſion to theſe Crownes, haue not in all this time come vnto you immediately from our Selfe, it hath not been through any default of our affection, or reſpect to you, but many important affaires vpon our firſt acceſſe, and the dangerous infection wherewith our Royal* M *city of London, and many other principall parts of our Kingdome haue been viſited, haue diuerted vs, and forced vs to defer theſe offices longer than we intended or deſired. And as we hope you will for theſe important reaſons, readily & freely excuſe thoſe omiſſions which in*

A *in ſo weighty occaſions may well be diſpenſed withall; ſo we pray you to be aſſured, That we are deſirous that the Amity which hath of long time been held betweene our Predeceſſors, may be renewed, continued, and confirmed; and the entercourſe of Trade betweene our ſubiects and yours be maintained and preſerued, for the good of both our kingdomes and people. And to giue you the better proofe of our reall and ſincere intentions therein, we haue ratified and do ratifie the Treaty made by our Embaſſadour Sir* Thomas Roe *in that your Imperiall Port, with your Subiects of Algier and Tunes; and we cannot doubt, but that you for your part will keepe a conſtancie in the exact performance thereof, and to that end*
B *will lay your Royall command vpon thoſe your Vaſſals of Algier and Tunes, duly to obſerue the Articles of that Treaty in all reſpects towards our Subiects. We do likewiſe recommend vnto you, and pray you, in conformitie to our deſire of friendſhip and good correſpondencie, to confirme and ratifie thoſe priuiledges which haue been formerly granted by your Predeceſſors, to our Merchants, and to enlarge the ſame according to preſent occaſions, and as ſhall be moſt conuenient for the good of both our Kingdomes: which as we will ſtudy by all good meanes to keepe vp in full force, and moſt aduantageous execution; ſo we may not*
C *omit to repreſent vnto you the grieuances of our Subiects, when they are vniuſtly wronged, contrarie to the Capitulations betweene vs, and we preſume without your knowledge or conſent. That which we haue now to deſire your Iuſtice in, is, Firſt, Extreame iniuries done by inferior Officers, and ſpecially by one* Morat Chaus *a Cuſtomer of that Port, who hath not onely broken, but alſo ſcorned and contemned the Articles of the Capitulation, and that in the publique Diuan, to your diſhonour, and to the great preiudice of our Merchants. Secondly, an open iniuſtice done to our ſubiects in Algier, where the Engliſh Conſul and the reſt of the Nation were reſtrained of their libertie, their goods ſeiſed vpon, and forced to pay great ſummes of money, contrarie to Iuſtice and the direct termes of the Treaty. But if while we on our behalfe do obſerue the Capitulation and all good termes of*
D *friendſhip, ſuch meane perſons as Cuſtomers and other Officers be ſuffered, and borne out in theſe iniuſt inſolencies and oppreſſions vpon our ſubiects, in a manifeſt breach of the Capitulations; we cannot ſhut our eares againſt the Petitions of our ſubiects, but muſt according to their humble ſuit, giue order to withdraw their perſons and eſtates from ſuch dangers, wrongs, and iniuſtice; vnleſſe vpon this our inſtance we finde a ſpeedie redreſſe, and exemplarie puniſhment inflicted vpon ſuch as haue or ſhall tranſgreſſe the rules of Iuſtice, and the amity and Contract betweene vs, which we recommend to your iudgment and care as a matter wherein the welfare of our and your people and countries is intereſſed. We do*
E *further particularly pray you to giue expreſſe order for the vpholding and maintaining that Article of priuiledge for the paying but only of one Cuſtome within all the Ports vnder your Iuriſdiction, with free libertie to export any commoditie, hauing once payd cuſtome, without further charge; and that our ſubiects be not exacted vpon contrary to that priuiledge. The further particulars of our ſubiects grieuances, and what elſe we deſire to be negotiated with you, we haue giuen in charge to our Embaſſador Sir* Thomas Roe, *to whom we pray you to giue credit, and to returne vs full anſwers to the ſeuerall points of this our Letter*
F *Wherein if you ſhall giue reliefe to our ſubiects, and puniſh thoſe that violate the Capitulation, we ſhall receiue it as a ſingular teſtimony of your iuſtice, your good intentions [illegible] vs, your conſtancie in your Contracts, and your iudgement in what [illegible] relation to the good of your owne Dominions, and we ſhall be readie to anſwer that readie [illegible] yours, [illegible] uer may reſt on our part to performe.* Dated the firſt of March, 162[illegible]

The Grand Seigniours Answer to his Maiesties Letter of Great Britaine.

Prince Morat, euer successefull;

TO the mighty Prince, reuerend among the Maiesties of the Princes of the Law of Iesus, obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Messia the on[ly] director of the important affaires of the Nazaren People, Soueraigne of the lim[its] of Honour and Power, the most glorious CHARLES, **King of Great Britaine: To whose last dayes we wish all felicity.**

TO the sublime and happy Throne of our high Port, the Seat of the perpetuall Vicariat, the which by the mercy of the Diuine Maiestie of the mighty God, and by the grace of the Lord was the Seale of the Prophets, vpon whom be continuall blessing, and th[e] refuge of the Princes vpon the face of the earth, and the Sanctuarie of the Potentates of th[e] world; your Letter with accustomed sinceritie is arriued, by the hands of your Embassador, the e[steemed] among the Nation of Messiah, Sr Thomas Roe, resident in our happy Port, to whose ena[rra]ve wish blessednesse. Th[e] which, according to the antient Ottoman custome, and the vsed Imperiall forme, was by our supreme Vizier and glorious Vicegerent translated and expounded, and being presented before our State of most ample honour and felicitie, and seene by our Imperiall eyes, and considered in our benigne sight, from the beginning to the end, our noble vnderstanding hath entirely conceiued the inserted businesse, and all particulars thereof; and our discreet aspection, from the least to the greatest, hath comprehended all your proposed affaires, all which conduce to loue. The principall whereof is (besides that you haue fully mentioned, and declared the state of the Amitie that betweene both Dominions hath beene preserued by your Fathers and Ancestors) That now your Maiestie, after your Father of glorious memorie, being by iust inheritance ascended to the Regalitie of those Crownes, doth aduise vs, That you also, more than your Father, are stable and firme in the same way of friendship, and most constant toward vs, in preseruation of the Peace and good correspondence, and daily attentiue to endeauor the strengthening of the Peace and Amitie with our Port, and resolued to accomplish the same, and not to faile in any part of louing correspondence. With which your friendly aduice, with most sincere words expressed, and to vs most gratefull; That you in a blessed houre, and a happy time, haue possessed, and begun to raigne in the Kingdomes of your Father; the secret of our purest heart was greatly reioyced, and did conceiue abundance of contentment, and our Imperiall Maiesty also hath therefore obtained, and together expressed all manner of gladnesse and loue toward your Maiesty, in diuining you all happinesse.

You haue also aduised vs, That your aboue named Embassador, yet abiding in our blessed Port, hauing formerly treated with those of Tunes and Algier, and contracted concerning your Merchants, and their free traffique and commerce in those parts, and conformably with them agreed, concluded, and confirmed the Peace; the which being very profitable and commodious to both our Kingdomes, that you haue also ratified, and in the whole condescended thereunto; desiring, That on our behalfe also the same should be obserued: and to the end that for euer hereafter there may be no deuiation from the same Accord, and that to the Merchants, according to the antient custome, going and comming to those parts to traffique and negotiate contrarie to the Imperiall Capitulation, no iniurie may be by them done, That we should send to our Vice-Kings our expresse Commands. Therefore you shall know, That we haue alreadie sent to our said Vice-Royes, with expresse order, our most efficacious and Imperiall Commandements, and strictly charged them, Neuer to transgresse the same contracted Agreement; and that they take heed, Not to do any wrong or violence to any of your Merchants (contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations) trading and vsi[ng] those parts.

And furthermore, hauing signified vnto vs, That certaine Magistrates and Customers of some Scales of our well defended Empire, contrarie to the Articles and Couenants written in the Imperiall Capitulations, do make diuers demands of grieuances and impositions of your Merchants, and vnder

vnder the name of Mesteria,* and such like, do pretend and exact money from them: and hauing also aduised vs, That conformable to the Imperiall Capitulation, your Merchants hauing payd their due custome; and transporting their goods to other Scales, that they also demand of them a new Custome: Therefore it being in no wise our Imperiall will that in our prosperous dayes; and iust and peacefull raigne, contrary to our Imperiall Capitulation, that wrong should be done to any man; We haue giuen vpon this particular, our requisite and sufficient Imperiall Command; and straitly commanded and ordained, That they shall neuer transgresse our Imperiall Capitulation; and that the Nation of your Merchants, in what place or Scale soeuer they shall go; That the Magistrats and Customers do all diligence, that the said Merchants may liue quietly, contentedly, and securely; and hauing payed in one Scale the custome of any merchandise, which being not sold, and that they shall transport it to any other Scale, that they take great heed, not to demand nor take of them any new custome, nor euer, contrary to the Canon, to exact of them any new imposition or other grieuance.

* Customs.

You haue also further aduised vs, That the late Hussreph Bassa, while he remained in the charge of Vice-King of Algier, did vniustly take your Consul, resident in Algier, with the Merchants which liued with him, and hauing imprisoned them contrary to the Law, Iustice, and the friendship betweene vs, did take from them certaine thousands of dollars, and had done to them other great wrong and damage: Therefore, seeing it is more cleere than the Sunne-shine day, that it is not in any sort by our consent, that such iniustice and insolent actions should be committed, and there being then present in our happy Port some of the principall persons of the garrison of that place of Algier, who did know the whole proceeding, and wee hauing commanded they should bee examined of that businesse, they were presently brought to Iustice, and being all of them variously reprehended and affrighted, they did answer, confessing and obliging themselues, That all the money taken they would repay from the reuenue of the Custome, and Fists collected; and as soone as they should arriue in Algier, they would take order that the Consul and all the Merchants should be set free. In conformitie whereof, we also haue written our most effectuall and noble Command, reprehensiue and threatning, directed to the Vize-Re of Algier, & commanded him, That in this businesse he vse no negligence, but that without further delay he set at libertie the said Consul and Merchants, and restore vnto them entirely all their goods taken from them, and that he know, that hereafter no such action shall be pardoned; and that your Consul sent into those parts, according to antient custome, shall be entertained and honoured, and that he do punctually obserue and execute the due termes of friendship.

And in the conclusion, concerning all the included particulars of your letter, in due forme, and befitting our Maiesty the Fountaine of Iustice, and conformable to the Tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, there haue been written diuers our noble Commandements, and consigned to the hands of your said Embassadour; and for the time to come, in all things which shall lead to the encrease of our friendship, and those offices, commodious and profitable to the Merchants of both our dominions our Imperiall study and attention shall not be spared: and be you assured, that the termes of our Amitie and good correspondence which to this day hath beene continued, shall be of vs with excellent endeauour maintained.

But being informed from our honorable Gouernor, wise Councellor & Vizier Hayder Bassa (splendor God preserue) whom we haue assigned and sent to the custodie of the [illegible] there is come a petition, with a representation and attestation of the principall of [illegible] our happy Port, declaring, That in times past, in the gouernment of our Fezeli Bassa, [illegible] dead, being that certaine men of warre appertaining to your Kingdomes, had [illegible] lations, assailed the Merchants which with their goods returned from [illegible] their ships, and it being made knowne to the said Fezeli Bassa, that our [illegible] ged to the value of six hundred thousand Dollars: which action hein[g] [illegible] stice, and our Imperiall Capitulation, and that it was requisite the [illegible] ned, the said Fezeli Bassa did collect from the Masters of the [illegible] taken from our Merchants, an hundred thousand [illegible] whereas there was yet remaining to them [illegible] satisfied, the said men of warre [illegible] from your Country, and haue [illegible] sailing to the Scale of Ayman, [illegible] predation of all their [illegible]

* Hussreph Bassa was Vice-King of Algier, and Fezeli Bassa succeeded him.

many reasons, arguments, and accusations; but in the conclusion restrained, That if they saw G
no probabilitie to obtaine and assure the Peace, that then *Rerill* should proceed to prouoke
the Cossackes, and this Gentleman should not appeare in the Negotiation, but reside in the
house of the Emperours Agent, vnder the name of his Secretarie, vntill further direction.

When these Propositions were first moued, the spacious shew made them acceptable: but
when the particulars were weighed, especially that offer, To keepe the sea and coasts of the
Mediterran free from any spoyle or inuasion; the Vizier moued a question, Whether the
King of Spaine were soueraigne Lord of the Duke of Florence and the Grand Master of Mal-
ta? and if not, How he could command them, or restraine the Knights of Saint *Stephano* and
Malta, who were Religious Orders, and sworne enemies to the Port? To this obiection re-
ceiuing no cleere and satisfactorie answer, the Vizier began to mistrust, and to demurre. But H
delayes (which are vsuall in that Court) nor suting with the account which this Bolognese
was bound to render to the Duke of Ossuna, of his successe, Either to assure a Peace, or not
to lose the opportunitie of a diuersion by the Cossackes; caused him to attempt both at
once, and to employ *Padre Berill* to execute his part: Who being taken in Silistra on suspiti-
on, by the Bassa *Diach-Mehemet*, and his Letters opened, the Spanish friendship was disco-
uered; and the Bolognese stole himselfe out of the Countrey, and as it was reported, was at
his returne imprisoned, for the vanitie of entituling himselfe as a publique Minister, and ven-
ting his Masters name in so great a Theatre. And the Agent of *Cæsar* assisted to accuse him;
who not able to containe him within the limits of his Commission, but that he would breake
out, and dispute that he ought personally, in the name of the Vice-Re to treat with the I
Vizier; threatening to cause his pension from Spaine to be retrenched, as cold in the seruice
of that Crowne; the ciuile strife proceeded from heat to blowes: and it was beleeued, That
the Agent vnder-hand both haftened his flight, and procured his punishment.

The ill and disgracefull successe of this attempt, and the dissention betweene Ministers so
strictly obliged by common ends, made many men beleeue, that the wise state of Spain would
not againe rashly and suddenly engage their reputation to a second scorne. But Feare and Ne-
cessitie, that obey no rules, enforced as it seemes the Vice-King of Naples (for all these pra-
ctises were masqued vnder his name) to doe a seruice that would be most acceptable when it
was done. For the rumour, That the Prince of Transyluania did prepare an armie, and that
the Grand Seigniour had giuen order to the frontier Bassa's to assist him; and that the K
Count of Mansfelt, and Duke *Weymar* were expected with their troupes to ioyne with him;
this collegation appeared terrible, and to threaten Vienna it selfe: and therefore it was iud-
ged the best counsell, openly to offer a Peace, to amuse or separate the Force of the Turke, or
vnder the shadow of a Treaty, to steale away the first opportunitie of action. So that contra-
1626. rie to all expectation, suddenly in Aprill of this yere, it was aduised from Ragusa, That there
was there arriued in a Galliot of Naples, another *Mercury*, a Spanish Gentleman, that openly
auowed himselfe to be directly sent from the Vice-Re, to offer a Peace to the Grand Seig-
niour, and to prepare the acceptance of Embassadours or Commissioners fit to treat it. Hee
was well attended, and furnished with exchange, and earnestly recommended from the Vice-
King to the Senate of that City. At his first landing he made grauitie, and expected some L
ceremonies and reception: but those small States, who are like a graine betweene two mill-
stones, thinking their greatest safety consisted in taking no notice, and in being on both sides
disinteressed, would not vnderstand him; and he finding himselfe deceiued, was carried in a
close chaire to the Monasterie of the Friar-Minors, and kept himselfe priuate; onely sending
another Letter (which was written to a Vizier at the Port) to those Magistrates, desiring
them to dispeed it by Post to Constantinople, and to prouide him guides for his journey thi-
ther: both which were done, and two Turkes appointed to conduct him. Before his depar-
ture, he dispatched another Currier to Belgrade to a Correspondent there. It was likewise
aduised from Ragusa, That he was laden with Presents, and had order to spend freely: which M
was dangerous in a Court where all things were vendible: and those that fauoured the de-
signe, triumphed, and accounted the prize alreadie wonne, nothing being more discoursed
than the Peace betweene Spaine and Turky. As a forerunner of this negotiation, to smooth
the wayes, there was spred some weekes before this newes, a Letter printed in Spaine, *Cum*
Licentia, as written from the Grand Seigniour to the Catholique King; offering Peace, and
promising

A promising to separate from all his Enemies, and to leaue them to iust punishment, and neuer
to assist or support them; with a Catalogue ioyned, of an infinite Present that should be sent
by the Turke, to procure the acceptance of this Amitie. At the first sight this Letter was de-
spised as a fiction; onely some contemplatiue men did make construction, That it was spread
to encourage the people of Hungarie, and to remoue the feares of the Turke, or to raise a jea-
lousie in *Gabor* and his Friends; especially being seconded with a concurrent rumour, That
a Minister really was sent to treat Peace, and an Embassadour expected to follow him, that
at least he should be receiued to gaine time. But these were poore shifts for for so great and
wise a State: yet whatsoeuer the purpose was, whether it was a counterfeit, or directed to
some end, it was taken vp and vsed as an instrument to reiect the Embassage, and to prohibit
B the Bearer to approch the Court: For whether it fell into the hand of a Moore-Franke ex-
pelled Spain, or were made vse of by any that desired to crosse the conclusion of such a
Peace, in such a coniuncture, so dangerous to many Princes and States, it was shew-
ed the great Vizier, and Mufti, commented vpon, and vrged as a great affront to the
Grand Seigniour. At which they tooke so high and sudden disdaine, that they gaue instant
Commands, and sent horsemen to beat the wayes, with Commission to all the Beghs and
Caddees to assist them, That whersoeuer they did meet or finde this Gentleman, that they
should carry him directly backe to the sea side, and see him shipt; with admonition, Not to
presume to land on penaltie of death. And others to checke the Senate of Ragusa, for re-
ceiuing any Minister of their enemie, without asking leaue or consulting the State.

C The Gentleman was by this time aduanced foure dayes iourney toward the Port, where
he fell and brake his leg, and was carried backe in miserable paine to Ragusa, and returned to
his old lodging. Where the horsemen found him, and deliuering their Letters to the Senat,
demanded to haue him giuen vp into their hands. But they refused to breake their Sanctua-
rie, and only promised to obey the effect of the Grand Seigniors Command, ciuilly to ship
him, and to send him backe to Naples. Which was done in the presence of those Turks, and
letters written by the Senat, both to the Vice-King & the Vizier, to excuse themselues, That
they durst displease neither party, but desired to liue in the grace of both Princes.

D

The Grand Seigniours Command to all the Sanzackes and Caddees of Greece, to returne the Spanish Gentleman sent from the Vice-Re of Naples.

VPon the sight of this our Imperiall Signature, you shall take notice, That the Spani-
ards (being alwayes antient Enemies of our happy Port, the Fountaine of Felicity)
haue of late sought to aduantage themselues of some Princes which keepe good
E *friendship and correspondence with vs: To which end the Vice-Roy of Naples did send the*
last yeare a Messenger to our Imperiall Port; intimating, That the King of Spaine was de-
sirous of a Peace with vs: But in regard they haue euer beene our Enemies, and that the
Peace which they did then offer was fraudulent, and onely to serue their owne ends; wee
did not vouchsafe to giue him audience, but rather reiected both himselfe and his message.
And now againe we haue notice giuen vs, That there are others come to Ragusa, from the
said King of Spaine, about the same businesse, with intent to come forward to our happie
Port: Therefore we haue sent Mustapha *our Capigi with our Imperiall Command, That*
F *if any such like persons shall come within any of your seuerall Iurisdictions, That you stay*
them, and without one houre or moment of delay deliuer them to him, to be carried forth of
our Dominions, and made returne to their owne Countrey. This is a businesse of very great
importance, and therefore we command you to be very warie and circumspect in searching

out for such persons, and that you vse no negligence or delay therein, but speedily obey and G
put in execution this our Imperiall Command, not suffering any one whatsoeuer, comming
either from the Vice-King of Naples, or the King of Spaine, to proceed forward toward
our happy Port. And you shall certifie vs in writing, by the said Capigi, how and in what
manner you haue executed our Command. And if any such persons comming from the Vice-
King of Naples, or King of Spaine, haue any Letters or writings, you shall take them from
them, and send them to our happy Port. And after you shall haue seene and vnderstood
this our Command, you shall giue faith and credit to it, and restore it againe to our Slaue
Mustapha Capigi.

Giuen at Constantinople, in the middle of the Moone H
of Saban, in the yeare 1035.
Which is in the middle of May, 1626.

Another of the same Tenour was sent by the same Messenger to the Commonwealth of Ragusa.

The Princesse of Transyluania elected to succeed the Prince in that Prouince.

About the sixth of September, the Prince of Transyluania sent a Post in great expedition to the Port, with Letters and Instructions to his Agent there, the substance whereof was reduced to two heads; First, to declare to the Grand Seignior, That his Estates in their Dyet, I by his consent, had elected his Lady to the succession of that Principalitie: and to require the confirmation, according to the antient Rites and Capitulations betweene them. For his sudden resolution, without consulting the Grand Seigniour, and in excuse of the sex, he proposed many reasons, all directed to one scope: That the encrease of the House of Austria was so dangerous to all Germany, that it was requisite to prouide for Transyluania, to preuent the corruptions of an *Inter Regnum*, wherein the Imperials might worke distemper and diuision: and therefore it was necessarie that a Successour should be declared, and in possession; and one well allyed and strengthened by the Princes opposite to the Austrians; which conditions meeting in his wife, made her without all exception. That this election was passed with the consent and in contemplation of his Allyes and friends of the Port, and vnder their assurance of protection. And that therefore he should vrge the Grand Seignior to concurre and to approue his care, employed onely to preuent and humble the Common Enemie. Secondly, That whereas then six yeares past, when he liued in peace, without offence of the Emperour, he had beene commanded by the Grand Seignior to moue his Armes, and to prouoke an Enemie, now become irreconcileable: Which Councell had been continued vntill that time, by the most experienced Ministers of the Turkish Empire; and Letters sent him the yeare before of the same tenour; and that he had lately required a plaine approbation of his prosecution of those designes, which being formerly indifferent, were now become necessary: And to persuade them, not to lose this opportunitie of confining the Emperour for euer within Germany, and setling an assured peace and safety to the Turkish frontier; that was by his conquest of Hungary. That if he found any difficultie in either of these, L That the succession were refused to his Lady, or succours to him to prosecute the war; that he should vnmaske, and plainely protest, That he had been engaged first by the Grand Seigniour, and made confederation with many friends, with his consent and approbation, too late to be reuoked, and his owne honour so farre thereby exposed, that he could not retire, but would prouide for his owne safety. Therefore, as he would pay his tribute, and continue his faith; so, if they would leaue him to himselfe, they must not disdaine the like measure in their occasions, from him and his Friends.

His Letters and messages were roundly deliuered to the Ministers of the Grand Seignior; and a generall answer giuen, That for the succession they would consult and resolue to his fit M satisfaction; and that a Letter should be presently written to approue the antient Councels. The Agent not content with that coldnesse, nor well discerning the times, pressed the Vizier to a more direct and particular answer.

But in the instant there arriued newes from Babylon, That the Campe was risen and fled, by

A by the fauour of the night, forced to burne their Tents and prouisions, and to breake their great Artillerie, and cast it into the Euphrates; That the miseries in the Army had been such as men in the field neuer suffered (consumed by famin, and suffocated by heat: by this, twelue thousand died in one day; the other might be iudged by the price of a bushell of barly, sold for thirty eight checquines of gold.) That the Great Vizier had beheaded three of the most valiant Bassa's, hoping thereby to cast the enuy of his shame vpon them: and, That retyring to * Mosul, the Persian vsed his victorie, and following a flying Army, did continuall execution for ten dayes vpon the Reare. So great a blow the Turkish Empire neuer receiued; the newes whereof was taken with so much sadnesse, that it was no season to treat of making new warres. The Emperours Agent made vse of this deiection, and opposed all the
B Transyluanian negotiations diametrally, and promised the present comming of a great Embassadour to ratifie the Peace betweene the Grand Seigniour and his Master. And the Turks knew not whom to beleeue, weakened in spirit by their successe and the present constitution; *Fluuri ambiguus, & magis quid vitaret quàm cui fideret certus*; doubtfull of the future, and rather certaine what to auoyd, than whom to trust. Wherefore the Prince of Transyluania's Agent resolued, not to prouoke by an importune pressure, a dispairefull answer; but to giue them time to recollect ad gather heart, and to accept of their generall Letters, with a promise from the Chimacham annexed, That as soone as a few days of consultation and prouision for their affaires in Asia were past, that he would enter into a particular consideration of his Master, and giue him ample content in them; and that in the mean time he might proC ceed cheerefully.

The Graund Seigniors armie flies from Babylon.

** Niniue.*

The Bassa of Buda in the meane time sent a Post to the Port, with certaine newes of the arriuall of the Duke of Weymar and Count *Mansfelt* in Silesia; and that the Prince of Transyluania was risen to ioyne with them, hauing mutually exchanged and sent some Troupes one to the other; and that himselfe was marched neere Vatz, to conferre with the Prince in his passage, to resolue together of the prosecution of their designes. Whereupon the Emperours Agent at the Port made violent exclamations; protested the breach of Peace, and vsed some scandalous arguments against the Friends of the Prince, begged, threatened, and enforced all his powers to diuert or affright the Chimacham; who knew no more than was infused into him, and for the most part beleeued the last man, or as his feares guided him.

The Duke of Weymar and Count Mansfelt arriue in Silesia

D This caused some stop of the dispatch of the inuestiture of the Princesse of Transyluania, and other negotiations of the Prince: And the Agent had procured a Letter from the Grand Seigniour to his Master the Emperour, of excuse; yet referring all conclusion, if they [illegible] Peace, to a treaty with the Prince of Transyluania and *Morteza* Bassa of Buda. Order[illegible] were dispatched to the Bassa, to beware of impertinent actions, to occasion an vnfeasonable rupture: yet so mingled and qualified, as that they intimated, any thing would be [illegible] that was throughly done. Against the inuestiture the Emperours Agent [illegible] and strength; obiecting, That she was a woman, a stranger, and a German. [illegible] hoped to begin a discontent betweene the Grand Seigniour and the Prince, [illegible] Bassa knowing, that the election once passed, would not be recalled, [illegible] lings but in comE med at the Port, the Prince and Estates of Transyluania would [illegible] many their libertie encroached vpon, and perhaps seeke other refuges [illegible] would willingly haue accepted any returne or aspect towards him. [illegible] to entice the Prince to depend vpon the Emperour, [illegible] his Maiestie may not obtaine at the Port, being at large opened to [illegible] you no way haue [illegible] it was againe resolued to dispatch the Grand [illegible] many (wherin the monie: who was to depart within six dayes) [illegible] purposely written, demanding iustice of The Prince of Transyluania [illegible] such effects, contrarie to the Peace, and being there- [illegible] both Nations, [illegible] you in minde, exhort, and require [illegible] proceedings, and to [illegible] scandall, nor that you take or [illegible] Seigniour, contrarie to the [illegible] wherein you are wisely to con- [illegible] Seignors Dominion; and that [illegible] Peace. We further desire you to examine

[illegible] Transyluania kept his Army in their Hybernation, and that the Grand Seignior gaue order (at the instance of some of his Ministers, fauourers of peace) [illegible] from his gouernment; yet it was most cleere [illegible] dent, and vn- H
[illegible] did with all sinceritie endeauour to continue the warre, notwith- [illegible] made for necessitie, and referred for ratification to the Grand Seignior.
[illegible] communication with the Capi-Aga and Caslar-Aga, not communicated to any, [illegible] brought, was sufficient testimonie of his constancie and inward purpo-
[illegible] of Duke *Iohn Ernestus*, that Army being want and almost in muti- [illegible] and gaue them two moneths pay, one in [illegible]e, butter, honey, cheese, [illegible] and the other in mony; assuring the [illegible]at they should not want, until further answere and orders came from the Princes, to whom [illegible]e Count of Mansfelt was dispatched. This the Prince writ to the Port, as a greater argu- [illegible]nt (because chargeable) of his diligence to oblige them, which if he meant peace, had been cast away. But after the death I
of the old Chimachan (protector of him and all his actions) the Emperours friends wrought [illegible] mercenarie [illegible], and conuerted their feare into a seeming sinceritie and care of [illegible] engagement in a double warr: who finding the State entangled in the troubles of [illegible] the foundation, not only to dispute against any other, but to threaten the con- [illegible] their opinion. These for the most part were men popular, but vtterly ignorant [illegible] affaires of Hungary; yet they so far preuailed (*quod in seditionibus accidere solet, vbi plures sententiæ sunt quam causæ*, which hapneth in tumults where many are, al men run) that [illegible] Vizier [illegible] was enforced to command the retreit of *Mortesa*. These things [illegible] in the mean while they concluded to dispatch a new Vizier, & to raise the soldierie [illegible] following him. There was at time to speake of another enemie, and those wise men could do [illegible] one thing at once. But the zeale of this Councell lasting no longer than while it was K
[illegible] Ministers, and that the supply of Asia was resolued, and the Grand Seigni- [illegible] being fully informed by *Gabors* last Letters, which threatened as much on the other side, That if that opportunitie were lost, and that the House of Austria should possesse Germany; or at the best, the Princes colleagued take the example and make peace, hee must expect a sharpe inuasion and reuenge, then when he should haue no friends, and their Army busied in Asia: vrging the neere allyance of the Emperor with the King of Poland, the instigation of the Pope, and whatsoeuer might beget a feare that they should be inclosed with enemies. This admonition taught them the wisedome to be content to keepe their Opposite exercised at anothers charge; and though as yet they durst not, or would not so openly declare, as L
to pull the warr vpon themselues, yet they found it necessarie to be continued, and therefore they resolued to temporise, and to auoid a present extremitie, by the colour of the Truce. In the meane time to leaue *Bethlem Gabor* at his libertie, and to obserue how the Princes proceeded to maintaine and supply their Troupes; meaning to step in when they should see their Armie in the field. To this purpose *Mortesa Bassa* was re-established in his gouernment, and the businesse so carried with him, that he should make no shew of mouing, vntill the time fit to take horse; and that then he should haue leaue and command to correspond with *Gabor* according to the occasion.

1627. *A Dutch Gentleman dispeeded to the port by the Emperor, disguised in French attyre.*

The Emperour hauing had notice of these counsels and designes, dispaiched a Dutch gen- M
tleman toward the Port, with Letters and Instructions to his Agent and Friends there; and commanded him to make his iourney by the way of Ragusa, giuing it out that he was a French man, lest he should be discouered in the shorter way by Buda, and stopped, and his papers and Instructions searched. Notwithstanding all this disguise, notice came to the Port before-

A beforehand of the comming of this Messenger; and the Ministers of the Grand Seignior caused him ■ his arriuall to be confined, not suffering him to deliuer any Letters: the Vizier forcing him to decipher his Letter to the Emperours Agent in his presence, not trusting him with his owne secret. The substance whereof was vehement complaint against the Prince of Transyluania; accusing him to be the author of all the troubles and discontents of the frontier. That since his aduancement it was not possible to maintaine the Peace, nor that Amity which was contracted betweene their kingdoms; intimating a desire to haue him deposed, as a perturber of the world. Expostulating the mouing of those new Armes and the preparations of the Bassa of Buda. He had Letters likewise to the Grand Seignior, but was not suffered to deliuer them: but they resolued to send him backe to Buda, there to open his
B message, and if it should seeme fit to *Bethlem Gabor* and the Bassa to treat peace, that then an Embassadour from the Emperour should be accepted, but no inferiour person, nor querelous Letters. Thus it was plotted to the aduice of *Gabor*; who gaue this counsell, that he might in all occasion both know the secret, and direct the answer, and by making himselfe seeme necessarie to the Turkes, he guided all their resolutions to his owne ends. On the other side, *Mortesa Bassa* hauing had notice, that a messenger was stollen by, and arriued & heard at the Port, sent a Post with Letters, complaining, That he should haue any entertainment there, or was admitted any audience: That if the Grand Seignior had with confidence really referred the conclusion of peace or warre to *Bethlem Gabor* and himselfe, all other Treaty was impertinent and hurtfull, and might produce vncertaintie or contrarietie in the resolution; de-
C siring that he might be dismissed instantly and sent to him, because one of the Imperial commissioners being arriued at Comara, had aduertised, That they could not enter into conference vntill the returne of this Messenger. Whereupon the Vizier dispeeded him without any answer to the Emperour, or Treaty, or other resolution than that which was formerly mentioned; rather taking from him, than receiuing his Letters; only a *Fede* for his discharge was giuen him, that he had brought and presented them, but comming from the country of an Enemie, they could not be accepted. Thus he was sent to *Mortesa* by a Chaus, and with him an answer to the Bassa, That his negotiation was wholly referred to him and the prince of Transyluania; with this caution, That he should protract, and beware to be rashly ingaged in an open warre.

D About the one and twentieth of Aprill newes came to the Port from Cairo, signifying the reuolt of Gemen in Arabia, vnder a pretending prince whom they call an Ayman or Priest: That he had ouerrunne the Countrey, and besieged the Bassa in the principall Citie. To whose reliefe the Bassa of Cairo had sent by Suachim in the Red-Sea three thousand soldiers; but it was aduised, That if more succours were not supplied, that the Holy Country would be lost. This caused frequent Councels, and did much trouble the State; especially the feare of Mecha, Medina, and the deuotions of their Prophet. The great Vizier arriued at Aleppo, but complained for men, munition, and money: to raise the first, the Viziers of the Bench were sent abroad; one to Greece, another to Natolia, a third to Tartarie, others to other places; insomuch as the City was left desolate. Munition was aduentured by sea to
E Scanderone; and mony extorted from the poorer (*per fas & nefas*) or drawne from rich subiects (*precario*) to concurre to assist in the publique want.

A dead silence now possessed all things; and there was little newes from the Prince of Transyluania, how he proceeded, nor what he purposed: only the tripartite Commissioners were met at Comaran, where they treated; and the generall inclination of the Ministers at the Port being wholly bent to peace, they aduised *Mortesa* secretly, and excused themselues to *Gabor* vpon the Mufti; whose feares the Imperials had made the ground of their hopes, and that Councel. But it seemes it was resolued at least, not to breake; the Emperors Commissioners pressing a resolution on the one side, and *Gabor* on the other raising new difficulties, and endeauouring to dissolue the Treaty, and to leaue the occasion of the warr open
F to time and opportunitie. The Turkes being driuen vp in a streight how to please both, fell at last vpon the Prince, accusing him, That he had in December before treated apart, and made his owne peace with the Emperour, vpon conditions to his owne aduantage, without consulting the Port: which was true; for vpon the retreit of his Army, and the dispaire of the forces of Count *Mansfelt*, (which hee found weakened by a long march) and the dis-

union of the Generals, he had treated and signed Articles; but as he pretended, they were concluded in a Councell, with the content of his Friends or their ministers: which as he could not directly deny, so he did not absolutely confesse; tempering what he had done with diuers conditions; of the declaration; of the consent of his Allyes; and the ratification of the Grand Seignior. This Treaty was noysed and bruted from Vienna, and the copy sent to Constantinople purposely to discredit him: to that it was no more a secret; and therefore the Prince dispatched a Poste to his Embassador, to satisfie those who might except against him: professing not onely what he had done apart by necessitie, and for want of succour, but that he would proceed in the generall Treaty: because there was no other way to winne the Ministers of the Grand Seignior; who so much affected the assurance of the Border, that they would not beleeue any arguments, as sauoring of other interests, but that he would at the conuention raise so many rocks and impossibilities, as that the breach of the conference should be the beginning of the warre, and a bond of necessitie in the Turkes to partake in it. The Emperour remaining still iealous of delayes, sent another messenger to the Port, with a second complaint against *Bethlem Gabor* and *Morteza Bassa*, as the disturbers of the armes, Truce; and an expression of his feruent desire to maintaine a good peace with the Ottoman Empire, which he said could neuer be secured, vnlesse the Grand Seignior should plant Ministers in the frontier gouernments, as were louers of the publique quiet. For the effecting whereof he had sent his Deputies to meet those of the Port, who hauing agreed (as he pretended) vpon Articles, and reconciled all differences, [that] he was ready to send a great Embassadour thither, to confirme whatsoeuer should there be concluded. This was chiefly to get an acceptance of some person of Qualitie to be present at the Port; which *Gabor* and *Morteza Bassa* hindred, to keepe that State without any light but such as they pleased to giue them. But it being obiected to the Messenger by the Vizier, That the Emperor had made a Peace apart with the Prince, and that therefore he had obtained his ends without the communication of the Grand Seignior, which gaue much suspition of sinister purposes; the Emperours Messenger did not deny but that there was some such thing done; but that his Master did not trust in it, nor could euer rest secure in the word of that Prince, vnlesse the authoritie of the Port did strengthen it. In conclusion, feare on the one part to lose an opportunitie of peace; the death of *Mansfelt*, some disasters of the Friends of the Prince in Germanie, and the failing of aids expected, all concurring on the other part, made both soften and decline, and resolue to take care onely of their owne affaires, and to leaue the World at libertie. K

The Captaine Bassa dispatched with an Armado into the Black-sea.

The Captaine Bassa was sent vp to the Euxine sea with a gallant fleet for flagges and streamers, resolute to attempt the shutting in of the Cossacks by building two Forts on the outlets of the Boristhenes: who prepared to resist him, and were intrenched neere his expected descent. The Poles made some braues, That they would assist them, and maintaine their Frontier, as Lords of that ground: but it was not beleeued they would hazard their peace with the Grand Seignior, by fighting with his Generall, but rather conniue till he should be returned, and then to raze and ouerthrow what was raised, and excuse it vpon their outlawes. This enterprise was like to cost some knockes; but as matters then stood, the Poles were not L in state to make any great progresse, the King of Sweden hauing diuerted them to their owne defence in Prussia: yet howsoeuer they resolued in this particular, they must keepe an Army on foot, lest they tempted the Enemie to vse the occasion.

While all the sea forces were imployed in this designe, the Arches were left vngarded, and 6 gallies of the great duke of Tuscany came to the mouth of the Hellespont, & took one Gallion and many lesser ships of the Cairo fleet; the booty whereof by report amounted to some millions of dollars. This sudden alarme caused the Grand Seignior to send into the Blacke-Sea to recall some forces, and instantly from the Armado twelue gallies were spared, and dispatched to seeke the Christians, who were departed with their riches.

An Embassadour from Persia arriueth at Aleppo.

There arriued at the same time a Persian Embassador at Aleppo with ouertures of peace: M vpon whom the Grand Vizier put gards, neither accepting nor refusing his message; and sent to the Port to declare, that the State must either furnish him with a million and halfe of gold, and store of munition, or else grant him a Commission to entertaine that opportunitie and motion of Treaty; for with lesse supplies he could not proceed. The first was impossible, and

A and the later much against the stomach; but a fresh aduice bringing the report of a great Embassadour following the former with rich Presents, and faire offers, made many beleeue or hope a happy conclusion; though men of best iudgements esteemed it very difficult, vnlesse Babylon should be surrendred. All men made this conclusion, That if peace could be setled on that side, the Turkes had yet spleene enough to reuenge the braues they had endured from the Imperials; who though they sought a Truce, prosecuted it insolently, threatening fire and sword if they obtained not their desires. And thus the Treaty at Comaran had ebbs and flouds, heats and colds, as the feare or hope of the affaires of Asia did temper it.

The Persian Embassador arriueth at the Port.

This expected Persian Embassadour not long after arriued at the Port, with little hope to buy peace at a cheaper rate than the surrender of Babylon. And the gallies of the Grand B Seignior sent in pursuit of the Florentines, by great diligence ouertooke them in a port of Morea, and recouered all the prizes, [So their great wealth was like a dreame, when they awaked it vanished:] And vpon the sixteenth of Iune they returned and entered in triumph, towing in all the repriseds booty. It seemes they were become too rich to fight, and the Turkes, though superiour in strength and number, were content with the gaine, and glad not to force men alreadie spoyled, into dispaire.

About the first of Iuly the Bassa of Buda sent poste to the port, with aduice, that the emperors commissioners at Comaran had presented certain articles, containing accounts & restitutions: which being sent to him, he had receiued, but could not allow them; answering, That the Grand Seignior did not treat with Merchants; Which had like to haue bred confusion: but C that they were since entered into new conference, and had concluded in the generall, a resolution to peace; with consent that both parties should haue time to send to their Masters for fresh instructions in particulars. Whereupon he had dispatched that messenger to the Port, to vnderstand the sence, & to receiue absolute directions from thence. By him *Bethlem Gabor* did write a sharpe Letter; confessing plainly (seeing he could not longer conceale it) that hee had made peace for himselfe; but accused the negligence of those Ministers as the cause thereof: First, That they would neuer constantly trust his aduices of the opportunitie of the warre; but their Mufti and Booke-men, who were fitter to interpret their Law, than to iudge of the Word and matters of State. That he would be true to the Grand Seignior, but yet not neglect himselfe, when he saw how little care, authority, and credit was giuen to him; D That the Letters written to him from the Vizier were ambiguous and irresolute, but that diuers others had threatened him not to be the occasion of a warre. And therefore, to proue himselfe faithfull and true to his owne first counsels, he offered, That if the Grand Seignior would breake off the Treaty, and resolue to vse the time, that he was readie to march in six dayes warning. He amplified the prosperitie of the remaines of *Mansfelts* Army in Silesia, the occasion, and all other fit arguments to moue them to a change of those degenerate councels of peace. But this was an art, to cast the fault on others, for the conclusion of that which he had suffered to proceed, and beyond his power to remedie. Yet it much perplexed the Vizier, who excused himselfe, and returned all the blame vpon the Lawyers, as men ignorant, by whom he had been ouerborne; and that he neuer consented to peace or Treatie in E his owne iudgement, but had proceeded sincerely according to his engagement, as far as he durst, and, that so much his continuall Letters witnessed for him; promising, that hee would cause a Consultation to answer these aduices, and that he would not agree to any conclusion without the satisfaction of the prince and all others that were friends to the Port, and the restitution of the oppressed libertie. Which solemnly handled in a full Councell, and Orders dispatched away as the finall resolution of that State, to leaue the power of making peace, or breaking the Treaty, to the iudgement of *Gabor* and the Bassa of Buda, wholly and without restriction.

What effects this would worke was somewhat vncertaine; but such appeared the inclination of those into whose hands the Treaty was now referred, that there was a strong opinion, the Emperour should faile of the securitie expected: Especially because the ouertures of peace which the Persian made by his Embassador there ariued, together with their necessitie, had raised some shew of inclination to hearken to accommodation in those parts. But it came aduised from the Treaty, That the Commissioners being met the second time, the Imperials insisted vpon high termes, demanding a ratification of the old Peace of Zitwa, then expired, without

union of the Generals, he had treated and signed Articles; but as he pretended, they
concluded in a Councell, with the consent of his friends or chiefe ministers: which
could not directly deny, so he did not absolutely confesse; temperizing
duous conditions of the declaration of the consent of his Allyes and the ransome
Grand Seignour. This
Constantinople purposed
the Prince dispatched
him protesting not only
that he would proceed
the Ministers of the Grand
that they would not be
as the contention
shendib
Emperour
second
changed all the Game, and
undertooke both to dis-
court.
ornolante
ion of Persia, he sent vn-
ns.

The Governors, Admirals, Commanders of Ships, and other his Maiesties Subiects trading in the Kingdome or Gulfe of Persia.

After our louing commendations:

The Emperour admonisheth the Persian Gulfe.

WHereas Aly Bassa, Bassa of Balsara, hath sent his Letters to this high Port by the hands of two of his seruants inhabiting in those parts; by them informing the Grand Seignour, That the English nation trading in the Persian Gulfe, in Ormus, Iasques, Mumbrun, and other parts of the kingdome of Persia, do make prize & take the Vessels and Frigots of the subiects of the Grand Seignour dwelling in Balsara, Lasha, and the coasts of Arabia, trading to Meschit, India, Goa, and Cuisum: and that they make Slaues of all the passengers, Merchants or other, that they finde vpon the said Vessels, being subiects of this Empire. Further, That they do vnite themselues with the Persian (now in warre with the Grand Seignour) assisting him not onely with munition, but Vessels & frigots; and that they help and teach the Persians (enemies of this Port) to build Gallies, Galliots, and other Vessels of warre, to arme in those seas; prouiding them of Shipwrights and all other necessaries for the fitting of an Armado, thereby to inuade or besiege the Port of Balsara, or Lasha, or to make incursions vpon the territories of this Empire. Which actions being alledged to be contrary to the Capitulations of his most sacred Maiestie, and to the publique Peace and commerce betweene these Kingdomes, I haue beene called before the Chimacham, Deputie to the Great Vizier, to make answer to these obiections, and to prouide some timely remedie, before those proceedings shall giue further occasion of discontent. To which accusations I being able, concerning the fact, to say nothing; but that knowing such actions to be vniust and vnlawfull, and contrary to the will of his sacred Maiestie, and your Commissions and Instructions from the Companie and your Principals, for whome you serue: I do hope that herein you haue not offended, nor giuen any iust occasion of lament, vnlesse you haue beene thereunto by like acts of hostilitie prouoked. Notwithstanding being vrged by the great Ministers of this Port; and that it will require so much time to enforme his Maiestie, and to seeke redresse by so long a course, (to whom neuertheless the Grand Seignour will write his Letters of complaint, to require Iustice in such case) and for the preuention of future euills of very great importance to the subiects of his Maiestie (which you may easily conceiue) and for the declaration of his Maiesties sincere and constant purpose to maintaine a good and iust Peace with the Grand Seignour & all his dominions, which I know to be his Maesties royal will: and that I make no doubt of your obedience

A dience to all his Orders and purposes, like good subiects that must answer your actions at the tribunall of his high iustice; I haue thought fit and very requisite to send you this our Declaration, and in the name of his Maiestie to admonish and require you, That you presume not to take or make prize of any of the Vessels or Subiects of the Grand Seignior, trading in the sea where soeuer; nor to make any spoyle of their goods, or hurt or detaine their persons: nor that you intermeddle not in any inuasion or attempt of the King of Persia, to assist him or his Armes against the subiects or Dominions of the Grand Seignour, neither by sea nor land, nor by prouiding them of munition, Shipwrights, or other Artsmen, to teach them the vse of Gallies, thereby to inuade the territories or subiects of this Empire; but that therein you carry your selues neutrally and indifferently, betweene two Princes both in peace and amitie with his Maiestie. Wishing you well to consider, the inconuenience
B which may arise to others, and the damage in time to your selues, by teaching a powerfull Nation to vse their strength in sea-causes, of which they are now vtterly ignorant, and of which practise wee haue a lamentable example in these seas. And no way doubting, That like good subiects, you will conforme your actions and proceedings in those Seas to the rules of his Maiestie (for that such is his will and pleasure, In declaration whereof I haue affixed his Royall Seale) yet I am enforced to protest, That the contrarie will giue occasion of much trouble and danger to your selues, and in the end losse and damage to your Principals.

Giuen in Constantinople the third of September, in the yeare of Grace 1627.

C

Halil Bassa Great Vizier, sent to the warre in the end of the last yeare, being arriued at Diarbecher, resolued to enter Persia (notwithstanding that the King had an Embassadour at the Port treating of peace) and gaue order to certaine Beglerbeghs to make another inuasion by Van; and did endeauour to draw *Abassa Bassa*, with his Forces ioyned with the Georgians, to do the like on his frontier: who gaue good words, and hopes of due obedience. Whilest these designes were in preparation, the Persian by his Generall besieged Achiska, a Citie of great importance neere Arzirum: Whereupon *Halil* sent *Distenk* Bassa of Natolia, with six other Bassa's, to *Abassa*, to persuade him presently to performe his word, and to rise and vnite his strength with them. With these he sent three thousand Ianizaries vnder twelue Captains, with his owne Letters; who being arriued neere the City, he appointed them to incampe, and sent them prouision for a day or two, vntill he could put his affaires for his departure in order. These resting secure, in the night he set vpon them and cut them in pieces, some few escaping to the Port. *Distenk* and another, *Muchmet Bassa*, were slaine; the Captaines that he tooke aliue, or came to him to treat, he sent to the Persian: whereby Achiska being in great distresse, and vnsuccoured, was presently surrendred to the Enemie. This newes being brought to the great Vizier, the next morning he rose with all his whole Army, laying aside all designe against Persia, and marched right to Arzirum; vowing to punish the Rebell, or there to end his life: who was strong, fortified, victualled, prouided, and resolute.

The Persian besiegeth Achiska.

Notwithstanding all the colours, protestations, and perturbations of the Prince of Tran-
E syluania, That he would finde occasion and quarrell to dissolue the Treaty of Comaran, or that he would separate himselfe from the Turkes; yet at last he sent his Embassadour *Francis Micoserentz* to the Grand Seignour, about the later end of October, to acquaint him that the peace was concluded. And within a few dayes after, the Internuntio of the Emperor arriued with a branch of oliues at the Port: And this Embassadour and two Agents of *Gabor* went to the Chimacham with a Letter from their Master, vnder the Seale of great secrecie; of fresh aduice, That the King of Denmarke was vtterly broken and fled into certaine Islands, all his Countrey, and Germany prostrate at the mercy of the Emperour (which newes the Imperials had formerly spread) counselling the Chimacham to make an end of their peace with the Emperour, and to dispatch and accept of any Conditions, and to send the Internuntio away
F with speed and content; lest the Austrians puffed vp with those victories, should take the aduantage of their delay, and present them worse termes, or refuse it absolutely. Whereupon the Ministers of the Port resolued easily to peace; changing former Ænigmaticall Letters they had written, and huddled vp a hasty Conclusion. They added further, That the Princes of Germanie treated a Pacification, which was like also to take effect; and either way, that the

Bethlem Gabor certifieth the Port, of peace betweene him and the Emperour.

the Emperour would be at liberty to make warre vpon him. Whether they feigned the first part, to accelerate the ratification; or feared the later, and that their Master should therein deseruedly be left out, was hard to iudge: but they onely by this office (which the Turke did beleeue was sincere) merited of the Emperour the consummation of what was done; and thereupon they Both made their attonement with the Emperour, according to their seuerall Capitulations.

What was the secret cause and reason of this sudden alteration, *Gabor* hauing made all demonstration, that he would continue the war; hauing proceeded euen to threats and protests against the Ministers of the Port; and being irritated anew after the conclusion of his owne Treaty, by the complaints and practises of the Emperours Agents, to bring him into disgrace or ruine; so that hee could repose no trust in an enemie ne[w] reconciled, and so often prouoked; did breed much inquisition, and many doubts some great mistery, either of his reuolt wholly to the Imperiall part, or that he had some other high designe in Poland. But those who were lesse speculatiue and curious, and looked onely vpon euident matter, concluded, That finding himselfe betraye[d] and forsaken by *Morteza Bassa*, and that he could no longer disguise his owne ends, which [were], To oblige the Emperour to him for the Peace, if it were made; and to blinde the Turkes, to conuert their force and authoritie to better his conditions in the Peace; and that hee foresaw so much renitencie and inconstancie in them to prosecute the war, the vigour whereof depended vpon contingencies and the successe of the Vizier in Asia; that he resolued to preuent, being preuented & discouered. For certainly if he had not roundly shut vp the occasion, by being the first that seemed to merit of both parts, in reconciling the difficultie he himselfe had raised, he had been stript naked, and left in the state of the Constable Count of S. *Pol*, betweene *Lewis* the 11 of France, and the Duke of Bourgundie. This onely was obserued by all, That whatsoeuer the ends of *Gabor* and *Morteza* were while they were vnited in counsels, they did suffer the Grand Seigniour to know no more than conduced to those ends, and that they had power to change the resolutions of the Port, with euery winde of rumor they pleased to obtrude: and that if *Gabor* had beene countenanced and nourished in his hopes, to weare the Crowne of Hungarie (which was the scope of all his intentions) that he had credit and wit enough to haue moulded the Turkes (who saw the affaires of Christendome onely through the glasse of his relations) to his owne designes; and that he would haue continued the warre at his pleasure; and they at whose cost it had beene made, should haue beene the least and last, to know the internall motiue. For so it often happens, That great Princes and States haue beene inuolued in troubles, and shut vp with Peaces, vnder the specious name of The Publique good, by the passions, designes, or ambitions of their Allyes or Ministers, the cause and pretext being seldome rightly distinguished.

It hath beene formerly intimated, That *Gabor* had secretly treated apart; and now the generall Peace being concluded, the Articles themselues will most cleerely discouer, either to what streights the Prince was driuen, or what were his intentions; the order of Time giuing place to that of Story, we haue chosen this period to publish them.

Articles of Peace concluded betweene the Emperour of Germany, *Ferdinand*, and *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Transyluania, in the moneth of December, 1626.

I. *THe Prince of Transyluania doth promise, by the Faith of a Christian, neuer to moue Armes or vse any hostilitie against the Maiestie of the Emperour, or the House of Austria, or their Successours; much lesse to enter into their Dominions with an Armie: Not to aid his Enemies, nor to keepe correspondence with them: Not to plot any innouation in the Kingdome of Hungarie or other Christian Countries; neither to stirre vp and*

and prouoke the Turks or Tartars, or others, to inuade them: Not to entertaine nor assist in any euill Counsell against his Maiestie, nor to giue eare to the requests and desires of his Enemies; but rather to reueale all their conspiracies and wickednesses which shall be made made knowne vnto him: and by all meanes to demonstrate and shew a sincere minde truly desirous of Peace, and solicitous of the Common good.

II. *That the Prince shall instantly depart with his whole Army out of the territories and cities of the Emperour; and that he shall restore as well all goods belonging to the Imperial Treasure, as those of his faithfull subiects.*

III. *That he shall remoue from him the Rebell* Mansfelt, *and all other his Followers and adherents desirous to inuade the Dominions of the Emperour. And that he shall not ayd any Stranger whatsoeuer, who at his instance hath entered into the territories of his Maiestie with Count* Mansfelt; *to whom Letters of publique safety shall be giuen, that they may returne by twenty or thirty in a Troupe; with condition, That in no place of their retreit they shall ioyne with the enemies of the Emperour.*

IV. *That seeing it is fit for the establishing of the Peace, that the inhabitants of Countries and Cities belonging to the Prince, by the consent of the Emperour, should remaine during his life, in obedience and fidelitie to him; and that those Inhabitants should do homage to the Emperour (sauing their corporall Oath to the Prince) to keepe inuiolate those Articles: That they should haue leaue by Letters of full authoritie and power granted them by the Prince in their first assemblies and Conuentions, to make such oath of Homage.*

V. *That at the same time of the performing of the Homage and Oath, besides the Oath before the last warre, they shall take a new, according to the agreement betweene the Prince and the Commissioners of the Emperour.*

VI. *The Prince shall procure, that all places vpon the confines which were taken by the Turkes in the last warre, shall be restored: and that all Captiues on both sides shall be set at libertie: and that the Prince shall procure the freedome of all such the Emperours subiects as shall be in the Turkish captiuitie.*

VII. *That all the subiects of the Emperour, lately inticed and drawne to the seruice of the Prince, shall be free from their Oath: and if the Prince haue any of their Letters of obligation in his hands, that he shall restore them: And that these conditions confirmed, all other things formerly treated, shall remaine in their former state and vigour.*

VIII. *That if any other difficulties arise, they shall be accommodated with fidelitie and quietnesse, by Commissioners on both parts: And that all those who in the last commotion haue serued the Prince, shall be absolued, according to the Treaty and agreement at Vienna.*

IX. *That all Inhabitants of Counties and Cities which haue serued the Prince, shall be absolued; onely those excepted who haue voluntarily taken vp armes against the Emperour, for whom he shall onely intercede: excusing alwayes priuate men which haue done priuate wrongs, for they shall according to Law and custome, seeke their restitution by Ciuile Action.*

X. *That all other Articles of peace concluded at Nichilsburg and Vienna, shall remaine in their former vigour and force: except vpon the behalfe of the Emperour, the payment of thirty thousand Dollars, and the care of the confines granted vnto the Prince. And that all goods of the Emperours Clergy, possessed by the Prince, shall be restored, from the yeare 1619, till this present day: Except the Abbyes of Replana, belonging to the Seminarie of Strigonium; for which the Prince shall pay to the Emperor yearely fiue hundred Florens.*

the Emperour would be at liberty to make warre vpon him. Whether they feigned the firſt part, to accelerate the ratification; or feared the later, and that their Maſter ſhould therein deſeruedly be left out, was hard to iudge: but they onely by this office (which the Turke did beleeue was ſincere) merited of the Emperour the conſummation of [illegible] thereupon they Both made their attonement with the Emperour, [illegible] Capitulations.

What was the ſecret cauſe and reaſon of this ſudden alteration, Gabor hauing demonſtration, that he would continue the war; hauing proceeded [illegible] teſts againſt the Miniſters of the Port and being irritated anew [illegible] owne Treaty, by the complaints and practiſes of the Emperours Ag[illegible] diſgrace or ruine; ſo that hee could repoſe no truſt [illegible] an[illegible] ſo often prouoked; did breed much [illegible] miſtery, either of his reuolt wholly to the Imperiall part, [illegible] deſi[illegible] in Poland. But thoſe who were beſt ſpecul[illegible] vpon euident matter, concluded, [illegible] Baſſa, that he could no longe[illegible] peace to him [illegible] force and authority [illegible] reſt [illegible] vended [illegible] uenr being proue [illegible] Given in Prague the one and twentieth of [illegible] the Meſſia 1627.

Ferdinando.

Count Colalto *Councellor.*

Boeringer *Secretary.*

Articles of Peace agreed vpon betweene *Ferdinand* Emperour of Germany, and the Grand Seigniour Sultan *Morat*, in Comaran, in the moneth of September, 1627.

I Sultan Morat, *King of Kings, &c. To thee* Ferdinand, *honoured King of the Romans, Almaines, Bohemians, Hungars, Croats, Auſtrians, Emperour of Germany, and moſt glorious Prince amongſt Chriſtians; whoſe laſt dayes be euer happy.*

BY vertue of our Imperiall Commiſſion granted to Morteſa Baſſa, *our magnificent Vizier, vpon the frontiers of Buda; to the Beglerbegh of Agria,* Mehemet; *to the Mufti of Buda,* Iſſa; *to the Sanzacke of Strigonium,* Achmet; *to the Bey of Sonluc,* Muharem; *to the Aga of Aſſapi,* Ghian; *and to* Michael Todolaghi *Embaſſador of* Bethlem Gabor, *on our behalfe: And the Illuſtrious Palatine of Hungary, and the Chancellour* Stephano, *and others on the part of the Emperour. Which Commiſſioners being met in the field of Sona, and hauing found the Peace which had formerly been concluded at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, to be diſturbed by diuers inſolencies and outrages*

A ing vpon the fidelitie of both Parties. Whereupon the ſaid Commiſſioners in the aforeſaid Location did conclude a good Peace for the ſpace of twenty fiue yeares, in the nineteenth yere of our great Prophet Mahomet Muſtapha *the Meſſenger of God,* 1037, *and of the generall Chriſtus,* 1627, *as appeareth by a ſealed Capitulation containing eleuen articles. And you alſo defining and accepting the good Peace for ſo long time, hauing [illegible] the ſacred Capitulation to our happy Port, by your eſteemed and honoured amongſt Chriſtians,* Stephano Baloco, *Captaine of Tata; deſiring in your Letter, that it may be obſerued word for word. And although we haue declared heretofore vpon our Imperiall B part, that we would haue made new Capitulations; yet ſince it hath euer beene our Regall cuſtome, affectionately to correſpond with the intentions of thoſe great Princes which profeſſe amitie, deuotion, and friendſhip to our high Port (by the immence fauour of God, the ſtay and refuge of great Lords and Princes;) We declare and demonſtrate our ſingular greatneſſe and magnificence, and approue ſufficiently, and hold lawfull the confirmation of the Peace for the ſpace of twenty fiue yeares, according to the ſaid Letter, beginning from the yeare* 1627. *Whereupon our high Order is giuen out in writing, for ratifying and confirming of theſe our new Imperiall Capitulations.*

C Thus much is the Preface, according to the ſtile of that Court; That which followeth is the Capitulation, as it was accepted and ſent by the Grand Seigniour; tranſlated out of Turkiſh word for word, without any alteration.

I. *THat ſeeing the Peace eſtabliſhed formerly at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, hath remained in the ſame ſtate, and in the ſame articles, without any alteration, it ſhall not be violated by any new occaſion of contention.*

II. D *That the difference of Vatz, whereof is made mention at the preſent, ſhall reſt in the ſame ſtate that the Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhall agree.*

III. *That the new Forts built vpon the confines of Croatia, contrary to the Peace, ſhall be demoliſhed. To which purpoſe our ſaid Deputie* Mehemet, *and our Vizier* Morteſa Baſſa *ſhall meet vpon the frontiers of Buda with your Deputies, at the time appointed by the Treaty, and there vpon the places on both ſides ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed the Forts built contrary to the Peace; wherein if they finde any impediment, they ſhall chuſe able and valiant men to performe and execute the ſaid ſeruice.*

IV. *That after the approbation of this happy Peace, your great Embaſſadour ſhall come to* E *Comar, and ours ſhall repaire with our Imperiall Letters to Strigonium: and there one of them aduiſing the other, yours ſhall ſet forward to our happy Port, and ours ſhall aduance to you. For ſo it is agreed by our Imperiall Order, both carrying with them the new Imperiall Capitulations.*

V. *That all complaints of Villages ſubiect to both parts, ſhall be layed aſide, and no violences, taxes, or contribution, contrarie to our former Conuention, ſhall be exacted: and all Forts built in the common confines ſhall be raſed: and reciprocally it ſhall be made knowne, according to the antient Treaty, what great men do dwell amongſt our Tributa-* F *ries. And for the execution of the ſixteenth and ſeuenteenth articles of the Peace of Zitwa, the tenth of Vienna, and the fourth of Comar and Chiarman (for ſuch was then the agreement) two Capigi Baſſa's of our high Port ſhall be deputed and diſpeeded, the one to this ſide, and the other to that ſide of the Danuby; and vpon your part you ſhall ſend two ſuch*

At the arriual of the Messenger sent from the commissioners of the Emperor, to the Po[rte] with the newes of the conclusion of the Treaty, and the ratification on the part of *Cæsar*, h[e] presented this Letter.

The Emperours Letter to the Grand Seigniour, a little before the ratification of the Peace.

FErdinand *the second, by the grace of God Emperour of Germanie, &c. We giue notice hereby to your Maiestie, That by the diligence and wisedome of our Commissioners on both parts, all controuersies which haue heretofore happened are well accommodated, and all iniuries and hostilities of the future preuented. Now for the better and more exact obseruance of this our said Treaty, we haue sent vnto your Maiestie our Internuntio* Stephano Baloc, *Captaine of Tata, to giue you notice of the Agreement betweene our said Commissioners, and to present you with the Capitulations, [illegible] and [illegible] them. Which we pray your Maiestie to accept word for word; and [illegible] with your Imperiall hand, that you will send them back [illegible] Not doubting but your Maiesty out of your benignitie and [illegible] will obs[erue] the same, as we vpon our part do promise.*

Giuen in Prague the [illegible]

[illegible] *Caes on toobtar*

Commission Sheweth.

[illegible] there follow no action from any Ministers, [illegible] to the said Treaty [illegible] and [illegible] thereby God our Creatour, who made the whole world of nothing; and by the honour which we beare to our most high Prophet Mahomet Mustapha, That there shall not be done during the whole terme of the said Peace, the least hurt or damage to the subiects Countries, Kingdomes, Castles, or Ports of the said Emperour, by any of our Ministers or Armies, nor to any Christian slaues subiect to our happy Port.

I haue chosen the Capitulations as they were signed by the Grand Seigniour; which though the Articles are very generall, and matters of the greatest moment either referred, or not fully established, yet being therefore aduantageous for the Turke, who would not accord an vpright dehmition, because by the vertue of former Treaties, all places surprised ought to be restored, and depredations satisfied, he would neither breake, nor yet oblige himselfe to reparation: and indeed the difficulties were inseparable by Turkish Law; for no place can be surrendred to the Christian, where a Mosche hath beene erected; which was the case of Vaiz: And the Emperour could not consent to abandon his claime with charitie grounded on the Articles of Vienna; so that both sides were contented to be vnited, rather than pacified for the time, and both did thinke that they had the aduantage: The Emperor, M In preferring his Title; The Turke, In not declaring. So the one part accepting the signature of the other, without dispute, the bodies of the Treaties being very different, if not contrarie; yet so desirous they were of peace, that they did wittingly ouersee, one the arts of the other: and in effect, there was no firme Peace established, but that either side might find first matter

A *rages done vpon the subiects of both Parties. Whereupon the said Commissioners of the aforesaid place did treat and conclude a good Peace for the [illegible] and in the current yeere of our great Prophet Mahomet Mustapha, the [illegible] and in the yeere of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

portunitie hath loſt the Grace that gaue it; and that a common repentance wil requite a com- G
mon ſinne and folly.

Hauing drawne our Hiſtorie for matters concerning the Temporall eſtate, and the reuolutions therein, vnto a period; it will not be impertinent nor vnprofitable, to make ſome relation of the Greeke Church, and the affaires thereof: which ſuffered many perturbations and aſſaults during theſe times, as if one Influence had diſpoſed all things to vniuerſall trouble: but the cauſes were farre differing. There are yet remaining vnder the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, Metropolitans and Biſhops, who liue with freedome of conſcience and Religion vnder the Grand Seignior, and gouerne the Chriſtian Flocke, vnder their ſeuerall Iuriſdictions; and haue their antient churches, with ſome competent reuenue in their own poſſeſſion, teaching, preaching, and adminiſtring the holy Sacraments according to their owne Rites, without any moleſtation for matters of Religion. The preſent Patriarch is called *Cyrillus*, formerly gouerning the See of Alexandria, a reuerend and learned man, who hath deſired to reforme many errours, and enlighten much of the blindeneſſe of his Church; inſenſibly preuailing, for want of Lectures, Shooles, and Bookes, and by the mixture of Barbariſme. His reuenue, (though very good) and that of his Biſhops not ariſing out of viſible lands and rents, but by ſecret contribution, and other duties; and the ſimplicitie of their life and habit, without ſhew or pompe, giuing no occaſion formerly to the Turkes to expect any profit by vexing them, as is vſually practiſed vpon other lay Chriſtians. They liued in great peace and tranquilitie; vntill of late yeares the Church of Rome, hoping either by the pouertie of the one, and the greatneſſe of the other, to force the Greekes to a ſubmiſſion, or perhaps, enuious of their quiet, to weary them by trouble, or to ſubuert them. To this end a I
Greeke Colledge was by the laſt *Gregory* erected in Rome, to breed vp the Youth of that nation; where they had liberty of all their owne Rites, onely acknowledging the ſupremacie of the Pope, which they muſt do: and that ground being layd, for poynt of doctrine it matters not; there is enough gained to make him that had ſworne obedience, to accept of all the reſt. By this foundation the Pope hoped to breed Proſelites enow in time to poſſeſſe all the Biſhoprickes, and to ſubdue the whole Church. For theſe Students returned admired men for their education and knowledge, and wanted not meanes to promoue their preferment; which was a great aduantage ouer the ignorant breeding and diſcipline of the meere Greeke. But by the foreſight and wiſedome of *Cyrillus* this plot taking little effect, as it did irritate K
the Pope and Cardinals againſt his perſon, ſo it did incite them to ſeeke other more powerfull meanes of corruption, or to ruine him. And both were put in practiſe. To this end a Congregation was erected to take care of the Eaſterne Church, and to direct the practiſes vpon it; whereof a principall Cardinall was made Protector: and many Conſiſtories were held, by which way to reduce the Greeke Church to obedience, or to root out all thoſe that oppoſed it. It was reſolued to make titular Biſhops of almoſt all the Sees (eſpecially in the Iſlands) where any Greeke Biſhop had reſidence; ſo that there were many Paſtors without a flocke. But theſe Emiſſaries being diſcouered to be ſupplanters and diſturbers of the poore Church, were alſo reſiſted, and ſome caſt into priſon; and ſome aſhamed of their empty honour, voluntarily returned. But all theſe deuices failing, they fell at laſt vpon the round and L
moſt aſſured way of force, to worke their ends by the Embaſſadours of Chriſtian princes of the Romiſh Religion reſiding at Conſtantinople, and the moſt potent of briberie and corruption: making vſe of the impotencie of the Turkiſh Miniſters, who they knew would ſell *Mahomet* himſelfe for gold: *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos Acheronta mouebo.* From this reſolution did all the danger and miſchiefe ſpring: and certainly the zeale of their Church is cloathed with ſo much honour and ſolicitouſneſſe, that in that onely it prouoked enuy. But whether they haue in this purſuit and cauſe proceeded with the rules of Chriſtian charitie, in that place among Falſe-Beleeuers, where euery ſcandall did concerne the honour of Chriſt himſelfe, or nor, I leaue to the iudgement of euery ingenious man. And becauſe this Part, of the
quarrels betweene the Roman and Greeke Church, though acted in ſeuerall yeares, hath M
beene related entirely by a ſincere Pen, in a Letter directed to a noble Senatour of Venice, whereby the paſſages will be more cleere and continuous, than if they had beene mingled and interrupted with other affaires; I haue rather choſen my owne eaſe and the Readers profit,

A profit, by tranſlating that Letter, to ſerue it in all at once, than by pieces and fragments. The occaſion whereof ariſing (as I am informed) from the varietie of reports and printed pamphlets, of the laſt Act concerning the baniſhment of the Ieſuites, and a rumour ſpred, that they were reſtored: the truth whereof it ſeemes that Senator did deſire to know, and therefore prouoked ſome Friend to ſatisfie him. And ſo without other preiudice, I referre you to the Text it ſelfe following.

The Copy of a Letter written to a Senator of Venice, concerning the contentions betweene the Roman and Greeke Churches in Conſtantinople.

My Lord,

C *YOur Letter hath layed vp.n me a charge, that (if I were able to performe) is ſo full of enuy, and ſubiect to diuers cenſures, according to the preparations of the Hearers of a matter of that nature, that I would haue choſen to haue obeyed you in any other way, rather than in that of a Relator. For I perceiue by you, ſome preiudice is already gone out, and hath taken poſſeſſion of a part of the world, harder to remoue than to teach a new hereſie. But hoping that you ſeeke the ſatisfaction of your owne curioſitie, and that you purpoſe not to controuert, I will not refuſe, againſt my owne reaſon, and little leiſure, to returne you aſſurance, how farre you haue power ouer them and me.*

IT is now ten moneths ſince this conflict betweene the Greeke Church and the Ieſuits here fell out, but not the firſt time they haue been in trouble, impriſonment, and ablegation. They were ſettled in Galata by the Grand Seigniours Licence, vnder the French protection, D about twenty fiue yeares ſince; in which time they had gotten a good Seat, builded much, gathered together a faire Librarie, and wonne greatly vpon the weaker Sect, and aged women and children. I ſpeake of the Greeks; for with the Romaniſts they had leaſt credit, who adhered to their antient Orders of Saint *Francis* and *Dominicke*; and were affraid that this new Societie would be too buſie, and caſt them into danger of their old priuiledges: for the Turkes are plaine, and yet raſh, and eaſily apprehend euery innouation.

The pretence of this Colledge was, To teach children for nothing, or charitie, Grammar, the Arts, and Tongues. And there being no open Schoole in thoſe parts, and few books for want of printing, the Greekes (who loue learning beſt, when it is beſt cheape) were content their children ſhould gleane tares in any field, to ſaue their purſes: and their wiues E were wonne by eloquence & affabilitie, to open their ſins to them, who had more witty penances than Greekiſh ſhrift, Faſting, which did decay their beauty, and deiect their countenances. But the wiſer ſort, eſpecially the Patriarch *Cyrillus*, and his Biſhops, diſcouered *Anguem in herba*; and did foreſee, That by this ſeeming benefit, the Youth of their Nation might be corrupted (*Seruabit odorem teſta diu*) and their owne boſomes tempted by the Daughters of *Eue*: And they likewiſe did feare, That vpon this foundation might be nouriſhed Proſelites to Rome, that in time would vndermine the whole Church. And therefore did as modeſtly as they could (to preuent an open diſſention) ſeeke to withdraw both from this bait of ſeducement. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*: For when the Ieſuits did diſcouer they were diſcouered, they began to practiſe that by force which they had long deſigned. The firſt F open war brake out in Februarie, 1622; when theſe Fathers (protected by the French Embaſſadour) attempted to depoſe the Patriarch, and to place another Greeke in his Chayre, who had ſecretly ſubmitted to the Pope, and promiſed to render new obedience to the See of Rome.

Whereupon *Cyrillus* conſulted his friends, how to auoyd their enuy. He reſolued to proceed

fortunitie had lost the Grace that gaue it, [illegible] the seduced Bishop, resolue of his [illegible] C
thon sinne and folly. [illegible] preached and published the Counsels held
[illegible] against the Iesuites, Ouerture than by sol-
[illegible] and Instruments, against whomsoeuer should be
[illegible] they declared not. And then being assisted with
[illegible] present, he excommunicated that Greeke [illegible]
[illegible] this [illegible] ration to the one, and Example on [illegible] to
[illegible] ing of [illegible] by Christ to his Church. The pretence of this quarrell
[illegible] the same was published by the French Party, to haue root, because that the
[illegible] kept company with Lutherans and Heretiques, and therefore must needs fa-
[illegible] of the same Heauen. This modest course did but exasperate, for the Iesuites ha- H
[illegible] for them. In April following, by subornation of others, accuse *Cyrillus*
[illegible] ray an Island in the Arches, to the Florentines, and by the promise of
[illegible] thousand Dollars for the establishment of the excommunicate Bishop, they preuai-
led to haue the Patriarch apprehended, deposed, and sent prisoner to Rhodes, where he suf-
fered many miseries and outrages, and their Friend to be placed in his seat. But the Greeke
Church, though they durst not oppose the present furie, yet would neither acknow-
ledge *Pastorem qui non intrauit per Portam*, nor resort to the Cathedrall, nor contribute any
mony to pay the fine due to the Grand Seignior vpon remoue, vpon which the French rely-
ed: for though they had promise from Rome of aid, yet it was not leuied. Whereby finding
themselues in a streight, they made meanes to a silly Archbishop of Adrianople, who was I
rich, to take the charge; the other willingly resigning vnto him: who accepting the offer, ad-
uanced part of the Symonie, and leuied the rest by force of Turkish Commands vpon the
poore Greekes; and so he was in appearance effectually seated. Their purpose was not long
to suffer this man to continue, but onely to hold the See full vntill supply came from the
Pope, and then to depose him, and place one fitted for their designes. By this mutation they
hoped to recouer all the Greekes to the Catholique Cause, and Spaine. And in these chan-
ges the Patriarchie was robbed of most of the antient Manuscripts and other Ornaments of
the Church.

In September following, *Cyrillus* by helpe of friends, and force of money, was restored to
liberty, and returned to Constantinople. Where being arriued, all the Greekes flocked to K
him: Which the Archbishop of Adrianople obseruing, and knowing himselfe an Intruder,
(the true Patriarch neither resigning, nor being Canonically depriued) secretly and voluntā-
rily came and submitted, and offered to surrender the charge to him. But *Cyrillus* not daring
to accept it, vntill meanes were made to the State, or that he were recalled by a Synod, was
content the Church should be vacant, to see what would of it selfe emerge. The French
Embassadour hearing of this sudden defection from him, by the counsell of his Iesuites fet-
ched their Archbishop into his house, and encouraged him to resume his place; promising
him protection from the Pope, from the King his Master, and to spend fortie thousand dol-
lars for his sustentation. And thus, partly by faire words abusing the impotencie, and partly
by force compelling him, they wonne the weake man to yeeld: and then the French Em- L
bassadour sent his Interpreters and Ianizaries to re-seat him in the Cathedrall, and in Galata
proclaimed him Patriarch, and threatened all those that would not obey and acknowledge
him. An insolence full of proportion to the designe, to maintaine an ill cause by worse means.

But the Clergie and people knowing the vnlawfulnesse of this intrusion, and the vndue
consecration, and foreseeing the ruine to come, if so pernitious example should preuaile, did
still adhere to their old Pastor. Which the new better weighing in his owne retyrednesse,
than in the French House, where his ambition was fomented; and fearing that if *Cyrillus*
should recouer his iust right by the same way he had done his libertie, some greater disgrace
or punishment might fall vpon him; without further consulting his high Protectour, in the
night quitted the See, and came to his Patriach and cast himselfe into his mercy, asking ab- M
solution; and vtterly renouncing French, Spanish, or Roman Factions, freely resigned. Here-
with *Cyrillus* encouraged, by the strength of mony and friends was againe with the Letters of
the Grand Seignior restored, in despight of the Enemie, who now found himselfe ouer-
matched. But this strife did cost the Greekes threescore thousand Dollars, taken at Interest,
almost

A almost to the destruction of the Church, especially to haue discouered to the Turkes a way
to extort great summes by changes, from them, who formerly were esteemed poore Monks:
which will neuer be forgotten, and finally ruine the See. This was the effect of pretended
zeale to Religion, and a Romish charitie.

Now all men hoped for peace; but there brake out another storme. In Ianuarie follow-
ing, a Coloyre was sent from Rome, called *Archemandrita*, and was receiued by the French
into his house; who brought a promise from the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, That
notwithstanding the first faile for want of money, that now twenty thousand Dollars should
be ready and returned thither; if they could make sure the deposition of *Cyrillus*, and place
an obedient Sonne in his roome. To this end it was promised, that ten thousand Dollars, gi-
B uen by a widow in France to charitable vses, should by the Popes authoritie be conuerted.
And thus new practises and new accusations were aduanced; but being timely discouered,
they were preuented: yet againe it cost the poore Church a round summe of money.

The next yeare the persecution was calmed in outward appearance, but more subtile and
close machinations supplied it: For it was then resolued in Rome, to corrupt *Cyrillus*, and
so to winne him: then to discredit him with his friends, and to lay him open and vndo him.
To this purpose were sent from Rome about Februarie 1624, two seuerall Agents, one cal-
led *Padre Berillus*, to ingage the Patriarch in a practise with the Cossackes, which was trea-
son: and a Iesuited Greeke bred in the Colledge at Rome, named *Cannachi Rossi*. To whom
were giuen instructions vnder the hand and seale of Cardinall *Bandini*, to make ouerture
C to *Cyrillus* of reconciliation, with great conditionall promises of supplies and this Com-
helpe. But Sr. because you will best iudge of the scope of this negotiation, by the copy of
mission, and from whence his hatred tooke root; I, that haue onely taken vpon me the part of
a Relator, haue made it here a Parenthesis, and leaue your iudgement to collect your owne
sence.

Instruttioni per Canacchio Rossi.

D

1 *NOn vi essendo lettere ne del Patriarcha, ne de' Prelati non le si può rispondere se*
non in voce conformandosi alla relatione del messo.

2 *La chiesa Romana ha sempre desiderata l'unione & pace con tutte le*
Chiese, spetialmente con l'Orientali, tanto per altri tempi bene merita della Chiesa Catolica,
e non solo ne' tempi antichi mà ultimamente ancôra, nel tempo de Patriarcha Hieremia *ha*
fatto quel che ha potuto per aiutarla, e reunirsela, non perdonando in ciò ne à spese, ne à fa-
tiche, Anzi per questo stesso fine hà fondato, & mantiene il Collegio de giouani Greci con li-
E *sui renditi, acciò quella natione si nobile & ingegniosa ritorni a fiorire in pietà & in lette-*
re, come altre volte ha fiorito.

3 *Nel particolar proposto del Patriarcha presente: Nostro Seignore (tanto grand*
fautore, & Padre della Natione Greca in particolare, come voi stesso sapete, & hauete ve-
duto cogli occhi) volentaria mente spenderebbe ogni gran summa di denaro per riunir si no-
bile membro alla Chiesa, & aiutare in particolare quella sedia dalla quale dipende il rima-
mente del Oriente; ma supposte le relationi, che di Constantinopoli sono venute, & vengo-
no continouamente del Patriarcha, non vede in che maniera si possa fare.

F 4 *Di lui siamo auisati, che nega l'Innuocatione de Santi, il colto & veneratione dell'I-*
magini, & Reliquie de Santi, la Presenza reale de Christo nell' Eucharistia, la Liberta del
Arbitrio, l'Autorita de sacri Concilij, le Traditioni, l'Autorità de Santi Padri, *la necessità*
della Confessione auriculare, & lo spiegare in essa li Peccati della mente, & che in loco di
lei

ha hauesse introdotto vna certa Confessione fatta a Dio publicamente con parole generali, e che tendeua à conuertire alla fede l'Inghilterra, & di Germania, doue s'in- segni questa dottrina; per poter poi per mezzo di loro disseminarla per il Leuante. Che a questo fine ha fatto stampare, & egli stesso dissemina, dandoli alli Vescoui, come Catechesi di questi, & simili errori condannati, tanti anni fa, non solo dalla fede Apostolica & dal Concilio Tridentino, ma dalli suoi Predecessori anchora, come egli stesso testifica nella professione della fede lasciata molti anni fa in mano del Arciuescouo di Leopoli riconoscendo questa, & simili altre dottrine per heresie & dicendo che per questo era impossibile, che la chiesa Greca s'unisse mai con li Protestanti; che a contemplatione delli Ambasciatori Hugonotti (con li quali liberamente communica) ha tolto via il Sinodico, & ha lasciato di far riuerenza alla santissima Eucharistia.

5 Che desiderebbe sua Santita che tutte queste cose fussero false & che lui come Capo de si nobile natione fosse tale quale recchiedono li bisogni spirituali, & temporali de suoi subditi per poter con bona faccia, & conscienza, mostrare animo ad aiutarlo.

6 Che si queste sono calumnie, & le pare di poter far chiara a sua Santita la sua innocenza, ne faccia Capace l'Ambasciatore di Francia, ò del Imperatore, che alla relatione loro per essere persone di tanta autorita & virtu, si presti ogni fede, & per mezzo loro mandi a N. S. la confessione della sua fede, nella quale accetti il Concilio Fiorentino, & danni li errori de' Caluinisti & Luterani, dannati prima da suoi Antecessori, che non manchera la sede Apostolica d'ogni aiuto & fauore per aiutare & rimettere in piedi la Chiesa di Constantinopoli & tutte l'altre dependenti da lei.

7 Che non e per richieder S. Santita ne da lui, ne da gli altri Prelati Greci, altre conditioni, se non quelle che si sono conchiuse & stabilite nel sacro Concilio Fiorentino, per che come fin hora ha fatta la Chiesa Greca, condanni & anathematizi le biastemie delli heretici Settentrionali, cioè Luterani, Caluinisti, & simili. Roma xxj. Febraro, 1625.

Fl Cardinale Bandini.

Locus Sigilli.

Instructions giuen to *Cannachi Rossi*.

1 HAuing neither brought me Letters from the Patriarch, nor from any other Prelate, we cannot giue an answer other than by word of mouth, conforming to the relation you haue deliuered.

2 The Church of Rome hath alwayes desired an vnion and peace with all other Churches, but especially with those of the East, (who haue heretofore so well merited of the Catholique Church) and not onely in antient times, but euen lately in the life of the Patriarch Hieromie, she hath done what she could possible, to assist and vnite the Greeke Church vnto her: not sparing therein either cost or labour: yea, to effect the same, she hath founded, and doth yet maintaine a Colledge of yong Greekes with her owne reuenue, to the end that that noble and ingenious Nation should flourish in godlinesse and learning, as in former ages it hath done.

3 Concerning the proposition of the present Patriarch, our Lord and Master the Pope (a Fauourer and Father of the Greeke Nation, as particularly your selfe haue knowne and seene) would disburse a round summe of money to re-unite so noble a Member to the Church of Rome, and assist in

A in particular that See, vpon which the rest of the Easterne Churches do depend. But considering the reports which haue been spread, and continually do come from Constantinople, of the Patriarch, wee do not see in what manner it can possibly be effected.

4 Concerning him, we are aduised, That he denieth the Inuocation of Saints, the Reall presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Free-will, the authority of Sacred Councels, Traditions, the authority of holy Fathers, the necessitie of Auricular Confession, and in it, the reuealing of secret sinnes: In stead of which he hath introduced a publique Confession made to God in generall words. That he sends yong men to study in the English and Germane Academies, where this Doctrine is taught and professed: that by their meanes he may spread it in the Leuant. And to this end, That hee hath caused to bee printed, and that he himselfe hath dispersed and giuen to some Bishops, certaine Catechismes full of
B this and other like erroneous Doctrine, condemned long ago, not onely by the Apostolique See, and the Councell of Trent, but euen of his owne Predecessours, as he himselfe hath testified in that Confession of Faith which he left many yeares since in the hands of the Archbishop of Leopoli, acknowledging this and the like doctrine for heresie; and therefore concluding, That it was impossible, that the Greeke Church should euer vnite it selfe with the Protestants. And that in contemplation of the Hugonot Embassadours (with whom he doth freely conuerse) he hath taken away the * Sinodicon, and hath layed aside the reuerence due to the most holy Eucharist.

* It signifieth an Assembly t I take it to bee the power of Excommunication. But enquire how it is vsed by the Romish Church.

5 His Holinesse doth desire, That all these reports were false; and that he being the Head of so noble a Nation, should be such a one as the present condition, both in matters spirituall and temporall of the Flocke vnder his Iurisdiction doth require; that he might with a cheerefull countenance and
C safe conscience extend his liberalitie and aid vnto him.

6 If these shall proue calumnies, and that the Patriarch doth thinke he can make his innocence appeare before his Holinesse, let him iustifie himselfe to the French or the Emperours Embassador: to whose relation (being persons of great vertue and authoritie) credit and faith will be giuen: and by their meanes let him send to his Sanctitie the confession of his Faith, in which he doth accept the Councell of Florence, and condemne the errours of Caluin and Luther, condemned alreadie by his Predecessours: And the Apostolique See will not be wanting in all fauour and assistance, to raise vp the Church of Constantinople, and all others on it depending.

7 That his Holinesse will not require either of him or the other Prelates of Greece, any conditions but such as were concluded and established in the sacred Florentine Councell; so that (according as the Grecian Church hath alway done) he condemne and anathematise the blasphemies of the
D Septentrionall Heretiques; to say, of Caluinists, Lutherans, and such like. Rome, the xxj. of Februarie, 1625.

Cardinall *Bandini*.

The place of his Seale.

B This *Cannachi Rossi* became an vndertaker of his owne accord to merit of the Church of Rome, to conuert the Patriarch: who was amased at the boldnesse, and feared both wayes; either to answer, and so to bee ingaged in pen-warre; or bee silent, and condemned as standing mute. But at last he resolued, That seeing the Cardinall vouchsafed not to write directly to him, to take no notice, but to see how patience would deliuer him out of this snare. But the Iesuites content with no temper but present subscription, stirred vp some Bishops now made of their faction, anew to depose him; and there was offered twenty thousand dollars to establish one of them. This Tempest forced *Cyrillus* to retyre and hide, vntill his Friends had reuealed to the State the misterie of this forced practise, and opened the trechery of both of these Ministers, emploied only to introduce a change aduantagious to the Pope, and dangerous to the Grand Seigniour. Yet such is the custome of this Court, that his peace was againe bought at the expence of ten thousand dollars.

Once more the Patriarch expected peace & securitie; but the Congregation at Rome fel vpon a new counsel: First, better to fortifie themselues before they attempted their Enemies. And

And to this end, vpon diuers pretences, it was resolued to send hither an Anti-Patriarch from the Pope, qualified with absolute authoritie, but vnder the Title of *Suffraganeo Apostolico*, and with him a Treasurer for the Church (for Saint *Peter* durst not trust the French Embassadour with money) yet with these to ioyne him for his zeale, and countenance, and the Iesuites for their counsell. To this Triumvirate was giuen all power to plant, displant, to sow, and root out, and finally to do all things that might aduance the Roman Cause. For their better strength and abetting, it was also decreed to create new Romish Bishops in Smyrna, Naxia, and many Islands (a shift learned at Trent) to oppose the Greekes, and by aduantage of learning to supplant them. Of this mission there was great expectation.

About December, 1626, the Suffraganeo arriued at Naxia, whither the French Embassadour sent the Bishop of that place his Chapleine, and two Iesuites to receiue [illegible]: who conducted him as farre as Scio, where hee was accepted with great ceremonie. But beginning his office too roughly and too soone (for he should not haue declared himselfe vntill he had crept hither vnder the French wings, and had been settled by degrees) many tooke offence at this noueltie. The Lay-men feared some preiudice in the right of patronage ouer the Churches: the wisest foresaw the danger of Christian libertie, and that by their practises this innouation would inuolue all others into a suspition of some conspiracie: and if any scandall should from hence arise, the Turkes would not distinguish betwixt the guilty and the innocent, being in one liuerie by the name of Franke. Yea the Friers could not endure a power so neere, aboue them, but refused him lodging in their Conuents. The Greeke Clergie began euidently to discouer the subuersion of their authority, and antient Faith. Onely the Iesuits triumphed, and thought the prize now their owne. But desperation forced some, and charitie others to defend their possessions. Thus encouraged by strong friends to oppose this fatall blow, all the plot was opened to the Vizier, and their designe quietly and without scandall frustrated. The Suffraganeo retyred without noise; their new Bishops made by subreptitious Licences were imprisoned, their Letters of Priuiledge taken from them, to the extreame anguish and disgrace of their Protector. This last repulse made them furious; but *Infestis animis deerat occasio.*

In Iune, 1627, here arriued vpon an English Ship one *Nicodemo Mataxa*, a Coloyre borne in Cephalonia: he brought with him the Greeke stampe made at his expence, and diuers bookes printed in London, as he pretended for the benefit of his Nation, drowned almost in inuincible ignorance, especially for want of meanes to learne and study. As soone as hee came ashore, and had spoken with the Patriarch, and made knowne his zeale to that Church, he was from him by the Archbishop of Corinth recommended to the English Embassadour, to assist this pious intention, to passe these heauy commodities through the Custome-house without suspition. In which though he foresaw some trouble, yet he willingly vndertooke. But first consulting with *Cyrillus* of Constantinople, and *Gelasius* Patriarch of Alexandria, (then for his priuate affaires at the Port) and with the Resident of the Vnited Prouinces, he was of opinion, That in a matter of that nature, which was in it selfe honest and iustifiable, it was requisite to proceed openly and with leaue: which hauing obtained of the Vizier, hee tooke vp, and brought both stampe and bookes to his house. Now supposing all the difficultie had been ouercome, and neuer suspecting any scandall from Christians, for that which he thought did not, nor ought not to offend them, he gaue countenance and helpe to *Mataxa* to put his Industrie in order.

The Patriarch desired the Stampe might worke in the English House; but the Embassadour for priuate respects would not consent, but offered to take a house, and to giue both it and them his protection. Which he did, not farre from his owne, and neerer to the French Embassadours: who pretending the vnion of the two Churches, there appeared no feare of him, that he should enuy a Christian worke, or do any act that might separate them for euer. As soone as *Mataxa* was settled, and his print in order, the French and the Iesuites tooke offence, as set vp to publish bookes against the Church of Rome, or at least to take away their trade of teaching, and seducing children by his printing of Catechismes, *Magna est* Diana *Ephesiorum*. First, they attempted to draw him into their gouernment, inuiting him to their Monasterie; intimating, That adhering to them would take off some ill suspition raised on him for hauing studied in England. When he could not be wonne by flatteries, they reported him

him to be an Heretique and a Lutheran, because he tooke sanctuarie from the English. Against the stampe they excepted, at the Armes of the King of Great Britaine, which they sayd was scandalous, and beeing in the Frontispiece of euerie booke, was *malum augurium*, and did foreshew, that within they must sauor of heresie: for, What could be expected from an hereticall Fountaine, or from the Man that conuersed with Heretiques.

These obloquies little moued the English Embassadour, who knew their malice proceeded from the matter of one Authour that wrote against the Supremacie. But the rage extended so farre, that it was reuealed to *Mataxa*, That hee should be murthered in his bed, or in the street, as he passed in the night from the English to his owne house. Whereupon at his great instance the Embassador was content for his person to giue him lodging. So in the day he continued his worke, and at euening retyred vnder protection. *Meleſim, Pol. Alex.*

As yet they found no occasion to worke their purpose: but the Patriarch sent a little Treatise to the Presse, made by himselfe (being an exposition of the Faith, and Tenents of the Greeke Church, without any mention of Controuersie, or censuring the opinions of others; principally to satisfie the world in those calumnies spred, That hee had introduced new doctrines, to the scandall of his owne Flocke) which he had resolued to dedicate to the King of England; but now hauing opportunitie to print it here, he prepared an Epistle fit for it. This prouoked the Iesuites, who not able to endure any application of the East Church to that Monarch, could no longer containe themselues, but conspired with their Embassadours to ouerthrow both the Authour, Worke, and Workman: and hauing gotten another Booke written by the Patriarch, printed in England, and brought by *Mataxa* against the Iewes, they found some passages which did modestly condemne the opinions of the Turkes. When they had this supposed aduantage, they practised with a Buffone, but a crafty knaue, who had credit with the Vizier, and had been Vayuod of Galata, to informe him, That this *Mataxa* was a Captaine sent hither to raise sedition, and that vnder the colour of printing books for children, he dispersed others against the Alcaron; That they were brought from England secretly, and that the English Embassadour protected him and his designes: That these books were written by the Patriarch, to stirre the Greekes, and to draw them into defection; and many of them sent to the Cossacks, to prouoke them to vnite vpon the occasion of the Grand Seigniors expedition into Asia, that was then rumored.

These Accusations were capitall, as they concerned *Cyrillus* and *Mataxa*; and sufficient to impaire the credit of the English Embassadour, if not to ruine him in the affaires for which he did reside.

The Vizier without further consideration resolued to assault the house of *Mataxa*, and surprise him in the act of sinne of printing against their Law; and gaue order to a Captaine and companie of Ianizaries to execute it. Which was out of course, to set at libertie vnruly Souldiers, that seldome containe themselues within their Order, or can be appeased without booty. The exployt should haue been done on Friday the fourth of Ianuarie: but the French Embassadour hearing the English had inuited the Patriarch, and Venetian Baylo, to some entertainment on the day of Epiphany, he stayed it two dayes, as he said, to make sauce to their Feast. On that day at high noone, a hundred and fifty Ianizaries armed beset *Mataxa's* house, & garded all the passages to the English: all was full of feares & rumor, and no man knew the cause. In this tumult, the English Embassadors Secretarie & *Mataxa* returning from church at Galata, passed by; and some of the Coloyres Seruants that were apprehended, shewed their Master, to free themselues: but he being in a hat, and the Secretarie answering hee was one of his Lords Followers, he escaped safely, and got into the English house. The Captaine missing him the Principall, bound all his Seruants, brake open his chests, and carried all away, stampe, bookes, papers, plate, money, cloathes, and whatsoeuer was portable, as the goods of a Traitor, to the value of seuen thousand Dollars. And returning thus full, a French * Drogaman told them, That the Offendor was fled to the English Embassador: but the Turke, that had more charitie, answered, he had no order to follow him thither.

* Interpreter.

Now the English Embassadour thought himselfe interessed; yet that day not to seeme to be moued, made as merrie as such rumours would beare, That hee had practised against the State; others, That the Stampe was to counterfeit the Grands Letters; others, To make false money; and other such as Ignorance and Accusation beget among the Multitude.

And to this end, vpon diuers pretences, it was resolued to send
the Pope, qualified with absolute authoritie, but vnder the
and with him a Treasurer for the Ch
sadour with money) yet with these
suites for their counsell. To thi
and root out
better streng
Naxia, and many
of learnin

I

And the Vizier had called to minde the man, and all circumstances, and remembred
concerned, (the English Embassadour, with whom he had confidence) he
precipitation; and protested he had no doubt of him, nor purpose to af-
He wondered at the impudence of those that had so grossely abused him;
with this profession (as the English Embassadour for his credit did publish)
against as will he had done him wrong, when he should see all the goods of
restored, their honour repaired, and those that had procured this scandall, fallen into
the ditch they had made for others, and exemplarily punished, then he desired to be acquit-
ted of iniustice, and to be esteemed still his true friend. By this office the Patriarch was
wholly cleered, and restored to the good opinion of the Vizier, and after of the Mufti; to
whom the English went immediately, to instruct him of the malice of the one part, and inno-
cencie of the other.

The next day after the fury, *Cannachi Rossi* the Agent of Cardinall *Bandini*, went to the Pa-
to braue him in aduersitie: who
asking him, How long they would tempt his
patience by wicked conspiracies? and What had driuen them to this extremitie to seeke his
life? he replied, That they were scandalised at him for two things; For fauouring *Mataxa*,
and suffering him to preach, being an Heretique, and liuing in the house of an Heretique.
Secondly, That he had begun to print a booke full of heresies, dedicated to the King of Eng-
land the Head of Heretiques. But if he would retract the one, and renounce the other, that
the French Embassadour should procure his accommodation.

With the next Post after this trouble, there came from Rome a copie of a Consistorie,
held in the house of Cardinall *Bandini*, entituled for Constantinople; wherein this practise
against the Patriarch was debated and resolued: the cause grounded vpon his conuersation
with Caluinists, and sending of Students to be brought vp in their Schooles; that therefore
he should be accused of contriuing an insurrection against the *Ottoman* Empire: And the exe-
cution of this plot commended to the Embassadours of the Potentates residing in this court,
fauourers of the Catholique Cause. Which Councell being compared with the last practise,
it did euidently appeare, that one was dependant on the other. Which the Patriarch well
considering, and finding he had no more safetie in patience, resolued to vse his Friends to
send

A send them away that would not let him liue in peace. And the English Embassadour taking deepe offence at the insolence of *Cannachi Rossi*, vsed to the name of his King; it is thought that they, together with the helpe of a good Friend no lesse powerfull than either of them, vnited to banish the Iesuites; and to shew their Protector, that they had not lesse power to offend, because they had lesse malice and desire to do it.

For the way they wrought (to omit other obseruеable circumstances) it is true, the English Embassador was angry, and declared, and had good credit, and was seene often abroad; but he was not alone, for the Patriarch (that is a wise man) knew he striued not now for victorie, but for life. The Iesuites guilty of deseruing a iust reuenge, retyred all to the French Embassadors house, where they lay hid about fourteene dayes; but in that time hearing no
B noise, and hoping that all was secure, and that the Patriarch and English Embassador trauelled onely in their defence, and to recouer their losses, they returned to their house triumphant; when suddenly we heard that a Messenger came to them, to let them know that some Greeke women were come to make confession, and stayed for them in their garden. To whom two of them came downe, and were presently arrested by the Viziers Officers, who then entered their Lodgings, and apprehended another. This was done without any noyse or scandall; and the Actors had such care, that their Church was sealed, all their Altars and plate saued, and whatsoeuer appertained to them inuiolated: onely their persons and Librarie, *per Legem Talionis*, were carried to the Viziers house, where they were kept in irons about a moneth, and their bookes likewise visited; in which were found much more aduan-
C tage to haue drawne them within compasse of the Turkish Law, than their discouerie on the Patriarch. At the same instant *Cannachi Rossi* was also taken, and his papers in his Lodging, and carried to beare them sad company. The French Embassadour desired audience, but could not obtaine it; he visited euery great mans port, especially the Mufti, where hee had no other acceptance than admonition to carry himselfe with more temper, and to meddle with the businesse for which he was employed. He vsed all means, but could no where preuaile for reliefe; he threatened a breach of amitie, and to surrender his Capitulations, and interdicted the Traffique: But the Turkes were prouided with answers, That they would informe his Master the French King, and giue him satisfaction. In conclusion, the Iesuites wearie, and in feare of death (for there was crime enough) they whom they supposed their
D Enemies, to auoid scandall, and the effusion of Christian bloud, interposed for them, and obtained their liues; and after many consultations, it was agreed to banish their Order out of all the Grand Seigniours Dominions, to deliuer backe their bookes; and this grace at the intercession of those of whom they had not merited that courtesie: that it might cleerely appeare there was no purpose of robberie, nor to take the goods that were innocent, and in the French Kings protection. In prosecution of which Councell, there were Commands sent to Scio, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Cyprus, to discharge those places from the practises of this Fraternitie, who had a designe to get the Sepulchre at Ierusalem into their hands, and to supplant the Franciscans: (which Controuersie is well knowne at Rome, and would make a long Section in this narration) and finally they were put into a Barque, with good gard, in their
E yrons, and sent to Scio; with order to ship them and their fellowes vpon the next vessel that went for Christendome, and in the meane time to keepe them prisoners. When they came to the Castles on the Hellespont, the French Embassador had procured, that the Castellane would not suffer them to passe for want of the Captaine Bassa's Letter; and so they were returned to Constantinople, but still kept in their gaole; and suddenly it was rumoured, they were reuoked, and should be re-established. But when the Vizier heard his authoritie was contemned, and this tricke put vpon him, he was so much enraged, that againe their liues were in danger. But the present fury appeased euen by their supposed Enemies, they were
F liques, especially the Orders of Friers, and the Franciscans of Ierusalem, were glad they were returned, banished first to Scio, and so shipped for Italy. I must confesse, that I haue not obserued any one sorte but the French Embassadour, scarce his Houshold; all other Catho-
eased of their dominion, and the feares of their designes. And I haue heard it reported, That themselues did ingeniously confesse an obligation to the English Embassadour; and in their Relations to Rome, layed all the fault vpon the precipitation of their Protector.

There was another Command sent to Smyrna, to apprehend a couple that had crept in vnder

vnder the French Consuls protection: who at first hid themselues; but being aduised to giue
G open, diuers meanes opened to them to escape, fled secretly; there being no other purpose in
their petitions, but to be rid of such negotiating Fathers.

And thus Sr. you haue a true relation of what I haue obserued, and for your satisfaction collected of those that had better meanes to know particulars than I, who am busie enough if I do mine owne businesse. There rests onely to tell you, That during the English Embassadors stay, which was about fiue moneths after, the French sat downe and stirred not: but considering that his credit in France depended much from Rome, and from an opinion of his
H zeale to the Catholique Cause, and his power to support it; hauing made the Cardinals beleeue, that he would subdue the Greeke Church (wherein wisemen thought he did disseruice both to the Cause and his Master: For the readie way to vnderstand Catholiques, was to innouate any thing in their antient manner of life, gouernment, priuiledges which they enioyed with their consciences freely) he thought himself vtterly lost, it he did not do somewhat to recouer his reputation there, by procuring restitution of the Iesuites. Vpon which deliberation, hauing yet two of them remaining in his house, and hid there
I a moneth after the departure of the English Embassadour, he made petition to the Grand Seignior, That his Chapleines might haue leaue to bury his dead, and doe other offices of their Function. Which being granted, it was published, That he had restored the Iesuites.

And because you are so curious to know all, and in what estate that restitution now stands, I will conclude with the true copy of the Command obtained: and leaue it to your iudgement, whether the breach be made vp so whole as is supposed. For euery plaister is not a sound cure.

The Grand Seigniours Command, directed to *Assan Bassa*, Captaine of the Sea; and to the Caddee of Galata.

K *AT the sight of this our high and Imperiall Signature you shall take notice, That the Embassadour of France (by an* * Arz *giuen to our happy Port) hath made vs to vnderstand, That (their Law and Religion being not like to that of other Christians which liue in our well gouerned Empire) they with our Imperiall Licence did procure to come from the Kingdome of France certaine* Religious *men called Iesuites. Who for the space of twenty fiue yeares haue had their abode in the Church of Saint* Benet *appointed for them in Galata; and lately by finister information made against them, were sent away into their owne Country: from whence the said Church being shut vp, and hauing no*
L *other* Religious *who could assist in the necessarie offices of men ready to die, or dead; hath therefore petitioned for our noble Command. To which end (excepting alway the aboue named* * Religious, *sent away, and others, of other Nations) that hee may place in the said Church such persons of Religious French, and French Religion, which are found at this present here, elect, and appointed by him, without molestation or iniury to be done vnto them by any whomsoeuer. Therefore in conformity to his request, this my Command is obtained; and I doe command, That at the sight of this my Imperiall Order, it be obeyed and executed; That because, as is before pretended, the French haue not those* * Religious *who can performe the functions necessary for the dead (excepting away those* Religious
M *already banished, and all others comming from the countries of our Enemies) that they may put into the said Church such persons for Religious men, as are naturall Frenchmen, and of their owne profession, which at present are found in Galata, and that shall by them be appointed;*

* Petition.

* In the originall it signifies an Order.

* Or Orders.

A ted; and that so long as they commit no faults in their charge, and that they practise nothing contrary to our Imperiall will, that they be of no man molested.

Vpon the obtaining this Command, the two Iesuites in the French House, were solemnly and with great ostentation carried to *San Benetto's* Church, and placed there as the Embassadours Chapleines; and an opinion spred, of an absolute re-establishment of their Order, and so it was diuulged in Rome. But it was not supposed by the French, that this Copy should be seene by any but himselfe; and then the Act would haue appeared as truth: but some critical and captious men here haue made many *Quære's* vpon this matter. First they haue asked, What then is the French Religion, if it differ from all other Christians in the Grand Seigniours Dominions; when in Galata there are fiue Romish Churches and Monasteries, with French Capuchins, Dominicans, Franciscans, and others? Secondly they haue asked, What ceremonies are necessarie to a French man, in danger of death, or after it, that none of these Orders can assist or performe? Againe they aske, Who are restored by this priuiledge, if the *Religiosi supra nominati*, and Strangers are excepted? What is meant by French Religion, and the same Religion? To which is answered, First, that this new French Religion is onely Iesuiticall, not approued by the most Christian King, improued by the Sorbons, and reproued by all the louers of the liberty of the Gallican Church. To the second, That they dying must be absolued onely by a Iesuite, or buried in his habit, or shut out of Paradice. A-
C gaine they answer, they finde none restored but a new French Religion, and such men were personally then in Galata; that is, two Chapleines onely to assist in case of death, but no Order of Iesuites. And they finally conclude, That the French Embassadour hath more dishonoured his Nation, to restraine their Religion to the Iesuites; and to the whole Clergy, to renounce all other Orders; than he hath done benefit to the Iesuites, except he had need of some colour in stead of truth.

Sr. I will not comment at all; to obey you, I haue gone thus farre extra prouinciam meam: *And now I returne home to my selfe, to assure you, that I haue beene, and will so die,*

Your true, &c.

D Galata *ix. Nouembr.* 1628.

This Trage-Comedie being ended, and a seeming Peace returning with the Spring: Whilest the new Vizier marched towards Babylon, to settle the affaires of those parts; Sir *Thomas Roe*, then his Maiesties Embassadour resident at the Port, procured His leaue to returne home, and was recalled: by whom the Grand Seignior writ this ensuing Letter to his Maiestie of Great Britaine.

E

The Grand Seigniours Letter to his Maiestie of Great Britaine.

TO the most glorious amongst the greatest Maiesties of the Princes of Jesus, most reuerenced amongst the People of the Messiah, sole Director of the important affaires of the Nazaren Nation; Lord of the limits of Honour and Power; and Patron of
F *Grace and Authoritie,* CHARLES, *King of Great Britaine and Ireland; to whose last dayes we wish all compleat and true happinesse.*

BE it knowne vnto your Maiestie at the sight of this Letter, That your Embassador Sir Thomas Roe, respected and beloued amongst Christians, to whom we wish a happy end;

vnder the French Consuls protection: who at first hid themselues; but being aduised to giue G
place, and a meanes opened to them to escape, fled secretly; there being no other purpose in
their persecutors, but to be rid of such negotiating Fathers.

And thus Sr. you haue a true relation of what I haue obserued, and for your satisfaction collected of those that had better meanes to know particulars than I, who am busie enough if I do mine owne businesse. There rests only to tell you, That during the English Embassadors stay, which was about fiue moneths after, the French lat downe and stirred not: but considering that his credit in France depended much from Rome, and from an opinion of his zeale to the Catholique Cause, and his power to support it; hauing made the Cardinals beleeue, that he would subdue the Greeke Church (wherein without [illegible] did dissernice both to the Cause and his Master: For the readie way to vniuersalities, was to innouate any thing in their ancient manner of life, [illegible] priuiledges which they enioyed with their consciences freely: [illegible] he did not do somewhat to recouer his reputation there, by [illegible] ites. Vpon which deliberation, hauing yet two of them [illegible] a moneth after the departure of the English Embassad[illegible] Seignior, That his Chaplaines should [illegible] and vse of their Function. Which being granted, it was publisht, [illegible] And because you are to [illegible] meane, whether the [illegible] found out.

Giuen at Constantinople [illegible]

the History of [illegible]

h of August, about ten [illegible] becalmed before Malta, the seas smooth [illegible] K
foure gallies to row from the Towne. They [illegible] quarter of our Ship: which warned vs to fit sailes and selues to [illegible] pose. When they came neere, the Admirall galley, without sen[illegible] vs, made a shot, which fell short: then rowing neerer, made another which [illegible] vs. And comming still on, the Vice-Admirall gaue a third, all demy-cannon, [illegible] masts. These we supposed they made to try the length of their ordnance, [illegible] for batterie; for they stopped, and piked halfe their oares. Whereupon we [illegible] a culuerin shot, that graued vnder the Admirals starre-boord bow; and so we began a sharpe fight betweene two[illegible]e. The Gallies were full of Caualiero's and other men as they could stand: they lay on that quarter about three houres, changing L
shot with vs, often hitting one the other. Then Captaine *William Rainsborow* (who behaued himselfe with braue courage and temper) finding a breath of winde to giue the Ship motion; considering that he was a great marke on the broad side, and the gallies very narrow, keeping their prowes sharpe toward him, and that he could beare little vpon them, trimmed his sailes before the winde, and brought them to a sterne-fight; where they continued their batterie two houres more; and the *Sampson* could then beare vpon them two whole culuerin in her Sterne-chase, and two transome culuerins in the Gunne-roome, and two Sakers in the great Cabbin; and by yawing of either side both her quarters, and some pieces forward on; this gauled them, and they found it hot. Their manner of fight was, when they were all laden, they rowed vp, and brought all the masts of our ship together, and then gaue all their M
gunne[illegible]auing fired, they fell asterne; and this in order, *alternis vicibus*: but yet we reached them [illegible] Admirall of the gallies gaue eight pieces at on[illegible] so that she appeared all fire; one de[illegible]mon of twenty fiue pound bullet, two demi-culuerin, fiue Saker and Minion. All the rest v[illegible]like armed, and they plyed their ordnance very hard, and often dangerously.

Being

A ted; and that so [illegible] they shot a[illegible] yards of our Ship, and maimed them almost [illegible] hoping [illegible] to boord vs, and then they had layn by vs. But it was so calme, that [illegible] not, though [illegible] almost spoiled. The gallies helpt a man on the end [illegible] oare to obserue where their shot fell; and sent boats often off, of which one returned well washed. About fiue a clocke they pausd, and the Admirall sent to his fleet: whereupon they tooke a resolution, either to boord, dismay, or sinke vs; and came vp on our larboord quarter all abreast, within pistoll shot, and their swords drawne, and Trumpets sounding; bidding vs Amaine for Malta. The Captaine caused one from the poope to waft them aboord, and answered a point of warre. Then began a hot fight, and too hot for them; for the *Sampson* forbare, and gaue them not a shot vntill they were very neere, and almost vnder vs; and then poured in two Culuerin, and two demy-culuerin, and one Saker B
with a round shot and a case, that raked them fore and aft: and they hauing giuen vs all their gunnes together, began to fall againe asterne. But we tasked and sent them a broad side at parting; and so they lay, and reviewed their sterne batterie vntill Sun-set. What blowes wee receiued is in a note following. What harm the Enemie receiued we knew not: only this we saw, the Admirals foremast was shot by boord, his poope carried away into the sea; one culuerin round shot and case that fell in the bow, and went out in the quarter through the bankes of Rowers; and many other that raked them through. The Admirall lay athwart a good space to mend somewhat, and let men downe her sides, and neuer came more vp: for that shot that brake out her poupe, made them all at once take in their flagges; which being an vnusuall thing, we coniectured that the Generall was slaine. And so they left vs, and hoysing C
their sailes, and rowing, made all haste into their port, in sight whereof they fought. The last shot they made came into the gun-roome of the *Sampson*, the force being spent, yet hurt three men: and she hauing a Culuerin laden, sent it to take leaue of them, which raked the Admirall. When they came vp with vs, they did not expect such bullets, but hoped to batter vs to the water out of our shot. They left vs at halfe houre past six a clocke; so that the fight lasted seuen houres. The gallies gaue the Sampson foure hundred great shot, and hit her in the hull, masts, yards, or rigging, with more than a hundred and twenty; and we shot fifty six whole Culuerin, and spent in all aboue ten barrels of pouder. Neuer gallies had so much aduantage of a time, nor did so brauely, but they were at their owne dores. By Gods grace we D
had but one man a passenger slaine, foure hurt, and some bruised; but our ship terribly battered, her masts, yards, sailes, and ropes all torne. That night continued with little wind, and the sea smooth, and we plugged vp our wounds the best we could. The next day wee were enforced to stand out of the way to the Southward of the Island Lampadosa, when we found our danger: and there we lay fiue days without saile, to fish our masts & yards, and mend our sailes, and to make firme our breaches by, and vnder water. Which we could not haue done if it had not continued calme: for those demy-cannon bullets of twenty fiue pounds made too great holes, and split all plankes and timbers; and the Carpenter was forced to hang like a Tortoise vpon the water, and driue many nailes vnder the sending of the sea, washing him ouer contiuually; eight shot either with, or within three fingers of the water. So that if that E
night, or the next day there had been any sea, we had neuer made this relation; for the pumps of our ship were as well exercised as the men. But God helped vs.

A Note

(thine heretofore [illegible] this [illegible]
fill ouer all offices of good correſpondence [illegible]
now ſhould be fulfilled; and [illegible]
riuall here, euer till this [illegible]
him and [illegible]
high honour

[illegible]

[illegible] throughout with [illegible]
[illegible] Maine top gallant ſaile
[illegible] Maine top gallant ſheete
[illegible] Maine top gallant ſhrowdes
Maine yard. Maine top ſaile ſheete
Maine bowlines. Fore backe ſtay
One fore ſhroud
The ſhaine that ſling the maine yards [illegible]
Three pieces of the maine yard.

Shot in the Sailes.

Miſen top ſaile two ſhot Miſen one
Main ſaile in the brailes fourteene Maine top ſaile thirteene.
Fore ſaile nine Fore top ſaile fiue.

In the Maſts and Yards, Demy-cannon of twenty fiue pound weight.

The maine Maſt ſhot through halfe way betweene the decke and head. K
The maine Yard cloſe by the parrels.
The Fore maſt halfe way betweene the decke and head.

Demy-Culuerin.

The Spritſaile yard through by the ſlings and ſpoiled.

Dangerous ſhot through the Hull; being all Demy-cannon of twentie fiue pound the [illegible] many Demy-Culuerin, Saker, and Minion, that did not or not much damage vs. L

Demy-Cannon.

Three in the ſterne cloſe by the water, through the bread roome and bread into the ſackes of wooll.
One in the ſterne in the gunne-roome vnder the tranſome port, hurt three men.
One through the Cuddy.
Two through the great Cabbin killed a Parrat.
One grazed vpon the ſteeredge, and carried away the Bend. M
Two by the Maine maſt: one through the Cabbines killed a Iew a paſſenger: the other brake the larboord rufter and three timber heads.
One through the forecaſtle into the furnace, hurt two men.

One

A One ouer the forecaſtle killed two ſheepe, and carried away a timber head.
On the Starreboord ſide nine; whereof one in the quarter, and three forward on by the edge of the water. Fiue betweene decks amongſt our men and Ordnance.
On the Larboord ſide foure all below the decke; whereof two betweene winde and water; the other two not much aboue: and one betweene Deckes, that ſplit the bits.
One ſhot that crackt the ſheat Anchor at the flouke.
One that ſtaued the Ladder in the chaines.

B These eight ſhot betweene winde and water were all dangerous: they ſtaued on our lower decke two barrels of beefe, two of peaſe, a Butt of Wine; ſome of the ſhot paſſing through nineteene inches of plancke and timber, pierced into bales of Grogerams, and carried one into another: two went through all the bread and two ſackes of ſtiued woolls: They bare in whole plankes, ſhooke and ſplit the timbers, and ſtarted the trunnels, and made vs very leakie.

When we arriued at Ligorne, we vnderſtood of eighteene Knights of Malta killed in the Fight: but after, by an Engliſh man that came from thence it was knowne, That the Generall of the Gallies was ſlaine, and thirtie ſix Knights and Officers, and two hundred ſixtie foure ſlaues, Rowers and Souldiers. Which was too great an exchange for one Iew. But ſuch is the reward of arrogance, and ſhall be the protection euer of a good cauſe, and of them that truſt not in the broken reed of Fleſh, but in the Almightie God.

* * *

FINIS.

COurteous Reader, we heartily desire you before you peruse this Last Continuation, to mend with your pen these following errours; which for want of time to transcribe a faire and perfect copy, and for that vnmeete to ouersee the proones before they were printed off, haue to our great discontent happened in the same. And then we doubt not but it will giue you your desired satisfaction; especially if you haue the better, than the escape of a word or letter.

Errata.

Page 1397, *line* 4. *for* somewhat necessarie, *read* necessarie. *l.* 9. the said province, *r.* that prouince. *l.* 19. Florins, *r.* Dollars. *l.* 22, *omit* euery day. 1398. *l.* 2, *omit* as was said before. *l.* 5, times . . . yeares that. *l.* 10. *r.* who had. *l.* 31. grand Vizier, *r.* great Vizier and. *l.* 47. assieged, *r.* besieged. *p.* 1400. *l.* . . changed, *r.* seemed to change. *p.* 1402. *l.* 47. Petras, *r.* Patras. *p.* 1404, *lines* 3, 8, 11, the Vizier replied, *r.* hee replied. *p.* 1407, *l.* 18, ad this, *r.* at this. *l.* 44. may drinke gold or the innocent bloud, *r.* and may drinke gold or innocent bloud. *p.* 1408, *l.* 12, omit *iam*. *l.* 52, *flareue*, *r. flarent*. *p.* 1409, *l.* 14. monarchs, *r.* monarchie; *viris*, *r. vires*. *l.* 46, *inauit*, *r. inerat*. *p.* 1410, *l.* 50, though, *r.* thought. *l.* 51. misensible, *r.* insensible. *l.* 55. owe, *r.* awe. *p.* 1411, *l.* 3. were, *r.* was. *l.* 21, though, *r.* thought. *l.* 23, head, *r.* bridle and head. *p.* 1412, *l.* 10. Arsoromc, *r.* Arzirum. *p.* 1413, *l.* 33. imitation, *r.* intimation. *l.* 41. the Aga, *r.* their Aga. *l.* 43. Letter of, *r.* life of. *p.* 1416, *l.* 54, mutinies, *r.* mutiniers. *p.* 1418. *l.* 4. Order, *r.* murther. *p.* 1421, *l.* 2. notice, *r.* giue notice. *l.* 4. *omit* giue. *l.* 15, shall enter, *r.* shall not enter. *p.* 1423, *l.* 38, concord, *r.* conquer. *l.* 46. diuersitie, *r.* diuersion; wars, *r.* wares. *l.* 47. Countie of, *r.* Count of. *p* 1424, *l.* 31, careleſſe, *r.* in their colours *p.* 1431, *l.* 12. Romasa, *r.* Comoran. *p.* 1433, *l.* 12, his, *r.* the. *p.* 1434, *l.* 24, *r.* he should. *p.* 1435, *l.* 13, of the fact, *r.* of fact. *p.* 1442, *l.* 30. *r.* accord & peace. *p.* 1443, *l.* 22. *r.* that in. *p.* 1444, *l.* 7. contracts, *r.* contrasts. *l.* 15, conuented, *r.* conuerted. *p.* 1445, *l.* 37, *r.* be any. *p.* 1448, *l.* . . . commits, *r.* contrasts. *p.* 1454, *l.* 31, *r.* faulty and guilty. *l.* 32, confirmed if, *r.* informed. *p.* 1459, *l.* 23, *Agestans* great, *r. Agestans*. Great. *p.* 1462, *l.* 15, *r.* distance off. *p.* 1464, *l.* 6, *r.* other things. *p.* 1467, *l.* 30. *r. Sbechin Gheray*. *pag.* 1472, *l.* 35. *Massimum*, *r. Ottoman*. *p.* 1474, *l.* 28, *r.* are to vs. *l.* 41. *r.* to them done. *p.* 1475, (*in the margent*) for Customes, *r.* Church-duties. *p.* 1476. *l.* 48. *r.* vniuersall ends. *p.* 1478, *l.* 5. *r.* specious shew. *l.* 41, *r.* laments. *p.* 1484, *l.* 27, *r. vbi plures*. *p.* 1486, *l.* 13, *r.* to the aduice. *l.* 37, *r.* to their Prophet. *p.* 1486, *l.* 52, *r.* great Vizier. *p.* 1487, *l.* 29, Word, *r.* Sword *l.* 58, *r.* was beyond. *p.* 1494, *l.* 38; *r.* insuperable. *l.* 41, vnited, *r.* parted. *l.* 46, firſt, *r.* iuſt. *p.* 1496, *l.* 8, *r.* an hundred and eleuen Metropolitans. *l.* 15, lectures, *r.* letters. *l.* 47, *r.* pronoketh. *p.* 4497. *l.* 33. shrist, *r.* strict. *p.* 1498, *l.* 28, *r.* Patriarchate. *l.* 52, *omit* This Com- *and read it in the end l.* 22.

A briefe Discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire: as also wherein the greatest strength thereof consisteth; *and of what power the bordering Princes, as well Mahometans as Christians, are in comparison of it.*

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

THe Historie of the Turkes (being indeed nothing else but the true record of the woefull ruines of the greater part of the Christian commonweale) things as before passed through, and at length brought to an end; and their Empire (of all others now vpon earth farre the greatest) as a proud Champion still standing vp as it were in defiance of the whole world: I thought it good for the conclusion of this my Labour, to propose vnto the view of the zealous Christian, the greatnesse thereof; and so neere as
C I could to set downe the bounds and limits within the which it is (by the goodnesse of God) as yet contained, together with the strength and power thereof, ■ also in what regard it hath the neighbor princes bordering or confining vpon it, with some other particularities tending vnto the same purpose. All or most part thereof, although it be by the considerate well to be gathered out of the whole course of the Historie before going, yet shall it more plainely here together in the full thereof appeare, than by the long and particular consideration of the rising and encrease thereof be perceiued: not much vnlike the ouergrowne tree, at the greatnesse whereof euery man wondereth, no man in the mean time either perceiuing or marking how by little and little in tract of time it grew vp to that biggenesse, as now to
D ouertop all the rest of the wood. The Imperiall seat of this so great and dreadfull an empire, is the most famous city of Constantinople, sometime the glory of the Greeke Empire, but now the place where *Achmat* the first of that name, and fourteenth of the *Othoman* Emperors, acknowledging no man like vnto himselfe, triumpheth ouer many Nations: a city fatally founded to command, and by the great Conqueror *Tamerlane*, of all others thought to be the best seated for the Empire of the world. In which city (taken from the Christians by *Mahomet* the second, by the Turks syrnamed the Great, and the Greeke Empire by him subuerted) as the *Othoman* Emperors haue euer since seated themselues, so haue they wonderfully, euen to the astonishment of the world, out of the ruines of that so glorious a State encreased both their strength and Empire, almost altogether fixed euen in the selfe same Kingdomes,
E countries, and regions, as was sometimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attaine to the vttermost bounds that that Empire sometimes had, especially in Europe; albeit that it hath oftentimes in pride thereof most mightily swolne, & in some few places thereof somewhat also exceeded the same. Amongst the rest of the *Othoman* Emperors, this great Monarch of whom we speake (namely *Achmat* the first, which now raigneth in that most stately and Imperiall city) hath at this present vnder his command and Empire, the chiefe and most fruitfull parts of the three first knowne parts of the world: onely America remaining free from him, not more happy with the rich mines thereof, than in that it is so far from out of his reach. For in Europe he hath all the sea coast from the confines of Epidaurus (the vttermost bound of his Empire in Europe Westward) vnto the mouth of the riuer Tanais, now
F called Don, with whatsoeuer lieth betwixt Buda in Hungarie, and the Imperiall Citie of Constantinople: in which space is comprehended the better part of Hungarie, all Bosna, Seruia, Bulgaria, with a great part of Dalmatia, Epirus, Macedonia, Grecia, Peloponesus, Thracia, the Archipelago, with the rich Islands contained therein. In Affrica hee possesseth all

Constantinople the seat of the Turks Empire.

The bounds of the Turks empire in Europe, Africa, & Asia.

thereby he gaineth two great commodities: viz. for that in so doing he spoyleth the prouinces he most feareth, of the flower, fines, and strength of the people, choice being still made of the strongest youths, and fittest for war: then, for that with these as with his owne creatures he armeth himselfe, and by them assureth his state; for they in their childehood taken from their parents lap, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed for that purpose, quickely and before they be aware become Mahometans; and so no more acknowledge father or mother, depend wholly on the great Sultan; who to make vse of them, both feeds them and fosters them, at whose hands only they looke for all things, and whom alone they thanke for all. Of which fry so taken from their Christian parents (the only seminaric of his wars) some become horsemen, some footmen, and so in time the greatest commanders of his state and empire next vnto himselfe; the naturall Turkes in the meane time giuing themB selues wholly vnto the trade of merchandise, and other their mechanicall occupations; or else to the feeding of cattell, their most antient and naturall vocation, not intermedling at all with matters of gouernment or state. So that if vnto these his souldiers, all of the Christian race, you ioyne also his fleet and mony, you haue as it were the whole strength of his empire: for in these foure, his horsemen, his footmen, his fleet and money, especially consisteth his great force and power: whereof to speake more particularly, and first concerning his mony, it is commonly thought, that his ordinary reuenue exceedeth not eight millions of gold: and albeit that it might seeme, that hee might of so large an empire receiue a far greater reuenue, yet doth he not, for that both he and his men of warre (in whose power all things are) haue their greatest and almost onely care vpon armes, fitter by nature to wast and destroy countC tries, than to preserue and inrich them: insomuch that for the preseruation of their armies, and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to do) they most grieuously spoyle euen their owne people and prouinces whereby they passe, scarce leauing them necessaries wherewith to liue: so that the subiects dispairing to enioy the fruits of the earth, much lesse the riches which by their industrie and labour they might get vnto themselues, do now no further endeauour themselues either to husbandrie or traffique than they needs must, yea, than very necessity it selfe inforceth them. For to what end auaileth it to sow that another man must reape? or to reape that which another man is ready to deuoure? Whereupon it commeth, that in the territories of the *Othoman* country, yea euen in the most fruitfull countries of Macedonia and Greece are seen great forests, all euery where wast, few cities well peopled; D and the greatest part of those countries lying desolate and desart: so that husbandry (in all well ordered commonweales the Princes greatest store) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth her encrease vnto the painfull husbandman, neither he matter vnto the artificer, neither the artificer wares to furnish the merchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine and decay. As for the trade of merchandise, it is almost all in the hands of the Iewes, or the Christians of Europe, *viz.* the Ragusians, Venetians, Genowaies, French, or English; the naturall Turks hauing therein the least to do, holding in that their so large an empire no other famous cities for trade, more than the foure aboue named, *viz.* Constantinople, Tauris, Aleppo, and Caire: whereunto may be added Caffa and Thessalonica in Europe; Damascus, Tripolis, and Aden in Asia; Alexandria and Algiers in Affricke. In our countries here in this E West part of Europe, of the aboundance of people oftentimes ariseth dearth; but in many parts of the Turks dominions, for want of men to manure the ground: most part of the poore country people drawne from their owne dwellings, being inforced with victuals and other necessaries to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom scarce one of ten euer returne home to their dwellings againe, there by the way perishing, if not by the enemies sword, yet by the wants, the intemperateneſse of the aire, or immoderate paines taking. But to come neerer vnto our purpose, although the great Turks ordinary reuenues be no greater than is aforesaid, yet are his extraordinary escheats to be greatly accounted of, especially F his confiscations, forfeitures, fines, amerciaments (which are right many) his tributes, customs, tythes and tenths of all preyes taken by sea or land, with diuers other such like, far exceeding his standing and certaine reuenue: his Bassa's and other his great officers like rauening Harpies as it were sucking out the bloud of his poore subiects, and heaping vp inestimable treasures, which for the most part fall againe into the grand Seignior his coffers. *Ibrahim* Vizier Bassa

Foure things wherein the greatest strength of the Othoman Empire consisteth.

The Turkes ordinary reuenues, and why they are no greater.

The Turkes casualties more than his ordinary reuenue.

the meanes whereby the Turkish Emperors preserue themselues in so absolute a soueraignty.

K

L

M

Whereby

ſtantine the Great alſo gaue vnto his Captaines that had well deſerued of him, certaine lands for them to liue vpon during the terme of their life. The like fees in France, which they called *Feuda*, were of temporaries made perpetuities by theſe their late Kings. Theſe Timariot horſemen in the Turkiſh Empire, ſerue to two great and moſt notable purpoſes: whereof the firſt is, That by them the Grand Seigniour, as with a bridle, keepeth the reſt of his ſubiects in euery part of his great Empire in awe, ſo that they cannot ſo ſoone moue, but that they ſhall haue theſe his Timariots as faulcons in their neckes; for to that purpoſe they are diſperſed all ouer his dominion and Empire. The other vſe of them (and no leſſe profitable than the former) is, for that out of them he is alwayes able to draw into the field an hundred and fifty thouſand horſemen well armed, ready to go whither ſoeuer he ſhall command them; with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which ſo great a power of horſemen cannot continually be maintained for leſſe than fourteene millions of duckets yearely. Wherefore it is to be maruelled, that ſome comparing the Turkes reuenues with the Chriſtians, make no mention of this ſo great a part of the *Othoman* Emperours wealth & ſtrength, ſeruing him firſt for the ſuppreſſing of all ſuch tumults as might ariſe in his Empire, and then as a moſt principall ſtrength of his continuall warres, alwayes ready to ſerue him in his greateſt expeditions. The number of theſe Timariot horſemen is now growne very great, taking encreaſe together with the Turkes Empire. It is reported, That *Amurath* the third, grandfather to *Achmat* that now reigneth, in his late warres againſt the Perſian, ſubdued ſo much territorie as ſerued him to erect therein fortie thouſand Timariots: and appointed at Tauris a new receit which was yearely worth vnto him a million of gold. Theſe Timariots are in all accounted to be ſeuen hundred and nineteene thouſand fighting men; of whom two hundred and fifty ſeuen thouſand haue their aboad and dwelling in Europe, and foure hundred ſixtie two thouſand in Aſia and Affricke. Beſide theſe Timariots, the grand Seigniour had a great number of other horſemen alſo, vnto whom he giueth pay; which are his Spahi, Vlufagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the nurſeries and ſeminaries of the great Officers and gouernors of his empire: for from among them are ordinarily choſen the Sanzacks, which afterwards, through their good deſerts, or the Sultans great fauor, become Viziers, Beglerbegs, and Baſſa's, the chiefe Rulers of that ſo mighty a monarchie. He hath alſo ſtill in his army a great multitude of other horſemen called Acanzij, being indeed but rurall elownes, yet for certaine priuiledges which they haue are bound to go vnto the warres, being euen of the Turks themſelues accounted of ſmall worth or value in compariſon of the Timariots. He receiueth great aid alſo from the Tartar in his wars, as alſo from the Valachians and Moldauians, (vntill that now of late by the example of the Tranſyluanians, they liaue to the great benefit of the reſt of the Chriſtian commonweale reuolted from him) all which are to be accounted as the Romans *Auxiliarij*, that is to ſay, ſuch as come to aid and aſſiſt him. And thus much for his horſemen.

The great vſe of the Timariot horſmen in the Turkes empire.

The number of the Timariots.

The Spahi, Vlufagi, and Carapici ſeminaries of the great Officers in the Turkes empire.

The Acanzij.

Another great part of his ſtrength conſiſteth in his footmen, and eſpecially in his Ianizaries: in whom two things are to be conſidered, their Nation, and Dexteritie in armes. Concerning their Nation, ſuch of the Azamoglans as are borne in Aſia are not ordinarily inrolled in the number of the Ianizaries, but ſuch as are borne in Europe; for they of Aſia are accounted more effeminate, as they haue been alwaies, more ready to fly than to fight: whereas the people of Europe haue euen in the Eaſt been accounted for better and more valiant ſouldiers, hauing there, to their immortall glorie, ſet vp the notable trophies of their moſt glorious victories. The ſouldiers of Aſia be called Turkes, after the name of their nation, and not of their countrey, (no countrey being indeed ſo properly called) and they of Europe, Rumi, that is to ſay, *Romani*, or Romans; as the countrey, eſpecially about Conſtantinople, is called by the name of Rum-Ili, that is, the Roman countrey, as it was in antient time, of the notable Roman Colonies therein, knowne by the name of Romania. Now as concerning their Dexteritie, ſuch male children are culled out from the Chriſtians, as in whom appeareth the greateſt ſignes of ſtrength, actiuitie, and courage: for theſe three qualities are in a ſouldier eſpecially required. This choice is made euery third yeare, except neceſſitie enforce it to be made ſooner, as it happened in the late Perſian warre: wherein not onely oftener choice was made, but they were glad to vſe the Azamoglans alſo, a thing neuer before by them done: for thoſe youths, the children of Chriſtian parents, being by them that haue taken them vp

When many children are taken vp to make Ianizaries of.

The Azamoglans are ſuch vntrained youths as are taken vp to become Ianizaries, but yet are not of their Order.

Bassa (who liued not long since) is supposed to haue brought him from Caire to the va- C
lue of six millions: and *Mahomet* another of the Viziers is thought to haue had a far grea-
ter summe. His presents also amount vnto a great matter, for no Embassador can come be-
fore him without great gifts, no man is to hope for any commodious office or preferment
without mony, no man may with empty hands come to the presence of him so great a
either from the prouince he had the charge of, or from any great expedition he was
on; neither vnto so great and mighty a Prince are mens affections reconciled. The Waiuods of
dania, Valachia, and Transyluania, before their late reuolt by gifts presented themse
their principalities, being almost daily changed especially in Valachia and Moldauia
those Honors were by the grand Seignior still giuen to those that would giue most, and
performe what they had offered; miserably oppressing the people, and brought many pla-
ces into great pouerty. In briefe, no enterprise can be attempted of any great matter from
him at his pleasure to take away any mans life, or of his goods, for they are so
so that he cannot well be said to lacke a cause, if he list to vse extremitie. And are the Iani-
zaries the late Sultan was so compelled [illegible] to keep them
exhausted his treasure, that all coine comming then [illegible] as their ex-
pences so much that they [illegible] together in large troupes, three also the reli-
gious [illegible] and throfs attending, without whose
Ianizaries go not vpon their iourneys. There they learne so shoot both in the Bow
and [illegible] with many feats of activitie: and being well trained in
those [illegible] amongst the Ianizaries or Spahi; of whom, the Ianizaries receiue
not [illegible] more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahi ten. Being
[illegible] among the Ianizaries, they are either sent away into the wars, or into some gar-
[illegible] or else remain there still. These last haue for their dwelling three great places like vnto
Monasteries in the city of Constantinople, there they liue vnder their gouernours to
whom they are deuoted, the yonger with great obedience and silence seruing the elder, in
buying of things for them, in dressing their meat, and such like seruices. They that [illegible] of one
[illegible] stalling liue together at one table, and sleepe in long walkes. If any of them vpon oc-
casion or violence to lie all night abroad without leaue, the next euening he is notably beaten,
with such nurture and discipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kisseth the gouernours
hands that so corrected him. These Ianizaries haue many large priuiledges, are honored, al-
though they be most insolent, and are feared of all men, yea euen of the great Sultan him-
selfe, who is still glad to make faire weather with them. In their expeditions or trauell they
rob the poore Christians cottages and houses, who must not say one word to the contrarie.
When they buy any thing they giue for it but what they list themselues: they can be iudged
by none but their Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an insurrection; and
therefore such execution is seldome done, and that very secretly. They haue a thousand roi-
sters: some of them are appointed to the keeping of Embassadors sent from forrein princes:
others some of them are assigned to accompany strangers, trauellers, especially them that be
[illegible] they may safely passe in the Turks dominions; for which
[illegible] rewarded. The [illegible] made choice of their Prince, name-
ly of *Solymus* the first, [illegible]ther *Bajazet* yet liuing; neither can any the Turkes Sultans ac-
count themselues fully inuested in the Imperial dignity, or assured of their estate, vntill they
be by them approued and proclaimed. Euerie one of their Sultans at his first comming to the
Empire doth giue them some great largesse, and sometime the better to please them, encrea-
seth also their pay. In euery great expedition some of them goeth forth with their Aga, or
his Lieutenant, and are the last of all that fight. There is no office among the Turkes
that moe enuie at, than at the office of the Aga of the Ianizaries, for the greatnesse of his
authoritie and command: onely hee and the Beglerbeg of Grecia chuse not their owne
Lieutenant, but haue them nominated vnto them by the Grand Seignior. Vnto this great
man the Aga of the Ianizaries, nothing can portend a more certaine destruction, than to be M
of them beloued; for then is hee of the Great Sultan straightway feared or mistrusted,
and so occasion sought for to take him out of the way. The number of the Ianizaries of
the Court is betwixt ten and fourteene thousand. This warre-like Order of soldiers is
in these our dayes much imbased: for now natural Turks are taken in for Ianizaries, as are al-
so

A for the people of Asia; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Christians of Europe only: beside that, they marrie wiues also, contrary to their antient custome, which is not now forbidden them. And because of their long lying still at Constantinople (a city abounding with all manner of pleasure) they are become much more effeminate and sloathfull, but withall most insolent, or more truly to say, intollerable. It is commonly reported, the strength of the Turkish Empire to consist in this Order of the Ianizaries: which is not altogether so; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks best footmen, and surest gard of the great Sultans person, yet vndoubtedly the greatest strength of his state and empire resteth nothing so much in them, as in the great multitude of his horsemen, especially his Timariots. Beside these Ianizaries, the Turkish Emperour hath a great number of base footmen, whom the Turks call Asapi, better acquainted with the spade than with the sword, seruing rather to the wearying of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquishing of them with their valour: with whose dead bodies the Ianizaries vse to fil vp the ditches of townes besieged, or to serue them for ladders to climbe ouer the enemies walls vpon. But as the Romans had both their old Legionarie, and other vntrained souldiers which they called Tirones; of whom the first were the chiefe strength of their wars, and the other but as it were an ayd and supply; euen so the Turke accounteth his Timariot horsemen the strength of his army, and the Acanzij (which is another sort of base and common horsemen) but as an accessorie: and so amongst his footmen he esteemeth of his Ianizaries, as did the Romans of their Prætorian legions, but of his Asapi as of shadowes. The Ianizaries are by none to be commanded, more than by the great Sultan himselfe, and their Aga: as for the Bassa's, they much regard them not, but in their rage oftentimes soule entreat euen the greatest of them. The Asapi, as they are but base and common souldiers, so haue they also their ordinarie captains and commanders, men of no great place or marke. *The Turks Asapi in what small regard they are had.*

C

The whole state of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counsell of his Vizier Bassa's, which were not wont to be in number aboue foure, so prouiding for the secrecie of his high designes or important resolutions, hardly by a greater multitude to be concealed: howbeit that the Sultans of later times haue had sometimes moe, sometimes fewer, as their pleasure was. These men are of all others in that empire the greatest, and for their high places most honoured: vnto them euen the greatest D princes that haue any thing to do in the Turks court, sue and send their honorable presents. By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his wars in hand, neither without them concludeth he any peace. They giue audience vnto the Embassadours of forreine princes, and from them receiue their dispatch. The greatest honors and preferments (which are many in that so great and large an empire) are all by their meanes to be obtained: which maketh them of all others to be sought vnto. Some one or other of them are still Generals ouer the great armies of the Turks, especially in these their late wars, their three last Emperors neuer themselues going forth into the field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the third for the maintenance of his credit with his men of warre) came downe into Hungarie, and there wonne the citie of Agria:) which leading of such mighty armies is still with great emulation and ambition of the Vizier E Bassa's amongst themselues sought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them arising, as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greatest. But leauing these great ones, the chiefe counsellors for his state; the whole body of his so large and mighty an Empire (all in the hands of martiall men) is gouerned by other great Bassa's, whom they by a most proud barbarous name cal Beglerbegs, that is to say, Lords of Lords, euery one of them hauing vnder him certaine Begs or Sanzackes, who are lords and rulers also ouer some particular cities and countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all still at the command and becke of their Beglerbeg. In antient time there was wont to be but two of these proud Beglerbegs in all the Turks empire: the one commanding ouer all the prouinces the Turke had in Eu- F rope; & the other ouer all that he had in the lesser Asia, now of the Turks called Natolia. But the Turkish empire greatly augmented in Asia by *Selymus* the first, and also afterwards much enlarged both in Europe and Asia by *Solyman* his son, the number of the Beglerbegs were by him encreased, and in some sort also changed: who although that they be all Beglerbegs, and that one of them (especially in the time of peace) in the managing of his soldiers, and affaires

The great commanders of the Turks Empire.

The great authority of the Vizier Bassa's.

The great authority of the Beglerbegs.

of

of his country is not subiect to any other, but is only a [illegible] and of the great Turke; yet notwithstanding in the time of warre, where the Beglerbeg of Romania is, all are obedient vnto him, as the chiefest of the rest; insomuch that none of them but onely he and the Bassa of Natolia are called by the stately name of Beglerbegs, the others being then only called the Bassa's of such and such places, as of Buda, Aleppo, and such like; although indeed they are in nature Beglerbegs, and so written in their Records. For the more manifesting of which their gouernment, as also that they which come hereafter may by comparing of that which is here written, with the state that then shall be, see how much this great Empire in the meane time encreaseth or diminisheth, I haue thought good here briefely to set downe all the said Beglerbegs, with their Sanzackes and Timariots, and as neere as I could (either by reading, or the credible relation of others well trauelled in those countries) together, and as it were at one shew, set forth the whole strength and power of this so mighty an Empire, as also in what countries and prouinces the same is especially placed.

The Beglerbegs or great Commanders of the Turkes Empire in EVROPE.

The first and chiefest of all the Beglerbegs in the Turkish Empire, is the Beglerbeg of Romania or Grecia, called of the Turks Rum-Ili (as we say the Roman Countrey) the principal residence of whose Beglerbegship is at Sophia, a city of Bulgaria, so appointed for the commodious scituation thereof, for the better command of the rest of the prouinces of Europe; howbeit that he for the most part, or rather altogether abideth at the court: which the other Beglerbegs cannot do, for they are bound not to depart from the gouernment of their Prouinces: in which charge they ordinarily continue but three yeares onely, the great Sultan stil changing and altering them at his pleasure. This Beglerbeg hath vnder his owne ensigne and command forty thousand Timariots alwayes ready at his call, vnder the conduct of these and twenty Sanzackes following; namely the

The Beglerbeg of Romania, chiefe of the Beglerbegs of the Turkes empire in Europe.

Sanzack of:
1. *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.
2. *Nicopolis*.
3. *Cliffe*, or *Quadraginta Ecclesiæ*.
4. *Pyza* in *Thracia*.
5. *Kirmen*
6. *Silistria* — all in *Macedonia*.
7. *Giustandil*
8. *Bender*, neere vnto the Euxine.
9. *Acherman*, in the confines of *Moldauia*.
10. *Iscopia*.
11. *Prisrem*
12. *Salonichi* — all in *Thessalia*.
13. *Trichala*
14. *Misitra*, of old called *Sparta*, in *Morea*
15. *Palæopatra*, in the same prouince.
16. *Ioannina*, in *Ætolia*.
17. *Deluina*
18. *Elbassan* — both in *Achaia*.
19. *Auelona* or *Aulona* in *Albania*.
20. *Ducagin* in *Epirus*.
21. *Iscodra*, or *Scodra*, in *Albania*.

The Beglerbeg of Buda, who there resideth in the frontiers of the Turkish empire, hauing vnder his charge eight thousand Timariots, beside 12000 other soldiers, which in continuall [illegible] in the confines of Hungary, Croatia, Stiria, and other places bordering vpon the Christians, but especially the [illegible] belonging to the House of Austria. He had of late vnder his ensigne and command there [illegible] Sanzackes, *viz.* the

The Beglerbeg of Buda.

Sanzack of:
1. *Nouigrad*.
2. *Filek*.
3. *Zetschen*.
4. *Zolnock*.
5. *Gran* or *Strigonium*.
6. *Segedin*.
7. *Alba Regalis*.
8. *Sexard*.
9. *Simontorna*.
10. *Copan*.
11. *Muhatz*.
12. *Zigeth*, or *Saswar*.
13. *Petschen* or *Quinque Ecclesiæ*.
14. *Sirmium*.
15. *Semendria*.

Of which, Filek, Zetschen, and Strigonium are in their late wars won from the Turks by the Imperials, and so yet by them holden; as was also Alba Regalis, which but of late was by the Turks againe recouered.

The

A The Beglerbegh of Temeswar in Hungarie, who there hath his abode, hauing vnder his command seuen thousand Timariots, with these eight Sanzackes, the

3 The Beglerbeg of Temeswar.

Sanzacke of:
1. *Temeswar*.
2. *Mudaua*.
3. *Vilaoswar*.
4. *Tschinnad*.
5. *Wischitirni*.
6. *Iswornick*.
7. *Vidin*.
8. *Lippa*.

The Beglerbegh of Bosna, who lyeth at Bagnialuca, hath vnder him these Sanzackes, the

4 The Beglerbeg of Bosna.

B Sanzacke of:
1. *Bagnialuca*.
2. *Poschega*,
3. *Clissa*.
4. *Hertzegouina*.
5. *Lika*.
6. *Sazeschna*.
7. *Giula*.
8. *Brisrem*.
9. *Alatschia-chissar*.

The Beglerbegh of Coffe or Capha, who there resideth in Taurica Chersonesus, and beside the countrey thereabout, commandeth ouer all the Sanzackes neere vnto the great Riuer Tanais, and the Fennes of Meotis. It was at first but a Sanzackeship, subiect to the Beglerbeg of Grecia; and is in truth rather a Beglerbegs place in name, than in strength and power.

7 The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha.

The Beglerbegs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Asia.

C

The Beglerbegs of the Turkes empire in Asia.

1. *Anatolia*, who hath his resiance in *Cutaie*, the Metropoliticall city of the greater *Phrygia* (called in antient time *Catyai*) and hath vnder his ensigne and command thirty thousand of the Timariot horsemen, with 12 Sanzackes.
2. *Caramania*, who hath his abode at *Caisaria* (in antient time called *Cæsaria*) a citie of Cilicia, and hath vnder him seuen Sanzackes, with twenty thousand Timariots.
3. *Siuas*, who hath his abiding at *Sebastia*, a city of the lesser *Armenia*, and hath vnder his gouernment ten thousand Timariots.
4. *Tocatun*, who resideth at *Amasia*, the Metropolis of *Capadocia*, and hath vnder him fiue Sanzackes.

D

5. *Dulgadir*, sometime part of the kingdome of *Aladeules*, and commandeth ouer foure Sanzackes.
6. *Halep*, commonly called *Aleppo*, a city of *Syria*, and one of the most famous marts of the East, who hath vnder his Regiment fiue and twenty thousand Timariots.
7. *Sham*, otherwise called *Damasco*, a most famous city of *Syria*, who commandeth ouer forty thousand Timariots.

The Beglerbeg of

8. *Tarapolos*, or *Trapolos*, commonly called *Tripolis*, another famous city of *Syria*.

E

9. *Maras*, a city vpon the great riuer Euphrates, betwixt *Aleppo* and *Mesopotamia*, who hath vnder his command ten thousand Timariots.
10. *Diarbekir*, otherwise called *Mesopotamia*, who maketh his abode at the city of *Amida*, or as the Turkes call it, *Cara-hemid*, who commandeth ouer twelue Sanzackes, and thirty thousand Timariots.
11. *Bagdat*, or new *Babylon*, where he resideth, not farre from the ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath vnder him forty thousand Timariots.
12. *Balsara*, not farre from *Bagdat*, vpon the Persian gulfe, who hath vnder his rule or gouernment fifteene thousand Timariots.
13. *Laxa*, towards *Ormus*, and neere vnto the Persian, hath vnder his regiment ten thousand Timariots.

F

14. *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous cities in *Arabia Fœlix*, vpon the coast of the Red-Sea, who hath vnder him thirty thousand Timariots.
15. *Chebetz*, or *Zebet*, vpon the coast of the Arabian gulfe, neere vnto the kingdome of the great Æthiopian King *Preianes*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter Iohn*.

[illegible] that country [illegible]

[illegible] Georgians, erected by the same [illegible] same yeare 1579.

[illegible] *Basſa*, or *Phaſis*, in *Mengrelia*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Vluzali* the Turks Admirall, the same yeare 1575.

25 *Sarkam*, in the borders of the Georgians, erected by the great Baſſa *Sinan*, in the yeare 1580.

26 *Batin*, there erected also by the same *Sinan Baſſa*.

28 *Kemar*, erected by *Ferat Baſſa*, Generall of the Turks Army, taken from *Ma-humet Chan* the Perſian in the yeare 1582, whereof *Cicala Baſſa* was the first Beglerbeg.

29 *Samarchia*, in the countrey of *Media*, erected by *Oſman Baſſa* in the yeare 1583.

K *Tauris*, a moſt famous city of *Armenia* the greater, ſometime the Regall ſeat of the Perſian kings, but of late taken from them by *Oſman Baſſa*, and conuerted into a Beglerbegſhip in the ſame yeare 1583.

But theſe late erected honours, namely the Beglerbegſhips of Teflis, Siruan, Temir-Capi, Cars, Tſchilder, Paſſa, and the reſt gained by *Amurath* from the Perſians and the Georgians although they containe a great territorie, are not of themſelues any of them worthie of their honour, or yet able to maintaine the ſame (Siruan, Reiuan, and Tauris onely excepted) but were by the great Baſſa's, *Muſtapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Oſman*, *Amurath* his Lieutenants [illegible] greater honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend [illegible] Confins, erected; being indeed nothing either in power or ſtrength com- L [illegible] antient Beglerbegs either in Europe or Aſia. But hauing thus paſſed through the great kingdomes and prouinces by the Turks holden in Europe and Aſia, with their proud honors therein, let vs go forward toward the South, to ſee what great kingdomes and territories they at this preſent hold in Africke alſo.

The Beglerbegs or great Commanders of the Turkes Empire in AFRICKA.

The Beglerbeg of
1 *Miſsir*, who ſtill making his abode at the great city of *Cairo*, hath vnder his command all the Kingdome of *Aegypt*, with ſixteene Sanzackes, and an hundred thouſand Timariots. M
2 *Ceſsir*, in antient time called *Iulia Ceſaria*, but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbeg ſtill reſiding, commandeth ouer all that Kingdome, wherein are forty thouſand Timariots.

3 *Tunis*,

A The Beglerbeg of
3 *Tunis*, where he ſtill remaining as a Viceroy, commandeth all that great and large kingdome.
4 *Tripolis*, the ſeat of his Beglerbegſhip, by *Sinan Baſſa* taken from the Knights of Malta in the yeare 1551.

There are beſide theſe, two other kingdomes in Africke inrolled in the Turkes records as their owne, although they be not as yet by them brought into the forme of Beglerbegſhips, namely the kingdomes of Fez and Moroco, but are as yet holden by them as their tributaries and Vaſſals.

But hauing thus as it were taken view of the greatneſſe and forces of this ſo mighty a monarchs empire by land, and ſo in ſome ſort bounded it out, let vs conſider alſo his power by ſea. With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the gulfes of Perſia and Arabia, moſt of his territories lying vpon the mediterranian and Euxine ſeas, or elſe more inwardly into the heart of Aſia neere to no ſea. Now for theſe ſeas, no prince in the world hath greater or better means to ſet forth his fleets than hath he: for the ouergrowne woods of Epirus & Cilicia, and more than they, thoſe of Nicomedia and Trapezond are ſo great and thicke, and ſo full of tall trees fit for the building of ſhips and gallies of all ſorts, as is almoſt incredible. Neither wanteth he ſtore of ſhipwrights and carpenters for the framing of that ſo great ſtore of timber, large pay drawing euen the Chriſtian skilfull carpenters and workemen into his Arſenals at Conſtantinople, Synope, Callipolis, and others. For proofe whereof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the ſecond in our freſh remembrance, the next yeare after that notable ouerthrow by him receiued at the Echinades (commonly called the battel C of Lepanto) rigged vp a fleet wherewith *Vluzales* his Admirall was not afraid to face the whole power of the confederate Chriſtian Princes at Cerigo. Neither hath the Turke euer wanted good ſtore of expert ſeamen after the manner of thoſe ſeas; for beſide thoſe hee hath in ſtore at Callipolis and Sinope, out of his gallies which hee hath alwaies in readineſſe at Lesbos, Chios, Rhodus, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and from the pyrats which he continually receiueth into the ports of Tunis, Bugia, Tripolis, and Algiers, he can and doth from them when need is, chuſe captaines, mariners, and rowers ſufficient for the manning and ſtoring of his fleet. What he is able ao do in thoſe ſeas was well ſeene in our time, by thoſe fleets which he had at Malta, Cyprus, the Echinades, and Guletta. He hath beſide of all neceſſary and warlike prouiſion aboundant ſtore, and of great ordnance to furniſh himſelfe withal both by ſea D and land an infinite quantity. Out of Hungary he hath carried away aboue 5000 great pieces, out of Cyprus 500, and few leſſe from Guletta, not to ſpeak what he hath more got from the Chriſtians in diuers other places alſo. What ſtore he hath of ſhot and pouder hee ſhewed at Malta, where hee diſcharged aboue 60000 great ſhot; at Famagusta, where hee beſtowed 118000; and at Guletta, where in the ſpace of 39 dayes he by the fury of his great ordnance ouerthrew the fortifications which the Chriſtians had bin 40 yeares in building. So that to returne againe to our purpoſe, the Great Turke ſo well prouided of men, mony, ſhipping, and great ordnance, and hauing done ſo great matters at ſea as is before rehearſed, is not in reaſon otherwiſe to be accounted of, than as of a moſt mighty and puiſſant prince as well by ſea as land: which to be ſo, the greatneſſe of his Deniz Beglerbeg or great Admiral (commonly called *Capitan Baſſa*, of whom we haue not yet ſpoken) well declareth. This great man hauing E charge of all the grand Seigniors ſtrength at ſea, is alway one of the Vizier Baſſa's, not bound ſtill to follow the court, as the other Viziers be, but alwaies or for moſt part reſiant at Conſtantinople or Callipolis, ſo to be the neerer vnto his charge. He that now hath this honourable place is called of the Turks *Cigala Baſſa*, deſcended of an honorable family of that name in Genoa: who commonly reſiding at Conſtantinople or Callipolis, hath vnder him fourteen Sanzacks, all of them great commanders and men of great place: namely the

The great power of the Turke in the Mediterranian and Euxine ſea.

From whence he hath his chiefe ſeamen.

6. The Deniz Beglerbeg, the Turkes great admirall, to be accounted ſixth of the Beglerbegs in Europe.

F Sanzack of
1 *Gallipolis*, or *Callipolis*.
2 *Galata*, or *Pera*.
3 *Nicomedia*.
4 *Limnos*, or *Lemnus*.
5 *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*.
6 *Chios*, or *Scio*.
7 *Nexia*, or *Naxus*.
8 *Negropont*, or *Eubœa*.
9 *Rhodus*.
10 *Cauala* in the frontiers of *Macedonia*.
11 *Napoli di Romania*.
12 *Lepanto*, or *Naupactus*.
13 *S. Maura*.
14 *Alexandria*.

for the neereneſſe of the King of Spaine, enemie vnto them both. Now then there remaineth the reſt of the Chriſtian princes bordering vpon the Turke; and firſt the king of Polonia. What theſe two Princes can do the one againſt the other, hath beene ſeene in ſome former expeditions, wherein the Polonian had ſtill the worſe: yet it ſhould ſeeme, that of later time the Turke hath not bin greatly deſirous to moue the Polonian too farre, for that being prouoked by diuers occaſions, (namely in the reigne of *Henry* the third, in the wars that *Iohn* the Vayuod of Valachia had with the Turks, many Polonian horſemen ſerued the ſaid Vayuod, though not indeed ſent from the King: and in the time of *Sigiſmund* the Polonian Coſſackes haue with diuers incurſions not a little troubled them: beſide the late motions of *Iohn Zamoſchie* the great Chancellour and Generall of the Polonian forces, for the ſtaying of the Tartars by the Turks ſent for) he hath been content to comport the ſame, and not with his wonted pride ſought to be thereof reuenged, as he hath for far leſſe vpon ſome other princes. And on the other ſide, the Polonians ſince the vnfortunate expedition of King *Ladiſlaus*, neuer tooke vpon them any warres againſt the Turkes, neither gaue ſuch aid as they ſhould vnto the Valachians their confederates, but ſuffered to be taken from themſelues whatſoeuer they had toward the Euxine or Blacke ſea: a thing imputed rather vnto the want of courage in their Kings, than in the Nobilitie of that Kingdome. *Sigiſmund* the firſt being by Pope *Leo* X. inuited to the warres againſt the Turks, anſwered them in theſe few words: Set you the Chriſtian princes at vnitie amongſt themſelues, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigiſmund* the ſecond ſo abhorred the wars, that he not onely declined the Turks, but prouoked by the Muſcouites, neuer ſought to reuenge the ſame. King *Stephen* (by the commendation of *Amurath* choſen King of Polonia) an indifferent eſteemer both of his enemies Forces and his owne, thought it a moſt dangerous thing to ioyne battell with the Turke, and yet in priuate talke with his friends, would oftentimes ſay, That with thirty thouſand foot ioyned vnto his Polonian horſmen, he durſt well to vndertake an expedition againſt the Turke: which he was ſuppoſed oftentimes to haue thought vpon. The Emperour, with the reſt of the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, are by a longer tract of ground ioyned vnto this great empire of the Turks, than any one other prince of the world, and beſtow in fortifications and the maintenance of their garriſons, (wherein they haue continually aboue twenty thouſand horſe and foot) the greateſt part of their reuenues euen in the time of peace, much more in theſe their long wars: and with the German forces ioyned vnto their owne, are more carefull how to defend that they haue yet left, than how to recouer that they haue alreadie loſt, or to enlarge their empire. The Emperor *Ferdinand* with greater force than ſucceſſe vndertooke the vnfortunate expeditions of Bada and Poſſega: which ſo euill fell out, not for that his forces were not ſufficient or ſtrong enough, but for that they wanted agilitie and dexteritie. The truth is, thoſe his armies were ſtrong enough, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, but conſiſted for the moſt part of Germans and Bohemians, ſlow and heauie people, vnfit to encounter with the Turkes, a more ready and nimble kinde of ſouldiers. The Venetians alſo confrontier the Turks by many hundred miles, both by ſea and land, and defend themſelues rather by peaceable policie than force of armes: notably fortifying their ſtrong Holds vpon their frontiers, declining by all meanes the dangers and charges of warre, by Embaſſages and rich preſents, leauing nothing vnattempted (their liberty and ſtate preſerued) rather than to fall to wars. To ſay the truth of them, although they had both coyne and warlike prouiſion ſufficient, yet want they men and victuals anſwerable to ſo great a war againſt ſo puiſſaint an Enemie. There remaineth onely the King of Spaine, of all other the great Princes either Chriſtians or Mahometanes bordering vpon him, the beſt able to deale with him; his yearely reuenues ſo farre exceeding thoſe of the Turks, as that they are alſo probably thought to counterpaile the greateſt part of his Timariots: and his great Dominions in Spaine, Portugall, Naples, Sicilia, Millaine, Sardinia, and the Low-Countries (if they were with him at vnitie) able to affourd vnto him ſo great and powerfull a ſtrength both by ſea and land, as might make him dreadfull euen vnto the Great Turke when hee ſwelleth in his greateſt pride: but conſidering how his Forces are diſtracted for the maintenance of his warres at once in diuers places; as alſo for the neceſſarie defence and keeping of his ſo large and diſperſed territories, not all the beſt of themſelues affected to the Spaniſh gouern-

The king of Polonia vnwilling to meddle with the Turke or the Turke with him.

The Emperour with the reſt of the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, together with the aid of the Germanes, haue much adoe to defend themſelues againſt the Turke.

The Venetians by policy rather than by force, maintain their ſtate againſt the Turke.

The King of Spaine, of all other Princes that border vpon the Turke, beſt able to wage war with him.

ment,

A giuing themſelues to vnwonted pleaſures, their antient diſcipline of war neglected, their ſuperſtition not with ſo much zeale as of old regarded, and rebellions in diuers parts of his Empire of late ſtrangely raiſed, and mightily ſupported: all the ſignes of a declining State. Which were they not at all to be ſeene, as indeed they be very pregnant, yet the greatneſſe of this Empire being ſuch, as that it laboureth with nothing more than the weightineſſe of it ſelfe, it muſt needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it ſelfe fall, and againe come to nought, no man knowing when or how ſo great a worke ſhould be brought to paſſe, but he in whoſe deepe counſels all theſe great reuolutions of Empires and Kingdomes are from eternitie ſhut vp: who at his pleaſure ſhall in due time by ſuch meanes as he ſeeth beſt, accompliſh the ſame, to the vnſpeakeable comfort of his poore afflicted flocke, in one place or other, ſtill in danger to be by this roaring Lyon deuoured. Which worke of ſo great wonder, He for his Sonne our Sauior Chriſt his ſake, the glory of his name, and comfort of many thouſand oppreſſed Chriſtians, fed with the bread of carefulneſſe amidſt the furnace of tribulation, in mercie haſten, that we with them, and they with vs, all as members of one body, may continually ſing, *Vnto him be all honour and praiſe world without end.*

* *
*

FINIS.

¶ A Table or Index, pointing vnto all the most notable things in the Hiſtorie of the Turks before written: wherein ſuch directorie Letters as are ſet without numbers, are to be ſtill referred to the next number of the Page precedent.

Aaron Vayuod of Moldania ſuſpected by the Tranſyluanian prince to haue intelligence with the Turke, with his wife and ſonne ſent priſoners vnto Prague, 1062 *l.*

Abas Mirize by the practiſe of Mirize Salmas brought into ſuſpition with Mahomet his father the Perſian King, 946 *i. by his Embaſſadors purgeth himſelfe of the ſuppoſed treaſon,* 964 *g.*

Abdulcherai with his Tartars commeth into Siruan, 838 *k. taketh Ares Chan,* 939 *a. ſpoileth George, is himſelfe ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by the Perſian Prince,* 940 *g. beloued of the Perſian Queene, k. ſlaine in the Court,* 941 *a.*

Abedin Baſſa with a great armie ſent by Amurath to reuenge the death of Meſites, ſpoyleth Valachia, and ſo entreth into Tranſyluania, 271 *a. encourageth the Turks,* 273 *b. in a great and mortall battell ouerthrowne by Huniades at Vaſcape,* 274 *l.*

Abraham, otherwiſe called Pyramet, laſt King of Caramania, ſlaine by Baiazet, 447 *b.*

Abraham Baſſa his deſcription, 645 *f. his bringing vp in Court,* 646 *g. his great credit with Solyman, i. he perſuadeth him to make warre vpon the Perſians,* 647 *e. maligned by Solymans mother and Roxolana,* 649 *b. ſent before by Solyman with an armie into Syria, c. hath the citie of Tauris yeelded vnto him, d. in diſgrace with Solyman,* 653 *f. ſhamefully murthered in the Court by the commandment of Solyman,* 654 *h.*

Abydus ſurpriſed by the Turks, 183 *a.*

Acanzij what they be, 415 *b.*

Achmetes Baſſa gouernour of Cyprus ſlaine by the Ianizaries, 979 *b.*

Achmetes the great Baſſa his notable ſpeech to Mahomet, to diſſuade him from any more aſſaulting of Scodra, 423 *f. landeth with his armie in Apulia,* 432 *i. by Baiazet made Generall of his armie againſt his brother Zemes,* 438 *l. his death contriued by Iſaac Baſſa,* 443 *b. in danger to haue been put to death, deliuered by the Ianizaries,* 444 *h. ſuddenly ſlaine, k.*

Achmetes Baſſa with his armie ouerthrowne by the Mamaluks, taken and ſent priſoner vnto Caytbeius at Caire, 448 *i.*

Achomates politique and valiant, but too much giuen to pleaſure, 478 *k. diſcontented,* 487 *e. threateneth the Cadeleſcher ſent vnto him by his Father,* 488 *g. entereth with his ſonnes into rebellion, h. killeth his Fathers Embaſſadour, proclaimed Traitour,* 489 *f. ſecretly fauoured by diuers great men in Selymus his armie,* 503 *a. ouerthrowne in battell, taken, and the commandement of his brother Selymus ſtrangled,* 504 *i.*

Achomates the great Baſſa appeaſeth the ſouldiers, vp in armes for the vnworthie death of Muſtapha, 764 *h. his miſerable end,* 765 *c.*

Agria in vaine beſieged by the Turkes, 756 *k. yeelded vnto Mahomet the third,* 1096 *h.*

Aladin the ſonne of Kei-Huſreu of the Selzuccian familie, driuen out of Perſia, ſeiſeth vpon Cilicia, 761

Aladin his modeſtie about the diuiſion of his father Othomans inheritance and goods with his brother Orchanes, 179 *d.*

Aladin the Caramanian King hanged, 208 *m.*

Aladin, Amurath his eldeſt ſonne, ſlaine with a fall from his horſe, 289 *d.*

Alba-Regalis yeelded to King Ferdinand, 700 *l. beſieged by Solyman,* 740 *i. the lake and ditches with incredible labor filled vp by the Turks, l. the ſuburbs woon,* 741 *c. the miſerable ſlaughter of the Chriſtians in their flight, d. yeelded vnto Solyman,* 742 *g. beſieged by Duke Merenrie,* 1134 *l. the ſuburbs of the citie ſurpriſed by Lord Ruſſworme,* 1135 *d. the citie taken by the Chriſtians,* 1136 *g. beſieged by the Turks,* 1144 *l. terribly aſſaulted,* 1145. *woon by the Turks, d.*

Aladeules his kingdome, 519 *a. the battell betwixt him and Selymus, e. he flyeth into the mountaines,* 520 *g. taken by Sinan Baſſa, and brought to Selymus, is put to death, l. his head ſent to Uenice for a preſent, and his Kingdome brought into the forme of a prouince, m.*

Albuchomar diſcouereth vnto Selymus the power of Tomombeius, and the treaſon intended by them of Caire, 547 *e.*

Aleppo in Syria betrayed and taken from the Chriſtians by Saladin Sultan of Damaſco, 61 *a. by the Tartars taken from the Turks, and by them ſacked and raſed,* 113 *d. by Cayerbeius the traitor deliuered to Selymus,* 530 *l*

Aleſſandro the Georgian ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto Muſtapha, 933 *c.*

Alexius the great Preſident of Conſtantinople committed to priſon, 45 *f. his eyes put out by the commandement of Andronicus,* 46 *h.*

Alexius Comnenus, otherwiſe called Porphyrogenitus, ſucceedeth his Father Emanuel in the Empire, 43 *b. by the practiſe of Andronicus is deprined of his Empire and ſtrangled,* 50 *h.*

Alexius the yong Prince craueth aid of Philip the Emperour and the Latine Princes againſt his vncle the Vſurper, 77 *a. commeth to the armie of the Chriſtian Princes going towards the Holy land,* 78 *g. arriueth with a great fleet of the Latines before Conſtantinople, l. taketh land, and after a hot skirmiſh forceth the old tyran Alexius to flie out of the cuie,* 79 *c. ſeeketh to bring the Latines againe into the city,* 80 *k. is betrayed and ſtrangled by Murzuſle, l.*

Alexius Philanthropenus by Andronicus the Emperour made Gouernour of the frontiers of his Empire in Aſia againſt the Turkes, 147 *c. aſpireth,* 148 *i. betrayed, hath his eyes put out,* 149 *a.*

Alexius Sir Gregorie his send a fleete to ayde the ouerthrow to the Emperour *Michael Dukas* gaue to the enemies of the Empire, against the vse of Confederacie from the Latines, 116 c.

Agnes daughter to the Emperour *Andronicus Comnenus*, 944 c. in hope of marriage committeth *Hassan Bassa* amongst the frontier passages of Georgia, 945 c. safe to passe at *Erzerum*, d. offereth from *Persia*, 972 m. by the Persian King, to the great discontentment of the Turkemans made Gouernour of *Taurus*, 973 c. killeth the Bassa of *Marasa*, doth the Turkes great harme, and reuolteth from *Tauris*, 991 c. conspireth with *Abas Mirzes* against the Persian Prince, 1000 k. being by the Prince sent against the Turkes performeth nothing, 1001 c.

Alis Bassa with a great armie ouerthrowne by *Scanderbeg*, 288 k.

Alis Bassa sent by *Bajazet* with an armie out of Europe against *Tocbellis*, slain, 474 l.

Alis Beg and his fourre sons treacherously slaine by *Ferat Bassa*, 600 l.

Alis Bassa of *Buda* by the commandement of *Amurath* strangled, 1003 d.

Alis Beg gouernour of *Strigonium* commeth downe into the lower Towne, to shew Gouernor the Ianizaries, 1066 k. his resolute answer vnto the message sent him from the Lord Pasa, 1080 c. slaine with a great shot, 1071 c.

Almericus carie of Ioppa after the death of his brother *Baldwin* chosen first K. of *Ierusalem*, 53 c. with a puissant armie entereth Egypt, and in plaine [illegible] ouerthroweth *Dargan* the [illegible] with *Sanar* the Sultan against Saracon, *Noradins* [illegible] sonne, whom he ouerthrowe[illegible] 36 t. taketh *Alexandria* [illegible] Pelusium, 57. dieth, 58 k.

Alorsius Gritus the Duke of Venice his sonne sent by *Solyman* as his lieutenant into Hungarie, to ouersee king Iohn, 631 f. contemned by *Americus*, causeth him to be murthered, 633 d. besieged by the Transyluanians, 634 h. taken and beheaded, l. the great riches found about him, 635 a.

Alphonsus King of Naples sendeth ayd vnto *Scanderbeg*, 369 f. with *Alexander* Bishop of Rome craueth aid of *Baiazet* the Turke against Charles the French King, 551 a.

Alphonsus resigneth his kingdome of Naples vnto his sonne *Ferdinando*, 455 c.

Aloysius Dandulus Vaiuius Lieutenant General of the Emperours land forces in his expedition for *Tunes*, 655 b. his speech vnto the Spanish Captains, 659 b. commandeth the Emperour, 665 d. with *Hannibaldus* sent Embassadors from the Emperour and the French King, to the State of Venice, for a confederation betwixt that State and them to be made against *Solyman*, 992 g. his Oration in the Venetian Senat, h. the answer of the Duke, m. the Senators diuersly affected towards the Confederation, 693 d.

Alteration of Religion in the Greeke Church the cause of great troubles, 144 m.

Amesa with his Turks ouerthrowne and taken prisoner by *Scanderbeg*, 366 g.

Amesa employed by his vncle *Scanderbeg* for the recouerie of *Croia* [illegible] of the hands of the Turkes, 284 b. corrupted, fleeth to *Mahomet* the Turke, 373 b. his first speech to *Mahomet*, c. honourably entertained, 376 i. by *Isaack Bassa* created King of Epirus, 375 d. taken prisoner by *Scanderbeg*, 381 d. sent prisoner into Italy, 382 b. enlarged, returneth to Constantinople, and there dieth, 383 b.

Amurath the first succeedeth his father *Orchanes* in the Turkish Kingdome, 189 c. inuadeth Europe, d. taketh Hadrianople, f. maketh his royall seat in Europe, 191 b. beginneth the order of the Ianizaries, c. returneth into Asia, 192 g. marrieth his sonne *Bajazet* vnto *Hatune* the daughter of the Prince *Cyrmean*, with a great dowrie, 193 c. purchaseth the Principalitie of *Amisum* of *Chusen Beg*, d. inuadeth Servia and taketh *Nissa* the Metropolitical Citie thereof, e. imposeth a yearely tribute vpon the Countrey of Servia, f. in a great battell ouerthroweth *Aladin* the King of *Caramania* his Sonne in law, with the other Mahometane Princes his Confederates, 196 g. by his Captains winneth and spoyleth a great part of Bulgaria, 199 a. in a great and mortall battaile ouerthroweth *Lazarus* the Despot of Servia with his Confederates in the plaines of *Cassona*, 200 i. slaine, k. buried at *Prusa*, 201 b.

Amurath the second placed in his fathers seat, 255 c. afraid to go against the rebell *Mustapha*, 256 [illegible] besieged Constantinople [illegible] 259 g. strangleth his brother *Mustapha*, l. winneth *Thessalonica*, 260 g. taketh vnto himselfe the greatest part of *Aetolia*, i. enforceth the Princes of *Athens*, *Pheres*, and *Beotia* to become his Tributaries h. falsifieth his faith with *Iohn Castriot* Prince of *Epirus*, and inuadeth his [illegible] [illegible] sonnes his Hostages, l. op[illegible] the Mahometan Princes [illegible] the spoyleth Hungarie [illegible] 361 c. his faith inuaded [illegible] armie to [illegible] and subdueth it, 262 g. put[illegible] out the eyes of the Despots sonnes, his owne brethren, g. besiegeth *Belgrade*, 263 c. dealeth subtilly with the Embassadors of king *Uladislaus*, 264 g. notably encouraged his [illegible] diours to the assault of *Belgrade*, h. shamefully repulsed, 266 b. his sullen answer vnto the Embassadors of King *Uladislaus*, i. sendeth *Mesites Bassa* to inuade *Transyluania*, 276 f. grieued with the losse of *Mesites* and his Armie, sendeth *Abedin Bassa* to reuenge his death, 270 l. in dispaire, about to haue slaine himselfe, 289 a. by the mediation of the Despot of Servia obtaineth peace of K. *Uladislaus* for ten yeres, b. inuadeth *Caramania*, d. weary of the world, committeth the gouernment of his kingdome to his sonne *Mahomet*, and retyreth himselfe vnto a Monasticall life, e. At the report of those preparations of the Hungarians, and request of his Bassa's, forsaketh his solitarie life, and raiseth a great armie in Asia, 296 k. by the Genowayes transported with his Armie into Europe, l. ioyneth battaile with King *Uladislaus* at *Varna*, 297 b. about to haue fled, repressed of cowardise by a common souldior, c. prayeth vnto Christ, e. in danger to haue beene slaine, 298 b. wisheth not many times so to ouercome as hee did at the battell of *Varna*, m. to performe his vow, resigneth his kingdom to his sonne *Mahomet*, which he shortly after resumeth againe, 299 b. his craftie Letters to *Scanderbeg*, 300 g. his passionate speech in his rage against *Scanderbeg*, 302 i. breaketh through the Hexamylum, and imposeth a yearely tribute vpon them of *Peloponesus*, 304 b. after three daies hard fight with great slaughter of his Men ouercommeth *Huniades* in the plaines of *Cassona*, 309 b. inuadeth the Despot, 310 k. his graue Letters of Aduice to *Mustapha*, concerning his inuading of Epirus, 311 c. commeth with a great Army to *Sfetigrade*, 316 l. in vaine with great furie giueth many a desperat assault vnto the Citie, 319 b. in one assault loseth seuen thousand of his Turkes, 320 i. by great promises seeketh to corrupt the garrison of *Sfetigrade*, l. by the practise of one man hath the citie of *Sfetigrade* yeelded vnto him, 321 e. hauing lost thirtie thousand of his Turkes at the siege of *Sfetigrade*, returneth to Hadrianople, 322 b. with a great armie commeth againe into Epirus and besiegeth *Croia*, 323 c. in two assaults loseth 8000 of his souldiers, 326 k. content to buy the life of one Christian with the losse of twentie of his Turkes, 327 a. seeketh by great gifts to corrupt *Vranacontes* the Gouernour of *Croia*, 328 i. ouercome with melancholie, tormenteth himselfe, 330 g. by his Embassadours offereth *Scanderbeg* peace, h. his last speech vnto his sonne *Mahomet* concerning such things as at his death grieued him most, k. dieth, 331 b. buried at *Prusa*, 332 g.

Amurath the sonne of *Achomates* fleeth vnto *Hysmael* the Persian King, 504 k. marrieth his daughter, 505 a. spoileth *Capadocia*, and for feare of his vncle *Selymus* retyreth, d.

Amurath the third taketh vpon him the Turkish Empire, 919 c. pacifieth the Ianizaries and augmenteth their priuiledges, d. strangleth his fiue brethren, e. His letters vnto the Nobilitie of Polonia in the behalfe of Stephen Bathor Vayuod of Transyluania, 920 i. attentiue to the stirres in Persia, 923 f. informed thereof by *Vsstref Bassa* of *Van*, 924 m. resolued to take the Persian warre in hand, 925 d. by *Mustapha* aduertised of the successe of the Persian warres, 938 g. consulteth of his proceeding therein, 941 e. discharged *Mustapha* of his Generalship, and calleth him home to Constantinople, 946 l. appointeth *Sinan* Generall for the Persian warres, 951 b. in despight of *Sinan* appointeth *Mahamet Bassa* Generall for those warres in his stead, 957 e. circumciseth his eldest sonne *Mahomet*, 957 a. displaceth *Sinan Bassa*, and casteth him into exile, 962 l. appointeth *Ferat* Generall for his warres in Persia, 965 d. sendeth for *Osman Bassa* into *Siruan*, 974 h. maketh him chiefe Visier, and Generall of his Armie into Persia, 976 k. in disporting with his Mutes taken with a fit of the falling sickenesse, 977 d. causeth great triumph to be made throughout his Empire for the winning of *Tauris*, 996 h. maketh choice againe of *Ferat Bassa* to succeed *Osman Bassa* dead in the Persian warres, 999 b. concluded a peace with the Persian King, 1005 b. his answer to the Letters of *Sigismund* the third, King of *Polonia*, 1004 h. glad himselfe to yeeld vnto insolencie of the Ianizaries, 1005 f. his letters to *Elizabeth* Queene of England, 1006 k. perswaded by his Visier Bassa's to take some new warre in hand, 1007 e. in doubt whom first to begin withall, 1008 k. resolueth to make warre vpon the emperour, with the reasons leading him thereunto, 1104 k. giueth leaue to *Hassan Bassa* of *Bosna* as it were without his knowledge to picke quarrels with the Emperour, and so to disturbe the peace, m. sendeth home the bodie of the Persian Hostage dead in his Court, 1015 c. proclaimeth warre against the Emperour, 1023 f. the proud and blasphemous manner of his denuntiation of warre, 1024 h. he dreameth, 1028 l. sicke of the falling sickenesse, 1048 h. dieth, 1053 d.

Andrew King of Hungarie maketh an expedition into the Holy land, 88 k. bathing himselfe in the riuer of Iordan, returneth with all his power, l.

Andronicus aspireth to the Empire, 43 d. ouerthroweth *Angelus* sent against him with a great power by *Alexius* the great President, 44 l. encampeth ouer against Constantinople, 45 a. taketh vpon him the gouernment and tyrannizeth, 47 b. causeth *Marie* the daughter of *Emanuel* the Emperour, with her husband *Cesar* to be poysoned, e. causeth *Xene* the faire Empresse to be vniustly condemned and strangled, 49 k. by his fauourits and flatterers ioyned in the fellowship of the Empire with *Alexius* the young Emperour, 46 c. depriueth *Alexius* of the Empire, and causeth him to be strangled, 50 h. destroyeth the Nobilitie to establish his estate, i. seeketh in vaine to appease the people in a tumult risen vp against him, 52 h. forsaken of his flattering fauourits, flyeth, is taken and brought backe in chaines to *Angelus*, 53 c. committed to the fury of the people, who with extreame cruelty put him to most shamefull death, 54

Andronicus Palaeologus the yonger exceedingly beloued by old *Andronicus* his grandfather, 158 h. by the perswasion of *Syrgiannes* conspireth against his aged Grandfather, 159 f. being sent for, commeth vnto him secretly armed, with purpose to haue slaine him, 160 k. secretly flieth out of Constantinople, 161 b. proclaimed traitour, and proscribed, c. stirreth vp the people of Thracia to rebellion, d. reconciled to his Grandfather, 164 i. crowned fellow in the Empire with his Grandfather, m. againe conspireth against his Grandfather, 165 b. his craftie speech vnto his Grandfathers Embassadours, 167 c. seeketh in vaine by night to haue been receiued into Constantinople, 169 e. is receiued into *Thessalonica*, 170 g. taketh in the greatest part of *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, m. by treason entereth into the citie of Constantinople, 171 e. forbiddeth his Captaines and souldiours to violate the Maiestie of the old Emperour or any about him, 172 i. humbleth himselfe vnto his Grandfather, 173 a. euill perswaded, committeth him to streight keeping, 174 g. wounded in the battell with Orchanes at *Philocrene*, 180 m. by his owne departure from his Campe, discomfiteth his whole Armie, 181 a.

Andronicus Palaeologus the old Emperour in restoring againe the Greeke Ceremonies, by his Father before altered, falleth into great troubles, 146 b. sparing to maintaine his Nauie, weakeneth his Empire, k. suspitious of his brother Constantine, l. by taking him away, leaueth the East side of his Empire to bee spoiled by the Turkes, 147 c. reposing more trust in forreigne aid than in his owne Subiects, greatly hurteth his State, 149 b. immoderately fauoureth his Nephew *Andronicus*, 158 h. setteth *Syrgiannes* to obserue his doings, 159 a. sendeth embassadours vnto him, 161 d. in his trouble, as of an heauenly Oracle asketh counsell of the Psalter, and so maketh peace with his nephew, 164 h. enformed of the euill meaning of his nephew, forbiddeth him to come into the citie, 166 g. his notable speech vnto the Patriarch and the rest of the Bishops and Nobilitie concerning the young Emperour his Nephew, 168 k. forsaken of the Patriarch and some others of the Bishops, 169 b. reposeth his whole trust in God, 172 i. his pittifull request vnto the young Emperour his Nephew, l. by him depriued of his Imperiall Dignitie, 174 g. falleth blind, h. against his will made a Monke, and called *Anthonie*, k. his notable answer vnto the catching question of the proud Patriarch, l. enforced to sweare, Neuer againe to resume vnto himselfe the Empire, 175 d. dieth, 176 g. his death by many prodigies

Baldwin Countie of Edessa, and Brother to Godfrey second King of Ierusalem, 25 a. winneth Cæsarea from the Infidels, b. ouerthroweth the Turkes hard by Rama, c. besiegeth Ptolemais, and in retyring thence is mortally wounded, e. besiegeth it againe, & hath it by composition yeelded vnto him, e. after many sharpe assaults winneth Berythus, 26 h. taketh Sidon by composition, and in vaine besiegeth Tyre, i. maketh an expedition into Ægypt, and neere vnto Laris dieth, m.

Baldwin syrnamed Brugensis, Countie of Edessa, besiegeth Carras, and there taken prisoner, after fiue yeares captiuitie redeemeth himselfe, 25, d. after the death of Baldwin the first, chosen King of Ierusalem, and called Baldwin the second, 27 a. ouerthroweth the Turkes, and joyneth the Principalitie of Antioch to his owne Kingdome, d. by Balac the Persian Sultan ouerthrowne and taken prisoner; after eighteene moneths captiuitie, for the ransome of 100000 Duckets set at libertie, 28 l. in three notable battels ouerthroweth the King of Damasco, 29 a. dieth, h.

Baldwin the third of that name crowned King of Ierusalem, 31 a. hardly distressed by Noradin the Turke, b. he fortifieth Gaza, and taketh Ascalon by composition, 34 i. in a set battell ouerthroweth Naradin the King of Damasco at the Castle of Sueta, 35 f. falleth sicke and dieth, 36 h.

Baldwin the fourth of that name seuenth King of Ierusalem, 58 l. with a great slaughter ouerthroweth Saladin inuading his Kingdome, 59 d. putteth him with his great armie againe to flight, 60 k. resigneth the gouernment of his Kingdome to Guy Lusignan Countie of Ioppa and Ascalon, 61 b. sendeth Embassadours vnto the Christian Princes of the West, and immediatly after dieth, 62 i.

Baldwin Countie of Flanders and Henault chosen by the Latines Emperor of Constantinople, and so solemnely crowned, 83 c. subdueth Thracia, and besiegeth Hadrianople, 85 a. ouerthrowne in a battell by the Scythians and taken prisoner, is by the commandement of their barbarous King most cruelly put to death, d.

Baldwin the second of that name first and last Emperor of the Latines in Constantinople, 79 a. pawneth his sonne to the Bruges Merchants for moneye 112 m. flyeth out of the Citie of Constantinople, being surprised by Alexius Strategopulus sent from Michael Paleologus the Grecke Emperour, 124 m.

Balabanus sent by Mahomet against Scanderbeg 393 b. put to flight, taketh diuers of Sanderbegs best Captaines prisoners at Alchria, 396 g. with his armie ouerthrowne at Oronicheum, l. the third time ouerthrown in the battell at Sfetigrade, 397 b. Ouerthrowne by Scanderbeg the fourth time in the battell at Valcha, 389 a. left by Mahomet to continue the siege of Croia, 400 l. slaine, c.

Barbarussa succeedeth his brother Horruccius in the Kingdome of Algiers, 636 i. his wonderfull successe k. sent for by Solyman, l. enuied in the Turks Court, 637 b. by Solyman himselfe reiected to Abraham the great Bassa, d. trauelleth by land vnto him into Siria, and by him commended to Solyman, e. his speech to Selyman to persuade him to inuade the kingdome of Tunes, 638 g. he is made Solymans great Admirall, 639 d. spoyleth the coasts of Italie, 640 m. passeth ouer into Affricke, and hath Bserta yeelded vnto him, 643 b. commeth to Guletta, deceiueth the Cittsens, and is receiued into Tunes. f. discomfiteth the citizens risen vp against him, b. hath the citie of Tunes yeelded vnto him, 645 o. is much discouraged with the comming of Charles the Emperour into Affricke, 656 h. in his rage executeth Aloysius Presenda, i. encourageth his souldiers, l. his chiefe Capitaines, 657 b. the Countie of Sarne his head and right hand by Salec sent vnto him for a present, 658 l. his fleet taken by Charles the Emperour at Guletta, 661 a. he rageth, k. calmed by Sinan the Iew, c. in field with his army against Charles the Emperor 665 e. flyeth to Tunes, 666 g. dissuaded by Sinan the Iew from killing the Christian Captiues; who shortly after breaking prison, driue the Turkes out of the castle of Tunes; 666 l. flyeth to Hippona, and there comforteth his souldiers, 668 k. escapeth to Algiers, 669 b. sent by Solyman against the Venetians, 687 a. repulsed in Crete, b. reproached of cowardise by one of the Turks Eunuchs, 688 h. iesteth at the flight of Auria, 689 e. braueth the Christians at Corcyra, 690 g. suffereth shipwrecke vpon the Acroceraunian Rockes, k. with a great fleet sent by Solyman to aid the French King against Charles the Emperour, 735 a. burneth Rhegium, and taketh the castle, b. becommeth amorous of the Captaine of Rhegium his daughter, c. maketh them affraid in Rome, d. commeth to Marseilles, f. for lacke of employment groweth discontented, 742 l. with the French besiegeth Nice in Prouence, 743 c. rageth against the French, and threateneth Polinus, 784 h. Guetheuer the siege of the castle of Nice, and setteth fire on the Citie, i. deryded by the Turkes Captaines, sharpely answereth their taunts, 744 l. rewarded and discharged by the French King, departeth out of Prouence, 749 d. requesteth of Appianus Gouernour of Elba, to haue a sonne of Sinan the Iewes there prisoner, deliuered vnto him, e. spoyleth the Island, and hath the young man deliuered vnto him, 750 g. in his returne to Constantinople doth much harme vpon the coast of Italie, m. dieth, 751 c.

Barbadicus the Venetian Proueditour a notable man, 874 l. slaine in the battell of Lepanto 880 g.

Barbarous cruelty, 909 e

the Barbarous manner of the Turkish Sultans to murther their brethren in the beginning of their raigne, when & by whom first begun, 201 a

Bare shift for money, 345 c.

the Bassa of Bosna and his brother slain, 1002 i.

the Bassa of Temeswar ouerthrowne by the Rascians and slaine, 1138 k

the Bassa of Buda taken prisoner, 1110 i.

the Bassa of Bosna slaine, 1110 k

the Bassa of Natolia taken prisoner by the Prince of Sarcan, 217 c. his stout answer to Tamerlane, d. by Tamerlane set at libertie and rewarded, e.

the Bassa of Buda slaine, 1136 l.

the Bassa of Agria with 10000 Turkes ouerthrowne by Ferrant Gonzaga, and chased to the gates of the Citie, 1141 g.

Basilicus a faithfull man vnto his prince 170 b.

Battels.

A cruel Battell fought betwixt Solyman the Turke and the Christian Princes going towards the Holy land, 16 l. an hundred thousand Turkes slaine in the battell neere vnto Antioch, betwixt Corbanas the Persian Sultans Lieutenant, and the Christi-

digies foreshowne, h.
Antioche described, 18 h. by the Patriarch betrayed to Saladin, 65 a.
Apulia spoiled by the Turks, 671 f.
Ares Chan hanged, 939 a.
Artillerie of exceeding greatnesse made by Mahomet at the siege of Scodra, 418 g.
Asam-Beg with his armie ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner by Scanderbeg, 383 f.
Asmehemedi iustly rewarded for his trecherie, 178 k.
Assan Aga derideth the messengers sent vnto him from Charles the Emperor, 719 b. taketh the Spaniards to mercy 724 k.
Auria with his fleet doth the Turkes great harme in Peloponesus, 626 h. besiegeth Corone, and hath it yeelded vnto him, 627 a. taketh and ransacketh Patras, with the castles of [illegible] and Molycrenus,
[illegible]
Belgrade in the confines of Epirus besieged by Scanderbeg, 379 b.
Blondie preserued by Selymus vnto his sonne Solyman 563 b.
Bodo constant to King Iohn, 606 b.
Bosna of a kingdome conuerted to a pro-
of Constantinople, k. marrieth [illegible] the faire daughter of Lazarus the Despot, 207 a. pretily reproued by his leaster, d. in battell ouercommeth Aladin the Caramanian King, and deliuereth him prisoner to Temurtases his lieutenant, 208 m. subdueth the Caramanian Kingdome, 209 a. hath the great cities of Amasia and Sebastia yeelded vnto him, a. oppresseth the Mahometane Princes of the lesser Asia, d. vnciuilely entertaineth the Embassadours of the Mightie Tamerlane sent vnto him in the behalfe of the poore princes by him oppressed, 221. accounteth a sheepheard [illegible] happie than himself [illegible]
[illegible]
Calos the chiefe citie of Eubœa besieged by the Turkes, 405 d. taken by the [illegible]
Callipolis taken, [illegible]
Caly Bassa dissuadeth [illegible] from the [illegible] of Constantinople, 344 [illegible] bassa cruelly accused, [illegible]
[illegible]
Campson Gaurus with [illegible] ses mo- [illegible] 522 g. his moderate [illegible] nani, 524 l. his answer [illegible] ssadors of Selymus, 525 a. [illegible] ed, 527 b. slaine, 530 l. in Egypt [illegible] was to be seene 544 a.
Canalis the Venetian Ambassador [illegible] doth the Turkes great [illegible]
[illegible] by the Imperiall [illegible] from the Venetian [illegible] againe by Barbarussa [illegible]
the Catalonians entertained by Andronicus the Emperour, for want of pay, spoile his Subiects, [illegible] take the [illegible]
[illegible]
Castronouum taken from [

taketh Abdulcheray, 940 g. recouereth Sumachia, i. returneth to Casbin, k. ouerthroweth the vanward of the Turks armie, 990 l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Cicala Bassa and the Bassa of Caraemit, 993 b. dareth Osman the Turkes Generall to battell, c. with his owne hand killeth the Bassa of Caraemit, f. killeth also the Bassa of Trapezond with twentie thousand Turkes moe, 994 g. ouerthroweth 20000 of the Turks at the battell of Sancazan, 995 b. ouercommeth the rebellious Turcomans, and executeth their Leaders, 998 h. sacketh Salmas, 10000 k. putteth the Bassa of Reiuan to flight, l. slaine by one of his Eunuchs, 1002 h.

Amir Chan hauing his eyes put out, dieth miserably inprison, 973 c.

the Emperour, the French King, and the King of Polonia intangled in their Leagues with the Turke, refuse to giue aid vnto the Venetians against him, 842 k.

the Empire of Trapezond ouerthrowne and subuerted by Mahomet the Great, 361 a.

Ertogrul with his brother Dunder and foure hundred families of the Turkes stay in their returne towards Persia, 133 f. by his good seruice obtaineth of Sultan Aladin a place at Sugut a for himselfe and his Turkes to dwell in, 134 k. taketh the Castle of Cara-Chisar from the Christians, 135 a.

Euboea taken from the Venetians by Mahomet the Great, 406 k.

Euremoses his rich Present vnto Amurath at the marriage of his son Baiazet, 193 b.

Eudocia the Empresse contrarie to her oath, desirous to marrie, dealeth cunningly with the Patriarch to dispense with her oath, 7 d. marrieth Diogenes Romanus a prisoner condemned to die, and maketh him Emperor, f. shee is deposed by the traitours Iohn Ducas, Psellus, and others, and thrust into a Monasterie, 10 i.

Eustace gouernor of the kingdome of Ierusalem discomfiteth the Sarasins in a great battell neere vnto Ascalon, and not long after dieth, 28 i.

F

Famagusta besieged by the Turkes, 852 k. hath a new supplie put into it by Quirinus, 855 e. described, 863 b. the number of the defendants in it, c. twice assaulted and notably defended by the Christians, d, e. undermined, 865 a. furiously by the Turkes assaulted, and valiantly by the Christians defended, b. a great part of the wall blowne vp, and the citie againe assaulted, 866 g. yeelded vp to the Turks, m.

Famine in Scodra, 426 g.

Faulconers and huntsmen in great number in the Turks Court, 338 k.

Ferat Bassa sent by Solyman against Alis-Beg the mountaine Prince, 600 i. trecherously murthereth him and his foure sonnes, l.

Ferat Bassa by Amurath chosen General of his Armie against the Persians in stead of Sinan, 965 d. in the space of fifteene dayes buildeth a Fort at Reiuan, as he was by Amurath commanded, 966 i. breaketh vp his armie at Erzirum, 967 d. raiseth a new Armie, f. fortifieth Lori, 968 k. buildeth a fort vpon the strait of Tomanis, 969 a. reproueth Ueis Bassa of Aleppo, 970 k. is himselfe reuiled by the Ianizaries and Spahi, l. by them disobeyed and threatened, 971 d. his stout answer to his mutinous soldiers, f. his Tents ouerthrowne and hee againe threatened, 972 g. disgraced, breaketh vp his armie at Ardachan, k. grieuously complained of to Amurath, 973 e. by Amurath againe made Generall against the Persians, 999 b. commeth to Van, 1000 g. putteth succours into Tauris, 1001 d. taketh Genge, 1004 m. sent by Mahomet Generall of his Armie into Hungarie, 1060 l. disgraced at his first comming to the Armie, m. ouerthrowne in Valachia, 1062 h. sent for to Constantinople, and there strangled, 1073 b.

Ferdinand King of Bohemia layeth claime to the Kingdome of Hungarie, 605 b. taketh Buda, c. crowned King of Hungarie, 606 k. seeketh for the fauour of Solyman, 608. is by him reiected and threatened, k. persuaded by the Hungarian fugitiues to inuade Hungarie, 698 g. dissuaded by Lascu, k. sendeth Lascu to Solyman, and other Embassadors to the Queen of Hungarie to demand of her that Kingdome, 699 b. hee inuadeth Hungarie, 700 g. taketh Pesth and Vacia, and besiegeth Buda, h. dieth, 791 d.

Fileck taken by the Christians, 1027 c.

Foscarus a graue Senatour, 693 f. vnworthily disgraced by the multitude, 694 g.

Fourteene wagons loaded with the heads of the slaine Christians, 1017 c.

Francis the French King the more to trouble the Emperour, soliciteth Solyman to inuade his territories, 725 c.

Francis Accianol Duke of Thebes by the commandment of Mahomet murthered, 354 l.

Fredericke the Emperor taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, 66 h.

Fredericke Duke of Sueuia the Emperours sonne in his fathers stead chosen Generall of the Christians Armie, 66 m. hath Antioch deliuered vnto him, 67 d. dieth of the Plague, and is buried by his father in the Cathedrall Church at Tyre, 68 g.

Frederick the German Emperor vndertaketh an expedition into the Holy land, 58 l. crowned King of Ierusalem, which is by him repaired, 99 e.

the Frenchmen and Wallons in mutinie at Pappa, 1116 k. compact with the Turks to deliuer to them the towne, 1117 a. seeking secretly to haue fled, are most of them slaine, and the rest that were taken put to most horrible tortures, 1119 b.

Friuli part of the Venetian Territorie miserably spoyled by the Turks, 414 l. againe spoyled by Scander Bassa and the Turks, 458 b.

the frontiers of the Emperors territories grieuously spoyled by the Turkes, 1150 k.

the frugalitie of the Turks, 713 f.

Fulke Countie of Turin, Maine, and Anion taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, 29 b. dieth of a fall off his horse in hunting, and is buried at Ierusalem, 30 m.

Fuscarinus in his absence, by the generall consent of the Venetian State chosen Admirall, 887 f. incourageth the Confederates to giue the Turks battel, 890 l. in vaine persuadeth the Confederats to take the aduantage of the Turkes dispersed Fleet, 893 a. earnestly dissuadeth Don Iohn and the Spaniards from returning without giuing the Turks battell, 899 a.

G

Galile spoyled, and the castle of Burie taken by the Turks, 60 i.

Garzias of Toledo Viceroy of Sicilia after long delay at last setteth forward with his fleet to relieue the besieged at Malta, 814 k. by tempest driuen into the Iland of Ægusa, 815 e. arriueth at Malta and landeth his men, 816 i.

Gazelles his wholesome counsell vnto Campson, for protracting the warre against Selymus, 527 c. comming to

Cowardise punished, 1093 e.
Crete described, 868 b.
Croia besieged by Amurath the second, 323 b. in vaine assaulted, 324 k
ed by Mahomet the Great..
relieued, 401 c. a
Mahomet, 302
sieged, 423 d. yeelded
423 a.
Cubrati Selymus his Embassadour
meth to Uenice, 839 l.
entertainment there, 840
in the Senate of
the people secretly
843 g.
by the
&popish,
dollats
24 g. ouerthroweth
H
Hali brother to Mango the
Hali Tartar, with a
Hali Turke promiseth himselfe vnto
Hali
Hali
Hali

offereth the Turks battell, d. refuseth to follow the counsell of the Venetian Admirall, 896 k. breaketh promise with him, and returneth to Messana, 901 a.
Iohn the Vayuod of Moldauia falleth into suspition with the Turks, 906 g. his notable speech vnto his Nobilitie and subiects, concerning the Turks demand, 907 a. in vaine craueth aid of the King of Polonia, 908 g. with a great slaughter ouerthroweth the Palatine and the Turks, 909 a. giueth the Turks a second ouerthrow, 910 b. betrayed by Czarnieuich, 911. ouerthrowne by the Turks, 912 m. shamefully and perfidiously by them murthered, 913 e.
Ionima, Ballabanus his brother, & Hedar his son taken prisoners by Scanderbeg, 401 b.
Ionuses Bassa sent against Techellis, putteth him to flight, 475 e. hurt at the winning of Caire, 545 f. enuieth at the vnworthie preferment of Cayerbeius, 554 l. is himselfe secretly hated of Selymus, 555 b. put to death, 556 i.
Irene the faire Greek beheaded by Mahomet the Great, 353 d.
Isa after the captiuitie of his father Baiazet seiseth vpon the Citie of Prusa, 232 b. ouerthrowne in battell by his brother Mahomet, 238 i. with a great Armie sent by his brother Solyman against Mahomet, 240 i. burneth Prusa, l. dyeth in obscuritie, 241 c.
Ismael last of the Isfendiars yeeldeth his principalitie of Castamona and Sinope to Mahomet the Great, 359 f.
Ishender Bassa ouerthrowne by Aladules, taken and sent prisoner to Castbeius to Caire, 383 f.
Ismael [illegible] made a King, 775 c.
Ismael the sonne of King Tamas [illegible] saluted King of Persia [illegible] ereth eight of [illegible], alter[illegible] Religion, and tyran[illegible] by the deuice of his Sister [illegible]saconcona himselfe murthered, 921 b.
the Italians left by the Emperour for the aid of King Ferdinand in his wars in Hungarie, arise in mutinie, 623 f. eight thousand of them forsake their Captaines and returne into Italie, 625 d.
Iulia Gonzaga a faire Ladie of Italy put in great feare by Barbarussa, 641 c.
Iulian the Cardinall sent by Pope Urbi[illegible] to appease the dissensions in Hungar[illegible] and to stir vp the Hungarians again[illegible] the Turkes, 275 d. his effectuall [illegible]speech in Parliament to perswade the war, e. cunningly perswadeth King Uladislaus to breake the honourable and solemne League hee had before made with Amurath, 290 k. disanulleth the league, absoluing the King and the rest from their oath before giuen to Amurath, 291 i. himselfe slain, 298 k.

K

the Kingdome of Hungarie by Solyman conuerted into a prouince of the Turkish Empire, 7[illegible] a.
the Knights of Malta craue aid of [illegible]arzias the Viceroy of Sicilia, 805 a. [illegible] cold answer, b.
Komara besieged by Sinan Bassit, 1045 b.
Koppan surprised by the Christians, 1002 l.

L

Ladislaus a childe crowned King of Hungarie at Alba-Regalis, 236 a.
Lazarus Despot of Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto Amurath the first, 193 c. purposing to make war against Amurath, craueth aid of the King of Bosna, 197 c. in a mortall battel ouerthrowne in the plaines of Cossoua and slaine, 200 i.
Lepanto yeelded to the Turks, 459 c.
Lewis the eighth of that name, the Frech King, making an expedition into the Holy land, is by the malice of Emanuel the Greeke Emperor therein much hindered, 34 m. he besiegeth Damasco, where by the enuie of the other Christian Princes he was enforced to raise his siege, and so to returne home into his countrey, 35 b.
Lewis the ninth the Freuch King making an expedition towards the Holy land, arriueth at Damieta, 102 m. taketh the city forsaken by the Turks, 113 b. with his whole armie ouerthrowne, and himselfe taken prisoner, 115 c. vndertaketh a second expedition toward the holy land, with his sons and most of his Nobilitie [illegible] ouerthroweth the Moores, and besiegeth Tunes, 1194. falleth sicke of the bloudie flix and dieth, b.
Lewis the eleuenth the French King giueth aid vnto the Venetians against the Turks, 461 c.
Lewis King of Hungarie with an armie of fiue and twenty thousand fondly giueth against Solyman, being two hundred and sixtie thousand strong, 602 b. ouerthrowne in his flight, drowned in a ditch.
Liscanus the couetous Spaniard dealeth vncourteously with Perenus, 732 k. is by him stripped of his wealth by Halis captaine of the Ianizaries, 733 l.
Lissa taken by the Turkes, and the bones of Scanderbeg digged vp and by them worne for Iewels, 425 c.
Lodronius encourageth his soldiers, 685 b. is easted at by an old souldior & slaine, and his head with the heads of two other Captaines in a siluer bason presented to Solyman at Constantinople, 685 c.

M

Mahomet the first sendeth spies into Tamerlane his Campe, 232 l. becommeth famous in Tamerlanes Court, 234 i. in battell ouerthroweth his brother Isa, 238 i. honourably burieth the bodie of his father Baiazet at Prusa, l. againe ouerthroweth his brother Isa supported by his brother Solyman, 240 m. giueth him a third ouerthrow, together with the other Mahometane Princes his Confederates, 241 c. besieged by his brother Solyman in Amasia, 241 i. vpon report of his brother Musa his euill gouernment, goeth against him into Europe, 246 k. ouerthrowne, flyeth backe againe into Asia, 247 a. commeth againe into Europe, 248 g. besiegeth Hadrianople, h. ouerthroweth his brother Musa in battell, and causeth him being taken prisoner to be strangled, 249 c. wholly possesseth the Othoman Kingdome both in Europe and Asia, d. oppresseth Orchanes his brother Solymans Sonne, and putteth out his eyes, 250 h. taketh the Caramanian King and his sonne prisoners, k. enforceth the Valachian Prince to become his Tributarie, l. dyeth at Hadrianople, 251 f. his death cunningly concealed by the three great Bassa's, 253 g. he worthily accounted the restorer of the Othoman Kingdome, almost quite ouerthrowne by Tamerlane, l.
Mahomet the second, syrnamed the Great, an Atheist, of no Religion, 337 d. murthereth his brethren, 338 g. reformeth the Turks Commonwealth, i. subdueth Mentesia, 339 b. winneth Constantinople, 347, b. solemniseth his feasts in Constantinople with the bloud of the Grecian Nobilitie, 348 k. notably dissembleth his hatred against Caly Bassa, 349 d. first Emperour of the Turkes, [illegible] of the faire Greeke two sonnes strangled by Osman Bassa, 975 f.
Mahomet Bassa in despight of Sinan sent Generall of his armie for the reliefe of his garrisons in Chars and Teflis, 957 e. discomfited by the Georgians, and his prouision of money and victuals taken from him, 959 a. with his discomfited armie arriueth at Teflis, b. his heauie oration in the castle of Teflis, c. maketh a purse for the relieefe of the distressed garrison, 960. plotteth the death of Manucchiar the Georgian, m. himselfe in danger to haue beene by the Georgian slaine, 961 d.
Mahomet the third saluted Emperour of the Turks, 1056 i. murthereth his brethren, and causeth certaine of his fathers wiues and concubines to be drowned, k. with much adoo appeaseth the mutinous Ianizaries, l. sendeth Embassadours vnto the Transylvanian Prince, 1062. carefull of Strigonium besieged by the Christians, 1066 b. perplexed, 1087 e. causeth the continuation of his warres against the Emperour and the Transyluanian to be proclaimed at Constantinople, 1089 a. commeth to Buda with an armie of two hundred thousand men, 1094 b. besiegeth Agria, l. furiously assulteth it, 1095 a. hath it yeelded vnto him, 1096 b. with Ibrahim the great Bassa flieth out of the battell of Karesta, 1097 c. by the Transyluanians and Valachians troubled in his returne to Constantinople, 1098 m. his Embassadour euill entreated by the Persian King, 1134 b.
the Mahometane Princes of the lesser Asia oppressed by Baiazet, disguised flee vnto Tamerlane for reliefe, 210 b
Malta described, 795 b. inuaded by the Turks, 796 k.
Mamalukes, the beginning of their Kingdome in Ægypt, 524 g. their Impersous gouernment in Ægypt, Iudea, and Syria, 523 c. their Kingdome vtterly subuerted by Sulymus, 554 b. the Mamalukes in prison at Alexandria, by the commaundement of Selymus murthered, 553 f.
Manto cruelly slain by her iealous husband Ionuses, 557 d.
Man-Ogli his Letters to Ibrahim Bassa, 983 f. sendeth him presents, 985 b.
Manucchiar his speech to Mustapha the Visier Bassa, 931 f. with his brother Alexander by Mustapha sent to Amurath, 938 h. turneth Turke, and hath his elder brothers Principalitie giuen him, 941 l. in danger to haue beene betrayed by Mahomets Bassa, 960 l. notably reuengeth himselfe of the treacherie by the Bassa intended against him, 961 c. reuolteth from the Turks, and doth them great harme, 967 a.
Marquis S. Crucis taketh one of the Turks gallies in sight of their whole fleet, 897 d.
the Massagets entertained by Andronicus against the Turkes, spoyle his Countries in Asia, 149 e. in their returne homeward, themselues spoyled by the Catalonians and Turcopuli, 152 l.
Masut the Sultan of Iconium diuideth his kingdome among his three Sonnes 36 k.
Matthias the Archduke the Emperours Lieutenant taketh Nouigrade from the Turks, 1030 l. besiegeth Strigonium, 1033 c. raiseth his siege, 1037 d. shamefully put to flight by the Turks 1043 b.
Matthias Coruinus of a prisoner chosen King of Hungarie, 394 k. at the request of the Senat, taketh a great part of the Venetian Territorie into his protection against the Turkes, 364 m. relieueth the Vayuod of Transyluania, 426 m. no lesse dreadful vnto the Turks than was his father Huniades, 404 l.
Maximilian chosen King of the Romans, and after crowned King of Hungarie, 789 a. he and Solyman both desirous of peace, 829 a. he sendeth Embassadors to Solyman, f. Presents giuen by the Embassadours vnto the Bassa of Buda, 830 k. his Embassadours honourably received by the Turkes at Constantinople, 831 c. Presents giuen by the Embassadours vnto the great Bassa's, e. presents sent to Selymus, 832 i. a homely feast giuen to the Embassadours Followers in the Turkes Court, 833 c. the Embassadours brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of them and their Followers, 834 g. a Peace concluded betwixt Maximilian and Selymus, 835 c.
Maximilian the Archduke by the Emperour his Brother appointed Generall of his Armie in Hungarie, 1093 c. marcheth but slowly to the reliefe of Agria, 1095 c. flyeth out of the battell of Karesta, 1098 i.
Maylat treacherously taken prisoner by Peter the Moldauian, 716 i.
Meligalus a notable traitor perswadeth Mahomet to besiege the Rhodes, 427 c.

Mustapha Bassa ... Suleyman ... 1529 ... Amurath ... Transylvania ... 1529 ... Turkes ... Hungarie ... 1532 ... Ferdinando ... Hungarie ... 1532 ... Turkes ... Hungarie ... 1532 ... Turkes ... Hungarie ... 1532 ... Turkes

327 c. his worthie death, c.
Meledin Sultan of Ægypt, and Corradin Sultan of Damasco, send Embassadors for peace to the Christian princes at the siege of Damiata, 90 m. recouereth Damiata, before taken by the Christians, 95 e. ouerthroweth the Christians, and raseth Ierusalem, 101. dieth, 103 c.
Melechsala Sultan of Ægypt ouerthroweth Robert Earle of Arthois the French Kings brother, 104 l. taketh Lewis the French King prisoner and ouerthroweth his Armie, 105 c. maketh peace with the French King, and is suddenly slaine by two Mamalukes, 106
Melech the Ægyptian Sultan inuadeth Syria, and winneth Damasco from the Tartars, 114
Melechsares the Ægyptian Sultan determining to root out all the Christians in Siria and the land of Palestine, is by sudden death taken away, 122 k.
Melechsala Sultan of Damasco by the treason of his Nobilitie dispossessed his Kingdome, 58 m.
Moyses Bassa sent by Amurath to inuade Transyluania, 267 l. he [illegible] 20000 Turks moe slain by Hunniades 269 c.
Michael Ducas the Greeke Emperour [illegible] Nacephorus Botoniates depriued him Emperour first he had raigned [illegible] yeares and
Osman the treason intended against him, 140 l. enforced rather persuaded by Otheoman, turneth Turke, 144 b.
Michael the young Emperor ouerthrown by the Catalonians and Turks, in danger to haue beene taken, 152 k. againe ouerthrowne by the Turks at Chersonesus, 155 c.
Michael Horwat by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia, 1051 a. persuaded by the Transyluanian Prince, reuolteth from the Turks, and killeth all the Turks and Iewes in his countrey, 1052 b. killeth one of the Turkes proud Emirs with all his followers, 1053 b. doth the Turkes great harme, c. suffereth the Turkes Embassadors vnto the King of Polonia by his Subiects to be [illegible], 1060 k. spoyleth [illegible], 1061 a. [illegible] the Turke, refuseth to [illegible] against the Christians, 106 [illegible] of the Turke, [illegible] with his people, [illegible], 1100 l. [illegible] 1107 d. with [illegible] ouerthrowen [illegible]
Moyses Colemus corrupted, reuolteth vnto the Turke, 372 b. with an army of the Turks by Mahomet sent into Epyrus against Scanderbeg, k. ouercome and put to flight by Scanderbeg, 374 g. condemned of the Turkes [illegible] eth from Constantinople, and [illegible] submitteth himselfe to Scanderbeg, m. he with diuers others of Scanderbegs best Captaines by [illegible] taken prisoners, and by Mahomet [illegible] quarke,
Muhamet and [illegible] of [illegible] fier [illegible] [illegible] secret friend [illegible]
Q
Queene Isabella with child, 695 e. deliuered of a son, 696 i. that sonne by the name of Stephen crowned King of Hungarie. 697 a. her answer vnto the Embassadour of King Ferdinand, demanding of her the Kingdome of Hungarie, 699 d. inuaded by King Ferdinand, craueth aid of Solyman, 701 b by the commaundement of Solyman departeth with her young sonne out of Buda, 713 e. yeeldeth vp to King Ferdinand all the right shee had in Transyluania and Hungarie, 756 b.
Quinque Ecclesia yeelded vnto the Turkes 736 b.
Quinsai in the prouince of Mangi, of all the cities of the world the greatest 75 f.
with his brother Adahomet, 246 his chiefe captaines reuolt to Mahomet, 248 l. [illegible] and strangled, 249
Mustaphas [illegible] Cabillia contendeth with a Turke [illegible] prisoner [illegible] ransome, 267 d. is afterward [illegible] 270 m
Mustapha [illegible] reiseth [illegible] 255 c. being [illegible]
siege, 817 a. put to flight by the Christians, c. hauing [illegible] about foure and twentie thousand [illegible] his Turks at the siege deserted from Malta, d. he with [illegible] Bayle imprisoneth the counsell of Chimes the chiefe of the Vsnier [illegible], and vnderstandeth Solymans [illegible]
and their reputation [illegible] 592 g. the Rhodes [illegible] vnto Solyman, 600 l.
Richard the first, King of England, [illegible] warre the Holy Land, 68 b. [illegible] the iniuries done to him [illegible] Cyprus, and taketh prisoner Comenus their King, [illegible] his Progenitors, c. [illegible] Turkes his prisoners in the [illegible] of Saladine Armie to be executed, 71 a. [illegible] Cyprus to Guy in exchange for the titular Kingdome of Ierusalem, f. with great slaughter ouerthroweth Saladin in plaine battell, 72 b. returning homeward, taken prisoner by Leopold Duke of Austria, 73 b.
Rodolph the Emperour prayeth aid of the Germane Princes against the Turke, 1017 e. his Embassadour shut vp in close in his horse at Constantinople, 1018 l. his Letters to Amurath, 1019 a. his letters to Sinan Bassa d. presented with the spoyle of the Turkes ouerthrow at Alba-Regalis, 1029 b. requesteth aid of the great Duke of Muscouia, the King of Polonia, and of the Prince of Transylvania, 1031 b. holdeth a Dyet of the Empire at Ratisbone for the withstanding of the Turks, 1038 m. receiueth aid from the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the Princes of Italie, 1134 k.
Robert Duke of Normandie by generall consent chosen K. of Ierusalem, which honour he refuseth, 22 f
Robert Sonne to Peter, fourth Emperor of the Latines in Constantinople, 961 l. goeth to Rome, and in his returne dyeth
in [illegible] tuition with the [illegible] 757 b. [illegible] mantle k. vseth [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Venice, to demand Cyprus of the Senat, 841 e. rageth to haue it denied him, 842 m. he inuadeth the Venetians, 845 e. in his rage about to haue put to death all the Christians in his dominions, 885 f. sendeth out Vlumales his Admirall with 200 gallies against the Christians, 888 l. desirous of peace, concludeth the same with the Venetians, 904 k. by his Bassa's taketh Guletta from the Spaniards, and the city of Tunes, 915 d. dieth, e.

Serinus Gouernor of Sigeth, 821 e. his comfortable and resolute speech vnto his souldiours, 822 g. burneth the new towne, not now to be longer defended, and retyreth into the old, i. his last speech vnto his souldiers, 823 d. slaine, and his head sent to Countie Salma, f.

the Seruians in mutinie amongst themselues, are with a great slaughter ouerthrowne by the Turks, 192

Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto the Turks, 192. wholly yeelded vnto the Turks, 356

Sfetigrade besieged by Amurath, 316 l. in vaine diuers times by the Turks assaulted, 319 b. by the working of a Traitor, Amurath hath the strong citie yeelded vp vnto him, 321 f.

Sigismund King of Hungarie, with the Christian princes his confederats, with a great armie inuadeth the Turks dominions. 205 b. his proud speech vpon the greatnesse of his armie, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Baiazet at Nicopolis, 206 h. hardly escapeth himselfe by flight, i.

Sigismund Prince of Transyluania in danger by his owne subiects ▪ haue been betrayed vnto the Tartars, 1046 l. the conspirators apprehended and executed, 1047 d. giueth his subiects leaue to spoyle the Turks, e. entereth into a confederation with the Emperour, 1048 k. persuadeth Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldauia, to reuolt from the Turke, 1049 e. sendeth Aaron the Palatine with his wife and sonne prisoners to Prague, 1062 l. marrieth Maria Christina the late Archduke Charls his daughter, 1072 k. ouerthroweth thirtie thousand Turks comming as vnbidden guests to his marriage, l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sinan Bassa with his Turks, 1073 e. receiueth the Zaculians into his protection, and hath from them great aid, 1074 m. putteth Sinan Bassa to flight, 1075 d. by force taketh Tergouista from the Turks, f. taketh also Bucaresta, 1076 i. goeth vnto the Emperour at Prague, 1088 g. besiegeth Temeswar, 1092 g. with 18000 men commeth to the aid of Maximilian the Archduke going to haue relieued Agria, 1096 l. doubting the power of the Turke, resigneth his principalitie of Transyluania vnto the Emperour, 1100 k. repenting himselfe, returneth againe into Transyluania, and taketh vpon him the gouernment, 1106 g. by his Embassadours offereth againe his principalitie vnto the Emperour, 1109 d. in a great battell ouerthrowne, together with the Moldauian, by Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, 1122 h. by the fauor of the Nobilitie recouereth his state againe in Transyluania, 1139 d. in battell ouerthrowne by Basta and Michael the Vayuod, flyeth out of Transyluania, 1140 i. by the fauour of his subiects, and countenance of the Polonians, recouereth againe his state, 1142 g. doubting him to be able to hold it against the Imperials, yeeldeth it by composition vnto Basta the Emperors Lieutenant, and goeth himselfe vnto the Emperor, 1143 c.

Sigismund King of Polonia his Letters vnto Amurath, 1003 e.

Simon Countie of Montford sent by Philip the French King into the Holy-land, represseth the fury of the Turks, and so concludeth a peace with them for ten yeares, 74 k.

Sinan Bassa the Eunuch ouerthrowne by Achomates, 503 c. reskoreth Selymus his battell against Campson, before almost lost, 530 g. by Selymus sent before into Iudea, 533 c. hath Gaza yeelded vnto him, 534 g. discomfiteth Gazelles, comming to haue oppressed him at Gaza, 535 c. slaine in the battell at Rhodania, 540 g.

Sinan the Iew his short answer to Barbarussa, 661 b.

Sinan Bassa by Amurath chosen Generall for the Persian wars, 951 b. relieueth Tefis, 954 l. loseth seuen thousand of his souldiers, 955 b. derided of his owne souldiers, 956 g. his proud answer to Amurath, 962 h. displaced and cast into exile, l. againe receiued into fauour, 1003 d. ouerthrowne in the vpper Hungarie, 1006 h. his letters vnto the Emperor, 1020 g. sent Generall of the Turks armie against the Emperour, 1023 f. taketh Vesprinium, 1025 c. hath Palotta yeelded vnto him, d. with an army of 150000 men commeth againe into Hungarie, 1040 i. taketh Dotis and S. Martins, l. besiegeth Rab, 1041 b. in assaulting thereof loseth 12000 of his men, 1044 h. by corrupting of the Gouernour, hath the citie yeelded vnto him, l. besiegeth Comara, 1045 b. raiseth his siege, and breaketh vp his armie, d. craftily seeketh to trie the Emperors minde concerning peace, 1058 l. sent for home to the Court, 1060 l. by Sultan Mahomet appointed Generall of the warres against the Emperour, 1073 b. inuadeth Valachia, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by the Prince of Transyluania, e. in flying in danger to haue been drowned, f. with a great armie commeth againe into Valachia, 1075 b. seeing the generall feare of his armie vpon the comming of the Transyluanians, flyeth, d. for feare delayeth his comming to Constantinople, vntil his peace were made, and there shortly after dieth, 1087 d.

Siseg by the Turks besieged, 1022 g. notably relieued, 1023 ▪ againe besieged and taken by the Turkes, 1024 l.

Solyman, Orchanes his sonne, by his father made Gouernor of Nicomedia, 183 c. taketh the castle of Zembenic in Europe, 185 b. he the first that brought the Turks ouer into Europe, with purpose there to conquer and inhabit d. taketh the castle of Maditus, e. winneth Calipolis, 186 g. dyeth, 187 a.

Solyman the Vnfortunate, Baiazet his eldest sonne, by the great Bassa's set vp in his fathers stead at Hadrianople, 221 b. goeth ouer with a great armie against his brother Mahomet, 241 e. by policie taketh the castle of Prusa, 242 i. besiegeth his brother in Amasia, i. returneth into Europe, to appease the stirres there raised by his brother Musa, and recouereth Hadrianople, 244 b. in his excesse regardeth not the approch of his brother Musa, k. forsaken of his souldiers, flyeth, l. taken prisoner, is by the commandment of his brother Musa strangled, 245 a.

Solyman the Eunuch Bassa dealeth treacherously with the Kings of Arabia, 670 m.

Solyman hardly persuaded that his father was dead, 567 d. saluted Emperour by the Ianizaries, f. his Letters to Villerius Great Master of the Rhodes, 571 b. his Oration to his men of war, declaring his purpose for the besieging of the Rhodes, e. he maketh great preparation for the siege, 573 a. his threatening letters vnto them of the Rhodes, 578 h. commeth himselfe in person to the siege, 583 b. his cholericke Oration to his souldiers, d. displaceth his Admirall, and

Sahamal the Georgian cutteth off the head of Aider, 922 i. submitteth himselfe to Mustapha the great Bassa, 936 k. slaine by Osman Bassa his sonne in law, 941 d.

Saladin the Turke chosen Sultan of Ægypt, killeth the Calyph and all his posteritie, 57 e. invadeth the kingdome of Ierusalem, and by Baldwin suddenly sallying out of Ascalon, overthrowne, 59 d. besiegeth Berythus both by sea and land, taketh Edessa and Carras, 60 l. spoyleth the Holyland, 61 e. in vaine besiegeth Ptolemais, 63 b. besiegeth Tiberias, and by the treason of the Countie of Tripolis overthroweth Guy the King, comming to the reliefe thereof, and taketh him prisoner, 63 e. winneth Ierusalem, with all the other cities and townes in the Holy land, except Tripolis, Tyre, and Antioch, 64 g. besiegeth Tyre, and with the losse of his best souldiours and of his Tents retyreth, l. taketh Antioch with all the prouinces and townes thereunto belonging, 65 a. putteth to death the Christian captiues, 71 a. dieth, and forbidden any funerall pompe to be vsed at his buriall, 73 c.

Salnagus a worthie Knight, 797 c.

Salazar a Spanish captaine goeth as a spie into the Turks campe at the siege of Malta, 811 d.

Sanguin the Turke ouerthroweth King Fulke, comming to the reliefe of the castle of Mont-ferand, and hath the castle yeelded vnto him, 30 b. taketh Edessa, and there vseth all manner of cruelties against the Christians. 21 a. besieging Cologenbar, is there stabbed by one of his owne friends, and slaine, b.

Scr[illegible]

Sa[illegible]

Sc[illegible]

lancholie letters, 301 d. putteth Frises to flight, 302 l. ouerthroweth Mustapha the second time, and taketh him prisoner, 313 b. carefully setteth all things in order against the comming of Amurath, 314 g. his effectual speech vnto the souldiers and citizens of Sfetigrade, to encourage them against the comming of the Turke, 315 b. cunningly entrappeth some of the forerunners of Amuraths armie, 316 l. troubleth his great armie, 319 a. with his own hand killeth Feri Bassa, 320 g. troubleth Amurath his great armie at the siege of Croia. 324 l. in danger to haue bee[n] [illegible] or taken, m. deceiueth Mahomet the yong Prince in his owne deare, 326 b. flieth by night into Epi[rus], 371 c. his answer by letters vnto the letters of Mahomet, 385 c. his an[illegible] letters concer[illegible]

[illegible] dert (daughter) 402 m. buried [illegible] Lassa

bones digged vp the [illegible] them greatly honored, 404 b.

Scodra besieged by Solyman Bassa, 411 e. relieued by Mathias King of Hungarie, 412 b. a yearely fee appointed by Mahomet to one, to put him dayly in minde of the siege of Scodra. 3. Scodra is the second time besieged by Mahomet the Great, 415 e. sore battered, 418 f. the fourth time [illegible]

[illegible] thousand

[illegible] the Scrimano re[illegible] against [illegible] Turbe [illegible] Armania and [illegible] hot Mahom[illegible] a notable ouerthrow [illegible] great battell ouerthroweth him [illegible] neere yeare with an armie [illegible] thousand Turks, 1142 b. ha[illegible] in a great part of the Turkish dominions [illegible] 1150 g. his iourney b[illegible] his first Land in A

flight 540 m. diours to the [illegible] l. fighteth ag[illegible] with the Mamaluk[illegible]

set on fi[illegible] vndabe[illegible]

sts, by [illegible] for home, 491 c. chosen Generall by his father, to go against his rebellious brother Achomates, is by and by after by the Ianizaries salnted Emperour, 494 g. causeth his father to be poysoned, 498 d. putteth three of his fathers pages to death for mourning for their Maister, 496 h. bountifully rewardeth the souldiours of the Court, 499 c. murthereth fiue of his brothers sons, 500 g. causeth Corcutus his brother to be strangled 502 h. treason intended against [illegible], discouered, 503 a. craueth aid of Aladeules and the other n[illegible]e Princes against the Persian: 507 c. Selymus perplexed, 508 i. receiueth great losse in passing [illegible]ucr Euphrates, 513 c. hee and Ismael compared together, 515 d. Selymus with a great armie entereth into Armenia, and taketh Cæsaream a Citie of the Persian Kings, 518 k. vanquisheth Aladeules the mountaine King, putteth him to death, and ouerteth his Kingdome into the forme of a Prouince 520 l. inuadeth Hungarie, 521 b. sendeth his ambassadours with Presents to Campson the Ægyptian Sultan, 522 l. [illegible] rageth [illegible] souldiours to the [illegible] of the Mamalukes, 526 b. [illegible] the mountaine Amanus, and [illegible] into Comagena, l. in the [illegible] of [illegible] ouerthroweth the [illegible] 531 l. in [illegible]

[illegible] for home, 1032 g. ouerthroweth the Bassa of Buda, b. maketh the same Bassa a second [illegible], 1037 f.

Theobald King of Nauarre maketh an vnfortunate expedition into the Holy land, 95 f. with Lewis the French King goeth against the Moores, 118 b. in his returne dieth of the plague in Sicilia, l.

Theodorus Lascaris flyeth into Bythinia, and possessing himselfe of many countries, taketh vpon him the name of the Greeke Emperor at Nice, 84 l. hee killeth Iathatines the Turkish Sultan, 87 c.

Theodorus Lascaris sonne to Iohn Batazes, chosen Emperor, 108 m. aideth the Sultan of Iconium, 109 e. falleth sicke and dieth, 110 g.

Theupulus Earle of Paphos vnworthily hanged by the faithlesse Bassa Mustapha, 862 l.

Thracia spoyled by the Turks, 256 g.

Tomombeius by the generall consent of the Mamalukes chosen Sultan of Ægypt, 533 d. maketh great preparation against the Turks, and seeketh to entrap them, 538 g. his deuices discouered, i. he fighteth a great battell with Selymus, and is put to the worse, 540 m. raiseth new forces at Caire, 541 c. fortifieth Caire, 542 k. fighteth a great battell in the citie, 545 b. ouercome, flyeth, 546 b. driuen out of Caire, raiseth new forces in Sagesta, 547 d. distresseth the Turkes in passing the bridge made ouer Nilus, [illegible] useth a notable attempt to haue gained the bridge, f. repulsed and put to flight 550 i. taken and brought to Selymus, l. tortured and shamefully put to death, m.

Trapezond yeelded to Mahomet the Great, 360 k.

Transyluania giuen by Solyman to the childe King Iohn his sonne, 716 l.

Tripolis in Barbaria besieged by Sinan Bassa, 753 a. battered, b. the weakest places thereof, and fittest to be battered, by a fugitiue Christian discouered to the Turks, d. vpon hard conditions yeelded to the proud and faithlesse Bassa, [illegible] 755 l.

Tunes

and punisheth him like a slaue, 589 *a. about to haue forsaken the siege*, *b. comforteth his discouraged souldiors, persuading them with patience to continue the siege*, *f. his Letters to the Great Master and the Rhodians, sent by their owne Embassadours*, 593 *d. his speech vnto the Great Master, at his comming to yeeld vp the citie*, 598 *l. he entereth into the Rhodes vpon Christmasse day, in the yeare* 1522, 600 *i. Solyman vpon the discord of the Christian Princes, and disordered State of Hungarie, taketh occasion to inuade that Kingdome*, 601 *b. commeth into Hungarie against King Lewis with an Armie of two hundred thousand men, c. ouerthroweth him in battell at Mohatz*, 602 *k. commeth to Buda*, 603 *a. Solyman vpon the quarrell of King Iohn against King Ferdinand commeth into Hungarie with the number of* 150000 *men*, 609 *a. without resistance entereth into Buda, and besieged thereafter*, 609 *d. Letters sent to Vienna*, 610 *e. with a Treatise, how to resist the Turkish tyrannie*, 611 *g. leaueth Buda, and returneth to Constantinople*, 612 *b. the Dardanels*, 613 *k. Temesuar*, 614 *b. Belgrade*, 615 *k. Rodes*, 616 *b. Solyman with a mightie Armie commeth to Belgrade*, 617 *b. his Letters to the Emperour Charles*, 618 *g. his Letters to the Knights of Rhodes*, 619 *a. his Letters to the Duke of Mantua*, 620 *k. his Letters to the Duke of Ferrara*, 621 *b. his Letters to the Duke of Florence*, 622 *c. his Letters to the Duke of Vrbine*, 623 *d. his Letters to the Duke of Millan*, 624 *e. his Letters to the Duke of Saxonie*, 625 *f. his Letters to the Duke of Cleue*, 626 *g. his Letters to the Duke of Bauier*, 627 *h. his Letters to the Duke of Lorraine*, 628 *i. his Letters to the Duke of Brunswicke*, 629 *k. his Letters to the Duke of Wittenberg*, 630 *l. his Letters to the Duke of Holsten*, 631 *m. his Letters to the Duke of Pomerland*, 632 *n. his Letters to the Duke of Mecklenburg*, 633 *o. his Letters to the Duke of Cassouia*, 634 *p. his Letters to the Duke of Wirtenberg*, 635 *q. his Letters to the Duke of Iuliers*, 636 *r. his Letters to the Duke of Saxonie*, 637 *s. his Letters to the Duke of Brandenburg*, 638 *t. his Letters to the Duke of Hessen*, 639 *u. his Letters to the Duke of Anhalt*, 640 *x. his Letters to the Duke of Mansfeld*, 641 *y. his Letters to the Duke of Barby*, 642 *z. his Letters to the Duke of Hennenberg*, 643 *aa. his Letters to the Duke of Stolberg*, 644 *bb. his Letters to the Duke of Swartzburg*, 645 *cc. his Letters to the Duke of Hohenstein*, 646 *dd. his Letters to the Duke of Gleichen*, 647 *ee. his Letters to the Duke of Tecklenburg*, 648 *ff. his Letters to the Duke of Rheinstein*, 649 *gg. his Letters to the Duke of Wertheim*, 650 *hh. his Letters to the Duke of Eberstein*, 651 *ii. his Letters to the Duke of Lemgow*, 652 *kk. his Letters to the Duke of Oldenburg*, 653 *ll. his Letters to the Duke of Delmenhorst*, 654 *mm. his Letters to the Duke of Barby*, 655 *nn. his Letters to the Duke of Gandersheim*, 656 *oo. his Letters to the Duke of Embden*, 657 *pp. his Letters to the Duke of Wida*, 658 *qq. his Letters to the Duke of Brunswicke*, 659 *rr. his Letters to the Duke of Lunenburg*, 660 *ss. his Letters to the Duke of Meckelburg*, 661 *tt. his Letters to the Duke of Pomerland*, 662 *uu. his Letters to the Duke of Stetin*, 663 *xx. his Letters to the Duke of Wolgast*, 664 *yy. his Letters to the Duke of Rugen*, 665 *zz. his Letters to the Duke of Camin*, 666 *aaa. his Letters to the Duke of Stargard*, 667 *bbb. his Letters to the Duke of Lignitz*, 668 *ccc. his Letters to the Duke of Brieg*, 669 *ddd. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 670 *eee. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 671 *fff. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 672 *ggg. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 673 *hhh. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 674 *iii. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 675 *kkk. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 676 *lll. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 677 *mmm. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 678 *nnn. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 679 *ooo. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 680 *ppp. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 681 *qqq. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 682 *rrr. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 683 *sss. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 684 *ttt. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 685 *uuu. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 686 *xxx. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 687 *yyy. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 688 *zzz. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 689 *aaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 690 *bbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 691 *cccc. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 692 *dddd. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 693 *eeee. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 694 *ffff. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 695 *gggg. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 696 *hhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 697 *iiii. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 698 *jjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 699 *kkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 700 *llll. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 701 *mmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 702 *nnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 703 *oooo. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 704 *pppp. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 705 *qqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 706 *rrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 707 *ssss. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 708 *tttt. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 709 *uuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 710 *xxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 711 *yyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 712 *zzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 713 *aaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 714 *bbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 715 *ccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 716 *ddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 717 *eeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 718 *fffff. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 719 *ggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 720 *hhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 721 *iiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 722 *jjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 723 *kkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 724 *lllll. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 725 *mmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 726 *nnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 727 *ooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 728 *ppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 729 *qqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 730 *rrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 731 *sssss. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 732 *ttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 733 *uuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 734 *xxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 735 *yyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 736 *zzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 737 *aaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 738 *bbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 739 *cccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 740 *dddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 741 *eeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 742 *ffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 743 *gggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 744 *hhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 745 *iiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 746 *jjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 747 *kkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 748 *llllll. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 749 *mmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 750 *nnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 751 *oooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 752 *pppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 753 *qqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 754 *rrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 755 *ssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 756 *tttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 757 *uuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 758 *xxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 759 *yyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 760 *zzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 761 *aaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 762 *bbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 763 *ccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 764 *ddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 765 *eeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 766 *fffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 767 *ggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 768 *hhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 769 *iiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 770 *jjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 771 *kkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 772 *lllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 773 *mmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 774 *nnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 775 *ooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 776 *ppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 777 *qqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 778 *rrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 779 *sssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 780 *ttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 781 *uuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 782 *xxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 783 *yyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 784 *zzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 785 *aaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 786 *bbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 787 *cccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 788 *dddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 789 *eeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 790 *ffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 791 *gggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 792 *hhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 793 *iiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 794 *jjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 795 *kkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 796 *llllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 797 *mmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 798 *nnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 799 *oooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 800 *pppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 801 *qqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 802 *rrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 803 *ssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 804 *tttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 805 *uuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 806 *xxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 807 *yyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 808 *zzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 809 *aaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 810 *bbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 811 *ccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 812 *ddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 813 *eeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 814 *fffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 815 *ggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 816 *hhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 817 *iiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 818 *jjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 819 *kkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 820 *lllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 821 *mmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 822 *nnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 823 *ooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 824 *ppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 825 *qqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 826 *rrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 827 *ssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 828 *tttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 829 *uuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 830 *xxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 831 *yyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 832 *zzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 833 *aaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 834 *bbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 835 *ccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 836 *ddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 837 *eeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 838 *fffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 839 *ggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 840 *hhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 841 *iiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 842 *jjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 843 *kkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 844 *lllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 845 *mmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 846 *nnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 847 *ooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 848 *ppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 849 *qqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 850 *rrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 851 *sssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 852 *ttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 853 *uuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 854 *xxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 855 *yyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 856 *zzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 857 *aaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 858 *bbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 859 *cccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 860 *dddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 861 *eeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 862 *ffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 863 *gggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 864 *hhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 865 *iiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 866 *jjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 867 *kkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 868 *llllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 869 *mmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 870 *nnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 871 *oooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 872 *pppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 873 *qqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 874 *rrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 875 *ssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 876 *tttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 877 *uuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 878 *xxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 879 *yyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 880 *zzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 881 *aaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 882 *bbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 883 *ccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 884 *ddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 885 *eeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 886 *fffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 887 *ggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 888 *hhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 889 *iiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 890 *jjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 891 *kkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 892 *lllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 893 *mmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 894 *nnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 895 *oooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 896 *ppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 897 *qqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 898 *rrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 899 *sssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 900 *ttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 901 *uuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 902 *xxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 903 *yyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 904 *zzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 905 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 906 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 907 *cccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 908 *dddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 909 *eeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 910 *ffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 911 *gggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 912 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 913 *iiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 914 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 915 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 916 *llllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 917 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 918 *nnnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 919 *oooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 920 *pppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 921 *qqqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 922 *rrrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 923 *ssssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 924 *tttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 925 *uuuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 926 *xxxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 927 *yyyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 928 *zzzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 929 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 930 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 931 *ccccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 932 *ddddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 933 *eeeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 934 *fffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 935 *ggggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 936 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 937 *iiiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 938 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 939 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 940 *lllllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 941 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 942 *nnnnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 943 *ooooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 944 *ppppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 945 *qqqqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 946 *rrrrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 947 *sssssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 948 *ttttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 949 *uuuuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 950 *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 951 *yyyyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 952 *zzzzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 953 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 954 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 955 *cccccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 956 *dddddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 957 *eeeeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 958 *ffffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 959 *gggggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 960 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 961 *iiiiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 962 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 963 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 964 *llllllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 965 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 966 *nnnnnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 967 *oooooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 968 *pppppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 969 *qqqqqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 970 *rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 971 *ssssssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 972 *tttttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 973 *uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 974 *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 975 *yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 976 *zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 977 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 978 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 979 *ccccccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 980 *ddddddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 981 *eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 982 *fffffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 983 *ggggggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 984 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 985 *iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 986 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 987 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 988 *lllllllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 989 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 990 *nnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 991 *ooooooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 992 *ppppppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 993 *qqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 994 *rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 995 *sssssssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 996 *ttttttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 997 *uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 998 *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 999 *yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1000 *zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1001 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1002 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1003 *cccccccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1004 *dddddddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1005 *eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1006 *ffffffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1007 *gggggggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1008 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1009 *iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1010 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1011 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1012 *llllllllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1013 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1014 *nnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1015 *oooooooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1016 *pppppppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1017 *qqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1018 *rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1019 *ssssssssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1020 *tttttttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1021 *uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1022 *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1023 *yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1024 *zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1025 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1026 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1027 *ccccccccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1028 *ddddddddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1029 *eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1030 *fffffffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1031 *ggggggggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1032 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1033 *iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1034 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1035 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1036 *lllllllllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1037 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1038 *nnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1039 *ooooooooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1040 *ppppppppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1041 *qqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1042 *rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1043 *sssssssssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1044 *ttttttttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1045 *uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1046 *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1047 *yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1048 *zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1049 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1050 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1051 *cccccccccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1052 *dddddddddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1053 *eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1054 *ffffffffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1055 *gggggggggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1056 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1057 *iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1058 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1059 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1060 *llllllllllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1061 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1062 *nnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1063 *oooooooooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1064 *pppppppppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1065 *qqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1066 *rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1067 *ssssssssssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1068 *tttttttttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1069 *uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1070 *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1071 *yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1072 *zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1073 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1074 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1075 *ccccccccccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1076 *ddddddddddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1077 *eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1078 *fffffffffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1079 *ggggggggggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1080 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1081 *iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1082 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1083 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1084 *lllllllllllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1085 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1086 *nnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnn. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1087 *ooooooooooooooooooooo. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1088 *ppppppppppppppppppppp. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1089 *qqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqq. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1090 *rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1091 *sssssssssssssssssssss. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1092 *ttttttttttttttttttttt. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1093 *uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1094 *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1095 *yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1096 *zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1097 *aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1098 *bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1099 *cccccccccccccccccccccc. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1100 *dddddddddddddddddddddd. his Letters to the Duke of Wolaw*, 1101 *eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee. his Letters to the Duke of Munsterberg*, 1102 *ffffffffffffffffffffff. his Letters to the Duke of Oppeln*, 1103 *gggggggggggggggggggggg. his Letters to the Duke of Ratibor*, 1104 *hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh. his Letters to the Duke of Teschen*, 1105 *iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii. his Letters to the Duke of Sagan*, 1106 *jjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjjj. his Letters to the Duke of Glogaw*, 1107 *kkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkkk. his Letters to the Duke of Crossen*, 1108 *llllllllllllllllllllll. his Letters to the Duke of Croia*, 1109 *mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm

Tunes besieged by Lewes the French King, 119 a. yeelded to Charles the Emperour, 667 c. by him vpon an easie tribute agains reserred to Muleasses, 669 d. again yeelded to the Turks, 915 d.

*Turks, their original beginning diuersly reported, 1 c. deriued from the Scythians, 2 b. the causes why they left their ancient and naturall seate in Scythia, to seeke for other Countries more Southerly, 2 d. where they first seated themselues in Asia, 3 a. their departure out of Scythia, 3 c. their first kings, 3 d. their first warres with the Greekes, 4 a. their warres with the Sarazens, 4 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 4 c. their warres with the Persians, 4 d. their warres with the Christians, 4 e. their warres with the Venetians, 4 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 4 g. their warres with the Germans, 4 h. their warres with the Polonians, 4 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 4 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 4 l. their warres with the Persians, 5 a. their warres with the Christians, 5 b. their warres with the Venetians, 5 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 5 d. their warres with the Germans, 5 e. their warres with the Polonians, 5 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 5 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 5 h. their warres with the Persians, 5 i. their warres with the Christians, 5 k. their warres with the Venetians, 5 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 6 a. their warres with the Germans, 6 b. their warres with the Polonians, 6 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 6 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 6 e. their warres with the Persians, 6 f. their warres with the Christians, 6 g. their warres with the Venetians, 6 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 6 i. their warres with the Germans, 6 k. their warres with the Polonians, 6 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 7 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 7 b. their warres with the Persians, 7 c. their warres with the Christians, 7 d. their warres with the Venetians, 7 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 7 f. their warres with the Germans, 7 g. their warres with the Polonians, 7 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 7 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 7 k. their warres with the Persians, 7 l. their warres with the Christians, 8 a. their warres with the Venetians, 8 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 8 c. their warres with the Germans, 8 d. their warres with the Polonians, 8 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 8 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 8 g. their warres with the Persians, 8 h. their warres with the Christians, 8 i. their warres with the Venetians, 8 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 8 l. their warres with the Germans, 9 a. their warres with the Polonians, 9 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 9 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 9 d. their warres with the Persians, 9 e. their warres with the Christians, 9 f. their warres with the Venetians, 9 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 9 h. their warres with the Germans, 9 i. their warres with the Polonians, 9 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 9 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 10 a. their warres with the Persians, 10 b. their warres with the Christians, 10 c. their warres with the Venetians, 10 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 10 e. their warres with the Germans, 10 f. their warres with the Polonians, 10 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 10 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 10 i. their warres with the Persians, 10 k. their warres with the Christians, 10 l. their warres with the Venetians, 11 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 11 b. their warres with the Germans, 11 c. their warres with the Polonians, 11 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 11 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 11 f. their warres with the Persians, 11 g. their warres with the Christians, 11 h. their warres with the Venetians, 11 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 11 k. their warres with the Germans, 11 l. their warres with the Polonians, 12 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 12 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 12 c. their warres with the Persians, 12 d. their warres with the Christians, 12 e. their warres with the Venetians, 12 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 12 g. their warres with the Germans, 12 h. their warres with the Polonians, 12 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 12 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 12 l. their warres with the Persians, 13 a. their warres with the Christians, 13 b. their warres with the Venetians, 13 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 13 d. their warres with the Germans, 13 e. their warres with the Polonians, 13 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 13 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 13 h. their warres with the Persians, 13 i. their warres with the Christians, 13 k. their warres with the Venetians, 13 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 14 a. their warres with the Germans, 14 b. their warres with the Polonians, 14 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 14 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 14 e. their warres with the Persians, 14 f. their warres with the Christians, 14 g. their warres with the Venetians, 14 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 14 i. their warres with the Germans, 14 k. their warres with the Polonians, 14 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 15 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 15 b. their warres with the Persians, 15 c. their warres with the Christians, 15 d. their warres with the Venetians, 15 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 15 f. their warres with the Germans, 15 g. their warres with the Polonians, 15 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 15 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 15 k. their warres with the Persians, 15 l. their warres with the Christians, 16 a. their warres with the Venetians, 16 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 16 c. their warres with the Germans, 16 d. their warres with the Polonians, 16 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 16 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 16 g. their warres with the Persians, 16 h. their warres with the Christians, 16 i. their warres with the Venetians, 16 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 16 l. their warres with the Germans, 17 a. their warres with the Polonians, 17 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 17 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 17 d. their warres with the Persians, 17 e. their warres with the Christians, 17 f. their warres with the Venetians, 17 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 17 h. their warres with the Germans, 17 i. their warres with the Polonians, 17 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 17 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 18 a. their warres with the Persians, 18 b. their warres with the Christians, 18 c. their warres with the Venetians, 18 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 18 e. their warres with the Germans, 18 f. their warres with the Polonians, 18 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 18 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 18 i. their warres with the Persians, 18 k. their warres with the Christians, 18 l. their warres with the Venetians, 19 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 19 b. their warres with the Germans, 19 c. their warres with the Polonians, 19 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 19 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 19 f. their warres with the Persians, 19 g. their warres with the Christians, 19 h. their warres with the Venetians, 19 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 19 k. their warres with the Germans, 19 l. their warres with the Polonians, 20 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 20 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 20 c. their warres with the Persians, 20 d. their warres with the Christians, 20 e. their warres with the Venetians, 20 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 20 g. their warres with the Germans, 20 h. their warres with the Polonians, 20 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 20 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 20 l. their warres with the Persians, 21 a. their warres with the Christians, 21 b. their warres with the Venetians, 21 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 21 d. their warres with the Germans, 21 e. their warres with the Polonians, 21 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 21 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 21 h. their warres with the Persians, 21 i. their warres with the Christians, 21 k. their warres with the Venetians, 21 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 22 a. their warres with the Germans, 22 b. their warres with the Polonians, 22 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 22 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 22 e. their warres with the Persians, 22 f. their warres with the Christians, 22 g. their warres with the Venetians, 22 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 22 i. their warres with the Germans, 22 k. their warres with the Polonians, 22 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 23 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 23 b. their warres with the Persians, 23 c. their warres with the Christians, 23 d. their warres with the Venetians, 23 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 23 f. their warres with the Germans, 23 g. their warres with the Polonians, 23 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 23 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 23 k. their warres with the Persians, 23 l. their warres with the Christians, 24 a. their warres with the Venetians, 24 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 24 c. their warres with the Germans, 24 d. their warres with the Polonians, 24 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 24 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 24 g. their warres with the Persians, 24 h. their warres with the Christians, 24 i. their warres with the Venetians, 24 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 24 l. their warres with the Germans, 25 a. their warres with the Polonians, 25 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 25 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 25 d. their warres with the Persians, 25 e. their warres with the Christians, 25 f. their warres with the Venetians, 25 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 25 h. their warres with the Germans, 25 i. their warres with the Polonians, 25 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 25 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 26 a. their warres with the Persians, 26 b. their warres with the Christians, 26 c. their warres with the Venetians, 26 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 26 e. their warres with the Germans, 26 f. their warres with the Polonians, 26 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 26 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 26 i. their warres with the Persians, 26 k. their warres with the Christians, 26 l. their warres with the Venetians, 27 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 27 b. their warres with the Germans, 27 c. their warres with the Polonians, 27 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 27 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 27 f. their warres with the Persians, 27 g. their warres with the Christians, 27 h. their warres with the Venetians, 27 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 27 k. their warres with the Germans, 27 l. their warres with the Polonians, 28 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 28 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 28 c. their warres with the Persians, 28 d. their warres with the Christians, 28 e. their warres with the Venetians, 28 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 28 g. their warres with the Germans, 28 h. their warres with the Polonians, 28 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 28 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 28 l. their warres with the Persians, 29 a. their warres with the Christians, 29 b. their warres with the Venetians, 29 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 29 d. their warres with the Germans, 29 e. their warres with the Polonians, 29 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 29 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 29 h. their warres with the Persians, 29 i. their warres with the Christians, 29 k. their warres with the Venetians, 29 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 30 a. their warres with the Germans, 30 b. their warres with the Polonians, 30 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 30 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 30 e. their warres with the Persians, 30 f. their warres with the Christians, 30 g. their warres with the Venetians, 30 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 30 i. their warres with the Germans, 30 k. their warres with the Polonians, 30 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 31 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 31 b. their warres with the Persians, 31 c. their warres with the Christians, 31 d. their warres with the Venetians, 31 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 31 f. their warres with the Germans, 31 g. their warres with the Polonians, 31 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 31 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 31 k. their warres with the Persians, 31 l. their warres with the Christians, 32 a. their warres with the Venetians, 32 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 32 c. their warres with the Germans, 32 d. their warres with the Polonians, 32 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 32 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 32 g. their warres with the Persians, 32 h. their warres with the Christians, 32 i. their warres with the Venetians, 32 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 32 l. their warres with the Germans, 33 a. their warres with the Polonians, 33 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 33 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 33 d. their warres with the Persians, 33 e. their warres with the Christians, 33 f. their warres with the Venetians, 33 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 33 h. their warres with the Germans, 33 i. their warres with the Polonians, 33 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 33 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 34 a. their warres with the Persians, 34 b. their warres with the Christians, 34 c. their warres with the Venetians, 34 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 34 e. their warres with the Germans, 34 f. their warres with the Polonians, 34 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 34 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 34 i. their warres with the Persians, 34 k. their warres with the Christians, 34 l. their warres with the Venetians, 35 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 35 b. their warres with the Germans, 35 c. their warres with the Polonians, 35 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 35 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 35 f. their warres with the Persians, 35 g. their warres with the Christians, 35 h. their warres with the Venetians, 35 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 35 k. their warres with the Germans, 35 l. their warres with the Polonians, 36 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 36 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 36 c. their warres with the Persians, 36 d. their warres with the Christians, 36 e. their warres with the Venetians, 36 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 36 g. their warres with the Germans, 36 h. their warres with the Polonians, 36 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 36 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 36 l. their warres with the Persians, 37 a. their warres with the Christians, 37 b. their warres with the Venetians, 37 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 37 d. their warres with the Germans, 37 e. their warres with the Polonians, 37 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 37 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 37 h. their warres with the Persians, 37 i. their warres with the Christians, 37 k. their warres with the Venetians, 37 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 38 a. their warres with the Germans, 38 b. their warres with the Polonians, 38 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 38 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 38 e. their warres with the Persians, 38 f. their warres with the Christians, 38 g. their warres with the Venetians, 38 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 38 i. their warres with the Germans, 38 k. their warres with the Polonians, 38 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 39 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 39 b. their warres with the Persians, 39 c. their warres with the Christians, 39 d. their warres with the Venetians, 39 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 39 f. their warres with the Germans, 39 g. their warres with the Polonians, 39 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 39 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 39 k. their warres with the Persians, 39 l. their warres with the Christians, 40 a. their warres with the Venetians, 40 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 40 c. their warres with the Germans, 40 d. their warres with the Polonians, 40 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 40 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 40 g. their warres with the Persians, 40 h. their warres with the Christians, 40 i. their warres with the Venetians, 40 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 40 l. their warres with the Germans, 41 a. their warres with the Polonians, 41 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 41 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 41 d. their warres with the Persians, 41 e. their warres with the Christians, 41 f. their warres with the Venetians, 41 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 41 h. their warres with the Germans, 41 i. their warres with the Polonians, 41 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 41 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 42 a. their warres with the Persians, 42 b. their warres with the Christians, 42 c. their warres with the Venetians, 42 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 42 e. their warres with the Germans, 42 f. their warres with the Polonians, 42 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 42 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 42 i. their warres with the Persians, 42 k. their warres with the Christians, 42 l. their warres with the Venetians, 43 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 43 b. their warres with the Germans, 43 c. their warres with the Polonians, 43 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 43 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 43 f. their warres with the Persians, 43 g. their warres with the Christians, 43 h. their warres with the Venetians, 43 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 43 k. their warres with the Germans, 43 l. their warres with the Polonians, 44 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 44 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 44 c. their warres with the Persians, 44 d. their warres with the Christians, 44 e. their warres with the Venetians, 44 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 44 g. their warres with the Germans, 44 h. their warres with the Polonians, 44 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 44 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 44 l. their warres with the Persians, 45 a. their warres with the Christians, 45 b. their warres with the Venetians, 45 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 45 d. their warres with the Germans, 45 e. their warres with the Polonians, 45 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 45 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 45 h. their warres with the Persians, 45 i. their warres with the Christians, 45 k. their warres with the Venetians, 45 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 46 a. their warres with the Germans, 46 b. their warres with the Polonians, 46 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 46 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 46 e. their warres with the Persians, 46 f. their warres with the Christians, 46 g. their warres with the Venetians, 46 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 46 i. their warres with the Germans, 46 k. their warres with the Polonians, 46 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 47 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 47 b. their warres with the Persians, 47 c. their warres with the Christians, 47 d. their warres with the Venetians, 47 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 47 f. their warres with the Germans, 47 g. their warres with the Polonians, 47 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 47 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 47 k. their warres with the Persians, 47 l. their warres with the Christians, 48 a. their warres with the Venetians, 48 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 48 c. their warres with the Germans, 48 d. their warres with the Polonians, 48 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 48 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 48 g. their warres with the Persians, 48 h. their warres with the Christians, 48 i. their warres with the Venetians, 48 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 48 l. their warres with the Germans, 49 a. their warres with the Polonians, 49 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 49 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 49 d. their warres with the Persians, 49 e. their warres with the Christians, 49 f. their warres with the Venetians, 49 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 49 h. their warres with the Germans, 49 i. their warres with the Polonians, 49 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 49 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 50 a. their warres with the Persians, 50 b. their warres with the Christians, 50 c. their warres with the Venetians, 50 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 50 e. their warres with the Germans, 50 f. their warres with the Polonians, 50 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 50 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 50 i. their warres with the Persians, 50 k. their warres with the Christians, 50 l. their warres with the Venetians, 51 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 51 b. their warres with the Germans, 51 c. their warres with the Polonians, 51 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 51 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 51 f. their warres with the Persians, 51 g. their warres with the Christians, 51 h. their warres with the Venetians, 51 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 51 k. their warres with the Germans, 51 l. their warres with the Polonians, 52 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 52 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 52 c. their warres with the Persians, 52 d. their warres with the Christians, 52 e. their warres with the Venetians, 52 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 52 g. their warres with the Germans, 52 h. their warres with the Polonians, 52 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 52 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 52 l. their warres with the Persians, 53 a. their warres with the Christians, 53 b. their warres with the Venetians, 53 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 53 d. their warres with the Germans, 53 e. their warres with the Polonians, 53 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 53 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 53 h. their warres with the Persians, 53 i. their warres with the Christians, 53 k. their warres with the Venetians, 53 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 54 a. their warres with the Germans, 54 b. their warres with the Polonians, 54 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 54 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 54 e. their warres with the Persians, 54 f. their warres with the Christians, 54 g. their warres with the Venetians, 54 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 54 i. their warres with the Germans, 54 k. their warres with the Polonians, 54 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 55 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 55 b. their warres with the Persians, 55 c. their warres with the Christians, 55 d. their warres with the Venetians, 55 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 55 f. their warres with the Germans, 55 g. their warres with the Polonians, 55 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 55 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 55 k. their warres with the Persians, 55 l. their warres with the Christians, 56 a. their warres with the Venetians, 56 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 56 c. their warres with the Germans, 56 d. their warres with the Polonians, 56 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 56 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 56 g. their warres with the Persians, 56 h. their warres with the Christians, 56 i. their warres with the Venetians, 56 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 56 l. their warres with the Germans, 57 a. their warres with the Polonians, 57 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 57 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 57 d. their warres with the Persians, 57 e. their warres with the Christians, 57 f. their warres with the Venetians, 57 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 57 h. their warres with the Germans, 57 i. their warres with the Polonians, 57 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 57 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 58 a. their warres with the Persians, 58 b. their warres with the Christians, 58 c. their warres with the Venetians, 58 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 58 e. their warres with the Germans, 58 f. their warres with the Polonians, 58 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 58 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 58 i. their warres with the Persians, 58 k. their warres with the Christians, 58 l. their warres with the Venetians, 59 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 59 b. their warres with the Germans, 59 c. their warres with the Polonians, 59 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 59 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 59 f. their warres with the Persians, 59 g. their warres with the Christians, 59 h. their warres with the Venetians, 59 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 59 k. their warres with the Germans, 59 l. their warres with the Polonians, 60 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 60 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 60 c. their warres with the Persians, 60 d. their warres with the Christians, 60 e. their warres with the Venetians, 60 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 60 g. their warres with the Germans, 60 h. their warres with the Polonians, 60 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 60 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 60 l. their warres with the Persians, 61 a. their warres with the Christians, 61 b. their warres with the Venetians, 61 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 61 d. their warres with the Germans, 61 e. their warres with the Polonians, 61 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 61 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 61 h. their warres with the Persians, 61 i. their warres with the Christians, 61 k. their warres with the Venetians, 61 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 62 a. their warres with the Germans, 62 b. their warres with the Polonians, 62 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 62 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 62 e. their warres with the Persians, 62 f. their warres with the Christians, 62 g. their warres with the Venetians, 62 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 62 i. their warres with the Germans, 62 k. their warres with the Polonians, 62 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 63 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 63 b. their warres with the Persians, 63 c. their warres with the Christians, 63 d. their warres with the Venetians, 63 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 63 f. their warres with the Germans, 63 g. their warres with the Polonians, 63 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 63 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 63 k. their warres with the Persians, 63 l. their warres with the Christians, 64 a. their warres with the Venetians, 64 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 64 c. their warres with the Germans, 64 d. their warres with the Polonians, 64 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 64 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 64 g. their warres with the Persians, 64 h. their warres with the Christians, 64 i. their warres with the Venetians, 64 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 64 l. their warres with the Germans, 65 a. their warres with the Polonians, 65 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 65 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 65 d. their warres with the Persians, 65 e. their warres with the Christians, 65 f. their warres with the Venetians, 65 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 65 h. their warres with the Germans, 65 i. their warres with the Polonians, 65 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 65 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 66 a. their warres with the Persians, 66 b. their warres with the Christians, 66 c. their warres with the Venetians, 66 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 66 e. their warres with the Germans, 66 f. their warres with the Polonians, 66 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 66 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 66 i. their warres with the Persians, 66 k. their warres with the Christians, 66 l. their warres with the Venetians, 67 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 67 b. their warres with the Germans, 67 c. their warres with the Polonians, 67 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 67 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 67 f. their warres with the Persians, 67 g. their warres with the Christians, 67 h. their warres with the Venetians, 67 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 67 k. their warres with the Germans, 67 l. their warres with the Polonians, 68 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 68 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 68 c. their warres with the Persians, 68 d. their warres with the Christians, 68 e. their warres with the Venetians, 68 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 68 g. their warres with the Germans, 68 h. their warres with the Polonians, 68 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 68 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 68 l. their warres with the Persians, 69 a. their warres with the Christians, 69 b. their warres with the Venetians, 69 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 69 d. their warres with the Germans, 69 e. their warres with the Polonians, 69 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 69 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 69 h. their warres with the Persians, 69 i. their warres with the Christians, 69 k. their warres with the Venetians, 69 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 70 a. their warres with the Germans, 70 b. their warres with the Polonians, 70 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 70 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 70 e. their warres with the Persians, 70 f. their warres with the Christians, 70 g. their warres with the Venetians, 70 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 70 i. their warres with the Germans, 70 k. their warres with the Polonians, 70 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 71 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 71 b. their warres with the Persians, 71 c. their warres with the Christians, 71 d. their warres with the Venetians, 71 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 71 f. their warres with the Germans, 71 g. their warres with the Polonians, 71 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 71 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 71 k. their warres with the Persians, 71 l. their warres with the Christians, 72 a. their warres with the Venetians, 72 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 72 c. their warres with the Germans, 72 d. their warres with the Polonians, 72 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 72 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 72 g. their warres with the Persians, 72 h. their warres with the Christians, 72 i. their warres with the Venetians, 72 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 72 l. their warres with the Germans, 73 a. their warres with the Polonians, 73 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 73 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 73 d. their warres with the Persians, 73 e. their warres with the Christians, 73 f. their warres with the Venetians, 73 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 73 h. their warres with the Germans, 73 i. their warres with the Polonians, 73 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 73 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 74 a. their warres with the Persians, 74 b. their warres with the Christians, 74 c. their warres with the Venetians, 74 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 74 e. their warres with the Germans, 74 f. their warres with the Polonians, 74 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 74 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 74 i. their warres with the Persians, 74 k. their warres with the Christians, 74 l. their warres with the Venetians, 75 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 75 b. their warres with the Germans, 75 c. their warres with the Polonians, 75 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 75 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 75 f. their warres with the Persians, 75 g. their warres with the Christians, 75 h. their warres with the Venetians, 75 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 75 k. their warres with the Germans, 75 l. their warres with the Polonians, 76 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 76 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 76 c. their warres with the Persians, 76 d. their warres with the Christians, 76 e. their warres with the Venetians, 76 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 76 g. their warres with the Germans, 76 h. their warres with the Polonians, 76 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 76 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 76 l. their warres with the Persians, 77 a. their warres with the Christians, 77 b. their warres with the Venetians, 77 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 77 d. their warres with the Germans, 77 e. their warres with the Polonians, 77 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 77 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 77 h. their warres with the Persians, 77 i. their warres with the Christians, 77 k. their warres with the Venetians, 77 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 78 a. their warres with the Germans, 78 b. their warres with the Polonians, 78 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 78 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 78 e. their warres with the Persians, 78 f. their warres with the Christians, 78 g. their warres with the Venetians, 78 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 78 i. their warres with the Germans, 78 k. their warres with the Polonians, 78 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 79 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 79 b. their warres with the Persians, 79 c. their warres with the Christians, 79 d. their warres with the Venetians, 79 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 79 f. their warres with the Germans, 79 g. their warres with the Polonians, 79 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 79 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 79 k. their warres with the Persians, 79 l. their warres with the Christians, 80 a. their warres with the Venetians, 80 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 80 c. their warres with the Germans, 80 d. their warres with the Polonians, 80 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 80 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 80 g. their warres with the Persians, 80 h. their warres with the Christians, 80 i. their warres with the Venetians, 80 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 80 l. their warres with the Germans, 81 a. their warres with the Polonians, 81 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 81 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 81 d. their warres with the Persians, 81 e. their warres with the Christians, 81 f. their warres with the Venetians, 81 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 81 h. their warres with the Germans, 81 i. their warres with the Polonians, 81 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 81 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 82 a. their warres with the Persians, 82 b. their warres with the Christians, 82 c. their warres with the Venetians, 82 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 82 e. their warres with the Germans, 82 f. their warres with the Polonians, 82 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 82 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 82 i. their warres with the Persians, 82 k. their warres with the Christians, 82 l. their warres with the Venetians, 83 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 83 b. their warres with the Germans, 83 c. their warres with the Polonians, 83 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 83 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 83 f. their warres with the Persians, 83 g. their warres with the Christians, 83 h. their warres with the Venetians, 83 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 83 k. their warres with the Germans, 83 l. their warres with the Polonians, 84 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 84 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 84 c. their warres with the Persians, 84 d. their warres with the Christians, 84 e. their warres with the Venetians, 84 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 84 g. their warres with the Germans, 84 h. their warres with the Polonians, 84 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 84 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 84 l. their warres with the Persians, 85 a. their warres with the Christians, 85 b. their warres with the Venetians, 85 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 85 d. their warres with the Germans, 85 e. their warres with the Polonians, 85 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 85 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 85 h. their warres with the Persians, 85 i. their warres with the Christians, 85 k. their warres with the Venetians, 85 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 86 a. their warres with the Germans, 86 b. their warres with the Polonians, 86 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 86 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 86 e. their warres with the Persians, 86 f. their warres with the Christians, 86 g. their warres with the Venetians, 86 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 86 i. their warres with the Germans, 86 k. their warres with the Polonians, 86 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 87 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 87 b. their warres with the Persians, 87 c. their warres with the Christians, 87 d. their warres with the Venetians, 87 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 87 f. their warres with the Germans, 87 g. their warres with the Polonians, 87 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 87 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 87 k. their warres with the Persians, 87 l. their warres with the Christians, 88 a. their warres with the Venetians, 88 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 88 c. their warres with the Germans, 88 d. their warres with the Polonians, 88 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 88 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 88 g. their warres with the Persians, 88 h. their warres with the Christians, 88 i. their warres with the Venetians, 88 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 88 l. their warres with the Germans, 89 a. their warres with the Polonians, 89 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 89 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 89 d. their warres with the Persians, 89 e. their warres with the Christians, 89 f. their warres with the Venetians, 89 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 89 h. their warres with the Germans, 89 i. their warres with the Polonians, 89 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 89 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 90 a. their warres with the Persians, 90 b. their warres with the Christians, 90 c. their warres with the Venetians, 90 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 90 e. their warres with the Germans, 90 f. their warres with the Polonians, 90 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 90 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 90 i. their warres with the Persians, 90 k. their warres with the Christians, 90 l. their warres with the Venetians, 91 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 91 b. their warres with the Germans, 91 c. their warres with the Polonians, 91 d. their warres with the Muscouites, 91 e. their warres with the Tartarians, 91 f. their warres with the Persians, 91 g. their warres with the Christians, 91 h. their warres with the Venetians, 91 i. their warres with the Hungarians, 91 k. their warres with the Germans, 91 l. their warres with the Polonians, 92 a. their warres with the Muscouites, 92 b. their warres with the Tartarians, 92 c. their warres with the Persians, 92 d. their warres with the Christians, 92 e. their warres with the Venetians, 92 f. their warres with the Hungarians, 92 g. their warres with the Germans, 92 h. their warres with the Polonians, 92 i. their warres with the Muscouites, 92 k. their warres with the Tartarians, 92 l. their warres with the Persians, 93 a. their warres with the Christians, 93 b. their warres with the Venetians, 93 c. their warres with the Hungarians, 93 d. their warres with the Germans, 93 e. their warres with the Polonians, 93 f. their warres with the Muscouites, 93 g. their warres with the Tartarians, 93 h. their warres with the Persians, 93 i. their warres with the Christians, 93 k. their warres with the Venetians, 93 l. their warres with the Hungarians, 94 a. their warres with the Germans, 94 b. their warres with the Polonians, 94 c. their warres with the Muscouites, 94 d. their warres with the Tartarians, 94 e. their warres with the Persians, 94 f. their warres with the Christians, 94 g. their warres with the Venetians, 94 h. their warres with the Hungarians, 94 i. their warres with the Germans, 94 k. their warres with the Polonians, 94 l. their warres with the Muscouites, 95 a. their warres with the Tartarians, 95 b. their warres with the Persians, 95 c. their warres with the Christians, 95 d. their warres with the Venetians, 95 e. their warres with the Hungarians, 95 f. their warres with the Germans, 95 g. their warres with the Polonians, 95 h. their warres with the Muscouites, 95 i. their warres with the Tartarians, 95 k. their warres with the Persians, 95 l. their warres with the Christians, 96 a. their warres with the Venetians, 96 b. their warres with the Hungarians, 96 c. their warres with the Germans, 96 d. their warres with the Polonians, 96 e. their warres with the Muscouites, 96 f. their warres with the Tartarians, 96 g. their warres with the Persians, 96 h. their warres with the Christians, 96 i. their warres with the Venetians, 96 k. their warres with the Hungarians, 96 l. their warres with the Germans, 97 a. their warres with the Polonians, 97 b. their warres with the Muscouites, 97 c. their warres with the Tartarians, 97 d. their warres with the Persians, 97 e. their warres with the Christians, 97 f. their warres with the Venetians, 97 g. their warres with the Hungarians, 97 h. their warres with the Germans, 97 i. their warres with the Polonians, 97 k. their warres with the Muscouites, 97 l. their warres with the Tartarians, 98 a. their warres with the Persians, 98 b. their warres with the Christians, 98 c. their warres with the Venetians, 98 d. their warres with the Hungarians, 98 e. their warres with the Germans, 98 f. their warres with the Polonians, 98 g. their warres with the Muscouites, 98 h. their warres with the Tartarians, 98 i. their warres with the Persians, 98 k. their warres with the Christians, 98 l. their warres with the Venetians, 99 a. their warres with the Hungarians, 99 b. their warres with the Germans, 99 c. their warres with the Polonians, 99 d. their warres with the Muscouites,

Rebels.

a great Battell betwixt Tartars, 1302 b. another betwixt Alexander and the Vayuod Stephano, 1346 l. betweene the Turks and Persians, 1378 l.

Battori, his practises, 1304 k. demands succours, of the Turke, and is betrayed, 1315 a. killeth Nage, 1317 a. is enuied by his owne people, d. sends an Embassadour to the Emperour Mathias, e. his cruelty, 1318 i. slaine by his owne soldiers, l.

Beged Bassa thinking to surprise Basta, is himselfe ouerthrowne, 1193 b. slaine, 2245 c.

Belgiosa goeth against the Rebels in Transyluania, 1231 a. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Botscay, b. besieged by the Rebels in the castle of Zipze, 1232.

Belioiosa author of the great rebellion in Hungarie, 1236 m.

Bethlin Habor Chiefe of the Rebels in Transyluania, surprised and ouerthrowne by the Count of Tambier, 1227 a. againe defeated by the said Count, b.

Biram Bassa dispatched Generall against the Cossacks, 1457 a.

Botscay raiseth rebellion in Transyluania, 1230 l. dealeth treacherously, 1231 c. countenanced by the Grand Seignior, and stiled prince of Transyluania, d. his Lieutenants policie, f. Cassouia yeelded vnto him, 1232 h. his vnreasonable demands for peace, 1237 b. refuseth to receiue the Emperors Embassadors, 1242 m. sendeth Embassadours into Polonia, and is there denied ayd, 1250 i. causeth his Chancellor to be beheaded, 1267 d. dieth, 1270 h.

Buda distressed for want of victuals, 1154 i. victualled, 1156 h. a breach made in the walls by the negligence of the Cannoniers, k.

C

Capi-Aga with some others executed, 1162 i.

Cassouia in danger to haue been burnt by the Turks, 1213 d.

Causes of the troubles in Bohemia, 1298 h.

Ceremonies of the Turkes at the first audience of Embassadors, 1303 c

Christians.

a notable exploit done by a Christian fugitiue, 1166 l. the Christians great Army, 1176 h. a rich booty lost through the negligence of certaine Christians, 1181 a. the Christian Generall layeth a great ambush to intercept the Turkes, 1182 m. which ambush ouerthroweth them, 1183 c. they pursue the Turks flying Army, 1185 e. resolue to giue the Turks battell, 1186 h. they [illegible] 1188 l. who flourne [illegible] from them, 1210 b.

a Chiaus sent from Constantinople to Paris, and the cause why, 1366

Cicala Bassa with his army ouerthrowne by the rebels in Asia, 1216 k. discomfited the second time, 1217 a. againe made Generall of the Turks army in Asia, 1219 b. his euill successe against the Persian, 1238 g. ouerthrowne by the Persian, 1257 h.

Colonitz a valiant Captaine in armes against the Turks, 1153 b. lyeth in ambush for them, f. in vaine besieged Babotz, 1158 b. retyreth to Comara, 1159 a. his noble resolution, d. hee oppoſeth the Tartar, 1166 g. defeateth two thousand Turks, 1167, &c. besiegeth the Castle of Loqua, 1168 b. and taketh it, 1169 a. his notable enterprise vpon the auantgard of the Turks armie, 1179 f. seeking to surprise the Turkes, is himselfe in [illegible], 1187 d. wisely appeaseth his discontented souldiers, 1235 a. craueth aid from Vienna, 1235 d. ouerthroweth the Haiducks, 1252 g.

a Combat fought betwixt the Lord Tischeuich and the Turks Generall, 1358 c.

a Comet seene ouer Constantinople, 1378, &c.

Commands sent from the Grand Seignior and other the great Vizier Bassa's of the Port, to the Bassa's and other Gouernours of Tunes and Algier, to maintaine peace and good correspondence with all the English Nation negotiating thither, 1436, &c. Other Commands sent to the same purpose, 1452, &c.

Commissioners of the Turke, the Emperour, and Hungarians meet together to entreat a peace, 1267 e.

Commissioners appointed to appease the new troubles in Hungarie, 1279 b.

Constantinople. a great tumult and fire there, 1224 g. againe troubled by fire, 1266 k. fired the third time, 1275 c. violent raine in the city, 1308 b. afflicted with grassehoppers, 1316 k. the people much wasted by the plague, 1332 g. all the dogs sent from thence, i. the situation thereof described, 1388.

Constantine sonne of Ieremy enters the gouernement of Moldauia, 1315 d. his answer to the Turks Aga, 1316 g. he and Potosky taken prisoners by the Turks, i.

Coresky a Prince of Polonia marrieth the Princesse Alexandrina, 1354 m. a challenge sent vnto him by the Turks Generall, 1358 m. taken prisoner by the Turks, 1360 l. his wife carried prisoner into Tartaria, 1364 i. his generous resolution, 1373 b. he escapes out of prison, 1374. and also out of Constantinople, 1375 c. strangled in prison, 1413 c

Corinth taken and spoyled by the Knights of Malta, 1310 k.

Cossackes. They mutine and leaue prince Alexander, 1357 f. enter the Bosphorus with a fleet of boats, 1458 l. againe returne thither, 1459 e. sacke the suburbs of Trapezond, 1463 b. the the third time enter the Bosphorus, 1465 a.

Count Solmes surprising Wiscenbourg is taken prisoner, 1175 f.

Cydan King of Fez with his army ouerthrowne, 1324 k.

D

DAmpiere a valiant Commander, 1255 a.

Daout Bassa his death conspired by the great Vizier, 1417 f.

Death of the French Embassador at Constantinople, 1303 a. of Amurath Seider, 1309 d. of Sultan Achmats daughter, 1313 a. of Sigismund, sometime the warlike prince of Transyluania, 1331 d. of Count Mansfelt and Duke Erneſt, 1482 m.

Desterdar Bassa strangled and throwne into the street, 1466 g.

Description of the towne of Arrache or Allarche, 1301. of the Grand Seignsours Chamber, 1303 e.

Discourse of the magnificence of the Turkes Court and Empire, 1380, &c. touching the affaires of Tunes and Algier, 1434, &c.

a Drunkard seuerely punished, 1332 l.

a Dutch gentleman dispeeded to the Port by the emperor, disguised in French attyre, 1484 m.

E

EMbassadors. From the Emperour to the Archduke Mathias at Zname, 1282 i. from the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, for appeasing the troubles betwixt the Emperour and Mathias his brother, 1282 m. from Mathias to the Emperour, 1284 i. from the Elector of Saxony, in behalfe of the Protestant states of Bohemia, 1293 c. from the Persian to the German Emperor, 1297 d. to the Grand Seignior, 1309 a. another, 1314 k. the Polish Embassador arrested at Constantinople, 1319 b. an Embassador from the Turke to his Maiestie of great Britaine, and his speech vnto him, 1379. from Bethlem Gabor arriueth at the Port, 1414 h. from the King of Poland to the Turke, l. his Oration to the Grand Seignior, 1415, &c. his Remonstrance to the great Vizier, 1418 k. from the Duke of Muscouie to the Turke, 1417 b. from the Prince of Transyluania to the great Sultan, 1423 d. from the Persian arriueth at Aleppo, 1486 m. the English Embassador arriueth at the Port, 1401 b. his Oration to the Grand Seignior, c. deliuereth is letters of Credence, e. his aduice to Delaurir Bassa, and the Basse's reply, 1411 d, e.

the Emperor makes faire weather with the Protestant States of Bohemia, 1292. prepares for a war in Hungarie, 1456 g.

the Emir of Sidon in rebellion, 1432 k.

the English Embassador Sir Tho. Glouer makes intercession at the Port, for the restoring of a deposed prince of Moldauia, 1305 c.

an Enterprise of the Christians vpon Albania, discouered by the Turks, 1306 g.

a notable Enterprise of foure Christian Slaues, 1326.

Eperia by the Rebels distressed, 1263 e.

F

FAcardin Emir of Sidon abandons his charge, and retyres to Florence, 1333 d. is receiued courteously of the Duke, e.

Falshood of a Turke iustly punished, 1310 h.

Fight at sea betwixt foure gallies of Malta and one English ship called the Sampson, 1508, &c.

Filek yeelded vnto the Haiducks, 1241 e.

the Florentines take the castle of Lango, 1314 g.

Folly of the Turks, 1302 m.

Fortgatsie Lieutenant to King Mathias entreth Transyluania with an army, 1304 i. expelled by Battori, l. his miserable retreit, ibid.

the Fort of Cochina yeelded to prince Alexander, 1344 l.

a French Embassadour feasted by the Turks, 1303 d.

the French embassadors men tortured by the Turks, 1374 k. hee himselfe imprisoned, m. set at liberty, 1375 b

Funerall of the Lady Glouer the English Embassadors wife, 1313.

G

GAbor and the Turke oppresse Battori, 1318 i. Gabor made prince of Transyluania by the Turke, 1318 m. his designe vpon diuers places, 1338 k. receiueth aid from the Turke, and besiegeth Lippa, l. vndertakes to succor the Bohemian Protestants, 1382 g. taketh many townes in

to fight vs the Valachians, l. by them ouerthrowne and slaine, 1173 c.

N

Lord NAdasti his great vertues, 1197 b. his death, d.
Nassuf (great Vizier) his fall foretolde, 1334 m. the whole course of his life and fortune described, 1335. his throat cut, 1336 b. his great treasure, i. another discourse of the manner of his death, k.
Neuhisse hardly assaulted, and valiantly defended, 1248 l. distressed, 1249 a. yeelded to the Rebels, 1259 c. restored to the emperor, 1271 d.
Neusel surprised by and recouered from the Haiducks, 1241 c. by them againe taken, 1244 k.

O

ODenburg besieged by the Rebels, and by Bassa relieued, 1247 f.
Osman proclaimed Sultan, 1377 c. his oath to Bethlem Gabor, 1383. greatly enraged at the Emperor, 1400 g. taketh a wife contrary to the will of his Councell, 1401 a. desirous of peace with the Polacke, 1406 h. strangled by Daout Bassa, 1408 k. discourse of his life and actions, 1409, &c.

P

PAllas Lippa beheaded by Boscay his Master, 1140 h.
the Patriarch of Greece fleyed aliue, 1308 h.
Peace concluded betwixt the Emperor and his discontented subiects in the vpper Hungary, 1265. betweene him and the Turkes, 1268. betwixt the Georgians and Turks, 1340 g. betweene the Turks and Persians, 1378 l.
the Persian king his successe, 1217 a. he enters into the Prouince of Babylon, 1297 b. offers to the Turke faire conditions of peace, and a tribute, g. his cruelty against the Armenians, 1334 i. he inuades the prouince of Babylon, 1434 i. part of his forces ouerthrown by the Georgians, 1466 h. besiegeth Achisca, 1487 c.
Pesth distressed for want of victuals, 1156 g. victualled, 1176 l. againe victualled, 1177 b. shamefully abandoned by the Christians, 1224 g. taken by the Turks, i.
Peterwin in danger to haue been betrayed to the Turks, 1222 h.
great Plague in Constantinople, 1302 l.
the Pirats of Tunes and Algier rebell against the Grand seignior, 1457 d.
a Practise to murther the Generall of Sultan Osman, 1412 i.
Predictions of a great ensuing plague at Constantinople, 1464 b.
Presents, giuen by the Turks to the Emperors ambassadors, 1196 m. sent to the grand Seignior by King Mathias, 1287 a. from the Persian to the Emperor, 1297 d. from the Persians the Turke, 1320. from the united States to the Turks, 1326 l.
Processions of the Turkes, 1325 a.
the Protestant States of Austria take armes in defence of their Religion, 1289 d. sweare obedience vnto King Mathias, 1291 a.
the Protestant States of Bohemia assemble in a new court at Prage, 1291 f. raise their forces in defence of their Religion, 1293 d.

R

RAb attempted by the Turks, 1263 d.
Radul the Valachian aideth Bassa against the Turks, 1173 c.
the Rebels of Asia appeased by the Vizier, 1272 k.
new Rebels in Asia, 1282 l.
Russeworme a great Lord beheaded, 1250 l.
the Russians and Tartars make incursions vpon the Turks, 1314 h.

S

SAcmar yeelded to the Haiducks, 1240 l.
Sigismund Ragotsie chosen prince of Transyluania, and resigneth to the Emperor, 1271 b.
Silistra spoyled by the Valachians, 1157 a.
Skinder Bassa inuadeth prince Alexander, 1350 l. his kinsman taken prisoner, 1351 b.
Souldiers insolencie iustly punished, 1191 d.
the Spahies and Ianizaries mutine, 1160 h. their proud speech to Sultan Mahomet, 1161 d. their insolencie iustly punished, 1263 c. cause the Chimacham to be strangled, 1468.
the States of Bohemia their requests to the Emperor, 1283
Strigonium besieged by the Turks, 1225 b. shamefull treason of the Haiduckes there in garrison, 1229 a. the siege giuen ouer, e. againe attempted to be surprised, 1238 i. againe besieged, 1251 c. the insolencie of the garrison soldiers inforce the gouernor to yeeld the towne, 1256 i.
Stephen made Vayuod of Moldauia, 1315 f. his tyranny and troublesome gouernment, 1343, &c. turneth Turke, 1357 a.
Styria and Austria spoyled, 1246 l.

T. Tartar

T

TArtar Cham why so ready to serue the Turke in his wars, 1219 d. dieth, 1282 k.
the Tartars spoile many places in Hungary, 1165 f. represt by Count Serine, 1166 i. defeated by the Hussars, 1167 c. defeated by the Cossackes, 1344 m. defeated by Troianosky, 1356 h. ouerthrow the Turks army, 1460 l. make an incursion into Poland, 1462 i.
Tauris taken from the Turk by the Persian, 1184 k.
Tockay taken by the rebels, 1263 f.
Totisa yeelded to the Turks. 1248 k.
Transyluania miserably distressed, 1209 d. the troubles secretly maintained by the nobles, 1210 b. new troubles, 1214 k. the Rebels surprised and slaine, l. the miserable state of that prouince, m. new troubles raised, 1304 g.
Treachery of the Polonian Generall, 1357 e.
Troubles, in Moldauia, 1305 a. new troubles, 1314 i. in Transyluania, 1316. in Tartarie, 1458 h.
Truce betwixt the Emperor and Gabor, 1433 e.
Tumult at Pera, 1353 b.

Turks.

They raise an army, 1153 b. cowardly retyre for feare of the Christians, d. carrying a conuoy of victuals to Buda, ouerthrowne by the Christians, 1154 k. the conuoy recouered by the Turks, 1155 a. againe taken from them by the Christians, c. ouerthrow the garrison of Pesth, d. bathing themselues at Buda, by them of Pesth surprised and slaine, e. seeking to surprise Palotta, are ouerthrowne, 1156 i. three of their spies taken, 1157 c. ouerthrowne by Collonitz, f. together by the eares among themselues, 1163 d. defeated by Colonel Sultze, 1182 h. againe ouerthrowne, 1185 b. their army stealeth by night out of Hungary, 1189 c. ouerthrowne by the Vayuod of Valachia, 1198 g. the maner of their burials, 1200 l. treacherously seeke to surprise Pesth, 1206 l. seeke in vaine to surprise Lippa, 1213 a. ouerthrowne by them of Pesth, 1214 h. their vnreasonable demands for peace, 1222 l. troubled with ciuill wars, 1236 k. betrayed by the Haiduckes, 1248 i. thinking to surprise others, are themselues surprised, 1266 l. repaire to Buda in multitudes, 1274 g. their armie for Transyluania, 1327 c. threaten war in Hungarie, 1331 e. their courses there, 1337. defeated at Vassalley, 1350 m. the greatnesse of their Empire, and their beginning, 1386, &c.

V

VAcia shamefully betrayed by the Haiduckes, 1238 g.
Valachia spoyled by the Tartars, 1220 l. the Vayuod expelled his countrey by Battori, 1304 h.
Vesprinium yeelded to the Rebels, 1246 k.
Vicegrade yeelded to the Turkes by the Haiduckes, 1238 l.
at Vienna a strange action of two citizens, 1212 l.
Visnouisky a valiant Prince poysoned by a Priest, 1350 k.
a Vision in the aire at Medina Talnabi, 1384, &c.
the Vscoques what manner of people they be, 1367
the Vizier sends to borrow money of the foure Christian Embassadors at the Port, 1429 b.

W

the WAllons ouerthrow the Turkes and Haiducks at Presburg, 1246 i.
War betwixt the grand Seignior and the King of Poland, and the cause why, 1397 e.
War in Barbary, 1301 c.
the Wife of Prince Coresky being prisoner in Tartary, sendeth a messenger to seeke her husband, 1364. who brings her tydings of him, 1365 f. and ransomes her, 1366 i.
Wiglase in vain attempted by the Haiduks, 1242 l.

X

XErif troubleth the kingdoms of Fez and Moroco, 1322 i. his beginning, k. his children grow potent, l. they kill the King of Moroco, m. feared by the King of Fez, 1323 a. dissention betweene the brethren, and the eldest taken prisoner by the younger, b.
Xerif Mahomet assaults the king of Fez. 1323 c.

Z

ZEffer Bassa recouereth the gouernment of Bosna from Zellaly, and shortly after dieth, 1211 a.
Zellaly, formerly a Rebell in Asia, reconciled to the Grand Seignior, commeth into Bosna, 1194 i. defeateth Zeffer Bassa the Gouernor of that prouince, and seateth himselfe therein, l. by the Grand Seignior sent for to the Port, 1195 b. refuseth to come, c. made gouernour of Temeswar, 1211 b.

FINIS.